A Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis of the 2018 Utah Senate Mid-term Election Debate

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Abstract

The present study is centered with the multimodal critical discourse analysis approach of the US 2018 Utah Senate pre- election debate between the two challengers: Republican Mitt Romney (R) and Democrat Jenny Wilson (D). The debate is analyzed according to the eclectic model, adapted from Van Dijk's (2006) Ideological Square Model, complemented with Fairclough's (2003) "Intertextuality" from Critical Discourse Analysis model and Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen's (2006) Visual Grammar framework**.** This study aims to detect and unveil the subtle discursive structures and strategies employed within the transcripts of the two prospective Democratic and Republican candidates' speeches to impress and win the public consensus. The findings of the study reveal that the self-other binary is strongly evidenced in the candidates' speeches and that they employed ideological polarized structures of positive self-presentation of 'US' and negative other-presentation of 'THEM' as means of mind controlling and manipulating the audience through their verbal and nonverbal modalities to win the elections.Conversely, Wilson's excessive dependence on multimodal resources that are not in alignment with the verbal message being delivered result in weakening her message, and perceiving her as less- confident and reliable than her counterpart and losing the race later on.

Keywords: Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis; Political Discourse; Utah Senate Mid-term Election Debate

1. Introduction

Among the themes that have received special attention recently are the 2018 United States Senate midterm elections, which took place in the middle of the Republican president Donald Trump's terms. Although the midterms are usually shrugged off by international audiences, who tend to focus more on U.S. presidential contests, this year is different. Trump's domestic and foreign policies have been a source of outrage, controversy and enthusiasm across America and throughout the world. In other words, 2018 midterm elections are seen as a "referendum on President Trump and his policies" (Serhan, Donadio & Schultheis, 2018, para. 2). Therefore, the make- up of the Congress's two chambers this time and the outcome of the midterms could reduce Trump's powers or might work in his favour. This has plunged U.S. into a cold civil war: a struggle between two nations-within-a-nation "Republic and Democratic Parties" without any room for obvious compromise. If Republicans lose control of either chamber of Congress, the president's domestic agenda will be largely stonewalled on arrival at Capitol Hill. If Democrats win the House, they would be able to decide which bills come to the floor, control the committee chairmanships, and also begin impeachment proceedings against Trump, though they would need a two-thirds majority in the Senate to remove him from office.

On November 2018, the results announced that Republicans kept power in the Senate, in spite of the fact that Trump's deep unpopularity and the historic trend of voters pushing the Democratic Party in power gave Democrats serious advantages to win. It was the first midterm elections since 2002, in which the party holding the presidency gained Senate seats.

Such debates are like boxing sport, prospective political candidates spar their opponents face to face but in a dialogical duel in front of an audience/ television viewers. One of the conspicuous factors that contribute to the success of the political figure is their ability to designate a positive, likeable and trustworthy self- image. Respectively, the speaker will portray their opponents negatively to diminish their chances of winning, appeal to the public, and convince them to vote. To achieve this goal in short and memorable segments, prospective candidates may fall back on an entire spectrum of persuasive strategies by exploiting different modalities (verbal and non- verbal) as powerful means to defeat their opponents and make a difference in voters' decisions. As Teittinen (2000) states, "the winner is a party whose language,

words, terms and symbolic expressions are dominant" (p.1). Thus, as far as the U.S Senate midterm elections is concerned, the account of the battle between the Republican and Democrats for power on Capitol Hill necessitates the candidates of each party to come up with different ideological values, presented in their arguments and body language, to convince the audience of whichever standpoint they took.

It is worth mentioning that much research has been devoted to the study of the U.S. televised presidential debates on the grounds that it reaches large audiences, provides the highest-level elected position and offers researchers a rich resource for examining the discourse strategies candidates employ to win this position. This overwhelming attention to the U.S. presidential debates results in ignoring non-presidential discourse in general and Senate midterm elections, in particular (Brazeal, 2016, p.265).

Hence, in the light of multimodal critical discourse analytical approach (MCDA), the current study attempts to fill that apparent gap and remedy the lack of attention paid to the campaign debates at the U.S. non-presidential level, with a particular focus on the 2018 U.S. Utah Senate midterm pre-election debate between the two challengers Mitt Romney (R) and Jenny Wilson (D).

1.1 Statement of the Problem and Research Questions

The present research focuses on applying an eclectic model, adapted from Van Dijk's (1995, 2006) "Ideological Square Model", Fairclough's (2003) "Intertextuality" from CDA Model and Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen's (2006) "Visual Grammar framework", to find out the enclosed ideologies embedded in Utah candidates' discourse. Accordingly, the present study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What are the discursive structures and persuasive strategies (verbal and non-verbal) adopted by the Utah Senate Republican and Democratic nominees in order to construct the positive agency of the self / negative image of the other and appeal to the rational and emotive perceptions of the voters?
2. To what extent are the winning/losing candidates' verbal persuasive strategies congruent with their non- verbal ones?

1.2 Research Objectives

The current study highlights the value of MCDA approach in examining the US Democratic and Republican pre-election Senate candidates' debate in Utah state for 2018 in order to find out how the candidate of each political party

try to justify their ideas and persuade their audience by utilizing subtle ideological discourse structures in their speech. That is, the eclectic model employed in the present paper is chosen to help cope with the complexity and variability of political discourse. Particularly, this study subsumes the following minor objectives:

1. Exploring the persuasive strategies employed by candidates to form the dichotomy of "us" vs. "them", sketch a positive image of themselves and misrepresent their adversary, on the other.
2. Investigating how the degree of congruence between candidates' verbal persuasive strategies and their non- verbal ones help in delineating Utah election results.

2. The Socio-Political Context of Utah Candidates

Utah Senate debate was the first and only race, which took place on October 9, 2018. It is between the two challengers Mitt Romney, the former Republican presidential candidate (R) and Jenny Wilson (D) a member of the Salt Lake County council to replace Orrin Hatch, who retired by the end of his seventh term, leaving the seat open. The nominees weigh in on a myriad of issues, including gun control, tariffs, healthcare, immigration and President Trump. Candidates' closing statements concluded the debate.

2.1 Romney, Mitt (R) (1947- till present)

According to the "Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-Present" website (n.d. para.1), Mitt Romney was born in Michigan and earned J.D. and M.B.A. degrees from Harvard University in 1975. As a businessperson, he started as an investment consultant founder in 1977. Then, his political career starts when he was assigned to lead the 2002 Salt Lake Organizing Committee for the winter Olympics after the allegations of bribery and misuse of funds revealed. His prominent success paved the way to be the Governor of Massachusetts from 2003 to 2007. He then pursued the Republican nomination for president in 2008 and 2012 but made unsuccessful run for it. It is worth noticing that he holds near-celebrity status as the first Mormon presidential nominee in 2012 and won about 73% of the vote in Utah (Rivera, 2012, Table 1). In 2018, he announced that he was running for the U.S. Senate seat in Utah.

2.2 Wilson, Jenny (1965- till present)

Jenny Wilson was born in Salt Lake City, Utah; she earned her master's degree in public administration from the Harvard Kennedy School. In 2002, she worked for Romney in the 2002 Salt Lake Winter Olympic Games. She started her political career as a county council member in 2005 and championed numerous policy initiatives (Salt lake County Website, n.d. paras.1-3).

Based on the aforementioned profiles, it betrays that both candidates believe that they have what it takes to be the next Utah's senator for many reasons. Though Romney's ties are in Michigan, his 16 years of political experience in a red state, which is dominated by Republicans since 1968 to the time of Midterm elections make it easier for him to pursue his party's agenda to public. Unlike Romney, Wilson is a Uthan; she worked in many private and government sectors and was the first Democratic woman elected to the Salt Lake County Council. It is noticed that during president race in 2016, Trump did relatively poorly in Utah, winning only 45.1% of the vote (The New York Times, 2017, Table 1). Romney himself denounced Trump's policies at the height of the presidential primaries. This might help Wilson to appeal to moderate Republicans and Democrats.

Assuming that the two candidates are equal on paper and in the degree of symbolic power they possess, what differentiates the two candidates are the persuasive strategies employed in their discourse, which the researcher will touch upon in this study.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Definitions of key terms: This section demonstrates some of the basic terms and their definitions that are related to the present study.

3.1.1 Political Discourse Analysis (PDA)

Since this study focuses on analyzing a debate of a political nature, it is a must to explore the definition of political discourse analysis and how it is dubbed in linguistic literature as Political Discourse analysis (henceforth: PDA).

Chilton and Schaffner (2002, p.5) define politics as a sub-category of discourse; it portrays a struggle between those who want to hold on their power and those who aim at resisting it. On the other hand, it is defined as

"cooperation", i.e. a management of conflicting interests over power, money and the like in a nonviolent manner. Political discourse is concerned with discourses that take place in the context of political domain between political actors such as politicians, political institutions, and governments, work to achieve political objectives. (Wilson, 2001, p. 398). Teun A. Van Dijk, (1997, p. 12) states three properties that should be included to classify a discourse as political or not: it is uttered by professional politicians; audience should be involved in the domain from an interactional point of view; and the context must be relevant to politics (p.14). Politicians, in ideological conflicts, seek to secure dominant power, achieve their intended goals, set guidelines on the principles and values of the society, and to obtain authority over the distribution of authority, resources and decision- making process. On this subject, Van Dijk (2005) explains that politics is one of the most prominent social fields that is ideological because power and interests are at stake. In order to win, political groups need to be "ideologically conscious and organized. For him, since the political domain is ideological, then are its discourses" (p. 732). That is to say that discourse is the medium by which ideology is persuasively communicated in society to help re/produce power and domination. This means that discourse structures do not confirm to a fixed decorum, but they are employed to help politicians persuade and gain people's support, manipulate opinions and de/emphasize political attitudes (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 25). For the ideology to be reproduced, it needs an instrumental tool, which is the language. It is clear that language utilization, therefore, is essence in the world of politics by which politicians gain their intended political advantage; political actions are carried through. Van Dijk (2005) states that political ideologies are "acquired, expressed, learned, propagated, and contested by language" (p. 732).

To sum up, political discourse is an effective medium, which is adjusted to gain political advantages such as power. This is done through language, which is re/generated by politicians to exercise political abuse, validate their political claims and raise their approval in the eyes of the public. In this regard, Van Dijk appropriately asserts, "it is crucial to relate such use to such categories as who is speaking, when, where and with/to whom, that is, to specific aspects of the political situation" (2005, p. 733).

3.1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is adopted as a general theoretical framework in the course of the analysis. It is an approach to language study that goes beyond the description of discourse to the explanation of the relationship between discourse and society. For Fairclough (1995), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse research, which aims at exploring "opaque relationships" between the textual practices and language use as social and cultural practices. For Van Dijk (2001, p. 352), Critical Discourse Analysis primary studies "the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context". Van Dijk (1995) believes that the ways discourse manifests these aspects are not always blunt and direct; hence, the aim of CDA is to unveil discursive opaqueness and examine the discursive features involved in the production and reproduction of such social processes (p.18).

3.1.3 Teun A. Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach

The socio-cognitive model of CDA laid solid foundations for Van Dijk's (2006) framework for analyzing political discourse, which is ideology-laden and provides fertile ground for ideological standpoints (Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010). Hence, in order to win political competitions, politicians ideologically need to be cognizant and coordinated (Van Dijk, 2005). Van Dijk's Socio-cognitive approach affirms the salient role of cognition in the interpretation of the cultural and social shared knowledge and ideologies of human beings. This relation is manifested in the discourse-society-cognition triangle framework, formulated by Van Dijk (2001). According to him, discourse refers to the occurrence of any non/verbal communication whereas cognition includes human's personal/ shared beliefs, goals and feelings. Society, for him, is not restricted to the local structures but the global ones as well, namely institutions, movements and any other abstract factors of society. In other words, he states that in order to reach a comprehensive understanding of any discourse, cognition is a fundamental mediation and bridge between the linguistic and social structures; this relationship is depicted through an investigation of the ideological aspects of language (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 162). That is to say that, ideologies are the basis of both sharing the mental representations of social groups on the one hand and controlling their social practices on the other.

In accordance with the three levels, Van Dijk has concluded that social practices can construct or change ideologies; in other words, social actors and members of society contribute actively to the construction or opposition of certain ideologies in order to fulfill their requirements. In this way, the group with a dominant ideology has the power to "neutralize alternative and oppositional views" (Koide, 2012, p. 12); the dominated group accept dominate ideologies as natural or commonsense" (Van Dijk, 2005, p. 729). In other words, ideology is an indispensable key factor for the dominate group to maintain supremacy and power and generalize its view of the world over its less powerful group.

3.1.4 Multimodality

O'Halloran et al. (2013) defines multimodality as an expanding interdisciplinary filed in linguistics, which is based on the integration of language with other non-linguistic features to produce and interpret the meaning created in texts (p.121). The approach and techniques were soon absorbed and become an emerging paradigm in discourse studies, namely Multimodal discourse analysis (henceforth: MDA), which extends and employ language with other resources.

3.1.5 Multimodal Resources

3.1.5.1 Attire and Colour

Colours are a central feature of the political arena. In her book "Off the Cuff", the American psychologist Ann Cooper Reedy (2004) drew attention to the etiquette of political behavior. For instance, she refers to President Regan's brown suit, which was his favorite color. She adds that brown, from a color psychology perspective indicates warmth, friendliness, and approachability. This helped Regan, who was known as a "Great Communicator" to engage voters, reduce intimidating power of the Oval Office and convince viewers that he is an independent thinker who will step over party line and work across the aisle. He does not need to be stereotyped in the blue- gray formal attire (p.115). In the same book, under the section "Color Me Appropriate", she mentions that whereas woman's signature statement is her jewelry; man's tie plays a major role to identify himself. With a focus on ties, the American journalist Roger Mudd wrote a series of articles about President George W. Bush's blue tie in the inauguration speech. He believed that the choice of color did not suit the occasion and was unknown in Washington, D.C. It sent the following message

"I, George Bush, am from Texas. I wear cowboy boots" (2003, para.4). For five of his State of the Union addresses, his insistence on wearing the same blue tie with a dark suit conveys the meaning of loyalty to his state, Texas. Other fashion critics and political pundits over the years have read all sorts of connotations into Bush's ties. For instance, Copper argues that George W. Bush's choice of ties after 9/11 and throughout the war with Iraq was meaningful. He avoids wearing red that would inflame the situation and chooses a series of sky-blue ties that contradict the fear and hatred of war (p.114).

3.1.5.2 Facial Expressions

Expressing emotions is among the most salient means of nonverbal communication. In his book "the Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals", Darwin (1965) argues that emotions are inherited to the extent that they become habitual and then sometimes performed in opposition to the will (p.356). He assures that human's internal experiences are mostly manifested in their emotional displays to express six basic emotions, namely happiness, surprise, sadness, anger, disgust and fear. However, in political arena, those universal emotions are sometimes hidden or convey a different meaning. For instance, Stewart, Bucy and Mehu (2015) analyze smiles expressed by six Republican presidential candidates in 2012 using the Facial Action Coding System (FACS) to analyze the morphological features of the face. The study classifies smiles into six types: amusement, enjoyment, controlled, contempt, posed and fear smiles. Posed smile known as 'fake smile' are employed to express misery and embarrassment; they are manifested by pulling up lip corners. Conversely, enjoyment smile expresses happiness and is characterized by pulling up lip corners and contacting the muscles around the eyes. Regarding amusement smile, it is employed to weaken aggression and stress. This smile is manifested by sounds of laugher, shaking of body and relaxed open mouth. As for the controlled smile employed by President Obama, it might diminish the reassurance attitude and convey a feeling of threat and anger. This type is realized by tightening or pressing lip corners together. Contempt smile known as half smile, is used to violate the norms. It is displayed by pulling a unilateral lip corner and tightening the lip corner. Finally, fear smile indicates submission; it is displayed by pulling lips straight back (pp.76-77). Based on the classification of smile analyzed above, in his comparative study, Wyckhuys (2019) investigates, among other nonverbal gestures, the type of smiles

employed by President Trump and Hitler. The study concludes that in the inauguration speech, Trump smiles seven times only; he employs the contempt smile to give a sense of pride and amusement smile to sound friendly and relaxed with audience. In contrast, Hitler's face is emotionless; he does not smile at all in his speeches and never let his audience predict his emotions (p.116).

3.1.5.3 Gestures

Another common medium of expression is gestures, including the movement of parts of the body, especially hands and/or heads. According to Streeck (2009), understanding the meaning of the hand gesture is associated with the person's culture. For instance, in their book "Nonverbal Communication", Burgoon et.al (2010) shows how the meaning of gestures differs from country to the other. Whereas the "A-OK" gesture means "OK" in the United Sates and "money" or "coin" in Japan (p.164). In political realm, some studies have been carried out on hand gestures and the degree of synchronization between them and linguistic features. kendon (2004) states that there is a relationship between gestures and pronunciation of certain words in utterance. Wyckhuys (2019) examines the hand gestures employed by President Trump in inauguration speeches. The findings show that in the entrance of the inauguration, Trump raised his thumb up while miming the words "thank you" to welcome his audience. In another speech, he claps with both hands and then clench his fists and pump them as a sign of encourage to his public and their strong bond. In addition, while saying "America first", he repeatedly raises his two hands to emphasize his words. In other parts of the speech, he uses his fits to indicate grit and power; he will fight for his people until the end. (pp.107-115).

4. Methodology

The present study follows a multimodal critical discourse analysis drawn upon the eclectic model, adapted from Van Dijk's (2006) *Ideological Square Model*, complemented with Fairclough's (2003) "*Intertextuality*" from CDA Model and Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen's (2006) *Visual Grammar* framework, which is explained in detail in the following section.

4.1 Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model (2006)

In political debates, prospective candidates argue their opponents in an attempt at sketching a positive image of themselves and validating their political claims to raise their approval in the eyes of the public; they misrepresent the opposing party, on the other. This resonates with Van Dijk's claim that "ideologies typically organize people and society in polarized terms". The polarization is based on accentuating negative characteristics of one group and, on the other hand, on accentuating positive characteristics of the other group. Considering that CDA is a problem-oriented, concept, the relation between the groups is often one of confrontation and dispute. The polarization strategy can be used for a justified purpose, but also for purposes of persuasion, legitimation, and propaganda.

This strategy has the following abstract evaluative structure, which he calls the "Ideological Square Model" (1998, p. 33), which is embodied in the data under analysis. Van Dijk has contended that it is along "Us versus Them" dimensions that ideological mental representations are often articulated, where the members of a particular social group generally tend to present other groups in negative terms while present themselves in positive terms. Furthermore, the negative actions of the self are almost always mitigated and then played down, alongside the positive aspects of the other.

These two discursive strategies are materialized through three levels of analysis: meaning, form and action. At the meaning level, Van Dijk (1995, pp. 147-49) reports that ideological discourses will be semantically oriented towards topics and local meanings related to descriptions of self-identity, activity, goal, norm and value, position and relation, as well as resource. At the form level, Van Dijk (2006, p. 126) shows which strategies are utilized: "Syntactic structures and rhetorical figures such as metaphors, hyperboles are used to emphasize or de-emphasize ideological meanings." Finally, the action level includes speech acts, communicative acts and interaction. This theoretical ideological square has been represented by a practical model that Van Dijk offered in (2006, pp. 124-125). These four possibilities form a conceptual square that may be applied to the analysis of all levels of discourse structures. In other words, the boundaries of each category may be fuzzy, and categories will often overlap. Van Dijk proposes many discursive strategies at the meaning and

form levels in his model that will be taken into account in this study (See Table 1).

4.2 Fairclough's Intertextuality and Framing Voices (2003):

In the present study, in order to seek public support and create an effective self- image about themselves and their party affiliation, each partisan candidate through recontextualization, attempts to cause maximum damage to the opposing side and positively emphasize their party (in-group) and negatively de-emphasize the other candidate's party (out-group). Thus, Fairclough's detailed and comprehensive analysis of the intertextuality is a valuable contribution to exposing the dominant ideologies in the examined debates in the present study. It underscores the framing of voices in an antagonist-protagonist structure by investigating, the significant inclusion and exclusion of voices, the formulations of their reported clauses, i.e. types of quotation, the texture of voices in relation to each other, and the order and texture of voices in relation to the authorial voice.

He underscores four ways of reporting. However, two of these are excluded from the analysis of the debates since they are frequently seen in literary language, but not in political debates. The following two types are adopted and employed in the collected data:

- Direct reporting: it helps maintain boundaries between the voices of the reporter and the person reported by quoting what was said directly either by quotation marks or to put a quote in vocal "quotation marks". For instance, (she said: 'He'll be there by now').
- Indirect reporting: the boundaries might be ambivalent and not strongly maintained when the represented discourse is summarized rather than quoted. For instance, (she said he'd be there by then). It is noticed that there is a shift in the tense and deixis of direct reports. Although accuracy about the propositional content of what was said is expected, it may simply reproduce, transform and translate them in to a discourse, which fit more with the reporter's voice.

4.3 Kress and Van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar Framework (2006):

In political discourse, and particularly televised debates, as argued by Poggi (2005), in order to persuade voters with their ideological orientation and policies in short and memorable segments, candidates often exploit different modes of communication, including words, gestures, gaze, facial expression, posture, and body movements. Therefore, in this study, providing a thorough analysis of the senate candidates' spoken language can not be adequately conducted without taking the non-verbal communication into account. Consequently, deploying a multimodal approach that combines language with other modes of communication is crucial for this study to interpret the nominees' communicative style. Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2006) *Visual Grammar* framework, which first appeared in 1996 and was modified in 2006, paved the way for the whole new field of multimodality (Ledin & Machin 2018, p. 24). Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996- 2006) extended and adapted Halliday's (1978) three metafunctions of social semiotic approach as a starting point to study visual images as well. In their book *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (2006), they introduce a thorough and systematic toolkit of the three kinds of visual social semiotic resources they identify and renamed them as *representational* instead of ideational; *interactive* instead of interpersonal; and *compositional* instead of textual. This study will focus only on the main features of the "interactive and compositional meanings" as this will be beneficial in this study.

4.3.1 Interactive Metafunction

The interactive meaning is presented by the patterns of interactions between participants (p. 114). This level is examined in terms of '*image act and gaze*'. This dimension is related to the gaze direction of the represented participants, which can be directed at the viewer (demand) or not (offer). Demands establish an imaginary direct relation with the viewer, which can be emphasized by facial expressions and gestures (pp. 116-118). Offers, on the other hand, has no direct "gaze" with the participants and they address the viewer indirectly. This indirect and impersonal relation is depicted as items of information or objects for contemplation (p.119). Choosing the image act counts

on the degree of engagement or detachment the participants want to establish (116-120).

4.3.2 Compositional Metafunction

Compositional meaning focuses on the interaction meanings of the images to each other; it is examined in terms of *'salience'*. '*Salience'* focuses on foregrounding the elements, which mostly attract the reader's attention than others, including colors, size and position of elements in relation to the background and foreground (pp.179-200).The following subsections will focus on the recurrent multimodal resources, employed by politicians in debates. It will more specifically focus on attires, colors, and two different body parts, which are frequently used to express meaning: the hand and the face.

5. Review of the Literature

A number of studies have investigated U.S senate debates in line with the effect of debate format and viewers' vote choice and perceptions of candidates' image traits. For instance, Philport and Balon (1975), employing MANOVA software (Multivariate Analysis of Variance), examined the interaction and influence of television vs. radio on the incumbent Howard Metzenbaum and challenger John Glenns' images in the 1974 primary Ohio Senate debate. The results indicated that Metzenbaum was more competent than Glen (68% vs. 63%). Conversely, Glen was perceived as more honest (84% vs. 83%), sincere (76% vs. 72%), and trustworthy (81% vs. 79%) than Metzenbaum. Glen's victory might due to idea that viewers count on their ability to know who can be trusted and seems more sincere and honest than what the truth is (pp. 185- 191).

On the other hand, some researchers have extensively analyzed the content of U.S non/presidential candidates' messages from the purview of Benoit's Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse (1999, 2005, 2014), with a focus on candidates' messages in rendering a positive self-presentation and other negative-presentation. This impression of preferability is premised on the analysis of the candidates' utterances according to three functions: acclaims, which indicate the candidate's strength; attacks, which identify the opponent's weakness; and defenses, which respond to refute attacks and reduce one's alleged costs.

Drawing upon Benoit's framework, Airne and Benoit (2005, pp. 347-348) analyzed the 2004 Illinois three Senate debates between Barak Obama and Alan Keyes. They found that the candidates' acclaims were the most common utterances (59%), followed by their attacks (37%) and then defenses (4%). More recently, Benoit et al. (2007, pp-82-83) analyzed the content of 21 U.S. Senate campaign debates from 1994 to 2006. They reported similar percentages: acclaims (56%) were more common than attacks (30%); defenses were the least common function (14%). Counting on their record in the office sought, incumbents acclaim and defend more and attack less using their previous experience, compared with challengers, who prone to focus on incumbent's past deeds to attack more than acclaim.

Some studies have employed the CDA approach in presidential pre-election debates. For example, Palacios'(2018) study explores qualitatively and quantitatively the ideological strategies employed in the 2016 U.S. three presidential debates between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, using the analytical framework of Van Dijk as well as his ideological square (2006). The study has evinced that although the candidates' target is to persuade voters and win elections; their different ideologies resulted into utilizing the linguistic features distinctively. This is manifested in Trump's excessive use of first personal pronoun "I", three part-list, contrastive pairs and interruption to highlight his authoritarian character and misrepresent his opponent's political image. In contrast, Clinton employed audience- inclusive "we" heavily to defend her political stances and avoid bearing the whole responsibility and sharing it with her political party or citizens. Moreover, she avoided interruption and focused more on the moderator's questions to represent herself as a refined person, whose main concern is to improve the life of the American citizens (p.35).

Along similar lines, Muhammed and Flaifel's (2015) study investigates the persuasive strategies employed by Barak Obama (D) and his opponent Mitt Romney (R) to present themselves and reproduce the discourse of manipulation, Orientalism and Islamophobia in the 2012 presidential campaign debates. Adopting Van Dijk's Ideological Square model, the study has revealed that both candidates utilized their manipulative language to highlight the racist ideology and differentiate between the positive self- representations and negative other representation, using metaphor, hyperboles, detailed illustrations, negative lexicalization etc. Moreover, it has been noticed that both candidates kept

derogating the Middle East and World of Islam (the out- group) by their overt racist expressions such as " terrorists", "jihadists", "extremism",etc. (p.18).

As for multimodality, some studies investigated the congruence and/or non-congruence of non-verbal persuasive devices, including gestures, facial expressions and voice with verbal discourse employed in candidates' political debates. For example, Streeck's study (2011) discussed the forms and role-played by hand- gestures in two Democratic Party primary debates during the 2004 presidential campaign. The study indicates that most candidates share the same gesture code, including slice, pointing, ring, and power grip hand gesture; they are synchronized with speech acts. This coordination, in turn, helps provide viewers with information and visualize the process of speech. Yet, the only exception was Howard Dean's permanence raised index finger, which displays him as an instructor and one of superior knowledge. This was responsible for losing some of his popularity and the race later on (pp.182-183).

Similarly, Casasanto and Jasmin (2010) investigate the relationship between hand gestures and the emotional dimension of messages in the 2014 and 2008 US presidential final debates between the two- right-handed Kerry (D) and Bush (R) and two left- handed Obama (D) and McCain (R). The study shows that there is an explicit symmetry between hand gestures and candidate's political affiliation. However, the hand gesture movement varies according to the positive or negative content of the message. Moreover, whereas in left-handed candidates, positive clauses are conveyed by left-hand gestures and negative contents are associated with right-hand gestures, the opposite pattern is found in right-handed adversaries. In other words, the use of gestures here is attributed to bodily characteristics and not politics.

Summing up, the aforementioned studies reviewed signal increased interest in Senate debates as influential communicative events, yet, much of the research is grounded in the field of communication studies rather than linguistics. Moreover, it is noticeable that very few studies have dealt with the Senate candidate's use of language, and to the best knowledge of the researcher of this study, even fewer, if any, have analyzed Senators' use of verbal and non-verbal communicative style during their pre- election debates. Therefore, this present study aims at adding to the growing body of literature on non-presidential political discourse, and, in particular, Senate's discourse. That is, from a MCDA framework, it examines the subtle discursive strategies

employed by Democratic and Republican nominees to sketch a positive self-image and validate their political claims to raise their approval in the eyes of the public, and misrepresent the opposing party, on the other.

6. The MCDA Adapted Eclectic Framework:

The most common conclusion cited in the studies reviewed above is that Van Dijk's framework is comprehensive and proved its effectiveness in the analysis of political debates discourse. Unlike other frameworks proposed in the field of CDA, Dijk's model includes discursive strategies, which are proved efficient in recognizing the fundamental strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, which is the core of the present study. Yet, the model does not include strategies that analyze the multimodal features and might make politician's performance more or less effective and persuasive and in turn establish a positive/negative impression on the audience. Thus, the proposed model focuses on the integration of visual modes of communication and language by adding Kress and Van Leeuwen's Visual Grammar framework as an appropriate analytical tool to analysis of visual devices in the present study.

Hence, in the present study, only the first two levels of analysis 'Meaning and Form' adopted from Dijk's (2006) *Ideological Square* model, with some adaptations that are necessary for the analysis of the examined data. First, under meaning level, *intertextuality* adopted from Fairclough's model (2003) is added. Second, a new level is added called "Multimodal Resources", including facial expressions, hand gestures, postures and color, adopted from Kress and Van Leeuwen's *Visual Grammar* framework. Second, the sound structure, listed under the Form level, is not beneficial in this study. More specifically, the analysis is conducted at the following levels (Table. 1):

Discourse Levels	Discourse Structures	Discourse Strategies/Expressions
GENERAL	Context	Speaker, recipients, occasion
	Text, discourse, conversation	-Positive presentation of Us/ Negative presentation of Them - Emphasize *Our* good things, and *Their* bad things - De-emphasize *Our* bad things, and *Their* good things
MEANING		
	Topics	▪Selection of positive/negative topics about Us/Them
	Local meanings and coherence	▪Positive/Negative Meanings for Us/Them are • Manifestation: Explicit versus Implicit • Precision: Precise versus Vague • Granularity: Detailed/fine versus Broad, rough • Level: General versus Specific, detailed • Modality: We/They Must/Should... • Evidentiality: We have the truth/ They are misguided • Local coherence: based on biased models • Disclaimers (denying Our bad things): 'We are not racists, but...'
	Lexicon	Select Positive/Negative terms for Us/Them (e.g. 'terrorist' versus 'freedom fighter')
	Intertextuality	Borrowing positive/negative meanings for Us/Them from other texts.
FORM		
	Syntax	(De)emphasize Positive/Negative Agency of Us/Them ▪Cleft versus non-cleft sentences ('It is X who...') ▪ Active versus Passive ('USA invades Iraq' vs. 'Iraq invaded by USA') ▪ Full clauses/propositions versus nominalizations (The *invasion* of Iraq).
	Format (schema, superstructure: overall form)	Positive/Negative meanings for Us/Them in •First, dominant categories (e.g. Headlines, Titles, Summaries, Conclusions) versus last, non-dominant categories. •Argumentation structures, topoi (stereotypical arguments, e.g. 'For their own good') •Fallacies that falsely conclude Our/Their Good/Bad things, e.g. overgeneralizations, authority, etc.
	Rhetorical Features	▪ Forms: Repetition ▪ Meanings: Comparisons, metaphors, metonymies, irony; euphemisms, hyperboles, number games, etc.
Multimodal Resources		
		▪Color ▪Facial Expression ▪ Gestures and Posture

Table 1: the Adapted Eclectic Framework Used in the Study

7. Methods and Materials:

7.1 Collection and Description of Selected Debate:

The debate selected here is the 2018 televised Utah Senate race, which took place on the 9th of October 2018. Utah is one the open races, in which challengers run for election when previous incumbents retire or resign for another office. In such races, the competition becomes fair. Both candidates are challengers; usually, both have the same degree of name recognition and experience in the state. A high quality challenger, according to Squire (1989), is determined by the amount of campaign contributions s/he is able to raise and their ability to convince voters to elect them (p.544). Hence, verbal and non-

verbal persuasive strategies play a salient role to persuade voters with their ideological orientation. That is to say that both political parties invest their resources in open race candidates as winning candidate means gaining a seat in the Senate.

The debate is gathered from the *C-SPAN Video Library internet* website, where video and closed captioning (CC) of most U.S. Senate debates are located. The approximate speaking time for each candidate was distributed over several turns. The amount to time per turn was frequently a predetermined length. The size of the debate, in terms of duration and number of words, subtracting the time of advertising, station identification, moderators and questioners who share the floor with candidates by their questions, is summarized in the following table (Table 2):

State	Date of Debate	Candidates	Party	Gender F/M	Time Duration (ms: secs)	Word Count	Others (ms: secs)	Total Length
Utah	October 9, 2018	Mitt Romney * #	R	M	22:53	4597	12:31	55:56
		Jenny Wilson	D	F	20:32	3423		
Total					43: 25	8.020		

# indicates incumbent * indicates winner

Table 2: A Summary of the Debate Selected

7.2 Procedures of Analysis:

The present study is conducted by exploiting the qualitative and quantitative approaches. The selection process is determined by extracts that are representative of the most pertinent persuasive strategies employed either verbally and visually or verbally only, and exclude the ones that are portrayed visually only. In turn, this helps investigate the verbal persuasive strategies employed by each candidate to present the positive self-presentation and then the negative-other presentation in their discourse. It also helps examine to what extent candidates' ideological orientations in verbal discourse are congruent or not by analyzing the multimodal resources, namely facial expressions, hand gestures, and colors involved in the same analyzed extracts. It is worth mentioning that the boundaries of these two steps may be fuzzy, and levels will often overlap and intersect.

Second, as for the multimodal resources, the analysis done as follows. For hand gestures, postures and colors, the analysis is done manually. With regard to facial expressions, the automated software Face Reader (0.1) is employed to

help recognize and evaluate the six basic and universal expressions: happy, sad, angry, surprised, scared, and disgusted. Additionally, this software recognizes a neutral state and analyzes contempt, which are visualized with percentage per emotion in a bar graph next to the image.

Finally, the quantitative analysis is conducted by the corpus tool AntConc (2019, Version 3.5.8), developed by Laurence Anthony to show the occurrence of a given word/phrase in a corpus and how the most frequent words appear in their context, known as 'Key Word In Context' (KWIC) (Anthony, 2014). This, in turn, helps interpret and compare the examined candidates in their usage of linguistic features objectively.

8. Analysis of the Data:

This section analyses the positive self- presentation and then the negative –other presentation in the discourse of each candidate at the three levels, namely meaning, form and multimodal levels.

8.1 Positive Self-Presentation in Romney and Wilson's Discourse:

According to the ideological square, positive self-presentation is achieved by accentuating self-positives and minimizing self-negatives.

8.1.1 MEANING LEVEL:

8.1.1.1 Topics:

At the meaning level, even though the choice of topics is determined by moderators, Romney selects topics to construct a positive self- image as being a Republican former governor, whose philosophy revolves around handling some issues at the state rather than the federal level, namely gun laws and healthcare. In contrast, Wilson represents herself as a moderate candidate, who is willing to step over party line and work across the aisle to find fresh approaches to problems. This entails stressing her collaboration with bipartisan colleagues from the two parties to do what is good for the state and voicing the need for bipartisanship and civility in Medicare and Social Security issues.

8.1.1.2 Local Meanings and Coherence:

Here the coherence issue centers on the meaning of being a Conservative Republican versus a problem – solver candidates. For instance, when Bruce Lindsey, the moderator, asks them, in their introductory statements, about the

reason behind running for the seat, Romney says: "I'm a conservative, I'm a Republican" (See Appendix, Extract 1). He starts his argument boasting about his political identity and stances as a 'conservative and Republican', manifested in the repetitive use of first person pronoun 'I'. This invokes a picture of a politician of power, reminds voters of his former political record as the first Mormon 2012 presidential nominee and appeals more to Mormons voters who makes up 62.8%, according to the U.S. Census Bureau (Canham, 2017, para.20). He then calls for his conservative principal about the need for small governments when he says: "we should have smaller government and lower taxes… the best thing we can do to reign in the excessive spending is to take a lot of programs in Washington and eliminate them" (See Appendix, Extract 1). Associating the positive comparative forms "smaller and lower" with "government and taxes" strength his political stance and convey the idea that the current administration is a complete failure and the direct reason for tax increase. In addition, shifting from the first person pronoun 'I' to the 'exclusive we' followed by the positive lexical items "reign in, eliminate and send back" express his institutional identity as a representative of an authoritative, powerful and active party, which lays the responsibility for controlling "the excessive spending" and making significant changes. Romney urges his audience to reach a conclusion that he is the best option to be elected as a Senator. The usage of modal auxiliary verbs such as "should", and "can", which are in the category of median obligation and low inclination (Halliday, 2004), plays a crucial role in representing the determination and ability of Romney and his party to emphasize the validity of their proposition to potential audiences. With a focus on his facial expressions when saying 'excessive spending', Face Reader's analysis (Fig. 1) indicates that he sounds confident and restraint about his statement, manifested in neutrality and happiness signs. His fear of such an overspending is encoded in the appearance of scare, mixed with a surprise sign, to grab attention if voter's mind is wandering and help him get people on his side. He enhances this sense with fluttering open palms, wide spread fingers and raised eyebrows. This displays his credibility and honesty (Pease, 2004, p.24) and how spending rate goes beyond the normal and assure the failure of the federal approach.

He then employs the fallacy of generalization strategy, manifested in shifting from first person to repetitive collective noun "Utah" coupled with the mental verb "know" to persuade voters to follow his ideology and assert the need for individual states like Utah to be empowered to run their traditional national programs. The use of the phrasal verb "take care" (See Appendix, Extract 1) followed by the repetitive possessive pronoun "our" assures his call to exclude Washington from solving Utah's local problem. This resonates with the high degree of restraint encoded in Face Reader's analysis (Fig. 2) when saying 'Utah knows', mixed with surprise and combined with a palm- down gesture to project immediate local authority (Pease, 2004, p.36) and confirm that Utah does not need any more interference and is capable of handling its issues.

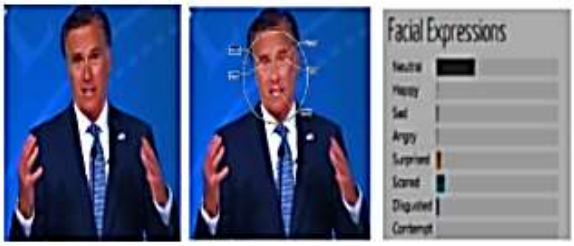

Fig.1.Romney's facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying "excessive spending"

Fig. 2. Romney's facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying "Utah know"

In her response, Wilson compensates her limited political experience when she states "I am a fifth generation Utah -- I am from here. I'm from here and I'm proud to serve on the Salt Lake County Council where we work across party lines" (See Appendix, Extract 2). Wilson repeatedly emphasizes her strong bond with people by referring to her status as a native Utahan through the first person pronoun 'I' followed by the spatial adverb "here". This implicitly reminds her voters of Romney's ties as a native Michigan. With a focus on her facial expressions when saying ' I am from here', Face Reeder's analysis (Fig.3) encodes happiness to a great extent, combined with hands at a 90-degree angle with her fingers together to exclude Romney, whom she considers a carpetbagger and remind voters that she is honest and more competent than him (Pease, 2004, p. 27). Yet, unlike her opponent, her happiness does not disguise her perplexity and lack of confidence encoded in scare sign; this might be attributed to the fact that being from Utah is an insufficient factor to win Romney's 16 years of political experience. She attempts at hiding her bafflement by showing surprise sign to engage people and get them on her side. Then, she refers to her approach as a moderate politician who strives to connect

with and understand people, using the metaphorical expression "work across party lines" and material verbs "reached and engaged" (See Appendix, Extract 2). This presents her as an active politician, who is ready to work with anyone for the sake of people's interests. She then declares her endorsement of the notion of change when she says: "I have heard on some doorsteps that we need to break up the old boys club" (See Appendix, Extract 2). Deploying the metaphorical expressions "heard on doorsteps", followed by the 'inclusive we' to involve not only the government but also the whole country as a way of reinforcing her advocate on behalf of the whole state for a new generation leader. This gives the sense that people look for a change and Romney is not a suitable option to elect. She plays the gender game and appeals to women voters by painting herself as a fighter who aims at dismantling male-dominance in the Senate using the metaphorical expression "old boy's club". With a focus on Face Reader's analysis (Fig.4), there is a low degree of happiness, combined with a fingertip- touch gesture and a lip coroner tightened as an attempt at assuring her intention to deconstruct the masculine dominance and present herself as a goal-oriented and focused politician (Pease, 2004, p.39). The appearance of disgust might connote people's anger and resentment towards their adversary and his dominant party. However, her hand gesture is incongruent with the lack of confidence and fear manifested in the appearance of very low degree of neutrality and scare signs encoded in the analysis. This might weaken her message.

8.1.1.3 Modality

Both candidates attempt to employ modality to enhance their positive images. Romney, for example, in his talk about health insurance and immigration issues, he says 'I think we have to have an e- verify system…' and 'They

Fig.3.Wilson's facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying "I am from here"

Fig. 4. Wilson's facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying "break up old boys club"

can't be denied health insurance as a result of a pre-existing condition'. In the former examples, he employs the modal verbs 'have to' and 'can't' to indicate

a high degree of obligation and commitment about his political stance and support for asylum seekers and pre-existing conditions. This enhances his positive- image as a reliable and competent candidate. With a focus on his facial expressions while saying ' can not be denied', Face Reader's results (Fig. 5) shows a high degree of confidence and restraint, manifested in the appearance of a high degree of happiness, mixed with a very low degree of surprise to grab voter's attention to his talk.

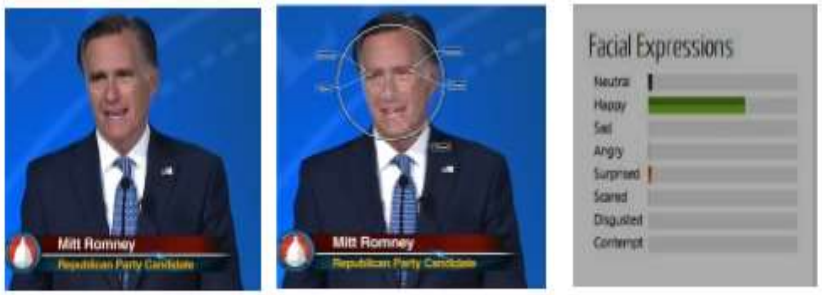

Fig. 5. Romney's facial expressions and analysis of his look while saying 'can't be denied'

In contrast, on a question about immigration, Wilson says: "I believe that we can find solutions to bring people out of the shadows to help asylum seekers'. She employs the hedging verb 'believe' to express her personal opinion. However, using the median auxiliary verb 'can' followed by the positive lexical items 'solutions and invest' might weaken her message and diminish her credibility and commitment to help asylum seekers. Similarly, in her closing statement, Wilson says: "my mission when I serve you in the Senate is advancing the health, security and welfare… I will work for you". Listing the three crucial issues 'health, security and welfare' in one sentence is an attempt to urge people reach a conclusion that she is the best option for them. However, using the median auxiliary verb 'will' to promise voters that she will exert her utmost effort to help improve all crucial crisis and serve people in Utah shows a median degree of personal commitment, determination, and willingness to overcome obstacles impeding national unity and stability. This might weaken her message and give a sense that she is not sure about her promises and not qualified enough to count on. With a focus on her facial expressions while saying 'I will', Face Reader's analysis (Fig.6) displays a high degree of surprise, mixed with a mild degree of scare, mixed with a very low degree of neutrality. She tries to hide her lack of confidence and feeling of insecurity by grabbing attention if voter's mind is wandering and convince them to elect her.

Fig. 6. Wilson's facial expressions and analysis of his look while saying 'will work for you'

8.1.1.4 Disclaimer

Another important point expressed in the Meaning Level is "disclaimer" where both candidates employ to deny his negative deeds. When the moderator asks Romney about lowering taxes for wealthy people, Romney employs the first person pronoun "I" followed by the epistemic modal verb "not going to" in the negative form to express his intention of opposing the 2017 Republican Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, which called for "lower taxes for rich people" (See Appendix, Extract 3). However, since his criticism might result in undercutting republican voters, he shows his support for one of its parts, namely cutting taxes for corporations through the apparent disclaimer 'but' when he says: "But I do believe that bringing the corporate tax rate down … was essential". He justifies his partial support for the Act by deploying the 'argumentum ad consequentiam' fallacy when he says: "to keep companies from leaving our country… and taking away our jobs" (See Appendix, Extract 3). Associating the negative verbs 'leave and take away' with the lexical items "country and jobs", proceeded with the possessive pronoun 'our' highlight the foreseeable negative consequences that might happen if the Act is not carried out. This heightens voters' sense of fear of losing their jobs and brings about the acceptance of his political stance.

As for Wilson, when the moderator asked her about Utah's water issue and the regulations that should be taken in one of the driest states, Wilson associates the lexical item "key" with the positive lexical items "growth and development" (See Appendix, Extract 4) to emphasize her total support for the infrastructure program. However, after highlighting the importance of this step, she employs the apparent disclaimer when she says, "But we are at a really tough point right now…we're in disputes with other states" (See Appendix, Extract 4). Using the negative lexical items 'tough and disputes' elicits fears and concerns in voters. She then suggests the solution when she

says, “this is an opportunity to come together in the Senate” (See Appendix, Extract 4). She urges the voters to reach the conclusion that she is the only outlet as being a moderate candidate, she is ready to step over the party line and work with anyone to solve this critical issue, unlike her opponent who might put partisan politics and interest over people’s needs.

8.1.1.5 Intertextuality:

Both Romney and Wilson count on intertextuality to enhance their stances and avoid full responsibility as well. On a question about the way allegations against Kavanaugh were handled by the Senate, Romney says: “I will mention what Chief Justice Roberts said and that was that this process is awful. The process for confirming a nominee to the Supreme Court is simply a mess” (See Appendix, Extract 5). Romney expresses his displeasure of the process, employing transformed indirect reporting, released by quoting the conservative Republican Chief of Justice, John Roberts’ words “the process is not functioning very well” (Liptak, 2016, para.5). Citing an authority figure presents his Romney’s stance as a shared knowledge and helps avoid taking the burden of full responsibility for such strong negative evaluations. Instead of using exact or near synonym for the phrase ‘is not functioning well’, he describes the process that is not working properly, describing it with the harsher negative adjective “ awful” to resonate with the lexical term ‘ mess’ he uses to express his personal stance. He then uses the ‘trajectio in alium’ strategy to lay the blame on “both parties” (See Appendix, Extract 5) for what he negatively described as ‘abuse’, which infers that the process has become politicized and that the justices’ decisions are guided primarily by their partisan affiliation. Prefacing the claim with the hedging verb ‘think’, followed by the modal verb ‘can’ helps him softening something potentially very damning while at the same time making a strong claim within the proposition. With a focus on his facial expressions, Face Reader’s analysis (Fig. 7) encodes a high degree of restraint, mixed with a mild happiness, combined with a flutter of left opened palm from side to side to confirm and distribute the responsibility on both parties.

Fig. 7. Romney’s facial expressions and analysis before and after saying ‘both parties are blamed’

As for Wilson, on a question about education and whether taxes on gasoline should be increased to help fund education or not, she expresses her criticism, deploying direct reporting form, realized by quoting one of the teacher's words " I just need air conditioning. My students can't learn. that is not a landscape for success for your teachers or our students." (See Appendix, Extract 6) to express the lack of resources in classrooms. Using the direct form denies any transformation of his words and enhances her stance about the necessity of providing schools with sufficient resources to improve the learning environment. Also, presenting an anonymous social actor prefaced with the generic reference, the indefinite article 'a' protects her from accountability as the incident could not be proven false and the only possible avenue is to believe it. This resonates with the Face Reader's analysis (Fig.8) that shows a mild degree of suspires, mixed with fear to convey the unbelievable degree of insufficient supplies. Yet, this does not match with the palm-closed with finger pointed gesture, which shows disrespect. This lack of congruence weakens her statement and credibility that someone has said this comment.

Fig. 8. Wilson's facial expressions and analysis before and after saying 'I had a comment'

8.1.2 Format:

8.1.2.1 Syntax:

Moving to the **level of form**, both Romney and Wilson excessively employ active voice as in the following excerpts:

- "I did serve as governor in a state where my legislation was 89% Democrat".
- "we balance the budget every single year as governor and put in place over $1 billion in a rainy day fund. And I cut taxes 19 times with the help of a Democrat legislature. We worked together".

It is noticed that the frequent use of the active voice realized by the first personal pronouns 'I' followed by the emphatic auxiliary verb 'did' and evidentiality by referring to himself in terms of his occupation 'governor.

Romney emphasizes his positive agency to invoke a sense of individual power and responsibility as a governor, whose legislations are supported by Republicans and Democrats, manifested in the number game '89%'. However, in certain statements, he shifts from active to passive voices to avoid blaming and divide the responsibility across more parties as in the second example.

- "I have had the opportunity to work for Bill Orton years ago. He was a true deficit Hawk".
- "I support focuses on comprehensive compassionate and Family Centre. I do think this is the difference between us."

8.1.2.2 Argumentation Structures:

As for the argumentation structures, both candidates employ different arguments to clarify their stances about Medicare and social security issue. Romney employs the fallacy of 'generalization' when he says: "Republicans and Democrats can come together and say loud and clear that we are going to make sure that everybody in America has access to good health care" (See Appendix, Extract 7) to construct a positive self-image as a supporter of a comprehensive healthcare in general. This is manifested in connecting Republicans and Democrats with the conjunction 'and' and pronoun 'everybody' to avoid blame and divide the responsibility across the two parties. With a focus on the analysis when saying 'focuses on', Face Reader's result (Fig. 9) displays neutrality, mixed with anger, disgust and surprise to signify his resentment and reinforce the responsibility of the two parties. However, putting the blame on his Party does not make Romney comfortable, which is reflected in the scare sign encoded. He also explicitly criticizes the Affordable Care Act, using the repetitive first personal pronoun 'I' followed by the lexical items "fight for, not support, strip away" (See Appendix, Extract 7). This implies that the current healthcare system does not work as constructed; it is flawed and financially unaffordable for everyone. He continues his argument touting his political record, manifested in his reference to himself as a former governor, followed by the frequent use of the possessive pronoun 'own' to stress the call for an upcoming effective healthcare bill determined by individual states that would actualize this approach. He finishes the rebuttal employing the topos of advantage fallacy, realized by the first conditional if coupled with a reference to the Republican Party in the active voice to refer a hypothetical situation where Republican regain control of both the Senate and House. Creating this scenario

in the present simple 'have and are going to' coupled with the number game " $75,000" express the high possibility of the future in which the outcome is likely to be actualized and communicate to the audience that they need to vote for him if they want to see his promise fulfilled. This resonates with the mild degree of confidence, mixed with surprise encoded in the face Reader's analysis (Fig. 10), and combined with a palm turned to face downwards to project immediate authority and confirm that Republican's proposal will provide accessible healthcare coverage for everyone (Pease, 2004, p. 36).

Fig. 9. Romney's facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying "come together"

Fig.10. Romney's facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying "gonna provide support"

Unlike her opponent, Wilson shows her support of protecting pre-existing conditions, employing the 'argumentum ad populum' fallacy. This is manifested in narrating a personal story about her son's surgery when she states: "I can see my son… He is so healthy and happy now but at six months old, he needed open-heart surgery. We were shocked. We had insurance" (See Appendix, Extract 8). This helps her engage voters emotionally and reinforce the effectiveness of the program. Describing their status as "shocked" followed by the lexical word 'insurance' indicates how this program is like a savior and saves their son's life. This resonates with the analysis of her facial expressions in Fig. (11). Face Reader's results display neutrality to sound confident. Tracing disgust and contempt signs in the analysis might elicit voters' resentment and hostility towards those who call for repealing the program. Yet, this does not help hide the scare sign, in concert with her palms gripping the podium, which might reflect her insecurity and bafflement. Then, she stresses her advocate of a modified program through the first person pronoun 'I' followed by the modal verb 'will' to show the high possibility of the future in which the outcome is likely to be actualized once she is elected as a senator, who will fight for Utah's rights. With a focus on her facial expressions, Face Reader's results (Fig. 12) show a mild degree of disgust mixed with confidence and combined with a fingertip- touch gesture and a lip coroner tightened as an attempt at stressing her

intention to stand against any attempts to repeal the program. Yet, the degree of comfort does not hide the tense and nervousness encoded in the appearance of scare sign, which, in turn, might weaken her message and trustworthiness.

She backs her standpoint when she says: "When John McCain had that heroic down vote. That was a critical moment for our history because I can't imagine the chaos of starting over… We have a lot of missionaries coming home here in Utah. We have people starting their careers a little late" (See Appendix, Extract 8). She deploys evidentiality strategy, realized by her reference to the authority figure the Republican 'John McCain', who was one of the three republicans who heroically voted against the GOP 'Skinny Repeal' health care bill in 2017 to repeal Obamacare (Caldwell, 2017, para. 2). Referring to McCain's political stance as 'heroic' followed by the negative lexical item 'chaos' infers that repealing the program will result in disruption and devastating effects and communicate to voters her willingness to pass open space bonds and follow his approach. Similarly, she finishes her argument using the 'topos of advantage', realized by referring to "missionaries and people" to show the negative impact and threat of repealing the program on Mormons' preachers in particular and people in general. This might urge people to reject the Republican plan and support her call for adjusting and reforming it to remain solvent.

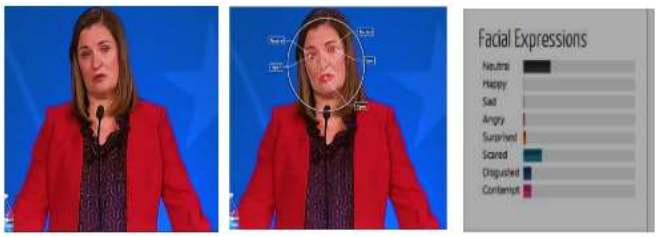

Fig. 11. Wilson's facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying "had insurance"

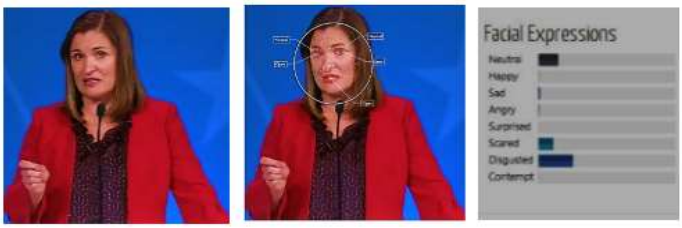

Fig.12.Wilson's facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying "will fight for"

8.1.2.2 Rhetorical Structures:

Unlike previous debates, both candidates do not count on repetition profusely except in few parts. For Romney, he repetitively double down on handling Utah's issues at the state rather than the federal level and drawing a contrast between himself and his opponent by reminding voters of his political experience as a former governor as in

- "send them back to the states"

- "I served as governor"

As for Wilson, she stresses her ties to remind voters that Romney is a carpetbagger by repeating the sentence 'I am from here. I'm from here'.

The results of the quantitative analysis of the two candidates' positive representation employed in their discourse are presented in the table below.

Positive Discursive devices				Mitt Romney Recurrence in Numbers	Jenny Wilson Recurrence in Numbers
Personal Pronouns	First Person Pronoun	Singular	I/Me/ Mine	132	132
		Plural	Inclusive "We/Us/Our"	10	60
			Exclusive "We/Our"	80	46
Modality	Auxiliary Verbs	Will, would, should, have to, going to, can, could		64	26
	Lexical Verbs	think, believe, know		40	45
Lexicalization				80	55
Evidentiality				2	5
Disclaimers				5	5
Intertextuality				3	3
Active versus Passive				65	40
Fallacies				10	8
Repetition				7	8
Metaphors				5	7
Number Games				7	5
Total				510	445

Table 3: Recurrences of the positive persuasive strategies employed by the candidates

8.2 Negative Other-Presentation in Romney and Wilson's Discourse:

In the ideological square, the negative other presentation is manifested through minimizing other's positives and highlighting their negatives. In a mostly cordial exchange of perspectives, Both Romney and Wilson attempts to project an image of lack of confidence, doubt and unreliability for each other.

8.2.1 MEANING LEVEL

8.2.1.1 Topics:

Wilson chooses negative topics to criticize Romney for his inconsistent policy positions regarding gun control, immigration and Trump's policies. Similarly, Romney distorts her political image as a neophyte nominee and attacks her Party's negative stances that revolve mainly around federalism and lead to nothing in the same issues addressed above.

8.2.1.2 Local Meanings:

At the meaning level, Romney criticizes his opponent's advocate of a federal gun- legislation saying "You know when I served as governor, I saw the people on the right and the left relating to guns" (See Appendix, Extract 9). He uses the 'argumentum ad verecundiam', manifested in the first person pronoun 'I' followed by his reference to his former position as a 'governor' to indicate that, unlike his neophyte nominee, he is trustworthy and his criticism is out of former experience. He dismantles the federal approach the two parties has followed to solve the control gun issue. He expresses his opposition using the negative lexical terms "fashioned and one-size- fits all" (See Appendix, Extract 9) to infer that the national legislation has been designed in a standard way that conforms to all states; but it is not tailored to Utah's needs. This resonates with the results of his facial expressions while saying 'one-size fits all'. Face Reader's analysis (Fig.13) shows a mild degree of satisfaction, mixed with contempt and combined with palm-down gesture with straightened fingers to show the other party's dominance and authority. This might elicit voter's anger, urge and necessity to change this approach.

He then shifts from the first person pronoun to the first plural pronoun 'we' followed by the gerund verbs "honoring and managing" (See Appendix, Extract 9) to enhance his belief of the Second Amendment as a basic fundamental right of every American and that individual states should be empowered to set their own policies. The shift helps him deflect any individual responsibly and reframe the talk as a collective demand. With a focus on his facial expressions, Face Reader's analysis (Fig. 14) displays a high degree of restraint, mixed with satisfaction and combined with a fingertip- touch gesture by pressing his thumb into the middle joint on his index finger and curling his fingers into their palm. This might help him stress the authority of the Second Amendment, get people on his side, and present him as a focused and goal-oriented politician (Pease, 2004. p.39).

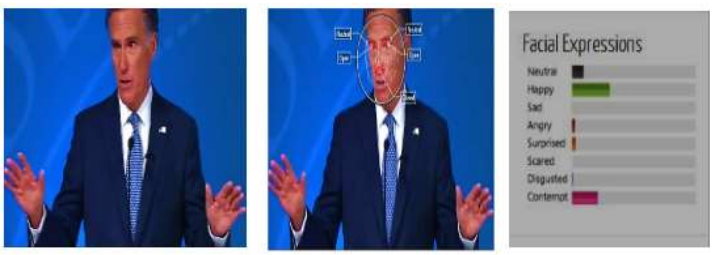

Fig.13.Romney's facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying "one size fits all"

Fig. 14. Romney's facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying "honoring

In contrast, Wilson disagrees and attempts at presenting Romney as a flip-flopping candidate who shifts his political positions during his past electoral campaigns. She uses the same strategy 'the argumentum ad verecundiam', manifested in direct reporting form, quoting Romney's words twice. The first was in 2004, as a former governor of Massachusetts, when he describes assault weapons as "instruments of destruction with the sole purpose of hunting down and killing people" (Koppelman , 2012, para. 8) (See Appendix, Extract 10). This resonates with the analysis of her facial expressions while saying "this was your office" (See Appendix, Extract 10). Face Reader's results (Fig. 15) display a mild degree of confidence, mixed with contempt and combined with a palm facing up, which is used as a submissive gesture, to assure that these words are said by Romney (Pease, 2004, p. 36). Then, she quotes his words in 2008 presidential campaign when he says, "he would have signed the federal assault weapons ban', which he totally refuses in his argument (Williams, 2012, para.26) (See Appendix, Extract 10). She backed her argument by invoking Las Vegas's shooting at Mandalay Bay Hotel, where 59 killed by a gunman who kept in his room 10 guns (BBC News, 2017, para.1). She engages the voters emotionally and distorts Romney's image as an unscrupulous candidate, who is willing to do anything in order to get elected. In a satire tone, she uses the moniker "Multiple-choice, Mitt", followed by the number game, manifested in the four alphabet letters 'A, B, C, or D' to assure Romney's inconsistency and that she does not know which stance he supports. With a focus on her facial expressions when saying 'in the 2008', Face Reader's analysis (Fig. 16) displays a mixture of confidence and resentment, combined with a fingertip-touch gesture to emphasize her claim and Romney's inconsistent political stances (Pease, 2004, p.39). The appearance of anger sign encoded in her analysis and looking down while talking might result from Romney's repetitive look whenever she attacks him, which is full of confidence and contempt (Fig. 17). It seems that his look makes her uncomfortable, shakes her self- confidence and weakens her message. As for names, Wilson's casual utterances of Romney by repeating his first name 'Mitt' twice signifies that the speaker regards her opponent as a series of givens. She knows well with whom she deals. Consequently, so will the audience.

Fig.15.Wilson's facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying "this was your office"

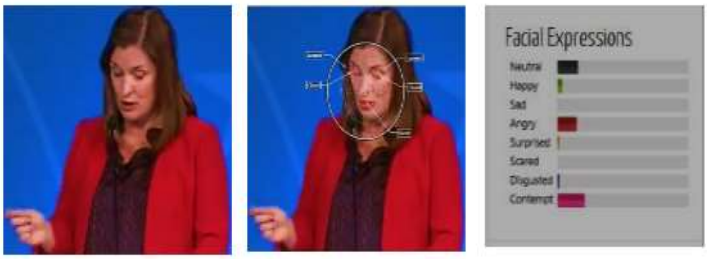

Fig. 16. Wilson's facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying "in the 2008"

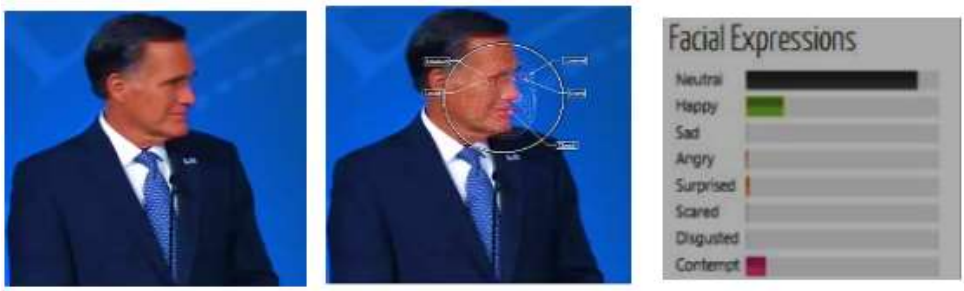

Fig. 17. Romney's facial expressions and results while Wilson is talking

On a question about federal spending and tax cut, Wilson opposes Romney's tax cut plan, depicting its disastrous impact on people through the personification 'the wealthy disparity is killing us" (See Appendix, Extract 11). This gives the sense that Romney's proposal is principally benefit the wealthy and borne on the backs of Americans who need those programs most. Again, she backs her criticism, using number game ' $2 trillion' followed by the contrast conjunction 'while' and the direct reporting form by quoting his words when he describes himself a 'deficit hawk'. The irony here is that being a 'deficit hawk' means that Romney places great emphasis on keeping government budgets under control, but at the same time, he supports the GOP tax cuts which call to the increase of the budget with a $2 trillion . This contrast might diminish Romney's strength and credibility, which she negatively describes as 'not genuine'. This resonates with the analysis of her facial expressions while saying that. Face Reader's results (Fig. 18) show high degree of surprise combined with a fingertip- touch gesture to grab attention if voter is wandering, emphasize that Romney's description contradicts the status quo, engender voters' negative attitude and disdain towards his opponent. Yet, the

hand gesture is incongruent with the low degree of restraint encoded; this might be attributed again to Romney's look while she talks. In a satire tone, she considers Romney's plan as a mirage, using the phrase 'alternative universe' to indicate that his plan is a nonstarter for him as a Republican.

Fig. 18. Wilson's facial expressions and results before and after saying 'you are a deficit hawk'.

As for Romney, he justifies his support of the GOP tax cut. Unlike previous arguments, he uses the first person plural pronoun 'exclusive we' when he says: "we are certainly not going to change Medicare or Medicaid or Social Security for our seniors" (See Appendix, Extract 12) to highlight the institutional identity and collective responsibility, especially in critical issues like tax cut. He assures that the plan aims at changing and not abolishing these programs, using the positive lexical term 'modernized, which includes the meaning of reform. He refutes Wilson's attack through the prosperity frame. He associates the reduction of national debt with the economy growth, evoking the frame by positive lexical comparative words such as "better jobs and higher wages". These are possibly the words that Romney would like voters to think about, when his tax cut plan comes to mind. He softens his strong claim using the negative term "old and unnecessary" to justify his call to abolish the Affordable Care Act and change Medicaid. This resonates with the high degree of restraint encoded in the Face Reader's analysis (Fig. 19) and combined with the two thumbs up ok sign as an indicative of assertiveness, authority and confidence that people's standard of living will be much better (Pease, 2004, p. 98).

Fig. 19. Romney's facial expressions and results before and after saying 'higher wages'.

8.2.1.3 Disclaimer:

Another important point expressed in the Meaning Level is "disclaimer" where the two candidates employ to highlight their opponent's negative deeds.

When the moderator asked Wilson about the federal budget deficit, Wilson says: "I would be willing to discuss everything" (See Appendix, Extract 13). She expresses her willingness to negotiate all reforms, employing the first person pronoun 'I', followed by the modal auxiliary verb 'would' to emphasize her determination to step over party line and work with anyone. However, since her support for the opposing party might result in undercutting the democratic voters, she employs the apparent disclaimer 'but' followed by the negative form 'not' and the metaphor 'on the backs of our seniors' to show her total rejection of any reforms that are borne on the backs of Americans who need those programs most. This helps criticize negative impact of the Republican Act and assure her moderate political image and readiness to do anything for the sake of people's interests.

When Romney was asked about tariffs, he expresses his support, using the apparent disclaimer, in which he repetitively first assures the effectiveness of trade for Utah and the whole nation by repeating the sentence "trade is good for Utah and trade is good for the nation" (See Appendix, Extract 14). He continues using the contrast conjunction 'but' to attribute its negative impacts to other trade partners like 'China' who do not follow the rules. This helps him mitigate and distance Trump's policies from being the main responsible for such disaster and put the blame on others. With a focus on his facial expressions, Face Reader's analysis (Fig. 20) shows a high degree of restraint, combined with a palm- down position to project and assure China's authority and power on trade (Pease, 2004, p.36).

Fig.20.Romney's facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying "but we find countries

8.2.2 FORM LEVEL:

8.2.2.1 Syntax:

Moving to the **level of form**, both Romney and Wilson excessively employ **active voice** as in the following excerpts:

- "I did serve as governor in a state where my legislation was 89% Democrat"
- "I'm glad you mentioned that part that I also described"
- "I totally agree with Mrs. Wilson"
- "let's take the dollars that have been sent to Washington for housing bring them back to Utah"

It is noticed that the frequent use of the active voice is realized by the first personal pronouns 'I' and/or evidentiality by referring to himself in terms of his occupation as a 'governor'. Romney emphasizes his positive agency to invoke a sense of individual power and responsibility as a governor, whose legislations are supported by Republicans and Democrats, manifested in the number game '89%'. As for names, Romney employs 'you' 'to address his opponent and audience. However, he makes frequent explicit generic reference to the audience members more than to his opponent. He, also, only once addresses her using the title 'Mrs.', which is usually used to refer to a married woman, or a woman who has been married, without a higher, honorific, or professional title. This gives the sense that he intentionally minimizes her presence and presents her as an incompetent candidate, who does not have his long political experience. However, in certain statements, he shifts from active to passive voices to avoid blaming and divide the responsibility across more parties as in the final example.

As for Wilson, it is noticed that the frequent use of the active voice, invoked by the second person pronoun 'you' as an agent aims at constructing the cudgel to beat her opponent with and confirm his total involvement and responsibility for his political deeds and stances. Similarly, she employs the passive voice and backgrounds the agent as in the second example to avoid denouncing the two parties and reframe the talk into a collective responsibility.

- "In the 2008 presidential campaign you stated that you would sign a federal assault weapons ban"
- "… the broken policies that are harming us"

8.2.2.2 Argumentation:

As for the argumentation structures, both candidates employ different arguments to paint an unfavorable picture of the opposition. For instance, the two spar with each other at Trump's trade policies.

Wilson criticizes Trump's trade policies when she says: "We know that tariffs are hurting our pocketbooks. They are hurting our workers. They are hurting our AG industry" (See Appendix, Extract 15) by starting her argument with the first person plural pronoun 'we' followed by the mental verb 'know' to include all people and presuppose that she is saying a shared knowledge; all Utahans agree with her. She then counts on the 'argumentum at consequentiam' and 'generalization' fallacies to highlight the disastrous consequences of these policies. She metaphorically mentions the impacts of trade on pockets, workers and agriculture industries in three simple sentences; each includes the repetitive lexical word "hurting" coupled with the possessive pronoun "our" to numerate the disastrous results of Trump's trade plan on Utah and exclude Romney from the context. However, she does not provide any specific details to convince voters with her stance. She backs her argument using the spatial deixis 'this' twice in her reference to Trump and Congress to assure her opposition to his approach and Congress' agreements that do not work for Utah's interests. In order to invoke audience's feelings of animosity and resentment towards Trump's actions, she employs the idiomatic expression " the next show will drop with" and the adjective 'reckless' to present him as a dangerous President, who would put at risk the state's national security and well-being. When criticizing Trump's policies, with a focus on the facial expressions, Face Reader's analysis (Fig. 21) shows a mild degree of restraint, mixed with surprise and combined with a fingertip- touch gesture to make her point fine. Similarly, when saying ' too much agreement', Face Reader's analysis (Fig. 22) shows low neutrality and surprise signs, combined with the two hands facing each other and fingers spread apart as if she is holding a beach ball. This might engender voters' anger and hostility towards her adversary and indicate that Trump and Congress put partisan politics and interest over people's needs. Yet, her criticism does not hide the high degree of fear encoded in both figures to reflect her discomfort and tense while attacking Trump and his allies. Refereeing to her position as a Utah's national committeewoman for the Democratic Party, released by the first person pronoun 'I' in the passive voice

form ‘ I am a county elected’ is an attempt to remind voters that she is part and parcel of this state, in contrast to Romney, whom she always presents as a carpetbagger politician.

Unlike his adversary, Romney backs his argument using the ‘argumentum ad verecundiam’, in which he metaphorically refers to the authority figure “the president and my party” (See Appendix, Extract 16) in the same sentence to highlight their crucial role to solve this issue. Using the metaphorical expression “put pressure on China” (See Appendix, Extract 16) indicates their power and authority to negotiate the issue and force China to change their practices. He then deploys the ‘argumentum ad consequentiam’ fallacy, manifested in the gerund phrases ‘stealing our intellectual property and taking companies’ to numerate China’s inappropriate practices, which he negatively describes as ‘unacceptable’. This helps construct an image of an active and authoritative party. It also him softens the degree of Wilson’s severe criticism towards Republicans. This resonates with his facial expressions, Face Reader’s analysis (Fig. 23) displays high degree of sadness, mixed with restraint and combined with exposed palms- up gesture and straight fingers to signify openness and trust in his statement (Pease, 2004, p. 36).

Fig. 23. Romney’s facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying “stealing”

The results of the quantitative analysis of the two candidates’ negative representation employed in their discourse are presented in the table below.

Fig 21.Wilson’s facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying “reckless policy”

Fig. 22. Wilson’s facial expressions and results before and after analysis when saying “agreement”

Negative Discursive devices				Mitt Romney Recurrence in Numbers	Jenny Wilson Recurrence in Numbers
Pronouns	Second Person Pronoun	Singular	You	34	40
	Third Person Pronoun	Plural	They/ them/ their	11	22
Lexicalization				55	70
Evidentiality				3	4
Disclaimers				3	3
Intertextuality				1	2
Active versus Passive				2	5
Fallacies				6	7
Repetition				7	13
Metaphors				4	10
Number Games				7	6
Total				133	182

Table 4: Recurrences of the negative persuasive strategies employed by the candidates

8.3 Attire and Colors:

As for attires and colors, Nelson opts to wear the formal attire, namely the plain black notched- lapel suit, solid light- colored shirt and subtle blue tie. Black signifies certainty, power, authority, formality and strength; matching it with a blue tie presents a candidate with an introspective approach, wisdom and experience, as Kate Smith, a color expert and consultant, mentions on her website " Sensational Color" (n.d., para.5). Adding the American flag pin telegraphs his patriotism, which indicates that voting for his opponent is considered a treason. As for Wilson, she chooses to wear something anyone could wear, just a bit more elevated. She wears black pants, a V-neckline blouse with ruffle detailing at front and a red necklace jacket. She does not wear jewelry and avoids putting on makeup. Wearing black with red resonates with the image of an energetic and active young candidate, unlike her opponent (Smith, n.d., para.5). Her outfit is so simple and familiar; it presents her as a normal, everyday person who belongs to Utah and totally understand their needs. She tries to be more approachable, dependable and trustworthy.

9. Findings and Conclusion:

After analyzing the two candidates' discourses in terms of verbal and non-verbal modes, this section aims at making an objective comparison between the particular ways of speaking of the two candidates. Regarding the similarities, it is observed that they were conceived and written according to Van Dijk's ideological square. To elucidate, at the meaning level, both Romney and Wilson emphasized their positive self-representation and their plans if they

are elected. Romney asserted his long support for smaller government and the importance of handling critical issues such as gun laws and healthcare at the state rather than by the federal government. Similarly, Wilson compensated her short political record by emphasizing her status as a native Utahan and highlighting her work on the Salt Lake County Council working across party lines. This is manifested in the discursive strategies employed by both of them. For example, both deployed positive lexicalizations to emphasize their good deeds. However, Romney employed more positive items (80) about himself, political record and actions than Wilson did (55) (see Table 3). This urged people to reach a conclusion that he is more competent, focused and goal-oriented than his adversary. Besides, the first person singular pronoun 'I' is the most common persuasive device employed by both candidates (132 times for each) with the aim of showing themselves in a positive light. However, with Romney, 'I' was associated with verbs, which expressed his actions as an active politician such as 'vote, go, said, discussed, rejected" or with the lexical and auxiliary verbs such as 'think and believe, have to' to express his opinion and political stances on certain critical issues. This enhanced his positive image as a reliable, authoritative and powerful candidate, on whom voters could count. In contrast, with Wilson, 'I' was associated with mental verbs such as 'felt, wish, and hope', which gave a sense that she is not a politician of action or a person with a track record. Unlike Romney, whenever Wilson wanted to express her opinion, the verbs 'believe, think and know' were used, they were always followed by median auxiliary verbs 'can, will', to build rapport with her audience and give assurance without raising their hopes. However, this also gave a sense that she attempted to downgrade her commitment and distance herself from any blame, criticism or responsibility regarding her claims. This, in turn, painted a negative picture of her political image and weakened her message. In addition, the first person plural 'we' is also used by both politicians when they want to give their opinion involving more referents. However, it is noted from the table that Romney employed the 'exclusive we' more frequent than Wilson did (80 & 46 times), respectively. This is attributed to the fact that Romney was keen on highlighting his institutional identity as a representative of an active and authoritative party. Conversely, Wilson counted mainly on employing the 'inclusive we' (60) to include the government and public more than Romney did (10). By including the audience in the plural reference, Wilson wanted to emphasize her moderate image and that she focused on the needs of

the people while her opponent was more concerned with the interests of his party over people's needs. Besides, both nominees employed disclaimers and intertextuality (5 & 2 times for each) to deny their negative deeds, avoid denouncing the other party or enhance their claims. Finally, more frequent than Romney (2), Wilson used the evidentiality strategy (5) of referring to important political figures that could endorse her campaign and reinforce her trustworthiness and willingness to work across the aisle to find effective approaches and solve problems.

At the form level, both relied on the syntactic structures, manifested in the active voice; Romney deliberately employed it more frequently (65) than Wilson (40) to stress a more positive agency of himself and his plans. For the argumentation structures, both nominees manifested generalization arguments to show that they are both running for the Senate for the sake of Utahan's interests. Regarding the rhetorical structure, both candidates employ repetition and metaphors to highlight their good actions and plans (See Table 3).

Concerning the negative other represenation strategy, both candidates aimed at highlighting the negaitve deeds of their adversaries, maniftesed in the negative lexical items used in their speeches. However, it is noted that Wislon focused on deploying the negative lexical items more frequently (70) than her adversay (55) to represent Romney as a flip-flopping carpetbagger and criticize him and his president for their inconsistent policy positions. As for Romney, he avoided denigrating his opponent's character, but he never failed to present Wilson as a neophyte nominee, whose lack of political experience might instill fear in voters that she cannot work with the people toward their common goal. As for pronouns, both employed the second person pronoun 'you' (34 and 40 times) instead of their proper names to show their disagreement with each other and paint an unfavorable picture of the opposition (See Table 4). Besides, Wilson employed the third person pronouns 'they' more frequently (22 times) whenever she attacks Romney, the other party or the US president to show her disagreement with their policies and establish an oppositional 'us and them' distinction. Unlike Wilson, Romney deployed it negatively less than his adversary did (11 times) (See Table 4). This is due to the fact that Romney employed it in his talk about trade and immigration issues to put the blame on China's policies and institutions who are responsible for letting illegal

immigrants to pass the borders without legal documents. This, in turn, helped him avoid denouncing the admintrstaion's polices or the ruling party, diminishing his political image or undercutting voters' support from both parties. Moreover, disclaimers, evidentiality and intertextuality strategies are deployed by both candidates with slight differences to enhance their negative attacks on their opponent. At the form level, Wilson deliberately used the passive voice, repetition and metaphors more frequently (5, 13, 10) respectively than Romney (2, 7, 4) to assure her attacks on Romney and distort his credibility. To sum up, it seems that ever though both candidates used Van Dijk's ideological square strategies, it is obvious that Romney was more keen to the use of the positive self-presentation (510) while Wilson was more likely to use the negative- other presentation more frequently (182) (See Tables 3&4).

Regarding the second question and the degree of congruence between the verbal and non-verbal languages, it is noted that Wilson fell into an ideological trap, unable to provide reasonable justifications for what makes her different and better than her adversary. Her body language enhances this negative impression. To elucidate, Wilson's loss may also be attributed to her much dependence on multimodal resources that are not in alignment with the verbal message being delivered. For instance, she repetitively uses power grip hand gesture whenever she attempts to provide viewers with positive information about herself, negative image about her opponent or visualize the process of speech. Instead of positing an explicit fixed form–function relationship between her utterances and hand gestures, this repetition might result in lowering the degree of Wilson's persuasiveness and her need for self-assurance and hence an impression of low charisma rather than to the content she conveys. Additionally, her facial expressions and emotional regulation are not synchronized with her words or hand gestures. This was manifested in the continuous appearance of fear sign in most of her facial expression analysis whether she numerates her political achievements or attacks Romney's political stances. This may be attributed to Romney's name recognition and long experience, which give her a sense of incompetence and lack of confidence. Moreover, attacking an adversary, for whom she worked during the 2002 Winter Games in Salt Lake City and Romney's intentional eye contact whenever she negatively talks about him may perplex her and make her uncomfortable. This incongruence, in turn, might result in weakening her

message, perceiving her as less- confident and reliable than her counterpart and losing the race later on.

Unlike his opponent, Romney's positive image as an assertive and thoughtful candidate, who could voice people's concerns and is fully responsible and committed for what is being said and done was enforced by his body language and facial expressions. He offered some positive emotions to the audience such as comfort, hope and pursuit of happiness. Besides, his less dependence on multimodal sources may help give the impression that he is focused, calmer, more confident, organized and reliable than his opponent is. Moreover, there is an isomorphism between Romney's words and hand gestures most of the time. This is manifested in the use of palm- down gesture and open-palms as a significance of dominance, authority and self- assurance. Moreover, his facial expressions and emotional regulation are mostly synchronized with his words. He attempts to sound restraint and neutral most of the time to enhance his sincerity and self- determination. At the same time, he knows how and when to employ his facial expressions to connote voters' anger and hostility towards his adversary and her party in certain times. This may urge voters to elect and vote for him.

Recommendations for Further Studies

This study has investigated the discursive strategies (verbal and non-verbal) employed by the Utah Senate Republican and Democratic nominees to sketch a positive self-image and validate their political claims to raise their approval in the eyes of the public, and misrepresent the opposing party, on the other. However, this study is limited to the 2018 Utah debate only. More Senate debates might be of more significant results. In addition, examining Senate campaign discourse in its other forms, including television and radio spots, press coverage, interviews, talk shows and social platforms (Twitter, Facebook), might be an area where further research could be done. Besides, on a broader level, a comparative diachronic study may also be conducted between Senate debate discourse and other high office legislators such as House of Representatives, governors and presidents discourse.

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Appendix

Extract 1

Romney: I'm a conservative, I'm a Republican. And I believe that we should have smaller government and lower taxes. And I frankly believe that one of the best things we can do to reign in the excessive spending in Washington is to take a lot of the programs that are in Washington and eliminate them or send them back to the state. I think Utah knows better how to take care of our roads, how to care for those that do not have insurance, how to help the poor, how to manage our schools and public land. In the final analysis, I think Utah knows better how to run Utah than Washington does.

Extract 2

Wilson: I am a fifth generation Utah -- I am from here. I'm from here and I'm proud to serve on the Salt Lake County Council where we work across party lines …I have reached out and engaged with people. There is very deep frustration. I am telling you, I get it. And I think to change Washington we are gonna need a new generation of leaders who are from their communities, who know the people, who worked to solve local problems. That is what I represent. And I will be honest I have heard on some doorsteps that we need to break up the old boys club known as the U.S. Senate. That is one of my objectives.

Extract 3

Romney: I am not going to vote for lower taxes for higher income rich people… but I do believe that bringing the corporate tax rate down was essential for us to keep companies from leaving our country and going other places and taking away our jobs.

Extract 4

Wilson: I really believe that infrastructure development has been really key to allow our growth and development. But we are at a really tough point right now. We know that we're in disputes with other states. This is an opportunity I think to come together in the Senate.

Extract 5

Romney: You know I will mention what Chief Justice Roberts said and that was that this process is awful. The process for confirming a nominee to the Supreme Court is simply a mess. We

Extract 6

Wilson: I had a comment with a teacher out there the other day who was just saying that I just need air conditioning. My students can't learn. that is not a landscape for success for our teachers or our students.

Extract 7

Romney; I hope that the Republicans and Democrats can come together and say loud and clear that we are going to make sure that everybody in America has access to good health care and that they can get good health insurance. They can't be denied health insurance as a result of a pre-existing condition. I will fight for that. I will not support any legislation related into health care that's gonna strip people away from their health care insurance that they have. the plan that I put forward made more sense. I like the idea by the way when I was governor. I like the idea of states crafting their own programs to care for own poor and those people who don't have insurance… If we have a Republican House and Senate, you are going to see us provide support for people who want to be able to buy insurance, who are making $75,000 a year…

Extract 8

Wilson: Well, out of the corner of my eye, I can see my son. And I can tell you that the hardest day for me and my husband was years ago. He is so healthy and happy now but at six months old, he needed open-heart surgery. We were shocked. We had insurance. We live very close to one of the best hospitals in the nation primary children's health care . We were supported by family. I can't imagine a family going through what we went through without health care. I will fight for good health care coverage as your senator. I will have your back. I can tell you this, the Affordable Care Act was flawed. There were issues that needed to be changed. When John McCain had that heroic down vote. That was a critical moment for our history because I can't imagine the chaos of starting over the next day with no safety net. We have a lot of missionaries coming home here in Utah. We have people starting their careers a little late.

Extract 9

Romney : You know when I served as governor, I saw the people on the right and the left relating to guns. The pro-gun lobby and the anti-gun lobby come together and fashioned a bill both agreed on. I don't think a one-size-fits-all approach is the right way to go after gun legislation. so for me, keep this at the state level. let people in Utah have the choices that we are gonna make about honoring the Second Amendment and also managing our own rights with regards to firearms and other matters of safety.

Extract 10

Wilson: I think the best I can do is read you a statement, deadly assault weapons have no place in Massachusetts. These guns are not made for recreation or self-defense. They are instruments of destruction with the sole purpose of hunting down and killing people. Now, this was your office. It was July, 2004 that is a press release. Additionally, in the 2008 presidential campaign you stated that you would sign a federal assault weapons ban. I agree with your statement. … I was in Las Vegas right after the horrible shooting. There were four footballs away that that gun carried to provide that level of devastation. It is time that we do something.... I guess you are gonna play multiple-choice, Mitt. I don't know if it is A, B, C or D but I see that it does change as well.

Extract 11

Wilson: The wealth disparity right now in this nation is killing us. this tax bill, I can't imagine adding two trillion additional dollars burden on people as a corporate giveaway. …This is an area that we have a difference. I am concerned about the comments you have made supporting this budget with a $2 trillion increase while saying you are a deficit Hawk. I don't think that is genuine... Additionally, we don't get to live in an alternative universe to see you know where we would be…

Extract 12

Romney: Well, we are certainly not going to change Medicare or Medicaid or Social Security for our seniors. for young people, coming up the program needs to be modernized to make sure that it is going to be there for them. We have to be

very serious about creating economic growth. Because probably the most effective way of reducing the burden of our national debt is by having the economy grow so quickly that people are able to get better jobs, higher wages. if they are paying higher wages, they are paying more taxes. That allows us to pay off some of this debt. ..my view is to eliminate programs that are old and unnecessary. And those that we like, send them back to the states.

Extract 13

Wilson: I would be willing to go to the table and discuss everything we can discuss. But not on the backs of our seniors and people in need.

Extract 14

Romney: I am one of those people who believes that trade is good for Utah and trade is good for the nation. But we find countries that are not playing by the rules. China has gotten away with unfair trade practices year after year after year.

Extract 15

Wilson: We know that tariffs are hurting our pocketbooks. They are hurting our workers. They are hurting our AG industry. And I think we've just seen frankly too much agreement on many issues between this president and this Congress. And it is about time we change that. I wonder when the next shoe will drop with this president when it comes to a very reckless policy. I am a county elected. We do budget adjustments on a very regular basis. And we not long ago had a budget adjustment for $200 million. And that is inexcusable. We are seeing the trickle down in the community".

Extract 16

Romney: The president and a number of people in my party feel that it is important to put some pressure on China to get them to come to the table and change some of their operating practices as it relates to stealing our intellectual property, taking companies that have technology and it is insistence that they come to China they have to give that techno to Chinese. This is simply unacceptable. And so the president has been using tariffs to get people that to come to the table.

تحليل الخطاب النقدي متعدد الوسائط لمناظرة انتخابات التجديد النصفي لمجلس الشيوخ الأمريكي بولاية يوتا لعام 2018

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المستخلص:
تركز الدراسة الحالية على نهج تحليل الخطاب النقدي متعدد الوسائط لمناظرة الانتخابات التمهيدية لمجلس الشيوخ في ولاية يوتا الأمريكية 2018 بين المتنافسين ميت روماني (الجمهوري) وجيني ويلسون (الديمقراطية). يتم تحليل المناظرة وفقا للنموذج الانتقائي، المقتبس من تحليل فان ديك (1995 ، 2006) لتحليل الخطاب الإيديولوجي، تكاملا مع فيركلوف" (2003) التداخل النصي" من نموذج تحليل الخطاب النقدي وجانثركريس وفان ليوفين و (2001) من نموذج تراكيب التصاميم المرئية . تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى الكشف عن البني والاستراتيجيات الخطابية الدقيقة المستخدمة في نصوص خطب المرشحين الديمقراطيين والجمهوريين المحتملين واكتشاف الأيديولوجيات الكامنة وراءها. يكشف التحليل أن ثنائية الآخر تتجلى بقوة في خطابات المرشحين وأنهم استخدموا الاستقطاب الأيديولوجي وبني العرض الذاتي الإيجابي لـ "نحن" والعرض الآخر السلبي لـ "لهم" كوسائل للسيطرة على العقل والتلاعب بالجمهور من خلال طرائقهم اللفظية وغير اللفظية للفوز بالانتخابات. كما أثبتت الدراسة أيضًا أن موارد روماني متعددة الوسائط، وما يندرج تحتها من تعابير الوجه، استخدام الإيماءات والألوان بشكل متزامن ومزامنة مع كلماته لتعزيز صورته السياسية. على العكس من ذلك، اعتماد ويلسون كثيرًا على الموارد متعددة الوسائط التي لا تتماشى مع الرسالة اللفظية التي يتم توصيلها أسفر عن إضعاف رسالتها، وإدراكها على أنها أقل ثقة وموثوقية من نظيرها وخسارة السباق لاحقًا.

الكلمات الدالة: تحليل الخطاب النقدي متعدد الوسائط، الخطاب السياسي، مناظرة انتخابات التجديد النصفي لمجلس الشيوخ الأمريكي بولاية يوتا.