MORE ON POLITICAL DISCOURSE: ESTABLISHING IDENTITY AND INTERACTING WITH THE AUDIENCE[1]

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Abstract

The pervasiveness of politics in modern society renders political discourse susceptible to linguistic analysis, especially pragmatic and discourse analysis. This paper aims to shed light on the talks delivered by presidential candidates during election campaigns. Its objective is to investigate how politicians gain power by establishing their identity and at the same time actively engaging the electorate within the argumentation presented in their pre-election political speeches, through the use of self-mentions and engagement markers as metadiscourse categories. More precisely, it sets out to explore the function and usage of self-mentions and engagement markers i.e. personal pronouns, directives and rhetorical questions in 12 pre-election speeches, delivered by 6 Macedonian and 6 American presidential candidates.

It is essential for politicians to know how to balance the use of these markers in order to avoid being intrusive and appear more persuasive for the listeners i.e. potential voters. The research shows that there are differences in the use of the markers in both languages, as well as among the different politicians. The politicians' discourse appears to change depending on whether they are addressing the audience as leaders of the ruling party or as leaders of the opposing party.

key words: *politics, election campaigns, metadiscourse, self-mentions, engagement markers*

1. Introduction

Presidential elections are very important aspect of every nation's social and political life. Each country's future depends on who their leader and main representative in the international community is. Therefore, political parties invest a great deal of energy and finances to select and then present their candidate to the electorate in the best possible manner and hopefully win the elections. Very often political and language experts are hired to write the speeches of the politicians or prepare them on the things they need to say. But sometimes, it is the politicians themselves who write or create their own speeches. In both cases, they mostly focus on two aspects of their speech: a) the language that speakers use to shape their identity and present themselves and their political party to the audience and b) the language they use to establish and maintain contact with the audience. These two aspects are important because they reveal the perception the politicians have of a) their own role in the

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[1] Revisional scientific paper

political party they represent and the society as a whole and b) the audience (potential voters) and the relationship they want to establish with them.

Therefore, the aim of this paper is to investigate how presidential candidates establish their identity and actively engage the audience into the argumentation in their pre-election campaign speeches, through the use of: self-mentions and engagement markers as metadiscourse categories. Furthermore, in order to see whether presidential candidates generally opt for the same markers when building their identity and establishing contact with the electorate or the usage of these markers is culture-dependent, corpora from two different countries, Macedonia and the USA, are compared and contrasted. The paper also aims to see whether there are some similarities between candidates who belong to right – wing and left-wing parties from both countries.

2. Theoretical underpinnings

This section sets the theoretical basis for the analysis of the political speeches. It links the concept of power with the use of metadiscourse markers.

2.1. Power relations, Critical Discourse Analysis

The conceptual basis for this paper is adopted from Fairclough's (1989, 1995) ideas on discourse and power. Since the use of self-mentions and engagement markers by presidential candidates is mainly aimed at building their identity as strong and powerful individuals able to lead the people and the country, this paper focuses on analysing how they are used by left- and right-wing parties' candidates in the two countries. The proper usage of these markers might help them gain power over the electorate and the opposing candidate. So, this paper makes a critical discourse analysis of the interrelatedness of textual properties and power relations. Fairclough (1995: 132) defines CDA as

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

Presidential candidates' speeches have been analysed by many authors (Horváth, 2009; Shayegh and Nabifar, 2012; Rachman and Yunianti, 2017). In his analysis of Obama's political discourse, Horváth (2009) found that the most prominent words employed by the ex-president Obama are *nation, new and America*, and that there is an overall dominance of the personal pronoun *we*, which is an evidence of Obama's inclusive perception of the American society and a need for unity, understood as necessary in the time of national peril. Shayegh and Nabifar (2012) found that by using first person pronouns and religious belief, Obama successfully shortens the distance between him and the audience. In addition most of linguistic mechanism of power in the models such as religion, persuasion, and future plan's statements. Rachman and Yunianti (2017) analysed the speeches delivered by president Donald Trump and found that he uses informal language often to show that he wants the audience to feel close and intimate with him and to embrace the audience for being part of his plan.

2.2. Metadiscourse: self-mentions and engagement markers

Self-mentions and engagement markers are defined as interpersonal markers[2] (Hyland 2005). According to Hyland's (2005a) classification, interpersonal metadiscourse markers are used by speakers and writers to express their attitude towards the proposition and establish a certain relationship with the listeners or readers. Self–mentions (first-person pronouns and possessive adjectives *(I, me, my, mine, exclusive[3] we, our, ours))* are employed by speakers/writers to establish their identity (Hyland 2005a: 53). Engagement markers, on the other hand, help the speaker to establish and maintain rapport with the listeners. Speakers meet listeners' expectations addressing them as participants in the argument, with: personal pronouns *(inclusive[4] we, you,your)* and at the same time they pull listeners into the discourse, guiding them to particular interpretations, with: questions and directives (mainly imperatives)(Hyland 2005a: 53).

3. Corpus and research methodology

The corpus consists of 12 speeches delivered by presidential candidates – 6 from Macedonia and 6 from the US. The politicians belong to the two most powerful political parties in both countries: right-wing parties (VMRO from Macedonia and the Republicans from the US) and left-wing parties (Socio-democratic party of Macedonia (SDSM) and Democratic party from the US). Both right-wing and left-wing parties from the two countries share similar ideologies.

For instance, the right-wing parties in both countries are oriented more towards Christian values, they want to achieve liberal capitalisam, to lower the taxes, the social and health benefits, they are more for liberal trade and lower interference of the Government in all aspects of the society. On the other hand, the left-wing parties in both countries aim to achieve bigger health and social rights, they fight for a civil society and higher interference of the Government in all aspects of it.

In the US there are elections every four years. So, the American corpus[5] (see table 1 below) consists of two speeches from 2008, from the two main candidates Obama (Democrat-winner) and McCain (Republican), then other two from 2012, Obama (Democrat-winner) and Romney (Republican) and 2 more from the last presidential elections in 2016, delivered by Trump (Republican-winner) and Clinton (Democrat) (see Table 1). As it can be seen from this corpus, it was the Democrats who won the elections twice (Obama, both in 2008 and 2012) and Republicans once (Trump-2016).

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[2] Metadiscourse, or also known as text about text, is employed by speakers and writers to guide listeners' or readers' perception of their message and persuade them to share and accept their opinions. According to Crismore and Farnsworth (1990), Crismore et al. (1993), Hyland (1998) metadiscourse can be *textual* and *interpersonal*. *Textual metadiscourse* organizes the text and directs readers towards the intended interpretation. *Interpersonal metadiscourse*, on the other hand, helps writers to express their attitude towards the proposition and establish a certain relationship with the readers.

[3] exclude the listeners/ readers

[4] include the listeners/ readers

[5] all the speeches were retrieved from the web page: www.presidentialrhetoric.com

Table 1. *Macedonian and American corpora*

American elections	WINNER		OTHER CANDIDATE	
	www.presidentialrhetoric.com	words		words
2016	**D.Trump (REP.)** NYC, 22 June	3328	**H. Clinton (DEM.)** Ohio State, 11 Oct	4787
2012	**B. Obama (DEM.)** Medison, Wisconsin, 4 Oct.	3234	**M. Romney (REP.)** Ohio State, 15 Aug.	1856
2008	**B.Obama (DEM.)** Tampa Bay, Florida, 20 Oct.	2985	**J. McCain (REP.)** Manchester, N.Hampshire 22 Oct.	1930
TV stations				
Macedonian elections				
2014	**Gj. Ivanov (VMRO)** Bitola	1105	**S. Pendarovski (SDSM)** Skopje	479
2004	**B. Crvenkovski (SDSM)** Skopje	1638	**S. Kedev (VMRO)** Skopje	1234
1999	**B.Trajkovski (VMRO)** Skopje	3909	**T. Petkovski (SDSM)** Bitola	1753

In Macedonia, there are elections every five years. So, the Macedonian corpus[6] consists of 2 speeches from 1999 when Trajkovski (VMRO- winner) and Petkovski (SDSM) were the main opponents; then 2 speeches from 2004 when Crvenkovski (SDSM-winner) and Kedev (VMRO) were the main opponents, and finally from 2014[7], when the main battle was between Ivanov (VMRO-winner) and Pendarovski (SDSM). As it can be seen from this corpus (see Table 1) VMRO was the winner twice (Trajkovski 1999, and Ivanov 2014) and SDSM once (Crvenkovski 2004).

Before the analysis was done, some initial hypotheses were made. It was expected that:

1. there would be difference in the usage of these markers among the politicians within

each corpus (Macedonians and Americans) and between the two corpora
2. the winners would use both types of markers more frequently
3. the markers used by candidates would have different semantic references.

4. Analysis
4.1.Use of self-mentions

As it can be seen from table 2 below, the analysis showed that self-mentions were used much more frequently by the Democrats (Obama and Hillary). They used the personal pronoun for first person singular (I) but also for first person plural (we) very often. So, obviously, Democrats have the kind of personal approach – ascribing both the responsibilities, qualities and even, on times, the results of their party to themselves. Clinton was especially prone to using self-mentions, which, however, was not accepted well by the voters. They might have considered it too imposing.

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[6] all the speeches were recorded from a Macedonian television MTV1 and they borrowed them for the purposes of this research.
[7] it was not possible to find speeches delivered during the 2009 election campaign, so this year was deliberately excluded from the corpus.

Table 2. *Distribution of self-mentions across the American corpus*

SELF-MENTION per 1000 words	2016		2012		2008	
	Trump	**Clinton**	**Obama**	**Romney**	**Obama**	**McCain**
	winner	2 m.	Winner-2m.		winner	
I	10.8	29.4	20.7	12.4	22.4	8.3
me	2.1	2.5	2.8	1.1	1.3	1.0
my/mine	2.4	2.3	0.3	1.6	6.0	7.2
we (exc.)	4.8	9.2	13.6	11.3	9.0	2.6
our (exc.)	0.3	0.2	0.3	2.1	0.3	0
us (exc.)	0	0.8	0.3	2.1	0	0
Total	20.4	44.4	38	30.6	39	19.1

As for the Macedonians, it can be seen from the results presented in table 3 below, that the winners were those who used self-mentions more. So, the use was not party-specific, but obviously winner-specific, which means that voters in general respect it when candidates talk about themselves, their work and responsibilities and try to establish their identity as strong candidates who have a voice and fight for their beliefs and values.

Table 3. *Distribution of self-mentions across the Macedonian corpus*

| SELF-MENTION per 1000 words		2014		2004		1999	
		Ivanov	**Pendarovski**	**Crvenkovski**	**Kedev**	**Trajkovski**	**Petkovski**
		Winner-2m.		Winner-2m.		Winner-2m.	
I	explicit I + v.	-	-	**4.9**	0.8	**8.7**	3.4
	1p.sg. coded in the verb form	14.5	14.6	**30.5**	11.3	**12.3**	14.9
me	мене ме/ми	0.9	2.1	2.4	-	1.8	0.6
my/mine	мое	-	2.1	1.8	2.4	2.3	0.6
we (exc.)	exp.we + v.	-	-	0.6	-	**5.4**	-
	1p.pl coded in the verb form	10.8	-	1.8	4.9	**3.8**	3.4
our (exc.)	наш/е/а/и	0.9	2.1	2.4	1.6	1.8	-
us (exc.)	нам ни/ нас не	-	-	1.2	-	1.8	0.6
Total		27.1	20.9	45.6	21	37.9	23.5

Graph 1 and 2 show the use of self-mentions in the both corpora. American candidates in general use them a bit more frequently (see graph 1), while winners in both corpora, especially in the Macedonian one, use them more frequently than those who lose[8]. Obviously, this is an important strategy for building credibility and needs to be considered well by candidates when preparing their speeches. They need to assert themselves as strong individuals who have the power to lead the society in the right direction. However, they must be careful not to appear arrogant and too imposing.

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[8] the term "losers" is used only technically – it refers to those who lost the elections and has no other meanings whatsoever
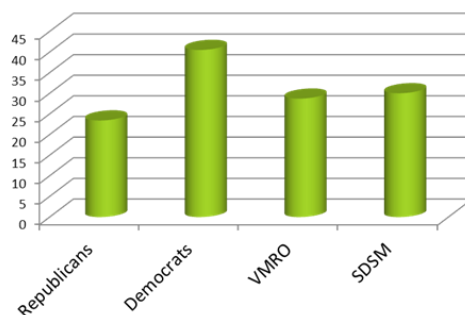
Graph 1

American candidates
Macedonian candidates
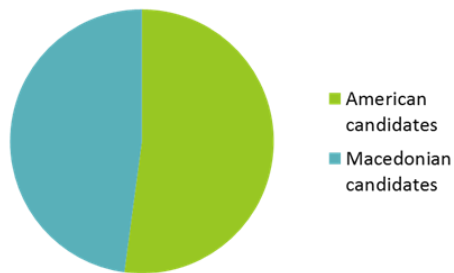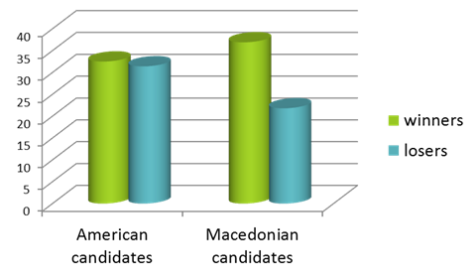
Graph 2

Graph 3

Graph 3 shows that these markers were most frequently used by American Democrats. Macedonian Democrats used them a bit more frequently than VMRO but still the difference is not significant. Of course, the corpus is small and it is difficult to draw conclusions. However, this tendency requires further analysis because it might be an indication for differences in strategy and style between the Democrats and the right-wing parties.

The corpora were also analysed to discover when exactly speakers use personal pronouns as self-mentions. the analysis of the American corpus of speechesshowed that politicians mainly talk about themselves, their business, family and interests, as well as about things they want to achieve or do. They also use intensifiers like: *I know, I will (do),* to help them build credibility. Some, like Clinton and Romney, use hedges like: *I think, I believe* (which might not to be a very effective strategy since none of these politicians won the elections) and finally, they make promises (*I promise, I commit myself to...*) and ask people to vote for them. As for the use of plural pronouns, the analysis showed that the speakers used them mostly to refer to their party and themselves, or their opponent(s) and themselves, or the Government they worked for before.

The analysis of the Macedonian corpus of speeches showed that politicians do not talk about themselves personally, but about the things they used to do as government officials or politicians and also about things they want to achieve or do. They use intensifiers like: *I know, I am sure, I will (do)* which also help them to build credibility. None of them uses hedges. Similarly to Americans, in the end they ask people to vote for them (*I ask for, I call on to...*). However, they do not make promises a lot as American politicians do. As for the use of plural pronouns, the analysis showed that the speakers used them mostly to talk about their party and themselves or the Government (president's office) they used to worked for.

When it comes to the use of the pronouns, in English, one must use first person pronoun + verb to talk about themselves. E.g. *I work hard*. In Macedonian, on the other hand, the verb itself is marked for person so even if one does not use the first person pronoun it would be clear that they are talking about themselves. So, having in mind that language should always be economical, and speakers are generally trying to be as economical as possible when they speak, it is interesting to investigate in which situations Macedonian speakers decide to use the double form 1p.sg/pl. pronoun +verb. The analysis showed that they do that when they want to:

a) present themselves as reliable persons who do not run away when it gets tough

For instance in (1) and (2) the candidates refer to their past (positive) actions[9] and thus remind the voters that they have never been cowards and will take care of their people.

(1) *It presents a huge responsibility to be the president of the R.of Macedonia. But **I have never run away** from responsibilities . [...] But **I have never been afraid of any risks**.*
(2) *Every time when it was difficult and tough and the situation was "to be or not to be" [...]*
* **I was here.** In September 1992, when nobody wanted to take responsibility to form a government, [...] **I was here**. The situation was similar in 1993 and 1994, when the borders closed [...] **I was here then, too.** …*

b) build credibility
They either use intensifiers like *I know* or other verbs (see examples (3) and (4)) to show that they are smart and capable of leading the country.
(3) *Tonight is our final campaign stop. **I know** that this night won't be the night when you will make up your mind who to vote for. **I know** you have already decided. **I know** that you deeply believe…*
(4) *Macedonia will enter the EU. We can do that. **I can do that**.*

c) identify with the audience (as in example (5))
(5) *Respected citizens, dear friends, **I am an original Macedonian**. I love my people and I am proud to be one of them.*

d) present themselves as people with vision (as in examples (6) and (7))
(6) ***I have a dream** for Macedonia. [...] that is how I see Macedonia.*
  - **to compare themselves with the opponent**
(7) ***I speak with another tone**, I use some other type of language…*

In addition, politicians in both corpora talked about their opponent(s) as well. As it can be seen from graph 4, Trump and McCain (both Republican) refer to their opponent candidate and party most frequently, while in the Macedonian corpus it is Pendarovski (SDSM) who talks about his opponent or the other political party the most.

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[9] all the examples are translated

Graph 4: presentation of "them"

third person reference
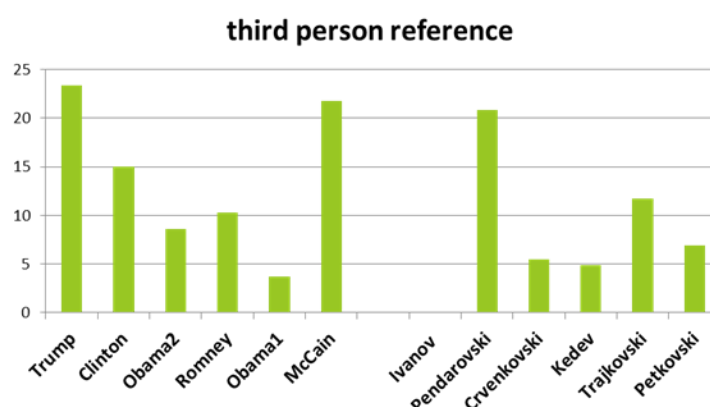
However, their attitude towards their opponent is different. For instance, when Trump talked about Hillary Clinton, on the most part he tried to diminish her value by accusing and even insulting her and presenting her as inadequate: *she is corrupt/ conniving/ lying/ doesn't have the temperament or judgment to lead the country/ destroys everything she touches.*

When McCain talks about Obama he discusses his policies mainly (taxes, debts) he wants to do or he is up to do: *he promises/ he admits etc.*

On the other hand, Macedonian politicians do not really speak about their opponents as much as they speak about the opposing political party and its policies. For instance, Pendarovski accuses the opposing party to be using inappropriate measures to get power or stay in power: *they would do everything to stay in power/ they are unscrupulous/ they cheat etc.*

4.2 Use of engagement markers

In this section the results from the analysis of the use of engagement markers are presented (see table 4 and 5). The analysis of the texts delivered by the American candidates showed that they were more frequently used by the Democrats i.e. both Obama and Hillary used *inclusive we* to include the audience in the discourse, and they also referred directly to the audience by using second person pronouns. Trump used engagement markers the least. However, the use of inclusive *our* is noticed mostly in Trump's and Romney's speeches. In addition, Romney used *questions*, while Obama and McCain used *directives* more frequently than the other speakers.

Table 4. *Distribution of engagement markers in the English corpus*

| ENGLISH CORPUS frequency per 1000 words	2016		2012		2008	
	Trump	**Clinton**	**Obama**	**Romney**	**Obama**	**McCain**
ENGAGEMENT MARKERS	winner	2.	Winner-2.		winner	
we (inclusive)	7.8	13.8	12.0	9.7	**19.4**	14.0
us (inclusive)	0.9	2.5	3.4	2.1	4.7	4.1
our (inclusive)	**15.3**	7.7	4.9	13.5	7.0	6.7
you	1.8	**21.3**	**14.5**	9.7	**17.4**	5.2
your	-	**3.8**	**4.6**	4.8	**6.7**	1.0
folks/ ladies & gentlemen	-	-	-	-	-	-
questions	0.6	1.2	0.9	**2.7**	1.0	2.6
directives cognitive	-	0.4	**0.3**	-	1.7	**1.5**
directives physical	0.9	1.0	**3.4**	1.1	1.3	**6.7**
Total	**27.3**	**51.7**	**44**	**43.6**	**59.2**	**41.8**

Table 5. *Distribution of engagement markers in the English corpus*

| MACEDONIAN CORPUS frequency per 1000 words		2014		2004		1999	
		Ivanov	**Pendarovski**	**Crvenkovski**	**Kedev**	**Trajkovski**	**Petkovski**
ENGAGEMENT MARKERS		Winner-2		Winner-2		Winner-2	
Inclusive we (ние)	explicit we + v.	-	**4.2**	1.8	-	2.1	2.3
	1p.pl. coded in the verb form	6.3	**25.0**	17.1	17.0	3.8	14.3
you (вие)	explicit you + v.	2.7	-	1.8	-	3.8	-
	2p.pl. coded in the verb form	2.7	12.5	4.3	1.6	2.0	4.6
your (ваш/а,е, и)		2.7	-	7.9	-	2.3	5.2
our (наш/а,е, и)		0.9	0.2	3.1	-	6.6	9.7
us (нас не/ нам ни)		0.9	0.2	5.5	0.8	1.8	5.7
Repected citizens/dear friends		2.7	8.3	9.8	6.5	0.2	10.9
directives (директиви)	cognitive	-	6.3	0.6	-	-	-
	physical	-	-	1.2	-	0.5	-
questions		-		1.2	8.9	1.3	1.7
Total		**18.9**	**56.7**	**54.3**	**34.8**	**24.4**	**54.4**

The results from the analysis of the texts from the Macedonian corpus are presented in table 5 above. Interestingly enough, similarly to the American corpus, it is the Socio-democrats who use engagement markers the most. They use inclusive *we* the most, but avoid addressing the audience directly, except for Crvenkovski. Directives and questions are rarely used as a strategy, although Pendarovski (directives) and Kedev (directives) used it a bit more frequently than the others. But having in mind that both of them were not elected for presidents it might be concluded that voters do not always appreciate when they are being addressed directly and told what they should do.

Graphs 5, 6 and 7 present the distribution of the inclusive *we/our/us*. By using these pronouns, the speaker includes the listeners in the discourse as if they already agree with him/her. This is considered to be a very persuasive strategy because it lowers the potential risk of listeners' objection.
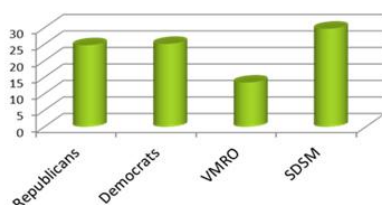
Graph 5
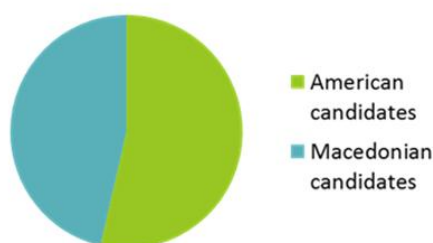
Graph 6
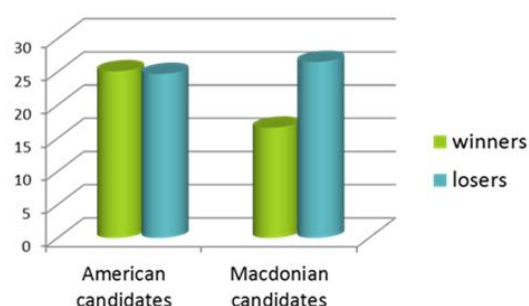
Graph 7

Graph 5 shows that the inclusive pronouns were more frequently used by American politicians, and that all politicians employ it. On the other hand it can be seen from graph 6 that it is the ones who lost the elections in Macedonia that used this strategy more frequently (in this case SDSM (see graph 7)). This should be further investigated on a larger corpus but it might be an implication that Macedonian voters do not react positively to being included in the politician's discourse as if they already agree with them.

Furthermore, the analysis of the semantic references of the inclusive first person plural pronouns showed that:

1. **they can have a more generic reference:**

- "We" mostly refers to all Macedonians/ Americans

    (1) *We are one of the most productive nations. (Romney)*
    (2) *The diversity of cultures and ethnicities is the treasure **we** need to cherish.(Trajkovski)*
- "our"and "us" are almost always used to mean: ***our country/ economic system/ laws/ elections***
    (3) ***Our** future lies in the the education of **our** children. (Trajkovski)*
    (4) *We need to do everything we can to secure a better future for **our** country and for **our** children. (Petkovski)*

In Macedonian, the double use of 1p.pl pronoun + verb in first person is noticed in statements when the speaker tries to defend the country or the party and strengthen the feeling of belonging to a union.

> (5) I expect that our neighbours would not interfere in our internal politics. **We** can take a good care of ourselves. (Petkovski)
>
> (6) **We** are stronger than them! (Pendarovski)

2. **they can refer to the speaker and the listeners present (you and I)**

> (7) *Come this November, **we** can bring America back. (Trump)*
>
> (8) *And I am trilled to have the chance to talk with all of you about what **we** can do together… (Clinton)*

4.2.1. Direct Address with you/your

Finally, the use of the pronouns for direct address was investigated. It is believed that *you* is the most interactive form among personal pronouns since it explicitly acknowledges the presence of the listeners. However, in some cases, it might be considered offensive because it separates listeners as belonging to a different group from the speaker. For instance, Trajkovski stated the following: *The main issue here is the improvement of your economical situation. You can improve it only if you vote for us;* and it can be considered offensive because it separates the listeners from the speaker and his party and present them as poor and depending on the rich.

The analysis showed that American speakers used these pronouns more frequently than Macedonian (see graph 8). It also showed that in both societies winners used it a bit less frequently than those who lost the elections (see graph 9), and that it was the democrats in both corpora who used it more often. It might be connected to their style of address – they might want to present themselves as more democratic and consider the listeners as their equals so they take the freedom to address them directly.
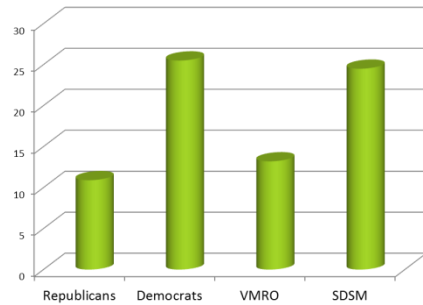
Graph 8
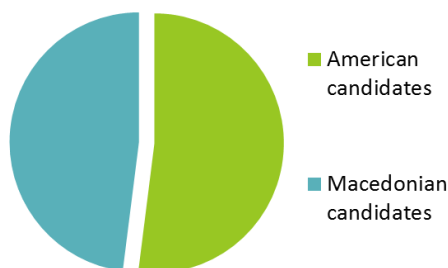
Graph 9
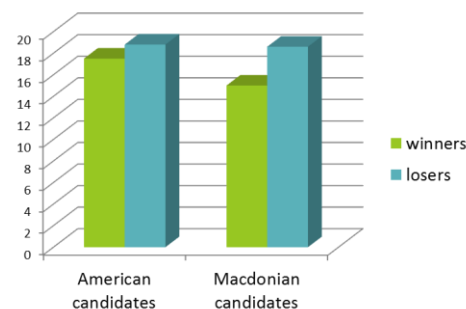
Graph 10

The analysis showed that *you* and *your* have 3 sematic references:

1. ***similar to the indefinite pronoun "one", referring to people in general, with speaker and listener included*** (see examples (1) and (2)). This usage however was much lower in both corpora.

    (1) That's what **you** do when **you** are out of ideas, out of touch, and running out of time. (Obama1)

    (2) *The proper amount of wealth is not what **you** can earn, but what government will let **you** keep*. (McCain)

    2. ***Direct address to the audience, engaging them in the argument*** (see examples (3) and (4)). This was the most frequent usage in both corpora.

    (3) *Any of **you** see that debate last night? I'll tell **you** what, I'm not sure **you**'ll ever see anything like that again. At least I hope **you** won't*. (Clinton)

    (4) *I will do everything in my power, dear ladies and gentlemen, to make the banks give **your** money back to **you***. (Petkovski)

In Macedonian**,** the explicit pronoun you + verb in second person was used mostly with this semantic reference:

    (5) *I am now addressing all the Turks, Serbs, Romas, ... **you** are the Macedonia's ethnic treasure. **Your** position in the society should be of great interest for all politicians. (Crvenkovski)*

4.2.2. The hidden *you* in imperatives – use of directives

Directives are used by speakers to take control over the audience and show authority. They are not simple commands but complex rhetorical strategy used by speakers to build a relationship with the listeners and direct them into how they should understand their talk (Hyland 2005a). The analysis showed that directives were used much more frequently in American speeches, mostly by Obama and McCain. Hyland (2002b) distinguishes among three types of directives physical, cognitive and textual. Only physical and cognitive were used in the corpora. The first ones, the ***physical,*** are used to make the listeners carry out some physical act, such as an activity in the real world, while the ***cognitive*** are used to lead the listeners towards a cognitive act, rely on their cognitive capacity in order to understand a certain point (see also Hyland, 2005b, p.

372; 2004, p.101). Examples (1)-(4) feature the uses of physical directives where the presidential candidates urge people to vote, while examples (5) and (6) feature the usage of cognitive directives where the speakers urge listeners to think about the things they present to them and understand that times will get better provided they vote for them and elect them for presidents.

Physical
(1) *Don't boo! Vote!* (Obama)
(2) *Come this November!* (Trump)
(3) *Please, get registered!* (Clinton)
(4) *Make some calls! Talk to your neighbours! Give me your vote!* (Obama)

Cognitive
(5) *Be convinced that times will get better!* (Crvenkovski)
(6) *And please, never forget that America is great!* (Clinton)

There were also some directives which were neither physical nor cognitive (see examples (7)-(9)). They look as if they are physical but in fact they are used to urge people to think and do something. For instance in (7), when the speaker says "fight for a new direction...", they don't mean that voters should fight physically but mentally and also by taking certain measures, like vote for the right person.

Borderline cases
(7) *Fight for a new direction for our country!* (McCain)
(8) *Stand up to defend your country from its enemies!* (McCain)
(9) *Look at their intentions!* (Crvenkovski)

In addition, speakers also used rhetorical questions, mainly *to connect with the listeners and invite them to answer a question suggesting or giving them the right answer* (Hyland 2005a: 373). This is considered a persuasive strategy because by using these questions speakers indirectly make listeners agree with the presented arguments should they answer them "correctly". So, the analysis showed that all American speakers used them, although they were preferred by McCain and Romney, and by some Macedonian speakers (Kedev used them the most). None of these politicians wins the elections, though. This might indicate that speakers should be very careful when using rhetorical questions too much because they might sound too imposing and aggressive.

Examples (11) –(13) feature the use of rhetorical questions. The speakers hint at the answer or simply give it

(11)   *Isn't that an agenda? => gives answer: That is an agenda which wins, dear ladies and gentlemen.* (Kedev)
(12)   *Will we continue to lead the world's economies or will we be overtaken? Will the world become safer or more dangerous? Will our military...?* (McCain)
(13)   *Do you want a president who will work every day to bring us together, not tear us apart? Do you want a president who will celebrate success, not attack it? Do you want a president...?* (a succession of questions, Romney)

In graphs 11, 12 and 13, the overall use of self-mentions and engagement markers is presented. As it can be seen from graph 11, personal reference is used the most frequently, then inclusive

pronouns and finally direct address. Graph 12 shows that it was the democrats in both countries who used these markers more often than the right-wing parties, which means that they invest effort into establishing contact with the audience, as well as establishing their own identity as politicians. However, as it can be seen from graph 13, there is no great difference between the use of these markers by winners and losers, however it can be seen that Americans use them almost twice as frequently compared to Macedonian politicians. It seems that Macedonian presidential candidates were more impersonal in their speeches compared to American. Whether this is some cultural difference should be further investigated on a bigger corpus. But this is an indication of it.
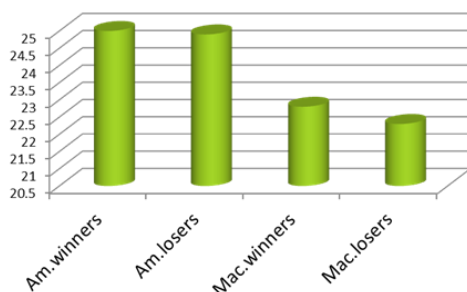
Graph 11
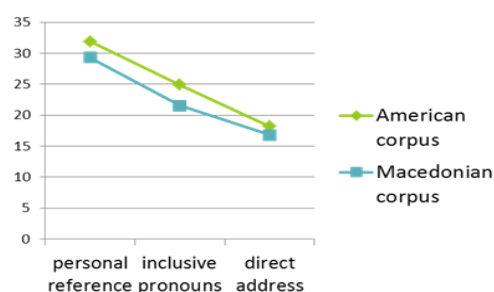
Graph 12
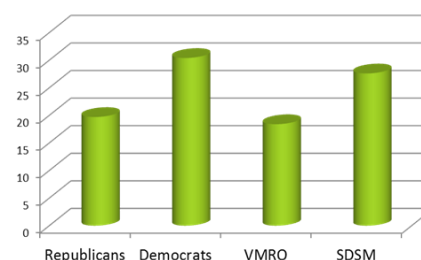
Graph 13

5. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to compare and contrast the strategies that American and Macedonian presidential candidates use to establish their identity and interact with the audience. The use of two types of interpersonal metadiscourse markers was investigated: self-mentions and engagement markers. Three hypotheses were made before the research and after the analysis it was concluded that: 1. the *first hypothesis* proved to be true: there was difference in the use of the markers among politicians within each corpus and between the two corpora; 2. The *second hypothesis* proved partially correct: it was not always the winners who used these markers more frequently; and 3. the *third hypothesis* proved correct too: the markers used had different semantic references.

More precisely, the research revealed that both self-mentions and engagement markers were more frequently used by the American candidates which means that they probably have a better developed strategy of establishing contact with the audience and their identity for that matter. It also showed that it was mostly the Democrats in both corpora who used the markers more frequently than the right-wing parties, which means that they probably pay more attention to their portrayal and the interaction with the audience. As for the use of the specific markers, the analysis showed that winners in both corpora used self-mentions more often, while engagement markers were preferred by the American winners and Macedonian politicians who lost the elections. Obviously, Macedonians do not really consider this a persuasive strategy. However, in order to draw more irrefutable conclusions, the corpus should be enlarged with several more speeches from at least one or two other elections. Anyway, this paper gives some insight into the similarities and differences between the two society's presidential candidates' strategies for building identity and interacting with the voters.

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