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# Global Polarization in Politics: A Pragmatic Analysis of American and Spanish Speeches

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*The work presented in this MA thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original and my own work, except as acknowledged in the text. The work in this thesis has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.*

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## **Resumen**

Durante los últimos años, la polarización de la política se ha hecho cada vez más pronunciada. Investigadores han analizado elementos micro lingüísticos en el lenguaje político que los políticos usan para transmitir su polarización y por tanto polarizar a su audiencia. Sin embargo, no se han analizado aspectos macro lingüísticos tales como las funciones comunicativas ni tampoco la globalidad de la polarización. Nuestro objetivo es conocer cómo los políticos usan las funciones comunicativas para polarizar y si lo hacen del mismo modo de forma global. Para esta finalidad, hemos compilado discursos políticos de figuras antagónicas en dos países diferentes, España y Estados Unidos. Los resultados muestran cómo globalmente los políticos usan las funciones comunicativas para formar las mismas estructuras retóricas. Además, las funciones comunicativas se usan de la misma forma globalmente excepto la función persuasiva.

## **Palabras clave**

Polarización, discursos políticos, funciones comunicativas, función persuasiva

## **Abstract**

In recent years, polarization in politics has increased. Researchers have analyzed micro-linguistic elements in the specific language used by politicians to express their polarization and thus polarize their audience. However, macro linguistic aspects, such as communicative functions and the globality of polarization have not been analyzed. Our objective is to study how politicians use communicative functions to polarize their audiences and whether they do so in the same way globally. For this purpose, we have compiled a corpus of political speeches of antagonistic political figures in two different countries, Spain and the United States. The results show how politicians use the communicative functions to form the same rhetorical structures globally. In addition, the communicative functions are used in the same way globally except for the persuasive function.

## **Keywords**

Polarization, political speeches, communicative functions, persuasive function

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## **0. Hypothesis**

In recent years, polarization in political language can be perceived at a global level. A number of politicians seem to have extreme ideas, and their polarization is increasingly evident independently of which country or ideology they come from. Through their speeches, they transmit this polarization and try to polarize the audience as well. Experts in the field have studied micro linguistic elements such as deixis, metaphor or modality; however, the communicative functions that politicians employ when they deliver their speeches have remained in the background. Therefore, in this MA dissertation our focus is set on studying the communicative functions of political speeches. We will specifically center on the persuasive function. In that function, we will study how politicians manipulate deixis to transmit polarization, and thus polarize and persuade the population. Moreover, we will analyze the rhetorical structure that is shaped by the communicative functions to observe if it changes with the intention of persuading different audiences. We will conduct our analysis with speeches from two different countries, United States and Spain. Thus, we will also determine whether the way polarization is transmitted happens in the same way globally or if in each country this polarization is transmitted in a different way. We will also observe whether within the same country the polarization occurs in the same way in different geographic areas or changes to focus on polarizing that audience more specifically. Therefore, in this dissertation we propose the following research questions:

1. Are the communicative functions equally used to polarize the population between different countries? And between different geographical areas in the same country?
2. Is it the same rhetorical structure of political speeches shaped by the communicative functions in both countries or do they modify it with the intention of polarizing different audiences?

## **1. Introduction**

In the field of politics, a global polarization is increasingly evident. Opposing ideas can be observed in the United States with strong confrontations between Biden and Trump, in Brazil with totally polarized ideas of Bolsonaro and Haddad, in Spain with opposing and therefore polarized parties such as Vox or Podemos, etc. This polarization in the field of politics is transmitted by politicians to the population through language using social media, mass media, interviews or speeches. Due to the great social relevance that this polarization can entail, researchers in the field of politics such as De Cock et al. (2022) or Cárdena-Neira, and Pérez-Arredondo (2022) have analyzed how polarization is produced. However, all the studies deal with micro-linguistic strategies, such as deixis or metaphors, but none of them consider macro-linguistic aspects such as communicative functions. Moreover, none of the studies deal with globalization of polarization. In this MA dissertation our aim is to analyze how politicians transmit polarization through communicative functions and whether they do so in the same way globally or whether it changes depending on the country. Furthermore, we want to analyze whether this polarization occurs in the same way in different geographic areas of the same country. For this purpose, we have compiled a corpus of political speeches delivered by two opposing political figures in two countries, the United States and Spain. The different communicative functions of these speeches have been analyzed. Additionally, focusing on the persuasive function since it is the predominant one in political speeches, we have analyzed how politicians use deixis to achieve the aforementioned function in order to reach different potential voters and polarize them. Furthermore, we have analyzed how through the communicative functions the rhetorical structures are shaped and to know if they modify them to polarize.

In order to do so, in the second section we provide a theoretical background describing political

language, the genres that use it, the different communicative functions and their characteristics, and a description of deixis. Besides, in section 3 we describe global polarization, and we present previous studies on the field. In addition, in section 4 we tell in detail the methodology we have followed. Finally, in section 5 the results obtained are presented and analyzed in order to answer our research questions, and in section 6 conclusions are reached.

## **2. Political language**

### ***2.1. Languages for specific purposes***

LSPs (languages for specific purposes) are functional varieties of the languages that have been developed throughout history as instruments of communication not only in scientific fields (i.e., chemistry, biology, etc.) but also, in professional fields (i.e., tourism, business, or politics) (Calvi 2011, p. 15). According to Balboni (2000, p. 9), these languages have two main objectives: an epistemological one, related to the creation and dissemination of scientific knowledge, and a pragmatic one, aimed at actions, such as selling products.

Moreover, Cabré (1993, p 141) states that LSPs combine a thematic component (content) and a social component (context and pragmatic purposes of the communicative act).

On the one hand, the thematic component represents the horizontal dimension, which Calvi (2011, p. 23) states that contains all the knowledge developed in each field of expertise. Therefore, it expresses the specific contents by making use of the appropriate linguistic signs. However, this dimension is not equally important in all LSPs. Calvi specifies that in specific disciplines this dimension will have more weight because its function is to communicate knowledge. On the other hand, in professional disciplines, such as business or politics, this dimension will have a secondary role since its main aim is the call for action, and not the

transmission of knowledge (p. 23).

Calvi (2011, p. 23) exemplifies with two extreme cases, a scientific article, and a political speech. In the scientific article, the researchers will expose the theories, the research, and the results. Therefore, the density of the content of the article is very concentrated, and to understand it, it will be required for the reader to be an expert in the field. In political discourse, the content deals with different topics such as economy, social problems, or political organization that are specific to different sectors. Therefore, the density of these texts will be lower than the density found in scientific articles, and because of this, they can be understood by a non-expert audience.

The horizontal dimension manifests itself mainly in the lexicon and, above all, in the creation of its own terminology. Although this is a characteristic aspect of LSPs, other decisive aspects characterize these languages. Cabré (1993) states that there has been an evolution in the field of terminology and therefore changes can be seen. Instead of analyzing isolated terminological units (without a context), it is preferred to study them considering contextual factors, or the level of specialization among others. Calvi (2011, p. 26) specifies that in human sciences, a less stable fixation of meaning can be appreciated than in the more technical sciences. Therefore, there is more polysemy and variations as opposed to technical sciences, where monosemy predominates. An instance of this would be how the meanings of words such as “state” or “nation” have changed throughout history in political science due to cultural factors. In short, the formation of a specific lexicon, monosemy, and the avoidance of ambiguity are found in technical and scientific sciences in which the aim is to transmit knowledge. However, in more professional languages where the purpose is not to convey knowledge but to persuade and engage the audience, both general and specialized lexicon are found as well as polysemy and some ambiguity.

When LSPs research focuses only on the lexicon, only horizontal studies are conducted.



However, as Gotti (2003, pp. 25-28) specifies, the multidimensional nature of specialized languages is recognized when research attention shifts from lexical focus to pragmatic aspects and social uses of LSPs. That is, a vertical dimension is studied which is linked to the relationship between the interlocutors and the context and it is also related to the communicative intentions in a specific situation (Calvi 2011, p. 28). Calvi determines that the analysis of the abovementioned communicative intentions makes the analysis no longer only linguistic but an analysis where importance is given to the function of the text (understanding text as a form of written, verbal and oral manifestation that takes place in a communicative exchange that has a unitary meaning.) Moreover, she states that specialized discourse can be multifunctional although there is always a predominant function. For her, the purpose of the communicative act has repercussions on the linguistic forms and textual typologies.

Among the different LSPs, we are going to focus on political language, a professional language that has gained relevance in recent decades due to its impact on society.

## ***2.2. Political language***

According to Calvi et al. (2011), political language is one of the most complicated LSPs to define. Firstly, this complexity is due to the large number of topics covered. Politics reach all areas that affect the lives of citizens. As Santos López (2009, p.172) specifies, when this language is used there is an ideological debate between the different political forces, but at the same time, it deals with issues as diverse as the economy, health, marriage, education, consumption, energy, or international conflicts, among others. Politics deals with matters that always regulate our life in society (our behavior as a group) in some way or another.

Political language is not a technical or a scientific language, but a professional one. For this reason, if we focus on the horizontal dimension, it seems complicated to define a specific

lexicon in political language (Santos López, 2009, p.173). This is because it is a transversal language, it contains a great amount of lexicon that belongs to general language and other lexicon that belongs to other specialized languages.

Moreover, typical LSPs characteristics that we can find when we analyze a specialized language are mono referentiality, precision, and transparency. Santos López (2009, p.173) argues that language in politics does not usually contain mono referentiality. For example, in the political language of the Spanish system, politicians use the word "nación" (nation) to refer to the Spanish nation but also to the Catalan nation. Therefore, they are referred to by the same term despite being two different legal entities. Moreover, Santos López states that in political language, vagueness is preferred over precision. An example of this can be seen in the way politicians refer to the Catalan conflict. In their interventions, they often use the word "conversaciones" (conversations) instead of the word "negociaciones" (negotiations). However, they do not treat these conflicts as if they were conversations, but rather as negotiations to solve a specific conflict. Finally, this language is characterized by a great lack of transparency. A clear example is shown by Santos López (2009, p. 173) when he exemplifies how politicians use the expression "flexibilidad en el empleo" (employment flexibility). This does not mean that workers have flexibility in deciding their schedules but refers to the ease with which employers can make dismissal cheaper.

As it is an LSP, to define it, we cannot only analyze the horizontal dimension. The vertical dimension, i.e., the communicative functions of this language is decisive to complete the definition. Depending on the textual genre we are studying, communicative functions may vary, and we could find several classifications. The ones mentioned by Bühler (1973) are *informative*, *persuasive*, and *emotive*. Political language has different communicative functions.

There are several genres in which this language is used, each of them with specific

characteristics.

### **2.3. Genres**

Bathia (2004, p.23) states that “genre essentially refers to language use in a conventionalized communicative setting in order to give expression to a specific set of communicative goals of a disciplinary or social institution, which give rise to stable structural forms by imposing constraints on the use of lexico-grammatical as well as discoursal resources.”

Political language is used in different genres according to Santos López (2009, p. 183). Firstly, we find textual genres such as the slogan, the electoral letter, and the electoral leaflet. They are typical of political propaganda. In most cases, these genres are written by a publicist and not by the issuer of the message. However, the content of these genres contains the electoral program of a political party or group. Furthermore, although the issuer of these genres is usually collective (the political group) sometimes an individual issuer appears, for example in an electoral letter. The message conveyed by these genres is transmitted through all possible media (oral, written, or audiovisual) since it tries to reach all citizens and potential voters. Thus, the level of specialization we find in the political language used is low. Finally, the language used is seductive, not argumentative.

Secondly, Santos López (2009, p. 184) establishes that genres such as the interview or the debate are the most common in the mass media. Although it may seem that they are not political genres since they are connected with journalism, he considers that there is direct communication between politicians and citizens, and therefore, they are textual genres that use political language. Moreover, they cannot be considered exactly the same genre. In the interview, the interviewer rarely confronts or opposes what the politician says. However, in the

debate, the message conveyed by the politician is often conditioned by the counterargument he receives. Nevertheless, they share characteristics in terms of the language they use. They employ argumentative and seductive language. In addition, the purpose of both is for citizens to believe in the speaker's ideas, share them, and therefore vote for them at the ballot box. Besides, the message will be more elaborated than in propaganda since politicians have to argue while seducing the voter.

We can also consider social media (i.e., Twitter, or Facebook) as a genre. As Lomborg (2011, p.56) states, the users in this genre communicate directly with each other without intermediaries. Thus, there is direct communication between the politicians and their audience. Regarding the language used in this genre, it is not specialized as it is in the interview and the debate, and it seeks the adhesion of the audience to the opinions of the politician.

Thirdly, we find the studies on politics. They have a very technical language and therefore have a high degree of specialization. In addition, they are always produced through a written channel from an individual issuer to an expert receiver.

Finally, we find the speech and the parliamentary debate, which are the textual genres par excellence of political language. The language used in this genre is very complex because although it conveys the ideas and values of a group, it is produced by an individual speaker. In addition, this genre is written by specialists in political communication. Due to the importance of political speeches in the use of political language, these will be the ones analyzed in this MA dissertation.

#### ***2.4. Rhetorical structure of political speeches and communicative functions***

Bathia (1993, p. 50) based on Swales (1990) states that what influences the nature and construction of a genre are the communicative purposes that this genre seeks to fulfill. These

communicative functions give it its internal structure and therefore shape the genre. Bathia (1993, p.74) states that expert authors seem to be rather consistent in how they set out their general message in a certain genre. Furthermore, the analysis of genre structural organization reveals favored methods of expressing intention in particular research fields. Therefore, the communicative purpose is achieved through different rhetorical moves<sup>1</sup> and steps<sup>2</sup> that give the genre its cognitive structure. Similarly, each move satisfies a typical communicative function that is always subordinate to the genre's ultimate communicative goal. An individual writer may employ several language strategies to fulfill a specific communicative function at the level of a move. Therefore, the speaker may have the choice to use certain linguistic strategies to achieve a specific communicative function, depending on certain factors such as the context of situation, the nature of the topic, and the audience.

Following Bühler (1973), language functions occur during the communicative act and favor one over the other depending on a dominant element, such as the listener, the speaker, or the topic of conversation. He proposes the three communicative functions as a result.

First, there is the expressive or emotive function, which is concerned with the speaker's emotional life and how he communicates feelings or emotions. According to Cedeño (2012), this function in oral discourse is identified through the analysis of intonation, gestures, postures, etc. Additionally, it can be identified in written texts by the employment of exclamatory, dubitative, and desiderative sentences, suspensive points, the use of diminutives, verbs that express emotions, etc. In addition, a focus on the sender can be observed with the use of the first person singular.

The second function is the informative or referential one. Bühler claims that this function conceptualizes the speaker's experience; in other words, the transfer of concepts from

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<sup>1</sup> discursal or rhetorical unit that performs a coherent communicative function in a written or spoken discourse. (Swales 2004, p. 228-229)

<sup>2</sup> "Steps" are "lower level parts of moves which fulfil the communicative function of the move to which they belong" (Fazilatfara and Nhaseri 2014, based on Swales 1990, p.490)

the speaker to the listener rules this function. Cedeño (2012) states that it is fulfilled in texts whose purpose is to inform others of facts, event, or situation. These texts in no way reflect the feelings, views, or ideas of the sender. It is intended to be objective. However, there may be some particular substrate of approach, even when no explicit opinions or value judgments are made. There are usually ideological tendencies and personal opinions that can be glimpsed in adjectives or other language resources since total objectivity is impossible. This function uses technical vocabulary and impersonal sentences.

Finally, there is the persuasive or appealing function. This function occurs when the communication is acting on the listener by influencing his behavior. According to Cedeño (2012), the speaker employs resources to persuade the audience that what is being communicated is true, and as a result, the receiver's actions should be directed towards what is proposed. The appellative discourse attempts to influence the listener by ordering, commanding, or asking something of him. The receiver is the main subject. Moreover, the speaker employs interrogative and imperative sentences. It includes orders, suggestions, and requests. This is the most representative communicative function in political speeches.

### ***2.5. Linguistic strategies to achieve the persuasive communicative function***

As we have established above, writers of a genre use different linguistic strategies in order to reach the communicative functions. As the persuasive function seems to be the main function in political speeches, according to Cedeño (2012), we want to focus on the different linguistic strategies of persuasion. We find several strategies of persuasion such as metaphors, modality, and deixis.

The purpose of a metaphor in the context of public oratory, according to Charteris Black (2004, pp. 10–11), is to persuade the audience of a specific point of view. By fusing their

cognitive and verbal resources, speakers utilize metaphor to persuade.

In terms of modality, Jeffries (2010) asserts that language plays a significant influence in persuasion. Several modal indicators are used by the speaker to convey his attitude. On the one hand, the speaker might convey his commitment to the statement stating the degree of confidence through the epistemic modality; or speakers can indicate a sense of obligation and necessity by using the deontic or boulomaic modality.

Moreover, deixis is another persuasive strategy. It is the one in which we are going to focus on this MA dissertation.

Deixis is defined by Levinson (1983, p. 54) as a set of linguistic strategies used to designate or point to persons or things in the world. Moreover, Hamdaoui (2015, p. 100) states that deixis “is concerned with the anchorage of events in terms of spatio-temporal location and of person with respect to an axis of reference called a deictic center”. According to Bülher (1973) this axis of reference consists of the deictic center: I (the person who speaks), here (the place in which the speaker is), and now (the moment in which the speaker is).

Levinson (1983, p. 61), based on Lyons (1997) and Fillmore (1971), states that following a traditional descriptive scheme three different deixis dimensions could be found: personal, time, and space deixis. The first dimension, person deixis “concerns the encoding of the role of participants in the speech event in which the utterance in question is delivered” Levinson (1983, p. 62). Moreover, he states:

[...] the category first person is the grammaticalization of the speaker’s reference to himself, second person the encoding of the speaker’s reference to one or more addressees, and third person the encoding of reference to persons and entities which are neither speakers nor addressees of the utterance in question. (Levinson 1983, p. 62)

So, in first person deixis personal pronouns such as I, we, “yo”, “nosotros” and first-

person possessive adjectives such as “my”, “our” or “mi” (my) could be found (Khalifa 2018, p. 47). Wodak et al. (2009) specifies that in political discourse the pronoun “we” , “nosotros” could have three different interpretations. The first one is the “universal we” in which the pronoun includes the audience and the speaker, the second one is the “historical we” that refers to the speaker, the audience and some historical person, and finally the “royal we” that involves the speaker and his party. The second-person deixis deals with the second person pronouns such as “you” or possessive adjectives such as “your”. Finally, third-person deixis includes the third person pronoun and possessive adjectives.

The second dimension is place deixis, and it concerns “the encoding of spatial locations relative to the location of the participants in the speech event” (Levinson 1983, p. 63). Imai (2003) specifies that four different axes could be developed in this dimension; the distance axis includes place adverbs and prepositions such as “there” or “in”. Besides, it includes demonstratives such as “that” or “these”. Moreover, the geometric axis could be discussed. In this axis we find some lexemes such as “up” or “down”. The third axis is called geographic axis in which we find place expressions such as “downriver”. The fourth and last axis is the cardinal axis. It includes the different cardinal points.

Finally, time deixis concerns “the encoding of temporal points and spans relative to the time at which an utterance was spoken (or a written message inscribed)” ( Levinson 1983, p.62).

Khalifa (2018, p.49) states that three different temporal points can be found: past, present, and future. Following that distinction, we find adjectives (last or next), adverbs (now), or verb tenses (I eat, I ate, I will eat) that indicate the different temporal points.

### **3. Global political polarization**

In recent years, in political speeches, communicative functions and their associated



micro linguistic strategies have been used to polarize the ideas of the population. According to Schuliaquer and Vommaro (2020), political polarization, is:

An extreme alignment of opposing positions based on ideological or partisan identification, is an increasingly marked phenomenon in some countries of the world, with several decades of development in the United States and Europe (Mason, 2015) and shorter life in Latin America (Singer, 2016). (p.235)

This polarization has been seen in countries in America such as Brazil, that according to Ebelin et al. (2021) has experienced an increasingly politically polarized scenario in the last years. Since the fierce presidential election in 2014, Brazilian population have strengthened their political beliefs on the left or right side. As a consequence, in 2018 presidential election, Jail Bolsonaro won. His voters were motivated by a liberal economy, a more conservative agenda, and the fight against corruption in contrast to the Labor Party that have ruled the country since 2002. This situation is similar to that of the United States regarding Donald Trump's election victory. Moreover, in Europe, there are countries in which the same analogy could be done. In Spain, political parties such as Vox or Podemos have polarized the ideas of the population in a radical way to the right or left. Because of the strong polarization that we are facing globally, an analysis of this political polarization should be done.

### ***3.1. Previous studies in polarization***

In recent years, the study of polarization in language is gaining relevance due to the existing global political polarization.

Many of these polarization studies are focused on the social media genre because the authors consider it relevant due to the direct communication between the politician and his audience.

This is the case of De Cock et al. (2022, pp.80-95). They study polarized representations of immigrant communities in Belgium in online political discourse on Twitter and Facebook of well-known politicians. They conclude that polarization happens through a combination of strategies. Politicians firstly employ indirect polarization. They define the out-group ("they" or "them" connected with immigrants) and the in-group ("we" or "us" associated with Belgium's population) through the analysis of the deixis. Visually, the speakers cannot be held accountable for discriminating against minorities because these minorities groups are implied rather than openly seen. Second, the researchers conclude that when politicians portray the in-group and out-group, they generalize. Researchers also note metaphors that portray the in-group as a target or a civilization in danger.

Other authors study polarization in the mass media. Cárdenas-Neira, and Pérez-Arredondo (2022, pp. 174-189) study strategies of polarization in Chilean student movements in which the government uses mass media to communicate its ideas. This study differs from the previous not only on the genre but also in the methodology used. To observe polarization, they use corpus linguistics approaches since the analysis of large corpora help to identify the cumulative effect of the words that create the discourses. To identify the polarization strategies used, these authors carry out a qualitative and quantitative analysis of concordances, collocations, and keywords.

Both studies analyze polarization but only in a specific context (Belgium and Chile), therefore it cannot be perceived if the polarization strategies are carried out in the same way in different contexts, or on the contrary if these strategies change depending on the context in which they are applied. Moreover, both studies focus their analysis on social and mass media but none of them analyze the strategies used to polarize in the political speech which as Santos López (2009) mentioned is one of the most important genres in political language.

Filardo-Llamas (2022, pp. 192-209) studies polarization in political speeches in more

than one context. The data that she analyzes are the political speeches given in March 2020 by three Western politicians from different countries, Pedro Sánchez (left-wing ideology), Donald Trump, and Boris Johnson (right-wing ideology). Using a corpus-based analysis she identifies **metaphors** used in the speeches. To find the metaphors she searches for keywords, frequent terms, and collocates. A qualitative analysis that explains how the metaphors' framing effects are affected by context follows. In order to do this, she outlines the most typical mapping suggested by war metaphors, as well as how these mappings link to the COVID-19. In addition to the mappings, deictics are analyzed in order to determine whether there is a proximal or distal relationship between the speaker and the audience as well as the opposition to the virus.

Filardo Llamas' study shows how the war metaphor is used in different contexts (American, British and Spanish) in the same way to polarize the political language in the speeches. However, the issue only deals with COVID-19, a virus that has produced a pandemic that affects all three contexts in the same way. Thus, we wonder if the linguistic strategies of polarization would be the same if the theme of the speeches were not common to the different contexts but were instead context specific.

All the studies that we have seen focus on micro linguistic elements such as deixis or metaphor, but not in the analysis of the genre and its communicative functions (to study not only the vertical dimension but the horizontal one present in professional fields such as politics). The study of these communicative functions allows us to analyze in which moves of the political speeches the speakers try to persuade the population. Therefore, we can observe if they use the same micro linguistic strategies of polarization when they try to persuade the population (and therefore polarize it) in different contexts. Furthermore, none of the previous studies show the rhetorical structures that produce the different communicative functions in this genre, and whether it is modified to persuade and polarize the population.

## **4. Methodology**

### ***4.1. Corpus and study description***

In order to do the analysis of the aforementioned issues and answer our rhetorical questions (see section 0. Hypothesis), we have compiled a specialized corpus. Francis (1992, p.17) states that a corpus is “a collection of texts assumed to be representative of a given language, dialect, or other subset of language, to be used for linguistic analysis.” Our corpus is composed of political speeches; therefore, it is a corpus with a specific purpose. The corpus is oral. We have compiled transcripts of speeches made by politicians or transcribed them ourselves if a transcript was not available. Therefore, the link between the texts and their context is very close which helps our communicative functions analysis.

Since the corpus contains texts in two languages (American English and Peninsular Spanish), it is a bilingual corpus. Moreover, we define our corpus as synchronic since we study discourses from a specific period (2016-2022), and we do not focus on the evolution over time. Furthermore, we consider our corpus as an open corpus since we can increase the number of discourses in the given time period.

The analysis we performed on our corpus is corpus-based. We compiled the corpus in order to explore our research questions and get some conclusions.

### ***4.2. Corpus selection criteria***

Around the world, as noted above, polarization is growing globally. Intending to study this globalized polarization, we have selected political speeches made by politicians with

opposing ideas from two different countries. Firstly, speeches by Donald Trump and Joe Biden in the United States. Secondly, the speeches of Pablo Iglesias and Santiago Abascal in Spain. Although at first glance it would be more similar to compare the speeches of Joe Biden and Donald Trump with those of Pedro Sánchez (the president) and opposition leader Alberto Núñez Feijóo, it is not possible to make this comparison. This is because, although Feijóo has held rallies, he has not campaigned nationally yet.

Therefore, choosing the political speeches of the leader of Vox and Podemos has been done consciously, since they represent the resulting polarization in Spain (the first transmits ideas of extreme right-wing ideologies and the second of extreme left-wing ideologies) and both have given national campaign speeches. Thus, in both countries, the polarization of opinions and ideas are represented.

In addition, as we have mentioned previously, our study contemplates the globality of polarization. Therefore, we have taken into account different contexts. In the first place, two cultural contexts, Spain and the United States. They are two countries where the population is different not only in language but also in customs, habits, etc. In the second place, we have considered that in the same country the population of the different geographic areas may vary, and with it, the strategies used by politicians to polarize. Therefore, we have divided our corpus into 4 different geographical areas, north, south, east, and west.

Besides, the samples can be identified through corpus 0<sup>3</sup>, where their metadata has been displayed. In this corpus 0, each sample is named with different labels. In these labels, we have included extralinguistic information such as the language, the topic, the date, and the speaker.

For example: 001\_Tr\_Flo\_S\_2020\_9158\_En

- 001: name of the file.
- Tr: Speaker.

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<sup>3</sup> Corpus 0: Document containing the extralinguistic information of each text that forms the corpus.

- Fl: state
- S: Geographical zone/region
- 2020: Year of the speech
- 9158: Number of tokens
- En: Discourse's language

### ***4.3. Representativity***

As Francis (1992:17) states (see section 4.1) our corpus must be representative. So, our corpus is both qualitatively and quantitatively representative.

#### **4.3.1. Qualitative representativeness**

This representativeness concerns the reliability of the texts included in the corpus. In our case, being an oral corpus, the source from which the texts are obtained comes directly from the person who formulates the speeches, the speaker, in this particular case from 4 political leaders. The texts are obtained from a website (<https://www.rev.com/>) where the transcripts of the speeches are included together with the video where the speech can be seen and heard, or by direct transcription when the transcribed texts are not available. The transcriptions are made manually from the videos.

#### **4.3.2. Quantitative representativeness**

Our corpus is quantitatively representative, which means that the size of our corpus for a specific purpose is sufficient to be relevant so that our conclusions can be accurate and

reliable. To check the representativity, we used ReCor which is a tool that shows the minimum size necessary for each corpus to be representative. The software determines that a corpus is representative when its lines converge on the graph. We can see that our corpus is quantitatively representative in the graphical representation (figure 1).

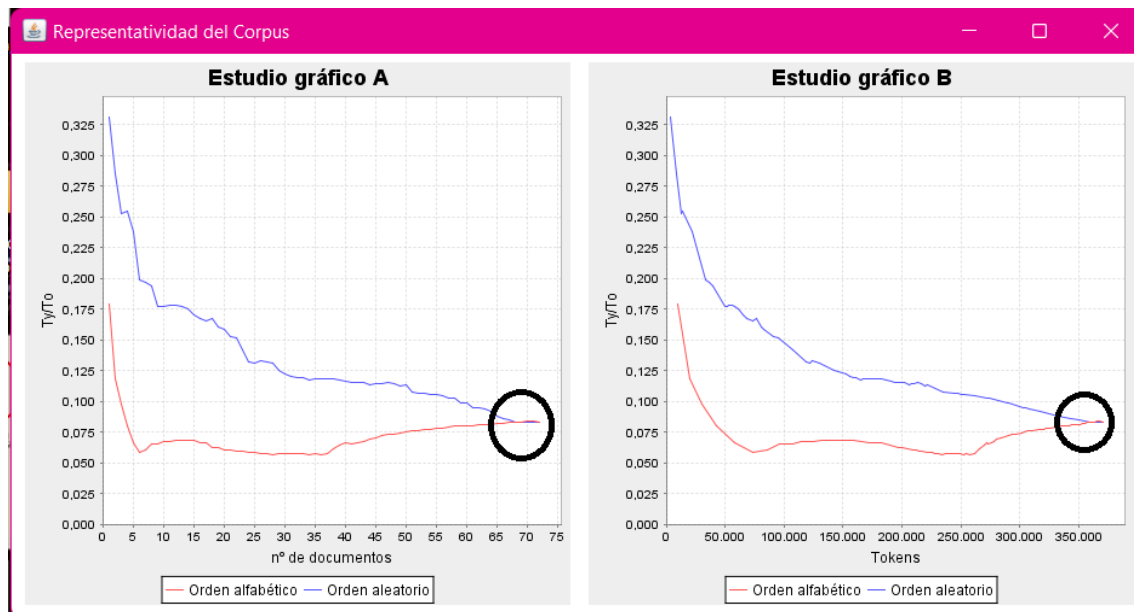


Figure 1: ReCor Representativity

According to ReCor, for the corpus to be representative it should contain 67 texts and 360000 tokens. Our corpus is composed of 80 files and 387258 tokens, so it is representative.

#### 4.4. Corpus analysis

Following Bathia (1993), first, we have identified the different communicative functions of the texts that make up our corpus. To do that, we have tagged our corpus. So, in order to answer queries and retrieve information in a timely and precise manner "that would be almost inconceivable otherwise," we have included linguistic information (McEnery and Hardie 2012, pp. 27-31).

Communicative functions are identified through linguistic characteristics such as the lexicon used, sentences, or verb tenses. Taking into account these textual characteristics of the three main communicative functions proposed by Bühler (see section 2.4) , we will identify them in the different speeches that our corpus has. The tags given to the communicative functions are "inf" (informative function), "pers" (persuasive function), "emo" (emotive function).

Once we have tagged our corpus according to communicative functions, we will focus on analyzing deixis in those functions that are persuasive (“pers”) to know how speech writers use this linguistic strategy of persuasion to form the aforementioned communicative function and thus polarize the population. To analyze the globality of this polarization, the deixis has been analyzed considering the two different contexts, cultural and geographic areas (see section 4.2).

To study deixis, we have used Lancsbox (<http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/lancsbox/>). Lancsbox is a semi-automatic software through which the deixis in both languages has been analyzed and the part of speech (POS) has been annotated.

First, we have analyzed person deixis. We have examined the frequency and context of different pronouns and possessive adjectives in order to check how politicians manipulate them to create the persuasive function to polarize the population. In the case of Spanish, we have been aware that we find subjects that are omitted, an issue that does not occur in English. Therefore, we have obtained the POS tagging of the verbs and we have classified the omitted pronouns and possessives. In order to analyze this deixis dimension, we have worked with the “KWIC ” tab and with the “Text” tab. In these tabs, we can obtain both, the frequency (occurrences) and the context of the pronouns and possessive adjectives. Analyzing these pronouns and their context, we observe how they are used to create polarization when their communicative function is to persuade.



Second, we have analyzed space deixis. Following Imai (2003), we have analyzed place adverbs and adjectives, and demonstratives. In order to carry out our study, we have created a list of the most common space adverbs and prepositions in English and Spanish, and a list of the demonstratives in each of the languages under analysis. In the “KWIC tab”, we have done an advanced search and obtained the occurrences and the context of these adverbs, prepositions, and demonstratives. Moreover, we have searched for place expressions such as “inland”. We have used wildcards, so we have searched for a preposition followed by an asterisk i.e., in\*, and obtain the different expressions and their context. Thus, we have seen if there is an opposition between the different expressions used.

Furthermore, we have analyzed the different cardinal points. We have searched for the words north, south, east, and west in both languages. Again, we have used the “KWIC tab” to obtain the occurrences and the context.

Finally, we have studied time deixis. We have done an advanced search in the “KWIC tab” as we have done in the place adverbs, propositions, and demonstratives.

Besides, intending to search for the different verb tenses, we have used a different methodology for Spanish and English sub corpora. In the English corpus, to search for past and present tenses we have used the smart searches that are available using Lancsbox. We look for “PRESENT TENSE” and “PAST TENSE” in the “KWIC tab” and obtained all the occurrences and the context of these tenses. That option is not available for future tenses. So, in order to obtain the verbs in the future tense, we have used the “WORD tab”. Moreover, in the “WORD tab”, we have searched in the POS section for verbs in gerund. There we have obtained verbs such as “going to” or tenses related to the present continuous that indicate near future.

Lancsbox does not contemplate the smart searches in Spanish, so we have used the WORDS tab, and in the Section of POS, we have searched for verbs in the past, present and future tenses.

Moreover, as we aim to know if the audience influences how politicians polarize, we have searched for the national statistics of voters in each culture and geographical area.

Furthermore, after analyzing the three different communicative functions we have obtained the moves and steps that shape the rhetorical structure. We have determined if they change it depending on the culture or geographical area.

## **5. Results and discussion**

In the study, we found the three communicative functions proposed by Bühler (emotional, informative, and persuasive) in different cultural contexts and geographical areas.

First, we observed the emotive function. We found many of the lexico-grammatical features described by Cedeño (2012) that make up this function. On the one hand, we detected verbs that express feelings. The main feeling expressed by all speakers was gratitude. In example 1 we can see how Joe Biden thanks different figures of the Democratic Party in Philadelphia such as Chair Blake or Dwight Evans. Moreover, in example 2, Abascal thanks those who helped him to be there. Furthermore, some adjectives indicated positive feelings, for example in example 1 we find “great”, “impressive”, while in example 2 “emocionado” (excited). In addition, we found intensifying words such as “really”, “pretty”, “más” (more), “muchísimo” (very much) or “profundo” (deep). They contribute to the transmission of subjectivity. Furthermore, regarding punctuation, we found suspension points.

Besides, we found dubitative sentences. In example 1, we have sentences like “can't he?” or “Is he... there you go” or in example 2 “vengo de... vengo de Barcelona”. We also found present tense enunciative sentences using volitive verbs such as “want”.

Moreover, the pronoun “I” was used. Even in Spanish, where the pronoun could be omitted, the speaker used it.

(1) Hello, hello, hello. Hello, Philadelphia. It's great to see everyone! Thank you, thank you, thank you. I want to thank Bishop Reid. I really mean it. Sharon Baptist Church for letting us borrow your parking lot. And the DNC Vice Chair, I tell you what, that man can make a speech, can't he? He's pretty darn impressive. Vice Chair Blake, for all you do for our party and all you do to get out the vote. And thank you Congressman Dwight Evans for coming out and speaking today. And for all of you, all of you, all you do to fight for the people of Philadelphia and every single day in Congress. I also want to say thank you to Bishop Hunter and Reverend Mark Tyler, State Representative Morgan. Where's Morgan. Is he ... there you go. Okay. Thank you for being here. Thank you for being here. And Bishop Louis Felton, and also want to thank Sharon Baptist choir, church choir. Aren't they great? (Biden in Philadelphia)

(2) Bueno, este fervor es casi sevillano, que lo sepáis. Vengo de... vengo de Barcelona. Yo quiero decirles que soy español y a mí me ocurre que me siento en casa en cualquier rincón de nuestra patria. Pero permitirme la licencia personal para decir que un Abascal en la montaña en tierras de Santander siempre se siente más en casa porque los míos salieron de estas tierras hace un siglo con un carro y unos burros vendiendo pieles por los caminos de Santander de Vizcaya de Álava y de Navarra pero siempre me enseñaron a querer muchísimo a esta tierra y por lo tanto solo puedo compartir este momento con ustedes hoy con profundo orgullo y con recuerdos muy emocionados sobre los que me han ayudado a llegar hasta donde lo he hecho y sobre los que me lo han enseñado todo. (Abascal in Santander)

Well, this enthusiasm is almost Sevillian, just so you know. I come from... I come from Barcelona. I want to tell you that I am Spanish, and I feel at home in any place of our homeland. But allow me to say that an Abascal in the mountains, in the lands of Santander, always feels more at home because my family left these lands a century ago with a cart and some donkeys selling furs along the roads of Santander, Vizcaya, Alava and Navarra but they always taught me to love this land very much, and therefore, I can only share this moment with you today with deep pride and with very emotional memories of those who have helped me to get to where I am and those who have taught me everything. (Our translation)

This function seems to be used in the same way globally, since after analyzing all the speeches in the corpus (from different countries and different geographical areas) we found the same lexico-grammatical characteristics.

Secondly, we found the informative function. The features that form this function proposed by Cedeño (2012) were observed and analyzed.

First, we looked at the expression of facts or situations (examples 3 and 4). They were objective. Sometimes, and as Cedeño (2012) pointed out, it is difficult to be completely objective, so we found expressions such as "entre ellos el PSOE" (example 4). The fact that a particular political party was specified means that the function was not completely objective since the politician highlighted a specific adversary. We also observed the use of technical vocabulary as can be seen in example 3 with the word "negligence" or in example 4 talking about an institution "Instituto de Crédito Oficial" (Official Credit Institute).

Moreover, all the sentences that formed this function were enunciative. Furthermore, to form this function we detected how speakers used the third person. In the proposed examples we observe how speakers talk about the "dead Americans" or the "Instituto de Crédito Oficial".

(3) Over 225,000 dead Americans because of the negligence and the consequence of COVID. More than 16,000 here in Florida alone. (Biden in Florida)

(4) El instituto de crédito oficial no va a revelar el dinero que ha prestado a los partidos políticos, entre ellos al PSOE (Iglesias in Cantabria)

The Official Credit Institute will not disclose the money it has lent to political parties, including the PSOE. (Our translation)

These features that make up this function were the same in different countries and geographic areas, so it was constructed in the same way globally.

Finally, we found the persuasive function. It was the one most frequently found in the political speeches we analyzed. This function consisted of requests (example 5), orders (example 6), and proposals (example 7) as well as opinions or advice (example 8).

(5) Yo quiero pedirlos que en estas próximas horas habléis con amigos, con familiares que no tienen decidido su voto, no para convencerles de nada sino simplemente para que recuerden algunos datos de lo que ha ocurrido en los últimos años en España. (Iglesias in Cantabria)

I would like to ask you to talk to friends and relatives who have not yet decided how they will vote, not to convince them of anything, but simply to remind them of some facts about what has happened in the last few years in Spain. (Our translation)

(6) We are going to keep on fighting, and we are going to keep on winning, we are one movement one people one family and one glorious nation under God and together with the incredible people of Arizona. **Go out and vote! Go out and vote!** We have made America powerful again, we have made America wealthy again, we have made America strong again, we have made America proud again, we have made America safe again, and we will make America great again. **Go out and vote!** (Trump in Arizona)

(7) We will strongly defend our police. I will always stand with the heroes of law enforcement. (Trump in Wisconsin)

(8) The only thing that can tear America apart is America itself, and that's exactly what Donald Trump has been doing from the beginning of his campaign. Dividing America, pitting Americans against one another based on race, gender, religion, national origin, ethnicity. It's wrong. That's not who we are. Everybody knows who Donald Trump is. Let's let them know who we are. We choose hope over fear, unity over division, science over fiction, and yes, truth over lies. So, folks, it's time to stand up and take back our democracy. We can do this. We can be who we want to be at our best, the United States of America. (Biden in Florida)

This function was formed by a variety of sentences, including enunciative sentences and imperative sentences such as "go and vote!"

In relation to the lexicon and the grammar, this function was formed in the same way globally. However, and as we had previously indicated (see section 2.5 ), there are persuasion strategies, and specifically deixis, that must be analyzed.

First, in person deixis, we observed an opposition in the use of pronouns that did not include the audience (royal we and I) and pronouns that included it (universal we).

Studying the different countries, we saw how politicians used these pronouns. In the United States, we observed that both Biden and Trump used more "I" and "royal we" (table 1 below). However, they used these pronouns differently. Trump used the pronoun "I" to talk about things he had done as president while Biden used this pronoun to make promises to the audience as can be seen in examples 1 and 2. Regarding the use of the "royal we" pronoun, we observed how Trump used it to indicate measures they were going to take to improve the life of the audience (example 3) while Biden used it to highlight the measures that were made in the Obama administration of which he was the vice president (example 4). Therefore, it can be

interpreted that Trump chose to share the responsibility for the proposals with his party while Biden concentrated the responsibility on himself. In addition, we believe that this change in usage may be justified because Trump had already been president, and therefore could speak in a personal capacity about the actions he took, whereas Biden could not make this use since he had never been president.

- (1) **I** also issued brand new regulations to ensure American workers are first in line for jobs. **I** did it for the Americans. (Trump in Wisconsin)
- (2) And **I** promise you I'll work as hard for those who don't support me as those who do. (Biden in Cleveland)
- (3) The Obama-Biden administration rescue the auto industry and help them retool. **We** made solar energy cost competitive with traditional energy and weatherized more than a million homes, which is just the beginning if we get reelected. (Biden in Delaware)
- (4) And **we** will keep America out of these endless and ridiculous foreign wars. (Trump in Wisconsin)

<b>FIRST-PERSON DEIXIS PRONOUNS DIFFERENT CULTURES (%)</b>			
	I/YO	ROYAL WE/NOSOTROS	UNIVERSAL WE/NOSOTROS
<b>TRUMP</b>	54.43	34.47	11.06
<b>BIDEN</b>	46.27	24	29.73
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	44.72	33.33	21.95
<b>ABASCAL</b>	51.91	31.3	16.78

*Table 1: First-person pronouns- American and Spanish politicians*

In opposition to these pronouns that did not include the audience, in Table 1, we observed the different frequencies of the pronoun "universal we" (11.06% and 29.73%). Biden used this pronoun more than Trump. In this case, both used the pronoun to empathize and include themselves in the population of America (examples 5 and 6). Clearly, Biden

empathized more with the population since he used the pronoun more frequently.

(5) We are one movement, one people, one family, and one glorious nation under God  
(Trump in Wisconsin)

(6) There's one thing that remains the same, we have to earn our democracy. We have  
to get out and vote. (Biden in Philadelphia)

In Spain, as in the United States, politicians used more the pronouns that did not include the audience (Table 1 above). However, both used it for the same purpose; they used the pronoun "yo" (I) to talk about past experiences (example 7) and the pronoun "nosotros/as" (we) to talk about measures they were going to take (example 8).

(7) Cuando antes incluso de fundar Vox a través de algunas instituciones como la  
Fundación para la Defensa de la Nación Española **yo** visitaba a Cataluña y había ya  
muchos catalanes muy preocupados. (Abascal in Barcelona)

When even before founding Vox through some institutions such as the “Fundación  
para la Defensa de la Nación Española” (Foundation for the Defense of the Spanish  
Nation) I visited Catalonia and there were already many Catalans very concerned.  
(Our translation)

(8) A la hora de hacer política nosotros no vamos a consentir que se gaste un euro en  
hacer carreras de fórmula 1 mientras hay niños que estudian en barracones.  
[nosotros] Somos pueblo y venimos del pueblo y [ nosotros] no vamos a consentir  
que las escuelas infantiles sean un privilegio de los ricos. (Iglesias in Alicante)

When it comes to politics, we are not going to allow one euro to be spent on Formula  
1 races while there are children studying in barracks. [We] are the people and we  
come from the people and [we] will not allow that nursery schools be a privilege of  
the rich. (Our translation)



However, when we focused on the use of the pronoun that included the audience, Iglesias used it more (21.95%) than Abascal (16.78%). This means that, like Biden, Iglesias tended to empathize more with the Spanish population as a whole.

It can be interpreted that in the different countries there was more emphasis on the use of first-person pronouns where the audience was not included, but both Biden and Iglesias tended to empathize more with the population. Therefore, we can observe that when it comes to the polarization, politicians with right-wing ideologies seemed to empathize less with the population while politicians who fought this ideology tended to do it more.

When we focused on the difference between these pronouns in the different geographical areas (table 2 below) in The United States, we could observe differences in their use. Regarding the pronoun "I", we observed that Trump used it more than Biden in all the areas, except in the South. Moreover, the pronoun "royal we" was more used by Trump in the North and South. In order to understand these changes in the use of these pronouns in the same country, we analyzed the U.S. census. The North and the South were the geographic areas governed mostly by the Republican Party, the party to which Trump belongs. Therefore, Trump was more inclusive of his party by using the pronoun "royal we" since it was the party that had the support of the population in those areas. On the other hand, in these geographical areas, Biden focused more than Trump on the pronoun "I" and excluded his party. On the contrary, in the West, an area where voters are mainly Democrats, Biden used more the pronoun "royal we" where he included his party to highlight the things his party did well, while Trump used more the pronoun "I" to indicate what he did well as a president without including the Republican party.

Regarding the pronoun that included the audience, Biden used it more than Trump in all areas. So, he attempted to include himself with both men and women as well as minorities

(according to the census in these geographic areas 33,086,000 people belonged to minorities) who voted.

FIRST PERSON PRONOUNS DEIXIS POLARIZATION IN GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS-USA (%)

	EAST			NORTH			SOUTH			WEST		
	I	ROYAL WE	UNIVERSAL WE	I	ROYAL WE	UNIVERSAL WE	I	ROYAL WE	UNIVERSAL WE	I	ROYAL WE	UNIVERSAL WE
<b>TRUMP</b>	62.76	29.29	7.95	46.78	43.38	9.84	45.90	42.11	11.99	57.22	25.57	17.21
<b>BIDEN</b>	45.48	20.62	33.09	56.36	20.37	23.27	52.10	21.38	26.52	36.15	39.98	23.87

Table 2: First-person pronouns in geographical areas- USA

In Spain (table 3 below), both speakers used in the same way the pronoun “nosotros/as” (royal we) in which the audience was not included and the pronoun “yo” (I) in all the areas. The same happened with the pronoun “nosotros/as” (universal we) in which they included the audience, both politicians used it with the same frequency in the different areas. Thus, there was no difference between the different areas and politicians made the same use of deixis in all of them to polarize the audience.

FIRST PERSON PRONOUNS DEIXIS POLARIZATION IN GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS-SPAIN (%)

	EAST			NORTH			SOUTH			WEST		
	I	ROYAL WE	UNIVERSAL WE	I	ROYAL WE	UNIVERSAL WE	I	ROYAL WE	UNIVERSAL WE	I	ROYAL WE	UNIVERSAL WE
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	46.05	32.97	20.08	43.34	34.33	22.33	45.45	34.78	19.77	46.20	31.79	22.05
<b>ABASCAL</b>	54.63	32.45	12.92	52.13	29.57	18.3	54.59	30.26	15.15	46.09	33.01	20.09

Table 3: First-person pronouns in geographical areas-Spain

In person deixis, we also observed an opposition between the pronouns “we” and “they”. Both in Spain and the United States, politicians used that opposition in two different ways; first, to differentiate themselves from the opposite party, emphasizing the negative aspects of what their opponents did. Second, speakers used this opposition to talk about the population that belonged to the country and the foreigners.

If we focus on the first of the options in which they opposed the use of these pronouns

(table 4 below), we found that in the United States Trump used the pronoun “they” with much more frequency to refer to the opposing party than Biden (example 9). On the contrary, Biden put much more emphasis on his party and the measures that his party was going to carry out than on talking about the opposing party.

- (9) They torture your children with masks in school while they host parties packed with unmasked donors in New York, San Francisco and Washington D.C they restrict your freedom and lock you in your home (Trump in Texas)

In Spain something similar happened. While Abascal put more emphasis on talking about the opposition and other parties (example 10), Iglesias focused more on talking about the measures that his own party was going to take.

- (10) Cuando Vox presentó una moción de censura contra el gobierno social delinciente dijo que quien presentaba una moción de censura en mitad de una pandemia tenía un problema moral pues parece que algo de eso tienen **ellos** en estos momentos (Abascal in Murcia)

When Vox presented a no-confidence motion against the criminal social government, they said that whoever presented a no-confidence motion in the middle of a pandemic had a moral problem because it seems that they have some of that at the moment. (Our translation)

Thus, we observed the same thing that happened in the pronouns in which they included or did not include the audience. The difference did not seem to be in countries but in ideologies. Parties whose ideology was right-wing tended to talk more about the other parties

while those who faced that right-wing ideology focused more on talking about their own measures.

<b>PRONOUNS WE AND THEY(PARTIES) (%)</b>		
	<b>WE/NOSOTROS</b>	<b>THEY/ELLOS</b>
<b>TRUMP</b>	41.23	58.77
<b>BIDEN</b>	72.8	27.2
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	63.7	36.3
<b>ABASCAL</b>	38.7	61.3

*Table 4: We and they referring to the parties*

When we focused on the differences in the geographic areas (table 5 below), in the United States, we observed that Trump in the North and the South used the pronoun “we” more to highlight the achievements of his Republican Party, while Biden used more the pronoun “they” to emphasize the negative aspects of the Republican Party. This was because, as the census indicated, these were the two geographic areas that tend to belong to the Republican party. In contrast, in the West (a Democratic area), Trump reinforced much more the pronoun “they” to highlight the bad aspects of the Democrat Party, while Biden reinforced the good aspects with the pronoun “we”. This reinforced what was observed in the previous oppositions (“I” vs. “we”) since politicians seemed to take into account the ideologies of the geographic areas where they spoke and modified the deixis to polarize.

<b>WE VS THEY (OPPOSITION BETWEEN PARTIES) (%)</b>								
	<b>EAST</b>		<b>NORTH</b>		<b>SOUTH</b>		<b>WEST</b>	
	<b>WE</b>	<b>THEY</b>	<b>WE</b>	<b>THEY</b>	<b>WE</b>	<b>THEY</b>	<b>WE</b>	<b>THEY</b>
<b>TRUMP</b>	28.51	71.49	59.89	40.11	55.68	44.32	30.5	69.5
<b>BIDEN</b>	72.35	23.65	45.25	54.75	49.3	50.07	73.41	26.59

*Table 5: We and they in the geographical areas-USA*

In Spain (table 6), it was observed that Iglesias used the pronoun “nosotros” (we) more

in all geographic areas, and Abascal used the pronoun “ellos/as” (they) more. This reinforces the interpretation that in Spain the population was taken as one, and no difference is made between areas when using deixis.

<b>WE VS THEY (OPPOSITION BETWEEN PARTIES) (%)</b>								
	EAST		NORTH		SOUTH		WEST	
	WE	THEY	WE	THEY	WE	THEY	WE	THEY
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	52.14	47.86	63.52	36.48	65.83	34.17	68.4	31.6
<b>ABASCAL</b>	46.91	53.08	38.8	61.2	29.9	70.1	31.1	68.9

*Table 6: We and they in the geographical areas- Spain*

In the second way of opposing these pronouns (table 7 below), we found the same thing. In the United States, Trump used much more the pronoun “they” to refer to immigrants (example 11) while Biden focused more on talking about the American people in which he included himself. In Spain, Abascal seemed to follow the same strategy as Trump, using more the pronoun “ellos/as” (they) to refer to people from outside Spain (example 12) while Iglesias tended to talk more about the Spanish people. Therefore, the trend repeats itself, and it seemed that the deictic strategy followed when shaping the persuasive function to try to polarize depended on whether the politicians had a right-wing ideology or whether they were confronting the aforementioned ideology.

<b>WE VS THEY (OPPOSITION BETWEEN POPULATION)</b>		
	WE/NOSOTROS	THEY/ELLOS
<b>TRUMP</b>	31.8	68.2
<b>BIDEN</b>	75.89	24.11
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	76.5	23.5
<b>ABASCAL</b>	37.2	62.8

*Table 7: we and they- inside vs outside*

(11) We do nothing about it but let people come in and we have no idea who **they**

are (Trump in Texas)

(12) Nosotros exigimos que se respeten nuestras fronteras exigimos que [ellos] vengan a España legalmente exigimos que [ellos] respeten nuestras leyes y nuestra manera de vivir (Abascal in Valencia)

We demand that our borders be respected we demand that [they] come to Spain legally we demand that [they] respect our laws and our way of living. (Our translation)

When we studied the difference between de different geographical areas, in the United States (table 8 below), we observed that in the North and the West Trump used more the pronoun "they" while Biden used more the pronoun “we” in which he included the whole audience. According to the U.S. Census there were 12,100,000 minority populations in the South and 13,067,000 in the West compared to 4,902,000 in the East and 3,017,000 in the North. Therefore, it could be interpreted that in geographic areas where there was more immigration, Biden tended to include them while Trump tended to appeal to Americans to tell them that immigrants are different and that they did not belong in the United States.

**WE VS THEY (OPPOSITION BEWTEEN POPULATION USA) (%)**

	EAST		NORTH		SOUTH		WEST	
	WE	THEY	WE	THEY	WE	THEY	WE	THEY
<b>TRUMP</b>	33.2	66.8	41.73	58.27	42.69	57.31	34.25	65.75
<b>BIDEN</b>	54.26	45.74	57.22	42.78	71.74	28.66	79.53	20.47

*Table 8: We and they -USA*

In Spain (Table 9), as we had seen in previous oppositions, both speakers treated Spain as a whole and used the same strategy in the different geographical areas. They focused more on conveying their ideas and thus polarizing the population than on appealing to the specific audience of an area.

<b>WE VS THEY (OPPOSITION BETWEEN POPULATION SPAIN)(%)</b>								
	EAST		NORTH		SOUTH		WEST	
	WE	THEY	WE	THEY	WE	THEY	WE	THEY
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	67.9	32.1	65.36	34.64	71.56	28.44	61.4	38.6
<b>ABASCAL</b>	46.9	53.1	35.71	64.29	30.77	69.23	51.28	48.72

*Table 9: we and they in the different geographical areas-Spain*

We also analyzed the space deixis. Although we analyzed all the adverbs and prepositions, the number of occurrences of many of them was very low, so no clear comparison was observed. However, this was not the case with the adverbs “here” and “there” or their Spanish equivalents “aquí” and “allí”.

This created an opposition between the closeness and remoteness that the speaker wanted to indicate to the audience. If we focused on the difference between countries (table 11), it was observed that all politicians used the adverb "here" more than the adverb "there". Therefore, in different cultural contexts, speakers, regardless of country or ideology, preferred to indicate proximity when they performed the persuasive function.

	<b>SPACE ADVERBS (%)</b>	
	HERE/AQUÍ	THERE/ALLÍ
<b>TRUMP</b>	71.3	28.7
<b>BIDEN</b>	84.2	15.8
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	76.83	23.17
<b>ABASCAL</b>	81.39	18.61

*Table 10: here and there- space adverbs*

When we analyzed the geographical areas, we observed that in the United States (table 12 below), Trump and Biden did not change the use of these adverbs, in all geographic areas they used "here" more than "there."

**SPACE ADVERBS USA (%)**

	EAST		NORTH		SOUTH		WEST	
	HERE	THERE	HERE	THERE	HERE	THERE	HERE	THERE
<b>TRUMP</b>	74.3	25.7	78.91	21.09	72.56	27.44	69.98	30.02
<b>BIDEN</b>	71.32	28.68	86.9	13.1	89.56	10.44	87.4	12.6

*Table 11: we and they referring to the people in the USA geographical areas*

In Spain the same thing happened, both speakers used the adverb "here" more than the adverb "there" (table 12). Therefore, with respect to the adverbs of space, it could be said that the polarization is global.

**SPACE ADVERBS SPAIN (%)**

	EAST		NORTH		SOUTH		WEST	
	AQUÍ	ALLÍ	AQUÍ	ALLÍ	AQUÍ	ALLÍ	AQUÍ	ALLÍ
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	77.43	22.5	78.86	21.14	71.49	28.51	78.3	21.7
<b>ABASCAL</b>	84.2	15.8	87.41	12.59	80.6	19.4	81.72	18.28

*Table 12: we and they referring to the people in Spain geographical areas*

As for the demonstratives, if we looked at the context of the different countries (table 13), we saw that in the United States both Trump and Biden used demonstratives that indicate closeness (this and these) more than those that indicate remoteness (that and those). In Spain the same thing happened, both Iglesias and Abascal used more demonstratives that indicate closeness. This indicated that although this opposition between remoteness and closeness existed and was used, all speakers used it in the same way, so in terms of place deixis, it was polarized in the same way globally.

**DEMONSTRATIVES (%)**

	THIS	THAT	THESE	THOSE
<b>TRUMP</b>	64.3	9.8	24.5	1.4
<b>BIDEN</b>	71.82	7.22	17.46	3.5
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	60.9	6.4	26.2	6.5
<b>ABASCAL</b>	61.2	7.27	22.63	8.9

*Table 13: Demonstratives*

Analyzing the context of the different geographic areas (table 14), we observed that in both the United States and Spain, speakers used the same strategy in the different areas, i.e.,



they chose proximity over remoteness. It seems that when politicians constructed the persuasive function, they tended to bring the audience closer to the place where they were talking about.

DEMONSTRATIVES GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS (%)																
	EAST				NORTH				SOUTH				WEST			
	THIS	THAT	THESE	THOSE	THIS	THAT	THESE	THOSE	THIS	THAT	THESE	THOSE	THIS	THAT	THESE	THOSE
<b>TRUMP</b>	63.4	7.2	25.3	4.1	67.2	7.4	21.5	3.9	64.3	8.1	24.7	2.9	62.3	8.9	26.4	2.4
<b>BIDEN</b>	65.71	9.23	18.9	6.16	70.23	6.81	19.43	3.53	72.34	7.28	16.73	3.65	71.41	7.12	17.98	3.49
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	59.8	5.25	26.4	8.55	61.43	6.34	27.85	4.38	60.65	6.31	25.92	7.12	61.94	6.71	26.4	4.95
<b>ABASCAL</b>	65.34	3.2	28.54	2.92	59.89	9.26	21.41	9.44	57.8	9.3	23.65	9.25	61.3	7.85	23.48	7.37

Table 14: Demonstratives in the geographical areas

Regarding time deixis, after a deep analysis we found several adverbs. The most representatives were “today”, “yesterday”, and “tomorrow”.

When we analyzed the use of these adverbs in Spain and the United States (table 15), we observed that there is no difference between them. All speakers focused in a very high percentage on using the adverb “today”. Therefore, they wanted to focus the audience on the moment they were in.

TIME ADVERBS (%)			
	TODAY	YESTERDAY	TOMORROW
<b>TRUMP</b>	83.65	4.05	12.3
<b>BIDEN</b>	87.87	2.57	9.56
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	84.38	4.64	10.98
<b>ABASCAL</b>	86.76	2.9	10.34

Table 15: Time adverbs

When we analyzed the different geographic areas (table 16), we also found no difference between them. In the United States, both speakers used more the adverb “today”. The same happened in Spain. The adverb that represented proximity to the moment of time in which they were prevails.

TIME ADVERBS IN GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS (%)

	EAST			NORTH			SOUTH			WEST		
	TODA Y	YESTERDA Y	TOMORRO W	TODA Y	YESTERDA Y	TOMORRO W	TODA Y	YESTERDA Y	TOMORRO W	TODA Y	YESTERDA Y	TOMORRO W
<b>TRUMP</b>	87.6	2.4	10	88.1	3.9	8	81.2	4.01	14.79	83.4	4.32	12.28
<b>BIDEN</b>	79.89	3.9	16.21	89.64	4.1	6.26	87.31	3.23	9.46	88.2	2.04	9.76
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	87.35	4.1	8.55	88.34	2.3	9.36	82.57	4.2	13.23	81.13	4.14	14.73
<b>ABASCAL</b>	85.34	2.3	12.36	87.2	3.8	9	86.6	2.12	11.28	86.02	2.06	11.92

Table 16: time adverbs in the geographical areas

Regarding the use of verb tenses and how they contrasted them, speakers prioritized the use of the present tense, focusing the audience's attention on the moment in which they were speaking. Secondly, they used the future tense to indicate proposals, and finally, both used the past tense to highlight the actions that they did (examples 13, 14, and 15). Moreover, speakers of both countries used more the present tense (Table 17) than any other verb tense. Therefore, when building deixis to construct the persuasive function, speakers did it in the same way and therefore polarized in the same way globally.

- (13) And I'll tell you what, I fight for you harder than any president has ever fought for anyone, it's not easy. But I love it because we're making tremendous progress.

(Trump in Iowa)

Yo no les quiero pedir el voto yo quiero pedirles simplemente que no se olviden de ciertas cosas que no se olviden de que fuerzas políticas tienen algunos de sus jefes ocupando los escaños de Endesa (Iglesias in Barcelona)

I do not want to ask you to vote, I simply want to ask you not to forget certain things, that you do not forget which political forces have some of your bosses occupying Endesa's seats. (Our translation)

- (14) You know, in 2008 and 2012, we came to y'all, Barack and me, and we asked for your help. You helped us, and each day we were in office, we worked for you and the entire country. I'm going to do that again. (Biden in Wisconsin)

No es posible comenzar a hablar de marzo en ningún lugar de España sin recordar a nuestros compatriotas asesinados en aquel vil atentado, un atentado detrás del que llegó el peor socialismo de Europa el socialismo que pactó con E.T.A. el socialismo que ha traído lo peor y que hoy está al frente del gobierno (Abascal in Murcia)

It is not possible to start talking about March anywhere in Spain without remembering our compatriots murdered in that vile attack, an attack behind which came the worst socialism in Europe, the socialism that made a pact with E.T.A., the socialism that has brought the worst and that today is at the head of the government.

( Our translation)

(15) Look, folks, we got to come together. I'm running as a proud Democrat, but I will govern as an American president for everybody. (Biden in Philadelphia)

TENSES (%)			
	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE
<b>TRUMP</b>	73.46	11.24	15.3
<b>BIDEN</b>	72.34	10.25	17.41
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	75.16	12.4	12.44
<b>ABASCAL</b>	72.78	11.7	15.52

Table 17: Tenses

If we analyze the different geographic areas (table 18), no differences were observed in either the United States or Spain. In both countries, the verb tenses were used in the same way whether in the East, South, North, or West.

TENSES IN GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS (%)

	EAST			NORTH			SOUTH			WEST		
	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE	PRESENT	PAST	FUTURE
<b>TRUMP</b>	71.6	11.56	16.84	72.67	11.05	16.28	74.3	10.89	14.81	73.2	11.14	15.66
<b>BIDEN</b>	72.34	10.45	17.21	71.7	10.2	18.1	72.75	9.98	17.27	72.03	11.6	16.37
<b>IGLESIAS</b>	74.87	13.2	11.93	75.02	12.36	12.62	74.16	11.46	14.38	73.87	12.4	13.73
<b>ABASCAL</b>	72.14	11.81	16.05	71.09	11.4	17.51	72.45	12.01	15.54	72.7	11.3	16

Table 18: tenses in the geographical areas

The second analysis we carried out was to observe, following Bathia (1993), how the different communicative functions that we analyzed shaped the rhetorical structures of the speeches to check whether they polarized the population in the same way globally or modified it depending on the audience. After an in-depth study, no differences were observed either by country or by geographical area. All the political speeches analyzed had three main moves that had been identified as each of them fulfilled a communicative function.

The first move, which we called introduction, was formed by an emotive function. The speakers expressed their gratitude.

The second move was the body. In this move, the speakers made proposals, showed facts, highlighted the negative aspects of their opponents, highlighted the problems of society, did requests, gave opinions, etc. It was mainly persuasive. In it, we always found the same steps and sub-steps. In the different steps, we found problems of the population such as climate change, violence, taxation, immigration, etc. Within each of them, we found the same sub-steps. Like the moves, these sub-steps were identified through the communicative function that each of them fulfilled. First of all, an introduction to the problem, which is made up of an informative function. It informed about what was going to be discussed and data were usually used to do so. Secondly, using a persuasive function, indicated what problem existed and why it existed. Thus, a subjective opinion of the situation was given. This sub-step had been called argumentation. Finally, through another persuasive function, the third sub-step was created,

which consisted of pointing out the measures that were going to solve the problem and indicating how these the measures were innovative and correct.

To finish, the third move we found was called conclusion. We found a persuasive function where the speakers called to action, that was, they asked the audience to support them, to go and vote.

Therefore, it could be interpreted that with respect to the structures that shape the different communicative functions, there was a globalization in the way of polarizing, since both in the countries and in the different geographical areas it was done in the same way.

## **6. Conclusions**

In this MA dissertation, we have done an in-depth analysis of the communicative functions in political speeches and how these are used in the same way or differently in a global way to polarize the population.

First of all, we can conclude that both the emotive and the informative functions are used in the same way globally. In the emotive function, in all contexts, the transmission of emotions prevails, the first person "I" stands out, and it is formed by enunciative, dubitative, or interrogative sentences. In the case of the informative function, a more technical vocabulary is employed, the third person is used, and the sentences are enunciative in which facts or situations are discussed while maintaining objectivity.

However, the construction of the persuasive function differs according to the context. At first glance, in terms of lexical and grammatical features, we find a similarity in the different contexts. In the persuasive function, we detect orders, requests, and advice. Each of them is formed in the same way, with enunciative, imperative sentences. They are all subjective.

Nevertheless, when we analyze the persuasive strategy of deixis, clear differences arise. While the deixis of space and time is used in the same way globally, bringing the audience

closer to the place and time where the speech is given, person deixis differs. We found three different oppositions. The first one refers to the first-person pronouns where the audience is included and the pronouns where it is not. In the different cultural contexts, we observe a difference in their use according to the different ideologies. Speakers who are of extreme right-wing ideology use it with a different frequency than those who are opposed to it. If we focus on the same country, while in Spain no changes are observed, in the United States, depending on the geographical area in which the speakers are located, we see how some pronouns are used with a higher frequency than others. According to the census, we observe that this modification seems to be directly related to the target audience, since depending on the ideology of the population or the number of minorities in the area, speakers use some pronouns more than others. This not only occurs in this opposition but also the other two oppositions found, between the pronoun "royal we" and the pronoun "they" referring to the opposition party and between the pronoun "universal we" and the pronoun "they" referring to foreign persons.

Therefore, it can be concluded that in the persuasive function politicians construct it in different ways to polarize the population. In different countries, politicians with right-wing ideology use it similarly while those who oppose this ideology also use it similarly. If we focus on the different geographical areas of each country, we observe that while in Spain the population is treated as a unit and each party uses the same strategies in all the territories, in the United States they take into account the characteristics of the population of the area and modify the deixis of person to polarize according to these characteristics.

Concerning rhetorical structures, communicative functions give the same structure to all speeches without differentiating between countries or geographical areas. Therefore, politicians polarize in the same way through rhetorical structures globally.

To conclude, regarding the use of the communicative functions, politicians tend to polarize in the same way globally. However, in regard to the persuasive function they modify

person deixis to polarize according to the different ideologies. Moreover, in the United States, they use deixis differently in the different geographical areas taking into account the population they are addressing.

Future studies should study more genres to see if the conclusions drawn in this study extend to them. In addition, other persuasive strategies such as metaphor or modality should be studied since it seems that persuasive strategies are where the differences in audience polarization lie.

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