

Tired of Nice People? An Appraisal-based Approach to Trump's Dichotomies

¿Harto de personas simpáticas? Un análisis de las dicotomías de Trump basado en la teoría de la valoración

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ABSTRACT: Political discourse is rich in dichotomies, but there is considerable variation in the way this rhetorical strategy is used. This article explores the dichotomies in two of Donald Trump's high-profile pre-election speeches, showing how the speaker uses a full range of attitudinal resources to exploit their persuasive effects. To ensure a systematic analysis, Appraisal theory is used, which proves productive to analyse political speeches on the different levels proposed, particularly when the regions of affect and judgement/appreciation are considered holistically.

Keywords: emotion, politics, discourse analysis, Appraisal, affect.

RESUMEN: El discurso político se sirve de las dicotomías, pero la aplicación concreta de esta estrategia ofrece una variación considerable. En este artículo se estudian las dicotomías que surgen en dos de los discursos más conocidos de la campaña electoral de Donald Trump, y se investiga cómo el hablante usa una amplia gama de recursos actitudinales para conseguir unos efectos persuasivos potentes. La teoría de la valoración, aplicada aquí para sistematizar el análisis de los textos, se demuestra fructífera para el abordaje de los discursos políticos en los distintos niveles propuestos, especialmente cuando se consideran de forma holística los niveles del afecto y del juicio/apreciación.

Palabras clave: emoción, política, análisis de discurso, la teoría de la valoración, afecto.

INTRODUCCIÓN

The framing of the world in terms of dichotomies (good-bad, right-left, old-young, tolerant-intolerant, etc.) is one of the mainstays of political (and other) rhetoric. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969: 239) characterise this as the argument «by division», in which a positive argument is presented in opposition to a «foil» which is formed by its negation, or at least, the negation of some of its features. This produces the assumption of disjunction, even if the two sides are not formally contradictory. Since one side is obviously wrong, bad or paradoxical, the other side appears to be right, good and logical. In Schopenhauer's words, «to make the opponent accept a proposition, the contrary must be presented with it in a rather crude way, so that the interlocutor, not wishing to be paradoxical, accepts our proposition» (1996: 414).

However, although the creation of (real or false) dichotomies is a stock in trade of political speeches, not all types of politician use it to the same extent, or in the same manner. Moffitt (2016) has recently drawn out attention to the way in which populist politicians draw up their lines of attack: on the one hand, they position themselves with the people against an elite that is perceived to be out of touch with the people's needs and wants; on the other, they may also position themselves with the «ordinary» people in opposition to certain groups (immigrants, for example) who are constructed as a problem for the «people». The exact positioning varies considerably with context: for example, the Dutch populist leader Wilders presents immigrants, particularly Muslim ones, as an aggressive force which threatens the «cowardly» Dutch government (van Leeuwen, 2014), while Syriza's discourses position the Greek people as victims of the increasingly neo-liberal policies implemented by mainstream political parties and the austerity policies of the Troika (Stavrakakis and Katsambekis, 2014).

One salient recent example of a strongly populist political style is to be found in Donald Trump's campaign speeches, in which he establishes stark dichotomies in order to break through the invisible barriers surrounding the political platform and secure his own place on the stage. Arguably, this «outsider» discourse became one of the key features of his campaigning style: it enabled him to exploit a weak point in the Republican party's armour in order first to launch an effective attack, and ultimately to hammer his advantage home. What is interesting here is not only the «what» of these dichotomies, that is, what people, groups or entities are represented as being on «our» side or as being our «enemies», but also the «how». What discursive means does

Trump use to rope in or exclude particular entities from his mental world, and how does he sustain this vision? Trump's discursive style has attracted some interest from linguists (Schumacher and Eskenazi, 2016), in a study comparing presidential candidates in terms of lexical and grammatical complexity and range. These linguists found that Trump's language was the simplest, comparable to the language expected of 12-year-olds in US schools. Along similar lines, Petrovic (2016) takes the view that Trump appeals to a wide range of insecure voters through his use of «indecisive, yet blunt, language»: he «uses a public platform to incite personal and collective anxieties and nationalism through private speech discourse», with emotive language that such voters would normally encounter in their more intimate circles. According to Petrovic, «Trump speaks in public, openly and unapologetically, the way many people whisper at home». Another popular analysis by Lakoff (2016a) draws attention to various strategies such as repetition, labelling and use of family metaphors, which in his opinion Trump uses in the service of an underlying schema that can be summarised as a return to «strict father morality». In a second article (2016b), Lakoff describes Trump's style as «careful and very strategic», and goes as far as to say «his words and his use of grammar are carefully chosen, put together artfully, automatically, and quickly». Interestingly, he points to one salient feature of Trump's speeches, which is that he often provides the first half of a sentence, then stops so that his audience can finish it in their minds (or out loud). Such strategies are extremely effective, in that they not only generate empathy with listeners, but they actually make the audience think that they have said it themselves. However, although Lakoff's analyses are highly insightful, they are directed toward a popular readership, and have only the most general analytical underpinning. In what follows, I set out a principled methodological approach to analysing political discourse, and apply it on two of Trump's most high-profile campaign speeches.

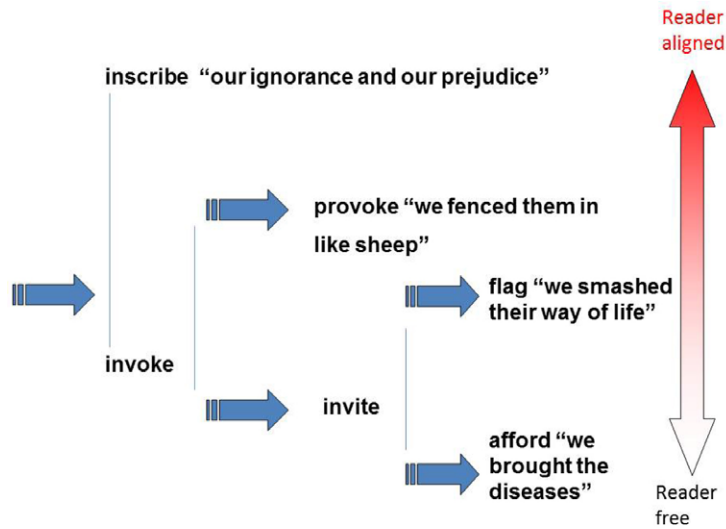
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Discourse analysts have approached political speeches in a vast number of ways, using methods ranging from classical rhetoric to pragmatics and corpus analysis (Chilton, 2003). Although many of these approaches are useful and provide insights into both political communication and the workings of discourse, the approach adopted is often methodologically eclectic and unsystematic (see Breeze, 2011). With a view to conducting a balanced and rigorous

analysis, I take my starting point in Appraisal analysis (Martin and White, 2005), as this is broad enough to cover the different linguistic and discursive aspects involved in political rhetoric, but systematic enough to allow consideration of the different discursive layers involved. This research will also touch briefly on multimodal aspects of Trump's staging, insofar as this is relevant to our understanding of his discourse.

In the Appraisal system, which has been widely used to analyse media and educational discourses, attitude is divided into three regions, judgement, emotion and appreciation, as manifestations of these in language can be traced and coded separately. However, Martin and White (2005: 60-69) explain that it is important to understand that a kind of «double coding» must often be applied. The text naturalises a reading position that directs readers towards certain «affectual inscriptions» invoking judgement and/or appreciation (guilty, embarrassed, proud, jealous, ashamed, etc.) which constitute an emotional reaction to behaviour we approve or disapprove of. In other words, although one region is perhaps uppermost at any given moment (e.g. affect when someone says «I was furious»), one or more of the others may be present implicitly (e.g. a negative judgement of the person she was furious with). In fact, in the case of persuasive genres such as political speeches, this type of double coding is extremely common, since skilled speakers maximise their chances of convincing their listeners by making best use of a powerful arsenal of both emotional and rational language.

For this reason, rather than starting from judgement, appreciation or affect as separate regions of the system, I apply the general scheme for conveying attitude through different strategies (2005: 67), reproduced in summary form in Figure 1. Even from the brief excerpts used by way of illustration, it is possible to see that different aspects of affect, appreciation and/or judgement are typically combined in the same phrases. Importantly, even though very different affordances are used, we can stand back from the actual manifestations of attitude and ask whether the attitude here is actually inscribed, that is, expressed explicitly, or whether it is invoked, that is, the text offers us clues to the reading position that the author would like us to share. As Figure 1 shows, «inscribed» attitude is relatively simple to identify, while «invoked» attitude can fall into different categories depending on the strength of the connotation, or the extent to which we need to read between the lines to find out what the author feels.



**Figure 1. Strategies for inscribing and invoking attitude
(from Martin and White, 2005: 67)**

In this study, I will analyse in depth the attitudinal resources found in the two speeches, exploring how the different strategies for inscribing and invoking attitude are used, and determining where particular strategies favoured by Trump can be placed in this taxonomy. Finally, I shall also take into account the multimodal dimension of the speeches insofar as this too expresses attitude and has a bearing on the overall message, adding a further dimension to the Appraisal system.

One final background aspect concerns the nature of affect and its effects. Emotional reactions are both visceral and complex: they are harder to explain, and harder to control. For example, when Trump says «I am very rich», we can identify his emotion as pride. But this is likely to provoke some other kind of emotion in his listeners: possibly admiration, but perhaps envy. Similarly, when Trump asserts that a particular group is «attacking» or «killing» the United States, although he is talking about aggression, the reaction of the listeners is likely to be fear, shame or anger. For this reason, after examining Trump's dichotomies in terms of the Appraisal framework, I will turn to what could be termed the «affective impact» of his assertions, and show how this links with empirical research about emotions in politics.

THE SPEECHES

My analysis centres on two of Trump’s most high-profile pre-election speeches, namely the one held in July 2015 when he announced that he would stand for the Republican nomination, and his acceptance of the nomination in July 2016. As might be expected when intense media attention is guaranteed, these speeches are vehement, punchy and hard-hitting. From our point of view, however, they also provide an insight into one politician’s way of building and sustaining a dichotomised worldview.

An analysis of the contents of the two speeches brought out a set of important contrasts that are established in each one. As Figure 2 shows, although these are similar, the emphasis is slightly different in each case: for example, the 2015 speech dwells more on controlling illegal migration, while in 2016 the focus has widened to law and order in general, seen in contrast to a general background of violence, including terrorism.

July 2015	July 2016
Trump – politicians	Trump – Hillary Clinton
Trump – Obama	Safety and prosperity – crisis
USA – China	Law and order - terrorism and violence
USA – Middle East	Honesty – spin
USA – Mexico	Prosperity – poverty, unemployment, disastrous deals
Americans – migrants	Strength – weakness
Action – talk	With Clinton – with the American people
Strength – weakness	Third world conditions – make America great again
Smartness and competence – incompetent, self-seeking politicians	
Bring back the American dream – the American dream is dead	

Figure 2. Dichotomous pairs established in Trump’s 2015 and 2016 speeches

EXPLORING ATTITUDE

Following the analytical structure mapped out in Figure 1, we will see that in both cases Trump makes use of the full range of possibilities for inscribing and invoking attitude.

Inscribed attitude

Inscribed attitude – the most obvious realisation of affect, judgement and appreciation – is to be found in abundance in negative evaluations of the political classes: «Politicians are all talk and no action», «Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country», or «Get rid of the fraud. Get rid of the waste and abuse». Here, negative evaluation is presented as negative judgement (of people) and negative appreciation (of actions), but at the same time, the use of highly charged lexis means that these utterances are strongly infused with affect. Interestingly, in the 2015 speech Trump reserves many of his explicitly inscribed negative evaluations for the current president, Obama:

But he wasn't a cheerleader. He's actually a negative force. He's been a negative force. He wasn't a cheerleader; he was the opposite. (Trump, 2015)

It is therefore not surprising that in the 2016 speech, the instances of inscribed negative judgement centre around the figure of Trump's main rival, Hillary Clinton:

America is far less safe and the world is far less stable than when Obama made the decision to put Hillary Clinton in charge of America's foreign policy. (...) Her bad instincts and her bad judgement (...) are what caused the disasters unfolding today. (Trump, 2016)

Trump also leaves his audience in no doubt about his opinion of rivals on the international stage, in particular China and Mexico, where affect is combined with negative appreciation (and invoked judgement) in items such as «outrageous» and «devastating»:

We are going to enforce all trade violations against any country that cheats. This includes stopping China's outrageous theft of intellectual property, along with their illegal product dumping, and their devastating currency manipulation. (Trump, 2016)

Invoke: provoke

Although the examples of inscribed attitude are striking, Trump makes sparing use of this, and is inclined to prefer the other strategies set out in Figure 1. One of his favourites is that of provocation: he does not voice a negative evaluation using nouns or adjectives, but rather provokes one in the listener by stating a situation and leaving the reader to draw the obvious conclusions. In Martin and White's terms (2005: 67), when Trump says «they are laughing at us», this is an instance of «provoke»: the judgement is not explicit, as in «her bad judgement», there is no lexical infusion, but the use of «us» pushes the reader into aligning with the speaker's appraisal of the situation and, of course, with his emotional reaction to this humiliation.

Let us consider another characteristic example in which the difference between «inscribe» and «provoke» is illustrated. Note that in this specific extract, no negative adjective is attributed to Clinton and no negatively-connoted noun is used to describe her. Instead, the situation is stated bluntly through a series of stark contrasts presented in order (ISIS, Libya, Egypt, Syria):

In 2009, pre-Hillary, ISIS was not even on the map... Iraq had seen a big reduction in violence. Iran was being choked by sanctions. Syria was somewhat under control. After four years of Hillary Clinton, what do we have? ISIS has spread across the region and the entire world... Iraq is in chaos. Iran is on the path to nuclear weapons. Syria is engulfed in a civil war and a refugee crisis that now threatens the West. (Trump, 2016)

But perhaps the most interesting feature of this extract is the way that the speaker establishes this series of contrasts, the negative pole always associated with Clinton's decisions, and then builds up to a climax as follows:

After 15 years of wars in the Middle East, after trillions of dollars spent and thousands of lives lost, the situation is worse than it has ever been before. This is the legacy of Hillary Clinton: Death, destruction and terrorism and weakness. (Trump, 2016)

Here, the provocation reaches a peak that is sharpened by extreme gradation that combines the rhetoric of quantification («trillions») with an emphatic comparative («worse than ever before»). The evaluative message is then hammered home («this is the legacy...»). We should note the final detail, which provides a key to how this «provocation» fits into Trump's grander scheme: the words «destruction and terrorism» can be reasonably assumed to provoke

an emotional reaction of dread, but this is accentuated in a peculiar way by the addition of the word «weakness». This final touch actually provides a crucial connecting wire between the desolate panorama in the Middle East and the United States itself: «weakness» here constitutes an oblique but obvious reference to the international standing of the United States under Obama, and serves to heighten the general aura of fear that this part of the speech is intended to provoke. Furthermore, the effect is not limited to fear. The fact that there is a recognisable figure who can be blamed for these disasters means that fear (a difficult emotion in politics, as we shall see below) is likely to be transmuted into anger, which is more conducive to Trump's own strategy.

Let us consider another excerpt from the 2015 speech, in which Trump talks about the people crossing the border from Mexico. Again, opposite poles are established, here between Americans, who are «the best and the finest», and Mexican immigrants:

It's true, and these are the best and the finest. When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. They're not sending you. They're not sending you. They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. (Trump, 2015)

Although the vocabulary used («drugs», «crime», «rapists») indicates a negative evaluation, Trump's strategy for presenting these ideas is to state them baldly, as though this were an objective report of events. It might appear that each of these sentences considered separately, though highly tendentious, is an instance of «afford», that is, a statement of fact. However, when they are taken together as a sequence, the repeated use of action verbs such as «sending» and «bringing», implying deliberate movement of negatively-charged entities, is evidently a way of provoking a response of fear and, perhaps, anger in the listeners. The use of these repeated fragments, the piling up of semantically similar chunks and the listing of words with a similar affective loading come together to intensify negative affect and judgement to provoke listeners (Martin and White, 2005: 144). But we should note that at the very end there is a subtle change in strategy: the final noun «rapists», with its high negative loading, is actually used to refer to Mexicans. Thus the final twist in this sequence is realised through a move from «provoke» to «inscribe»: this inscription is the exception rather than the rule, used to mark a climax in what we might call Trump's system of attitudinal graduation.

One other very prominent way in which Trump «provokes» his audience is by the use of the short narratives which are interspersed through the speeches.

Narratives are not mentioned explicitly by Martin and White (2005), but stories in themselves definitely play a role in the expression of attitude, and in discursive strategy. That is to say, in this case, even though these narratives do contain other aspects of attitude (inscribed or invoked attitude to the actors involved, the actions taken, etc.), the narratives in themselves, as discursive artefacts, constitute a kind of provocation: such stories or anecdotes, used in a political speech, are a rhetorical weapon in the hands of the speaker. They are always told for a reason, to illustrate a particular point, and to trigger a particular kind of emotional reaction in the listener, usually initially fear, which then catalyses anger. The following mini-narrative from the 2016 speech is typical of the way Trump builds up the impact of his stories:

One such border-crosser was released and made his way to Nebraska. There, he ended the life of an innocent young girl named Sarah Root. She was 21 years old and was killed the day after graduating from college with a 4.0 grade point average. Her killer was then released a second time, and he is now a fugitive from the law. I've met Sarah's beautiful family. But to this administration, their amazing daughter was just one more American life that wasn't worth protecting. One more child to sacrifice on the altar of open borders. (Trump, 2016)

The start of the narrative links it to the theme of migration built up with considerable deployment of quantitative rhetoric and negatively charged lexis over the previous segment, culminating in: «They are being released by the tens of thousands into our communities with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources.» After this lurid background, Trump homes in on a particular case. It is perhaps unnecessary to comment on the inscribed judgement and affect that establish the stark contrast between the migrant and his victim («killer» and «innocent, young girl»). More interesting is the way this tragic event is infused with political meaning. As so often happens, here agency holds the key to ideology (Fowler, 1993): the point is not just the inscribed negative judgement and affect used to depict the migrant, but the implication that the true agent responsible for the girl's death was «this administration». Notably, in the coda which constitutes the «moral» of the story, the victim is an «amazing daughter», an «American life», a «child» whom the establishment has intentionally sacrificed for political reasons. This ending again rams home the point of the story, provides a sense of closure, but most importantly, uses negative affect, first fear, then anger, to align the audience with Trump's own stance towards immigration – and towards the political establishment.

Another mini-narrative, this time from the 2015 speech, follows a similar structure, though with a different ideological target. Here too, Trump's starting

point is a more abstract account of the situation, in this case regarding comparisons between the USA and its global rivals. He then summarises the main thrust of what he has been saying, before taking a small narrative detour that emphasises his main points:

Our enemies are getting stronger and stronger by the way, and we as a country are getting weaker. Even our nuclear arsenal doesn't work. It came out recently they have equipment that is 30 years old. They don't know if it worked. And I thought it was horrible when it was broadcast on television, because boy, does that send signals to Putin and all of the other people that look at us and they say, «That is a group of people, and that is a nation that truly has no clue. They don't know what they're doing. They don't know what they're doing.» (Trump, 2015)

We may note how he starts by identifying other countries as «enemies» and creating a contrast between infused «stronger and stronger» attributed to the «enemies» and «weaker» attributed to the United States. This in itself is likely to engage a complex of emotions that probably combine fear with shame and frustration. He then launches into a mini-narrative about nuclear weapons, embellished with strong affect in the style of an informal anecdote («because boy, does that send signals»), which serves to raise the tension, exacerbate the sense of fear («I thought it was horrible»), and provoke a sense of shame in the audience («that is a nation that truly has no clue»). This culminates in the repetition of «they don't know what they're doing», repetition being a classic intensification strategy (Martin and White, 2005: 144) that is extremely provocative – and highly characteristic of Trump's personal style.

Invoke: invite

Two further aspects of the expression of attitude are also worthy of discussion in this context. The first of these is flagging, namely the use of marked or «non-core» lexis which «invokes» attitude (Martin and White, 2005: 66), as in their example «we smashed their way of life», where the word choice evokes a specific attitudinal reading (Hood and Martin 2005; Hood 2010). As Martin and White (2005) state, flagging lies between provoking an attitude and affording it, so its comprehension is more context-dependent than in the case of provoke. Trump makes some use of this, but as we shall see, his rhetorical approach is such that he rarely leaves much to the audience's imagination. For example, when he speaks of «the forgotten men and women of our country», in itself the word «forgotten» entails a sense of sadness, a feeling of injustice,

and an inclination to take those people's part. «Forgotten» thus flags a negative emotion. However, in the case of Trump, we observe that «forgotten» forms part of a sustained negative prosody:

I have visited the laid-off factory workers, and the communities crushed by our horrible and unfair trade deals. These are the forgotten men and women of our country, and they are forgotten, but they will not be forgotten long. These are people who work hard but no longer have a voice. I am your voice.

Each negatively flagged vocabulary item («crushed», «horrible», «unfair», «forgotten») is important in building up the effect, but we should note that the repetitions («forgotten», «voice») and the polarity of the two juxtaposed positions («they are forgotten, but they will not be forgotten long», «no longer have a voice. I am your voice»), together, are what weave these separate instances of flagging into a structure that generates provocation. Anger at those who «forgot» is placed alongside hope, in «I am your voice».

The last category in the Martin and White (2005) taxonomy is the one which generally proves most elusive and most difficult to code (Tilakaratna and Mahboob, 2013). The issue is that instances of «afford» are only attitudinal in relation to the specific context, so the lexical or other items used to convey them might seem neutral to a reader who is not familiar with a particular mindset or situation. For example, the evaluative valence of «public» and «private» in some cultures might not be accessible, or might be misinterpreted by readers from other cultures where these items have neutral loads or even opposite evaluative valence. The attitude conveyed by «afford» is thus highly embedded, only accessible to someone in the reading position of the «ideal reader» (Tilakaratna and Mahboob, 2013: 74).

Examples of affordance in Trump's speeches are harder to isolate, because we have to read the text out of the context, which we know only too well. For instance, a statement such as «our GDP was below zero» is an affordance: it could be interpreted as a statement of fact, were it not for the context, which makes it clear that this is just one more attack on Obama. In fact, Trump's «neutral» affordances often play a special role in the prosody of the text. Let us consider the neutral adverb «finally» and the harmless adjective «straightforward» in the following excerpt:

It is finally time for a straightforward assessment of the state of our nation. I will present the facts plainly and honestly. We cannot afford to be so politically correct anymore. So if you want to hear the corporate spin, the carefully-crafted lies, and the media myths – the Democrats are holding their convention next

week. Go there. But here, at our convention, there will be no lies. We will honor the American people with the truth, and nothing else. (Trump, 2016)

The use of the word «finally» heightens the impact of his message, if this is «finally» happening, it is because this has not been happening before, because the political establishment does not want it to happen. Again, «straightforward» might also seem to be neutral. Yet this «straightforward assessment» is precisely the critical, negative evaluation of the political scenario that Trump offers, drawing on the populist trope of «straight talking» as a way of engaging «what people really think» (Stanyer, Salgado and Strömbäck, 2016; Moffitt, 2016). So the apparent innocence of «finally» and «straightforward» is illusory. These words underline the urgency of Trump's «solution», and the «honesty» of his message, contrasted with «corporate spin» and «carefully-crafted lies». Within the specific discourses of populist politics, «straightforward» has taken on special positive connotations that it lacks elsewhere. However, the appraisal invoked through such instances of «afford», though embedded, is accessible to listeners who experience the wider discursive context of this part of the speech, because it is apparent from the immediate context that an ideological conflict is being posited. Unlike the highly embedded appraisal analysed by Tilakaratna and Mahboob (2013: 87), Trump's afforded attitude simply helps to naturalise positions that are explicit in other parts of the text.

One striking instance of this phenomenon is Trump's use of the word «nice», a word that is conventionally positively connoted in normal speech. Trump memorably states, in his 2015 speech which is primarily directed against Obama:

So the reporter said to me the other day, «But, Mr. Trump, you're not a nice person. How can you get people to vote for you?» I said, «I don't know.» I said, «I think that number one, I am a nice person... I think I'm actually a very nice person.» But, I said, «This is going to be an election that's based on competence, because people are tired of these nice people. And they're tired of being ripped off by everybody in the world.» (Trump, 2015)

Here, we see that Trump takes hold of a comment that was intended as an attack on him («not a nice person»), and uses it as a weapon against his rival, Obama, whose image as a «nice guy» was well established. Rather than denying the «niceness» of Obama, which would have been difficult, Trump chooses to set up another of his dichotomies, in this case one which places «niceness» in opposition to «competence». In his riposte «This is going to be an election that's based on competence, because people are tired of these nice people»,

Trump effectively puts his finger on what many Americans were feeling about Obama: his perceived weakness or indecisiveness, his failure to defend American interests, his «uninspiring» performance. In this immediate context, «nice» thus becomes a term of disparagement, contrasted with «competent». Trump does not need to spell out the implicature: Obama is «nice», but he is not competent; Trump is «not nice», therefore he is competent. In fact, despite the obviousness of much of Trump's political rhetoric, it is important to note that much of its impact rests on implicatures, which afford attitude rather than stating it. His characteristic slogan «make America great again», though not original (NBC News, 2016), invokes both a sense of entitlement based on former glory, and a feeling of anger at the present situation. This emotive contrast explains the intense exploitation of this motif on the Trump campaign: his 2016 nomination acceptance speech ends with chanting: «We will make America strong again... We will make America great again».

One final aspect of «afford» relates to multimodal representations, and serves to illustrate how factors external to language impinge on the Appraisal system. In his 2015 speech, Trump declares the following:

So we have to rebuild our infrastructure, our bridges, our roadways, our airports. You come into La Guardia Airport, it's like we're in a third world country... You look at these airports, we are like a third world country. (Trump, 2015)

In fact, this was to become a leitmotif of his campaign. Obviously, «third world» is not positively connoted. Though more derogatory than the politically-correct term «developing country», its negative valence is not extreme -it could flag negativity, or merely afford it. However, this speech is being delivered on a platform in front of thousands of people. Trump's backdrop consists entirely of huge US flags. He wears red, white and blue. It is not the same to say «we are like a third world country» on this stage, as to say it in against a neutral background. The entire visual message conveys intense patriotism, and the verbal message provides the opposite pole to yet another dichotomy: «the United States» versus «a third world country». Because this is nowhere stated explicitly, and it is up to the participant to accept or reject the multimodal message, this seems to belong to the category «afford». Again, the multiple affective and judgemental impacts of this polarisation serve to heighten the sense of crisis (Moffitt, 2016), and to trigger patterns of fear and shame leading to anger which constitute the characteristic affective configuration of current populist discourses.

Salient examples of the different types of attitude from the two speeches are shown in Figure 3, which provides a revised attitude scheme based on

Martin and White (2005: 67) incorporating two new features: the strategy of provoking the audience through the use of mini-narratives designed to make a point and trigger affect/judgement, and the affordance of affect/judgement/appreciation through multimodal messages in which a verbal affordance is contrasted with a visual one.



Figure 3. Revised strategies for inscribing and invoking attitude based on analysis of Trump's speeches

DISCUSSION

We have seen how two of Trump's high-profile speeches operate through a full range of attitudinal resources, and that the accumulation of different effects is given coherence and power by their positioning within a highly polarised vision of affairs in which the American people is represented as the victim of the political establishment. Although the effects of this might seem obvious, it is worth devoting some time to exploring just why this is so. Trump's election victory was doubtless conditioned by many factors, but his ability to connect with a large proportion of the electorate must surely have been one of them, and analysis of his use of the attitude system may shed some light on the power of his discourse and provide parallels with populist discourses elsewhere.

The «visceral potency» of particular images or ideas, which evoke a whole range of associations amounting almost to a world view, has been amply discussed elsewhere (Marcus, Neumann and MacKuen, 2000: 4-9). The interplay between affect and cognition is one of the areas of current interest in political psychology, not least because the classic «think first and feel second» understanding of political decision making has been considerably undermined, as evidence from neuroscience and elsewhere increasingly suggests that affect not only determines our reactions to stimuli that have been processed cognitively, but actually plays a role right from the start, influencing «when and how we think about things» (Marcus, Neumann and MacKuen, 2000: 9). In a recent empirical study of people's political behaviour during the financial crisis, Wagner (2014) demonstrates that citizens are likely to experience fear or anger in the face of negative external events. But importantly, these two emotions have very different political effects: anger is likely to lead individuals to attempt to remove the source of harm. Anger is associated with something being unfair (as well as having someone to blame) – something that should not have happened on moral grounds, something that is an offence against one's self esteem (Lazarus 1991). In contrast, fear activates the avoidance system, leading people to adopt risk-averse behaviour patterns (Wagner, 2014). The political consequences of this are immense, since the emotion that is triggered will influence whether people vote for radical change or cling to a safe option. In fact, the emotion that is aroused may even affect whether people choose to vote or not: during election campaigns, anger has been found to generate political engagement by increasing factors positively related to participation (Weber, 2013).

As Wagner (2014) has shown, the specific emotional reaction to situations of crisis depends largely on the nature of blame assignment. Individuals are more likely to react with anger if they think that the threat facing them is due to the actions of an agent who should have placed greater weight on their welfare. Anger is the likely emotional reaction if the perceived threat has an identifiable external cause, in other words, a scapegoat. To some extent, fear may serve to spark a chain reaction that leads to anger, particularly if «tribal» loyalties are aroused and threats to our own home territory or physical integrity are posed (Lutz, 2016). But even here, fear will only transform into anger if a suitable target can be provided. Other researchers in political emotion have come to similar conclusions via a different route. For example, MacKuen et al. (2010) suggest that exposure to unfamiliar situations generates anxiety and makes people more willing to compromise, while recurring conflict with familiar adversaries leads to anger and polarisation of pre-existing divisions.

In our context, we should note that the logic behind Trump's speeches draws on both fear and anger. He brings both these areas of emotional engagement to the forefront, but notably always places negative attitudes side by side with an agent that can be blamed. As a result, Trump's words are likely to instigate productive anger rather than just fear. In fact, the patterns of affect and judgement analysed above show that when Trump invokes fear, he almost always presents a causal agent who can be blamed. However illogical the causal connections might seem on objective analysis, the emotional connection is made – and so is the transposition from vague fear to purposeful anger. By reviving familiar topoi, Trump reopens existing wounds, telling people what they have often heard before, and thereby fuelling rage.

On this point, we may also note that Trump takes special care with aggressive language: his speeches graphically show how «the people» are under attack, and dwell on defending the victims, rather than attacking the perpetrators. Populism was classically defined by Mudde (2004: 543) as a «thin-centred ideology» that relies on a view of society as formed by a homogeneous mass of «the people» and a corrupt elite which seeks its own interests at their expense. Trump's Manichean discourses posit a struggle of precisely such a nature, in which the «people» is positioned against a political class and those whom it protects at the people's expense. Unlike Ted Cruz, who promised to «hunt down and kill the terrorists» (Lutz, 2016), thereby inspiring fear of Ted Cruz rather than of the terrorists, Trump repeatedly stresses that terrorists and other out-groups «are the people that want to kill us». This instigates fear that boosts his campaign by triggering anger in the audience. It is interesting that for a politician with a reputation for extreme views, Trump's speeches are remarkably free of verbal aggression, except when it comes to his political rivals. His message can be encapsulated in the eminently tweetable phrase from the July 2016 speech: «America is a nation of believers, dreamers, and strivers that is being led by a group of censors, critics, and cynics». It remains to be seen how this «thin-centred ideology» develops under the pressures of real political activity: in particular, it will be interesting to observe whether Trump will founder on the paradox of populism, namely that the closer populists get to power, the less they can claim to represent the people (Taggart, 2000), or whether he will manage to perpetuate the crisis in some way in order to legitimise his ongoing programme (Moffitt, 2016).

Finally, regarding the attitude system within Appraisal, it has proven productive to analyse political speeches on the different levels proposed, but considering the regions of affect and judgement/appreciation holistically. This exploration brings to light the importance of considering all the attitudinal

features of a text in relation to specific underlying cognitive structures (here, polarisation) and specific affective loadings (fear and anger). It also shows that other discursive devices absent from Martin and White's system (2005), such as mini-narratives and multimodal messages, play an important role in the attitudinal dimension of the text. This approach would appear to offer ample opportunities for further study of political discourse and performance.

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