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„Public responses to George Floyd's „I can't breathe“: A
critical analysis of interpersonal meaning and Affect“

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“Education is the key to unlocking the world, a passport to freedom.”

- Oprah Winfrey

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1 Introduction

The last few years have seen a rise in incidents of police violence targeted against Black Americans in the U.S. A great number of these incidents have caused protests in the streets. The first of a series of similar incidents which caused public outrage and shock in the American population may be the killing of Eric Garner in New York City in July 2014. Garner had been restrained through a chokehold by a police officer who would later be fired. As Garner choked the words “I can’t breathe”, it “became a rallying cry for protests against police brutality” (BBC 2019). Only two months later, Michael Brown was shot multiple times by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri, despite being unarmed. His death caused what is now referred to as “Ferguson uprising” to which the police responded with controversial measures (Associated Press 2015). Michael Brown’s death and the Ferguson riots were also the focus of the documentary *Whose streets?* (2017). After Brown’s death, the words “Hands up, don’t shoot” also “[became] a rallying cry for protesters and others trying to draw attention to the death of Brown and other African Americans at the hands of police officers” (Gass 2015). The fact that “rallying cries” were established for such situations and ensuing protests already points to a continuous series of events. Only six years after Brown’s and Garner’s deaths, and in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic, yet another Black American, George Floyd, would utter the words “I can’t breathe”, while being brutally restrained by a police officer.

The deaths of George Floyd and many others are a symbol representing the justice system, its inherent systemic racism and police brutality persisting in the United States. George Floyd was killed by a police officer kneeling on Floyd’s neck for approximately eight minutes after he was arrested for his attempt to pay with a counterfeit bill for a packet of cigarettes. This unjust treatment of a potential criminal was filmed, and its footage released to the media shortly after the incident. The video shows George Floyd lying flat on the ground, restrained by the officer’s knee on his neck. The words “I can’t breathe” uttered by Floyd are also audible. The video immediately spread like a wildfire in social media, urging political and public figures of any kind to react to it with a response and to condemn this incident as act of systemic racism and the maltreatment of Black Americans within the U.S. justice system. A detailed summary of the representation of convicted Black Americans and disproportionate number of prison inmates in the U.S. has been compiled by Carpenter Emling (2020).

Protests, however, were not limited to the physical space of the streets of numerous U.S. cities. Debates over police brutality and systemic racism also ensued on social media sites and news channels, which involved politicians of various political affiliations as well as known personalities from the entertainment and sports industry. The days following the incident, an increasing number of people demanded justice and organised protests, originating in the U.S. but quickly spreading to regions beyond the national borders. The physical and virtual protests resulted in global unrest and display of solidarity with George Floyd and the entire Black community. These organised protests were significantly influenced by the social movement Black Lives Matter “whose mission is to eradicate white supremacy and build local power to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes” (BLM 2020).

1.1 Rationale

There are many physical and virtual remnants of these week-long protests. Statements were published in various forms such as postings, illustrations and photographs by well-known personalities on social media, such as Lewis Hamilton, Michael Jordan, and official press statements by politicians, representatives and a variety of associations, e. g. Joe Biden, Trevor Traina, Federal Defenders. These official press statements were certainly not as prominent and well received by the wider public in the U.S. as those personal comments and videos posted in social media. The official press releases stemmed from people in power who were accused of failing to react to racism and a great number of similar incidents in which Black Americans had been killed unjustly by police officers. Nevertheless, these statements are indicative of the political stances taken by official representatives of U.S. citizens and therefore carry a significant amount of political but also moral weight since politics are assumed to strive for the integration and solidarity of all the member of a community, without excluding anyone based on physical appearance or social background. Positioning themselves as politicians and simultaneously presenting themselves as one of the members of the public seem to be important aims to be achieved in these statements. These purposes therefore pose an interesting starting point for analysing these statements as part of political discourse.

Political statements issued after such a national tragedy are analysed in this thesis with regards to tenor construed in text. The analysis of such texts is also advocated by one of the pioneering systemic-functional linguistics, Jim Martin (2004a). In one of his articles in which he analysed editorials of a Hong Kong magazine after the September 11 attacks, Martin (2004a: 342) points out that

we need to encourage the analysis of individual texts whose social poignancy invites close reading. 9/11 was a singular event, and many of the responses to it have a comparable discursive singularity, and potency, of their own. Common sense tells us one text can change the world. Theoretically speaking, every text does. We need to ask how and why.

Martin (2004a) thereby clearly advocates close reading of texts which have a social impact due to their potential to make a change in society. As the killing of George Floyd already has had an enormous impact through the nationwide and global protests, the change brought about in texts by people in power represents an important research topic to improve the understanding of political discourse in times of crisis. This attempt at causing a change in thinking may be uncovered through the adoption of a systemic-functional approach to analysing texts as well as through the use of the Appraisal framework.

In the last two decades, there has been an increase in systemic-functional analysis of political speech in various countries and a wide range of genres of political discourse. In these studies, linguists and discourse analysts aimed to reveal hidden meanings in concession speeches (Qi 2017), inaugural speeches (Koussouhon & Dossoumou 2015; Apriliani & Priyatmojo 2016; Zeng & Wang 2019), political debates among politicians of various rank (Li et al. 2019) and official condolence messages (Fenton-Smith 2017) by global political world leaders as well as political statements during music concerts (Martin 2000b). Each of the studies focused on a linguistic aspect relevant to their research focus dependent on the systemic-functional model of language developed by Halliday in the 1980s at the University of Sydney. Its specific approach to language also distinguishes SFL from other linguistic models, as Eggins (2004: 21) explains:

[W]hat is distinctive to systemic linguistics is that it seeks to develop both a theory about language as social process and an analytical methodology which permits the detailed and systematic description of language patterns.

Such descriptions could then be used for critical discourse analysis, as suggested in Young and Fitzgerald (2006). Critical discourse analysis provides the means to relate the linguistic findings from the systemic-functional analysis to the wider discourse of the respective subject matter of the analysed text. The combination of systemic functional linguistics and critical discourse analysis is thus a fruitful connection which allows for a profound analysis based on linguistic choices with socio-political impact.

While a great number of studies have focused on political discourse and in some cases compared two politicians' speeches to one another, there seems to be a gap concerning press releases and statements issued after tragic events such as the killing of George Floyd by U. S. police officers in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in May 2020. This killing is not a singular occurrence in the U.S. There have previously been shockingly similar incidents, and George Floyd's death has particularly amplified reactions in social media and in the streets in the U.S. and later globally. Protesters demanded justice for all the victims who had been killed by police officers in similar circumstances. This death represents a systemic failure, i. e. systemic racism, which is still prevalent in the United States today, despite many attempts, or their announcement, at eradicating discrimination based on the colour of one's skin. The period in which this incident occurred is relevant to the wider political discourse since the United States were in the middle of the primary election season leading up to the presidential election in November 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic. All of these factors appear relevant to the political discourse at that specific point in time since politicians, legal associations and political representatives of the U. S. in foreign countries were required to address this incident and, ideally, the persisting structural issues. Politicians, associations and ambassadors needed to position themselves as representatives of their country before their citizens. Additionally, they were most likely expected to show emotions, compassion and sorrow for all the fellow Americans who were enraged at such an unjust and racial act of violence. Therefore, a systemic-functional analysis of interpersonal meaning and Appraisal in the statements appears to be an appropriate tool for revealing the expression of emotions and stances taken by the addressees in their respective texts. The findings can then be used for a critical discourse analysis which should shed light on the social relations and power structures between the speakers or writers and their audience represented in text.

An aspect which needs to be explained prior to outlining the aims and objectives of this thesis is the linguists' and discourse analysts' need for a clear political or social stance. This matter has been addressed on more than one occasion (van Dijk 1993; van Dijk 1997a), highlighting the importance of political positioning of scholars studying critical discourse analysis. As van Dijk (1993: 252) explicitly states in a paper in which he elaborates on the principles of critical discourse analysis,

[t]heir hope, if occasionally illusory, is change through critical understanding. Their perspective, if possible, that of those who suffer most from dominance and

inequality. Their critical targets are the power elites that enact, sustain, legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality and injustice. That is, one of the criteria of their work is solidarity with those who need it most.

Change seems to be exactly the necessary ingredient to the current cooking of U.S. politics. A change in the system which discriminates its citizens based on the colour of their skin, leading to tragic and irrevocable consequences for the dominated groups, i. e. members of the Black community. The words and phrases chosen by those in power are the focus of this study, although the voices of many discriminated Black Americans are likely to be more significant and have been louder in the weeks following the death of George Floyd. Those in power, however, are responsible for laws and policies which can bring about change. Consequently, this urgently needed change is entirely dependent on those dominant groups in power whose texts should signal the willingness to create laws and policies leading to, hopefully, the eradication of systemic racism.

1.2 Aims and objectives

The aim of this thesis is to analyse texts of political discourse following a highly relevant incident in the United States which appeared to divide the U.S. citizens due to its implications on safety and political handling of the situation. The texts under analysis will be examined in terms of the relationships between the addresser and the addressee and the emotions incorporated in their texts, either written or oral. The findings are assumed to contribute significantly to the existing body of research into political discourse, systemic-functional analysis and critical discourse analysis. These findings may also provide invaluable insights into the linguistic crafting of political texts, attempts at establishing a relationship with the audience from the position of a politician as well as expressing their emotions and views on the subject matter at hand.

1.3 Research questions

Based on the previously described context and the theoretical concepts of interpersonal meaning and Affect, the focus of this thesis is on the self-presentation of the dominant group in relation to the national tragedy which mainly affects the powerless group of society in the U.S. The following research questions are addressed in this thesis:

1. Who receives the most attention in the statements released by key political figures and associations of the United States after the killing of George Floyd?

2. How do the politicians position themselves in their statements?
3. Which emotions are expressed?
4. How are these emotions expressed?

1.4 Organisation of chapters

This thesis is divided into five sections. The first section gives a brief overview of the theoretical concepts of systemic functional linguistics, Appraisal and critical discourse analysis. The second section describes the textual data, the operationalisation of political discourse for this study as well as the context of the texts and the methodology used for text analysis. In the third section, the findings obtained in the text analyses are presented for three document groups and subsequently critically discussed in relation to the wider political discourse. Conclusions are drawn, and further research is proposed in the final section. The detailed results of each text analysis concerning Subjects, Modality and Affect can be found in the Appendix of this thesis.

2 Literature review

The broader theoretical framework used in this thesis is situated within systemic functional linguistics (SFL). SFL is a model of functional grammar developed by M. A. K. Halliday in his seminal work *An introduction to functional grammar* in 1985. It has been reprinted and used as a work of reference in many linguistic textbooks on SFL consisting of further explanations, illustrations and elaborations. One highly accessible introduction to SFL written by Eggins (2004) informed the respective part of the following literature review in addition to Halliday's original work from 1985 in a fourth edition revised by Matthiessen and published in 2014. Almost two decades after Halliday's pioneering work, SFL has been notably extended in the area of interpersonal meaning by (Martin & White 2005), which was used as main reference for Appraisal theory in this thesis. These two interlinked theories have repeatedly served as methodological framework for critical discourse analysis. This approach to analysing discourse is also outlined in this literature review after describing the main aspects of each theory, SFL, Appraisal and CDA, which will be of relevance for the research purpose in this thesis. The first section focuses on SFL, the second introduces Appraisal theory, and the third section provides a review of earlier studies adopting a systemic approach and applying CDA.

2.1 Systemic Functional Linguistics

As the name of this linguistic theory already suggests, it is based on the assumption that language is related to functions. One of the founders of SFL is M. A. K. Halliday, and he summarised various theories which attempted to explain the function of language. In SFL, it is proposed that the function of language is "a fundamental property of language itself" (Halliday & Hasan 1989: 17). According to Halliday and Hasan (1989: 17), functional theory can account for the structure of any naturally occurring language. This assumption already points to the two central characteristics of SFL: language as a system because linguistic categories are always put in relation to the entire system of grammar (Halliday & Hasan 1989: 18), and language as fulfilling functions. In the following, the systemic approach will be further outlined, then its three metafunctions of language will be described briefly before providing a more detailed description of the interpersonal metafunction, which will be of particular interest to the research endeavour of this thesis.

In an introductory textbook on SFL, Eggins (2004: 3) describes the systemic model of language as based on the assumption that "language use is functional, semantic, contextual and

semiotic”. As Eggins explains (2004: 3), the SFL approach to language is functional because it is concerned with how people use language and how language is structured for use. Functional linguists assume that people use language in texts to negotiate and, eventually, make meanings, which would account for the semantic function of language (Eggins 2004: 3). Meaning is then examined more closely through the questions of how many different meanings language is used to make and how language is structured to make meanings (Eggins 2004: 3). SFL is also contextual because, as Halliday and Hasan pointed out (1989: 5), “context and text [...] are aspects of the same process”. Context in this sense not only refers to written text but any kind of context in the surroundings, be it of linguistic, paralinguistic or extralinguistic nature (Halliday & Hasan 1989: 5). They thus suggested (1989: 5) “mak[ing] a bridge between the text and the situation in which texts actually occur”, which points to the relevance of context in the systemic approach. Lastly, SFL views language use as ‘semiotic’ because it studies language as a sign system aimed at making meaning (Halliday & Hasan 1989: 4). To specify this further, Halliday and Hasan (1989: 4) use the term ‘social-semiotic’ to describe language use because, on the one hand, it is a social system shared with others, just as culture, and, on the other hand, it indicates the “relationship between language and social structure”. From an SFL perspective, the way language is used is viewed as fulfilling certain functions, by which we make and negotiate meanings in a certain context as part of a social system.

Before turning to the description of the functions of language, I will introduce the concept of ‘genre’ to demonstrate the importance of viewing language as a social system and the use of language as highly contextual. Therefore, the next section focuses on genre and attempts to connect genre theory to the initial research endeavour in this thesis.

2.1.1 Genre and register

The common usage of ‘genre’, as most likely known from literary studies, is distinct from the concept of ‘genre’ as used in SFL. Genre extends well beyond literary genres, as it includes any kind of functional language use, written or spoken (Eggins & Martin 1997: 236). According to Eggins (2004: 54), genre is the result of “patterns of cohesion tying the elements of the text together” and the ‘cultural purpose’ of a text from the perspective of SFL. Eggins compares (2004: 55) the recognition of a certain purpose of a text to genre, since the process of ascribing a purpose to a text is heavily influenced by a text’s relationship to other texts. Moreover, Eggins describes (2004: 56) the ‘schematic structure’ of a text as indicative of the genre of a

text. The schematic structure of a text consists of a pattern of steps or stages (Eggins 2004: 59), which Eggins and Martin referred to as “the sequence of functionally distinct stages or steps through which a text unfolds” (1997: 236). Due to the consistency of such patterns of meanings in a genre, prediction of the continuation of a text or its adherence to certain generic conventions are possible (Martin & Rose 2007: 8). Nevertheless, the order of the individual stages can also be modified, as “the potential for alternatives is inherent in the dialogic relationship between language and context” (Eggins & Martin 1997: 236). These characteristics of genre demonstrate its close relationship to context.

Another concept central to the systemic approach is register because it accounts for the link between the linguistic theory and the context of a text. The importance of context in SFL becomes evident as Eggins and Martin state (1997: 237) that “the systemic approach [...] relates the contextual dimensions of register to the semantic and grammatical organization of language itself”. Eggins and Martin (1997) thereby refer to register to account for the cultural dimension of a communicative situation. According to register theory, any given situation can be described through the three register variables field, tenor and mode, all of which have relevant linguistic impact in communication (Eggins 2004: 90). Halliday (1985) also already included these three register variables to describe the context of a text. The register variables define the following characteristics of a text (cf. Halliday 2014; Eggins & Martin 1997; Eggins 2004):

- Field refers to the subject matter or the topic of the activity – “the social action” (Eggins & Martin 1997: 238)
- Tenor is related to the participants of the situation, their relationships, their social identities and their personal values – “the role structure” (Eggins & Martin 1997: 238)
- Mode is related to the role of language in an activity – “the symbolic organization” (Eggins & Martin 1997: 238).

Field, tenor and mode are also reflected in the three metafunctions of language (Halliday & Hasan 1989: 29), which Eggins and Martin refer to as “one of the attractions of this particular model of context for Halliday’s theory” (1997: 238). Field is realised through ideational meaning, tenor through interpersonal meaning and mode through textual meaning (Eggins 2004: 111). Further explanations of the relations between the register variables and their respective metafunctions will be provided in the next section.

2.1.2 The three metafunctions of language

As already implied in the name of this linguistic theory, functions play a pivotal role in SFL. In the systemic approach to language, functions become metafunctions and are frequently referred to as the Hallidayan metafunctions since Halliday is one of the founders of SFL. The term ‘metafunction’ means “that part of the system of a language – the particular semantic and lexico-grammatical resources – that has evolved to perform the function in question” (Halliday & Hasan 1989: 44). Moreover, Halliday recognises the understanding of experiences and the expression of social relations as two functions of language (Halliday 2014: 30). Connecting meaning and function of language use, he asserts that “there is no facet of human experience that cannot be transformed into meaning. In other words, language provides a **theory** of human experience, and certain of the resources of the lexicogrammar of every language are dedicated to that function” (Halliday 2014: 30 [original emphasis]). Meaning in and function of language are closely connected in the Halliday’s approach to language.

The function concerned with representing reality, or human experience, is referred to as the ideational metafunction of language, which can be further divided into the experiential and the logical metafunctions (cf. Eggins 2004). The second metafunction described by Halliday is related to the social relationships and thus considered the interpersonal metafunction (Halliday 1985: 30). It can also be regarded as “the doing function” (Halliday & Hasan 1989: 44) because it refers to the enactment of social relationships, while the ideational metafunction is considered “the learning or thinking function” (Halliday & Hasan 1989: 44) and focuses on the function of representing an individual’s perceived reality in a clause (Halliday 1985: 83). However, both of these functions are always present in language, as language “has both an interpersonal and ideational component to it”, as Halliday and Hasan insist (1989: 45). There also is a third metafunction, the textual metafunction (cf. Halliday 2014), which is related to the textual organisation (Eggins 2004: 12), i. e. coherence and cohesion in a text. Hasan and Halliday describe the textual metafunction as a “resource for ensuring what is said is relevant and relates to its context” (1989: 45). These three Hallidayan metafunctions of language attempt to account for specific semantic and lexico-grammatical choices.

Each of these three metafunctions manifest in different realisations on the level of lexicogrammar in everyday language use in social interaction (Halliday 2014: 87). The ideational metafunction is realised through two different lexico-grammatical systems. While

the experiential metafunction is expressed through transitivity, a system assigning various functions to verbs, adjectives and nouns, depending on the process type of the main verb in a clause (cf. Eggins 2004; Halliday 2014), the logical metafunction of language is realised through logico-semantic links between clauses (cf. Eggins 2004; Halliday 2014). The interpersonal metafunction is presented by Mood patterns in a text (cf. Eggins 2004; Halliday 2014). The textual metafunction uses the system of theme-rheme as realisation in text (cf. Eggins 2004; Halliday 2014). The metafunctions of language can therefore be analysed in terms of their lexico-grammatical realisations in text.

The Hallidayan metafunctions of language not only express meaning on a semantic level and on the level of lexicogrammar but can also be viewed as construing meaning on a more global level related to the cultural context of any communicative situation. According to Halliday (2014: 32), “[t]he contextual potential of a community is its culture”; he therefore contends (2014: 33) that the cultural context of meaning making processes should be studied as well, despite considering it a conceptual challenge for researcher. As already explained in the previous section, context can be analysed by referring to the three register variables field, tenor and mode. These three register variables can consequently be described in more detail through the analysis of realisations of their respective metafunctions on the level of lexicogrammar. The relations between field, tenor and mode and Halliday’s metafunctions as well as their realisations on the level of lexicogrammar are illustrated in Figure 1.

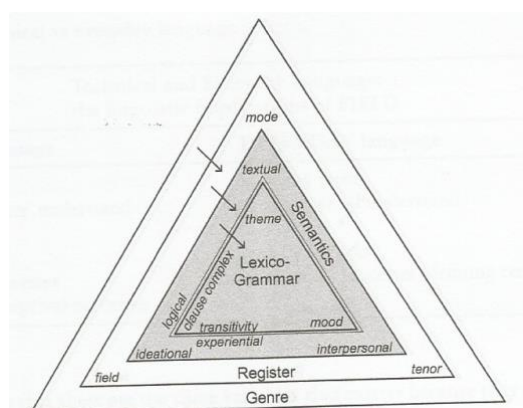


Figure 1 Relation of register variables (context), the interpersonal functions (semantics) and the systems of lexicogrammar (Eggins 2004: 112)

Figure 1 presents the linguistic model with its various layers and their relations within the system. Depending on the research interest, linguists would explore the genre, continue to select one or more of the register variables, which suit their interests, and thereby examine

one or more of the metafunctions. To analyse the metafunctions, linguists would then focus on the respective systems of lexico-grammar and relate them to the register variables.

In this thesis, the relationship established by the writers or speakers with their audience in text is part of the research focus, as well as the expression of their emotions towards the subject matter addressed in their texts. The research focus is thus closely linked to the register variable tenor, the interpersonal metafunction in the area of semantics and the system of mood as realisation of lexicogrammar. The following section provides further descriptions of the interpersonal metafunction and its linguistic realisations in text.

2.1.3 Interpersonal metafunction

The interpersonal metafunction serves to make interpersonal meaning. Interpersonal meaning expresses “meanings about roles and relationships” (Eggins & Slade 1997: 48) as well as “the writer’s attitude towards the subject matter” (Eggins 2004: 11). The meaning of language is “consider[ed] from the point of view of its function in the process of social interaction” (Halliday & Hasan 1989: 20). Thus, the Hallidayan interpersonal metafunction should account for the social dimension of language use.

To identify interpersonal meaning in text, language must be viewed with regards to the functions of individual turns in discourse. Halliday (2014: 83) refers to the interpersonal meaning inherent in the clause as an exchange. As Eggins (2004: 144) explains, interactants can perform different speech roles in a conversation. The two most fundamental speech roles in conversation are giving and demanding, and there are two types of commodities which are being exchanged: information and goods and services (Eggins 2004: 144). The combinations of these two speech roles and these two types of commodities result in four basic move types in conversation, which are statement, question, offer and command (Halliday 2014: 135). Halliday (2014: 135) refers to these move types as speech functions. Therefore, interpersonal meaning is represented in the speech functions in conversation and continuously negotiated in every interactive turn.

The speech functions are reflected in the Mood structure of a clause (Eggins 2004: 147). As Eggins (2004: 147) describes, “the Mood structure of the clause refers to the organization of a set of functional constituents including the constituent Subject”. Examples of Mood patterns are declarative, imperative and interrogative (Eggins and Slade 1997: 74). These Mood patterns can either be considered as full or elliptical, depending on the occurrence of the

necessary constituents of a clause, or lack thereof (Eggins and Slade 1997: 75). This distinction, however, seems to be only relevant to spontaneous speech, e. g. in casual conversation, either in person or virtual, since professional speechwriting, for example in politics, typically requires a skilled craft and a careful oral delivery without conversational sentence fragments.

The Mood pattern has two main components. The typical Mood structure of a full English clause is Subject and Finite (Eggins and Slade 1997: 75), which form the MOOD component of a clause (Halliday 2014: 140). The other component is called the RESIDUE (Halliday 2014: 151) and does not necessarily have to occur in a clause (Eggins 2004: 155). However, it can also consist of three other functional elements: Predicator, Complement and Adjunct (Halliday 2014: 151). While the MOOD component of a clause “is the element that realizes the selection of mood in the clause” (Halliday 2014: 142) and it “carries the burden of the clause as an interactive event” (Halliday 2014: 150), the RESIDUE component has less significance in negotiating the interpersonal meaning of a clause (Eggins 2004: 155). According to the systemic approach, a clause consists of an obligatory MOOD and an optional RESIDUE component.

The following examples have been taken from one of the sample texts used in this thesis and should illustrate the components MOOD and RESIDUE as well as their individual elements within these two components.

(1) Our country always wins (Trump 2020).

Our country	always	wins.	
Subject	Adjunct: mood	Finite	Predicator
MOOD			

(2) America is founded upon the rule of law (Trump 2020).

America	is	founded upon	the rule of law.
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
MOOD		RESIDUE	

Another element of MOOD is polarity. Polarity describes the grammaticalization of the negative/positive opposition in language (Halliday 2014: 173). In English, positive clauses are

typically unmarked, while negative clauses contain “not” in close proximity to the verb (Halliday 2014: 173). According to Halliday, “[p]olarity is thus a choice between yes and no” (2014: 176). As is also pointed out, yes and no can also stand by themselves in an ellipsed clause and are then called Polarity Adjuncts as part of the MOOD constituent (Egins 2004: 161). However, they can also appear at the beginning of a sentence as Textual Adjuncts, as unstressed, introductory element of a clause (ibid.). Polarity marks the sentence as positive or negative and can be expressed in ellipsed clauses as Polarity Adjuncts or sentence initially as Textual Adjuncts.

The following sentences should illustrate the classification and placement of negative polarity (3) in the MOOD constituent as well as textual adjuncts in a clause (4-5). It is important to note that Textual Adjuncts do not belong to either the MOOD or the RESIDUE component of a clause but are outside both of them, whereas Mood Adjuncts are part of the MOOD component (cf. Egins 2004). The example given in (3) should demonstrate negative polarity in a declarative sentence.

(3) This tragedy does not reflect all Americans (Traina 2020).

This tragedy	does not	reflect	all Americans.
Subject	Finite: negative	Predicator	Complement
MOOD		RESIDUE	

(4) Finally, many of our members are experiencing rioting and looting in their communities (NDAA 2020).

Finally,	many of our members	are	experiencing	rioting and looting	in their communities.
Adjunct: textual	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct: circumstantial
	MOOD		RESIDUE		

(5) And sometimes we manage to overlook it (Biden 2020).

And	sometimes	we	manage	to overlook	it.
Adjunct: textual	Adjunct: mood	Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement
			MOOD		RESIDUE

Additionally, modality is also an important element of expressing one's stance towards a certain subject matter. The system of modality attempts to describe the continuum of certainty between yes and no, linking modality to the concept of polarity (Halliday 1985: 176). There are two subsystems of modality: modalisation and modulation. Modalisation refers to the "number of choices of degree of certainty, or of usuality" and "the probability of frequency", as Eggins explains Halliday's distinction (2004: 172), e. g. *perhaps* vs. *certainly* or *occasionally* vs. *always*, while modulation is more complex. Modulation is expressed in "the obligation or inclination of proposals" (Eggins 2004: 172). Modalisation is expressed in Mood Adjuncts, such as *potentially* and *definitely*, or in modal operators belonging to the category of Finite in the MOOD constituent of a clause, e. g. *may* or *can* (cf. Eggins 2004). Modalisation is classified on a continuum of certainty, with intermediate positions, the Mood Adjuncts and their corresponding modal operators can be categorised according to their degree of certainty, ranging from high to low (Eggins 2004: 173). For example, the Mood adjunct *never* would be of high value of the degree of certainty, while *sometimes* classifies as low value, according to Eggins (2004: 173). Thus, through the system of modality speakers and writers can vary the degree of certainty in expressing their opinions and thoughts as part of interpersonal meaning. The following example in (6) demonstrates modalisation realised through a finite modal operator, i. e. a modal verb, and a Mood adjunct used in one sentence:

(6) We must never give in to anger or hatred (Trump 2020).

We	must	never	give in to	anger or hatred.
Subject	Finite: modal	Adjunct: mood	Predicator	Complement
MOOD			RESIDUE	

The identification of these previously outlined elements of the MOOD and RESIDUE component allows linguists to make assumptions on the social relations and the social identities, both of the speaker or writer and other interactants or the audience, which are

established in text. For example, identifying who is frequently put in Subject position, which kinds of Finites are used and where can they be placed on the continuum of certainty can provide invaluable insights into the social positioning occurring in discourse.

Although the Hallidayan interpersonal metafunction is used to account for the social relations between interactants established through language in conversation (cf. Halliday 1985; Eggins and Slade 1997; Eggins 2004), interpersonal meaning can also be analysed in monologic texts. Eggins and Slade (1997) illustrated two aspects which can be viewed as strongly in favour of using the systemic theory for CDA, even though the authors primarily focused on evaluation in casual conversation in their work. The systemic theory can, however, also be applied to genres of political discourse, which is a frequent method of CDA in the domain of politics (cf. Martin 2000b; Young & Fitzgerald 2006; Ping & Lingling 2018), despite its predominant focus on monologic text genres.

Nevertheless, several adjustments must be made to the methods of analysis as well as tentative theoretical conclusions since press releases and public statements by politicians, as analysed in this thesis, can be considered neither 'dialogic' in the sense of conventional turn-taking conversation as examined by Eggins and Slade (1997) nor casual texts. However, a Mood analysis of the texts under analysis may provide invaluable insight into the construction of interpersonal meaning as well as an examination of attitudinal meanings expressed in texts by politicians on such a pressing and tragic subject matter, which seems to require a diplomatic yet clear stance from these highly influential political figures. All of the texts under analysis can be considered part of a wider political discourse since many of them are either a reaction to one another, to previously released public statements or the general ongoing conversation held in the form of protests across the United States. Despite their potential to reveal interesting patterns of political reactions through text in political discourse, a closer examination and consideration of the discourse structure patterns would be well beyond the scope of this thesis. The focus of analysis in this thesis is on the construal of interpersonal meaning through different systems of lexicogrammar, which are assumed to contribute substantially to seeking the answers to the research questions. Therefore, using SFL for analysing texts of political discourse can thus shed light on the linguistic patterns used in political discourse aimed at a wider, public audience, even though it is predominantly monologic, as far as the sample texts in this thesis are concerned, and more formal than casual conversation.

The interpersonal metafunction of language has been significantly extended by Martin & White (2005) and Martin & Rose (2007), which contributes to its applicability to other textual genres, such as those of political discourse. Their extensions will thus be of utmost significance to the research purposes in this thesis due to their focus on emotions and the speakers' attitudes towards the subject matters in their texts. These extensions will be described in the next subsection.

2.2 Appraisal

The research focus in this thesis is the construal of interpersonal meaning in text, i. e. the way in which the addressers relate to their audiences through specific language use. Additionally, the expression of emotion is another focus in this thesis since the subject matter of the texts under analysis is delicate, due to their relation to the wider discussion of issues such as race, racial bias and police brutality in the U.S. Both the interpersonal meaning and the expression of emotion, or affect, are part of the Appraisal framework. The Appraisal framework has been described and gradually extended by Martin and Rose (2003, 2007) in *Working with discourse* and eventually by Martin and White (2005) in *The language of evaluation*. The second edition of Martin and Rose's (2007) work on Appraisal and Martin and White's (2005) publication, which has become the most frequent work of reference used for Appraisal theory, informed the greater part of this section with additional explanations taken from earlier works by Martin and others. This section first provides insights into the beginning of Appraisal theory, an overview of its framework and, lastly, its linguistic realisations in text.

The interpersonal metafunction of language defined by Halliday (2014) served as starting point for the development of Appraisal theory. The interpersonal area of meaning is "one of the least understood and most under-researched areas in linguistics", as Eggins and Slade already pointed out (1997: 124) in their seminal work of conversational analysis with a systemic approach to analysing language. Initial attempts to theorise the Appraisal framework based on lexis had been in development already in the 1980s at the Linguistics Department of the University of Sydney (Martin 2000a: 143). Martin criticised that the evaluation by the speakers in a dialogue had largely been neglected, referring to the speakers' emotions, judgements and perceptions of value of experiences and things as relevant to evaluation in text (2000a: 144). According to Martin (2000a: 145), sharing feelings, making judgements and expressing values were a potential source for negotiation. Therefore, Martin advocated a lexically-based approach to analysing evaluation in text, with the aim of supplementing the

grammar-based systemic-functional model of language (2000a: 145). In an essay, Martin (2014) recounts the gradual development of Appraisal theory. Martin (2014: 17-18) asserts that Halliday's functional grammar only allowed for the manifestation of evaluation in text through a variety of systems of lexicogrammar, as opposed to providing one generalised system:

relevant evaluative meaning for Halliday was in fact scattered across a range of lexicogrammatical systems – including at least PROCESS TYPE (affective mental processes) at clause rank, ATTITUDE in nominal groups, COMMENT in adverbial groups and CONNOTATION for words. This reflects the fact that a feeling like happiness can be realised through many different systems (happily they lost, it cheered him they lost, he felt happy, a happy chappy, his happiness etc.). As discourse analysts we wanted a system that would generalise across these diverse lexicogrammaticalisations, bringing feelings together in relation to one another so that we could describe prosodies of evaluation in relation to genre (and later on in relation to the tenor of face-to-face interaction and the negotiation of identity; Eggins & Slade 1997, Martin 2010c). This meant turning from a grammatical perspective on evaluation to a discourse semantic one.

Evaluation, i. e. sharing feelings, judgements and values of things, were then acknowledged as an important content to be shared in conversation and subsequently considered as interpersonal, as Martin explains (2014: 19). Moreover, regarding discourse semantics as organised by metafunctions allows a reinterpretation of the realisation of interpersonal meaning through experiential resources, such as Processes, which complement the Mood system as expressions of interpersonal meaning (Martin 2014: 19). This unified system of examining interpersonal meaning in text would also allow for the identification of patterns, or 'prosodies' (cf. Martin & Rose 2003, 2007), stretching across longer passages of discourse, which may be attributed to genre or other register variables, as Martin (2014: 17-18) advocates. Since interpersonal meaning is closely linked to tenor, Martin and White (2005: 31-32) point out that tenor is realised through Appraisal resources, which are therefore also viewed as resources for expressing power and solidarity in text. The development of Appraisal theory was considered necessary to refer to one system for interpersonal meaning, instead of frequently relying on the other metafunctions to describe the social relations and identities created in text, thereby creating potentially convoluted descriptions of interpersonal meaning.

Appraisal can be described as "a system of interpersonal meanings. We use the resources of Appraisal for negotiating our social relationships, by telling our listeners or readers how we

feel about things and people (in a word, what our attitudes are)” (Martin & Rose 2007: 26). This basic definition already reflects the social dimension of Appraisal, foregrounding attitudes and feelings in text more so than the interpersonal metafunction by Halliday.

Before Martin and White (2005) published their work on Appraisal theory, its terminology was quite different from what is known today. As Martin (2014: 16) clarifies, in earlier publications Judgement and Appreciation were components of Affect (cf. Martin 1992), whereas Martin and Rose (2003, 2007) subsequently referred to the three subsystems as Attitude, Amplification and Source. Martin and White (2005) later reworked this terminology as well as the system which resulted in the three regions of Attitude, now comprising Affect, Judgement as well as Appreciation, Graduation and Engagement. The revised system of Appraisal allowed for further distinction of Graduation into Force and Focus (Martin 2014: 16) and is presented in Figure 2. Martin and White’s (2005) established terminology will be used throughout this thesis to describe Appraisal resources in the texts under analysis.

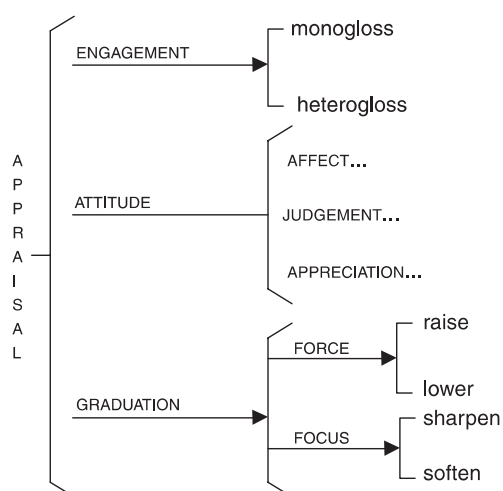


Figure 2 "An overview of Appraisal resources" (Martin & White 2005: 38)

The system of Appraisal consists of three subsystems: Attitude, Graduation and Engagement (Martin & White 2005: 34; see Figure 2). This system operates “at the level of discourse semantics” (Martin & White 2005: 33). At the level of discourse semantics, the system of Appraisal is used for realising power and status in social groups, apart from negotiation and involvement, which also play a pivotal role in construing interpersonal meaning (Martin and White 2005: 34-35). Moreover, all of its components contribute considerably to evaluative meaning and are realised simultaneously in any kind of text (Martin & Rose 2007: 28). Since the main focus of this thesis is the expression of emotions in public statements issued by

important political figures, Attitude, more precisely, the semantic region of Affect, will be of great significance and thus is explained in further detail in the following.

The three main regions of attitudinal meaning are Appreciation, Judgement and Affect (Martin & Rose 2007: 28). Appreciation is concerned with the value of “semiotic and natural phenomena” (Martin & White 2005: 43), whereas Judgement is a resource for evaluating someone else’s character and behaviour, for which admiration, criticism, praise or condemnation can be expressed (Martin & White 2005: 42). Affect is a resource for expressing negative and positive emotions (Martin & White 2005: 28). These three dimensions of attitudinal meanings can be associated with the institutionalised concepts of feelings and values of things (Martin & White 2005: 45). Martin and White propose (2005: 47) to consider Judgement and Appreciation as “institutionalised feelings” contributing to “shared community values”. They compare Judgement to behavioural guidelines, i. e. proposals, which are often formulated as official rules and regulations, while Appreciation can be compared to an ascription of value to, e. g. a film or book, which in some areas of culture is also officially organised in award systems (Martin & White 2005: 45). In this sense, Martin and White view Affect as the centre of institutionalised feelings, from which Judgement and Appreciation originate (2005: 45), alluding to the former conception of subordination of Judgement and Appreciation to Affect. This former constellation is illustrated in Figure 3. In sum, attitudinal meanings can be construed in text in the semantic regions of Appreciation, Judgement and Affect, all of which can be considered institutionalised feelings as part of shared values in a society.

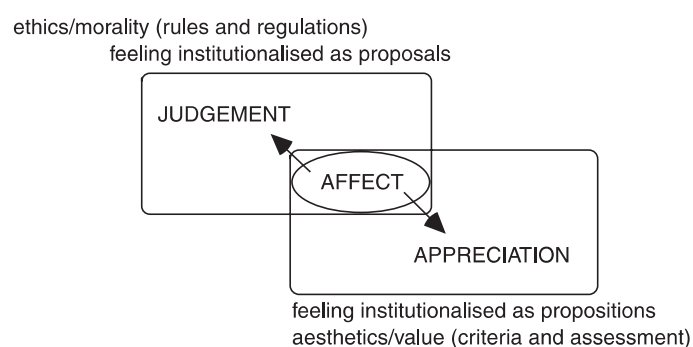


Figure 3 "Judgement and appreciation as institutionalised affect" (Martin & White 2005: 45)

The attitude system presents Appreciation and Judgement as deriving from Affect, and each of the two refer to institutionalised entities such as ethics and morality and aesthetics and value.

The realisations of Appraisal in text mainly consist of a variety of lexical choices and, occasionally, whole clauses (Eggins & Slade 1997: 124; Martin 2017: 31). As Eggins and Slade (1997: 126) also point out, Appraisal in isolated sentences has only limited significance, Appraisal should rather be analysed in the wider context of discourse. This view is also supported by Martin and Rose (2007) because they also emphasise that “Appraisal resources are used to establish the tone or mood of a passage of discourse, as choices resonate with one other from one moment to another as texts unfolds (2007: 59)”. Thus, Appraisal resources should be analysed as individual elements forming a pattern which can subsequently be interpreted for interpersonal meaning in text.

Linguistic realisations of Affect can be grouped under three different categories derived from Halliday’s functional grammar (1985). Although Appraisal theory is an extension of Halliday’s interpersonal metafunction, it nevertheless makes use of its grammatical categories to describe realisations of Appraisal in text. Martin and White categorise (2005: 45-46) Appraisal resources under the following, with reference to Halliday’s functional grammar (1985):

- Modifications of participants and processes
- Affective mental and behavioural processes
- Modal Adjuncts

Additionally, grammatical metaphors may also be realisations of Affect (Martin & White 2005: 46). These grammatical metaphors also include nominalisations of qualities and processes. Examples of resources expressing Affect in their respective categories are demonstrated in Table 1. The examples have been partially taken from the sample texts which are to be analysed in this thesis and are supplemented by additional examples taken from other texts dealing with the same subject matter, which are, however, not part of the textual data in this thesis and only serve the purpose of demonstration.

Table 1 Linguistic realisations of Affect (Martin & White 2005: 45-46)

AFFECT as ...	Grammatical category (cf. Halliday 1985)	Examples from sample texts	Specification of grammatical

			categories (cf. Halliday 1985)
quality	Describing participants	“our long suffering hearts” (Biden)	EPITHET ¹
	Attributed to participants	“They are close, decent, honourable family” (Biden)	ATTRIBUTE
	Manner of processes	“Innocent people have been savagely beaten” (Trump)	CIRCUMSTANCE
process	Affective mental	“it sickens us” (NDAA)	PROCESS (EFFECTIVE)
		“Rosalynn and I are pained ” (Carter)	PROCESS (MIDDLE)
		„we too share the pain and outrage “ (NDAA) ‘Unpacking’ the metaphor, e. g.: “We also feel hurt and infuriated ”	GRAMMATICAL METAPHOR ²
		“This tragedy has filled Americans and people all over the world with shock, grief, and anger” (US Ambassador to Austria). ‘Unpacking the metaphor, e. g.: “Americans and people all over the world are shocked, angry and grieving due to this tragedy.”	
	Affective behavioural	I cried when I saw that video (Obama)	PROCESS

¹ “The Epithet indicates some quality of the subset [...] often realized by adjectives” (Halliday 1985: 376).

² According to Eggins (2004: 99), Halliday’s concept of ‘grammatical metaphor’ refers to atypical realisations of meaning. As Halliday described them, “it [the grammatical metaphor] construes additional layers of meaning and wording” (1985: 699). These additional layers have consequences on the structural as well as on the systemic level, as the structure of a clause becomes increasingly dense due to its new layers, while also expanding the potential meaning of a clause (Halliday 1985: 699). One frequent example of a grammatical metaphor is nominalisation (cf. Halliday 1985; Eggins 2004; Martin & Rose 2003, 2007). Martin and Rose list ‘unpacking’ as a method of analysis, which implies the re-formulation of the respective clause, depending on the nominalized verb in it (2003, 2007: 106-107).

		“People of power, privilege, and moral conscience must stand up ³ ” (Carter)	
comment	Desiderative ⁴	“ Unfortunately , America is not the only place where racism lives” (Hamilton ⁵)	MODAL ADJUNCT

Table 1 presents realisations of Affect according to Halliday’s established grammatical categories. It shows, on the one hand, that Affect is realised in various categories, demonstrating the need for a unified system explained earlier in this section, and, on the other hand, that the system of Affect functions as a supplement to Halliday’s interpersonal metafunction since it aligns well with the existing grammatical categories.

Furthermore, Martin and White (2005) also suggest six factors for classifying Affect. These factors, however, require a further distinction between the Emoter, the participant experiencing the concerned emotions, and the Trigger, the event or phenomenon causing the emotion felt by the Emoter (Martin & White 2005: 46). The six factors for classifying Affect are outlined in the following.

As a basic distinction, Martin and White (2005: 46) propose differentiating between positive and negative affect. From a popular, cultural perspective, the emotions are either perceived as positive and pleasant sensations or negative ones which are preferably avoided, e. g. negative affect: “I am **saddened**” (U.S. Embassy to Austria 2020).

Moreover, the expression of emotion is “realised as a surge of emotion involving some kind of embodied paralinguistic or extralinguistic manifestation, or more internally experienced as a kind of emotive state or ongoing mental process” (Martin & White 2005: 47). The following

³ It can be argued whether ‘stand up’ is either an affective mental or behavioural process. In this table, it is classified as a behavioural process since the act of standing up should not be only a mental process, a commonly called ‘mindset’, but also an active way of treating fellow citizens and peers.

⁴ As Halliday illustrates (1985: 191), propositional comment Adjuncts can express desirability in three different ways. A comment Adjunct can either be used for the expression of ‘luck’, e. g. luckily, fortunately, ‘hope’, e. g. hopefully or ‘undesirable’, e. g. sadly, unfortunately (Halliday 1985: 191).

⁵ Lewis Hamilton is, of course, not a political figure neither in the UK nor in the U.S. However, he was one of the many well-known public figures who expressed his thoughts and grief on social media to a wide audience. Moreover, his text was one of the very few known to the author of this thesis which contained an exemplary use of a Modal adjunct.

set of examples has been taken from the sample texts in this thesis, with the respective emotions in bold for clarification.

- behavioural process: “I **cried** when I saw that video” (Obama 2020);
- mental process (ongoing): “it **sickens** us (NDAA 2020); “you **feared** for their safety from bad actors” (Biden 2020).
- relational process (state): Brave nurses, who have battled the virus, are **afraid** to leave their homes (Trump 2020);

Martin and White (2005: 47) also distinguish between emotions which are either expressed as a reaction to an emotional Trigger or an ongoing mood of a person, for which the Senser (cf. Halliday 1985; Eggins 2004) may not know the specific reason when asked for it.

- Reaction to other: “Laura and I are **anguished** by the brutal suffocation of George Floyd⁶” (Bush 2020)
 - Senser: “Laura and I”
 - Phenomenon: “by the brutal suffocation of George Floyd”
- Undirected mood: “I am **deeply saddened, truly and plain angry**” (Jordan 2020⁷)

Similarly to modalisation and to classifying Mood Adjuncts on a continuum, emotions can also be graded in terms of intensity, on a scale from low to median to high (Martin & White 2005: 48). This continuum is exemplified in Table 2.

Table 2 Grading emotions, examples taken from textual data

Value	Example	Emotion
LOW	Rosalynn and I are pained by the tragic racial injustices and consequent backlash across our nation in recent weeks (Carter 2020)	pained

⁶ For explanations of the reversibility of mental processes, which enables either the Senser or the Phenomenon in mental processes to be the Subject, see Eggins (2004: 229-230).

⁷ Similarly to the example taken from Lewis Hamilton’s posting, Jordan’s is not included in the textual data for further analysis as well and only used for exemplification since the texts under analysis include no exemplative use of undirected mood. However, it must be noted that even in Jordan’s example the mood is not completely undirected but the cause for it is implied, namely the killing of George Floyd. This example has only been used to demonstrate the difference at the grammatical level.

MEDIAN	Laura and I are anguished by the brutal suffocation of George Floyd (Bush 2020)	anguished
HIGH	I too was horrified to learn of the death of George Floyd (Traina 2020).	horrified

The examples in Table 2 have been taken from the sample texts of this thesis and should demonstrate the grading system of emotions according to Martin and White (2005).

The distinction of such fine shades of meaning may present challenges for both native and non-native speakers, as such semantic nuances may differ, depending on personal or social preferences of expression. This factor proposed by Martin and White (2005) has nevertheless been outlined as part of their classification inventory for the sake of completeness.

Additionally, Martin and White (2005: 48) distinguish between intention and reaction with further differentiation between irrealis and realis Affect. This distinction is linguistically realised in desiderative vs. emotive mental processes (cf. Halliday & Matthiessen 2014). These two types of mental processes can be distinguished by identifying the stimulus of the respective process. An irrealis stimulus, an event likely to occur in the future causes emotional states yet to be realised, i. e. desiderative mental processes (Martin 2000a: 150), such as *want, wish, hope, intend, agree* (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 257). By contrast, emotive mental processes refer to “present existing states” (Martin 2000a: 150). Emotive mental processes are, for example, *love, hate, despite, mourn, fear, enjoy* as well as *please, disgust, sadden, frighten, shock, divert* (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 257).

As a last factor, Martin and White (2005: 49) establish three major sets of emotions in which they can be grouped:

- Happiness/unhappiness
- In/security
- Satisfaction/dissatisfaction

The more detailed descriptions of the respective set and examples for concrete emotions subsumed in these three sets are illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3 Sets of emotions established by Martin & White (2005: 49-50)

Set of emotions	Description	Concrete emotions
Un/happiness	'affairs of the heart'; either a mood or emotions directed at a Trigger	Sadness Hate Happiness Love
In/security	Ecosocial well-being; strong relation to one's surroundings, i. e. animate and inanimate entities,	Anxiety Fear Confidence Trust
Dis/satisfaction	Pursuit of goals; Either felt while actively pursuing a goal or bystanding someone else's pursuit	Ennui Displeasure Curiosity Respect

These three sets of emotions illustrated in Table 3 are also frequently used for presenting results of Appraisal analyses in research papers (cf. Ding 2017).

These six factors seem suitable for analysing Affect in the texts under analysis in this thesis; they therefore represent a part of the theoretical framework, which will be further outlined in the respective section.

Martin and White (2005) have developed a basic framework for detecting resources expressing interpersonal meaning in text. They have significantly enhanced Halliday's theory on the interpersonal metafunction of language (1985), which was originally mainly used to analyse social interactions (cf. Eggins & Slade 1997). In their work, Eggins and Slade describe Appraisal analysis as a framework for "examining the attitudinal meanings of words in conversation" (1997: 125). While Eggins and Slade (1997) used the Hallidayan interpersonal metafunction for conversational analysis, Martin and White (2005) aimed to broaden the concept of interpersonal meaning in any kind of text through the development of Appraisal theory. As they explain (2005: 8), "[i]n the early 1990s we began to develop a more lexically-based perspective, triggered in the first instance by the need for a richer understanding interpersonal meaning in monologic texts" (2005: 8). Martin and White (2005) thus recognised that monologic texts can carry interpersonal meaning despite the lack of

interactive elements typically occurring in social interactions with at least two participants. The need for inclusion of monologic text genres as well as a lexically-based approach to interpersonal meaning in texts led to the emergence of Appraisal theory as applied and studied today. Martin and White (2005) provide various examples of Appraisal analysis of political speech, demonstrating its applicability on monologic texts. This highly valuable Appraisal system thus allows discourse analysts to identify interpersonal resources creating social relations and social identities in non-interactive texts.

Thus, Martin and White's (2005) original intention for advancing the theory of interpersonal meaning in order to provide a lexical approach to the Hallidayan metafunction and unites the systems of lexicogrammar which had previously been realisations of the other two metafunctions. The system of Appraisal allows linguists and discourse analysts to refer to one theoretical framework for interpersonal meaning, which has been applied in a great number of studies on political speech and critical discourse analysis (cf. Fenton-Smith 2007; Ding 2017; Zhang & Pei 2018). This framework has therefore been chosen to explore the lexical resources used for social positioning of their audiences as well as their own by the political figures whose press releases and statements have been chosen for the Appraisal analysis conducted in this research project.

2.2.1 Text and discourse

Before turning to the last important concept to be introduced in this literature review, the definition of 'text' and 'discourse' should be further discussed, as it can refer to various concepts, depending on the discipline in which it is used. In SFL, as Eggins (2004: 24) points out, 'text' may refer to "any unified piece of language that has the properties of texture". 'Texture' refers to the presence of cohesive devices and coherence established through structural resources in text (cf. Halliday 1985) as well as social and contextual relations, i. e. genre and register (Eggins 2004: 23). This definition appears similar to one provided in *The Cambridge linguistics dictionary*, which refers to discourse as "[a]ny coherent sequence of sentences with a structure, typically marked by various cohesive devices. A discourse can be in writing or speech" (Brown & Miller 2013). By contrast, 'discourse' is either used to refer to "'spoken text' or [...] to the level of meaning above the lexico-grammar, the level concerned with relations of meaning across text" (Eggins 2004: 24). The renowned discourse analyst, Norman Fairclough, uses 'discourse' for describing "the whole process of social interaction of which text is just a part" (2001: 20). Fairclough thereby also includes (2001: 20) the processes

of production and interpretation in the notion of 'discourse', which will be described in more detail in the next section. In this thesis, the term 'discourse' refers to the definition in SFL; however, in the respective part of this thesis, Fairclough's extended definition will be used to discuss the issues addressed in the sample texts as part of a critical discourse analysis.

Since the focus of this research is not only on the systemic-functional analysis of text but also relating its findings to the wider discourse of the subject matter addressed in text, another analytical approach is of relevance to this endeavour. The following section briefly introduces critical discourse analysis (CDA) and its connection to SFL.

2.3 Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an approach to analysing discourse which has been practiced for many decades and therefore evolved in many different directions, employing a wide range of methods and achieving various purposes. However, two scholars, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak, have been particularly closely associated with CDA due to their significant contributions to the theory and its applicability, resulting in the widespread use of CDA. While Fairclough developed the dialectical-relational approach to CDA, which is closely linked to Halliday's functional grammar, Wodak's discourse-historical approach is associated with Critical Theory (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 20). Therefore, these two schools represent two diverse branches of CDA; however, works written by both of these authors have informed this section, as their contributions to CDA are considered significant and had an enormous impact on this paradigm.

The concept of critical discourse analysis will be briefly introduced, as the term itself may not be self-explanatory. As Wodak and Meyer (2009: 3) explain in an introductory chapter, CDA and all its approaches are

problem-oriented, and thus necessarily interdisciplinary and eclectic [...]. Moreover, CDA is characterized by the common interests in de-mystifying ideologies and power through the systematic and *retroductable* investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual). [original emphasis]

Wodak frequently uses the term 'retroductable' as property of CDA (e. g. Wodak 2011). Wodak (2011: 624) views the critical analysis of a text as retroductable if the analysis is systematic and functions as the starting point for the interpretation of implicit meanings, possible meanings and effects of the text under analysis. This systematic analysis should also

be explicit (Wodak 2011: 624), which also implies transparency in analysing texts (Wodak 2011: 628).

Furthermore, ideology and power are two other terms typically affiliated with CDA. Ideology has rather negative connotative meaning because it refers to “the more hidden and latent type of everyday beliefs which often appear disguised as conceptual metaphors and analogies” (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 8). Fairclough (2001: 2) considers ideologies as “‘common-sense’ assumptions which are implicit in the conventions according to which people interact linguistically, and of which people are generally not consciously aware”. These conventions are contingent on power, implying a strong link to ideology, because the conventions perpetuate the existing system of social relations and positions of power due to the widespread acceptance of the status quo without further reflection on it (Fairclough 2001: 2). Fairclough identifies another link of ideology to language “because using language is the commonest form of social behaviour, and the form of social behaviour where we rely most on ‘common sense’ assumptions” (2001: 2). He also criticises the neglect of this issue in linguistics, considering his view supported in this (2001: 2). Power is also an important concept of CDA because the focus of this paradigm is the uncovering of social domination manifested in discourse (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 9). As Wodak and Meyer (2009: 10) point out, “text in CDA is often regarded as widely determined by social structure”. They (2009: 10) also assert that “[p]ower is central for understanding the dynamics and specifics of control (of action) in modern societies, but power remains mostly invisible”. Fairclough (2001: 3) therefore argues that language is a means for and contributor to establishing and maintaining power, which requires critical awareness of domination and oppression as well as its modalities. The practice of critical discourse analysts often involves the focus on power and ideology, and language use as the perpetuator of accepted power relations.

In the introductory chapter of one of his introductory works, Fairclough (2010) proposes three fundamental characteristics of CDA: “it is relational, it is dialectical and it is transdisciplinary” (3). According to Fairclough (2010: 3), CDA primarily focuses on social relations and the ways in which they are manifested and reproduced in discourse, rendering it relational. Moreover, these social relations are considered ‘dialectical’, referring to two entities which oppose one another but are not exclusive, as Fairclough explains (2010: 4). As Fairclough points out (2009: 163), “[r]elations between elements are dialectical in the sense of being different but not ‘discrete’, i. e. not fully separate”. Additionally, the transdisciplinary approach to critically

analysing discourse aims to address issues from various perspectives, across many different disciplines such as linguistics and politics (Fairclough 2010: 4). This transdisciplinary approach thus requires an interplay between various disciplines and their respective theoretical frameworks, resulting in “transdisciplinary methodology” (Fairclough 2010: 4). Fairclough’s approach to CDA is thus referred to as “dialectical-relational approach” and focuses on the linguistic manifestations of social conflict in text (Wodak & Meyer 2009: 27).

The use of CDA often focuses on class and struggle for power. As Fairclough (2001: 33) contends, CDA is used to analyse reproductions of the relationship between social classes in society (Fairclough, 2001, p. 33). According to Fairclough (2001: 33), “[c]lass relations also determine discourse (and social practice generally) on the one hand, but are reproduced in discourse on the other”. This reproduction of class relations is only to be found indirectly in discourse (Fairclough 2001: 33). This indirect reproduction justifies the need for CDA because it illustrates the “potential social impact of critical discourse analysis as a means of raising people’s self-consciousness”, as Fairclough claims (2001: 33).

Concerning concrete methods of text analysis, Fairclough stresses that his version of CDA entails textual analysis of dual character (2010: 7). Dual character means that the analysis is, on the one hand, interdiscursive, connecting various discourses, genres and styles to one another, and, on the other hand, linguistic or multimodal if applicable (Fairclough 2010: 7). For analysing texts, Fairclough (2010: 92) recognises various functions of language, stating that “Language use is always simultaneously constitutive of [...] social identities, [...] social relations and [...] systems of knowledge and belief” (Fairclough 2010: 92). He therefore stresses (2010: 92) the need for a linguistic model which accounts for this multifunctionality, suggesting Halliday’s systemic approach to language (1985) because it appears to represent the linguistic aspect of social reproduction and social transformation and allows for shifting the focus either onto the one or the other, depending on the point of interest.

The social aspect in Fairclough’s CDA plays a particularly important role for several reasons. In one of his works, Fairclough (2001) addresses his view on language use with a focus on its social dimension. Language use is fundamentally social because it not only provides the means for relating to one another, but it also significantly determines the way in which speakers relate to each other (Fairclough 2001: 19). As Fairclough argues, “language activity which goes on in social contexts [...] is not merely a reflection or expression of social processes, it is a *part*

of those processes and practices” (2001: 19 [original emphasis]). These assumptions considerably emphasise the social aspect of language use, which can be expanded to the social dimension of a society in general, as is done in the following.

The social dimension of language use highlighted by Fairclough (2001) particularly lends itself to the use of systemic functional linguistics because one metafunction of language is entirely dedicated to the social relations and the construction of social identity in text. However, Fairclough’s conception of the social dimension of discourse expands to the non-linguistic processes of production and interpretation, both of which he considers as socially conditioned (2001: 20). Moreover, the social processes are in relations to a system of social organization, as described by Fairclough (2001: 20-21): “the level of the social situation, or the immediate social environment in which the discourse occurs; the level of the social institution which constitutes a wider matrix for discourse; and the level of society as a whole”. Therefore, Fairclough requires analysts to examine “the relationship between texts, interactions, and contexts” (2001: 21). The corresponding stages of critical discourse analysis are a formal Description of text, its Interpretation and Explanation (Fairclough 2001: 21-22).

The close link between Fairclough’s CDA and SFL is not only acknowledged by critical discourse analysts, but also by systemic linguists. Martin (2000b) wrote an essay in which he systematically describes the three layers of meaning in three different types of text, highlighting their potential benefits for critically analysing discourse. In this essay, Martin (2000b) advocates the use of SFL, asserting that

one of the real strengths of SFL in the context of CDA work is its ability to ground concerns with power and ideology in the detailed analysis of texts as they unfold, clause by clause, in real contexts of language use [...] SFL provides critical discourse analysts with a technical language for talking about language – to make it possible to look very closely at meaning to be explicit and precise in terms that can be shared by others (2000b: 276).

Other scholars have subsequently noticed the use of SFL for CDA and addressed this connection in various textbooks on CDA. For example, Young and Fitzgerald (2006) analyse various texts of political relevance through the systemic approach before relating their findings to general questions typically addressed in CDA. The past decade has since seen an increased interest in analysing political discourse of various origins through the systemic-functional framework based on Halliday’s metafunction of language (1985). Several of these studies will be reviewed in the respective section of this thesis.

Concerning the textual data to be analysed in this thesis, all of the statements, either written or oral, are monologues and lend themselves to CDA. Wodak and Meyer (2009: 10) point out that interactional genres are not typically analysed in CDA because “it is not the individual resources and not the specifics of single-exchange situations that are crucial for CDA analyses, but the overall structural features in social fields or in overall society”. These structural features may be reflected in the various statements by political figures and associations chosen for this study since they are also all monologic, despite belonging to the same political discourse on the same subject matter.

As has previously been pointed out, SFL may be combined with critical discourse analysis in approaching texts. In an introduction to SFL and CDA for analysing texts, Young and Fitzgerald (2006) advocate the combination of SFL and CDA because the systemic model is viewed as a useful tool for describing linguistic choices made by speakers and writers in discourse as well as justifying these choices in terms of their effectiveness for achieving a certain purpose (2006: 23). According to Young and Fitzgerald (2006: 23), SFL may assist in answering questions related to the reasons for making certain linguistic choices and their reflections of the relationships between dominant groups and those groups which are dominated. Moreover, the authors explain that the linguistic descriptions of text based on the systemic model may serve to address questions related to CDA, as these “provide an explanation and interpretation of a discourse in terms of the relationships between language, power and ideology” (Young & Fitzgerald 2006: 23). Young and Fitzgerald consider SFL and CDA as “joined in a continuum relationship because their focus on issues such as power and ideology begins with SFL and is extended by CDA” (2006: 23). The systemic-functional approach to language can be beneficial to enrich any critical discourse analysis since these two approaches are closely linked to addressing the same social issues, despite their distinct analytical focus.

Power abuse may not be the core element of my attempt of CDA, despite its focus on statements issued by important political figures in the United States after the killing of George Floyd by police officers. Such statements require politicians to show their empathy, align with the protesting crowds in the streets and promise change, thereby foregrounding themselves as one of the people and simultaneously representing those invested with the power to introduce crucial changes to the system. Nevertheless, power is a central element in political discourse, in any genre of it, because after the release of the footage capturing Floyd’s tragic and unjust death the general public demands justice and consequences for the culprit(s) as

promise given by those who are in power. Therefore, this CDA does not focus on power abuse in a narrow sense but investigates the social dimension and expressions of emotions by those who are in power before an audience considered to be the weaker, i. e. dominated, group, in political discourse.

2.4 Positive discourse analysis

While CDA focuses heavily on deconstructing inequality and revealing power-imbalanced relationships, it appears to be mainly concerned with negative representations of power and politics. However, there also is another approach to CDA with a strong focus on productive and constructive elements of discourse which has been first introduced by Martin (2004b) as positive discourse analysis (PDA). In the respective article, Martin (2004b: 6-7) strongly advocates “a complementary focus on community, taking into account how people get together and make room for themselves in the world – in ways that redistribute power without necessarily struggling against it”. This claim is supported only few years later in Martin and Rose (2007). Almost a decade later, Hughes (2018: 194) points out that PDA, a shift from oppressive to progressive discourse analysis, is still largely unknown in the field of communication studies in the U.S. Nevertheless, Hughes (2018: 199) believes that “[b]y reconstructing progressive discourse in use, PDA studies can help researchers and readers develop normative frameworks about what progressive discourse ought to look like and do”. Hughes (2018: 198) understands the term ‘progressive’ in this respect as oriented towards social change; Martin and Rose describe the focus of PDA as “texts that make the world a better place” (2003, 2007: 315). Thus, PDA is a “necessary complement” (Hughes 2018: 196) to traditional CDA because it may shed light on political discourse acting in interests which positively influence the development, the feeling of unity and solidarity of a society.

These conceptions of community and power distribution suggest a close link to social relations and social identities in communication and, as a result, to the register variable of tenor. Indeed, Matthiessen (2012: 445) argues that the focus of PDA and CDA is on tenor and thus on the various facets of social relationships. Matthiessen therefore describes PDA and CDA as “special-purpose forms of discourse analysis” (2012: 445) because CDA concentrates on power, status, thereby focusing on control, dominance and inequality, while PDA focuses on solidarity and inclusion (Matthiessen 2012: 444). Two of the relatively few studies adopting PDA will be reviewed in the next section of this paper (Su 2016; Qi 2017). CDA and PDA thus

include tenor as an important factor of analysis in order to explore the social dimension in discourse.

The methodologies of PDA and CDA seem to be equally critical and only little diverse. In Martin's (2004) seminal paper on PDA, the three analyses appear to be conducted in a similar manner to a previous analysis of Bono's speech prior to a singing performance (Martin 2000). This assumption seems to be supported by other studies employing PDA (Su 2016; Qi 2017). Moreover, Hughes (2018: 197) identifies the major difference between PDA and CDA in the purpose, which is either "amplifying "discourses we like" in the case of PDA, or exposing and undermining discourses we do not like in the case of CDA." The discourse to be analysed and its focus therefore appear to be the essential factor for conducting PDA.

Although the sample texts in this study focus on the same subject matter and were released at approximately the same time as a reaction to a tragic event in the U.S., a certain type of texts may be more suitable for positive discourse analysis than others. This may be related to the political agenda behind some of the texts, personal preferences of speakers or writers and, as a consequence, also different purposes which the texts were supposed to achieve. Since only a thorough analysis and careful relation to one another but also to the context of publication may shed light on their purposes as well as the attitudes expressed in the texts, all of the texts under analysis were firstly critically analysed without subjecting them to PDA, if at all. Nevertheless, some texts may focus on a 'constructive spirit', striving to unite people instead of dividing them or 'pointing fingers at someone', which will be considered in the relevant stage of analysis. Moreover, PDA may reveal certain strengths in this respect and thereby weaknesses in others.

After outlining the most important theoretical concepts for this research in the previous sections, earlier studies adopting a systemic-functional approach, either as sole theoretical framework, in combination with CDA and/or Appraisal theory will be reviewed in the next section.

2.5 Review of earlier studies

A growing body of literature has focused on the critical analysis of political discourse by adopting a systemic approach to language as well as using Appraisal theory for exploring interpersonal meaning more profoundly. This section aims to provide an overview of studies which used a systemic approach to analysing texts in combination with CDA. While some

studies are based on Halliday's metafunctions (1985), others also refer to the extensions of interpersonal meaning by Martin and White (2005), i. e. the Appraisal framework. This section is therefore divided into two parts: the first part reviews studies examining interpersonal meaning according to Halliday's original conception (Halliday 1985), whereas the second part synthesises studies of Appraisal.

Moreover, this overview includes studies on political discourse in various forms, discourse produced by politicians in different positions in different countries in Europe, America and Asia. Some of the typical genres of political discourse analysed in the studies are inaugural speeches (Ezeifeka 2013; Koussouhon & Dossoumou 2015; Zeng & Wang 2019), election speeches (Ping & Lingling 2018) and a concession speech (e. g. Qi 2017, an example of positive discourse analysis) as well as an editorial on a highly political subject matter published in a popular magazine (Martin 2004a) and eulogies by global political leaders (Fenton-Smith 2007). Moreover, some of these analyses not only focus on the social dimension of meaning but also examine the other two metafunctions of language, which in some cases will also be briefly described since a partial representation of research may lead to a misinterpretation of research results. The variety in origins, genres and political ranks of speakers and writers reflects a widespread interest in thematising the construal of interpersonal meaning and Appraisal in political discourse across cultures and national borders and demonstrates the relevance of this research area.

Martin (2000b) demonstrated the potential value of using the Hallidayan metafunctions of language for critically analysing various text types through conducting three short text analyses, each with a different focus. In the first analysis, Martin examined ideational meaning in a picture book and feminist narrative for children to analyse the construction of gender roles. He thus focused on transitivity in this analysis, viewing the distinction between Agents and Mediums in clauses as crucial aspect contributing to meaning and, more importantly, to establishing inequality and power in discourse (2000b: 276). The second analysis aimed to explore interpersonal meaning in a seemingly spontaneous speech given by Bono at a U2 concert prior to the performance of the controversial song 'Sunday Bloody Sunday'. In this speech, the singer took a clear political stance towards the issues addressed in this specific song and attempted to position the concert crowd accordingly. A Mood analysis revealed the significance of Bono's linguistic choices and, specifically, their order of sequence in his introductory speech for the purpose of "aligning the audience with this position" (Martin

2000b: 284). The third analysis focused on the textual metafunction; for that purpose, Martin (2000b: 290) analysed students' reader responses to narratives to show the significance of weaving meanings in a text for aligning readers through analysing the patterns of Theme-New in students' texts. Thereby, he illustrated how writers can position their readers through choices concerning coherence, which organises ideational and interpersonal meaning but also construes textual meaning in text (2000b: 285). Through these three analyses based on the Hallidayan metafunctions of language, Martin (2000b) supported his view of these metafunctions as "the most powerful technology we have for factoring out the complementary meanings of a text and relating them systematically to their social context" (2000b: 296).

There have been a number of studies on interpersonal meaning in political speeches (Ezeifeka 2013; Koussouhon & Dossoumou 2015; Ping & Lingling 2018; Zeng & Wang 2019). These studies examined the systems of Mood and Modality, and the use of personal pronouns and are reviewed in the following.

In a comparison of two inaugural speeches by Nigerian politicians, Ezeifeka (2013) examined interpersonal meaning through a Mood analysis. According to Ezeifeka (2013: 59), the speeches consisted mainly of the speech function referred to as 'exchanging information' due to the majority of finite temporal operators. Moreover, the use of personal pronouns reveals interesting insights regarding potential ideological motivations of using the first-person pronoun in either singular or plural form. Ezeifeka believes (2013: 60) that the use of 'I' in Subject position may imply accountability for positive outcomes, while 'we' may be used for unsubstantiated claims. Additionally, 'we' could also be used to reduce the social distance between the politician and the audience, whereas 'I' in Subject position potentially strengthens the authoritative position of the politician (Ezeifeka 2013: 60). Ezeifeka concluded that the lexicogrammatical choices in the speeches "can become veritable instruments of the power elite in manipulation, propaganda, deceit and denial of the basic sustenance of the less dominant, to the point that they accept the status quo as legitimate" (2013: 62), demonstrating the use of a systemic approach to language as a valuable tool for critically analysing political discourse.

Koussouhon and Dossoumou (2015) undertook an analysis of Indonesia's President Buhari's inaugural speech in 2015 in order to reveal strategies for packing information and ideology in

speech by identifying linguistic realisations of interpersonal meaning. Their analysis showed the predominance of declarative Mood in the clauses, which suggests the function of disseminating information, and little use of imperative Mood, which implies that the President did not expect the people to be actively engaged, according to Koussouhon and Dossoumou (2015: 28). Moreover, the President used a combination of first person pronouns, 'I' and 'we', which, according to Koussouhon and Dossoumou (2015: 30) results in a "positive selfishness" because on the one hand 'I' implies exclusiveness as first-person reference and, on the other hand, 'we' unites the speaker and the audience (2015: 29). This analysis supports the assumption that Mood patterns as well as particular choices of personal pronouns contribute significantly to the positioning of the speaker and uniting the audience with the speaker.

Ping and Lingling (2018) analysed Hillary Clinton's and Donald Trump's election speeches with regards to interpersonal meaning. In their analysis, they focused on the systems of Mood and Modality as well as the use of personal pronouns in the speeches; the authors quantified their findings. The authors found that the use of declarative Mood was predominant in both speeches, while the imperative and interrogative Mood occurred significantly less frequently in both speeches (Ping & Lingling 2018: 31). However, Trump used interrogative Mood patterns almost twice as much as Clinton (*ibid*). According to Ping and Lingling (2018: 32) the aim of using interrogative Mood in the speeches was to establish a closer relationship between the presidential candidates and the audience, i. e. potential voters, for Clinton and Trump did not expect to receive answers to their questions from the audience and responded to their own questions in the following sentences. Concerning the use of Modality in their speeches, both candidates included the modal verbs 'will', 'can' and 'would' most often and thus only made use of modal operators of median value, thereby mitigating their claims (Ping & Lingling 2018: 32). Regarding personal pronouns, Ping and Lingling (2018: 33) observe that both Clinton and Trump frequently use 'I' and 'we', occasionally 'you' as well, to close the distance between them and their audience. The analysis of interpersonal meaning in Clinton's and Trump's election speeches has thus revealed various linguistic strategies to relate to the audience and address it through closing the gap between themselves as politicians and their potential voters.

Furthermore, Zeng and Wang (2019) examined the inaugural speeches of the British prime ministers David Cameron and his successor Theresa May with regards to interpersonal meaning. For that purpose, the authors focused on the use of personal pronouns and modality

in their speeches. In their analysis, Zeng and Wang could demonstrate that Cameron frequently used the inclusive *we* to create a sense of community and trust with the British citizens on the one hand and, the exclusive *we*, on the other hand, to present himself as an authoritative figure and part of the British government (Zeng & Wang 2019: 309-310). May included the inclusive and exclusive '*we*' for similar purposes in her speech as well as the second person pronoun '*you*' to directly address her audience and its individual members, i.e. the British people (Zeng & Wang 2019: 310). Cameron and May, however, differed significantly in their use of modality. While Cameron used the entire range of value of modal verbs to continue the positive relationship with the British citizens and secure their support and his reputation, May only made use of modal verbs of median and low value with the aim of mitigating the unequal power distribution between her and the British citizens, closing the distance (Zeng & Wang 2019: 310). In terms of Mood patterns, both politicians mainly used indicatives, i. e. declarative Mood. As these thorough analyses revealed, both of the politicians aimed to achieve the purpose of closing the distance between themselves and their audience through carefully construing interpersonal meaning in their inaugural speeches, although their inaugurations took place under different circumstances.

The previously reviewed studies demonstrate similarities in realisations of interpersonal meaning in political speech. The scholars focused on the systems of Mood and Modality as well as on personal pronouns in their analyses. While the prevalent Mood pattern was declarative in all the speeches, with only a few instances of imperative and interrogative Mood, the politicians either mitigated or strengthened their claims through the use of modal operators of different value. It was found that the politicians strategically used personal pronouns to support their authoritative roles and simultaneously close the gap between themselves as politicians and potential voters.

Li et al. (2019) applied the systemic model for a tenor analysis of speaking turns in a meeting of politicians of different hierarchical order in Hong Kong. The aim of their analysis was to identify manifestations of power, institutional roles and distribution of labour in speakers' lexical choices for realising interpersonal meaning (Li et al. 2019: 198). Through the analysis of speech functions, the authors could show how student representatives, i. e. politicians in the lower rank of political hierarchy, asked more "critical/adversaries' questions" as a political strategy to voice their criticism towards the members of the government (Li et al. 2019: 203). The members of the government, on the other hand, made use of modality more often than

the student representatives and even used modality of low value, which rendered their statements less assertive despite their higher position of power (Li et al. 2019: 215). Li et al. (2019: 217) also argue that the choices concerning the type of modality were distributed in accordance with their unequal power relationship. This tenor analysis showed clear differences in mitigating and strengthening claims of politicians of different hierarchical order.

All of these studies which have been briefly summarised to provide an overview of analyses of interpersonal meaning made in political speech highlight the importance of personal pronouns, modality and the predominance of declarative Mood in political speech. Personal pronouns are thus frequently used to position the politicians themselves but also their audiences, while certain choices of Modal operators contribute to the strength or weakness of claims, rendering politicians more or less assertive in their speeches. Although most of the studies revealed the declarative Mood as prevailing pattern of the Mood system, in some studies it was suggested that questions were either part of a political strategy or have a specific influence on the audience.

The second part of this section reviews studies which have not only included Halliday's interpersonal metafunction (1985) but also Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal theory as additional or main theoretical framework for analysing political speeches. The following section contains a brief review of studies which made use of the Appraisal framework in their analytical approach to various genres of political discourse in different countries.

In another very essential paper in which Martin (2004a) demonstrated the application of the Appraisal framework, he aimed to reveal the various rhetorical strategies of uniting or aligning readers with a certain position, in an editorial about the 9/11 attacks published in a Hong Kong magazine. The location of publication played a pivotal role since it required the writer to carefully address the events and its repercussions, with a heterogeneous readership in mind due to the international composition of Hong Kong's population. The focus of the analysis was thus to examine the interpersonal meaning, i. e. the emotions and their potential for establishing rapport in the text with the people affected by the attacks. Martin (2004a) demonstrated the use of the three subsystems of Appraisal to show how the article aligns the readers with U.S. citizens and simultaneously puts the readers in opposition to them in respective paragraphs (Martin 2004a: 333). He found that Affect was used as a resource to describe the emotional impact on U.S. citizens and the rest of the global population following

the attacks, while Judgement served to create an opposition of the rest of the world to U.S. citizens. As a result, “readers are positioned to understand America’s grief, but be appalled by their jingoism” (Martin 2004a: 335). These two purposes were achieved in the editorial through the construal of interpersonal meaning with a “complex readership” (Martin 2004a: 332) in mind. Moreover, Martin (2004a: 337) contends that “feelings are always about something – they are always interpersonal attitudes to ideational experience. And the investment of attitude in experience has to be stage-managed – by textual resources”. He therefore also conducted an analysis of textual meaning to illustrate how the feelings are interwoven in the text. In his thorough analyses of the three meanings made in text, Martin (2004a) unfolded the various layers of meaning in an editorial aimed at negotiating solidarity within a heterogenous readership.

Fenton-Smith (2007) analysed 12 condolence messages by the leaders of 12 countries and one organisation following the death of Palestinian president Arafat in November 2004. According to Fenton-Smith (2007: 697-698), these messages were part of a global conversation of an international community in which the members negotiated their position in the Israeli-Palestinian question through strategic manipulation and formulation of the texts based on shared information and registers. He used CDA because “an analytical approach is required that views language and society as mutually sustaining” (Fenton-Smith 2007: 698), combining it with “descriptive tools of systemic functional linguistics”, and Appraisal theory. Due to their shared focus on the close relation between language and society (Fenton-Smith 2007: 699), he first established a common pattern of the move structure of the texts, then examined particular lexico-grammatical features and eventually compared them to the political positioning of the world leaders. The analyses of the condolence messages with a focus on textual and ideational meaning as well as Appraisal showed that the lexical choices and their positions in the texts could be related to the positioning of the respective government towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which clearly led to the revelation of diplomatic and strong political positions. For example, Australia voiced hope for “a peace settlement in Middle East”, whereas the Iran used the phrase “the victory and success of Palestinians” (Fenton-Smith 2007: 714-715). He also found that certain textual elements served to build and strengthen the position of the political leaders within the international community, while the texts themselves should “‘enact’ the global community” (2007: 715).

Another study incorporating SFL and CDA was conducted by Apriliani and Priyatmojo (2016). They focused on the interpersonal meaning and the Appraisal framework in the Indonesian President's speech at the 2014 APEC CEO Summit. The aim of their analysis was to highlight the interpersonal meaning construed in the speech, despite the reported lack of the President's proficiency in English. Their findings comprise the predominance of 'we' in Subject position, which is assumed to include the politician himself as well as the Indonesian people, to present them together as a unity in front of the attendees of the summit and to foreground the importance of the nation as a whole instead of consisting of individual citizens (Apriliani & Priyatmojo 2016: 6). Additionally, the authors also considered the use of 'we' as a means to unite the audience at the summit, thereby appealing to them as potential investors for Indonesia (2016: 6). The system of Modality was used only to a limited extent in the speech (Apriliani & Priyatmojo 2016: 8); its analysis revealed the predominant use of Modalisation of median and high value, mainly in the domain of Probability, which, as the authors interpret (2016: 8), implies that the Indonesian president expressed a rather strong commitment for future projects. Their analysis also showed that the speech predominantly consisted of declarative Mood structures, as it was a speech given to promote investments in Indonesia, thus providing information on the benefits of investing in this country and simultaneously persuading potential investors to do so (Apriliani & Priyatmojo 2016: 8). The persuasion in the speech also became evident in the Appraisal analysis since the president expressed Appreciation most frequently and often referred to the assets of Indonesia (Apriliani & Priyatmojo 2016: 8).

Su (2016) conducted a positive discourse analysis of Xi Jinping's speech at a Singaporean university aimed at fostering positive relationships between China and its neighbouring countries, specifically Singapore, and focused on Appraisal resources. The Appraisal analysis showed that the Chinese president predominantly used Appreciation, almost to the same extent as Judgement, while resources of Affect were hardly included in his speech (Su 2016: 798). The predominance of Appreciation and Judgement in his speech may have served to express the president's praise and admiration for Singapore, which was expected to resolve conflict and work towards agreements with China (Su 2016: 800).

Another interesting positive discourse analysis by Qi (2017) focused on Hillary Clinton's concession speech in 2016. Her choices of Appraisal items were particularly insightful due to their positivity, despite her concession. Of all the Appraisal resources used in the text,

Appreciation was used as often as Affect and Judgement combined (Qi 2017: 1328). Through the predominantly positive uses of resources of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation in her speech, she expressed gratitude to her supporters and the campaign workers and optimism for their continuous work in the future (Qi 2017: 1329).

Ding (2017) analysed Obama's victory speech from 2008 through the Appraisal framework. The focus of the analysis were the various attitudinal resources used by Obama in his speech, i. e. which and to what extent linguistic resources were used to express Attitude, within the domains of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation. The author found that in Obama's speech the use of positive expressions in the domains of Affect and Appreciation predominated in the thematic areas of "change, hope, renewal and the American Dream" (Ding 2017: 40) and "the social significance of the American Dream, the American ideals as well as the spirit of patriotism, responsibility, self-reliance and national unity" (Ding 2017: 41), resulting in a rather hopeful and optimistic speech, despite addressing issues such as viciousness, immorality, violence and terrorism through the negative expression of Propriety as part of Judgement.

Another study focusing on the Chinese president's speeches was conducted by Lian (2018). Lian analysed eight diplomatic speeches held by Xi Jinping in 2017, using Appraisal theory. The Appraisal analysis showed that the great majority of Appraisal resources were positive and almost half of the Appraisal resources belonged to the domain of Attitude, while Engagement and Graduation were used considerably less. Most of the resources of Attitude, i. e. more than two thirds, were Appreciation. These findings clearly reveal a generally positive attitudinal meaning shaping the spirit of the president's speech in which he praises China's achievements and international co-operations, and provides a positive outlook into the future (Lian 2018: 761).

The second part of this literature review included studies which applied the Appraisal framework to political speech, ranging from oral speeches to written statements, as part of CDA. These studies contributed significantly to a better understanding of interpersonal meaning and resources of Appraisal incorporated in political texts. An interesting aspect illustrated in the studies was the predominance of positive Appraisal resources in the majority of the texts. Moreover, the studies mainly employed the resources of the entire system of Appraisal, thus revealing different layers of interpersonal meaning. The authors related their

findings to each individual political discourse and thereby presented important contributions to CDA in the field of political discourse.

2.6 Conclusion

The aim of this literature review has been to introduce important theoretical concepts of the theoretical framework used for the analysis of textual data collected for this thesis as well as outline earlier studies which adopted a similar analytical approach or appear relevant to the research purpose of this thesis. This literature review has shown that SFL is a useful tool for critically analysing political discourse and its interpersonal meaning because politicians seem to aim at establishing rapport with their audience and incorporate Appraisal resources in their text to do so. Moreover, relating the findings of a systemic-functional analysis to questions pertinent in CDA appears to be a fruitful and highly insightful endeavour to reveal hidden meaning connected to political agenda. CDA, however, may also be complemented by PDA, which focuses on “positive” critique, if a text appears to have the purpose of, e. g. promoting positivity and uniting the people of a country.

3 Data and Methodology

This section focuses on the textual data and methodology employed for analysing the text samples within the framework of SFL and Appraisal theory as well as CDA. The first section introduces political discourse and thereby describes the term as part of the operationalisation for this research project. Then the socio-political context of the text samples is described since context is considered a crucial element of text analysis in SFL, Appraisal theory and CDA. The final sections elaborate on the methods and instruments which were used for obtaining results.

3.1 Textual data

The textual data mainly consists of official written press releases and oral statements delivered to a wide audience through news outlets and personal social media accounts. The written texts or transcripts were used for this analysis because they belong to political discourse in a wider sense. This subsection briefly describes political discourse and its operationalisation for this analysis.

3.1.1 Political discourse

Political discourse has previously been defined by van Dijk (1997b). According to van Dijk (1997b: 12), a basic definition of political discourse focuses its main participants, the politicians themselves. As van Dijk (1997b: 13) further explains, political discourse typically involves more than the politicians as participants since the recipients, i. e. the wider public consisting of the people, citizens, mass audiences and others, are also an important part of political discourse. This extension leads to a potentially enormous number of participants of political discourse, although each group of participants may not be equally actively involved in it (van Dijk 1997b: 13). Moreover, van Dijk (1997b: 14) emphasises that political actors should only be considered as such when engaging in political activities or practices, for which van Dijk lists “governing, ruling, legislating, protesting, dissenting, or voting” (1997b: 14) as examples. As van Dijk (1997b: 14) points out, “forms of text and talk in such cases have political functions and implications”. However, the most important characteristic of political discourse is likely to be context. Politicians only deliver political speeches in political settings, such as campaigns or interviews with the press (van Dijk 1997b: 14). Van Dijk repeatedly stresses that the interplay of context and text result in the definition of political discourse as such, as only the politician in a political context delivers a text of political discourse (1997b: 14).

Van Dijk’s (1997b) definition of political discourse therefore only partly supports the choice of text samples in this thesis and requires an extension of the definition of politicians. Press statements and oral statements issued through various media outlets can be considered part of political discourse, as they are the product of political figures and representative associations often affiliated with certain political leanings. The texts in themselves may not be political; however, as they are delivered by former presidents, the current president and the president-elect as well as U.S. representatives and legal associations, they certainly aim to position the politicians of their respective political party vis-à-vis the killing of George Floyd. These statements thus represent the immediate public reaction by political figures. The words and phrases in the statements had presumably been chosen purposefully as texts of political discourse are typically carefully crafted (Chilton 2004: 8). Moreover, press releases are part of politicians’ or parties’ political agenda because they not only directly provide journalists with texts specifically composed for being used by the press but also create and influence media coverage focused on the political figures or actors themselves (Hopmann 2014: 289). Therefore, political agendas are inevitably inscribed in these statements.

3.1.2 Text samples

The text samples consist of press releases, either published on official websites affiliated with an organisation or a U.S. Embassy, or through news outlets and transcripts of oral statements by the president and presidential candidate retrieved from reputable sources. The transcripts were subsequently compared to the oral delivery to exclude possible divergences in wording. The texts have been selected on the basis of the acknowledged significance of their contribution to the emerging political discourse after the killing of George Floyd. News articles and outlets reported and commented on various phrases taken from the statements. **Table 4** provides an overview of the selected text samples, details of their mode of publication and their addressers. Since the political affiliation of the former presidents may be an interesting aspect to include in the final interpretation and in the critical analysis of this thesis, the presidents' political party is also provided in the table, i. e. (D) for Democrats and (R) for Republicans. These characteristics have been included since they are assumed to be relevant to the analysis. Additionally, the text samples were subsumed under three broad categories to relate the findings from the analysis to each other according to their groups in the final critical discourse analysis.

Table 4 Origins of public statements

Sample group	Statement by ...	Originally published on ...	Mode: written (W) or oral (O)	Word count
U.S. Presidents	Former President Jimmy Carter (D)	Website of The Carter Center	W	262
	Former President George W. Bush (R)	CNN, press release, 2 June 2020	W	507
	President Donald Trump (R)	Official website of the White House, 1 June 2020	O	803
	Former President Barack Obama (D)	Personal Twitter account, 29 May 2020	W	341
	Former President Bill Clinton (D)	Website of The Clinton Foundation, 29 May 2020	W	361
	Former Vice President and president-elect Joe Biden (D)	Official YouTube Channel in a livestream, 29 May 2020	O	758

Word count of sub-corpus				3,032
U.S. ambassadors to countries in Europe and Asia	U.S. Ambassador to Austria Trevor D. Traina	Website of the U.S. Embassy in Austria	W	251
	U.S. Ambassador to China Terry Branstad	Website of the U.S. Embassy in China	W	89
Word count of sub-corpus				340
Associations of defenders and attorneys/practitioners of law	Federal Defenders	Website of the Federal Defenders of New York, 3 June 2020	W	267
	Michael O’Keefe, Board Member of National District Attorney Association	Website of the Government of Massachusetts, 17 June 2020	W	344
Word count of sub-corpus				611
Total word count				3,983

Table 4 presented the individual text samples and their details of publication. The text samples have been grouped into three broad categories, according to the speaker or writer: politicians, U.S. ambassadors in Europe and Asia and important associations of legal figures in the U.S. Details of the chosen statements are included in Presentation of findings (section 4). The next section elaborates on the context of these statements since context is assumed to play an important role in analysing texts, both from a systemic-functional approach (cf. Halliday & Hasan 1989; Halliday 2014, Eggins 2004; Alba-Juez & Thompson 2014) and particularly in CDA (cf. van Dijk 1997b; Fairclough & Fairclough 2012; Young & Fitzgerald 2006).

3.2 Context of the public statements

These statements were released following the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota, on May 29, 2020. According to an article by the BBC (2020), George Floyd was suspected to have purchased a pack of cigarettes with a counterfeit bill, for which police officers needed to arrest him. Floyd attempted to flee, but the police managed to restrain him and did so with one officer’s knee on Floyd’s neck where it remained for almost eight minutes (BBC 2020). During this time span, Floyd repeatedly asked to be released, uttering the words “I can’t breathe”, and eventually died (BBC 2020). These eight minutes were filmed with a

mobile phone, and the video immediately began to spread through social media and news outlets, resulting in a global viewership.

An important fact to acknowledge is the period in which this incident occurred. This period was characterised by social and political turbulence due to primary election season and the concurrent COVID-19 pandemic, which caused a great death toll in the U.S., bankruptcies and hardships for many Americans. These two events likely contributed to an already emotionally charged and strained atmosphere in the population and at a socio-political level.

Systemic racism is a term which was frequently used in public discourse to refer to the issues of which George Floyd's death was only a symptom. Systemic racism, or institutionalized racism refers to "a form of racism that is embedded in practice and in culture of organisations" (Brennan 2013: 13). It can also be defined as "the foundational, extensive, and inescapable oppression that has been devised by whites to subordinate people of colour" (Elias & Feagin 2016: 258). Both definitions are strongly related to systemic racism in the US society. According to many scholars in the field of social sciences (cf. Brennan 2017; Elias & Feagin 2016; Carpenter Emling 2020), the origin of systemic racism is deeply rooted in US history, i. e. in the period of slave trade. In this thesis, I will continue to use this term, as it has been widely acknowledged that acts of police brutality and inequality are the result of a malfunctioning system of US institutions (cf. Brennan 2017; Elias & Feagin 2016; Carpenter Emling 2020).

After George Floyd's death, numerous names of fellow Americans were mentioned alongside those of Floyd to demonstrate the system behind these deaths. The social movement Black Lives Matter dedicated to the eradication of racism in the U.S. was at the centre of the marches of solidarity. Protesters demanded justice for George Floyd and many others who were killed in similar incidents preceding Floyd's death in May 2020. As a reaction to this recent incident and the protests in the U.S. capital, a highly frequented street leading to the White House was painted with the words "Black Lives Matter", which is even considered "a blatantly anti-Trump symbol" in *The New Yorker* (Chayka 2020). Furthermore, protest marches extended well beyond the U.S. territory, as people all over the world displayed solidarity with Black Americans. Solidarity was also expressed in social media to a great extent, and many institutions released official statements to demand justice, solidarity and unity in these trying times. The national and international impact of George Floyd's death probably led to the many

public messages and addresses of public figures from political backgrounds as well as the entertainment and technology industry. Former politicians, actors and actresses, athletes and leading entrepreneurs felt the need to speak out against racism and police brutality, often referring to other victims of police violence as well. The reason for the major impact of Floyd's death is presumed in "the conjunction of two major trends in America: the blatant racism that still infects the country, and the racially biased police brutality which has become outrageous" (Schwartz 2020: 280). According to Schwartz (2020: 281), "if you are Black or Brown you live in another world", which renders systemic racism even more invisible for white people, i. e. those predominantly in power.

3.3 Methods

For the text analysis, the theoretical frameworks of SFL (Halliday 2014; Eggins 2004) and Appraisal theory (Eggins & Slade 1997; Martin & White 2005) have been used for the purposes of exploring interpersonal meaning and Affect in the public addresses. The aim of this analysis was to analyse the relationship established with the audience and the emotions expressed in text, as these statements were issued after the tragic death of George Floyd in the U.S. in May 2020. These texts also carried considerable emotional and political weight due to the following nationwide, and later global, protest marches during primary election season in the U.S. This section provides a brief summary and an overview of the category system based on the previously outlined theoretical concepts. This section also elaborates on potential difficulties encountered during the process of assigning categories to individual words and phrases in the texts.

The systemic-functional approach to language was used to examine the interpersonal meaning construed in political addresses. In SFL, interpersonal meaning is analysed through the system of Mood. The system of Mood is used to describe the Mood type of a clause, i. e. whether it is declarative, interrogative, imperative or elliptical (Eggins 2004: 147). These Mood types results in a varying Mood structure in a clause in terms of its functional constituents (Eggins 2004: 147). Each clause typically consists of MOOD and RESIDUE constituents as well as potentially other constituents (Eggins 2004: 150). Whereas MOOD is an obligatory constituent and can be further divided into its components, i. e. Subject and Finite, the RESIDUE is only optional (Eggins 2004: 150). The Subject is typically put in first position in a clause with the functions of representing the core of a message, serving as the starting point of negotiation and the executer of an action, i. e. the actor (Halliday & Matthiessen 2014: 78).

The placement of the Subject therefore may convey the focus of a clause and consequently longer stretches of text, indicating the stance of the addresser. The choices of putting a certain participant in Subject position therefore may convey the focus of a clause and longer stretches of text, indicating the stance of the speaker or writer. For example, the predominant placement of legal and military actions and the condemnation of protesters can be contrasted with the choice of putting the victim, protesters' demand for justice and efforts to unite the country immediately convey a different point of view to the audiences of a speech or a statement. Analyses of Mood in the various public addresses in this thesis aimed at uncovering possible differences. Moreover, Finites were only subject to analysis in the form of modal operators. The system of Modality was thus also included in the analysis to explore the certainty of the addressers. The theoretical concepts present the categories which were used for coding text segments. The category system based on Halliday's interpersonal metafunction (2014) is provided in Table 5 below.

Table 5 Categories based on interpersonal meaning (Halliday 2014)

Categories	Subcategories	Examples
Mood system	declarative	"That is exactly where we now stand" (Bush 2020).
	Imperative	"Imagine if you had to have that talk [...]" (Biden 2020).
	interrogative	"Why does this keep happening?" (Clinton 2020).
MOOD	Subject	" Small-business owners have seen their dreams utterly destroyed" (Trump 2020).
	Modality: modalisation/modulation: high/median/low	e. g. Modulation of high value: "We all must shine a spotlight on the immorality of racial discrimination" (Carter 2020).
	Adjunct: mood: high/median/low	e. g. Mood Adjunct of high value "It's always there" (Biden 2020).

As an additional theoretical framework, Appraisal theory (Martin & White 2005) has been chosen to point out the instances of Affect in the statements. The expression of feelings in text can be examined through applying the system of Affect and its semantic categories of Un/happiness, In/security, Dis/satisfaction and In/cination with its various subcategories. The categories of Affect are also presented in Table 6 below.

Table 6 Categories based on Appraisal theory (Martin & White 2005)

Category	Subcategory	Examples
Affect: realis/irrealis	Emoter	“ Rosalynn and I are pained by the tragic racial injustices and consequent backlash across our nation in recent weeks” (Carter 2020).
	Trigger	“Rosalynn and I are pained by the tragic racial injustices and consequent backlash across our nation in recent weeks ” (Carter 2020).
	Emotion: subcategory, i. e.: REALIS: Unhappiness: misery/antipathy Happiness: cheer/Affection Insecurity: disquiet/surprise/fear or anxiety Security: confidence/trust Dissatisfaction: ennui/displeasure Satisfaction: interest/pleasure IRREALIS: Disinclination: fear Inclination: desire	e. g. Realis: Unhappiness: sadness “Rosalynn and I are pained by the tragic racial injustices and consequent backlash across our nation in recent weeks” (Carter 2020). Irrealis: Inclination: desire “We’ve got to make real, the promise of America , which we’ve never fully grasped” (Biden 2020).

The various categories listed in Table 5 and Table 6 form the coding system which was used for the systematic analysis of the text samples. As provided in the table, the categories are based on the theoretical concepts described in the respective sections.

Concerning the procedure of the analyses, I followed the outline of steps described by Eggins and Slade (1997: 138) for Appraisal analysis of conversation. Eggins and Slade (1997: 138) suggest four steps for Appraisal analysis: identification, classification, summary and interpretation. In a first step, the text to be analysed should be examined with regards to Appraisal items, which should then be classified according to their category and subsequently be summarised (Eggins & Slade 1997: 138). This summary then serves as starting point for an interpretation of Appraisal items used in context (Eggins & Slade 1997: 140). Due to the prime focus of Affect within the Appraisal framework, Martin’s (2017) descriptive steps were also integrated into the procedure. Martin (2017: 24) suggests, “building up a picture of feelings [...], this means building up a picture of feelings we mean, describing how they are related to one another (looking round), specifying how they are realized (looking down) and outlining what they realize (looking up)”. Since the Appraisal analysis exclusively focuses on Affect, I

altered the steps of the analysis accordingly. I also explored interpersonal meaning in the texts; thus, there were two separate processes of analysis whose results were subsequently combined for a thorough and comprehensive interpretation. The interpretation was realised through critical discourse analysis. This final analysis should shed light on the positioning of politicians and representatives in relation to George Floyd's death as expressed in the selected texts.

After coding the text samples, the codes were summarised, according to their specific text and data group to allow for tentative generalisations in terms of addressers, e. g. former presidents, presidential candidates, U.S. representatives stationed in foreign countries and legal associations. The findings were subsequently also compared to one another in a critical discourse analysis to draw tentative conclusions concerning linguistic particularities of political discourse in times of distress and despair. Through the comparison of these findings, a critical discourse analysis was performed which focused on the positioning of the politicians and representatives in their press releases.

During the coding process, I encountered difficulties concerning items of Affect. Similar issues have previously been pointed out by Macken-Horarik and Isaac (2014). The authors state the opposition of implicit and explicit evaluation as well as of local and global coding of evaluation and the inclusion of the cultural context of a text as challenges when analysing Appraisal (2014: 69-70). While the issue of local vs. global evaluation was not as relevant to this particular study, the differentiation, or the identification of implicit evaluation became increasingly important and was even considered to be linked to the context-specific choices of evaluation.

The analysis of the statements demonstrated several instances of implicit evaluation which were consequently also assumed to be strongly related to the context of the texts. In the coding process, specific lexical items or groups were assigned categories, i. e. sets of emotions, based on the meaning obtained in the surrounding context and discourse of these statements. These words and phrases were frequently used by the addressers and were also to be heard and read in news reporting as well as on social media, particularly in postings related to the movement Black Lives Matters and police brutality in the U.S. Such commonly used words were verbs such as *speak out*, *stand up*, both of which were assigned the sets of Security: confidence/trust and Satisfaction: respect. These judgements were made on the basis of the

communicative context of the statements, thus the wider discourse of this social issue. The adjectives “peace-loving” and the adverb “peaceful” were included in Security: Trust since peace is assumed to be a concept strongly connected to security and the trust in authorities to provide protection from harm. Additionally, “change” was categorised as expression of the irrealis Affect Inclination since it suggests hope, a desire oriented towards the future. The decision concerning these fixed assignments of lexical items to categories was taken in the early process of coding the segments. Its purpose was to adapt the categories to the contextual meaning in the statements. The aim of this decision was to address, or counteract, the issues raised by Macken-Horarik and Isaac (2014) and thus to ensure coherence in the processes of coding and interpretation.

3.4 Data analysis software

The software used for coding text segments was MAXQDA 2020 (Verbi Software 2020). MAXQDA is a computer software for qualitative data analysis, which allows its users to insert word processing documents, as well as microblogging posts, and mark single words, phrases or entire text passages according to previously set categories. This software thereby automatically creates a transparent coding system which can be modified and to which categories can be added throughout the coding process. At the end of the coding process, the programme subsumes the coded segments in an overview of categories found in the various documents used for the analysis. The coding system used for this research project in MAXQDA is presented in **Error! Reference source not found.** above.

3.5 Concluding remarks

This section described the selection of texts, the context in which they were published and the methodological components of the following text analysis. This analysis drew on the theoretical concepts which also form the basis for the research questions. The category system thus represented parts of the systemic-functional model of language and Appraisal theory. These categories were then used to code segments in the texts which were subsequently summarised and interpreted with regards to the context of textual data. The context was also considered important, as it contributed considerably to answering the research question addressing the framework of CDA. The next section presents the findings of these coding processes.

4 Presentation of findings

This section presents the individual findings of each text group, one after another. First, the findings concerning interpersonal meaning construed in each text are summarised and provided in tables to demonstrate the concrete words and phrases for each category. The Subjects are put into thematic categories, and modal operators are analysed as realisations of Modality. More detailed lists and categorisations of Subjects and uses of Modality can be found in the respective section in the Appendix. Secondly, the resources used to express Affect in the texts are described and interpreted, which are also illustrated in tables for concrete lexical items quoted from the texts in the Appendix. Each subsection concludes with a brief comparison of findings. Thirdly, a general conclusion attempts to subsume the findings of all text groups to create a more comprehensive picture of the construal of interpersonal meaning and Affect in political discourse.

Prior to presenting the findings of each document group, an overview of resources of Affect may be an interesting introduction to the more detailed subsections dedicated to the document groups. However, it should be noted that comparisons of occurrences of Affect in each document group may be valid only to some extent since the individual groups consist of a varying number of statements which also differ considerably in length. The quantification of the results in the tables and figures below are therefore normalised to allow a better comparison of results (see below). This overview should illustrate a general tendency of the expressions of emotions in the statements. In total, there were 95 occurrences of Affect. As can be seen from Figure 4 below, the four sets of emotions were all represented in the selected texts. It is apparent from this table that In/security was the set of emotions which was included the most in the texts, whereas the set of Dis/inclination was used the least.

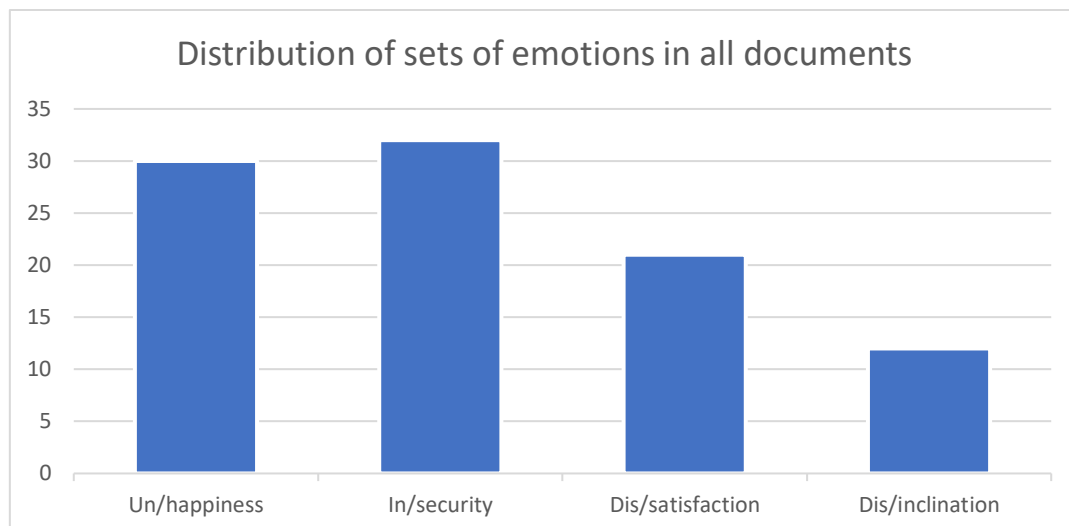


Figure 4 Overview of emotions in data set

While this general overview of Affect (n=95) in all the texts in Figure 4 may present general tendencies, the following figure is likely to provide a differentiated picture of the set of emotions used in the texts. Figure 5 below presents the distribution of emotions with the distinction into positive and negative domains of the respective set of emotions. As Figure 5 shows, the fields of Unhappiness, Security, Dissatisfaction and Inclination predominate in the textual data. These occurring emotions would be in line with the genre-specific expectations of expressing grief and sadness, ensuring security in distressing times, showing displeasure with the situation and voicing hope for the future.

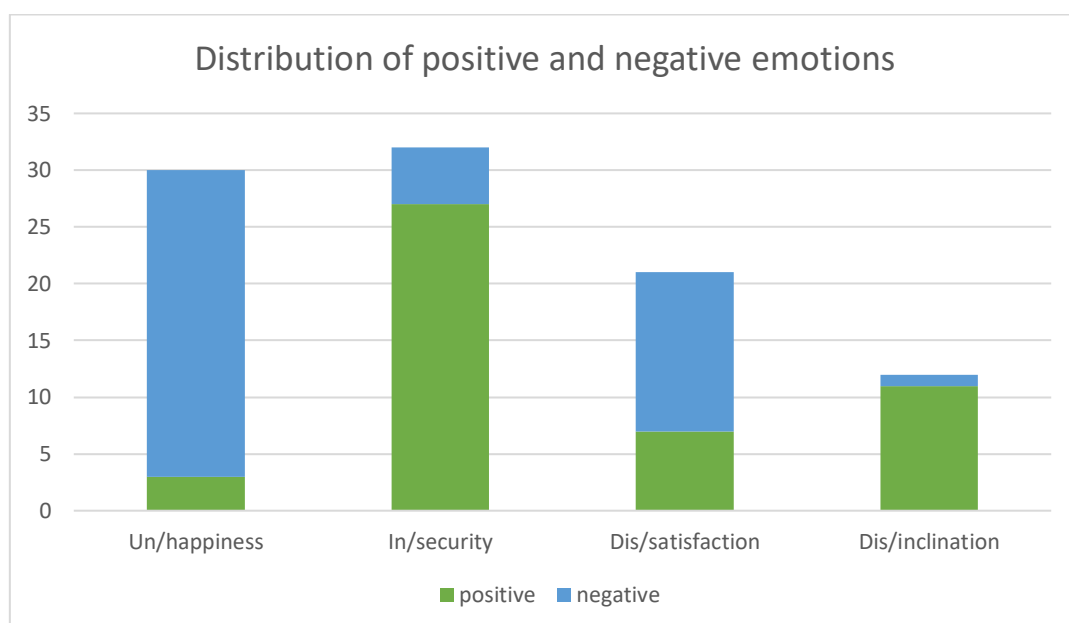


Figure 5 Distribution of positive and negative emotions

As a last component of this introductory overview of the analysis of Affect, the following table should illustrate the emotions expressed in the individual document groups. In Table 7 below, the frequencies of each item of Affect in each sub-corpus were normalised according to the general principle of providing x occurrences per 1,000 words in corpus linguistics (cf. Biber et al. 1998: 263-264). This process of normalisation thus allows for a better comparison of the results. In the sub-corpus consisting of Ambassador statements, there are approximately 35 occurrences of Affect per 1,000 words, whereas in the sub-corpus of legal representatives' statements there are only 18 occurrences per 1,000 words. The presidents' statements contain approximately 24 occurrences of Affect per 1,000 words. Evidently, the Ambassadors incorporated the most instances of Affect, while the legal associations only included half as much as the Ambassadors. Closer inspection of Table 7 shows that the Ambassadors and the legal representatives clearly used Unhappiness the most in their statements. However, the Ambassadors also expressed Security to a similar extent, while the statements by the legal representatives showed a more evenly distributed use of the other emotions. The politicians, by contrast, evidently preferred the expression of Security and simultaneously conveyed Unhappiness and Dissatisfaction to an approximately equal extent.

Table 7 Distribution of sets of emotions within the individual text groups

Set of emotions	Resources of Affect in Ambassador statements (n=12)		Resources of Affect in legal representatives' statements (n=11)		Resources of Affect in politicians' statements (n=72)		Occurrences of emotion per 1,000 words in entire corpus
	Per 1,000 words	PER CENT	Per 1,000 words	PER CENT	Per 1,000 words	PER CENT	
Happiness	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.99	4.17	0.75
Unhappiness	14.71	41.68	6.55	36.38	5.94	25.01	6.78
Security	11.76	33.32	1.64	9.11	6.93	29.18	6.53
Insecurity	-	0.0	3.27	18.17	1.32	5.56	1.51
Satisfaction	5.88	16.67	3.27	18.17	0.66	2.78	1.51
Dissatisfaction	-	0.0	-	0.0	4.95	20.84	3.77
Inclination	2.94	8.33	3.27	18.17	2.64	11.12	2.76
Disinclination	-	0.0	-	0.0	0.33	1.39	0.25

Total	35.29	-	18.00	-	23.75	-	23.85
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Table 7 gave an interesting overview of the sets of emotions which occurred the most frequently in the individual document groups. It appears that the representatives of the U.S., both within the U.S. in the legal field and in foreign countries, deemed it important to mainly express Unhappiness. The politicians, by contrast, aimed to provide Security in their choice of words in the statements. The following sections each elaborate in more detail on the findings of interpersonal meaning and Affect. The next section focuses on the politicians' statements.

4.1 Text group: Presidents

4.1.1 Joe Biden

Joe Biden's statement was significant in the ongoing political discourse because he was one of the two presidential candidates in May 2020. He was expected to speak up and address this incident as a potential future president, promising justice and a change in the system as well as equality for everyone, regardless of the colour of their skin. He therefore spoke as a fellow American, former Vice President and presidential candidate. The aims of his statement were manifold: expressing grief and empathy, promising change and justice, and persuading Americans to vote for him. His statement was delivered orally, filmed and published on his personal YouTube channel. The transcript was provided on various websites, one of which was used for the analysis.

Biden attempted to relate to his audience and demonstrate his position on this particular subject matter through certain choices of Subjects. Table 8 summarises these choices. What stands out in this table is the frequency of inclusive *we*, the references to the American citizens and references to the killing. Biden included many relevant participants of this discourse and placed them in Subject position, which implies his attitude towards the entire subject matter. Through exclusions, such as *none of us* or *nothing about this*, which allow for no exceptions and function as inclusions of all Americans, rendering the entire clauses even more assertive. Biden thereby clarified his position even more. He also referred to himself several times and once hinted to his prospective administration, which not only shows personal involvement, but also suggests determination and promise of change in case of being elected.

Table 8 Subjects in Biden's statement

Subject groups	Number of occurrences (n=62)
Inclusive we	22
Non-referential Subjects	11
American citizens	5
References to the killing	5
Personal references	4
Excluding	4
Emotional reactions	2
Exclusive we [Biden's administration in the case of being elected]	1
References to past	1
References to the victim	1
The culprits	1
Including everyone	1
Racism	1
Black people	1
Spiritual entity	1

In Biden's statement, there are prevalently declarative clauses with only four exceptions. These four exceptions are imperative clauses which have two different purposes and addressees. Three imperative clauses are directed at his audience, his fellow white Americans, urging them to empathise with Black Americans who fear seemingly harmless situations due to the colour of their skin and resulting different treatment by police officers. This is exemplified in (7).

(7) Imagine having police called on you just for sitting in Starbucks or renting an Airbnb or watching birds.

One imperative clause involves spiritual faith and functions as a closing of Biden's statement:

(8) God love y'all.

This use of imperative is likely strongly related to the American tradition of addressing God and asserting one's faith at the end of political speeches.

Although Biden uses predominantly declarative clauses, these appear to be particularly assertive through frequent uses of Modality. Biden makes use of the full range of Modality. He uses Modalisation (9) and Modulation in the form of modal operators of different value: high (10-12) and low (13). These examples demonstrate that Biden carefully modulated the strength of his attitude and thereby also the strength of his orders since the clauses containing modal operators often seem incongruent imperative clauses. However, clauses containing *will* may even function as predictions or promises for the future, which also conveys authority, reassurance and self-confidence as a presidential candidate aspiring to govern the country soon.

- (9) **I believe** it's the duty of every American to grapple with it and to grapple with it now.
- (10) We **must** commit as a nation to pursue justice with every ounce of our being.
- (11) We **have to** pursue it with real urgency.
- (12) We **got to** stand up.
- (13) None of us **can** be silent.
- (14) We'll do everything in our power [...].

These examples represent only a short excerpt of the number of occurrences in the statement. They have been chosen to illustrate the effective use of Modality in Biden's statement.

Concerning the resources of Affect in Biden's statement, there seems to be a pattern in it. His statement begins with resources of Unhappiness, Dissatisfaction and Insecurity, which express sadness, displeasure and anxiety ascribed to others as well as fear. Apart from fear, all of these emotions belong to realis Affect because they refer to emotions related to the recent incident. The Emoters are always *we*, *the Americans* or *you*, referring to his audience of American citizens. After many instances of negative emotions, the beginning of a pattern consisting of alternating positive and negative emotions emerges, which may be intended to reflect the status quo and potential counteractions to remedy the situation. This pattern consists of Security, Dissatisfaction, Satisfaction, Unhappiness, Security, Dissatisfaction, Inclination and Security. For example, Biden explicitly mentioned this *wound to scab over again*, as an item of Dissatisfaction: displeasure, and immediately remedies this with *heal* as an item of Inclination: desire. The text concludes with a chain of positive emotions: Security, Inclination, Satisfaction and Happiness. Biden thereby managed to create an intricate web of Affect in which he, however, not only expressed negative emotions but also provided comfort through positive emotions targeted at the future, using items of Security: confidence and Inclination: desire.

These items were particularly used in the semantic field of *the promise of America* and *standing up* and *speaking out*.

4.1.2 George W. Bush

Bush's statement was deemed significant in the ongoing political discourse revolving around the elections and, specifically, the death of George Floyd. Bush is a former President and belongs to the same political party as Donald J. Trump. Bush's statement was well received, although it was partially interpreted as stark contrast to Trump's statement and covert criticism of Trump and his governance in the media (AXIOS, CNN, USA Today, CNBC). His audience may not only consist of former supporters, fellow Americans, but also of fellow Republicans.

In his statement, Bush attempted to include Black Americans, refer to justice and peace in society and acknowledge the traditional American values in Subject position. The Subject groups are listed in Table 9. Nevertheless, he also addressed deconstructive actions in Subject position, thereby placing emphasis on his disapproval since he contrasts them with actions aiming for justice and peace. Bush also placed inclusive *we* in first position, more frequently than exclusive *we*. He may have wanted to include all Americans more than refer to himself and the justice system because he aimed to focus on unity, peace and justice instead of division and authoritative exclusion. What stands out is the only reference to George Floyd's death in which he, however, made reference to *similar tragedies*, acknowledging such incidents as recurring problems.

Table 9 Subjects in Bush's statement

Subject groups	Number of occurrences (n=45)
Inclusive we	8
Deconstructive actions	8
Actions for justice and peace	7
America and its values	7
Non-referential Subjects	7
Black people	3
Exclusive we	2
Personal references	1
References to the killing	1
Everybody	1

As can be seen in Table 9, Bush frequently put the inclusive *we*, actions promoting justice and peace as well as deconstructive actions and American values in Subject position. He thereby contrasted two opposing positions, i. e. the constructive power and the deconstructive power in the country, while also referring to the Americans as *we*, as united people.

Bush's statement exclusively consists of declarative clauses. This could be linked to his former position as a U.S. President and his remaining position as an authoritative political figure in the U.S. Despite the apparent predominance of declarative clauses, Bush used the system of Modality to modify his assertiveness to some extent. Bush mainly used *will* to express median probability and make a, albeit cautious, prediction (15-16), although the probability is raised through a Mood Adjunct of high value in (16), conveying more certainty.

(15) We **will** also see some of our redeeming strengths.

(16) I **am confident** that together, Americans **will** choose a better way.

In addition, Bush also used other modal operators and Mood Adjuncts to mitigate his claims due to his current political position as retired president. In (17, 18) Bush used Mood Adjuncts of usuality to add emphasis to his statements; in 18, he combined a Mood Adjunct with a modal operator of low value, i. e. *can*, to impose a low obligation on the American people in (18). This modal operator in combination with *only*⁸ may have been chosen to exclude any other possibility of remedy for this situation than "seeing it through the eyes of the threatened, oppressed, and disenfranchised". A similar use of *only* can be seen in (19) where this Mood Adjunct is preceded by the modal operator of low value *will*. The clause begins with another Mood Adjunct of high value. This sentence may function as imperative to the audience due to the personal pronoun, i. e. inclusive *we*, and the prediction expressed by *will* in combination with the limiting Mood Adjunct. Further accounts of such imperatives interpreted within the situational context of this statement will be provided in the Discussion section.

(17) We have **often** underestimated how radical that quest **really** is.

(18) Their calling has **never** been for the fainthearted. They **often** revealed the nation's disturbing bigotry and exploitation — stains on our character **sometimes**

⁸ The adjective *only* is a limiting Mood Adjunct, thus not part of Modality and has not been included in the theoretical section. However, its effect in combination with a modal operator was of significance in the respective examples. Further elaborations on Mood Adjuncts can be found, for example, in Eggins (2004) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2014).

difficult for the American majority to examine. We **can only** see the reality of America's need by seeing it through the eyes of the threatened, oppressed, and disenfranchised.
(19) **We know** that lasting justice **will only** come by peaceful means.

These examples demonstrate the effective use of Modality in Bush's statement. He carefully chose a combination of modal operators and Mood Adjuncts to modulate his statement, which not only rendered it more assertive but also more emphatic.

Concerning his affective involvement, Bush incorporated only few instances of Affect in his statement. The opening of the statement contains two instances of Dissatisfaction to empathise with the victim and fellow Americans and express his and his wife's grief. Then a chain of negative emotions which are ascribed to the American people begins to emerge throughout the text. For example, although he used *speak out* in (20), an item of both Security and Satisfaction, it is rather negated through the preceding phrase and conjunction, resulting in a negative emotion.

(20) Yet we have resisted the urge to speak out, because this is not the time for us to lecture.

The next two instances of Affect belong to Dissatisfaction and Insecurity and are ascribed specifically to Black Americans, which suggests acknowledgement and an attempt to empathise with the group of Americans particularly hurt after this incident. The following instance of Unhappiness then includes all fellow Americans and their grief. Towards the end, the statement attempts to provide comfort, including items of a call for love for others, and Security, as Bush voices his confidence in the future of the American people.

4.1.3 Jimmy Carter

Carter's statement was included in the textual data for this analysis because he is another former Democratic U.S. president taking a public stance concerning the death of George Floyd. His statement was issued to the public on the website of his foundation and subsequently quoted in many different U.S. news outlets (e. g. Axios). He probably spoke as a former U.S. President to his fellow citizens with the purpose of speaking out to the public, following other former living Presidents.

In his statement, there were various participants in Subject position. These Subject groups are shown in Table 10. Carter addressed overt and covert acts of racism and put *humanity* in Subject position. He also referred to himself and his wife; however, he also used inclusive *we*

in Subject position, an attempt to directly address his audience and close the distance between his former presidential self and his fellow citizens. It is remarkable that Carter did not put either George Floyd, references to his death or protests in Subject position, which suggests an attempt to refrain from an explicit political message. It is evident that Carter exclusively focused on unity and humanity in his statement.

Table 10 Subjects in Carter's statement

Subject groups	Number of occurrences (n=13)
Inclusive we	4
Personal references	3
Harmful behaviour	3
Humanity	2
Privileged people	1

As is demonstrated in Table 10, there is only little variation in the Subjects in Carter's statement compared to the others, and George Floyd or his death are never put in Subject position.

Carter's statement exclusively consists of declarative clauses and only two instances of Modality. This Mood choice appears typical of public statements which are issued in an asynchronous manner, i. e. on the website of Carter's foundation. Modality was only used twice in the form of modulation: *must*, a modal operator of high value, which conveys strict obligation (21-22).

- (21) We all **must** shine a spotlight on the immorality of racial discrimination.
- (22) People of power, privilege, and moral conscience **must** stand up and say "no more" to a racially discriminatory police and justice system, immoral economic disparities between whites and blacks, and government actions that undermine our unified democracy.

Carter may have avoided to use other forms of Modality to, on the one hand, make its limited use more effective because it stands out from the rest of the text and, on the other hand, to avoid venturing an opinion which is too strong for a former president. Additionally, these two uses of Modality could also be seen as incongruent forms of imperative clauses which are addressed at two different types of audiences. (21) puts the inclusive *we* in Subject position and thus refers to all Americans, while (22) may only be an order for privileged people and those in power.

Regarding the use of Affect, Carter's statement begins with three instances of Unhappiness in which either he and his wife or all Americans are the people who experience the negative emotions. He interrupts the pattern of negative Affect and introduces Satisfaction, an imperative clause previously described (22). Then he returns to the negative feelings of Unhappiness in the form of a grammatical metaphor for sadness due to persisting racism in the U.S. and of Dissatisfaction to express his displeasure of discriminatory acts towards each other. Carter's statement ends with positive Affect: Inclination, irrealis Affect, is used to refer to "overcoming" the socio-political divide and a combination of Security and Satisfaction for demanding solidarity from privileged people towards deprived and underprivileged groups.

4.1.4 Bill Clinton

Although Bill Clinton is likely to be one of the presidents with the most scandalous reputation, his statement was nevertheless considered significant in the ongoing political discourse in the media. His former political position as well as his wife's political aspirations in 2016 and her current position as a New York Senator suggest that a public statement would be necessary to express the couple's position on this matter. Clinton's statement was published on the website of the *Clinton Foundation* and, similarly to Carter's, subsequently quoted in various U.S. news outlets. He therefore also addressed his fellow citizens as a former authority with the aim of presenting himself as one of them who is also appalled and saddened by George Floyd's death.

The choices of Subjects are similar to those in the other statements from former presidents. The identified Subjects groups are presented in Table 11. In his text, Clinton focused on the victim, race and racism as well as American citizens in the form of personal pronouns and content words. Clinton also placed participants related to Martin Luther King in Subject position, which suggest an analogy of events or a reminder of these for the American people. Instead of foregrounding himself through personal references, he prevalently used inclusive *we* to establish the sense of a community. He thereby avoided a strong focus on himself as former authoritative figure. In comparison to other former presidents, such as Bush or Carter, he did not refer to himself and/or his wife in his statement.

Table 11 Subjects in Clinton's statement

Subject groups	Number of occurrences (n=35)
American citizens	7

Inclusive we	7
Race and racism	4
George Floyd	3
Martin Luther King	3
Non-referential Subjects	3
The people	2
Personal references	2
Excluding	1
Life	1
Exclusive we – the administration and politicians	1
Privileged people	1

Table 11 provides an overview of the various Subject groups in Clinton's statement. It is worth noting that Clinton preferred to put inclusive *we*, references to the American people and issues concerning race and racism in Subject position. He never placed himself in first position, shifting his attention to the central subject matter of his statement and almost excluding himself from this discourse.

In this statement, declarative mood seems to predominate; however, imperative mood and interrogative mood are also included in the text. The imperative mood is incongruent and thus expressed through declarative mood (23-24) preceding a series of clauses of interrogative mood (25-28). The imperative is directed at all Americans, signalled by the inclusive *we* in Subject position.

(23) We **need to** see each other as equally deserving of life, liberty, respect, dignity, and the presumption of innocence.

(24) We **need to** ask ourselves and each other hard questions, and listen carefully to the answers.

The series of questions are first directed at no one in particular and are concerned with the facts (25-26), while the last two questions are addressed to the Americans as a community, marked by *we* (27), and to each citizen individually through the use of *I* (28).

(25) If George Floyd had been white, handcuffed, and lying on the ground, **would** he be alive today?

(26) Why does this keep happening?

(27) What **can** we do to ensure that every community has the police department it needs and deserves?

(28) What **can** I do?

What also stands out in (25, 27-28) are the various uses of Modulation, expressing an inclination of high obligation (23-24), median probability (25) and obligation of low value (27-28) to become active through asking oneself “the hard questions”.

Affect was used to a very limited extent in Clinton’s statement. Its few instances are therefore exemplified in (29-30). Similar to other former presidents, he expressed sadness in the beginning. However, he chose to use the form of an objective Mood Adjunct to do so (29).

(29) It is impossible not to feel grief [...].

He then used a grammatical metaphor for ascribing displeasure to others (30).

(30) That truth is what underlies the pain and the anger that so many are feeling and expressing [...].

Through indirect formulations of emotions as well as ascribing these to others, Clinton avoided the expression of his own emotions. In the last instance of Affect, i. e. Inclination, he used the inclusive *we* to create a sense of unity and voiced hope through incongruent imperative Mood (23).

4.1.5 Barack Obama

Barack Obama is a former president who has remained in the public eye since he left office in 2016 and was the first U.S. President of colour. His statement was published on his various social media accounts, reaching a wide and perhaps more varied audience than his fellow former presidents through conventional news outlets and personal websites. The purpose of his statement may also be different; he not only spoke as former president but as a person of colour himself, voicing his sadness and grief.

Obama’s choices of Subjects differ from the other former presidents’ statements. The Subjects are shown in Table 12. Obama placed as much emphasis on current problems in the justice system as on the friends from whose point of view he described their immediate emotional reactions, using the first-person pronoun. The various references to the justice system mainly focused on equal treatment of a certain group of people by the system since this difference in treatment was referred to four times in Subject position. He thereby demonstrated his focus on the issues and suggested personal affective involvement in the matter to a greater extent than the other former presidents. He only referred to the violent act of the killing through a personal pronoun, which was a reference to “that video” and only implicitly denoted the killing in Subject position. However, “the knee on the neck” is a factual description of the act which

may evoke images of “that video” in the minds of the audience due to its widespread availability in social media. Although Obama also placed inclusive *we* as well as emotional reactions twice in Subject position, it appears that the main focus of his message was the inequality in the justice system and his personal involvement through the placement of his friends and related parts of the conversation with them in Subject position.

Table 12 Subjects in Obama's statement

Subject group	Number of occurrences (n=23)
Personal references	5
Issues in the justice system	5
Sharing of personal conversations	3
Non-referential subjects	3
References to the killing	2
Emotional reactions	2
Inclusive <i>we</i>	2
Americans	1

Table 12 provided a list of Subject groups and their number of occurrences in Obama’s statement. This list may be insightful as to identify the focus of Obama’s statement, which apparently were references to conversations with his friends and social injustices inherent in the justice system.

Concerning mood, the statement is mainly written in declarative mood. Only one clause could be interpreted as incongruent imperative clause due to the presence of a modal operator (31). This clause, on the one hand, conveys that Obama grants his fellow Americans kindness and the ability to improve character and, on the other hand, obliges them to do so.

(31) [...] **we can and must** do better.

Additionally, Obama uses Modulation to urge Americans to change. Several modal operators of different value were used for this demand (32-34). While the modal operator in (32) is of high value since it is more directly addressed to the audience through the inclusive *we* as Subject, the modal operators in (34) are both different in value: *should* is of median value and *can* of low value. Through the use of modulation in (33), Obama expressed his disapproval and condemnation. The last example (34) appears to be a prediction as the authorities in Minnesota were expected to investigate this case and serve justice.

- (32) But we **have to** remember that for millions of Americans, being treated differently on account of race is tragically, painstakingly, maddeningly normal [...].
- (33) This **shouldn't** be "normal" in 2020 America. It **can't** be normal.
- (34) It **will** fall mainly on the officials of Minnesota to ensure that the circumstances surrounding George Floyd's death are investigated thoroughly and that justice is ultimately done.

Modality was used only in the form of modulation in order to call for action, condemn this unjust act of violence and hold authorities responsible for ensuring justice would be served.

In Obama's statement, Affect was not only expressed through Obama's point of view. Obama also integrated a series of direct quotes of a friend who voiced their sadness and described the emotional reaction of a teenager. He thus added Affect into his text through ascribing emotions to other participants. It seems as if Obama only admitted his own negative emotions through a passive clause in which he placed a reference to "anguish" in Subject position, never placing himself as a feeling Subject. Moreover, Obama continued to ascribe positive Affect to a unified Emoter in the text. For Inclination, Obama even used an objective Mood Adjunct to express a desire shared with many Americans. He also attributed Affect to the authorities of law enforcement and their work ethics in the form of Satisfaction and once more urged Americans to collaborate for a better world.

4.1.6 Donald Trump

Donald Trump was the President in office when the tragic incident in which George Floyd was killed by police officers occurred. His presidency is described in various ways, always depending on the political leaning of the respective journalists and analysts. However, in times of crisis, which definitely ensued in the form of nationwide protests and provocative rioting, the president is expected to issue a statement on behalf of the American people. The President may be expected to provide comfort, promise change, equality for all Americans, regardless of their skin colour, and possibly protection for those who were harmed by riots or armed police during protests marches. As the President in office, he was assumed to address the entire nation and to make efforts to unite a seemingly divided country. Trump's statement was delivered orally and was broadcasted in national television, and an official transcript was subsequently provided on the website of the White House. This transcript was used for the analysis.

The choices of Subjects in Trump's statement differ significantly from the other statements. The Subject groups identified in his statement are listed in Table 13. Trump repeatedly put

himself in first position, which could be related to his current position as the President but also to his desire to put himself in the centre of attention. Additionally, he employed the exclusive *we* to refer to him and his administration. He also attempted to relate to his audience through frequent uses of the inclusive *we* and an explicit reference to American citizens as “all Americans” as well as to the nation and administrative authorities. However, the most frequent references made in the text are to the rioting. Acts of rioting, its victims and destructive results are predominantly placed in Subject position, equally as often as references to Trump himself. As a countermeasure against acts of rioting and protesters, Trump also put references closely linked to law and order in Subject position to demonstrate his determination and focus of attention to law and order in his statement. This analysis of Subjects showed that Trump considerably focused on the protest marches and rioting, while almost neglecting the cause for the protesters to march in the streets. He evidently emphasised the consequences for the protesters founded on the law, although he also aimed to establish a rapport to the American citizens to some extent.

Table 13 Subjects in Trump's statement

Subject groups	Number of occurrences (n=66)
Personal reference	14
References to the rioting	14
Exclusive we	6
Nation	6
Law and order	6
‘Dummy there’	6
Inclusive we	4
Historically important sites	2
American citizens	1
The victim George Floyd	1
Excluding	1
Positive outlook	1

Table 13 lists the various Subject groups identified in Trump’s statement. It is evident that Trump preferred to reference to himself as president and to acts of rioting more frequently than to the cause for the nationwide protests. However, he made use of the inclusive *we* to some extent.

Trump's statement predominantly consists of declarative mood and contained a number of interesting uses of Modality. For example, in (35) Trump expressed insistence through the modal operator of low value *can* and negative polarity. Negative polarity was also used in (36) when Trump made a promise concerning George Floyd's death and thereby implied a higher cause, i. e. that his death may contribute to an improvement in the justice system and solving of previous similar cases. However, his use of *will* for making other promises for which he assumed responsibility is also significant (36-38). He also demonstrated confidence in (39), not only through the modal operator relating to the future but also through a paraphrase of a Mood Adjunct signalling certainty, i. e. "one hundred percent", which conveys strong commitment. The same strength of commitment seems to be expressed in (40) through the use of the Mood Adjunct *always* and the verb in present tense. Another realisation of making promises can be found in (41), which is even a chain of promises expressed through the modal operator *will* and a parallel structure. Lastly, Trump also used a modal operator of high value and combined it with *never*, a Mood Adjunct of high value, in (42), both of which add particular emphasis, strength and authority to this statement.

- (35) But we **cannot** allow the righteous cries and peaceful protesters to be drowned out by an angry mob.
- (36) He **will not** have died in vain.
- (37) I **will** fight to keep them safe.
- (38) I **will** fight to protect you.
- (39) **One hundred percent**, we **will** succeed.
- (40) Our country **always** wins.
- (41) We **will** help you, we **will** help your business, and we **will** help your family.
- (42) We **must never** give in to anger or hatred.

The effective use of Modality in Trump's statement reflects his authoritative character and confidence in his policy and promises.

The Affect analysis of Trump's statement revealed that Trump aimed to convey a sense of Security and Dissatisfaction. These were the only two sets emotions which could be identified in his statement. Through certain verbs, e. g. "defend", "swore an oath", Trump may have wanted to not only exude confidence in his statement but also present himself as an authoritative figure as current U.S. President. However, he also attempted to express Trust through resources of Security, such as "peace-loving" and "peaceful". For Dissatisfaction, Trump chose to focus exclusively on displeasure, mainly ascribing it to either all American citizens, protesters and victims of rioting. His personal exclusion of any ascribed negative

emotions, such as Unhappiness, puts him into a stark contrast to the other former presidents who voiced their emotions, e. g. through inclusive *we* as Emoter in text.

4.2 Text group: Ambassadors to Austria and China

Although diplomats are not directly involved in making policies in their country of origin, “[a]n ambassador is the President’s highest-ranking representative to a specific nation or international organization abroad” (NMAD 2018). Thus, diplomats serve to represent their country in which they were appointed, which implies their political relevance in the foreign countries in which they are stationed. The ambassadors to Austria and China have been selected as text samples due to their difference in the nature of their diplomatic relations to the U.S. Austria is perceived as a politically rather neutral nation vis-à-vis the U.S., whereas the diplomatic relations between the U.S. to China appear strained since Trump’s inauguration for various reasons. These relations have substantially deteriorated since the supposed outbreak of the novel coronavirus in Wuhan, China, and Trump’s ensuing allegations of China failing to react properly. It is therefore assumed that the ambassadors adapted their statements based on the current state of relations between the U.S. and the geographic location of the embassy.

4.2.1 Embassy in Austria: Trevor Traina

In the statement posted on the website of the U.S. Embassy in Austria, the words placed in Subject position could be divided into four groups: personal references, the American citizens, references to the killing and other references to various, less specific entities. The groups and their individual Subjects are shown in Table 14.

It is worth noting that the Traina made references to himself only once throughout the statement. Traina rather focused on the community of the American citizens because he often referred to it through the first-person pronoun *we* in the text as well as through “millions of Americans” and “America”. He also acknowledged the protesters marching in the U.S. by placing them in Subject position, while he also emphasised “dialogue” between the currently opposing groups of peaceful protesters and violent riots. Moreover, Traina also put the U.S. justice system and its constitution in Subject position. Foregrounding the legal system of the U.S. may also be linked to the role of the ambassador who represents the nation and its values of justice and the Constitution. Traina also referred to the killing of George Floyd as “this

tragedy” and to the culprits as “those responsible”, which may be a neutral, or diplomatic, expression for the culprits.

Table 14 Subjects in the statement by the Ambassador to Austria

Subject group	Number of occurrences (n= 17)
The American citizens	9
References to the killing	3
The Law and the justice system	2
References to various entities, e. g. via relative pronouns	2
Personal references	1

The words in Subject position in the statement by the Ambassador to Austria could be grouped into four broad categories. These categories and their frequency of occurrence are shown in Table 14.

Traina modulated his statement only in three instances, which can all be classified as modulation of high value (43-45). Two of the three uses of Modulation were objective constructions due to the Mood Adjuncts (43, 45), although (44) is preceded by a possessive pronoun, signalling subjectivity, and are related to the abidance of the law in terms of convictions and the improvement of the nation through overcoming this crisis. In (44), Traina employed a modal operator of high value to express an obligation addressed to all Americans through the use of the inclusive *we* and thereby voiced his strong disapproval of violence through negative polarity, referring to the rioting during the protests.

- (43) **It is important** that those responsible be held accountable in a court of law.
- (44) We **must not** allow violence to drown out what are legitimate grievances.
- (45) **It is my firm conviction** that America **will** emerge from this crisis a stronger and more just nation, one that lives up to its highest ideals.

The last sample taken from the statement (45) also functions as a closing to it and contains *will*, a modal operator of median inclination, which expresses Traina’s hopeful prediction.

Traina mainly included the negative Affect Unhappiness and only few instances of positive Affect. In his statement, Traina put himself and “Americans all over the world”, relating to fellow expatriate American citizens, in the position of Emoters who prevalently felt sadness. He frequently referred to George Floyd’s death as “tragedy” and thereby expresses sadness

as well. Positive Affect is expressed in the field of Satisfaction and Security, incorporating “standing up” and “speaking out”, which were categorised as items of Confidence, Trust and Respect, from the outset. Traina also used “together” to express Trust and closed his statement with an item of Inclination, the only item of irrealis Affect, to voice hope for the future of America.

4.2.2 Embassy in China: Terry Branstad

In the other diplomat statement, the Subjects could be categorised into four broad groups: personal references, all American citizens, references to the killing and references to racism and discrimination. These established Subject groups are listed in Table 15. Contrary to the other ambassador, Branstad placed himself, his wife and colleagues in Subject position. He also referred to the U.S. and fellow citizens. Both of these Subject groups render the text more personal than the other statements without personal references. The killing of George Floyd is also foregrounded as “this terrible act of violence”, functioning as a condemnation of it. He also mentioned racism and discrimination once in Subject position, but only in the form of an anaphoric reference.

Table 15 Subjects in the statement by the Ambassador to China

Subject groups	Number of occurrences (n=8)
Personal references	4
All American citizens	2
References to the killing	1
References to racism and discrimination	1

As is shown in Table 15, the Subjects in Ambassador Branstad’s statement can be grouped into four categories. Distinctions can be made between the Ambassador, his wife and colleagues, and his fellow U.S. citizens, as well as references to the George Floyd’s death and racism and discrimination.

The system of Modality was not used extensively in Branstad’s statement. The three instances of Modality are listed in the examples (46-48). Modulation occurred twice in the form of modal operators, one of high value (46) and one of low value of obligation (48). High obligation was employed to condemn Floyd’s killing as act of violence and demand punishment, whereas low obligation was likely used as presenting possibilities of prevention and eradication of racism. Additionally, there was an instance of modalisation (47) used to express high probability. This

instance may have been used to convey that Branstad knows about the omnipresence of racist and discriminatory acts against Black Americans in the U.S.

(46) Ours is a nation of laws, and this terrible act of violence **must not** go unpunished.

(47) **I am acutely aware** that many of our colleagues have experienced racism or other forms of discrimination.

(48) What we **can** do as a Mission, to help end the continued cycle of racism and injustice in our country.

The analysis of Affect in Branstad's statement revealed only one instance of Unhappiness. Branstad voiced his and his wife's sadness caused by the violent death of George Floyd. There might only be one instance of Affect due to the shortness of the statement in comparison with all the other statements analysed.

4.3 Text group: associations of defenders and attorneys/practitioners of law

This text group was established due to the increasing significance of attorneys for protesters and the demand for justice for George Floyd on the behalf of his family. Many news outlets as well as well-known personalities encouraged donations and fundraising websites to employ attorneys to defend arrested protesters. Moreover, the phrase "law and order" was circulating in the news and in social media because President Trump repeated this phrase in his statement and on Twitter, and his press staff also used this phrase repeatedly in briefings (cf. U.S. Office of the Press Secretary 2020). The associations of Federal Defenders and the National District Attorney Association (NDAA) may have recognised the need to speak on behalf of themselves as professionals, as they published their statements on their respective websites only a few days after George Floyd had been killed. As representatives of the U.S. justice system, their statements appeared relevant to the current political discourse.

These two selected texts were assumed to represent two important viewpoints of associations in the field of jurisprudence and legal representatives. Their purpose was to voice the opinion of practitioners of law dutifully presenting their clients and to emphasise their unbiased practice of law to those who started to cast their doubts on the justice system in the U.S. Their statements could thus also be regarded a defending statement and a promise to uphold the legal honour of the profession. Their audience may be legal experts, fellow practitioners but also clients and doubtful citizens who seek reassurance and integrity in the legal system. This

next section first presents the results of the Mood analysis of the statements by the Federal Defenders followed by the analysis of the statement by the NDAA.

4.3.1 Federal Defenders

The analysis of the words in Subject position in the statement by the Federal Defenders could be grouped into three broader categories, excluding the non-referential Subjects. These groups are listed in Table 16. These groups are legal issues, which refer to the law, criminal acts, aspirations to improve the security in the U.S. and the case of George Floyd. The second group identified is concerned with inclusive *we*, i. e. instances of the personal pronoun referring to all American citizens, while the third group, the exclusive ‘*we*’ only seems to include jurists and lawyers. These represented the justice system, have an interest in (re-)gaining the citizens’ trust in and defending their reputation as institution.

Table 16 Subjects in the statement by the Federal Defenders

Subject groups	Number of occurrences (n=19)
Legal issues	7
Exclusive <i>we</i> Referring to the legal experts, jurists and lawyers	5
Non-referential subjects	4
Inclusive <i>we</i> Referring to fellow citizens	2

As presented in Table 16, the words in Subject position in the statements by the Federal Defenders can be subsumed in the categories: legal issues, inclusive *we* and exclusive *we* as well as the personal pronoun *it* as non-referential Subject.

In the joint statement under analysis, there were only two instances of Modality, both of which were realised through modal operators as part of Modulation. The first clause (49) demonstrates a strong demand for change since the modal operator typically expresses high obligation and/or inclination. In (50), kneeling is presented as one possible way to exude solidarity, while standing up against racism is viewed as absolute necessity due to the modal operator *must*, which expresses high obligation.

(49) This time **must** be different.

(50) While we **can** kneel in solidarity with Mr. Floyd, we also **must** stand up and demand that racism, overt and implicit, be acknowledged and confronted.

In the joint statement, several instances of Affect could be found. All resources of Affect belong to the category of realis Affect and the set of In/security. The prevalence of this category suggests that the joint statement intends to focus on building trust and expressing confidence as legal professionals vis-à-vis clients and citizens as well as pointing out fear and anxiety. For Insecurity and Security, the Emoter predominantly is the collective of Federal Defenders, while the justice system functions as the Emoter only once, which also points to the Federal Defenders as a community of legal representatives upholding the justice system. The Federal Defenders expressed Confidence through exuding solidarity in the form of “standing up” and re-affirming a commitment to demanding equal justice. However, the Defenders also voiced their concerns regarding harmful agendas, which are not specified, potentially disrupting their intentions to defend and protect their clients and fellow citizens. Through expressing Fear or Anxiety, the Defenders also seemed to imply criticism towards the current justice system and its systemic racism. In sum, the Defenders strongly advocated solidarity and a commitment to equal justice as well as implicit criticism of the current system and issues related to racism.

4.3.2 National District Attorney Association (NDAA)

The NDAA statement was also analysed with a focus on the words in Subject position. Table 17 illustrates the identified Subject groups. The NDAA statement allowed for the forming of three broader categories of Subjects: the victim George Floyd, legal proceedings and the legal community consisting of NDAA members. The NDAA referred to the victim as “46-year-old George Floyd”, providing additional information such as his age, and “Mr Floyd”, instead of only mentioning his last name. The addressers may have attempted to view him as more than a victim but as a person who also deserved to be more than a victim or a name. The NDAA also expected a wider impact of George Floyd’s death when they wrote “Mr Floyd’s legacy”, which relates to the category of legal proceedings as well. This second category includes measures to be taken within the justice system, which not only conveys an assertive position but may also function as reassuring answer, or even promise, to the protesters for the demand for justice. The third category is linked to the second one since it concerns the practitioners of law, who ideally commence these legal proceeding. The NDAA continuously used the first-person pronoun, an exclusive *we*, and different noun phrases containing *members* to emphasise their association as a community of members who follow the law. Various forms of references to the members throughout the text suggests loyalty and integrity within the

community, and to outsiders, it attempts to reassure them. These three categories together demonstrate the interpersonal meaning construed in the NDAA statement. The NDAA carefully chose the references to the victim, recognising him as a citizen and not a criminal, rely on their trustworthiness based on the practice of law and the justice system and highlight their integrity as a community.

Table 17 Subjects in the NDAA statement

Subject groups	Subjects
Legal community	11
The victim George Floyd	5
Legal proceedings	4

Table 17 shows the words in Subject position identified in the NDAA statement. These words could be subsumed in three broad categories related to the victim George Floyd, the law and the members of the NDAA.

In this statement, the system of Modality was prevalently used in the field of modulation, with few instances of modalisation. In (51), the Mood Adjuncts of high value, i. e. “constantly”, “never”, may have been used to add emphasis to the commitment of the NDAA members to abide by the law and exclude any instances in which this commitment does not apply. Moreover, the instances of modal operators are either categorised as obligation or probability. The modal operators of obligation were of high value and were related to the process of abiding by the law, investigating the case in a lawful manner, with a focus on justice (51-52). These uses of modal operators of high value may point to the NDAA’s demand for justice and a thorough investigation of the George Floyd case.

(51) We **constantly** remind ourselves and those we represent that justice **needs to** be applied fairly, across the board, without fear or favor and **never** based on a suspect’s race.

(52) Several immediate observations **must** be made.

The NDAA also used the modal operator *will* in (53-54), which is located at the intersection between obligation and inclination. This modal operator may thus be used to make a promise to themselves as lawyers and express interest and commitment in fully investigating the case. However, in (53) a Mood Adjunct of median probability is used to demonstrate commitment as well as confidence in the justice system, its rulings in Floyd’s case in the future and equality.

The same modal operator used in (54), however, may express median inclination to a greater extent than probability as in (53), which would nevertheless to a committed promise by the NDAA.

(53) **We believe** the avenue for justice for Mr. Floyd **will** be in a Minnesota courtroom and that Mr. Floyd's ultimate legacy **will** be a national commitment to improve law enforcement training, our attitudes on race, our selection and retention of police officers and our commitment to the reality, not merely the promise, of equal justice for all.

(54) NDAA members **will** zealously protect the right of any citizen to protest.

Depending on the Subject, the modal operators are either of high value, when related to the law, or of median value in the case of legal proceedings which were anticipated to be instituted in the near future.

The analysis of Affect revealed Unhappiness in its subcategory of Sadness as the predominant emotion in this statement. For Unhappiness, the Emoter was the community of the NDAA in the majority of instances. The NDAA thereby may have aimed to express their grief and sadness as well as their determination to adequately respond to the demand for justice. There is, however, one instance of Unhappiness in which George Floyd, the victim, was placed as the Emoter. In this instance, the act of dying was modified through a Circumstance, which would only imply the NDAA as an Emoter, despite being omitted in the clause. Concerning Satisfaction, the NDAA aimed to ensure the just treatment of protesting citizens, respecting their rights to do so. Moreover, the NDAA aimed to ensure the just treatment of protesters, respecting their rights to do so, through Satisfaction. The NDAA also voiced hope in terms of equal justice for all citizens and thus employed Inclination in the end.

In the next section, the presented findings are compared within and across document groups and related to the wider political discourse.

4.4 Discussion

The previous section focused on the individual statements and their respective findings. The aim of this thesis was to find out potential differences in tenor, i. e. relating to the audience, establishing a social identity and expressing emotions in texts of political discourse. Through tenor, all of the writers and speakers, who are undeniably in current or former positions of power, inevitably position themselves towards Floyd's death, an incident affecting the powerless group in society. It is necessary to draw a comparison between findings emerging

from the different statements, both within and across document groups as part of CDA as well as identify potential similarities and differences between these findings and those of earlier studies.

However, before providing an interpretation of the findings within the framework of CDA, the initial difficulty in interpreting these critically should be briefly addressed. To be a critical discourse analyst means to take a critical and open stance towards the subject matter, ideally immersing oneself into a member of the dominated group as a means of demonstrating solidarity and condone injustice and inequality (van Dijk 1993; van Dijk 1997a). This transition from thinking and analysing linguistically to relating the linguistic realisations to CDA proved to be a complex process due to initial hesitancy about openly voicing opinions and expressing solidarity in an academic context. The results of this process are presented in this Discussion section.

The two central concepts of ideology and power in CDA (Fairclough 2001; Wodak & Meyer 2009) play an important role in the political discourse consisting of the statements under analysis. The conventions underlying ideologies as described by Fairclough (2001) relate to the general expectation that people in power positions, i. e. political leaders, address the nation after dramatic incidents. Such statements therefore confirm or perpetuate the social roles of the speakers or writers and demonstrate their power through the asymmetrical relationship between them and their audience (cf. Wodak & Meyer 2009). Another interesting aspect to consider in this respect is that the speakers and writers are in an entirely different position from those in the weaker group who are directly affected by systemic racism. This aspect renders the social roles and identities created in the texts even more interesting, as the people in power needed to overcome and bridge, or emphasise, the socio-political gap between the group in power and the powerless group. In addition, the writers and speakers of these statements certainly served politically relevant interests since the incident addressed occurred during the election season and presidential campaigning.

While a great part of this critical discourse analysis focused on the positions of power and their linguistic manifestations in the texts under analysis, some statements may also be subject to positive discourse analysis, as they can be seen as an attempt to be a catalyst for social change (cf. Martin 2004b; Martin & Rose 2007) and an example for “progressive discourse” (Hughes 2018) due to the demand for change and unity in text. Earlier studies of PDA focused on the

predominance of positive emotions in political discourse to either solve conflicts for negotiating work agreements (Su 2016) or promote a harmonious and united society after losing an election (Qi 2017). Although the statements were released due to Floyd's killing and are an expression of grief, or military actions, some of the statements also contain calls for solidarity, unity and social change, i. e. Biden's and Clinton's statements. These texts were thus more "progressive" (Hughes 2018) than the others due to their variety in Mood patterns and the exploitation of their roles as moral authority, both of which will be discussed in in this section.

The entities placed in Subject position provided revealing insights into the positioning of the presidents in their texts. For example, Biden, Bush and Carter referred to the American people, including themselves, through the frequent use of inclusive *we*, which aimed to close the distance between the presidents and their audience. This effect of the inclusive *we* could also be identified in other studies (Ezeifeka 2013; Koussouhon & Dossoumou 2015 Apriliani & Priyatmojo 2016, Zeng & Wang 2019; Ping & Lingling 2018), which suggests that its use is a rhetorical strategy frequently employed in political statements addressed to the nation. The group in power thereby aimed to show or demand unity as a nation.

Obama chose to address the audience differently. He attempted to establish rapport with his audience through placing personal references and parts of private conversations in Subject position, which showed a high level of personal involvement, as public figures typically attempt to maintain their privacy. He thereby implicitly pointed to the fact that he was the first Black U.S. President to demonstrate that the issue of systemic racism is highly personal to him.

Biden and the former presidents Carter, Bush and Obama likely aimed to address the American people as united nation and signal that they do not tolerate and promote a divide among the people based on the colour of one's skin. They focused on including all citizens with the aim of obtaining votes of the citizens typically affected by systemic racism and those who were undecided. Additionally, Obama particularly relied on his continuous and extensive media attention to voice his opinion and simultaneously present himself as one of the people, which rendered him more relatable and persuasive concerning his implicit endorsement of a presidential candidate interested in unity.

By contrast, Trump used personal references and references to the acts of rioting in Subject position more frequently than uniting rhetorical devices, such as the inclusive *we*, which foregrounded himself as the man in power and authority. The use of personal references, i. e. first-person pronouns, and a few instances of inclusive *we* can be interpreted as the “positive selfishness” identified by Koussouhon and Dossoumou (2015) in the speech by Indonesia’s president. This “positive selfishness” on the one hand highlights Trump as the president, and on the other hand attempts to close the distance to the audience. However, due to numerous uses of the exclusive *we*, which refers to him and his administration, the effect of reducing the social distance is rather mitigated. Trump insisted on his position of power and avoided closing the social distance to the audience to a great extent, i. e. the weaker group, as references to the cause of protests, emotional reactions or intentions to eradicate racism are absent in Subject position and thus receive less attention than calls for law and order. He thereby did not acknowledge the greater underlying cause for the protests but only their effects. Through the references to his position of power and acts of vandalism, Trump likely aimed to appeal to his potential voters and demonstrated that he had the power to protect innocent citizens and stop acts of vandalism.

The ambassadors’ statements differed from one another concerning the personal involvement of their writers. The ambassadors also belong to the group of power because they are typically appointed by the incumbent presidents and are thus affiliated with their political party. While Traina focused on the American citizens, the judicial system in the U.S. and the killing, he refrained from using personal references. His statement is entirely professional and rather confirming his socio-political position as diplomat, whereas Branstad used numerous personal references and fewer references to the American people. However, a direct comparison may be misleading since Branstad’s statement is the shortest one of the entire text corpus, and the ambassador statements generally present a relatively small database.

The findings revealed in the analyses of the legal associations’ statements were not hugely surprising, as they placed importance on legal issues and them as a legal community to a great extent. The Federal Defenders even used exclusive *we* to present themselves as a somewhat authoritative and distinct group of individuals, while the NDAA preferred to use nouns indicative of an existing community of attorneys. The findings also suggest that these two associations were rather interested in affirming themselves as integer and diligent

practitioners of the law through placing legal proceedings and matters in Subject position, thereby publicly recognising the need to serve justice to the victim. These affirmations in both statements may have been a response to the public's relentless demands for justice and mistrust in the justice system after the Floyd's killing.

The Mood analysis also revealed interesting insights into the crafting of press releases to create certain public personas of former presidents, the presidential candidate and the incumbent president. Their statements mainly consisted of declarative Mood, with occasional instances of interrogative Mood and incongruent forms of imperative Mood. This predominance of declarative Mood in political statements has also been observed in other similar studies (cf. Koussouhon & Dossoumou 2015; Ping & Lingling 2018; Zeng & Wang 2019). Despite the expected predominance of declarative Mood in the presidents' statements, there were a few exceptions of imperative Mood and interrogative Mood which added an interesting layer of meaning to the social identity of the presidents.

Instances of imperative Mood were frequently interwoven in the presidents' text as declarative clauses and were interpreted as imperatives through contextualisation and reflected the current power position of the writers. These indirect imperatives may have been used to avoid accusations and generalisations concerning racism and mistreatment of Black Americans. However, incongruent imperatives may be even more powerful than typical imperatives, as these are stated as facts, despite their modulation through modal operators. Incongruent imperatives may also create a sense of community because they unite the speaker or writer and the audience as Subjects in the statements. For example, Clinton included incongruent imperatives as an indirect way of urging the American people to change their behaviour, i. e. see each other as equal and question their views and beliefs. Additionally, he also suggested a set of questions as potential starting point for self-reflection of one's behaviour. He thereby presented himself as a moral authority, exploiting his former political status to act on the American people, which is also a confirmation of his social identity within the American society. Moreover, Biden directly addressed the public through imperative Mood, i. e. "imagine if [...]", requesting the American people to immerse themselves into the daily struggle of Black Americans.

While Clinton and Biden each chose different linguistic strategies to relate to their audience, their purpose was similar: raising awareness of the inequality of Black Americans, while also

promoting solidarity and unity as a nation. Their texts could therefore also be considered texts of “progressive discourse” (Hughes 2018) and PDA (cf. Martin 2004b; Martin & Rose 2007) since they emphasised Clinton’s and Biden’s roles and intentions to improve society more strongly than the others in their text. As Biden was the presidential candidate to run against Trump, these statements likely aimed to convince Americans to vote for someone striving for unity.

Another former president to include imperative Mood in his statement is Obama. Obama’s incongruent imperative is only a singular occurrence and more concise, i. e. “we can and must do better”. This implicit demand can only be met in future actions and behaviour, as it implies “better than in the past”. It can be interpreted as implicit endorsement of Biden, Obama’s vice president, as future president.

These various types of imperatives in the statements suggest that these three presidents recognised their current positions of power, i. e. moral authority, which they used in their statements to evince their interest in restoring the unity of the nation in the future. The realisation of this interest would largely depend on the next presidency and thus on the presidential candidate Biden who was implicitly endorsed in the texts.

Another interesting finding in relation to the power structures revealed in the presidents’ texts is the use of Modality. It is striking that the incumbent president who evidently emphasised his position of authority and power prevalently used modal operators and Mood Adjuncts of either median and low value and rather avoided the use of items of high value. This tendency to use modal operators of low or median value in public addresses or speeches by members of the government has also been observed in earlier studies (cf. Ping & Lingling 2018; Li et al. 2019). This mitigation or avoidance of strong claims is a stark contrast to the other former presidents, as they frequently used modal operators of high value in combination with inclusive *we*. The former presidents thereby not only suggested a community consisting of the American people and positioned themselves as active members in it, but also appeared more assertive in their call for a change in society. By contrast, the incumbent president focused on entirely different matters, such as deploying the National Guard, and thereby mainly referred to future actions through Modality.

These two different approaches to positioning themselves through the use of Modality suggest two different types of authorities. One type of authority is concerned with the belief

to be able to act upon the American people and to call for change as moral authority, e. g. former presidents and Biden. This authority likely appealed to voters who demanded a united nation and a peaceful society. The other type of authority represented by Trump is concerned with the belief to exert power through the announcement of legal consequences as governmental and thus supreme authority in the country. This presidential authority was also likely to convince concerned and anxious citizens to cast a vote for Trump who could not see the root cause for such a great national unrest.

The analysis of Affect in the statements revealed an interesting move structure which occurred in almost all of the statements under analysis. In the beginning of the text, the writers and speakers expressed their shock and anguish due to Floyd's death, while the statements typically closed with a hopeful outlook on the future of the U.S. These tendencies of opening and closing a statement can be interpreted as typical moves of statements issued after a dramatic event, whereas the text between these two moves seemed to depend on the individual speaker or writer, e. g. reinforcing their authority through Security and Confidence, expressing Dissatisfaction with the current situation for Black Americans in the country. The presence of these two moves in the majority of the statements in all sub-corpora suggests that there is a certain schema for the genre of press releases addressing national tragedies. It can be assumed that texts of political discourse seem to adhere to common move structures, as a move structure could also be identified in condolence messages by political leaders in another context (Fenton-Smith 2017). The existence of move structures for such texts also raises the question of how personal such statements truly are. These press releases can also be considered established genres of political discourse and are thus part of a protocol without any personal involvement by the presidents and representatives. Consequently, these releases seem to be ideologically motivated as parts of conventional social practices to confirm the position of power of their writers and promote their interests (cf. Fairclough 2001).

Concerning the personal involvement of the speakers and writers, some presidents and one ambassador rendered their statements more personal through references to their private life, while Clinton mainly excluded himself in his text. Bush, Carter and Branstad referred to their spouses in their statements. Obama chose to share parts of private conversations, thereby allowing the public a glimpse into his private life. By contrast, Clinton's focus was on the American people as a united nation and the change needed to move forward and to overcome

systemic racism. Including or excluding oneself in such statements and closing the distance between the group in power and the powerless group, i. e. the audience, are clearly different ways of influencing the level of personalness of the statements. This personalness contributes to present themselves as one of the people and renders them more relatable. If citizens have the impression that similar issues matter to politicians as much as these issues are of interest to the people, they perhaps are more likely to vote for their endorsed candidate.

Compared to the manifestations of personal involvement in the other statements, Trump's definitely stands out for various reasons already mentioned. However, it must also be acknowledged that Trump was the incumbent president during these protests and thus responsible for controlling the situation in the country. This not only put him into a powerful position compared to all the former presidents and representatives, but it also required him to emphasise this power and his standing in the power structure of politics. Therefore, it may be likely that other former presidents would have reacted in a similar manner, i. e. relied on their presidential authority to control the riots and promise security in the streets. Trump, however, seemed to use his power to frame the protests rather as threats from which he could offer protection to convince American citizens to cast a vote for him in the presidential elections. Nevertheless, there should also have been a clear focus on justice, Floyd's death and the eradication of systemic racism as a cause for such deaths in the text to properly address the unrest among the American citizens. A greater focus on the cause of the protests and rioting would have firmly positioned him against racism, which was likely expected by large parts of the American and global population protesting in the streets.

5 Conclusion

The finding of this textual analysis suggest that tenor and Affect differs considerably between the sub-corpora analysed in this study, depending on the writer or speaker, the audience and thus the intended purpose. These three factors were also considered in the interpretation of each text analysis and in the discussion of the findings. The results were interpreted in the context of political discourse to which these statements contributed. This contextualisation led to the formulation of general tendencies outlined in the previous section.

In this analysis, the three sub-corpora revealed differing tendencies of expressing tenor. The former presidents and the presidential candidate seemed to be more concerned with establishing rapport with their fellow Americans, presenting themselves as feeling and

grieving individuals and showing empathy for those who were hurt, while also calling for unity and change. By contrast, the incumbent president insisted on his authoritative role as commander-in-chief. The presidents in general also took a clear stance, whether they condemn police brutality, unjust treatment of Black Americans or rioters and protesters. The ambassadors showed no significant peculiarities, despite occasional demands for unity and solidarity, as they are likely to be expected to present diplomacy. Legal associations rather attempted to defend their own reputation of executing and following the law due to the recently growing mistrust in the justice system in parts of the American population.

Since immediate public addresses to the nation after tragic incidents are not only expected to carry an authoritative and assertive tone but are also assumed to provide consolation and show emotion as a fellow American, these emotional messages in the texts were attempted to be revealed through an analysis of Affect. All of the statements contained instances of Affect, mainly in the field of negative emotions, and many of the statements opened with a personal attribution of a negative emotion to the addressers themselves. The majority of the statements, however, closed with positive emotions, i. e. hope for the future.

These analyses have also demonstrated enormous potential of SFL and Appraisal theory for the critical analysis of texts. A systemic-functional approach to analysing political texts may yield profound insights into the production of press releases which are also expected to include personal views and be relatable for the audience. Although the theoretical framework of Appraisal is more comprehensive than the selection of concepts used for this analysis, the central focus on Affect in such public addresses allowed for the identification of general tendencies in expressions of emotions.

Such statements are assumed to close the distance between citizens and politicians since the impact of a tragic incident such as the killing of George Floyd should be alleviated through calls for unity and solidarity as well as calls for discipline and peace, instead of announcements on punishments and consequences for protesters to avoid further social divides. These statements, however, were also part of presidential campaigning and thus an implicit call for casting a vote. I have attempted to highlight these communicative differences and purposes and to illustrate different approaches to speaking to the masses of frustrated and saddened citizens in this thesis.

Despite the fascinating insights into political discourse obtained in these analyses, this work clearly has some limitations. Some of them can be related to the mode of publication since two of the statements were delivered orally and perhaps released as part of the presidential campaign widely covered in the media at that time. This difference of media attention and more direct exposure to a mass audience puts them in a more powerful position than those writers who issued their statements online and depended on news outlets to address these texts. Other limitations may be related to the selection of texts as all of them were published by people belonging to the dominant group, namely politicians, legal associations and ambassadors. Weaker groups are not represented, and their texts would likely lead to different results, particularly relating to the entities in Subject position, the positioning and the social role of speakers and writers created in text. Since a detailed elaboration of these limitations would be well beyond the scope of this section, the limitations are briefly described alongside indications for future research areas for further insights into adopting a systemic-functional approach to political discourse analysis.

The textual data analysed in this thesis stems from different media, i. e. two of the statements were public speeches whose transcripts were used for analyses. Since the focus of this study was not the differences in interpersonal meaning between oral and written genres but on the positions and emotional reactions conveyed by political and legal authorities in text. Nevertheless, studies of political discourse may benefit from differentiating between written and oral texts and identifying differences in textual as well as interpersonal meaning, or exclusively focusing on either written or oral texts. This would provide further invaluable insights into political discourse and how the modes of publication, e. g. foundation websites, official press releases or tweets, influence the construal of meanings and expression of emotions.

The text analyses also revealed interesting similarities regarding the opening and closing of statements, although two of the ten selected texts were oral speeches. The general tendency to open a public address, whether oral or written, with a personal declaration of feelings and to close a public address with a positive outlook on the future may be an indication for genre-specific moves. This tentative conclusion may be an interesting starting point for conducting a genre analysis of public addresses to a nation following a tragic incident or during times of distress and despair. It may also be insightful to make a clear differentiation between oral and written public addresses and their differences in move structure, as only high-ranking, serving

politicians typically receive a slot in airtime on television to deliver an oral speech, while politicians of lower rank, such as former presidents, rely on use of social media and official press releases.

Future studies on the current or a similar topic are also suggested to make use of the entire theoretical framework established in Appraisal theory. As far as this research project was concerned, Appraisal theory is a valid and useful analytical tool for text analysis, allowing for a wide range of research foci. Political discourse revolving around pressing and delicate matters presents an interesting research focus because the media constantly reports on the views of politicians and other people of power. This media attention may also be used to manipulate and deceive but also to encourage and console, both of which can be described in more detail through a comprehensive Appraisal analysis in combination with CDA of political texts.

The analyses in this thesis focused exclusively on statements by politicians and official representatives of the U.S following the killing of George Floyd; however, there were and still are numerous other voices contributing to the political discourse on systemic racism. As political discourse typically consists of numerous participants who are not directly involved in politics, it would only be fair to also include those voices in this analysis. These voices represent the diversity in social and ethnic backgrounds of the American people in comparison with the politicians, who typically are representatives of a privileged social class and may not even have experienced acts of systemic racism towards them. Therefore, the inclusion of voices representing the heterogeneity of the American people would entail extending the search for textual data potentially to social media where many people found and find an outlet to describe their emotions and views on a more personal level.

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Appendix

Joe Biden

Transcript

You know, I just had an opportunity to speak with the Floyd family. Most of them. They are a close, decent, honourable family, loving one another. Once again, we heard the words, “I can’t breathe”.

An act of brutality so elemental, it did more than deny one more black man in America his civil rights and his human rights. It denied him of his very humanity. It denied him of his life. Depriving George Floyd as it deprived Eric Garner, one of the things, every human being must be able to do, breathe, so simple, so basic, so brutal. With the same thing happened with Aubrey. The same thing happened with Brianna Taylor. The same thing with George Floyd. We’ve spoken their names aloud. We’d cried them out in pain and in horror. We chiseled them into a long suffering hearts. They’re the latest additions to the endless list of stolen potential wiped out unnecessarily. It’s a list that dates back more than 400 years; black men, black women, black children, the original sin of this country still stains our nation today.

And sometimes we manage to overlook it. We just pushed forward with a thousand other tasks in our daily life, but it’s always there. And weeks like this, we see it plainly, that we’re a country with an open wound. None of us can turn away. None of us can be silent. None of us can any longer can we hear the words I can’t breathe and do nothing. We can’t fail victims like what Martin Luther King called “The appalling silence of good people.” Every day African-Americans go about their lives with a constant anxiety and trauma wondering who would be next? Imagine if every time your husband or son, wife or daughter left the house, you feared for their safety from bad actors and bad police. Imagine if you had to have that talk with your child about not asserting your rights, taking the abuse handed out to them just so they could make it home.

Imagine having police called on you just for sitting in Starbucks or renting an Airbnb or watching birds. This is the norm black people in this country deal with. They don’t have to imagine it. The anger and frustration and the exhaustion, it’s undeniable, but that’s not the promise of America. It’s long past time that we made the promise of this nation real for all people. This is no time for incendiary tweets. It’s no time to encourage violence. This is a national crisis. We need real leadership right now, leadership that will bring everyone to the

table so we can take measures to root out systemic racism. It's time for us to take a hard look at the uncomfortable truths. It's time for us to face that deep open wound we have in this nation.

We need justice for George Floyd. We need real police reform that hold cops to a higher standard that so many of them actually meet. That holds bad cops accountable then repairs relationship between law enforcement and the community they're sworn to protect. We need to stand up as a nation with the black community, with all minority communities, and come together as one America. That's the challenge we face. It's going to require those of us who sit in some position of influence to finally deal with the abuse of power. The pain is too immense for one community to bear alone. I believe it's the duty of every American to grapple with it and to grapple with it now. With our complacency and our silence, we are complicit in perpetuating these cycles of violence. Nothing about this will be easy or comfortable, but do we simply allow this wound to scab over once more without treating the underlying injury, we'll never truly heal.

The very soul of America is at stake. We must commit as a nation to pursue justice with every ounce of our being. We have to pursue it with real urgency. We've got to make real, the promise of America, which we've never fully grasped. That all men and women are equal. Not only in creation, but throughout their lives. Again, to George's family, thanks for taking the time to talk to me. I promise you, I promise you, we'll do everything in our power to see to it that justice is had for your brother, your cousin's case. God love y'all. Folks, we got to stand up. We got to move. We got to change.

5.1 Subjects

Subject groups	Subjects
Personal references	I (4x)
American citizens	Your husband or son, your wife or daughter You (2x) They [your loved ones/ your husband or son, your wife or daughter] The very soul of America
Inclusive we	We (22x)
Exclusive we [Biden's administration]	We
References to past	The original sin of this country

References to the victim	They [victim's family]
The culprits	They
References to the killing	It (3x) They [previous victims of police brutality] It [previous list of previous victim's names]
Including everyone	Every human being
Racism	It
Black people	African Americans they
Emotional reactions	The anger and frustration and the exhaustion, it The pain
Excluding	None of us (3x) Nothing about this
Spiritual entity	God
Reference to various entities	This (3x) It (6x) That (2x)

Modality

	Type	Classification
It's always there.	Modalisation: Mood Adjunct	High value
None of us can turn away.	Modulation: modal operator	Low obligation
None of us can be silent.	Modulation: modal operator	Low obligation
None of us can any longer can we hear the words I can't breathe and do nothing.	Modulation: modal operator	Low obligation
We can't fail victims like, you know, what Martin Luther King called "the appalling silence of good people".	Modulation: modal operator	Low obligation
Imagine if you had to have that talk with your child about not asserting your rights, taking the abuse handed out to them just so they could make it home.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation
They don't have to imagine it.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation

So we can take measures to root out systemic racism.	Modulation: modal operator	Low obligation
We need to stand up as a nation with the black community, and come together as one America.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation
Nothing about this will be easy or comfortable, but do we simply allow this wound to scab over once more without treating the underlying injury, we'll never truly heal.	Modalisation: modal operator Modalisation: Mood Adjunct	Median probability High usuality
We must commit as a nation to pursue justice with every ounce of our being.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation
We have to pursue it with real urgency.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation
We've got to make real, the promise of America, which we've never fully grasped.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation
We'll do everything in our power to see to it that justice is had for your brother, your cousin's case.	Modalisation: modal operator	Median probability
We got to stand up. We got to move. We got to change.	Modulation: modal operator (3x)	High obligation

Table 18 Affect in Biden's statement

	Appraising item	Trigger	Emoter	Realis/ Irrealis	Category	Subcategory
They are a close, decent, honorable family, loving one another.	Loving one another	One another	They [the Floyd family]	Realis	Happiness	love
We'd cried them out in pain and in horror.	Cried out	them	we	realis	Unhappiness	sadness
	Pain and horror		we	Realis	Dissatisfaction	displeasure
We chiseled them into our long suffering hearts.	Long-suffering hearts		we	Realis	Unhappiness	sadness
we're a country with an open wound.	Country with an open wound		we	Realis	Unhappiness	sadness
Americans go about their lives with a constant anxiety and trauma wondering who would be next? N.B. grammatical metaphor	Constant anxiety and trauma		Americans	Realis	Insecurity	anxiety
Imagine if every time your husband or son, wife or daughter left the house, you feared for their safety from bad actors and bad police.	feared		you	Realis	Insecurity	fear
Imagine if you had to have that talk with your child about not asserting your rights, taking the	Not asserting		You	Realis	security	confidence

abuse handed out to them just so they could make it home						
The anger and frustration and the exhaustion, it's undeniable, but that's not the promise of America.	Anger		In us Americans [implied]	Realis	dissatisfaction	Displeasure
	Frustration			Realis	unhappiness	Sadness
	exhaustion			realis	dissatisfaction	ennui
we made the promise of this nation real for all people.	Made the promise		we	realis	Security	Confidence
It's time for us to face that deep open wound we have in this nation.	Deep open wound		This nation, we	realis	Dissatisfaction	displeasure
We need to stand up as a nation with the black community, with all minority communities, and come together as one America.	Stand up		we	Realis	security Satisfaction	Confidence/trust respect
The pain is too immense for one community to bear alone N. B. grammatical metaphor	The pain		For one community	Realis	Unhappiness	sadness
I believe it's the duty of every American to grapple with it and to grapple with it now	Believe		I	Realis	Security	confidence
but do we simply allow this wound to scab over once more	Scab over once [continue to be treated badly]		Wound [People of colour]	realis	dissatisfaction	displeasure
	heal		we	Irrealis	Inclination	desire

without treating the underlying injury, we'll never truly heal.						
The very soul of America is at stake.	At stake		The very soul of America [the sense of community as Americans]	Realis	Insecurity	fear
We must commit as a nation to pursue justice with every ounce of our being	Commit		We	Realis	Security	confidence
We've got to make real, the promise of America, which we've never fully grasped.	Make real, the promise of America		we	irrealis	Inclination	desire
I promise you, I promise you, we'll do everything in our power to see to it that justice is had for your brother, your cousin's case.	Promise		I	Realis	Security	confidence
God love y'all	Love		God	Realis	Happiness	Love
Folks, we got to stand up	Stand up		We	Realis	Security Satisfaction	Confidence/trust respect
We got to change.	change		We	Irrealis	Inclination	desire

George W. Bush

Laura and I are anguished by the brutal suffocation of George Floyd and disturbed by the injustice and fear that suffocate our country. Yet we have resisted the urge to speak out, because this is not the time for us to lecture. It is time for us to listen. It is time for America to examine our tragic failures – and as we do, we will also see some of our redeeming strengths.

It remains a shocking failure that many African Americans, especially young African American men, are harassed and threatened in their own country. It is a strength when protesters, protected by responsible law enforcement, march for a better future. This tragedy — in a long series of similar tragedies — raises a long overdue question: How do we end systemic racism in our society? The only way to see ourselves in a true light is to listen to the voices of so many who are hurting and grieving. Those who set out to silence those voices do not understand the meaning of America — or how it becomes a better place.

America's greatest challenge has long been to unite people of very different backgrounds into a single nation of justice and opportunity. The doctrine and habits of racial superiority, which once nearly split our country, still threaten our Union. The answers to American problems are found by living up to American ideals — to the fundamental truth that all human beings are created equal and endowed by God with certain rights. We have often underestimated how radical that quest really is, and how our cherished principles challenge systems of intended or assumed injustice. The heroes of America — from Frederick Douglass, to Harriet Tubman, to Abraham Lincoln, to Martin Luther King, Jr. — are heroes of unity. Their calling has never been for the fainthearted. They often revealed the nation's disturbing bigotry and exploitation — stains on our character sometimes difficult for the American majority to examine. We can only see the reality of America's need by seeing it through the eyes of the threatened, oppressed, and disenfranchised.

That is exactly where we now stand. Many doubt the justice of our country, and with good reason. Black people see the repeated violation of their rights without an urgent and adequate response from American institutions. We know that lasting justice will only come by peaceful means. Looting is not liberation, and destruction is not progress. But we also know that lasting peace in our communities requires truly equal justice.

The rule of law ultimately depends on the fairness and legitimacy of the legal system. And achieving justice for all is the duty of all.

This will require a consistent, courageous, and creative effort. We serve our neighbors best when we try to understand their experience. We love our neighbors as ourselves when we treat them as equals, in both protection and compassion. There is a better way — the way of empathy, and shared commitment, and bold action, and a peace rooted in justice. I am confident that together, Americans will choose the better way.

Subjects

Subject groups	Subjects
Personal references	Laura and I
Inclusive we	We (8x)
Exclusive we	We (2x)
Black people	Many African Americans, especially young African American men Many Black people
Justice and peace	Protesters, protected by responsible law enforcement The only way to see ourselves in a true light Lasting justice Lasting peace in our society The rule of law Achieving justice for all This ["achieving justice for all"]
References to the killing	This tragedy – in a long series of similar tragedies
Deconstructive actions	Those who set out to silence those voices America's greatest challenge The doctrine and habits of racial superiority, which once nearly split our country The answers to American problems That quest Looting Destruction
America	It Our cherished principles

	The heroes of America — from Frederick Douglass, to Harriet Tubman, to Abraham Lincoln, to Martin Luther King, Jr. Their calling They Americans
Everybody	all human beings
Unspecified references	It this it it it that there

Modality

	Type	Classification
We will also see some of our redeeming strengths.	Modalisation: modal operator	Median probability
We can only see the reality of America's need by seeing it through the eyes of the threatened, oppressed, and disenfranchised.	Modulation: modal operator	Low obligation
We know that lasting justice will only come by peaceful means.	Modalisation: Mood Adjunct	High probability
This will require a consistent, courageous, and creative effort.	Modalisation: modal operator	Median probability

Table 19 Affect in President Bush's statement

	Appraising item	Trigger	Emoter	Realis/ Irrealis	Category	Subcategory
Laura and I are anguished by the brutal suffocation of George Floyd and disturbed by the injustice and fear that suffocate our country.	anguished	By the injustice and fear	Laura and I	realis	Dissatisfaction	displeasure
	disturbed	By the injustice and fear	Laura and I	realis	Dissatisfaction	displeasure
Yet we have resisted the urge to speak out, because this is not the time for us to lecture.	Speak out		We	realis	Insecurity Dissatisfaction	Fear/Anxiety Displeasure
It remains a shocking failure that many African Americans, especially young African American men, are harassed and threatened in their own country.	harassed		Many African Americans	realis	Dissatisfaction	displeasure
	threatened		Many African Americans	realis	insecurity	Fear/anxiety
The only way to see ourselves in a true light is to listen to the voices of so many who are hurting and grieving.	Hurting and grieving		So many	realis	Unhappiness	sadness
We love our neighbors as ourselves when we treat them	love	Our neighbours	We	Realis	Happiness	love

as equals, in both protection and compassion.						
I am confident that together, Americans will choose the better way.	confident		I	Realis	Security	confidence
	together		Americans	realis	security	confidence

Jimmy Carter

Rosalynn and I are pained by the tragic racial injustices and consequent backlash across our nation in recent weeks. Our hearts are with the victims' families and all who feel hopeless in the face of pervasive racial discrimination and outright cruelty. We all must shine a spotlight on the immorality of racial discrimination. But violence, whether spontaneous or consciously incited, is not a solution.

As a white male of the South, I know all too well the impact of segregation and injustice to African Americans. As a politician, I felt a responsibility to bring equity to my state and our country. In my 1971 inaugural address as Georgia's governor, I said: "The time for racial discrimination is over." With great sorrow and disappointment, I repeat those words today, nearly five decades later. Dehumanizing people debases us all; humanity is beautifully and almost infinitely diverse. The bonds of our common humanity must overcome the divisiveness of our fears and prejudices.

Since leaving the White House in 1981, Rosalynn and I have strived to advance human rights in countries around the world. In this quest, we have seen that silence can be as deadly as violence. People of power, privilege, and moral conscience must stand up and say "no more" to a racially discriminatory police and justice system, immoral economic disparities between whites and blacks, and government actions that undermine our unified democracy. We are responsible for creating a world of peace and equality for ourselves and future generations.

We need a government as good as its people, and we are better than this.

Subjects

Subject groups	Subjects
Personal references	I (2x) Rosalynn and I
Humanity	Humanity The bonds of our common humanity
Harmful behaviour	The time for racial discrimination Dehumanizing people Silence
Inclusive we	We (4x)
Privileged people	People of power, privilege, and moral conscience

Modality

	Type	classification
We all must shine a spotlight on the immorality of racial discrimination.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation

People of power, privilege, and moral conscience must stand up and say “no more” to a racially discriminatory police and justice system, immoral economic disparities between whites and blacks, and government actions that undermine our unified democracy.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation
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Table 20 Affect in President Carter's statement

	Appraising item	Trigger	Emoter	Realis/ Irrealis	Category	Subcategory
Rosalynn and I are pained by the tragic racial injustices and consequent backlash across our nation in recent weeks.	Pained	By the tragic racial injustices and consequent backlash	Rosalynn and I	realis	Unhappiness	sadness
	tragic	Racial injustices	Rosalynn and I	realis	Unhappiness	sadness
Our hearts are with the victims' families and all who feel hopeless in the face of pervasive racial discrimination and outright cruelty	Feel hopeless		All	realis	unhappiness	sadness
We all must shine a spotlight on the immorality of racial discrimination	Shine a spotlight		We all	realis	satisfaction	respect
With great sorrow and disappointment, I repeat those words today, nearly five decades later. N.B. grammatical metaphor	With great sorrow and disappointment		I	realis	Unhappiness	sadness
Dehumanizing people debases us all	debases	Dehumanising	Us	realis	dissatisfaction	displeasure
The bonds of our common humanity must overcome the	Overcome	Divisiveness of our fears and prejudices	The bonds of our common	Irrealis	Inclination	desire

divisiveness of our fears and prejudices.			humanity [we as community]			
People of power, privilege, and moral conscience must stand up and say “no more” to a racially discriminatory police and justice system, immoral economic disparities between whites and blacks, and government actions that undermine our unified democracy.	Stand up Say “no more”	racially discriminatory police and justice system, immoral economic disparities between whites and blacks, and government actions	People of power, privilege, and moral conscience	Realis	Security Satisfaction	Confidence Respect

Bill Clinton

In the days since George Floyd's death, it is impossible not to feel grief for his family—and anger, revulsion, and frustration that his death is the latest in a long line of tragedy and injustice, and a painful reminder that a person's race still determines how they will be treated in nearly every aspect of American life.

No one deserves to die the way George Floyd did. And the truth is, if you're white in America, the chances are you won't. That truth is what underlies the pain and the anger that so many are feeling and expressing—that the path of an entire life can be measured and devalued by the color of one's skin. Fifty-seven years ago, Dr. King dreamed of a day when his “four little children would be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.” Today, that dream seems even more out of reach, and we'll never reach it if we keep treating people of color with the unspoken assumption that they're less human.

We need to see each other as equally deserving of life, liberty, respect, dignity, and the presumption of innocence. We need to ask ourselves and each other hard questions, and listen carefully to the answers.

Here's where I'd start.

If George Floyd had been white, handcuffed, and lying on the ground, would he be alive today?

Why does this keep happening?

What can we do to ensure that every community has the police department it needs and deserves?

What can I do?

We can't honestly answer these questions in the divide and conquer, us vs. them, shift the blame and shirk the responsibility world we're living in. People with power should go first—answer the questions, expand who's “us” and shrink who's “them,” accept some blame, and assume more responsibility. But the rest of us have to answer these questions too.

It's the least we can do for George Floyd's family, and the families of all other Americans who have been judged by the color of their skin rather than by the content of their character. The future of the country depends on it.

Subjects

Subject groups	Subjects
George Floyd	His death George Floyd he
Race and racism	A person's race The chances That truth

	This [similar tragic incidents]
The people	They (2x)
Excluding	No one
American citizens	You You So many Every community It ["every community"] The rest of us The future of the country
	The path of an entire life
Martin Luther King	Dr. King His "four little children" That dream
Reference to various entities/unspecified	It Here It
Inclusive we	We (7x)
Personal references	I (2x)
Exclusive we – the administration and politicians	we
Privileged people	People with power

Modality

	Type	Classification
We need to see each other as equally deserving of life, liberty, respect, dignity, and the presumption of innocence.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation
We need to ask ourselves and each other hard questions, and listen carefully to the answers.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation
Here's where I'd start.	Modalisation: modal operator	Median probability
If George Floyd had been white, handcuffed, and lying on the ground, would he be alive today?	Modalisation: modal operator	Median probability

What can we do to ensure that every community has the police department it needs and deserves?	Modulation: modal operator	Low obligation
What can I do?	Modulation: modal operator	Low obligation
We can't honestly answer these questions in the divide and conquer, us vs. them, shift the blame and shirk the responsibility world we're living in.	Modulation: modal operator	Low obligation
People with power should go first – answer the questions, expand who's "us" and shrink who's "them", accept some blame, and assume more responsibility.	Modulation: modal operator	Median obligation
But the rest of us have to answer these questions too.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation
It's the least we can do for George Floyd's family, and the families of all other Americans who have been judged by the color of their skin rather than by the content of their character.	Modulation: modal operator	Low obligation

Affect in President Clinton's statement

	Appraising item	Trigger	Emoter	Realis/ Irrealis	Category	Subcategory
In the days since George Floyd's death, it is impossible not to feel grief for his family—and anger, revulsion, and frustration that his death is the latest in a long line of tragedy and injustice, and a painful reminder that a person's race still determines how they will be treated in nearly every aspect of American life.	Feel grief		[Impersonal formulation]	Realis	Unhappiness	sadness
That truth is what underlies the pain and the anger that so many are feeling and expressing—that the path of an entire life can be measured and devalued by the color of one's skin. N.B. grammatical metaphor	Pain and anger	That truth [that White people don't die in the same way George Floyd did]	So many	realis	Dissatisfaction	displeasure
We need to see each other as equally deserving of life, liberty, respect, dignity, and the presumption of innocence.	See	Each other as equally deserving	We	Irrealis	Inclination	desire

Barack Obama

I want to share parts of the conversations I've had with friends over the past couple days about the footage of George Floyd dying face down on the street under the knee of a police officer in Minnesota.

The first is an email from a middle-aged African American businessman.

"Dude I gotta tell you the George Floyd incident in Minnesota hurt. I cried when I saw that video. It broke me down. The 'knee on the neck' is a metaphor for how the system so cavalierly holds black folks down, ignoring the cries for help. People don't care. Truly tragic."

Another friend of mine used the powerful song that went viral from 12-year-old Keedron Bryant to describe the frustrations he was feeling.

The circumstances of my friend and Keedron may be different, but their anguish is the same. It's shared by me and millions of others.

It's natural to wish for life "to just get back to normal" as a pandemic and economic crisis upend everything around us. But we have to remember that for millions of Americans, being treated differently on account of race is tragically, painfully, maddeningly "normal" — whether it's while dealing with the health care system, or interacting with the criminal justice system, or jogging down the street, or just watching birds in a park.

This shouldn't be "normal" in 2020 America. It can't be "normal." If we want our children to grow up in a nation that lives up to its highest ideals, we can and must be better.

It will fall mainly on the officials of Minnesota to ensure that the circumstances surrounding George Floyd's death are investigated thoroughly and that justice is ultimately done. But it falls on all of us, regardless of our race or station — including the majority of men and women in law enforcement who take pride in doing their tough job the right way, every day — to work together to create a "new normal" in which the legacy of bigotry and unequal treatment no longer infects our institutions or our hearts.

Subjects

Subject group	Subjects
Personal references	I (5x)
Sharing of personal conversations	The first ["parts of a conversation"] Another friend of mine The circumstances of my friend and Keedron
References to the killing	It ["that video"] The knee on the neck
Issues in the justice system	The system The legacy of bigotry and unequal treatment It ["being treated differently"] This ["being treated differently"] It ["being treated differently"]
Americans	People
Emotional reactions	Their anguish

	It [anguish]
Unspecified references	It (3x)
Inclusive we	We (2x)

Modality

	Type	Classification
But we have to remember that for millions of Americans, being treated differently on account of race is tragically, painfully, maddeningly “normal” – whether it’s while dealing with the health care system, or interacting with the criminal justice system, or jogging down the street, or just watching birds in a park.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation
This shouldn’t be “normal” in 2020 America.	Modulation: modal operator	Median obligation
It can’t be “normal”.	Modulation: modal operator	Low obligation
It will fall mainly on the officials of Minnesota to ensure that the circumstances surrounding George Floyd’s death are investigated thoroughly and that justice is ultimately done.	Modalisation: modal operator	Median probability

Affect in President Obama's statement

	Appraising item	Trigger	Emoter	Realis/ Irrealis	Category	Subcategory
Dude I gotta tell you the George Floyd incident in Minnesota hurt	hurt	The George Floyd incident in Minnesota	I [a supposed friend of President Obama's]	realis	Unhappiness	sadness
I cried when I saw that video	cried	When I saw that video	I [the same friend]	Realis	Unhappiness	sadness
It broke me down	Broke down	It	Me [the same friend]	Realis	Unhappiness	sadness
People don't care	care		People	Realis	Dissatisfaction	ennui
Another friend of mine used the powerful song that went viral from 12-year-old Keedron Bryant to describe the frustrations he was feeling. N.B. grammatical metaphor	Frustrations he was feeling		he	Realis	Unhappiness	sadness
their anguish is the same N.B. grammatical metaphor	anguish		They [President Obama's friend and Keedron]	realis	Unhappiness	sadness
It's shared by me and millions of others	It [the anguish]		Me and millions of others	Realis	Unhappiness	sadness
It's natural to wish for life "to just get back to normal" as a pandemic and economic crisis upend everything around us.	Wish	For life "to just get back to normal"	Us, we, the American people [implied]	Irrealis	Inclination	desire
But it falls on all of us, regardless of our race or station — including the majority of men and women in law enforcement	Take pride	In doing their tough job the right way	The majority of men and women in law enforcement	Realis	Satisfaction	curiosity

who take pride in doing their tough job the right way, every day — to work together to create a "new normal" in which the legacy of bigotry and unequal treatment no longer infects our institutions or our hearts.	together		All of us	Realis	security	Confidence/trust
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Donald J. Trump

Thank you very much. My fellow Americans: My first and highest duty as President is to defend our great country and the American people. I swore an oath to uphold the laws of our nation, and that is exactly what I will do.

All Americans were rightly sickened and revolted by the brutal death of George Floyd. My administration is fully committed that, for George and his family, justice will be served. He will not have died in vain. But we cannot allow the righteous cries and peaceful protesters to be drowned out by an angry mob. The biggest victims of the rioting are peace-loving citizens in our poorest communities, and as their President, I will fight to keep them safe. I will fight to protect you. I am your President of law and order, and an ally of all peaceful protesters.

But in recent days, our nation has been gripped by professional anarchists, violent mobs, arsonists, looters, criminals, rioters, Antifa, and others. A number of state and local governments have failed to take necessary action to safeguard their residents. Innocent people have been savagely beaten, like the young man in Dallas, Texas, who was left dying on the street, or the woman in Upstate New York viciously attacked by dangerous thugs.

Small-business owners have seen their dreams utterly destroyed. New York's Finest have been hit in the face with bricks. Brave nurses, who have battled the virus, are afraid to leave their homes. A police precinct station has been overrun. Here in the nation's capital, the Lincoln Memorial and the World War Two Memorial have been vandalized. One of our most historic churches was set ablaze. A federal officer in California, an African American enforcement hero, was shot and killed.

These are not acts of peaceful protest. These are acts of domestic terror. The destruction of innocent life and the spilling of innocent blood is an offense to humanity and a crime against God.

America needs creation, not destruction; cooperation, not contempt; security, not anarchy; healing, not hatred; justice, not chaos. This is our mission, and we will succeed. One hundred percent, we will succeed. Our country always wins.

That is why I am taking immediate presidential action to stop the violence and restore security and safety in America. I am mobilizing all available federal resources — civilian and military — to stop the rioting and looting, to end the destruction and arson, and to protect the rights of law-abiding Americans, including your Second Amendment rights. Therefore, the following measures are going into effect immediately:

First, we are ending the riots and lawlessness that has spread throughout our country. We will end it now. Today, I have strongly recommended to every governor to deploy the National Guard in sufficient numbers that we dominate the streets. Mayors and governors must establish an overwhelming law enforcement presence until the violence has been quelled.

If a city or a state refuses to take the actions that are necessary to defend the life and property of their residents, then I will deploy the United States military and quickly solve the problem for them.

I am also taking swift and decisive action to protect our great capital, Washington, D.C. What happened in this city last night was a total disgrace. As we speak, I am dispatching thousands and thousands of heavily armed soldiers, military personnel, and law enforcement officers to stop the rioting, looting, vandalism, assaults, and the wanton destruction of property.

We are putting everybody on warning: Our seven o'clock curfew will be strictly enforced. Those who threaten innocent life and property will be arrested, detained, and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

I want the organizers of this terror to be on notice that you will face severe criminal penalties and lengthy sentences in jail. This includes Antifa and others who are leading instigators of this violence.

One law and order — and that is what it is: one law. We have one beautiful law. And once that is restored and fully restored, we will help you, we will help your business, and we will help your family.

America is founded upon the rule of law. It is the foundation of our prosperity, our freedom, and our very way of life. But where there is no law, there is no opportunity. Where there is no justice, there is no liberty. Where there is no safety, there is no future.

We must never give in to anger or hatred. If malice or violence reigns, then none of us is free.

I take these actions today with firm resolve and with a true and passionate love for our country. By far, our greatest days lie ahead.

Thank you very much. And now I'm going to pay my respects to a very, very special place. Thank you very much.

Subjects

Subject groups	Subjects
Personal reference	My first and highest duty as president I (12x) My administration
American citizens	All Americans
The victim George Floyd	He
Inclusive we	We (4x)
Exclusive we	We (6x)
References to the rioting	The biggest victims of the rioting Innocent people Small-business owners New York's Finest Brave nurses, who have battled the virus A police precinct station A federal officer in California, an African American enforcement hero These (2x) ["acts of domestic terror"] The destruction of innocent life and the spilling of innocent blood

	What happened in the city last night Those who threaten innocent life and property This [referring to “Antifa and others”] Malice or violence
Nation	Our nation A number of state and local governments America (2x) Our country Mayors and governors A city or a state
Historically important sites	the Lincoln Memorial and the World War Two Memorial One of our most historic churches
Law and order	Justice This [restoring order] The following measures Our seven o’clock curfew One law and order That [“one law and order”] That [“one beautiful law”] It [“rule of law”]
Excluding	None of us
Positive outlook	Our greatest days
Dummy there	There (6x)
Non-referential Subjects	This

Modality

	Type	Classification
He will not have died in vain.	Modalisation: modal operator	Median probability
But we cannot allow the righteous cries and peaceful protesters to be drowned out by an angry mob.	Modulation: modal operator	Low obligation
I will fight to keep them safe.	Modalisation: modal operator	Median probability
I will fight to protect you.	Modalisation: modal operator	Median probability
We will succeed.	Modalisation: modal operator	Median probability
Our country always wins.	Modalisation: Mood Adjunct	High usuality
I will deploy the United States military and quickly solve the problem for them.	Modalisation: modal operator	Median probability
We will help you, we will help your business, and we will help your family.	Modalisation: modal operator	Median probability

We must never give into anger or hatred.	Modulation: modal operator Modalisation: Mood Adjunct	High obligation High usuality
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Affect in President Trump's statement

	Appraising item	Trigger	Emoter	Realis/ Irrealis	Category	Subcategory
My first and highest duty as President is to defend our great country and the American people.	defend		The President	Realis	Security	confidence
I swore an oath to uphold the laws of our nation, and that is exactly what I will do.	Swore an oath		I [the President]	Realis	Security	confidence
All Americans were rightly sickened and revolted by the brutal death of George Floyd	Rightly sickened and revolted	By the brutal death of George Floyd	All Americans	Realis	Dissatisfaction	displeasure
My administration is fully committed that, for George and his family, justice will be served	Fully committed		My administration	Realis	Security	confidence
But we cannot allow the righteous cries and peaceful protesters to be drowned out by an angry mob	Drowned out	By an angry mob	The righteous cries and peaceful protesters	realis	Dissatisfaction	displeasure
	angry		mob	Realis	Dissatisfaction	displeasure
The biggest victims of the rioting are peace-loving citizens in our poorest communities,	Peace-loving	citizens	The biggest victims	Realis	Security	Trust
I am your President of law and order, and an ally of all peaceful protesters.	Peaceful		Protesters	Realis	Security	trust
Innocent people have been savagely beaten	Savagely beaten		innocent	Realis	Dissatisfaction	Displeasure

Ambassador Trevor Traina

Like many in Austria and the millions in the United States who are peacefully demonstrating on the streets of American cities, I too was horrified to learn of the death of George Floyd. This tragedy has filled Americans and people all over the world with shock, grief, and anger. It is important that those responsible be held accountable in a court of law. The U.S. Department of Justice has acted swiftly to investigate what happened. This tragedy does not reflect all Americans. We are a country of 330 million citizens. Millions of Americans are standing up, speaking out, and peacefully marching against racism and injustice. The first amendment of our Constitution guarantees the rights to free expression and assembly. Those demonstrating today are part of a long history of Americans making their voices heard in defense of liberty and fundamental freedoms. I am saddened that there are many who are unfairly bearing the burden of the rioting and looting, including churches, small business owners, and police officers who are honorably fulfilling their duties. We must not allow violence to drown out what are legitimate grievances. We agree that dialogue is the best path forward. And that's what we're now seeing. We see communities coming together to protect individuals and property, police and demonstrators talking to each other, and a national conversation starting to take place. It is my firm conviction that America will emerge from this crisis a stronger and more just nation, one that lives up to its highest ideals."

Subjects

Subject group	Subjects (17)
Personal references	I
The American citizens	We (5x) Millions of Americans Those demonstrating Dialogue America
The Law and the justice system	The U.S. Department of Justice The first amendment of our constitutions
References to the killing	This tragedy Those responsible This tragedy
References to various entities, e. g. relative pronouns	There that

Modality

Modality	Classification	
It is important that those responsible be held accountable in a court of law.	Modulation: Adjunct: mood	High obligation
We must not allow violence to drown out what are legitimate grievances.	Modulation: modal operators	High obligation
It is my firm conviction that America will emerge from this crisis a stronger and more just nation, one that lives up to its highest ideals.	Modulation: Adjunct: mood Modulation: modal operators	High probability Median inclination

Affect in Ambassador Traina's statement

	Appraising item	Trigger	Emoter	Realis/ Irrealis	Category	Subcategory
I too was horrified to learn of the death of George Floyd.	horrified		I [Ambassador Traina]	Realis	unhappiness	sadness
This tragedy has filled Americans and people all over the world with shock, grief, and anger.	tragedy		[Ambassador Traina]	realis	unhappiness	sadness
	Shock, grief and anger	This tragedy	Americans and people all over the world	realis	unhappiness	sadness
This tragedy does not reflect all Americans.	tragedy		[Ambassador Traina]	realis	unhappiness	sadness
Millions of Americans are standing up, speaking out, and peacefully marching against racism and injustice.	Standing up speaking out		Millions of Americans	Realis	security Satisfaction	Confidence/trust Respect
	Peacefully marching			realis	Security	trust
I am saddened that there are many who are unfairly bearing the burden of the rioting and looting, including churches, small business owners, and police officers who are honorably fulfilling their duties.	saddened	Many who are unfairly bearing the burden ...	I [Ambassador Traina]	realis	unhappiness	sadness
We see communities coming together	together		We	realis	Security	trust
It is my firm conviction that America will emerge from this crisis a stronger and more just nation, one that lives up to its highest ideals.	It is my firm conviction	America will emerge from this crisis ...	[Ambassador Traina]	irrealis	inclination	desire

5.2 Ambassador Terry Branstad

Like you, my wife Chris and I were shocked, appalled, and deeply saddened by the horrific death of George Floyd. Ours is a nation of laws, and this terrible act of violence must not go unpunished. I am acutely aware that many of our colleagues have experienced racism or other forms of discrimination. This is unacceptable, which is why I am searching for what I can do personally, and what we can do as a Mission, to help end the continued cycle of racism and injustice in our country.

5.2.1 Subjects

Subject groups	Subjects
Personal references	My wife Chris and I Many of our colleagues I I
All American citizens	Ours [the U.S.] We
References to the killing	This terrible act of violence
References to racism and discrimination	This [anaphoric reference: racism or other forms of discrimination]

5.2.2 Modality

	Type of modality	Classification
Ours is a nation of laws, and this terrible act of violence must not go unpunished.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation
I am acutely aware that many of our colleagues have experienced racism or other forms of discrimination.	Modalisation: Adjunct: mood	High probability
what we can do as a Mission, to help end the continued cycle of racism and injustice in our country.	Modulation: modal operator	Low obligation

Affect in Ambassador Branstad's statement

	Appraising item	Trigger	Emoter	Realis/ Irrealis	Category	Subcategory
Like you, my wife Chris and I were shocked, appalled, and deeply saddened by the horrific death of George Floyd.	Shocked, appalled, and deeply saddened	By the horrific death of George Floyd	My wife Chris and I	realis	unhappiness	sadness

5.3 Federal Defenders

The moral arc of the universe, as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said, bends towards justice. And yet, we all saw that arc snap again under a police officer's white knee on George Floyd's Black neck for eight minutes and forty-six seconds. That knee has been placed on too many Black necks before and too often without repercussions.

This time must be different. While we can kneel in solidarity with Mr. Floyd, we also must stand up and demand that racism, overt and implicit, be acknowledged and confronted.

As federal public and community defenders, we represent the overwhelming majority of those charged with crimes in federal court, most of whom are minorities, of all colors and orientation. We have witnessed "wars" on drugs and crime become dog whistles for hate and racism. Intentions to make communities safe are hijacked by other insidious agendas. The war on crime is a new Jim Crow that permeates our criminal justice system that turns a blind eye to oppressive structural racism because it seems to fear "too much justice".

George Floyd died face down, gasping and begging to breathe. It is well beyond time for us all to say, "Enough".

And in this crucible of anger, we take a breath, and begin to repair the moral arc and bend it back towards justice.

As federal defenders, we stand with many like George Floyd who have been held down and denied their humanity. It is our job, our calling. It is our privilege. For George Floyd and all of our clients, we renew our longstanding commitment to fight daily for equal justice.

5.3.1 Subjects

Subject groups	Subjects (n=19)
Legal issues	The moral arc of the universe That knee This time Racism, overt and implicit Intentions to make communities safe The war on crime George Floyd
Inclusive we Referring to fellow citizens	We can We also must
Exclusive we Referring to the legal experts, jurists and lawyers	We represent We have We take We stand We renew
Non-referential Subjects	It 4x

5.3.2 Modality

	Type of modality	classification
This time must be different.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation/inclination
While we can kneel in solidarity with Mr. Floyd, we also must stand up and demand that racism, overt and implicit, be acknowledged and confronted.	Modulation: modal operator Modulation: modal operator	can: low obligation must: high obligation

Affect in the joint statement

	Appraising item	Appraised	Appraiser	Realis/ Irrealis	Category	Subcategory
we also must stand up and demand that racism, overt and implicit, be acknowledged and confronted.	stand up		we	realis	Security Satisfaction	Confidence/Trust Respect
Intentions to make communities safe are hijacked by other insidious agendas. (FederalDefenders, Pos. 6)	insidious	agenda	Federal Defenders	realis	insecurity	Fear
The war on crime is a new Jim Crow that permeates our criminal justice system that turns a blind eye to oppressive structural racism because it seems to fear “too much justice”. (FederalDefenders, Pos. 6)	fear	“too much justice”	It [our criminal justice system]	realis	Insecurity	Fear
For George Floyd and all of our clients, we renew our longstanding commitment to fight daily for equal justice.	renew	Our longstanding commitment to fight daily for equal justice	we	realis	Security	Confidence/ trust

5.4 National District Attorney Association (NDAA)

On Monday May 25, 2020, 46-year-old George Floyd tragically and unnecessarily lost his life over the allegation that he passed a counterfeit bill. As appropriate steps are taken to ensure the effective and fair administration of justice, several immediate observations must be made regarding the case.

- On behalf of NDAA's 5,000+ members, we offer our heartfelt condolences to Mr. Floyd's young daughter, his family, his loved ones and his friends. Every single one of our members has taken an oath to support the United States Constitution and we constantly remind ourselves and those we represent that justice needs to be applied fairly, across the board, without fear or favor and never based on a suspect's race. When we say that, in fact when we preach that, and then see a helpless black man begging for his life with a knee jammed into his neck by a man who swore he would protect the people of Minneapolis, it sickens us.
- There is no known police technique that any of our members, with literally thousands of years of law enforcement experience, are aware of that justifies Officer Derek Chauvin holding his knee on the throat of Mr. Floyd and ignoring the distress calls from him indicating that he could not breathe.
- Finally, many of our members are experiencing rioting and looting in their communities. NDAA members will zealously protect the right of any citizen to protest. As was noted earlier, we too share the pain and outrage at the death of Mr. Floyd as he should have never lost his life. We condemn the actions of those who defile the memory of Mr. Floyd by committing theft, arson and violence in response to his tragic death. We believe the avenue for justice for Mr. Floyd will be in a Minnesota courtroom and that Mr. Floyd's ultimate legacy will be a national commitment to improve law enforcement training, our attitudes on race, our selection and retention of police officers and our commitment to the reality, not merely the promise, of equal justice for all.

5.4.1 Subjects

Subject groups	Subjects
The victim George Floyd	46-year-old George Floyd He (3x) Mr. Floyd's ultimate legacy
Legal proceedings	Appropriate steps Several immediate observations Justice the avenue for justice for Mr. Floyd
Legal community	We (7x) Every single one of our members Any of our members Many of our members NDAA members

5.4.2 Modality

	Type of modality	Classification
we constantly remind ourselves and those we represent that justice needs to be applied fairly, across the board, without fear or favor and never based on a suspect's race.	Modalisation: Mood Adjunct Modulation: modal operator MModalisation: Mood Adjunct	High usuality Median probability High usuality
Several immediate observations must be made regarding the case.	Modulation: modal operator	High obligation
We believe the avenue for justice for Mr. Floyd will be in a Minnesota courtroom and that Mr. Floyd's ultimate legacy will be a national commitment to improve law enforcement training, our attitudes on race, our selection and retention of police officers and our commitment to the reality, not merely the promise, of equal justice for all.	Modalisation: Mood Adjunct Modalisation: modal operator (2x)	Median probability Median probability
NDAA members will zealously protect the right of any citizen to protest.	Modulation: modal operator	Median inclination

Affect in the NDAA statement

	Appraising item	Trigger	Emoter	Realis/ Irrealis	Category	Subcategory
On Monday May 25, 2020, 46-year-old George Floyd tragically and unnecessarily lost his life.	tragically	Lost his life	George Floyd	Realis	Unhappiness	sadness
we offer our heartfelt condolences to Mr. Floyd's young daughter, his family, his loved ones and his friends.	Heartfelt	Condolences	we	Realis	Unhappiness	sadness
it sickens us.	Sickens	Us	It [neglecting duty to protect the people of Minneapolis]	Realis	Dissatisfaction	displeasure
NDAA members will zealously protect the right of any citizen to protest	zealously	Protect	NDAA members	Realis	Satisfaction	respect
we too share the pain and outrage at the death of Mr. Floyd as he should have never lost his life N.B. grammatical metaphor	Pain and outrage	The death of Mr. Floyd	we	Realis	Unhappiness	sadness
We believe the avenue for justice for Mr. Floyd will be in a Minnesota courtroom and that Mr. Floyd's ultimate legacy will be a national commitment to improve law enforcement training, our attitudes on race, our selection and retention of police officers and our	believe	The avenue for justice for Mr Floyd ...	We	Irrealis	Inclination	desire

commitment to the reality, not merely the promise, of equal justice for all.						
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Abstract

Systemic racism has been an ever-present socio-political phenomenon. It is thus not surprising that even during the COVID-19 pandemic and the primary elections season yet another Black American was killed by a police officer. The incident was filmed and immediately spread globally on social media; protests in numerous cities in the U.S. and all over the world ensued. Since this tragedy caused great public unrest on a national and international level, many former presidents, the presidential candidate and the incumbent president felt the need to address this incident. However, national associations of defenders and attorneys and U.S. ambassadors to various countries issued press releases as well. All of these statements seemed to have the aim of showing empathy, expressing grief and calling for unity and solidarity in the country. Nevertheless, these statements are part of political discourse, as they represent the position of their speakers and writers as political actors in positions of power compared to their audience, the American people and those typically affected by systemic racism. The aim of this study is to investigate the ways how political actors represent themselves and their positions of power, express emotions and establish rapport with their audience in official press releases from a socio-linguistic perspective. The corpus for this study consisted of ten official press releases which were subjected to the analysis of interpersonal meaning (Halliday 1985) and Appraisal (Martin & White 2005). The obtained findings were then used for a critical discourse analysis to reveal the manifestations of power and power structures in their statements.

Zusammenfassung

Struktureller Rassismus in den USA ist ein allgegenwärtiges sozio-politisches Phänomen. Es ist daher nicht überraschend, dass sogar während der COVID-19-Pandemie und den Vorwahlen in den USA ein weiterer schwarzer U.S.-Amerikaner (Black American), George Floyd, durch einen Polizeibeamten getötet wurde. Dieser Vorfall wurde gefilmt und verbreitete sich daraufhin sofort global über soziale Medien; Proteste in zahlreichen U.S.-Städten und auf der ganzen Welt folgten. Da diese Tragödie große Unruhen auf nationaler sowie internationaler Ebene verursachte, wurde dieser Vorfall von einigen ehemaligen Präsidenten, dem Präsidentschaftskandidaten, dem amtierenden Präsidenten sowie nationale juristische Vereinigungen und U.S.-Botschafter in Presseerklärung angesprochen. All diese Statements scheinen den Ausdruck von Trauer und Empathie und Aufrufe zur Einigkeit und Solidarität zum Ziel zu haben. Dennoch oder gerade deswegen sind diese Presseklärungen als Teil des politischen Diskurses anzusehen, da sie die Stellung ihrer Sprecher bzw. Verfasser als politische Akteure in einer Machtposition widerspiegeln-im Gegensatz zu ihren Adressaten, dem amerikanischen Volk und insbesondere jene, die typischerweise von strukturellem Rassismus betroffen sind. Das Ziel der Studie ist es, aus einer sozio-linguistischen Perspektive, die Art und Weise, wie die politischen Akteure in dem Kontext der Tötung von George Floyd sich selbst und ihre Machtposition repräsentieren, Emotionen ausdrücken und ein Verhältnis zu ihren Adressaten in Texten des politischen Diskurses aufbauen. Der Textcorpus dieser Studie besteht aus zehn offiziellen Stellungnahmen, die einer Analyse von interpersoneller Bedeutung (Halliday 1985) und Appraisal-Theorie (Martin & White 2005) unterzogen wurden. Die daraus gewonnenen Erkenntnisse wurden in einem zweiten Schritt einer kritischen Diskursanalyse (Fairclough 2001) unterzogen, um sprachliche Manifestationen von Macht und Machtstrukturen in den Stellungnahmen darzulegen.