

NBER WORKING PAPER SERIES

DONALD TRUMP'S WORDS

Nikita Savin
Daniel Treisman

Working Paper 32665
<http://www.nber.org/papers/w32665>

NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH
1050 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02138
July 2024, revised October 2024

We thank Art Stein, Eve Simonyi, and John Murphy for comments. The views expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

NBER working papers are circulated for discussion and comment purposes. They have not been peer-reviewed or been subject to the review by the NBER Board of Directors that accompanies official NBER publications.

© 2024 by Nikita Savin and Daniel Treisman. All rights reserved. Short sections of text, not to exceed two paragraphs, may be quoted without explicit permission provided that full credit, including © notice, is given to the source.

Donald Trump's words
Nikita Savin and Daniel Treisman
NBER Working Paper No. 32665
July 2024, revised October 2024
JEL No. P0

ABSTRACT

Donald Trump's campaign speeches have impressed some and outraged others. Yet relatively little is known about how his rhetoric has changed over time and how it compares to that of other politicians, both in the US and abroad. We analyze a monthly series of Trump's addresses in 2015-24, comparing them to speeches by other U.S. presidential candidates and various world leaders, past and present. We document that Trump's use of violent vocabulary has intensified over time—reflecting increasing attention to wars but even more to crime—and is now among the most extreme of any democratic politicians studied. Simultaneously, Trump's use of words related to economic performance has declined, matching a general trend among candidates of both parties. Although containing populist elements, Trump's rhetoric diverges from the populist stereotype, particularly in his relatively infrequent references to “the people.” He increasingly embraces an exclusionary populism focused on vilifying out-groups.

Nikita Savin
Department of Political Science
UCLA
4289 Bunche Hall
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1472
USA
nikitasavin@g.ucla.edu

Daniel Treisman
Department of Political Science
UCLA
4289 Bunche Hall
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1472
and NBER
treisman@polisci.ucla.edu

A data appendix is available at <http://www.nber.org/data-appendix/w32665>

1 Introduction

In reshaping the Republican Party and unsettling American politics, Donald Trump has used one surprisingly effective weapon: his own words. Without political experience, a record to run on, or a team of policy professionals, he managed to project an image that won him the nomination and presidency in 2016 and threatens to do the same in 2024. How he did so remains a topic of debate. But there is no doubt his public speeches played an important part.

How does Trump's use of words compare to that of other candidates and incumbents, past and present? To his rival, President Joe Biden, Trump's vituperative style seemed unprecedented. "No president has ever spoken like that before," Biden asserted in the debate on June 27, 2024. Is he right that Trump is unique, or is the former president just an extreme example of tendencies present in the discourse of other politicians, driven perhaps by recent cultural or political trends? How has Trump's vocabulary changed over time? These questions are as important for gauging future possibilities as for interpreting the past.

Scholars have documented various features of Trump's political speech. Expressed in simple language, rich in derogatory rhetoric and name-calling, his pronouncements are less analytical and exhibit less cognitive complexity than those of other recent presidents (Conway III & Zubrod, 2022; Jamieson & Taussig, 2017; Jordan et al., 2019). As of 2016, they showed stronger markers of populism than those of any other presidential candidate except Bernie Sanders (Hawkins & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2018) and rated high for grandiosity (Ahmadian et al., 2017). They repeatedly exploited six rhetorical tricks (Mercieca, 2020).

Building on this work, we use computerized text analysis to study a monthly series of Trump's addresses delivered to large general audiences from the start of his 2015 campaign to the present. We compare these to speeches by all US main-party presidential nominees since 1952 and to those of a variety of world

leaders, past and present, from both democracies and dictatorships.

Four key points emerge. First, the frequency of violent vocabulary in Trump's addresses has trended upward since 2015 and is now among the highest for any democratic politicians we examined. In part, the rise is driven by increasing talk of war and military battles, but to a greater extent it reflects a growing focus on crime. Second, a main assumption of much work on US electoral politics is that incumbents are rewarded or punished for the economic performance on their watch and their provision of public services (e.g., Fiorina, 1981). We might expect politicians to speak about these often, either to attack opponents' policies or to champion their own. We show that Trump's use of economics-related vocabulary has consistently decreased over time, fitting into a broader trend visible among both parties' presidential candidates since at least 2012. Trump's use of words related to public service provision has always been very low.

Third, right populists such as Trump are thought to identify with "the people" in opposition to "elites," accentuating shared national culture, and promoting a discourse of "us" against "them" (Mudde, 2007). Among variants of populism, one can identify a more inclusive version that emphasizes a positive common identity ("us," "the people") and a more xenophobic strain oriented around a threatening "other" ("them," "elites"). We show that—although he exhibited inclusive elements early on—Trump's rhetoric has subsequently conformed to the latter. He mentions "the people" less than almost any other recent candidate, while frequently denouncing political and media elites. Not atypical in his use of "us," he stands out for his frequent references to "them"—as in "they treat us like garbage,"¹ or "they're... poisoning our country."

¹ "Republican Leadership Summit, Donald Trump," April 18, 2015, CSPAN, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?325374-10/republican-leadership-summit-donald-trump>.

Finally, Trump's rhetoric has varied significantly over time. During his first presidential campaign in 2015-16, his vocabulary evolved rapidly towards a relatively inclusive style: uses of "we," and "the people," surged, while references to "them" and even his use of swear words fell. These indicators then reversed course during his presidency. Since his 2020 campaign, references to elites and "them" and his use of swear words have all continued to rise while uses of "we" and "the people" have remained lower than before.

The paper is organized as follows. The next section discusses previous work on speech analysis of American politicians, and, in particular, Trump. Section 3 describes our data and methods. Section 4 presents results. Section 5 concludes.

2 Previous literature

A variety of studies by political scientists, psychologists, and linguists have used text analysis to examine the public speeches of recent politicians. Some focus on their semantic content. For instance, certain works analyze the range of topics covered (Calvo-González et al., 2023) or how particular topics are framed (Card et al., 2022). Others consider whether the arguments are informed by ideologies such as liberalism (Maerz & Schneider, 2020), conservatism (Prothro, 1956), nationalism (Bonikowski et al., 2021; Jenne et al., 2021), or populism (Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016; Hawkins & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2018) and, if so, how the speaker's ideology relates to the style of speech (McDonnell & Ondelli, 2022).

Another line of research focuses on the vocabulary used. Some use the connotations of words to measure the emotional valence of speeches (Gennaro & Ash, 2021; Osnabrügge et al., 2021; Whissell, 2021; Windsor et al., 2018) and to detect incivility (Brooks & Geer, 2007). Others seek to characterize the personalities of presidential candidates by studying their linguistic styles (Jamieson & Taussig, 2017;

Slatcher et al., 2007). An additional focus has been on what word usage reveals about the speaker's cognitive processes. Studies have measured the degree of integrative complexity and analytic thinking in the public addresses of US politicians and documented long term declines in both of these (Conway III & Zubrod, 2022; Jordan et al., 2019).

Finally, certain papers concentrate specifically on the political speech of Donald Trump. Some examine how his rhetoric appeals to working class voters (Lamont et al., 2017), politicizes immigration (Eshbaugh-Soha & Barnes, 2021), uses populist tropes (Hawkins & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2018), or exhibits Richard Hofstadter's "paranoid style" in American discourse (Hart, 2022). Some scholars focus on the extent to which lies and inconsistencies in Trump's speeches are persuasive, exploring whether his controversial statements effectively convince or sway people (Arceneaux & Truex, 2023; Evers et al., 2019). In cognitive style, he is lower in analytic thinking and integrative complexity than almost any previous American president since at least the 1960s (Conway III & Zubrod, 2022; Jordan et al., 2019). His campaign speeches in 2016 were more negative than Hillary Clinton's (Liu & Lei, 2018) and exhibited high levels of grandiosity (Ahmadian et al., 2017). To our knowledge, no study has yet provided a comprehensive measure of the frequency of violent rhetoric in Trump's speeches over the full period of his high-profile political activity, compared the violence of his addresses to the levels of other politicians, and mapped the trends in his rhetoric over time.²

While many works—like our own—aim to describe and classify the content of political speeches, others explore the effects of political rhetoric. These studies suggest a range of consequences. At the micro level, uncivil or violent language can stimulate feelings of hostility and aggressive thoughts (Anderson et al.,

² Besides the analysis of public speeches by politicians, a growing parallel literature analyzes politicians' comments on social media, often using similar text analysis tools (for a few examples, see Barberá et al., 2019; Van Vliet et al., 2020; Wilkerson & Casas, 2017).

2003; Gervais, 2017, 2019) or weaken taboos against hateful speech (Newman et al., 2021). Some evidence suggests that such language can even provoke violent actions (Gubler et al., 2015). Violent rhetoric does not have to be direct and literal to have an effect. Even relatively mild violent metaphors—e.g., references to “fighting” for justice and opportunity—have been shown to boost support for political violence among experimental subjects with aggressive personalities (Kalmoe, 2014). Such subjects were more likely to justify “throwing bricks through windows” or “using bullets to solve political problems” after priming with such metaphors. The same metaphors may also motivate aggressive individuals to vote while discouraging less aggressive ones from doing so (Kalmoe, 2019).

Besides tracing micro consequences of leaders’ speech, research also suggests various macro effects. In democracies, politicians’ rhetoric may affect their approval ratings (Druckman & Holmes, 2004; Frimer & Skitka, 2018) and electoral success (Selb & Munzert, 2018; Vavreck, 2009). Greater optimism in campaign speeches has been found to predict—although not necessarily cause—victory in senatorial and presidential races (Zullov et al., 1988). Some research has linked politicians’ violent language to violent actions by their supporters. For instance, Trump’s Islamophobic Tweets have been found to increase attacks on minorities (Müller & Schwarz, 2023). Counties where Trump held campaign rallies in 2016 saw a rise in hate crimes in the following months (Feinberg et al., 2022). In authoritarian regimes, the inflammatory rhetoric of politicians, transmitted by the media, has been linked to ethnic violence from Nazi Germany to Rwanda (Adena et al., 2015; Yanagizawa-Drott, 2014). Politicians’ speech may even contain clues about the stability of their regimes (Windsor et al., 2018). Of course, elite rhetoric is only one of many factors explaining political behavior, and tracing the causal impact of particular pronouncements is extremely hard. Still, the accumulation of such evidence to date suggests the value of carefully studying what politicians say.

3 Data and methods

We analyzed the transcripts of 102 speeches delivered by Donald Trump between April 2015 and September 2024.³ The goal was to include one speech from each month. To increase comparability, we used the last in each month that fit certain requirements (except in November of presidential election years, when we used the last appropriate speech before the election). Throughout his presidency, Trump continued to stage “Make America Great Again” rallies around the country that resembled his campaign events. To focus on political rallies and mass meetings aimed at the general public, we excluded press conferences, meetings with members of Congress, remarks made from the White House, video statements, commencement addresses, speeches in churches, speeches made outside the US, speeches to troops, law enforcement agents, particular ethnic and religious communities, or political action committees (e.g., AIPAC), and speeches billed as focused on specific policy areas such as national security. However, we did include speeches to political parties, political conferences, and labor unions.

Since we found no comprehensive list of Trump’s appearances, we used a variety of sources to identify the last appropriate speech in each month and obtain a transcript. These sources included CSPAN’s video library, the Rev.com transcription service, the White House website and online archives, and the American Presidency Project at UC Santa Barbara.⁴ A transcript was almost always available on one of the four websites; occasionally, we used one from some other source such as a newspaper. We found at least one appropriate speech in all but 12 of the 114 months between April 2015 and September 2024.

³ Although he announced his candidacy on June 16, 2015, he was already hinting strongly at this decision (e.g., at the Republican Leadership Summit on April 18).

⁴ See <https://www.c-span.org/>, <https://www.rev.com/about-rev>, <https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/>, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/>, and <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>.

Besides the 102 Trump speeches, we collected and analyzed 292 speeches by the other major party candidates in the 20 pre-election months of each US presidential election from 1992 to 2024, selected in the same way. Finally, to extend comparisons further back, we used speeches from the Annenberg/Pew Archive of Presidential Campaign Discourse, which contains addresses by the main presidential candidates from the last 3-4 months of each campaign between 1952 and 1996. To preserve comparability, we used the last appropriate speech in each month (or, in November, the last one before the election)(Annenberg, 2000).⁵

We prepared the transcripts by removing all parts not spoken by the main speaker (e.g., “[Applause.]”, “Audience: Boo!”). If an introductory address was followed by questions, we included only the introductory address. The quality of transcripts was generally high, but some CSPAN texts were compiled from TV closed captioning and therefore contained more mistakes and missed words. Where possible, we corrected these using the corresponding videos. To check that the source of transcript does not distort the results, we regressed the level of Trump’s violent vocabulary on dummy variables for the source, along with year dummies. None of the sources differed significantly from the others in the frequency of violent words. (The nonsignificant differences may be caused by the selection of speeches by different media. Figure A1 in the appendix shows the original violence score and a version adjusted by the averaged deviation of each other source from CSPAN.)

The main dictionary we used was compiled by Guriev and Treisman (2019) (GT) to study differences in rhetoric among the leaders of contrasting political regimes. GT focused on words related to three

⁵ Using only the last speech in each month that meets the specified criteria should minimize risk of bias from a more subjective selection. Given the extreme difficulty of locating transcripts for all appropriate speeches from the whole campaign, this seemed preferable to including a larger, non-random subset from each month. Table A1 lists all speeches.

subjects—violence, economic performance, and public service provision. They formed initial lists for each concept by examining the speeches of selected historical leaders in both democracies and autocracies and then corrected these for false positives. The GT dictionary includes 140 word stems related to violence (e.g., death*, massacre*, war*, blood*, prison*), 112 word stems related to economic performance, and 28 word stems related to public service provision. To validate the dictionary, they used it to analyze texts known to be high in words related to one of the three concepts—prosecutors’ closing arguments in war crimes and terrorist trials for violence, IMF reports for economic performance, and the budget speeches of finance ministers for public service provision. The dictionary was able to classify these sources into the three bundles with high accuracy (Figure A2).

To check the robustness of analysis using this dictionary, we also tried substituting several others. For violence, we used two dictionaries compiled by Boyd et al. (2022) and included in the latest version of their Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC-22) package that aimed to capture words related to “conflict” and “death.” The patterns in Trump speeches that these identified were less pronounced but similar to those captured by the GT violence list (Figure A3). Scores for Trump speeches using the GT dictionary correlated highly with those generated by the “conflict” dictionary ($r = .73$) and by the “death” list ($r = .63$). Finally, we obtain very similar results using a dictionary derived by asking ChatGPT to list the most common words related to violence ($r = .83$; see Figure A4).

Violence occurs in various contexts. Among other concerns, politicians are likely to discuss wars and crime. While some words apply to both wars and crime roughly equally (e.g., death, blood), others are more closely linked to either war (e.g., invasion) or crime (e.g., prosecution). We constructed crime and war sub-dictionaries by selecting words from the GT dictionary that related primarily to one or the other. Our crime sub-dictionary consisted of 13 word stems (such as murder*, prison*, arrest*) and four war

sub-dictionary of 40 words (such as army, soldier*, conquer*).

To check for markers of populist discourse, we used several additional dictionaries. First, populists claim to represent “the people” against “the elite” and embrace a discourse of “us” against “them.” We created a simple dictionary to pick up references to “the people,” containing four terms: “the people of...,” “the American people,” “Americans,” and “patriots.” From reviewing a few speeches, it became clear that the phrase “the people” often appeared with meanings unrelated to populist discourse (e.g., “the people from China,” “the people negotiating”) so we do not include it. However, “the people of” was almost always used in phrases such as “the people of Alabama,” “the people of this great country,” and “the people of America.”⁶

For denunciations of elites, we created another new dictionary. We began by reading four of Trump’s speeches—three from 2016, one from 2024—that were not included in our main corpus. We also read two speeches by each of the other main party candidates in all presidential elections between 1992 and 2024, again avoiding speeches already in the corpus. From these, we identified words and phrases that were used in hostile references to political or economic elites. This produced a list of 64 word stems and phrases (e.g., corrupt*, crooked, deep state, and swamp). Since we are interested in how characteristic Trump’s language is of populism, we also read 2-3 speeches by each of five historic American populists—William Jennings Bryan, Huey Long, George Wallace, Ross Perot, and Pat Buchanan. From these, we collected an additional 35 words and phrases attacking elites.

While contrasting “us” and “them” is a trope of populist discourse, not every use of these has a populist valence. Still, when we-words and they-words *do* pit ingroup against outgroup, they will tend to occur in

⁶ As a robustness check, we tried analyzing Trump’s speeches also including “the people” in the dictionary. The trend was very similar, just slightly higher.

rough balance (one “us” for one “them”). Thus, one possible indicator of populist discourse is a them-to-us ratio close to one. Does this identify populism in practice? To check, we calculated the ratio of they-words to we-words in speeches of the five historical populists already mentioned (using new speeches—2-5 per populist). Table A3 compares the they-we ratios for these five populists to those for each major party presidential candidate since 1952. The three politicians with a ratio closest to one were Huey Long (.83), Donald Trump in 2024 (.82), and William Jennings Bryan (.81). The other three historical populists were not far behind. These populists, at least, did have a higher average ratio of they- to we-words than mainstream candidates. Trump’s average they-to-we ratio from 2016, 2020, and 2024, .64, was even slightly higher than the average for all five populists taken together, .62; both were very significantly higher than the average for all the other presidential candidates, .37 (difference significant at $p < .001$).

Some suggest that frequent use of “we” may, by itself, constitute a populist tactic. Although “we” can be used in various ways, one function is to link speaker and listeners under a common identity. For instance, Bonikowski and Gidron (2016, p. 1601) note how in one speech, George McGovern’s use of the first-person plural “draws boundaries around a unified community of voters with shared interests and includes [McGovern] himself within its bounds.” John Kerry’s advisers reportedly urged him in 2004 to increase his use of “we” in order to soften his somewhat aloof and arrogant image (Pennebaker, 2013, p. 28). Yet, psychological research suggests that more we-words may actually have the opposite effect. In the mouths of politicians, Pennebaker (2013, p. 28) writes, “we-words sound cold, rigid, and emotionally distant.”

We find that the five US populists studied—Bryan, Long, Wallace, Perot, and Buchanan—used the first-person plural *less* often than recent presidential candidates (Table A3).⁷ Sheer frequency of we-words

⁷ The average frequency of we-words was 2.4% for the five populists, compared to 3.2% for the non-Trump presidential candidates, difference significant at $p < .01$. Trump, at 3.4% we-words, was not significantly higher than the other candidates.

does not seem a reliable indicator of populism.

Like “we,” the pronoun “they” is hardly monopolized by populists. Still, social psychologists have found frequent use of they-words to be associated with various traits. They-words are used more frequently by supporters of extremist groups, opponents of immigration, guilty criminal defendants, and people who are angry (Pennebaker et al., 2008; Torregrosa et al., 2019; Grover et al., 2019; Pennebaker 2013, 153-4, 107).⁸ It is hard to discuss a threatening group *without* using “they.” “If worried about communists, right-wing radio hosts, or bureaucrats, words such as *they* and *them* will be more frequent than average” (Pennebaker, 2013, p. 292). All these considerations suggest that the frequency of they-words may also correlate with at least some varieties of populism. Our dictionaries for we-words and they-words are those developed by the LIWC-22 team (Boyd et al., 2022).⁹

To be clear, we do not claim that these markers can dependably identify who is and who is not a populist, although some studies have found dictionary methods quite effective for this (Bonikowski & Gidron, 2016). Regardless of the definitional boundaries of populism, we contend that references to “the people,” denunciations of elites, and the frequent use of they-words—especially relative to we-words—are potentially revealing dimensions on which to compare Trump’s discourse to that of other politicians.

Finally, we also used the LIWC-22 dictionary for swear words to check for the kind of coarsening of language that commentators have attributed to Trump.¹⁰ To execute the text analysis, we used the program Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC-22) (Boyd et al., 2022), which has been employed in

⁸ Donald Trump has himself defended far-right marchers, opposed immigration, and been found guilty of multiple felonies. He often appears to be angry.

⁹ Trump used they-words much more frequently than other candidates (2.2% vs. 1.1%, significant at $p = .0000$). The five historical populists were slightly higher on this than the non-Trump candidates (1.4%), but the difference was only very marginally significant ($p = .06$ in a two-tailed test).

¹⁰ All non-LIWC dictionaries are provided in Table A2.

hundreds of previous studies.

4 Results

4.1 Violent vocabulary

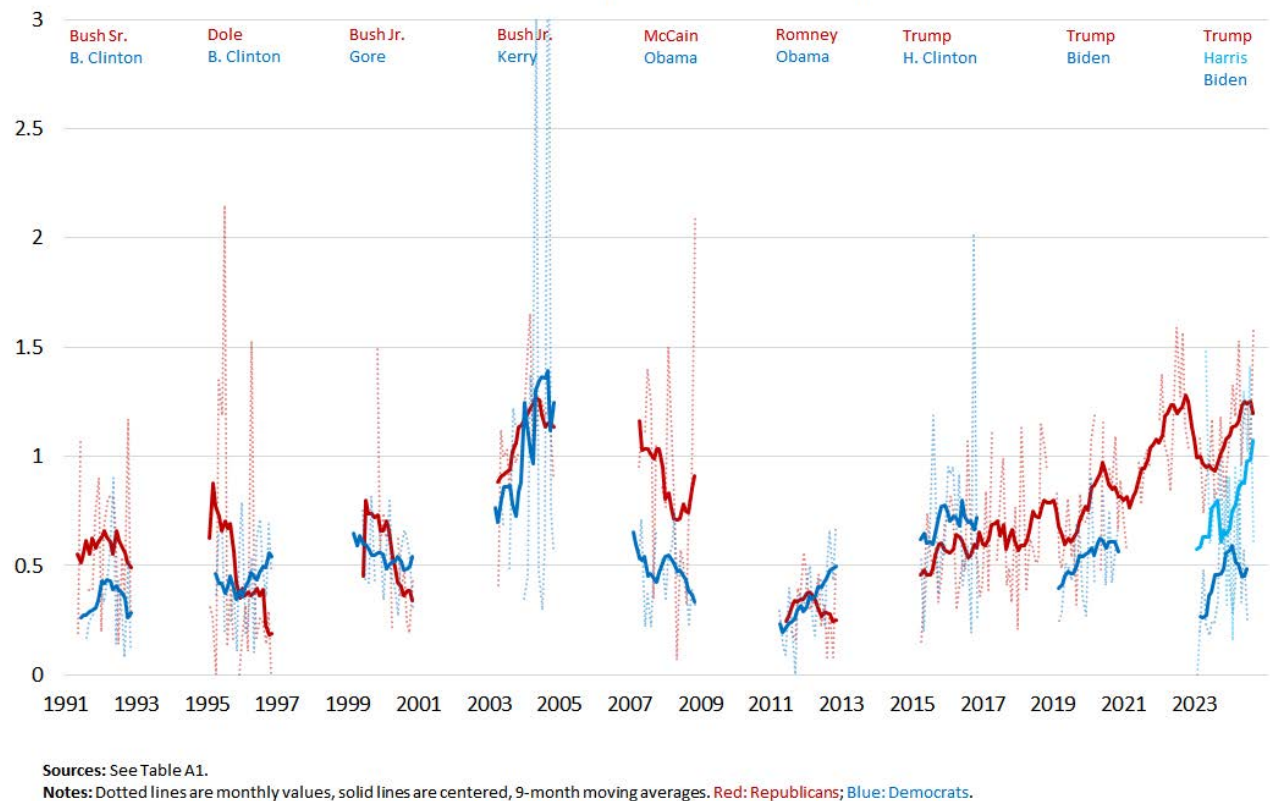
Figure 1 shows the percentage of violence-related words in the speeches of all US major party presidential nominees since 1992. In each case, the dotted line connects the individual monthly values, and the solid line shows a centered, 9-month moving average. The Republican candidate is in red and the Democrat in blue. (Trump’s continuous stream of rallies allows us to plot his level in all months between April 2015 and September 2024, not just during election campaigns.) The frequency of violence-related words in Trump speeches has, indeed, increased substantially, from around 0.6% in 2015 to a peak of 1.6% in mid-2022 and again in September 2024.¹¹ The content varies from month to month, but the trend of ascending waves is clear. Figures A6.a and A6.b in the appendix show the same series extended back to 1952 using the additional 3-4 month series from the Annenberg/Pew Archive.

Although high, Trump’s use of violent vocabulary is not unprecedented. The 2004 election, which occurred soon after the US invaded Iraq prompted intense discussion of that war—by incumbent President George W. Bush, claiming credit, but even more insistently by Democratic candidate John Kerry, denouncing the invasion. In 2008, John McCain still had much to say about the war, although Barack Obama focused on other issues. In early 1995, the future Republican candidate Bob Dole gave several alarming speeches about crime before dialing this back after he won the nomination. Looking further back, the last few months of Eisenhower’s 1952 campaign, amid the Korean War, and George

¹¹ For reference, in Trump’s speeches since 2015, the frequency of the word “the” was 3.72%.

McGovern's in 1972, as US troops fought in Vietnam, had average frequencies of violent words that approached the level of Trump's peak (Figure A6.a and A6.b).

Figure 1. Violent vocabulary in the speeches of US presidential candidates, 1992-2024 (% of words violent)



However, while others reach high levels of violent vocabulary when provoked by violence in the real world, Trump's violent discourse is not matched by any empirical phenomena. In 2004, as Kerry and Bush debated the Iraq war, 753 US servicemen were killed in hostile actions. In 2022, as Trump's rhetoric ignited, there were no such deaths.¹² Republican candidate Dole's complaints about lenient paroling of

¹² <https://dcas.dmdc.osd.mil/dcas/app/summaryData/deaths/byYearManner>.

drug traffickers and sex offenders in July 1995 came at a time when the US violent crime rate was at 6.8 per thousand people, close to a long-term peak.¹³ By mid-2022, as Trump was conjuring up “bloody turf wars” and “roving mobs of thieves,” the rate had fallen to 3.8 per thousand people.¹⁴

Figure 1 includes lines in 2023-4 for both President Biden, the initial Democratic candidate, and Vice President Kamala Harris, who replaced him. From the early summer of 2024, Harris’ use of violent words rose, even approaching Trump’s level. But this is a bit misleading. Harris’s high scores reflect mostly her metaphorical promises to “fight” for causes such as reproductive freedom. Trump’s violent utterances focused on complaints about the “murderers, rapists, and thugs” on US streets and about an alleged “migrant invasion” of criminals from Venezuelan prisons. Figure A5 shows a version of Figure 1 in which variants of “fight” have been excluded from the violence dictionary. While scores for most candidates fall only slightly, Harris’s is now far below that of Trump and on a level with Biden’s. Table A4 shows the average percentage of violent words in the database’s election year speeches for all candidates, both including and excluding variants of the verb “to fight.”

How do Trump’s political speeches compare to those of other world leaders, past and present? Table 1 provides scores for the set of leaders—democratic and authoritarian—whose speeches Guriev and Treisman (2019) studied. As a benchmark, we also show the frequency of violent words in the closing arguments of prosecutors at the famous trials for war crimes and terrorist attacks that Guriev and Treisman used to validate their violence dictionary; in each of these, violent words made up at least 2.5 percent of the total. Trump’s vocabulary in 2024 (Jan-Sep) fell between that of Kim Jong-Un’s New

¹³ <https://www.disastercenter.com/crime/uscrime.htm>.

¹⁴ <https://cde.ucr.cjis.gov/LATEST/webapp/#!/pages/explorer/crime/crime-trend>.

Year's Greetings and Fidel Castro's Revolution Day speeches.

Table 1: Percentage of words in assorted speeches and documents

	1. Violence	2. Specific to crime	3. Specific to War
Josef Stalin, two preelection speeches	2.39	0.03	1.76
Adolf Hitler, four radio speeches, 1933-8	1.82	0.06	0.73
Kim Jong-Un, New Year's speeches, 2013-16	1.30	0.01	0.71
Donald Trump 2024	1.21	0.32	0.22
Fidel Castro, various May Day speeches, 1966-2006	1.15	0.15	0.32
Dwight Eisenhower radio and TV addresses, 1956-61	1.07	0.02	0.50
Saddam Hussein Revolution Day speeches, 1989, 1992-6	1.05	0.04	0.26
Benito Mussolini, five speeches, 1934-8	1.02	0.00	0.46
Donald Trump 2020	0.91	0.14	0.22
Francisco Franco New Year's Eve speeches, 1946-74	0.90	0.04	0.30
Barack Obama, weekly radio addresses, 40 randomly chosen	0.79	0.15	0.16
Nicolas Sarkozy, New Year's Greetings, 2009-13	0.75	0.05	0.11
Jawaharlal Nehru, broadcast speeches, 1950-56	0.67	0.02	0.25
Rafael Correa, 12 transcripts of "Enlace Ciudadano," 2016-17	0.66	0.13	0.04
Hugo Chavez, 12 episodes of "Alo Presidente," 1999-2010	0.61	0.06	0.26
Donald Trump 2016	0.58	0.06	0.14
Vladimir Putin, "Direct Line" call-in shows, 2008-11, 2013-15	0.57	0.20	0.12
Nursultan Nazarbayev, State of Nation Addresses, 2000-15	0.34	0.08	0.08
F.D. Roosevelt, Fireside Chats, 1933-38	0.31	0.00	0.10
Lee Kuan Yew, National Day TV Addresses, 1980-1990	0.27	0.05	0.05
David Cameron, six speeches, 2014-15	0.23	0.05	0.07
<i>Memo: Closing arguments from violent court cases</i>			
Boston bombing trial	4.75	0.99	0.03
Nuremberg trial	3.20	0.71	1.19
Radovan Karadzic trial	2.50	0.79	0.50

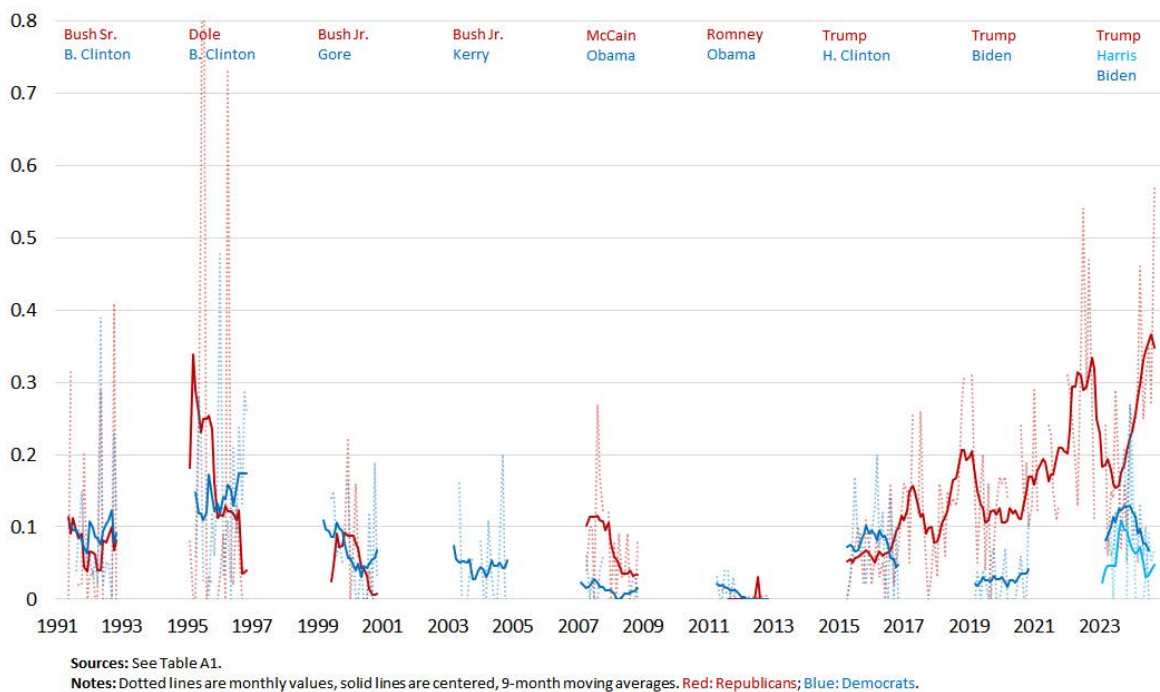
Sources: See Table A1 for Trump speeches; others from Guriev and Treisman (2019).

Notes: Trump speeches Jan-November of election years.

We caution that our method captures only one type of violent rhetoric—that which employs distinctively violent words. Thus, it complements other approaches that focus on incivility, incitement, dehumanizing language, or hate speech, each of which can be expressed using combinations of neutral words. At the same time, the use of violent words does not necessarily involve calls for violence; these are extremely rare in campaign speeches, and when they occur, they tend to be ambiguously or euphemistically phrased. Trump's January 6th, 2021, speech does not score particularly high for violent words (0.64 percent),

which did not stop some listeners from hearing in it a demand to storm the Capitol. Violent words can also be used to criticize violent behavior, as when Hillary Clinton and others called in their speeches for stricter gun controls. In light of this, the trend we document in Trump’s word usage suggests a growing focus on violent subjects, described in explicit terms, that is not matched by the other major party candidates.

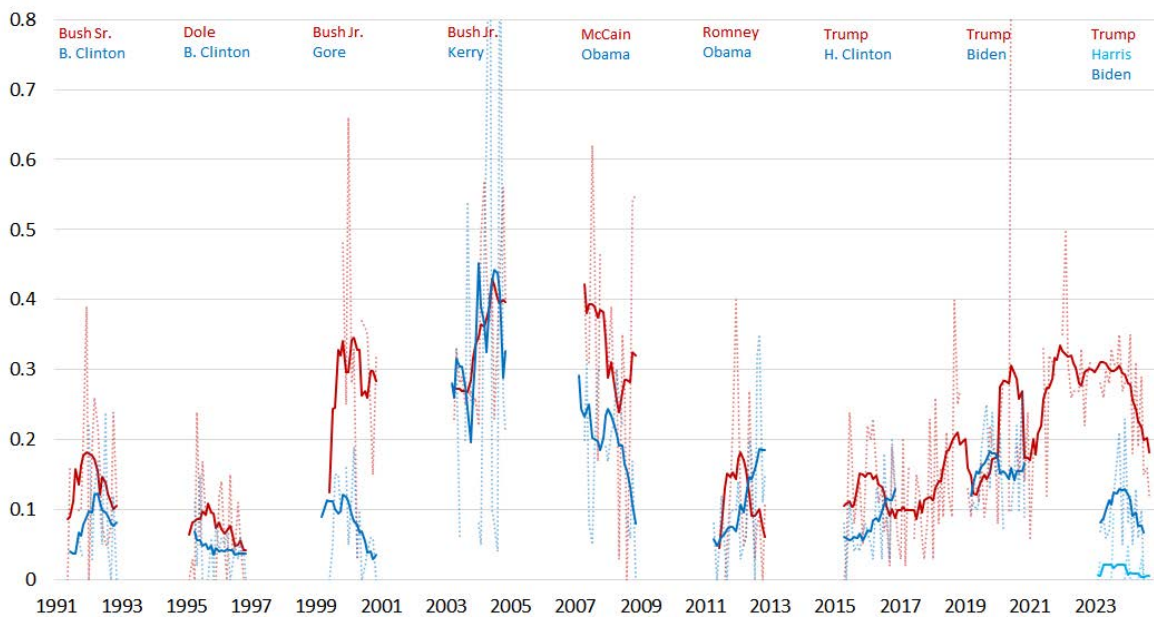
Figure 2. Specifically crime-related vocabulary in the speeches of US presidential candidates, 1992-24 (% of words related to crime)



Besides differing in their overall affinity for violent vocabulary, presidential candidates differed in the frequency with which they employed words associated specifically with military conflict or with crime. In 2024, Trump has used crime-related violent words far more frequently than any other recent major party

candidate, and he exceeded most others in the use of war-related ones (Table 1, columns 2 and 3).¹⁵ His attachment to both has been rising (Figures 2 and 3). But, as already noted, George W. Bush and John Kerry, running at the height of the Iraq War, had even higher levels of violent war-related references. So did John McCain, who devoted considerable time in 2007-8 to criticizing the way that war had been “mismanaged.”

Figure 3. Specifically war-related vocabulary in the speeches of US presidential candidates, 1992-24 (% of words related to war)



Sources: See Table A1.

Notes: Dotted lines are monthly values, solid lines are centered, 9-month moving averages. Red: Republicans; Blue: Democrats.

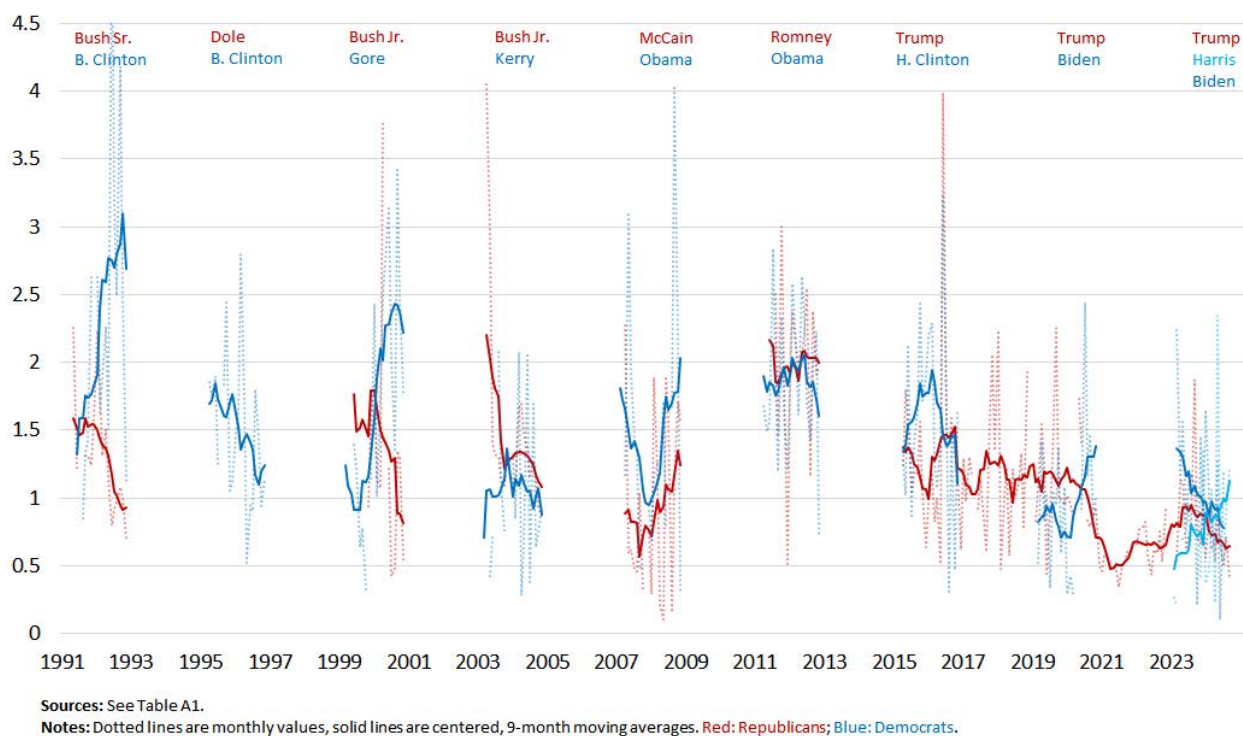
4.2 Economic performance and public service provision

Incumbents are more popular in both democracies and autocracies when their economies boom and public

¹⁵ As noted, Republican candidate Robert Dole devoted great attention to crime in 1995, before lowering the temperature of his speeches in 1996.

services are generously provided (e.g., Vavreck, 2009; Gandhi, 2008; Guriev & Treisman, 2020; Przeworski et al., 2000). Thus, we might expect politicians to try to convince the public that they are effective economic managers and public servants. Figure 4 shows how frequently the top US presidential candidates have used words related to economic performance. Figure A6.c and A6.d extend the series to 1952.

Figure 4. Vocabulary of economic performance in the speeches of US presidential candidates, 1992-2024 (% of words related to economic performance)



Since 2012, there is a striking downward trend in talk about economic conditions among both Democrats and Republicans. Among Democrats, the trend seems to extend back to the peak in Bill Clinton's campaign of 1992 (which launched the often-repeated slogan: "It's the economy, stupid!"). Talk of the economy ticked up in speeches of both candidates in 2011-12, amid the painful aftermath of the global

financial crisis. But then the downward slide resumed. As of 2024, the Democratic candidates—Joe Biden and then Kamala Harris—were referring to economic performance only about one third as often as Bill Clinton had in 1992. Republicans had relatively little to say about the economy in the 1990s and 2000s. And after the 2012 uptick, economics became even less of a focus. Trump fits squarely into this pattern, with a sharp fall in economic talk during the 2020 campaign.¹⁶

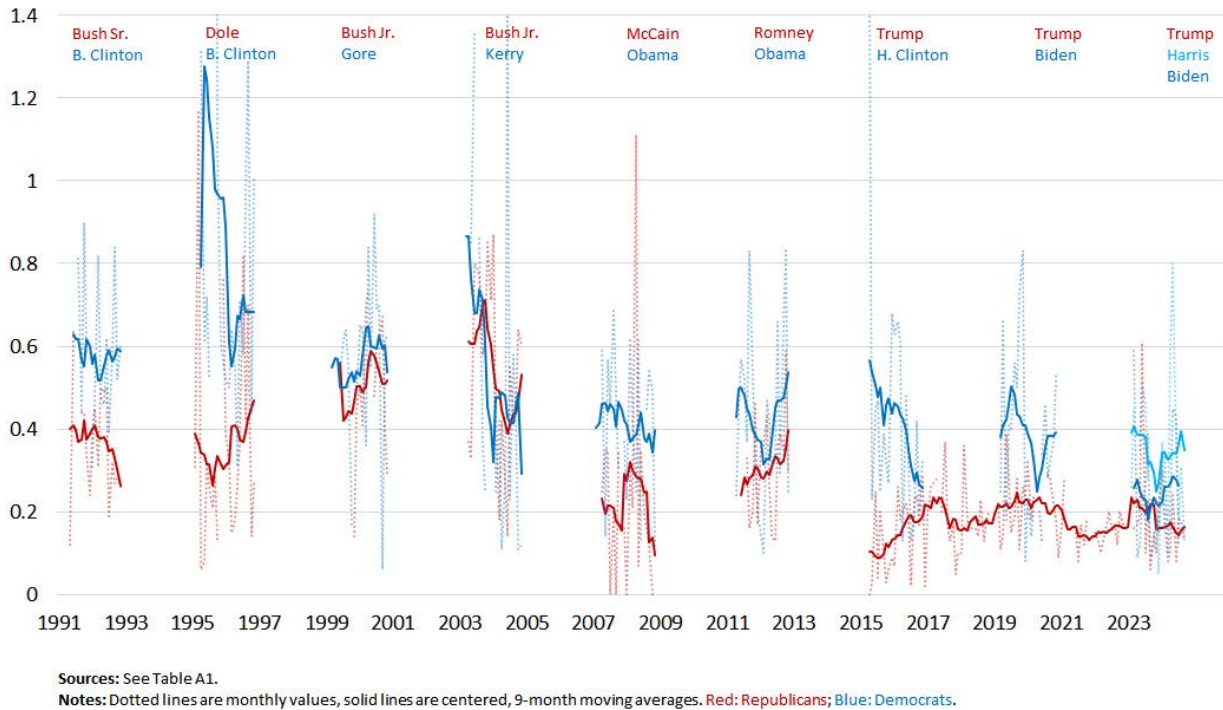
Figure 5 shows the frequency of references to public service provision. We see a similar downward trend among Democratic candidates since the Clinton presidency. Among Republicans, there is a notable rise under George W. Bush, whose signature issue, besides the “war on terror,” was improving education. But attention to public services falls again from 2008, reaching new lows under Trump. Unlike the case of economic performance, there is a clear party difference here: except during the Bush-Kerry 2004 race and a few months under Biden, Democratic candidates have had more to say on public service provision than Republicans since 1992. This was generally true as well in 1952-88, with the exceptions of 1952, 1964, and especially 1980, when Reagan combined his intense focus on the economy with frequent references to public services (Figures A6.e and A6.f).

To sum up, the early 1990s saw a sharp increase among Democratic candidates in the use of vocabulary related to economic performance and public service provision; since then, Democrats have gradually reverted to the pre-1988 norm. Among Republicans, Ronald Reagan and George W. Bush stand out for the attention they paid in speeches to both economic performance and public services. Mitt Romney, campaigning shortly after the global financial crisis, was unusually focused for a Republican on economic performance. Under Trump, discussion of the economy and public services have fallen to historically low

¹⁶ As Figures A6.c and A6.d show, the frequency of economic performance words tended to be lower in 1952-88. The one exception was Ronald Reagan in 1980, whose speeches could often pass for economics lectures.

levels.

Figure 5. Vocabulary of public service provision in the speeches of US presidential candidates, 1992-2024 (% of words related to public services)



4.3 Markers of populist discourse

If candidates are speaking less about the traditional foci of domestic governance—economic performance and public services—they must be appealing to voters in other ways. We have already noted Trump’s increasing attention to violence, and in particular crime. He is viewed by many as the prototype of an “authoritarian populist” (Mounk, 2021). Are his speeches particularly rich in the markers of populist discourse?

We looked for four key indicators. Populists frame social life as a conflict between “us” and “them.” We

already noted reasons to expect a high frequency of they-words in the discourse of populists—and, especially, a high ratio of they-words to we-words, as exhibited by noted American populists. Populists also claim to defend “the people” against nefarious “elites,” which should require talking more about these than other politicians do. We looked for the frequency of words associated with these elements, using the dictionaries described earlier. Again, it is possible to be an ardent populist without disproportionately using these words and phrases, and the words and phrases can certainly be used in non-populist discourse. But these dimensions offer potential insight into politicians’ differing discursive strategies.

It turns out that Trump’s speeches contain *fewer* allusions to “the people” than almost any other presidential candidate (see Table 2).¹⁷ In this, he fits neatly into a downward trend that characterizes the discourse of both parties since such references peaked in the era of Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan (Figures A6.g and A6.h). In 2024, Trump invoked the American people only about one fourth as often as George Bush, Sr., had done in 1992. If talk of “the people” signals a kind of inclusive populism, Trump demonstrated little of this.

However, Trump does stand out for his vigorous attacks against political elites (Table 2). Since 1952, no main party presidential candidate has made anti-elite references as persistently as Trump did in 2016, and his average was also very high in 2024.¹⁸ Republicans had been moving in this direction since the early 1990s; most Democrats do not single out elites for scorn, but Gore in 2000 and Obama in 2008 were

¹⁷ His average, .18%, is significantly lower than the average for the others, .40%, at $p < .01$.

¹⁸ His average was not quite so high in 2020, when he was running as an incumbent. Bonikowski and Gidron (2016) found that incumbents, logically enough, tend to be less anti-elitist than outsiders. Across the three elections, his average was significantly higher than that for the others at $p = .02$.

exceptions (Figures A6.i and A6.j). In one campaign speech in June 2007, Obama mentioned lobbying or lobbyists 26 times.¹⁹

Table 2. Elements of populist discourse in election-year speeches, major party candidates, 1992-2024

	<i>the people</i>	<i>elites</i>	<i>they/we ratio</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>we</i>
<i>Democrats</i>					
B. Clinton 1992	0.33	0.08	0.39	1.24	3.19
B. Clinton 1996	0.33	0.05	0.47	1.61	3.46
Gore 2000	0.30	0.36	0.36	0.99	2.72
Kerry 2004	0.51	0.13	0.34	1.27	3.69
Obama 2008	0.57	0.30	0.36	1.41	3.89
Obama 2012	0.28	0.22	0.33	1.27	3.80
H. Clinton 2016	0.20	0.21	0.39	1.27	3.24
Biden 2000	0.44	0.12	0.42	1.29	3.04
Biden 2024	0.24	0.15	0.34	1.02	2.97
Harris 2024	0.26	0.27	0.19	0.77	4.12
<i>Republicans</i>					
Bush Sr. 1992	0.59	0.17	0.28	0.86	3.04
Dole 1996	0.46	0.14	0.39	0.96	2.48
Bush Jr 2000	0.39	0.19	0.31	0.91	2.96
Bush Jr 2004	0.49	0.10	0.30	1.16	3.86
McCain 2008	0.53	0.32	0.39	1.12	2.87
Romney 2012	0.47	0.05	0.47	1.42	3.02
Trump 2016	0.21	0.49	0.51	1.89	3.70
Trump 2020	0.17	0.20	0.61	2.13	3.52
Trump 2024	0.15	0.35	0.82	2.50	3.06

Sources: See Table A1.

Notes: Average for Trump significantly different from average for the others at $p < .05$ for all except we-words.

As noted already, the use of “we” is a questionable marker for populism, and we do not observe any clear patterns in the data either regarding long-term trends (Figures A6.k and A6.l) or recent presidential candidates (Table 2).²⁰ But on both the use of “they” and the ratio of “they” to “we,” Trump scores unusually high. Use of the third person plural had been pretty stable among Republicans from 1952 to

¹⁹ <https://www.c-span.org/video/?199383-1/obama-campaign-event>

²⁰ The two candidates with the highest use of we-words in an election year since 1992 are Kamala Harris (4.12) and Barack Obama in 2008 (3.89). It is possible that the two non-white candidates felt it particularly urgent to invoke a shared community with their mostly white listeners.

2012, but it shoots up with Trump.²¹ As for the them-to-us ratio, it trends gently downward for Democrats after Mondale, but surges among Republicans after 2004.

In short, although Trump shows little sign of inclusive populism (few references to “the people,” average use of we-words), he tops the ranks in exclusionary populist vocabulary, castigating elites and talking far more than most about “them.” In switching from praising “the people” to attacking political insiders and other elites, he fitted into general trends among Republican candidates. But in his frequent use of they-words, he was mostly making the trend rather than following it.

4.4 Trump’s evolving word choice

Trump does not just differ in the content of his speeches from other candidates, his word usage has changed significantly over time. His first presidential campaign in 2015-16 saw a rapid stylistic evolution. Since then, he has mostly reverted towards his pre-2016 starting point.

Indeed, Trump’s changing diction between April 2015 and November 2016 allows one to trace the evolution of his discursive strategy as the campaign unfolded (see Figure A7). During those 19 months, Trump turns full populist. His references to elites shoot up by a factor of five between April 2015 and September 2016, although these then fall back a bit. Still, he seems to be aiming for an inclusive version of populism. His references to “the people” more than quadruple. His use of we-words increases by two thirds while his use of they-words falls by almost a half. As the months pass, his references to public service provision trend strongly upward. Even his use of swear words falls by more than one third. He

²¹ Among Democrats, the outlier is Walter Mondale, who, running against Reagan in 1984, filled his speeches with warnings about what “they” would do if re-elected: “Do you really want to give them a mandate to turn their backs on the suffering in America?... Do you really want them to tell women and minorities that the march toward justice is over?” (Quinn, 1984).

ends up with a curious hybrid that suggests a real effort—while pounding populist themes—to reach out to undecided voters.²²

From his first year in office, much of this begins to reverse. Trump’s references to “the people” and use of we-words trend downwards, and his use of they-words rises. His references to elites, which fell sharply towards the end of his 2016 campaign, remain quite stable during his presidency—a time when attacking incumbents is obviously harder—but these increase again after he loses office in 2020. His use of swear words recovers.

Overall, this looks like a concerted effort to project an inclusive populist image during his first campaign, followed by a reversion to his previous persona. No similar reshaping of Trump’s diction occurred during the 2020 campaign, and evolution in 2023-4 has so far been much more limited. The main change has been the surge in references to violence, exceeding that in either 2016 or 2020.

5 Conclusion

This paper has explored the evolution of Donald Trump’s public speeches from the onset of his political career in 2015 to his most recent rallies in 2024. Using computerized text analysis, we identified key trends in Trump’s word usage and compared these to the speech patterns of other major political figures. We derived three main results.

First, the frequency of violent words in Trump’s speeches has trended upward since 2015, eventually surpassing that of almost all other democratic politicians we examined. This reflects both escalating references to war and military battles and—even more strongly—an intensified focus on crime. The

²² Meanwhile, Hillary Clinton’s references to “the people” actually plunged during the campaign, as did her references to public service provision.

growing violence of Trump’s language suggests a strategy aimed at spreading anxiety in order to boost demand for a strong leader who can combat the threats he invokes. These results systematically confirm the observations of political journalists (Homans, 2024) and speak to recent debates about the state of American democracy. Levitsky and Ziblatt (2023), for instance, argue that the rhetoric of Republican politicians has become more divisive and confrontational, in a way that may erode democratic norms. We show that the most influential Republican these days is, indeed, using increasingly aggressive language. Various studies have noted upticks in uncivil behavior and political violence during the Trump presidency, including threats to members of Congress, crimes against minorities, and killings (e.g., Nacos et al., 2024). Some have linked the incidence of hate crimes to Trump’s campaign rallies and Tweets (Feinberg et al., 2022; Müller & Schwarz, 2023). Given the troubling evolution of his language, more research along these lines is clearly warranted.

Second, we show that Trump’s use of words related to economic performance has decreased over time, aligning with a broader trend in the speech of the candidates of both major parties since at least 2012—and, for the Democrats, since the early 1990s. This may reflect an underlying change in the effectiveness of economic appeals. As Vavreck (2009) showed, all insurgent candidates since 1952 who ran on the economy lost their elections. Trump, running as an insurgent in 2016, made far fewer economic references than his predecessor, the unsuccessful Republican candidate Mitt Romney—and won. Identity issues now often take the place once occupied by economic considerations (Sides et al., 2018). To the extent voters still decide based on economic performance, their beliefs about that performance are highly distorted by partisan bias. In this environment, Trump—and other politicians—may correctly see partisan, identity-based appeals as a better bet.

Third, analyzing Donald Trump’s rhetoric offers lessons about the flexible nature of populism. Populism is often described as a “thin-centered ideology” because it can be combined with more substantive philosophies of left or right (e.g., Mudde, 2007). Others see it more as a style than a set of ideas. We

found that Trump's approach both conforms to and diverges from the expected populist pattern. Most populist politicians praise and claim to represent "the people," imagined as a homogeneous unity. Trump invokes "the people" relatively rarely. He excels in a kind of exclusionary populism, focused on identifying outgroups and nefarious elites and framing them as enemies or threats. In such antagonistic variants, frequent references to "they" may constitute a "we" as a byproduct (Laclau, 2005). Trump appears to have flirted with an inclusionary version of populism during his 2016 campaign, but all the indicators suggest a retreat towards more negative and fear-based appeals since then.

One question often debated concerns the degree to which Trump is unique or merely the latest instance of a pre-existing trend. Previous work showed that the simple, self-confident style of Trump's speech aligns with a centuries-long tendency in US politics (Jordan et al., 2019). We showed that some aspects of Trump's content fit neatly into broader patterns. Candidates of both parties have been speaking less about economic performance and public service provision in recent decades. Anti-elite rhetoric has been increasing among Republican candidates since the 1990s, although few have come close to Trump's recent levels, and appeals to "the people" have declined in both parties since around 1980. Even his unusually frequent references to "them" can be seen as continuing a trend among Republicans since 2000. However, in one important regard, Trump is distinctive. We do not observe any general trend towards more violent vocabulary among other presidential candidates—indeed, such language had declined between 2004 and 2012 as Iraq war casualties fell.

Our study has certain clear limitations. First, we make no causal claims about determinants or consequences of Trump's speeches. Although we cite some relevant research, we provide no evidence about why Trump's speeches have varied over time or what difference that makes. While there is a wide consensus among political scientists that what politicians say in public matters (e.g., Vavreck, 2009; Zaller, 1992), there are many avenues through which words can influence citizens. The possible effects of Trump's increasingly violent vocabulary obviously merit further study. Second, dictionary-based text

analysis simply measures the frequency of words without delving deeper into meanings and contexts. While it can reveal important patterns, it leaves many nuances unexplored. As van Dijk (1997) noted, context matters greatly in political speeches. Future research could usefully incorporate contextual analysis to investigate the patterns in Trump's speeches that we identify.

References

- Adena, M., Enikolopov, R., Petrova, M., Santarosa, V., & Zhuravskaya, E. (2015). Radio and the Rise of the Nazis in Prewar Germany. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 130(4), 1885–1939.
- Anderson, C. A., Carnagey, N. L., & Eubanks, J. (2003). Exposure to violent media: The effects of songs with violent lyrics on aggressive thoughts and feelings. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84(5), 960.
- Annenberg, P. P. C. (2000). Annenberg/Pew Archive of Presidential Campaign Discourse CD-ROM. *Philadelphia: Annenberg Public Policy Center*.
- Arceneaux, Kevin, & Truex, Rory. (2023). Donald Trump and the Lie. *Perspectives on Politics*, 21(3), 863–879.
- Barberá, P., Casas, A., Nagler, J., Egan, P. J., Bonneau, R., Jost, J. T., & Tucker, J. A. (2019). Who leads? Who follows? Measuring issue attention and agenda setting by legislators and the mass public using social media data. *American Political Science Review*, 113(4), 883–901.
- Bonikowski, B., Feinstein, Y., & Bock, S. (2021). The partisan sorting of “America”: How nationalist cleavages shaped the 2016 US presidential election. *American Journal of Sociology*, 127(2), 492–561.
- Bonikowski, B., & Gidron, N. (2016). The populist style in American politics: Presidential campaign discourse, 1952–1996. *Social Forces*, 94(4), 1593–1621.
- Boyd, R. L., Ashokkumar, A., Seraj, S., & Pennebaker, J. W. (2022). The development and psychometric properties of LIWC-22. *Austin, TX: University of Texas at Austin*, 1–47.
- Brooks, D. J., & Geer, J. G. (2007). Beyond negativity: The effects of incivility on the electorate. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(1), 1–16.
- Burke, K. (1969). *A rhetoric of motives*. Univ of California Press.
- Calvo-González, O., Eizmendi, A., & Reyes, G. (2023). *The Shifting Attention of Political Leaders: Evidence from Two Centuries of Presidential Speeches*.

- Card, D., Chang, S., Becker, C., Mendelsohn, J., Voigt, R., Boustan, L., Abramitzky, R., & Jurafsky, D. (2022). Computational analysis of 140 years of US political speeches reveals more positive but increasingly polarized framing of immigration. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 119(31), e2120510119.
- Conway III, L. G., & Zubrod, A. (2022). Are US Presidents becoming less rhetorically complex? Evaluating the integrative complexity of Joe Biden and Donald Trump in historical context. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 41(5), 613–625.
- Druckman, J. N., & Holmes, J. W. (2004). Does Presidential Rhetoric Matter? Priming and Presidential Approval. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 34(4), 755–778. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27552635>
- Eshbaugh-Soha, M., & Barnes, K. (2021). The immigration rhetoric of Donald Trump. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 51(4), 781–801.
- Evers, Miles M., Fisher, Aleksandr, & Schaaf, Steven D. (2019). Is There a Trump Effect? An Experiment on Political Polarization and Audience Costs. *Perspectives on Politics*, 17(2), 433–452.
- Feinberg, A., Branton, R., & Martinez-Ebers, V. (2022). The Trump effect: How 2016 campaign rallies explain spikes in hate. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 55(2), 257–265.
- Fiorina, Morris. (1981). *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. Yale university press.
- Frimer, J. A., & Skitka, L. J. (2018). The Montagu Principle: Incivility decreases politicians' public approval, even with their political base. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 115(5), 845.
- Gennaro, G., & Ash, E. (2021). Emotion and Reason in Political Language. *The Economic Journal*, 132(643), 1037–1059. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ej/ueab104>
- Gervais, B. T. (2017). More than mimicry? The role of anger in uncivil reactions to elite political incivility. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 29(3), 384–405.

- Gervais, B. T. (2019). Rousing the partisan combatant: Elite incivility, anger, and antideliberative attitudes. *Political Psychology*, 40(3), 637–655.
- Ghazal Aswad, N. (2019). Exploring charismatic leadership: A comparative analysis of the rhetoric of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential election. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 49(1), 56–74.
- Grover, T., Bayraktaroglu, E., Mark, G., & Rho, E. H. R. (2019). Moral and affective differences in us immigration policy debate on twitter. *Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW)*, 28(3), 317–355.
- Gubler, J. R., Kalmoe, N. P., & Wood, D. A. (2015). Them’s fightin’ words: The effects of violent rhetoric on ethical decision making in business. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 130, 705–716.
- Guriev, S., & Treisman, D. (2020). The popularity of authoritarian leaders: A cross-national investigation. *World Politics*, 72(4), 601–638.
- Hart, R. P. (2022). Why Trump lost and how? A rhetorical explanation. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 66(1), 7–27.
- Hawkins, K. A., & Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2018a). Measuring populist discourse in the United States and beyond. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 2(4), 241–242.
- Hawkins, K. A., & Rovira Kaltwasser, C. (2018b). Measuring populist discourse in the United States and beyond. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 2(4), 241–242.
- Jamieson, K. H., & Taussig, D. (2017). Disruption, demonization, deliverance, and norm destruction: The rhetorical signature of Donald J. Trump. *Political Science Quarterly*, 132(4), 619–650.
- Jenne, E. K., Hawkins, K. A., & Silva, B. C. (2021). Mapping populism and nationalism in leader rhetoric across North America and Europe. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 56(2), 170–196.

- Jordan, K. N., Sterling, J., Pennebaker, J. W., & Boyd, R. L. (2019). Examining long-term trends in politics and culture through language of political leaders and cultural institutions. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116(9), 3476–3481.
- Kalmoe, N. P. (2014). Fueling the fire: Violent metaphors, trait aggression, and support for political violence. *Political Communication*, 31(4), 545–563.
- Kalmoe, N. P. (2019). Mobilizing voters with aggressive metaphors. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 7(3), 411–429.
- Laclau, E. (2005). *On Populist Reason*. Verso.
- Lamont, M., Park, B. Y., & Ayala-Hurtado, E. (2017). Trump’s electoral speeches and his appeal to the American white working class. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 68, S153–S180.
- Levitsky, S., & Ziblatt, D. (2023). *Tyranny of the Minority: Why American Democracy Reached the Breaking Point*. Crown.
- Liu, D., & Lei, L. (2018). The appeal to political sentiment: An analysis of Donald Trump’s and Hillary Clinton’s speech themes and discourse strategies in the 2016 US presidential election. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 25, 143–152.
- Loner, E., Fattorini, E., & Bucchi, M. (2023). The role of science in a crisis: Talks by political leaders during the COVID-19 pandemic. *Plos One*, 18(3), e0282529.
- Maerz, S. F., & Schneider, C. Q. (2020). Comparing public communication in democracies and autocracies: Automated text analyses of speeches by heads of government. *Quality & Quantity*, 54(2), 517–545.
- McDonnell, D., & Ondelli, S. (2022). The Language of Right-Wing Populist Leaders: Not So Simple. *Perspectives on Politics*, 20(3), 828–841. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592720002418>
- Mercieca, J. (2020). A field guide to Trump’s dangerous rhetoric. *The Conversation*, 19.

- Mounk, Y. (2021, January 14). After Trump, Is American Democracy Doomed by Populism? *Council on Foreign Relations*.
- Mudde, C. (2007). *Populist radical right parties in Europe*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, C., & Kaltwasser, C. R. (2017). *Populism: A very short introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Müller, K., & Schwarz, C. (2023). From hashtag to hate crime: Twitter and antiminority sentiment. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 15(3), 270–312.
- Newman, B., Merolla, J. L., Shah, S., Lemi, D. C., Collingwood, L., & Ramakrishnan, S. K. (2021). The Trump effect: An experimental investigation of the emboldening effect of racially inflammatory elite communication. *British Journal of Political Science*, 51(3), 1138–1159.
- Pennebaker, J. W. (2013a). *The Secret Life of Pronouns: What Our Words Say About Us*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Pennebaker, J. W. (2013b). *The Secret Life of Pronouns: What Our Words Say About Us*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Pennebaker, J. W., Chung, C. K., Krippendorff, K., & Bock, M. (2008). Computerized text analysis of Al-Qaeda transcripts. *A Content Analysis Reader*, 453465.
- Petty, R. E., Cacioppo, J. T., Strathman, A. J., & Priester, J. R. (2005). To think or not to think. *Persuasion: Psychological Insights and Perspectives*, 81, 116.
- Prothro, J. W. (1956). Verbal shifts in the American presidency: A content analysis. *American Political Science Review*, 50(3), 726–739.
- Quinn, M. (1984, November 5). Walter Mondale, in the valedictory of his long campaign. *UPI*.
<https://www.upi.com/Archives/1984/11/05/Walter-Mondale-in-the-valedictory-of-his-long-campaign/3797468478800/>

- Rabab'ah, G., Hussein, A., & Jarbou, S. (2024). Hate Speech in Political Discourse. *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law - Revue Internationale de Sémiotique Juridique*.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11196-024-10158-8>
- Reicher, S., & Hopkins, N. (2001). Psychology and the end of history: A critique and a proposal for the psychology of social categorization. *Political Psychology*, 22(2), 383–407.
- Selb, P., & Munzert, S. (2018). Examining a Most Likely Case for Strong Campaign Effects: Hitler's Speeches and the Rise of the Nazi Party, 1927–1933. *American Political Science Review*, 112(4), 1050–1066. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055418000424>
- Slatcher, R. B., Chung, C. K., Pennebaker, J. W., & Stone, L. D. (2007). Winning words: Individual differences in linguistic style among U.S. presidential and vice presidential candidates. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 41(1), 63–75. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrp.2006.01.006>
- Torregrosa, J., Thorburn, J., Lara-Cabrera, R., Camacho, D., & Trujillo, H. (2019). *Linguistic analysis of pro-ISIS users on Twitter. Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression* 12 (3): 171–185.
- Van Vliet, L., Törnberg, P., & Uitermark, J. (2020). The Twitter parliamentarian database: Analyzing Twitter politics across 26 countries. *PLoS One*, 15(9), e0237073.
- Vavreck, L. (2009). *The message matters: The economy and presidential campaigns*. Princeton University Press.
- Whissell, C. (2021). Pumping Up the Base: Deployment of Strong Emotion and Simple Language in Presidential Nomination Acceptance Speeches. *Frontiers in Communication*, 6, 729751.
- Wilkerson, J., & Casas, A. (2017). Large-scale computerized text analysis in political science: Opportunities and challenges. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 20, 529–544.
- Windsor, L., Dowell, N., Windsor, A., & Kaltner, J. (2018). Leader language and political survival strategies. *International Interactions*, 44(2), 321–336.

- Yanagizawa-Drott, D. (2014). Propaganda and conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan genocide. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 129(4), 1947–1994.
- Zullov, H. M., Oettingen, G., Peterson, C., & Seligman, M. E. (1988). Pessimistic explanatory style in the historical record: CAVing LBJ, presidential candidates, and East versus West Berlin. *American Psychologist*, 43(9), 673.

Online Appendix

Table A1. Speeches included in the analysis

<i>Politician</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source</i>
Since 1992 election			
Bush Sr.	5/24/1991	1991	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-fundraising-reception-for-congressional-candidate-steve-pierce-boston
Bush Sr.	6/17/1991	1991	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-fundraising-dinner-for-senatorial-candidate-bob-kasten-milwaukee-wisconsin
Bush Sr.	9/30/1991	1991	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-fundraising-dinner-for-governor-buddy-roemer-new-orleans-louisiana
Bush Sr.	10/31/1991	1991	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-bush-quayle-fundraising-dinner-houston-texas
Bush Sr.	11/13/1991	1991	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-fundraising-dinner-for-senator-christopher-s-bond-st-louis-missouri
Bush Sr.	12/27/1991	1991	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-bee-county-community-bee-ville-texas
Bush Sr.	1/30/1992	1992	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-greater-philadelphia-chamber-commerce
Bush Sr.	2/29/1992	1992	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-georgia-republican-party-atlanta-georgia
Bush Sr.	3/16/1992	1992	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-bush-quayle-fundraising-luncheon-milwaukee
Bush Sr.	4/30/1992	1992	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-bush-quayle-fundraising-dinner-columbus
Bush Sr.	5/30/1992	1992	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-texas-victory-92-fundraising-dinner-dallas-texas
Bush Sr.	6/29/1992	1992	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-fundraising-luncheon-for-senator-alfonse-m-damato-new-york-city
Bush Sr.	7/31/1992	1992	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-break-fast-with-community-service-clubs-riverside-california
Bush Sr.	8/27/1992	1992	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-bush-quayle-rally-cincinnati-ohio
Bush Sr.	9/30/1992	1992	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-community-fond-du-lac-wisconsin
Bush Sr.	10/31/1992	1992	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-community-oshkosh-wisconsin
Bush Sr.	11/2/1992	1992	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-arrival-louisville-kentucky
Clinton	6/15/1991	1991	https://www.c-span.org/video/?18419-1/wisconsin-democratic-party-issues
Clinton	8/1/1991	1991	https://www.c-span.org/video/?20837-1/false-choices-answers
Clinton	9/6/1991	1991	https://www.c-span.org/video/?21066-1/tri-state-democratic-party-dinner
Clinton	10/23/1991	1991	https://www.c-span.org/video/?23518-1/clinton-campaign-speech
Clinton	11/23/1991	1991	https://www.c-span.org/video/?23020-1/clinton-campaign-speech
Clinton	1/26/1992	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?24051-1/clinton-campaign-speech
Clinton	2/23/1992	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?24643-1/clinton-campaign-speech
Clinton	3/19/1992	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?25269-1/clinton-campaign-speech
Clinton	4/22/1992	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?25724-1/clinton-campaign-speech
Clinton	5/30/1992	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?26328-1/clinton-campaign-speech
Clinton	6/24/1992	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?26748-1/clinton-campaign-speech
Clinton	7/29/1992	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?27460-1/clinton-campaign-speech
Clinton	8/27/1992	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?31611-1/clintongore-campaign-appearance
Clinton	9/30/1992	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?32846-1/clinton-campaign-appearance
Clinton	10/29/1992	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?33815-1/clinton-campaign-rally
Clinton	2-Nov	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?33985-1/clinton-campaign-rally
Clinton	25-Apr	1995	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-students-iowa-state-university-ames
Clinton	31-May	1995	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-community-billings
Clinton	29-Jun	1995	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-fundraiser-chicago-illinois
Clinton	31-Jul	1995	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-national-governors-association-burlington-vermont
Clinton	22-Sep	1995	https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/WCPD-1995-10-02/pdf/WCPD-1995-10-02.pdf
Clinton	23-Oct	1995	https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/WCPD-1995-10-30/html/WCPD-1995-10-30-Pg1918-2.htm
Clinton	20-Nov	1995	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-community-columbus
Clinton	31-Dec	1995	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-renaissance-weekend-dinner-hilton-head-south-carolina
Clinton	25-Jan	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-us-conference-mayors
Clinton	24-Feb	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-community-shoreline
Clinton	23-Mar	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-community-cincinnati
Clinton	29-Apr	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-democratic-dinner-coral-gables
Clinton	30-May	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-the-community-baton-rouge
Clinton	24-Jun	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-democratic-national-committee-reception-new-york-city-0
Clinton	23-Jul	1996	https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/WCPD-1996-07-29/pdf/WCPD-1996-07-29.pdf
Clinton	31-Aug	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-concluding-bus-tour-memphis-tennessee
Clinton	28-Sep	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-providence-rhode-island-0
Clinton	31-Oct	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-oakland-california
Clinton	4-Nov	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsbl.edu/documents/remarks-bangor-maine-0

Dole	23-Feb	1995	http://dolearchivecollections.ku.edu/collections/speeches/097/c019_097_016_all.pdf
Dole	10-Mar	1995	http://dolearchivecollections.ku.edu/collections/speeches/098/c019_098_001_all.pdf
Dole	14-Apr	1995	https://www.c-span.org/video/?64547-1/dole-campaign-appearance
Dole	5/31/1995	1995	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-los-angeles-hollywood-speech
Dole	6/17/1995	1995	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-united-states-conference-mayors-miami
Dole	7/26/1995	1995	http://dolearchivecollections.ku.edu/collections/speeches/099/c019_099_022_all.pdf
Dole	8/30/1995	1995	https://www.c-span.org/video/?67130-1/dole-campaign-tour
Dole	9/5/1995	1995	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-economic-club-chicago
Dole	10/21/1995	1995	https://www.c-span.org/video/?67958-1/dole-campaign-speech
Dole	12/15/1995	1995	https://www.c-span.org/video/?68957-1/senator-bob-dole-hampshire-campaign
Dole	1/20/1996	1996	https://www.c-span.org/video/?69471-1/dole-campaign-speech
Dole	2/29/1996	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-open-forum-sponsored-the-aiken-county-republican-womens-club
Dole	3/25/1996	1996	https://www.c-span.org/video/?70898-1/road-white-house
Dole	4/19/1996	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-society-newspaper-editors
Dole	5/21/1996	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-business-leaders-luncheon-fond-du-lac-wisconsin
Dole	6/12/1996	1996	https://www.c-span.org/video/?72943-1/dole-campaign-speech
Dole	7/28/1996	1996	https://www.c-span.org/video/?73969-1/road-white-house
Dole	8/30/1996	1996	https://www.c-span.org/video/?74712-1/dole-kemp-campaign-rally
Dole	9/25/1996	1996	https://www.c-span.org/video/?75424-1/dole-campaign-rally
Dole	10/31/1996	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-miami-florida-1
Dole	11/5/1996	1996	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-alamogordo-new-mexico
Bush Jr	6/12/1999	1999	https://www.c-span.org/video/?73969-1/road-white-house
Bush Jr	9/10/1999	1999	https://www.c-span.org/video/?152033-1/bush-campaign-speech
Bush Jr	11/19/1999	1999	https://www.c-span.org/video/?153768-1/bush-campaign-speech
Bush Jr	12/26/1999	1999	https://www.c-span.org/video/?154299-1/road-white-house
Bush Jr	1/25/2000	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?154961-1/bush-campaign-event
Bush Jr	29-Feb	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?155696-1/bush-campaign-rally
Bush Jr	28-Mar-00	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?156367-1/bush-campaign-speech
Bush Jr	16-Apr-00	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?156504-1/road-white-house
Bush Jr	9-Jun	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?157654-1/bush-campaign-event
Bush Jr	29-Jul	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?158521-1/bush-campaign-rally
Bush Jr	18-Aug	2000	http://edition.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0008/18/se.03.html
Bush Jr	4-Sep	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?159048-1/bush-campaign-speech
Bush Jr	10/27/2000	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?160112-1/bush-campaign-rally
Bush Jr	11/5/2000	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?160295-1/bush-campaign-rally
Bush Jr	4/24/2003	2003	https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/WCPD-2003-04-28/html/WCPD-2003-04-28-Pg462.htm
Bush Jr	5/13/2003	2003	https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/WCPD-2003-05-19/html/WCPD-2003-05-19-Pg593.htm
Bush Jr	6/30/2003	2003	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-bush-cheney-luncheon-miami
Bush Jr	7/24/2003	2003	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-bush-cheney-reception-dearborn-michigan
Bush Jr	8/26/2003	2003	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-bush-cheney-luncheon-st-paul-minnesota
Bush Jr	30-Sep	2003	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-bush-cheney-luncheon-chicago-illinois
Bush Jr	30-Oct-03	2003	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-bush-cheney-luncheon-columbus-ohio
Bush Jr	11/25/2003	2003	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-bush-cheney-luncheon-las-vegas
Bush Jr	12/11/2003	2003	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-bush-cheney-luncheon-mclean-virginia
Bush Jr	1/29/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-bush-cheney-reception-old-greenwich-connecticut
Bush Jr	2/26/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-bush-cheney-luncheon-louisville
Bush Jr	3/31/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-bush-cheney-dinner
Bush Jr	4/23/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-victory-2004-reception-coral-gables-florida
Bush Jr	5/14/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-victory-2004-luncheon-bridgeton-missouri
Bush Jr	6/18/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-reno-nevada
Bush Jr	7/31/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-pittsburgh-pennsylvania
Bush Jr	8/31/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-farm-progress-show-alleman-iowa
Bush Jr	9/23/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-bangor-maine-1
Bush Jr	10/31/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-gainesville-florida
Bush Jr	11/1/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-milwaukee-wisconsin
Gore	3/26/1999	1999	https://www.c-span.org/video/?122160-1/democratic-rally
Gore	6/16/1999	1999	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-announcing-candidacy-for-the-democratic-presidential-nomination-1
Gore	7/30/1999	1999	https://www.c-span.org/video/?151292-1/gore-campaign-speech
Gore	8/7/1999	1999	https://www.c-span.org/video/?151489-1/gore-campaign-fund-raiser
Gore	9/25/1999	1999	https://www.c-span.org/video/?152358-1/democratic-national-committee-meeting
Gore	10/20/1999	1999	https://www.c-span.org/video/?152975-1/democratic-fund-raiser

Gore	12/14/1999	1999	https://www.c-span.org/video/?154271-1/gore-campaign-town-hall-meeting
Gore	1/28/2000	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?155016-1/democratic-campaign-dinner
Gore	2/27/2000	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?155577-1/road-white-house
Gore	3/27/2000	2000	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-marquette-university-milwaukee-wisconsin
Gore	4/9/2000	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?156462-1/road-white-house
Gore	5/8/2000	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?157038-1/gore-campaign-speech
Gore	6/13/2000	2000	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-new-york-city-0
Gore	7/21/2000	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?158351-1/gore-campaign-speech
Gore	8/20/2000	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?158840-1/road-white-house
Gore	9/29/2000	2000	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-chevy-chase-maryland
Gore	10/31/2000	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?160208-1/gore-campaign-rally
Gore	11/6/2000	2000	https://www.c-span.org/video/?160297-1/vote-rally
Kerry	3/9/2003	2003	https://www.c-span.org/video/?175424-1/road-white-house
Kerry	5/19/2003	2003	http://peacecorpsonline.org/messages/messages/2629/2013639.html
Kerry	6/15/2003	2003	https://www.c-span.org/video/?177039-1/road-white-house
Kerry	8/10/2003	2003	https://www.c-span.org/video/?177751-1/road-white-house
Kerry	9/2/2003	2003	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/address-announcing-candidacy-for-president-the-united-states-patriots-point-south-carolina
Kerry	10/3/2003	2003	https://www.c-span.org/video/?178493-1/democratic-issues
Kerry	1/31/2004	2004	https://www.c-span.org/video/?180343-1/kerry-campaign-event
Kerry	2/3/2004	2004	https://www.c-span.org/video/?180417-1/kerry-campaign-speech
Kerry	3/25/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/united-for-new-america-remarks-john-kerry
Kerry	4/30/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-westminster-college-fulton-missouri
Kerry	5/27/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/security-and-strength-for-new-world-remarks-john-kerry
Kerry	6/29/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-33rd-annual-rainbow-push-coalition-and-citizenship-education-fund-conference
Kerry	7/30/2004	2004	https://www.c-span.org/video/?182941-1/kerry-campaign-rally
Kerry	8/24/2004	2004	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-cooper-union-new-york-city
Kerry	9/24/2004	2004	https://www.nytimes.com/2004/09/24/politics/campaign/senator-john-kerrys-remarks-in-pennsylvania.html
Kerry	10/31/2004	2004	https://www.c-span.org/video/?184259-1/kerry-campaign-event
Kerry	11/1/2004	2004	https://www.c-span.org/video/?184247-1/kerry-campaign-rally
Obama	2/10/2007	2007	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-announcing-candidacy-for-president-springfield-illinois
Obama	4/21/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?197745-1/political-issues
Obama	5/7/2007	2007	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-detroit-economic-club-0
Obama	6/22/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?199383-1/obama-campaign-event
Obama	7/27/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?200207-1/obama-campaign-event
Obama	8/15/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?200446-1/obama-campaign-event
Obama	9/16/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?201016-1/iowa-democratic-steak-fry
Obama	10/23/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?201847-1/obama-campaign-rally
Obama	12/30/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?203192-1/obama-campaign-event
Obama	1/26/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?204172-1/obama-campaign-rally-dayton
Obama	2/25/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?204508-1/richardson-endorsement-obama
Obama	3/21/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?204508-1/richardson-endorsement-obama
Obama	4/22/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?205557-1/obama-campaign-rally-tampa-fl
Obama	5/21/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?205557-1/obama-campaign-rally-tampa-fl
Obama	6/27/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?206208-3/obama-campaign-rally-unity-hampshire
Obama	8/30/2008	2008	CNN.com - Transcripts
Obama	9/30/2008	2008	Barack Obama, The Financial Crisis: Remarks in Nevada—September 30, 2008 (presidentialrhetoric.com)
Obama	10/29/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?282091-1/obama-campaign-event-kissimmee-florida
Obama	11/3/2008	2008	Barack Obama Speech - Manassas - Virginia - Last Rally of 2008 Election - November 3, 2008 (obamaspeeches.com)
Obama	2/18/2011	2011	https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/DCPD-201100095/html/DCPD-201100095.htm
Obama	3/29/2011	2011	https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/DCPD-201100209/html/DCPD-201100209.htm
Obama	4/28/2011	2011	https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/04/28/remarks-president-dnc-event-42811
Obama	5/19/2011	2011	https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/05/19/remarks-president-dnc-event
Obama	6/30/2011	2011	https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/DCPD-201100484/pdf/DCPD-201100484.pdf
Obama	7/22/2011	2011	https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/07/22/remarks-president-university-maryland-town-hall
Obama	8/17/2011	2011	https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/08/17/remarks-president-town-hall-meeting-alpha-illinois
Obama	9/30/2011	2011	https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/09/30/remarks-president-dnc-event-private-residence-washington-dc
Obama	10/25/2011	2011	Remarks by the President at a Campaign Event whitehouse.gov (archives.gov)
Obama	11/30/2011	2011	https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/11/30/remarks-president-campaign-event-1
Obama	12/13/2011	2011	https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2011/12/13/remarks-president-campaign-event

Obama	1/31/2012	2012	https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/01/31/remarks-president-campaign-event
Obama	2/28/2012	2012	https://www.c-span.org/video/?304564-1/president-obama-remarks-campaign-event
Obama	3/30/2012	2012	https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/03/30/remarks-president-campaign-event-portland-museum-art-portland-me
Obama	4/29/2012	2012	https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/04/29/remarks-president-obama-and-former-president-clinton-campaign-event
Obama	5/24/2012	2012	Remarks by the President at a Campaign Event whitehouse.gov (archives.gov)
Obama	6/26/2012	2012	https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/06/26/remarks-president-campaign-event
Obama	7/30/2012	2012	https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/07/30/remarks-president-campaign-event
Obama	8/29/2012	2012	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-campaign-rally-charlottesville-virginia
Obama	9/30/2012	2012	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-campaign-rally-las-vegas-nevada-1
Obama	10/27/2012	2012	https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/10/28/remarks-president-campaign-event-nashua-nh
Obama	11/5/2012	2012	Remarks by the First Lady and the President at Final Campaign Rally -- Des Moines, IA whitehouse.gov (archives.gov)
McCain	4/25/2007	2007	https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/yw/date/2007-04-25/segment/01
McCain	5/17/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?198188-1/york-republican-party-event
McCain	6/1/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?198421-1/McCain-campaign-event
McCain	7/28/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?200215-1/McCain-campaign-event
McCain	8/10/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?200431-1/McCain-campaign-event
McCain	9/30/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?201285-1/McCain-campaign-event
McCain	10/14/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?201489-1/McCain-campaign-event
McCain	12/27/2007	2007	https://www.c-span.org/video/?203117-1/McCain-campaign-event
McCain	1/29/2008	2008	https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2008/01/john_McCains_florida_victory_s.html
McCain	2/19/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?204102-1/McCain-victory-speech
McCain	3/5/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?204294-1/McCain-victory-speech-dallas-texas
McCain	4/1/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?204662-1/McCain-town-hall-meeting-alexandria
McCain	5/6/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?205211-1/McCain-campaign-event-wake-forest-university
McCain	6/3/2008	2008	https://www.politico.com/story/2008/06/transcript-of-McCain-speech-010820
McCain	7/18/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?206478-1/McCain-speech-general-motors
McCain	8/31/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?280825-1/McCain-palin-campaign-rally
McCain	9/29/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?281484-1/McCain-campaign-rally-columbus-ohio
McCain	10/31/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?282135-1/McCain-campaign-rally-columbus
McCain	11/3/2008	2008	https://www.c-span.org/video/?282200-1/McCain-speech-indianapolis
Romney	6/3/2011	2011	https://www.c-span.org/video/?299864-1/mitt-romney-town-hall-meeting
Romney	8/11/2011	2011	https://www.c-span.org/video/?300933-1/mitt-romney-remarks
Romney	9/4/2011	2011	https://www.c-span.org/video/?301363-1/mitt-romney-remarks-tea-party-express-rally
Romney	10/20/2011	2011	https://www.c-span.org/video/?302187-1/mitt-romney-town-hall-meeting
Romney	11/23/2011	2011	https://www.c-span.org/video/?302845-1/mitt-romney-remarks
Romney	12/30/2011	2011	https://www.c-span.org/video/?303440-1/romney-campaign-rally
Romney	1/31/2012	2012	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-tampa-following-the-florida-primary
Romney	2/28/2012	2012	https://www.c-span.org/video/?304631-1/mitt-romney-arizona-michigan-primary-night-speech
Romney	3/31/2012	2012	https://www.c-span.org/video/?305242-1/wisconsin-faith-freedom-coalition
Romney	4/24/2012	2012	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-manchester-new-hampshire-following-the-connecticut-delaware-new-york-pennsylvania
Romney	5/29/2012	2012	https://www.c-span.org/video/?306298-1/mitt-romney-campaign-event-las-vegas
Romney	6/26/2012	2012	https://www.c-span.org/video/?306784-1/mitt-romney-campaign-rally-salem-virginia
Romney	7/18/2012	2012	https://www.c-span.org/video/?307130-1/mitt-romney-town-hall-meeting
Romney	8/31/2012	2012	https://www.c-span.org/video/?307900-1/romney-ryan-campaign-rally-lakeland-florida
Romney	9/25/2012	2012	https://www.c-span.org/video/?308387-1/mitt-romney-paul-ryan-campaign-rally
Romney	10/31/2012	2012	https://www.c-span.org/video/?309133-1/mitt-romney-jeb-bush-jacksonville-florida
Romney	11/5/2012	2012	https://www.c-span.org/video/?309281-1/mitt-romney-campaign-rally-manchester-hampshire
Clinton	4/14/2015	2015	https://www.c-span.org/video/?325353-1/hillary-clinton-kirkwood-community-college
Clinton	5/27/2015	2015	https://www.c-span.org/video/?326259-1/presidential-candidate-hillary-clinton-columbia-south-carolina
Clinton	6/13/2015	2015	https://www.vox.com/2015/6/13/8776067/hillary-clinton-transcript-campaign-launch
Clinton	7/31/2015	2015	Presidential Candidate Hillary Clinton Remarks at National Urban League Conference C-SPAN.org
Clinton	8/28/2015	2015	Presidential Candidate Hillary Clinton at the Democratic National Committee Summer Meeting C-SPAN.org
Clinton	9/19/2015	2015	https://www.c-span.org/video/?328108-2/hampshire-democratic-party-convention-hillary-clinton-remarks
Clinton	10/14/2015	2015	https://www.c-span.org/video/?328637-1/presidential-candidate-hillary-clinton-campaign-rally-las-vegas ; https://www.c-span.org/video/?401348-1/women-hillary-campaign-endorsement-announcement ; MS Word transcript from cspan.
Clinton	11/30/2015	2015	
Clinton	12/22/2015	2015	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hIGqDWkTwpQ ; transcribed with MS Word.
Clinton	1/30/2016	2016	https://www.c-span.org/video/?403935-1/hillary-clinton-campaign-rally-cedar-rapids-iowa ; MS Word transcript from cspan.
Clinton	2/29/2016	2016	https://www.c-span.org/video/?405409-1/hillary-clinton-campaign-rally-virginia ; MS Word transcript from cspan.

Clinton	3/30/2016	2016	https://www.c-span.org/video/?407457-1/hillary-clinton-campaign-event-harlem-york ; transcript from c-span, checked against delivery.
Clinton	4/26/2016	2016	https://www.c-span.org/video/?408722-1/presidential-candidate-hillary-clinton-primary-night-speech
Clinton	5/26/2016	2016	https://www.c-span.org/video/?410128-1/presidential-candidate-hillary-clinton-campaign-event-san-jose-california
Clinton	6/27/2016	2016	https://www.c-span.org/video/?411661-1/hillary-clinton-campaign-rally-cincinnati-ohio
Clinton	7/31/2016	2016	https://www.c-span.org/video/?413404-1/hillary-clinton-campaign-rally-columbus-ohio
Clinton	8/25/2016	2016	https://www.c-span.org/video/?414348-1/hillary-clinton-remarks-reno-nevada
Clinton	9/30/2016	2016	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-coral-springs-gymnasium-coral-springs-florida
Clinton	10/31/2016	2016	Hillary Clinton Campaign Rally in Cincinnati, Ohio C-SPAN.org
Clinton	11/7/2016	2016	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-grand-valley-state-university-grand-rapids-michigan
Trump	4/18/2015	2015	https://www.c-span.org/video/?325374-10/republican-leadership-summit-donald-trump
Trump	5/9/2015	2015	https://www.c-span.org/video/?325754-7/south-carolina-freedom-summit-donald-trump
Trump	6/16/2015	2015	Full text: Donald Trump announces a presidential bid - The Washington Post
Trump	7/21/2015	2015	https://www.c-span.org/video/?327258-1/presidential-candidate-donald-trump-campaign-event-south-carolina
Trump	8/29/2015	2015	https://www.c-span.org/video/?327853-1/presidential-candidate-donald-trump-speech-nashville-tennessee
Trump	9/30/2015	2015	Presidential Candidate Donald Trump in Keene, New Hampshire C-SPAN.org
Trump	10/27/2015	2015	https://www.c-span.org/video/?329010-1/presidential-candidate-donald-trump-campaign-rally-sioux-city-iowa
Trump	11/18/2015	2015	https://www.c-span.org/video/?400925-1/donald-trump-campaign-rally-worcester-massachusetts
Trump	12/30/2015	2015	https://www.kansascity.com/news/local/news-columns-blogs/the-buzz/article55604115.html
Trump	1/28/2016	2016	Presidential Candidate Donald Trump Rally in Des Moines, Iowa January 28, 2016 C-SPAN.org
Trump	2/29/2016	2016	https://www.c-span.org/video/?405478-1/donald-trump-campaign-rally-valdosta-georgia
Trump	3/19/2016	2016	https://www.c-span.org/video/?406905-1/presidential-candidate-donald-trump-rally-arizona
Trump	4/26/2016	2016	https://archive.org/details/CSPAN_20160426_070200_Donald_Trump_Campaign_Rally_in_Wilkes-Barre_Pennsylvania
Trump	5/27/2016	2016	https://archive.org/details/CSPAN_20160527_210000_Donald_Trump_Campaigns_in_San_Diego_California
Trump	6/28/2016	2016	https://time.com/4386335/donald-trump-trade-speech-transcript/
Trump	7/29/2016	2016	https://www.c-span.org/video/?413365-1/donald-trump-campaign-rally-denver-colorado
Trump	8/30/2016	2016	Donald Trump Campaign Rally in Everett, Washington C-SPAN.org
Trump	9/29/2016	2016	https://www.c-span.org/video/?416077-1/donald-trump-campaign-rally-bedford-hampshire
Trump	10/31/2016	2016	Presidential Candidate Donald Trump Rally in Warren, Michigan C-SPAN.org
Trump	11/7/2016	2016	https://www.c-span.org/video/?418209-1/presidential-candidate-donald-trump-rally-grand-rapids-michigan
Trump	12/17/2016	2016	President-Elect Donald Trump Victory Rally in Mobile, Alabama C-SPAN.org
Trump	1/26/2017	2017	https://www.c-span.org/video/?422829-1/president-trump-remarks-congressional-republican-retreat
Trump	2/18/2017	2017	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-melbourne-florida
Trump	3/20/2017	2017	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-louisville-kentucky
Trump	4/29/2017	2017	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-harrisburg-pennsylvania
Trump	6/21/2017	2017	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-cedar-rapids-iowa
Trump	7/25/2017	2017	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-youngstown-ohio
Trump	8/22/2017	2017	https://www.c-span.org/video/?432748-1/president-trump-rally-phoenix-arizona
Trump	9/22/2017	2017	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-campaign-rally-for-senator-luther-j-strange-iii-huntsville-alabama-make-america
Trump	10/17/2017	2017	https://www.c-span.org/video/?435817-1/president-trump-remarks-heritage-foundation
Trump	11/29/2017	2017	https://www.c-span.org/video/?437874-1/president-trump-remarks-st-louis
Trump	12/8/2017	2017	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-pensacola-florida
Trump	1/18/2018	2018	https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-hk-equipment-company-coraopolis-pa/
Trump	2/23/2018	2018	https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-conservative-political-action-conference-2/
Trump	3/10/2018	2018	https://www.c-span.org/video/?442305-1/president-trump-moon-township-pennsylvania
Trump	4/28/2018	2018	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-washington-township-michigan
Trump	5/29/2018	2018	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-nashville-tennessee-0
Trump	6/27/2018	2018	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-fargo-north-dakota
Trump	7/31/2018	2018	Here's a full transcript of President Trump's speech from his Tampa rally (tampabay.com)
Trump	8/30/2018	2018	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-wheeler-west-virginia
Trump	9/29/2018	2018	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-estero-florida
Trump	10/30/2018	2018	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-biloxi-mississippi
Trump	11/26/2018	2018	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-el-paso-texas
Trump	2/11/2019	2019	https://www.kaggle.com/datasets/tanpengshi/donald-trump-political-rallies-transcripts?resource=download
Trump	3/28/2019	2019	https://www.kaggle.com/datasets/tanpengshi/donald-trump-political-rallies-transcripts?resource=download
Trump	4/27/2019	2019	https://www.kaggle.com/datasets/tanpengshi/donald-trump-political-rallies-transcripts?resource=download
Trump	5/20/2019	2019	https://www.presidency.ucs.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-montoursville-pennsylvania
Trump	6/26/2019	2019	https://www.c-span.org/video/?462107-1/president-trump-speaks-faith-freedom-conference
Trump	7/23/2019	2019	https://www.c-span.org/video/?462913-1/president-trump-remarks-teen-student-action-summit
Trump	8/15/2019	2019	Donald Trump Rally Speeches (kaggle.com)

Trump	9/23/2019	2019	Donald Trump Rally Speeches (kaggle.com)
Trump	10/17/2019	2019	Donald Trump Rally Speeches (kaggle.com)
Trump	11/26/2019	2019	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-make-america-great-again-rally-sunrise-florida
Trump	12/21/2019	2019	https://www.c-span.org/video/?467575-1/president-trump-turning-point-usas-student-action-summit
Trump	1/30/2020	2020	Donald Trump Rally Speeches (kaggle.com)
Trump	2/29/2020	2020	https://www.c-span.org/video/?469811-1/conservative-political-action-conference-president-trump-remarks
Trump	3/2/2020	2020	Donald Trump Rally Speeches (kaggle.com)
Trump	5/21/2020	2020	https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-ford-rawsonville-components-plant/ https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-fincantieri-marinette-marine-marinette-wi/#:~:text=For%20more%20than%2075%20years,you've%20never%20done%20before.
Trump	6/25/2020	2020	President Trump Speaks in Manchester, New Hampshire C-SPAN.org
Trump	8/28/2020	2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-duluth-minnesota-campaign-rally-transcript-september-30-night-after-first-debate
Trump	9/30/2020	2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-rally-speech-transcript-montoursville-pa-october-31
Trump	10/31/2020	2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-rally-speech-transcript-grand-rapids-michigan-november-2
Trump	11/2/2020	2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-georgia-rally-transcript-before-senate-runoff-elections-december-5
Trump	12/6/2020	2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-alamo-texas-speech-transcript-january-12-25th-amendment-zero-risk-to-me
Trump	1/12/2021	2021	me
Trump	2/28/2021	2021	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-cpac-2021-speech-transcript
Trump	6/27/2021	2021	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-wellington-ohio-rally-speech-transcript-first-rally-since-leaving-office
Trump	7/24/2021	2021	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-phoenix-arizona-rally-speech-transcript-july-24
Trump	8/22/2021	2021	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-cullman-alabama-rally-speech-transcript
Trump	9/26/2021	2021	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-perry-georgia-rally-speech-transcript-september-25
Trump	10/9/2021	2021	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-des-moines-iowa-rally-speech-transcript-october-9
Trump	1/29/2022	2022	https://www.c-span.org/video/?517404-1/president-trump-texas-rally
Trump	2/26/2022	2022	https://www.c-span.org/video/?518150-1/president-trump-speaks-conservative-political-action-conference
Trump	3/26/2022	2022	Former President Trump Holds Rally in Commerce, Georgia C-SPAN.org
Trump	4/23/2022	2022	https://www.c-span.org/video/?519504-1/president-trump-rally-delaware-ohio
Trump	5/28/2022	2022	https://www.c-span.org/video/?520178-1/president-trump-rally-house-candidate-wyoming
Trump	6/26/2022	2022	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/trump-gives-speech-in-illinois-6-25-22-transcript
Trump	7/27/2022	2022	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-speaks-at-america-first-agenda-summit-in-washington-dc-transcript
Trump	8/7/2022	2022	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/former-president-donald-trump-speaks-at-cpac-8-06-22-transcript
Trump	9/23/2022	2022	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/former-president-trump-speaks-at-nc-campaign-rally-9-23-22-transcript https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/trump-holds-save-america-rally-in-robstown-texas-10-22-22-transcript ; plus the end comes from cspan, cut off in the rev transcript.
Trump	10/23/2022	2022	
Trump	11/16/2022	2022	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/former-president-trump-announces-2024-presidential-bid-transcript https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-delivers-keynote-speech-at-new-hampshire-gop-annual-meeting-transcript
Trump	1/30/2023	2023	transcript
Trump	3/27/2023	2023	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-hosts-first-2024-presidential-campaign-rally-in-waco-texas-transcript
Trump	4/27/2023	2023	https://www.c-span.org/video/?527693-1/president-trump-speaks-hampshire
Trump	5/1/2023	2023	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/former-president-donald-trump-election-rally-from-new-hampshire-transcript
Trump	6/30/2023	2023	https://www.c-span.org/video/?529023-102/donald-trump-speaks-moms-liberty-convention
Trump	7/29/2023	2023	https://www.c-span.org/video/?529529-1/president-trump-holds-rally-erie-pennsylvania
Trump	8/8/2023	2023	https://www.c-span.org/video/?529766-1/president-trump-speaks-windham-hampshire
Trump	9/28/2023	2023	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-speaks-to-striking-uaw-members-transcript
Trump	10/24/2023	2023	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-speaks-at-campaign-event-in-derry-new-hampshire-transcript
Trump	11/20/2023	2023	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-at-commit-to-caucus-event-in-iowa-transcript https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/trump-holds-rally-in-iowa-moments-after-colorado-supreme-court-blocks-him-from-ballot-transcript
Trump	12/20/2023	2023	
Trump	1/29/2024	2024	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-speaks-at-rally-in-las-vegas-transcript
Trump	2/23/2024	2024	https://www.c-span.org/video/?533736-1/donald-trump-holds-rally-rock-hill-south-carolina
Trump	3/18/2024	2024	Donald Trump Dayton Ohio Buckeye Values PAC Rally Rev
Trump	4/16/2024	2024	Donald Trump Schnecksville Pennsylvania Rally Rev
Trump	5/26/2024	2024	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/trump-speaks-at-rally-in-the-bronx
Trump	6/28/2024	2024	https://www.c-span.org/video/?536585-1/president-trump-campaigns-chesapeake-virginia
Trump	7/31/2024	2024	https://www.c-span.org/video/?537441-1/president-trump-campaigns-harrisburg-pennsylvania
Trump	8/30/2024	2024	https://www.c-span.org/video/?537983-1/president-trump-campaigns-johnstown-pennsylvania
Trump	9/30/2024	2024	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/trump-holds-event-in-wisconsin
Biden	3/16/2019	2019	https://www.c-span.org/video/?458705-1/vice-president-biden-delaware
Biden	4/30/2019	2019	https://www.c-span.org/video/?460257-1/joe-biden-iowa
Biden	5/18/2019	2019	http://www.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/190518/cnr.05.html
Biden	6/11/2019	2019	https://www.c-span.org/video/?461636-1/joe-biden-campaign-rally-davenport-iowa; transcribed with MS word
Biden	7/12/2019	2019	https://www.c-span.org/video/?462453-1/joe-biden-portsmouth-hampshire
Biden	8/24/2019	2019	https://www.c-span.org/video/?463586-1/joe-biden-keene-hampshire

Biden	9/21/2019	2019	https://www.c-span.org/video/?464318-1/polk-county-democrats-annual-steak-fry ; transcribed with MS Word.
Biden	10/23/2019	2019	https://www.c-span.org/video/?465578-1/joe-biden-scranton-pennsylvania
Biden	11/8/2019	2019	https://www.c-span.org/video/?466179-1/joe-biden-campaign-rally-hampshire-state-house
Biden	12/22/2019	2019	https://www.c-span.org/video/?467527-1/joe-biden-perry-iowa ; transcribed with MS Word
Biden	1/29/2020	2020	https://www.c-span.org/video/?468675-1/joe-biden-campaign-event-council-bluffs-iowa
Biden	2/29/2020	2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/joe-biden-victory-speech-transcript-biden-wins-south-carolina-democratic-primary
Biden	3/10/2020	2020	Joe Biden Campaign Event in Philadelphia C-SPAN.org
Biden	6/17/2020	2020	https://www.c-span.org/video/?473161-1/joe-biden-speaks-darby-pennsylvania
Biden	7/9/2020	2020	https://www.c-span.org/video/?473701-1/joe-biden-speaks-dunmore-pennsylvania
Biden	8/21/2020	2020	https://www.cnn.com/2020/08/20/politics/biden-dnc-speech-transcript/index.html
Biden	9/30/2020	2020	https://www.c-span.org/video/?476408-101/joe-biden-campaign-remarks-johnstown-pennsylvania
Biden	10/31/2020	2020	https://www.c-span.org/video/?477559-1/joe-biden-president-obama-hold-rally-detroit
Biden	11/2/2020	2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/joe-biden-campaign-event-speech-transcript-pittsburgh-pa-november-2
Biden	3/14/2023	2023	https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/DCPD-202300198/html/DCPD-202300198.htm https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/04/28/remarks-by-president-biden-at-a-reception-for-the-democratic-national-committee-7/
Biden	4/28/2023	2023	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/05/10/remarks-by-president-biden-at-a-democratic-national-committee-reception-5/
Biden	5/10/2023	2023	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-campaign-reception-new-york-city
Biden	6/29/2023	2023	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-campaign-reception-freeport-maine
Biden	7/28/2023	2023	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/08/10/remarks-by-president-biden-at-a-campaign-reception-salt-lake-city-ut/
Biden	8/10/2023	2023	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-campaign-reception-tempe-arizona
Biden	9/28/2023	2023	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-campaign-reception-0
Biden	10/27/2023	2023	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-campaign-reception-0
Biden	11/28/2023	2023	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-campaign-reception-denver-colorado https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/12/20/remarks-by-president-biden-at-a-campaign-reception-6/
Biden	12/19/2024	2023	
Biden	1/31/2024	2024	Remarks at a Campaign Reception in Miami, Florida The American Presidency Project (ucsb.edu)
Biden	2/22/2024	2024	Remarks at a Campaign Reception in Los Altos Hills, California The American Presidency Project (ucsb.edu)
Biden	3/29/2024	2024	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-campaign-reception-new-york-city-8
Biden	4/25/2024	2024	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-campaign-event-irvington-new-york https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2024/05/29/remarks-by-president-biden-and-vice-president-harris-at-a-campaign-event-philadelphia-pa/
Biden	5/29/2024	2024	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2024/06/29/remarks-by-president-biden-at-a-campaign-reception-new-york-ny-8/
Biden	6/29/2024	2024	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2024/07/12/remarks-by-president-biden-at-garage-grill-and-fuel-bar-northville-mi-july-12-2024/
Biden	7/12/2024	2024	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/02/03/remarks-by-vice-president-harris-at-a-democratic-national-committee-finance-event-4/
Harris	2/3/2023	2023	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/03/15/remarks-by-vice-president-harris-at-a-democratic-national-committee-finance-event-5/
Harris	3/15/2023	2023	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/05/12/remarks-by-vice-president-harris-at-the-democratic-party-of-georgias-spring-soiree/
Harris	5/12/2023	2023	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/06/30/remarks-by-vice-president-harris-at-a-campaign-reception-2/
Harris	6/30/2023	2023	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/07/24/remarks-by-vice-president-harris-at-a-campaign-reception-4/
Harris	7/24/2023	2023	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/08/16/remarks-by-vice-president-harris-at-a-campaign-reception-8/
Harris	8/16/2023	2023	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/11/27/remarks-by-vice-president-harris-at-a-campaign-reception-houston-tx/
Harris	11/27/2023	2023	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2023/12/12/remarks-by-president-biden-at-a-campaign-reception-5/
Harris	12/12/2023	2023	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2024/01/30/remarks-by-vice-president-harris-at-a-campaign-reception-los-gatos-ca/
Harris	1/30/2024	2024	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2024/02/03/remarks-by-president-biden-and-vice-president-harris-at-a-campaign-event-wilmington-de/
Harris	2/23/2024	2024	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2024/03/26/remarks-by-president-biden-and-vice-president-harris-at-a-campaign-reception-raleigh-nc/
Harris	3/26/2024	2024	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-vice-president-campaign-reception-los-angeles-california
Harris	4/16/2024	2024	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2024/05/21/remarks-by-vice-president-harris-at-the-service-employees-international-union-quadrennial-convention/
Harris	5/21/2024	2024	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-vice-president-campaign-reception-los-angeles-california-0
Harris	6/29/2024	2024	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-vice-president-campaign-event-houston-texas
Harris	7/31/2024	2024	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-vice-president-campaign-event-savannah-georgia
Harris	8/29/2024	2024	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/2024/09/29/remarks-by-vice-president-harris-at-a-political-event-los-angeles-ca/
Harris	9/29/2024	2024	
Pre-1992			
Stevenson	26-Jul	1952	Annenberg/Pew Archive

Stevenson	28-Aug	1952	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Stevenson	27-Sep	1952	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Stevenson	31-Oct	1952	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Stevenson	1-Nov	1952	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Eisenhower	11-Jul	1952	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Eisenhower	30-Sep	1952	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Eisenhower	31-Oct	1952	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Eisenhower	3-Nov	1952	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Stevenson	17-Aug	1956	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Stevenson	28-Sep	1956	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Stevenson	31-Oct	1956	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Stevenson	5-Nov	1956	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Eisenhower	23-Aug	1956	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Eisenhower	28-Sep	1956	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Eisenhower	29-Oct	1956	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Eisenhower	5-Nov	1956	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Kennedy	15-Jul	1960	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Kennedy	29-Sep	1960	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Kennedy	31-Oct	1960	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Kennedy	7-Nov	1960	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Nixon	28-Jul	1960	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Nixon	29-Sep	1960	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Nixon	31-Oct	1960	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Nixon	7-Nov	1960	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Johnson	30-Sep	1964	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Johnson	31-Oct	1964	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Johnson	2-Nov	1964	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Humphrey	29-Aug	1968	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Humphrey	30-Sep	1968	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Humphrey	31-Oct	1968	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Humphrey	3-Nov	1968	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Nixon	8-Aug	1968	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Nixon	26-Sep	1968	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Nixon	29-Oct	1968	Annenberg/Pew Archive
McGovern	14-Jul	1972	Annenberg/Pew Archive
McGovern	30-Sep	1972	Annenberg/Pew Archive
McGovern	27-Oct	1972	Annenberg/Pew Archive
McGovern	6-Nov	1972	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Nixon	23-Aug	1972	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Nixon	28-Sep	1972	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Nixon	28-Oct	1972	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Nixon	4-Nov	1972	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Carter	15-Jul	1976	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Carter	30-Sep	1976	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Carter	31-Oct	1976	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Ford	19-Aug	1976	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Ford	26-Sep	1976	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Ford	31-Oct	1976	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Ford	1-Nov	1976	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Carter	14-Aug	1980	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Carter	30-Sep	1980	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Carter	31-Oct	1980	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Carter	3-Nov	1980	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Reagan	17-Jul	1980	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Reagan	30-Sep	1980	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Reagan	30-Oct	1980	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Reagan	1-Nov	1980	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Mondale	19-Jul	1984	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Mondale	25-Sep	1984	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Mondale	31-Oct	1984	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Mondale	5-Nov	1984	Annenberg/Pew Archive

Reagan	23-Aug	1984	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Reagan	26-Sep	1984	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Reagan	29-Oct	1984	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Reagan	5-Nov	1984	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Dukakis	21-Jul	1988	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Dukakis	30-Sep	1988	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Dukakis	31-Oct	1988	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Dukakis	8-Nov	1988	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Bush	18-Aug	1988	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Bush	27-Sep	1988	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Bush	30-Oct	1988	Annenberg/Pew Archive
Bush	1-Nov	1988	Annenberg/Pew Archive

Historic Populists

William Jennings Bryan	8/12/1896	1896	https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/people/other/william-jennings-bryan
William Jennings Bryan	8/8/1900	1900	https://archive.org/stream/speechesofwillia02brya/speechesofwillia02brya_djvu.txt
William Jennings Bryan	7/8/1904	1904	https://archive.org/stream/speechesofwillia02brya/speechesofwillia02brya_djvu.txt
William Jennings Bryan	8/12/1908	1908	https://archive.org/stream/speechesofwillia02brya/speechesofwillia02brya_djvu.txt
William Jennings Bryan	9/9/1908	1908	https://archive.org/stream/speechesofwillia02brya/speechesofwillia02brya_djvu.txt
Huey Long	2/23/1934	1934	https://www.hueylong.com/programs/share-our-wealth-speech.php
Huey Long	1/23/1935	1935	https://www.ssa.gov/history/longsen.html
Huey Long	3/1/1935	1935	https://www.ssa.gov/history/longsen.html
Huey Long	5/2/1935	1935	https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/hueyplongstvitusdancegovernment.htm
George Wallace	7/4/1964	1964	https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1964-george-c-wallace-civil-rights-movement-fraud-sham-and-hoax/ George Wallace, "Speech at Madison Square Garden, October 24, 1968," in History of U.S. Political Parties, ed. Arthur Schlesinger, vol. 4, 1945–1972: The Politics of Change (New York: Chelsea House, 1973), 3491–3497.
George Wallace	10/28/1968	1968	
Ross Perot	5/29/1992	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?26303-1/perot-campaign-rally
Ross Perot	7/11/1992	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?26991-1/perot-campaign-speech
Ross Perot	8/19/1996	1996	https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB840468324557197000
Ross Perot	10/24/1996	1996	https://www.c-span.org/video/?76214-1/perot-campaign-speech
Pat Buchanan	3/30/1992	1992	https://www.c-span.org/video/?25275-1/buchanan-campaign-speech
Pat Buchanan	8/17/1992	1992	https://voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/buchanan-culture-war-speech-speech-text/
Pat Buchanan	3/20/1995	1995	https://www.c-span.org/video/?64066-1/buchanan-announcement
Pat Buchanan	1/30/1996	1996	https://www.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/1996/candidates/republican/withdrawn/buch.stump.shtml

Table A2. Dictionaries

Violence (Guriev and Treisman 2019)
<p>aggress*, annihilat*, armament*, armed, armies, armor*, army, arrest*, artillery, assault*, atrocities, atrocity, attack*, barbar*, battle, battles, bayonet*, bled, bleed*, blood*, bomb*, brigade*, brutal*, bullet*, butcher*, cannon*, captive, casualty*, clash*, combat*, conflict*, conquer*, conquest, crime*, criminal*, cruel*, crusade*, crush*, dead, deadly, death*, demise, destroy*, destruct*, detention, die, died, dies, dying, enemies, enemy, enmity, enslave*, eradicate*, explode*, explos*, exterminat*, fatal*, fight*, fought, funeral*, gun, gunned, guns, harass*, harm, harmed, harms, hatred*, holocaust*, hostage*, hostile*, hurt, hurts, imprison*, incarcerat*, injur*, invade*, invasion, jail*, kill*, liquidation, martyr, martyred, martyrs, massacre*, militar*, mistreat*, mortar*, mourn*, murder*, mutilat*, navy, oppress*, pain, painful, pains, perish*, persecut*, plunder*, police*, prey, prison*, prosecut*, punish*, ravage*, rout, routed, routing, routs, scourge, shatter*, siege*, skirmish*, slaughter*, slave*, smash*, soldier*, starv*, strike, struck, suffer*, surrender*, tanks, terror, terrorism, terrorist*, torment*, troops, tyranniz*, vanquish*, victim*, violence, violent, war, warfare*, warring, wars, weapon*, wound*</p>
Violence (ChatGPT)
<p>abuse*, aggress*, agon*, ambush*, anger, annihilat*, antagon*, assault*, attack*, atrocit*, battle*, beat*, blood*, bomb*, brutal*, bully, carnage, chok*, clash*, combat*, confront*, conflict*, crim*, cruel*, crush*, cut*, damage*, death*, decimat*, defeat*, destruct*, devastat*, disput*, dominat*, domestic*, duel*, enmity, explod*, explos*, extort*, fatal*, fear*, feud*, fight*, forc*, fracture*, fury, genocid*, gun*, harm*, hatred*, homicid*, hostilit*, hurt*, injur*, insult*, intimidat*, invas*, kill*, knife*, lacerat*, lethal*, lynch*, malic*, maim*, manslaughter, massacr*, mayhem, murder*, mutin*, neglect*, oppress*, outburst, outrag*, overpower*, pain*, persecut*, pillage*, plunder*, poison*, punch*, quarrel*, rage*, rampage*, rape*, ravage*, rebellion*, revenge*, riot*, sabotage*, scuffle*, shoot*, slap*, slaughter*, slay*, smack*, smash*, smite, spite*, stab*, stalk*, stoning*, strike, struggle*, subdue*, suffer*, suppress*, terror*, threat*, torment*, torture*, traumatiz*, treason*, traml*, trap*, trauma*, trespass*, trigger*, troops, tumult*, turmoil, tyrann*, unrest, vandal*, venom*, vengeance, victim*, violate*, violen*, war*, weapon*, whip*, wound*, wreck*, wrestl*, wring*, wrath*, wretched, zealot*, zealous, kidnap*</p>
Crime (subset of GT 2019)
<p>murder*, prison*, jail*, punish*, prey, criminal*, crime*, arrest*, prosecut*, police*, detention, imprison*, incarcerat*</p>
War (subset of GT 2019)
<p>massacre*, war, warfare*, wars, warring, rout, routed, routs, routing, battle, battles, martyr, martyrs, martyred, armies, army, invade*, invasion, skirmish*, soldier*, conquer*, cannon*, atrocity, atrocities, bayonet*, siege*, surrender*, armament*, tanks, artillery, mortar*, armor*, conquest, militar*, crusade*, navy, scourge, vanquish*, troops, brigade*</p>

Economic performance (Guriev and Treisman 2019)
affordable, auditor, auditors, borrow*, bought, budget*, buy*, cheap, cheaper, currenc*, customer*, debt*, deposit*, discount*, dollar, dollars, earnings, econ*, recession*, rent*, retail*, revenue*, richer, riches, richest, salar*, sale, sales, saving*, sell, selling, shop, sold, store, trade*, trading, wage, wages, wealth, wealthier, wealthiest, wealthy, exchang*, expenses, expensive, fees, financ*, fund, income*, insurance, invest, investment*, invested, invests, lease*, lend, lending, loan*, market*, merchant*, money*, monopol*, mortg*, pension*, pesetas, poverty*, price*, prici*, profit*, purchas*, salary, stock, commerc*, growth, job, jobs, product*, industry, industries, industrial, industrializing, industrialization, manufactur*, labour*, labor, labored, laboring, labors, produce*, consum*, factory, factories, remunerat*, goods, employ*, unemploy*, inflation, agricultur*, agrarian, tariff, ration, rationing, export*, import, imports, imported, output, entrepreneur*, efficien*, prosper*, deficit, farming, cultivation
Public service provision (Guriev and Treisman 2019)
budget*, revenue*, fees, fund, insurance, pension*, expenditure*, medical, medicine*, education*, housing, school, schools, universities, university, classroom*, childcare, hospital, hospitals, doctor*, maternity, infrastructure, literacy, administration, transportation, retirement, funding, disabled
The people
the people of, the American people, Americans, patriots
Elites
corrupt*, liar*, lied, lies, lying, donor*, phony, crooked, hate* the United States, rott*, traitor*, incompetent, conspire*, collud*, collus*, rip* off, cover* up, rigg*, rig, tyrant*, save our country, hate our country, smears, dishonest*, big fix, the stupidity of our President, than Watergate, swamp, crony, cronies, schem*, lobby*, special interest*, scam*, deep state, globalist*, political class, Wall Street, establishment, betray*, the status quo, against the system, insider*, weaponiz*, tyrant*, big corporation*, big pharma, bureaucra*, big oil, billionaire*, trial lawyers, powerful forces, powerful interests, special-interest, the powerful, the elite, opinion maker*, opinion-maker*, so-called expert*, politicians in Washington, folks in Washington, leaders in Washington, big government, tasselled loafer*, plutocra*, magnate*, foreign policy elite, agents of influence, transnational elite, regulators, the establishment in Washington, trans-national corporations, big government, PAC guys, lost touch with the people, the filthy rich, big-wheeling, cocktail party boys, carpetbagger, multinationals, rip you off, rip-off, tax shelters, masters of finance, fortunes, overlords, rich people, owning class, rich men, in the hands of the few, financial cannibals, market-rigging, persons of influence, financiers, money changers, financial manipulators, supermillionaire*, the rich, 1 percent of the people, the 1 percent

Table A3. Plural pronoun usage, presidential candidates compared to selected US populists

<i>they-words/ we-words</i>		<i>we-words</i>		<i>they-words</i>	
Huey Long 1934-35	0.83	Jimmy Carter 1976	4.46	<i>Donald Trump 2024</i>	2.50
<i>Donald Trump 2024</i>	0.82	Kamala Harris 2024	4.12	Walter Mondale 1984	2.14
W.J. Bryan 1896-1908	0.81	Ronald Reagan 1984	4.0	<i>Donald Trump 2020</i>	2.13
Walter Mondale 1984	0.66	Barack Obama 2008	3.89	<i>Donald Trump 2016</i>	1.89
<i>Donald Trump 2020</i>	0.61	George W. Bush 2004	3.86	Bill Clinton 1996	1.61
Pat Buchanan 1992-96	0.55	Richard Nixon 1972	3.82	Huey Long 1934-35	1.56
<i>Donald Trump 2016</i>	0.51	Barack Obama 2012	3.8	Ross Perot 1992-1996	1.47
Lyndon Johnson 1964	0.51	George McGovern 1972	3.74	Pat Buchanan 1992-96	1.45
Ross Perot 1992-1996	0.49	<i>Donald Trump 2016</i>	3.7	Mitt Romney 2012	1.42
Mitt Romney 2012	0.47	John Kerry 2004	3.69	Barack Obama 2008	1.41
Bill Clinton 1996	0.47	Gerald Ford 1976	3.67	Hubert Humphrey 1968	1.37
Adlai Stevenson 1952	0.47	Richard Nixon 1960	3.57	Lyndon Johnson 1964	1.35
Richard Nixon 1968	0.44	<i>Donald Trump 2020</i>	3.52	Ronald Reagan 1984	1.3
Jimmy Carter 1980	0.44	George Dukakis 1988	3.51	Joe Biden 2020	1.29
Hubert Humphrey 1968	0.44	Bill Clinton 1996	3.46	George Wallace 1964-68	1.27
George Wallace 1964-8	0.43	Ronald Reagan 1980	3.41	Hillary Clinton 2016	1.27
Joe Biden 2020	0.42	Barry Goldwater 1964	3.25	John Kerry 2004	1.27
John F. Kennedy 1960	0.41	Hillary Clinton 2016	3.24	Barack Obama 2012	1.27
Dwight Eisenhower 1952	0.4	Walter Mondale 1984	3.23	Richard Nixon 1968	1.25
Hillary Clinton 2016	0.39	Bill Clinton 1992	3.19	Bill Clinton 1992	1.24
John McCain 2008	0.39	Adlai Stevenson 1956	3.17	W.J. Bryan 1896-1908	1.17
Bill Clinton 1992	0.39	Hubert Humphrey 1968	3.14	George Dukakis 1988	1.17
Robert Dole 1996	0.39	George H.W. Bush 1988	3.12	George W. Bush 2004	1.16
Al Gore 2000	0.36	Dwight Eisenhower 1956	3.07	Richard Nixon 1960	1.15
Barack Obama 2008	0.36	<i>Donald Trump 2024</i>	3.06	John F. Kennedy 1960	1.14
John Kerry 2004	0.34	Joe Biden 2020	3.04	Dwight Eisenhower 1952	1.12
Joe Biden 2024	0.34	George H.W. Bush 1992	3.04	John McCain 2008	1.12
Barack Obama 2012	0.33	Mitt Romney 2012	3.02	Jimmy Carter 1980	1.08
George Dukakis 1988	0.33	Ross Perot 1992-1996	3.0	Ronald Reagan 1980	1.05
George H.W. Bush 1988	0.33	Joe Biden 2024	2.97	Joe Biden 2024	1.02
Ronald Reagan 1984	0.33	George W. Bush 2000	2.96	George H.W. Bush 1988	1.02
Richard Nixon 1960	0.32	George Wallace 1964-68	2.93	Al Gore 2000	0.99
Ronald Reagan 1980	0.31	John McCain 2008	2.87	Robert Dole 1996	0.96
George W. Bush 2000	0.31	Dwight Eisenhower 1952	2.82	George McGovern 1972	0.96
George W. Bush 2004	0.30	Richard Nixon 1968	2.81	George W. Bush 2000	0.91
George H.W. Bush 1992	0.28	John F. Kennedy 1960	2.75	Richard Nixon 1972	0.91
Barry Goldwater 1964	0.27	Al Gore 2000	2.72	Gerald Ford 1976	0.9
George McGovern 1972	0.26	Lyndon Johnson 1964	2.66	Barry Goldwater 1964	0.89
Gerald Ford 1976	0.25	Pat Buchanan 1992-96	2.64	Adlai Stevenson 1952	0.87
Richard Nixon 1972	0.24	Robert Dole 1996	2.48	George H.W. Bush 1992	0.86
Dwight Eisenhower 1956	0.24	Jimmy Carter 1980	2.45	Kamala Harris 2024	0.77
Adlai Stevenson 1956	0.21	Huey Long 1934-35	1.89	Dwight Eisenhower 1956	0.73
Kamala Harris 2024	0.19	Adlai Stevenson 1952	1.87	Adlai Stevenson 1956	0.68
Jimmy Carter 1976	0.08	W.J. Bryan 1896-1908	1.45	Jimmy Carter 1976	0.35

Note: historical populists in bold, Trump in italics. Speeches for candidates from election year. Means of they/we ratio for the 5 populists and for the main presidential candidates are .62 and .37, respectively; the difference is significant at $p < .001$ in a two-tailed test. The mean for Trump is .64, significantly different from that for the other presidential candidates at $p < .001$. Trump's ratio is not significantly different from that for the historical populists.

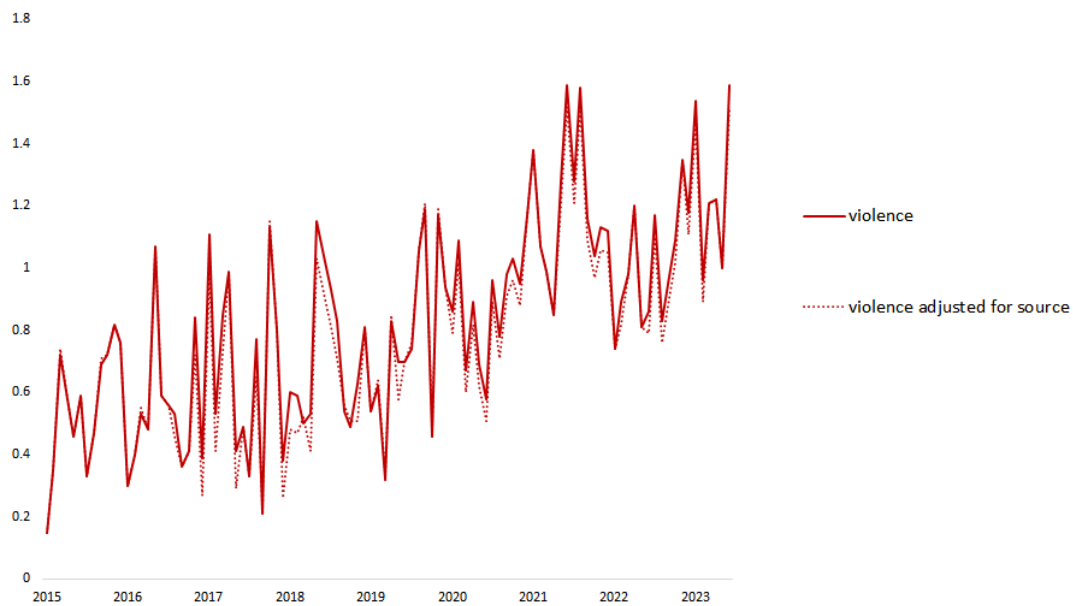
Sources: As in Table 1, plus Annenberg/Penn Archive.

Table A4. Average percentage of violent words, election year speeches

Candidate	violence	Violence excluding variants of “fight”	crime-specific	war-specific
Kerry 2004	1.46	1.28	0.06	0.44
Trump 2024	1.21	1.12	0.32	0.22
Bush Jr 2004	1.21	1.16	0.05	0.40
Harris 2024	1.03	0.47	0.06	0.01
Trump 2020	0.91	0.80	0.14	0.22
H. Clinton 2016	0.77	0.65	0.08	0.09
McCain 2008	0.73	0.56	0.04	0.27
Bush Sr 1992	0.60	0.48	0.08	0.14
Biden 2000	0.60	0.53	0.03	0.15
Trump 2016	0.58	0.51	0.06	0.14
B. Clinton 1996	0.51	0.45	0.19	0.04
Gore 2000	0.49	0.20	0.04	0.06
Obama 2008	0.46	0.37	0.01	0.18
Obama 2012	0.46	0.24	0.00	0.16
Bush Jr 2000	0.45	0.42	0.04	0.29
Biden 2024	0.44	0.41	0.06	0.08
B. Clinton 1992	0.40	0.37	0.09	0.10
Dole 1996	0.39	0.36	0.12	0.06
Romney 2012	0.28	0.25	0.00	0.10

Sources: See Table A1.

Figure A1. Frequency of violent words in Trump's speeches (% of words), with adjustment for source



Sources: See Table A1. Notes: solid line is frequency of violent words; dotted line adjusts by the average divergence of the source from CSPAN average

Figure A2. Validation of Guriev and Treisman (2019) Dictionary

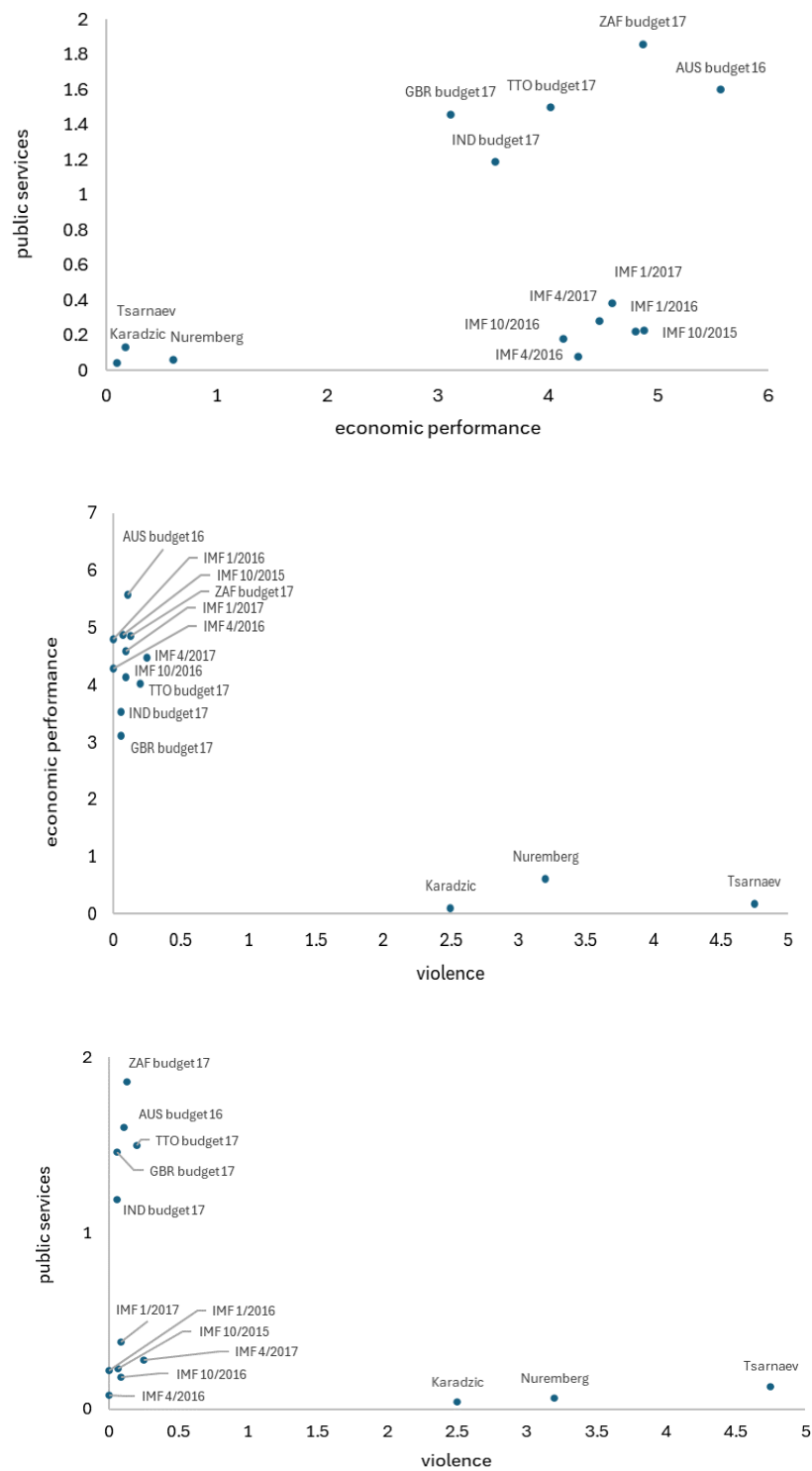
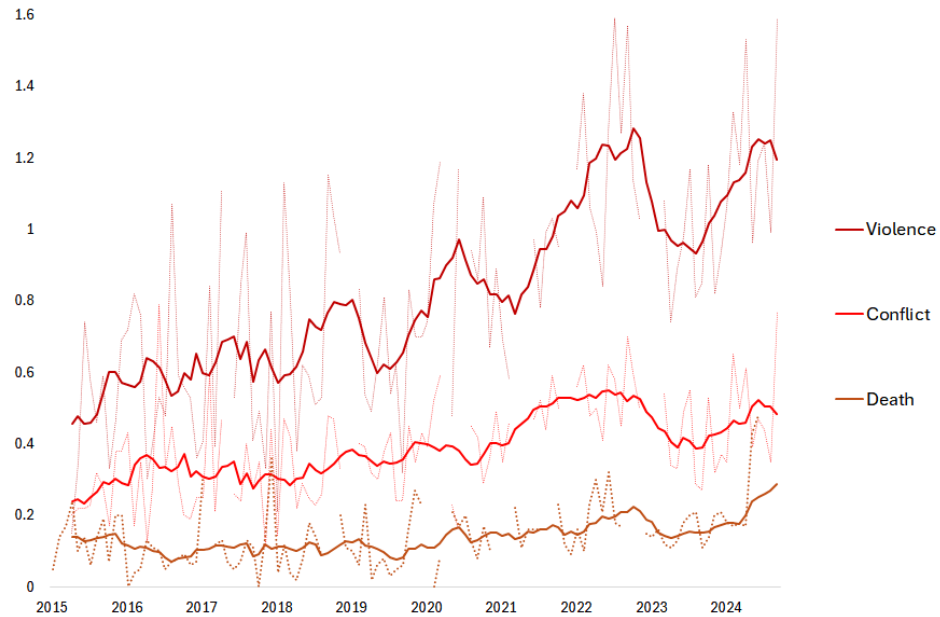
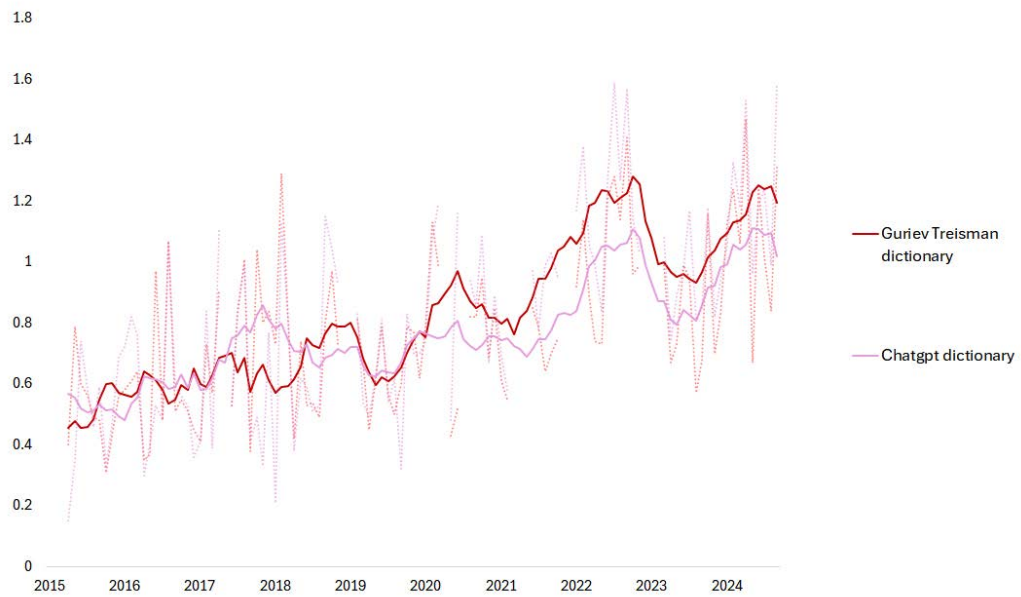


Figure A3. Violence, conflict, and death in Trump's speeches (% of words)



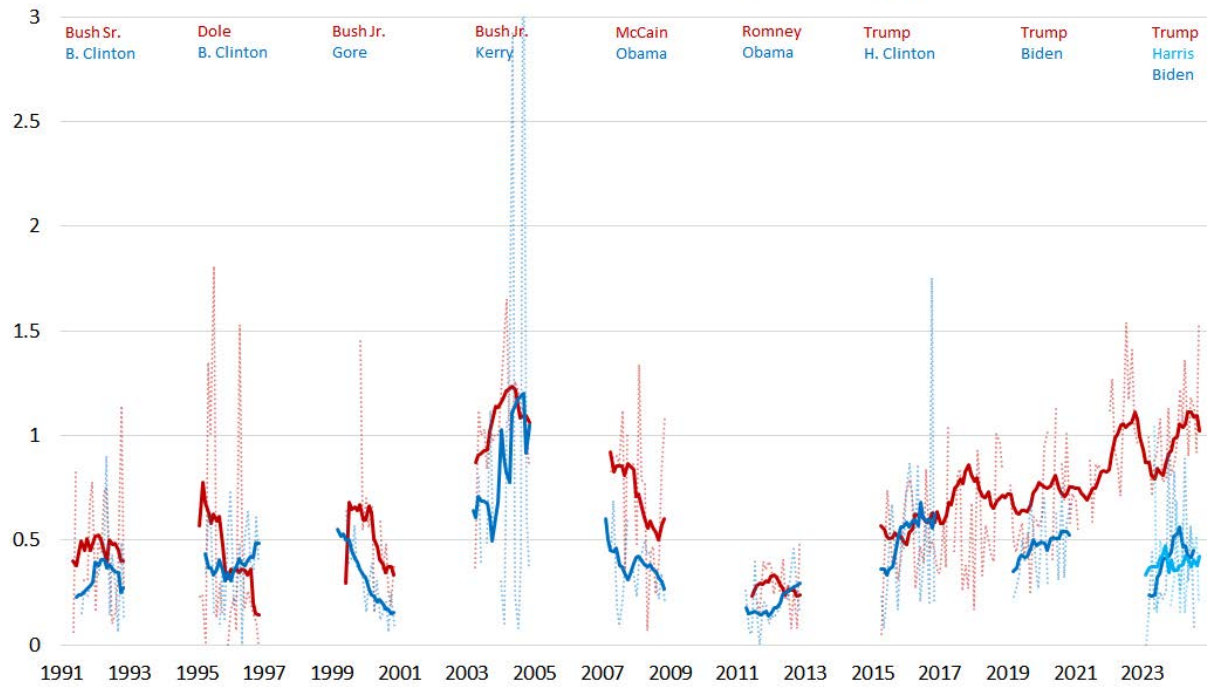
Sources: See Table A1. **Notes:** dotted lines are monthly values, solid lines are centered, 9-month moving averages. "Conflict" and "death" dictionaries are from Boyd et al. (2022), as in the program LIWC-22.

Figure A4. Violence in Trump's speeches (% of words), Guriev Treisman and ChatGPT dictionaries



Sources: See Table A1. **Notes:** dotted lines are monthly values, solid lines are centered, 9-month moving averages.

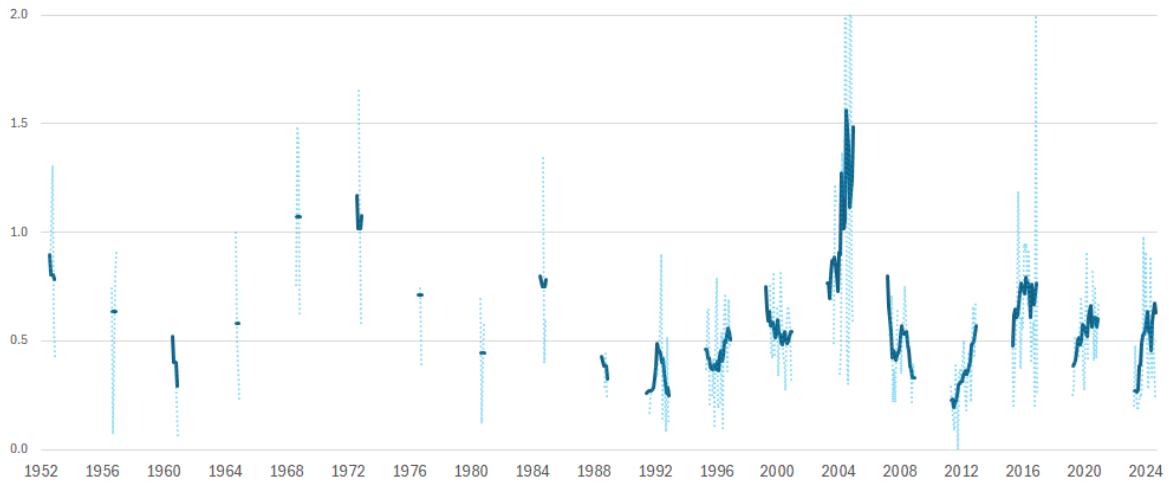
Figure A5. Violent vocabulary in the speeches of US presidential candidates, 1992-2024 (% of words violent, *excluding variants of "fight"*)



Sources: See Table A1.

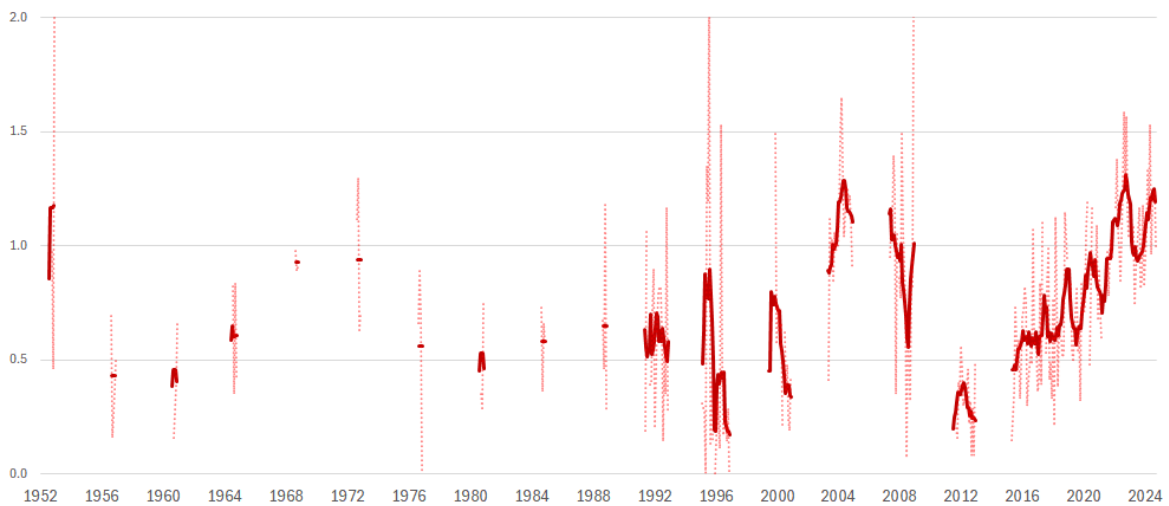
Notes: Dotted lines are monthly values, solid lines are centered, 9-month moving averages. Red: Republicans; Blue: Democrats.

Figure A6.a Violent vocabulary, Democratic candidates, 1952-2024
(% of words)



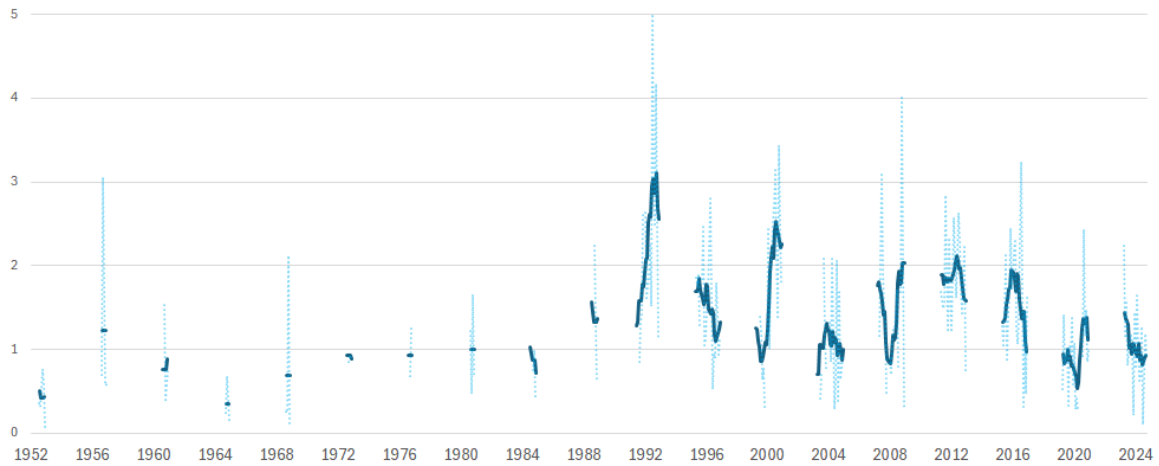
Note: monthly observations in dotted lines, solid line is 7-month centered moving average. Last speech in each month. Before 1992, only last 3-4 months available.
Sources: Annenberg-Pew Dataset, others as listed in Table A1.

Figure A6.b Violent vocabulary, Republican candidates, 1952-2024
(% of words)



Note: monthly observations in dotted lines, solid line is 7-month centered moving average. Last speech in each month. Before 1992, only last 3-4 months available.
Sources: Annenberg-Pew Dataset, others as listed in Table A1.

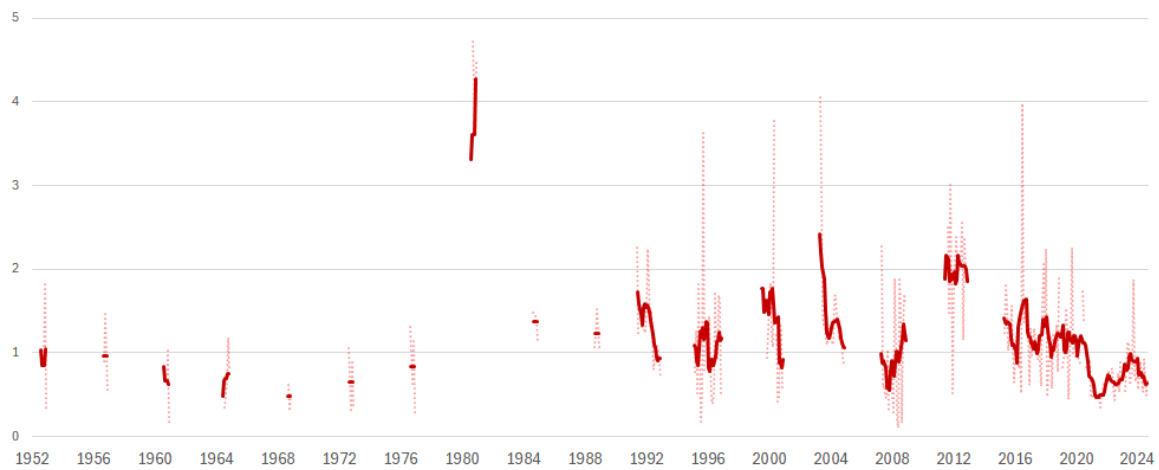
Figure A6.c Percentage of words about economic performance, Democratic candidates, 1952-2024



Note: monthly observations in dotted lines, solid line is 7-month centered moving average. Last speech in each month. Before 1992, only last 3-4 months available.

Sources: Annenberg-Pew Dataset, others as listed in Table A1.

Figure A6.d Percentage of words about economic performance, Republican candidates, 1952-2024



Note: monthly observations in dotted lines, solid line is 7-month centered moving average. Last speech in each month. Before 1992, only last 3-4 months available.

Sources: Annenberg-Pew Dataset, , others as listed in Table A1.

Figure A6.e Percentage of words about public service provision, Democratic candidates, 1952-2024

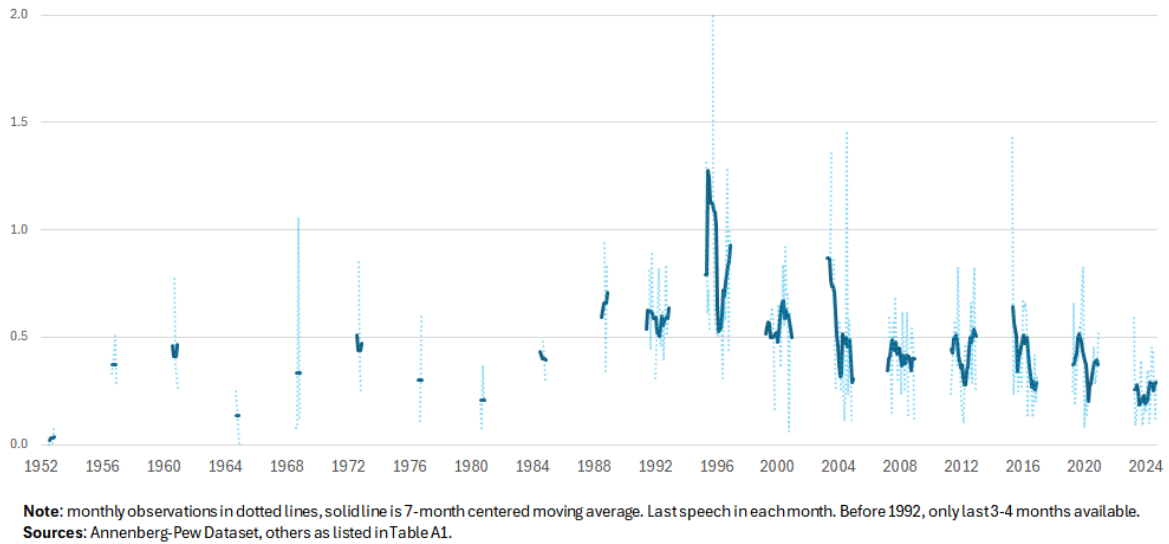


Figure A6.f Percentage of words about public service provision, Republican candidates, 1952-2024

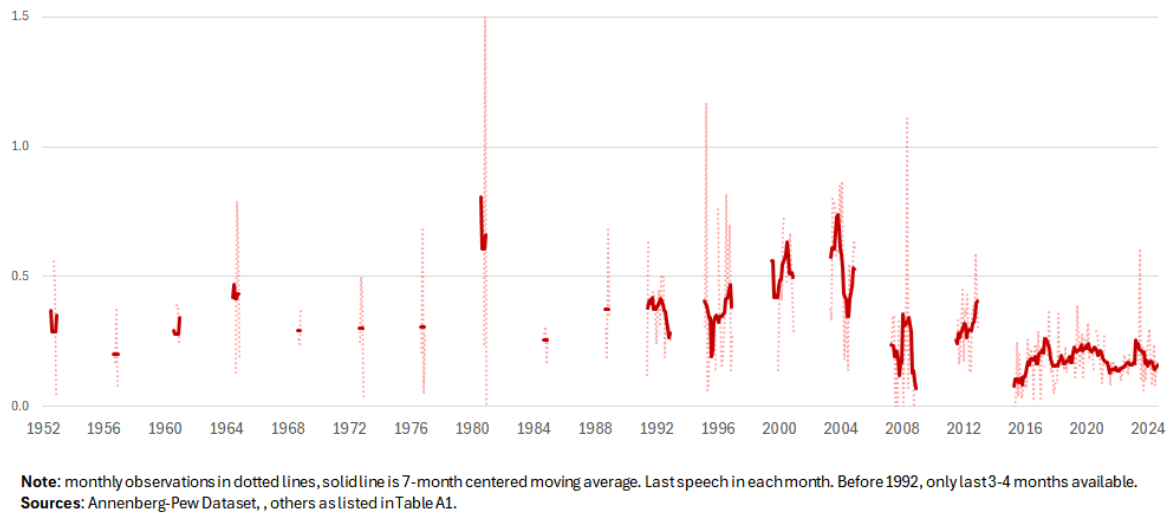


Figure A6.g Percentage of words about "the people", Democratic candidates, 1952-2024

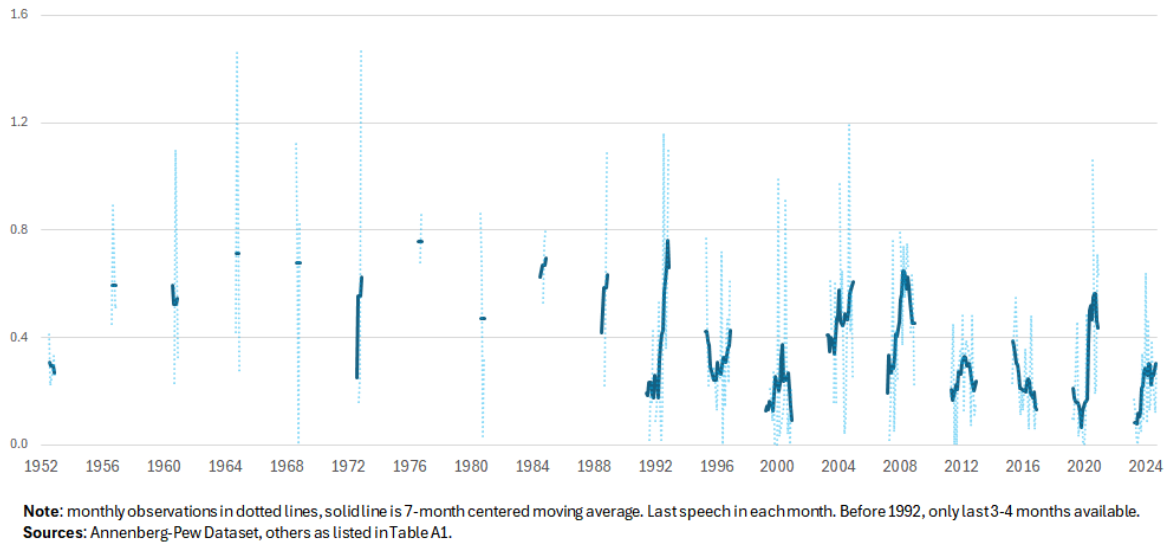


Figure A6.h Percentage of words about "the people", Republican candidates, 1952-2024

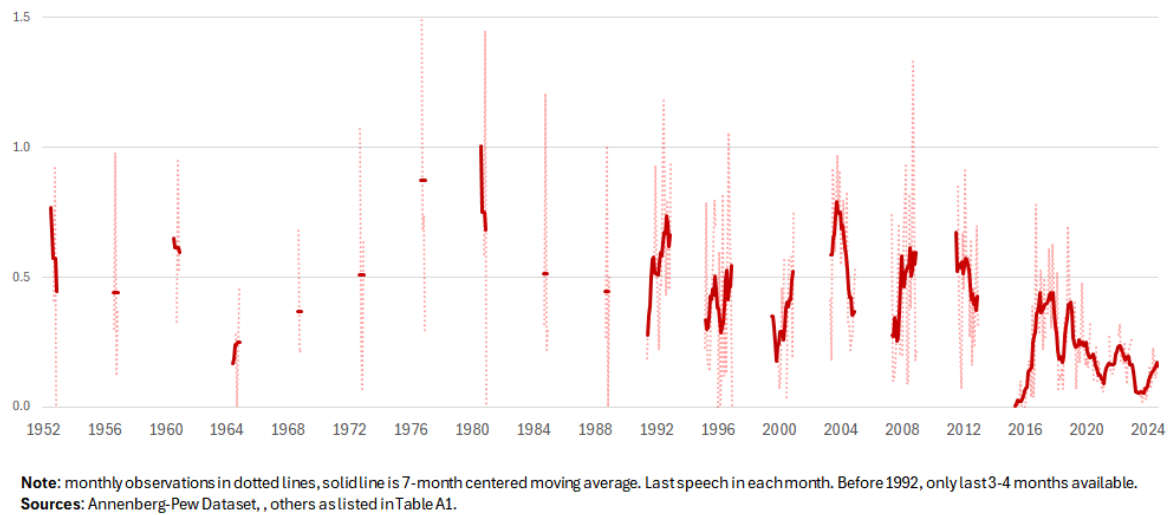


Figure A6.i Percentage of words about elites, Democratic candidates, 1952-2024

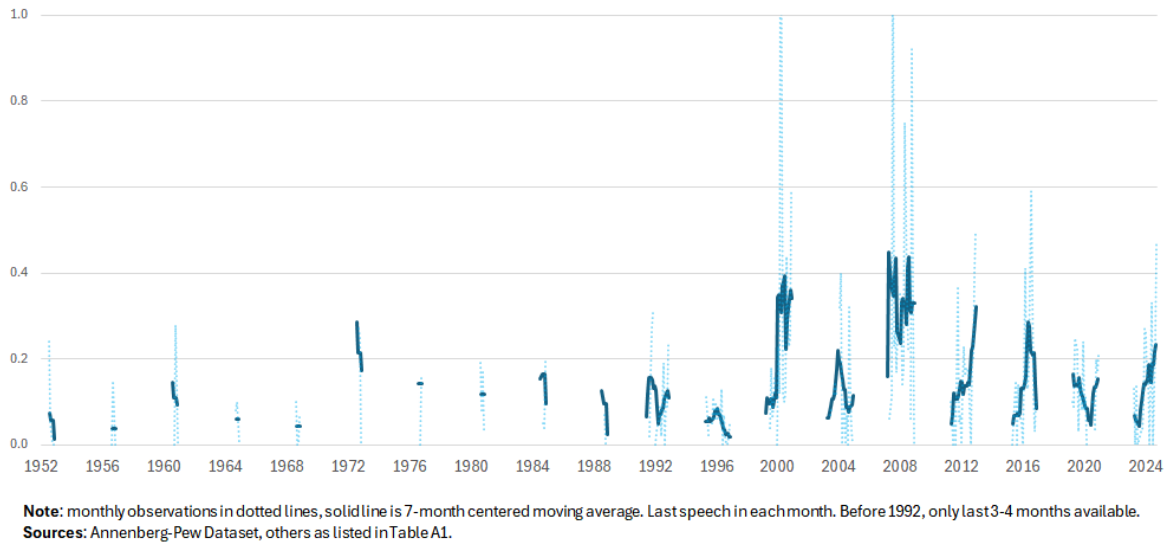


Figure A6.j Percentage of words about elites, Republican candidates, 1952-2024

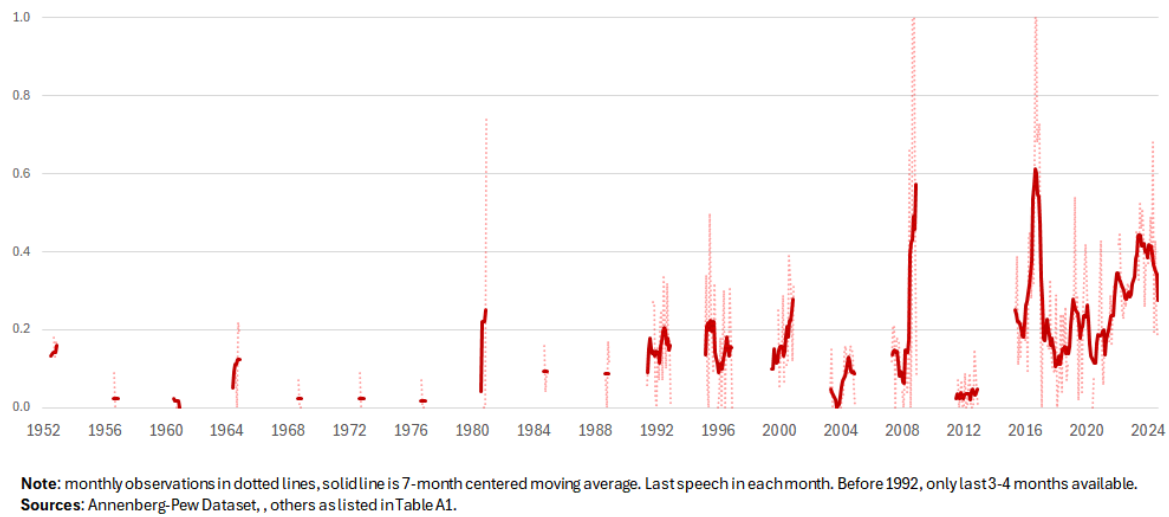


Figure A6.k Percentage of we-words, Democratic candidates, 1952-2024

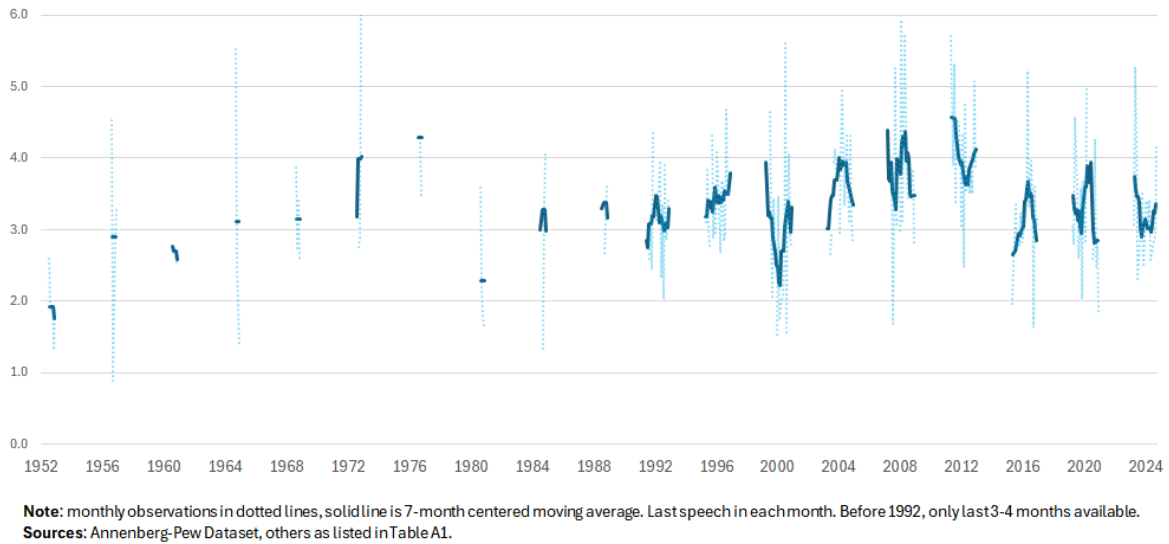


Figure A6.l Percentage of we-words, Republican candidates, 1952-2024

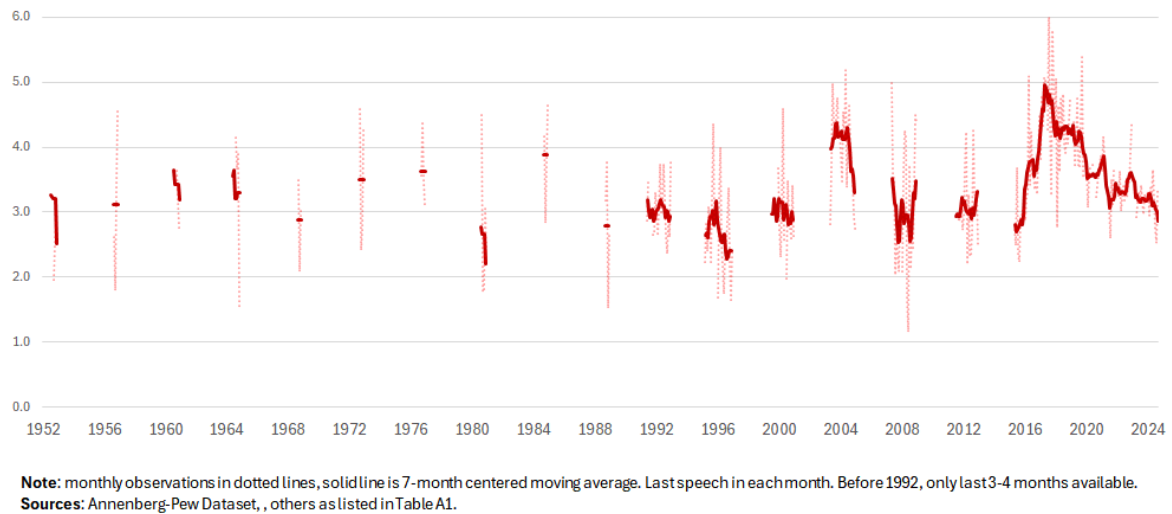


Figure A6.m Percentage of they-words, Democratic candidates, 1952-2024

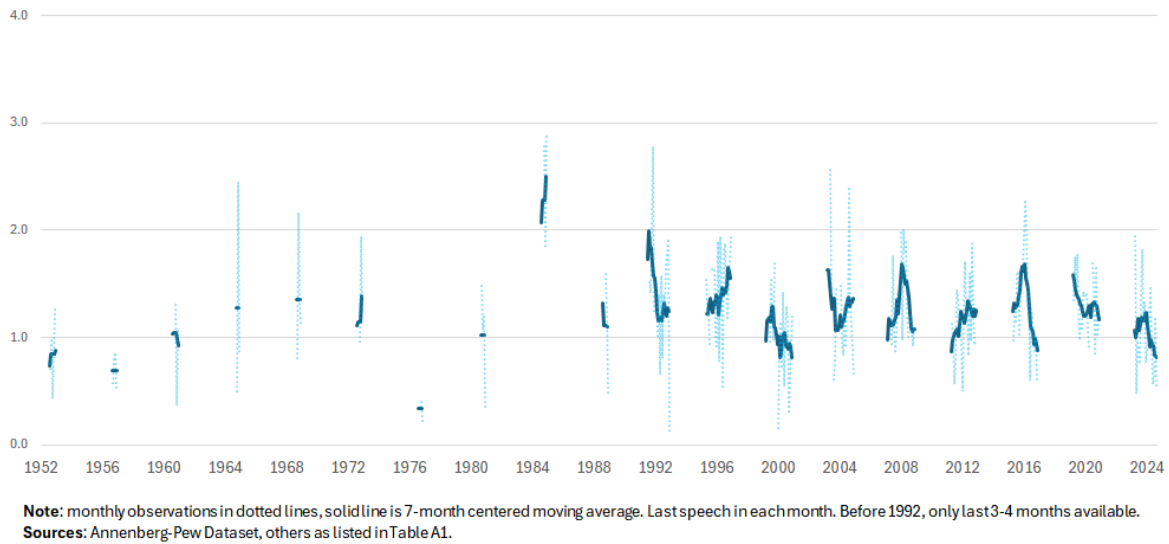


Figure A6.n Percentage of they-words, Republican candidates, 1952-2024

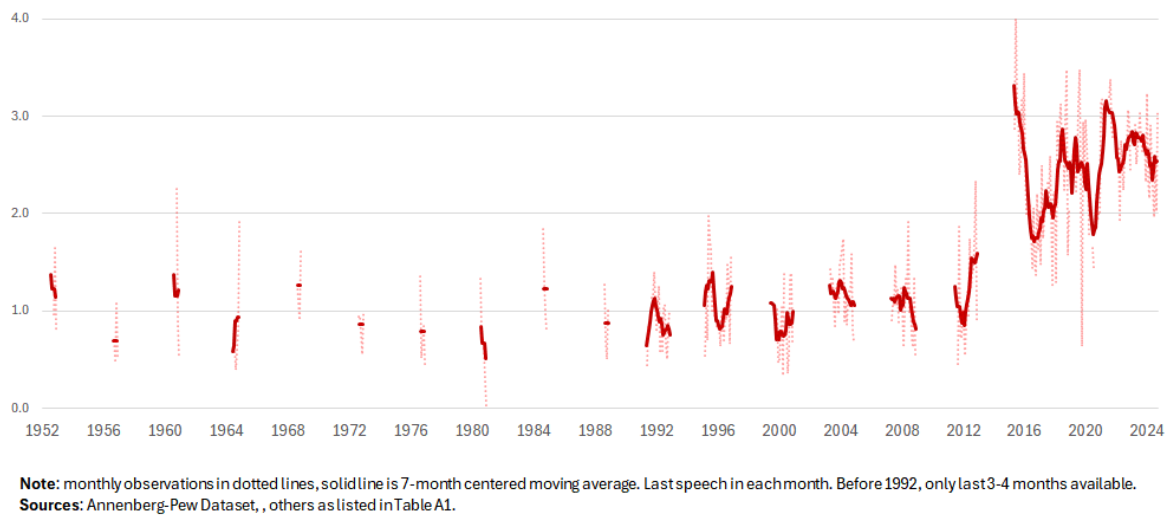


Figure A6.o Ratio of they-words to we-words, Democratic candidates, 1952-2024

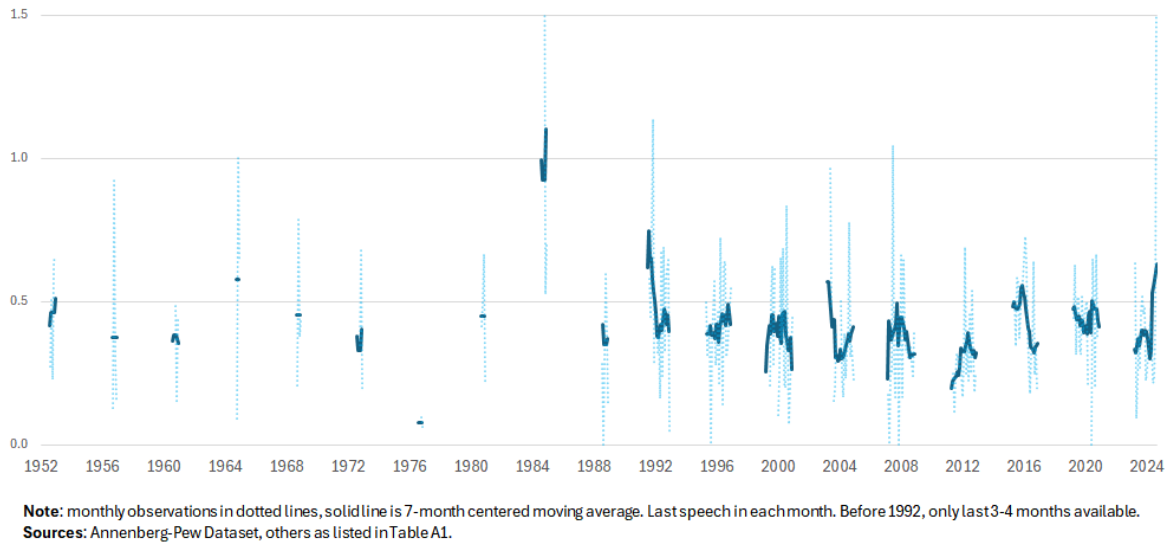


Figure A6.p Ratio of they-words to we-words, Republican candidates, 1952-2024

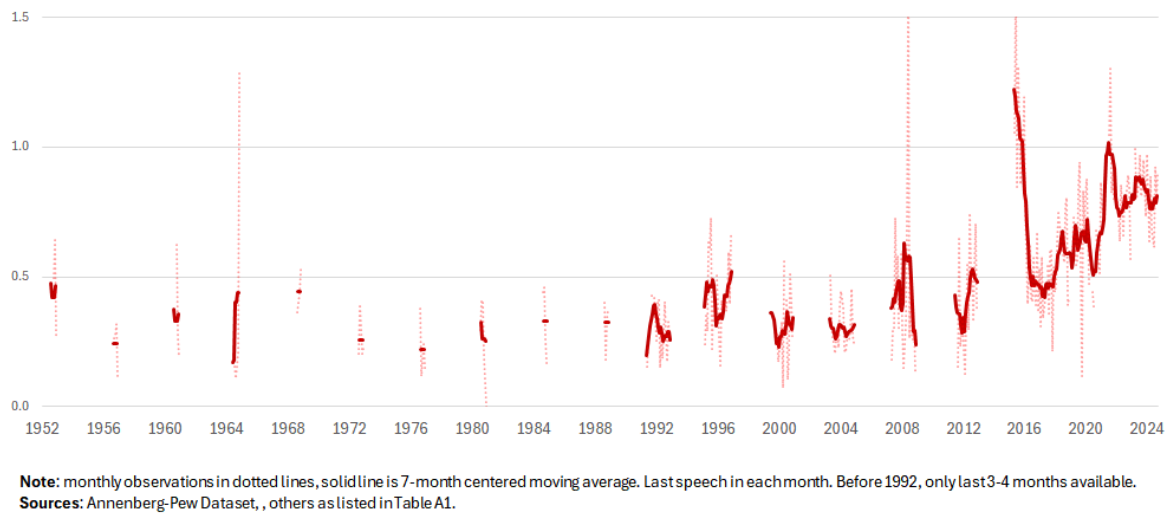


Figure A6. Swearing, Democratic candidates, 1952-2024

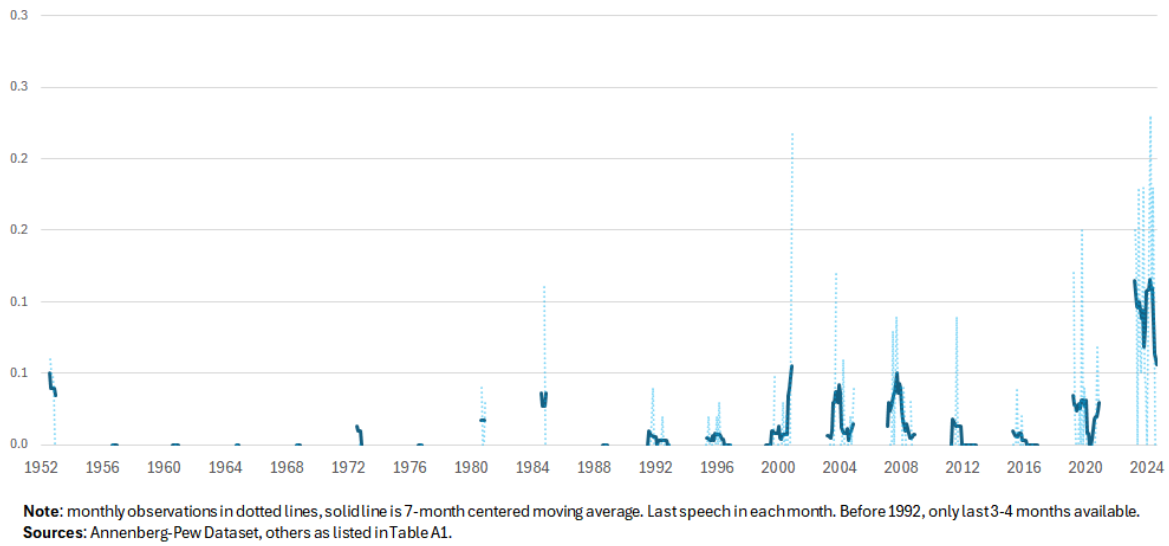


Figure A6.r Swearing, Republican candidates, 1952-2024

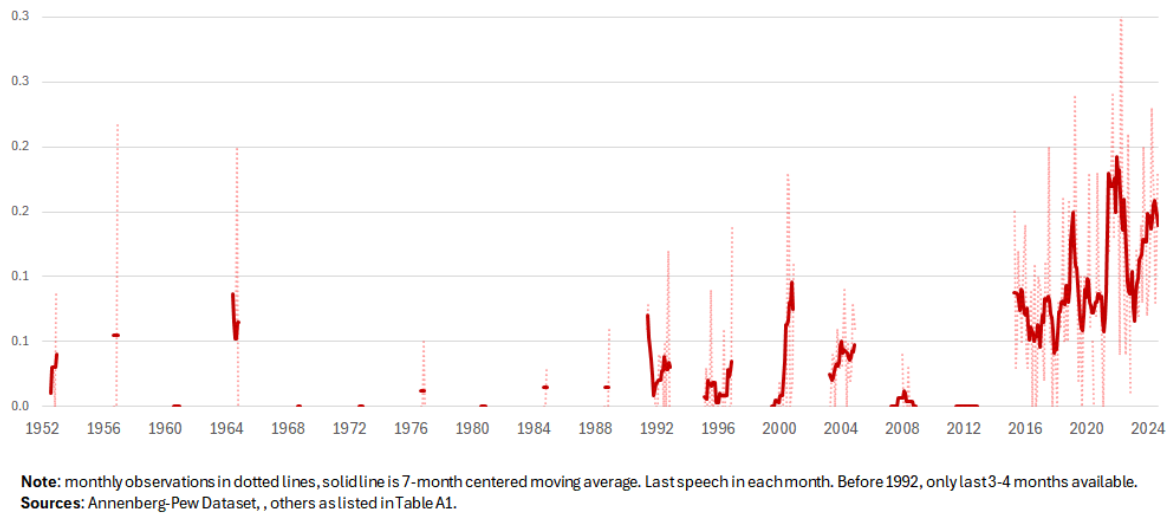


Figure A7. Trump's evolving diction

Figure A7.a Trump's references to elites (% of words)

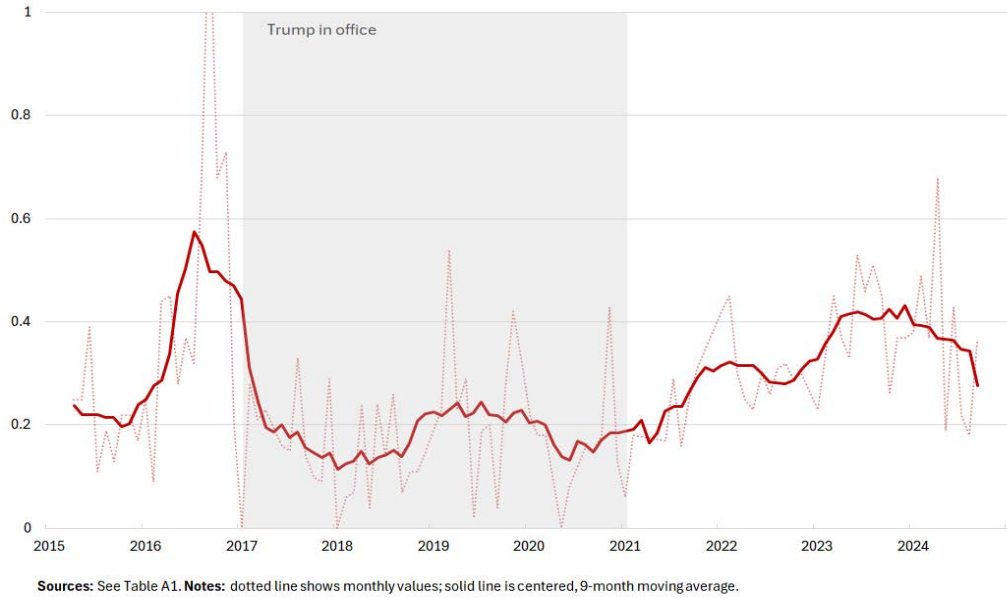


Figure A7.b Trump's references to "the people of," "the American people," "Americans," or "patriots" (% of words)

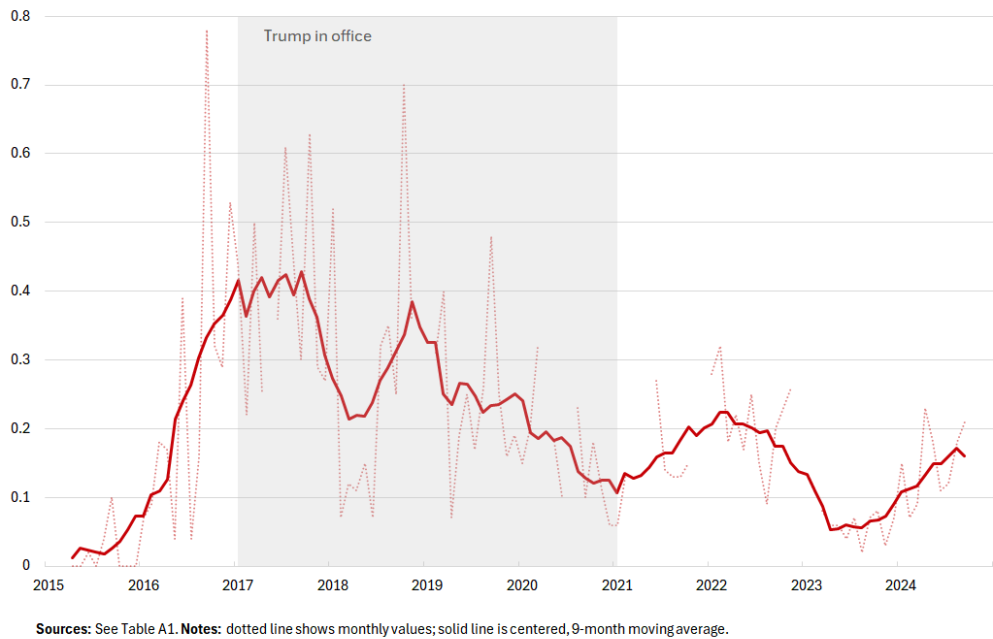


Figure A7.c Trump's uses of "we," "us," "our" (% of words)

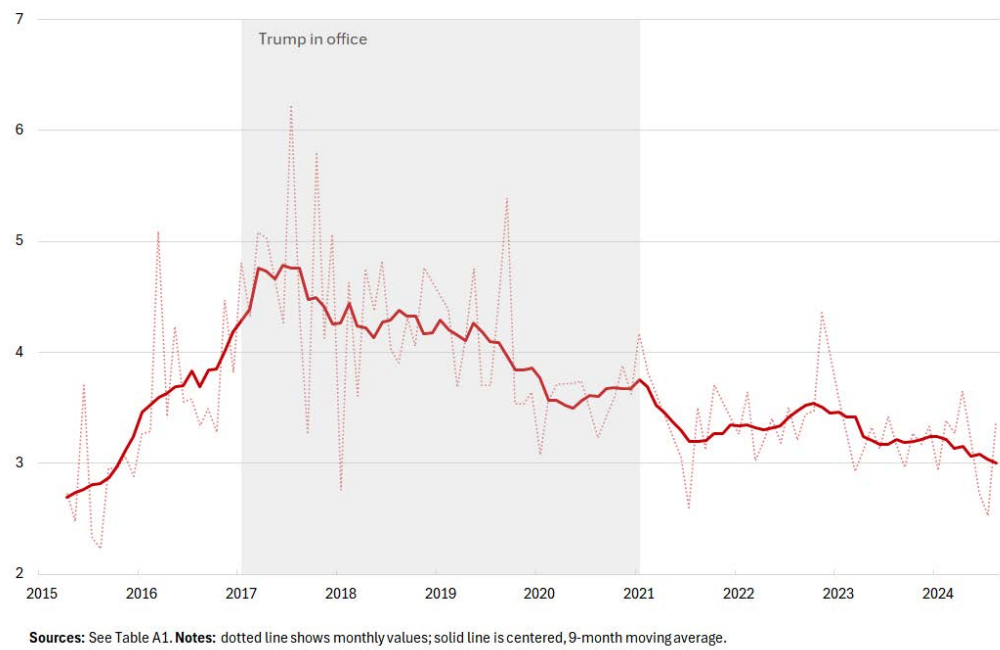


Figure A7.d Trump's uses of "they," "them," "their" (% of words)

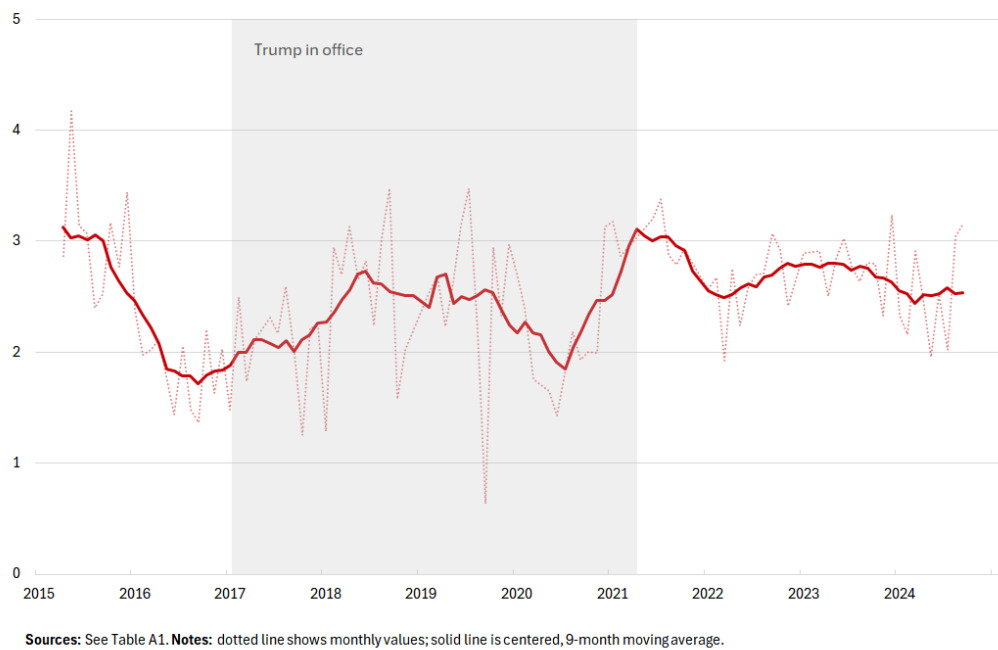


Figure A7.e Trump's mentions of public service provision (% of words)

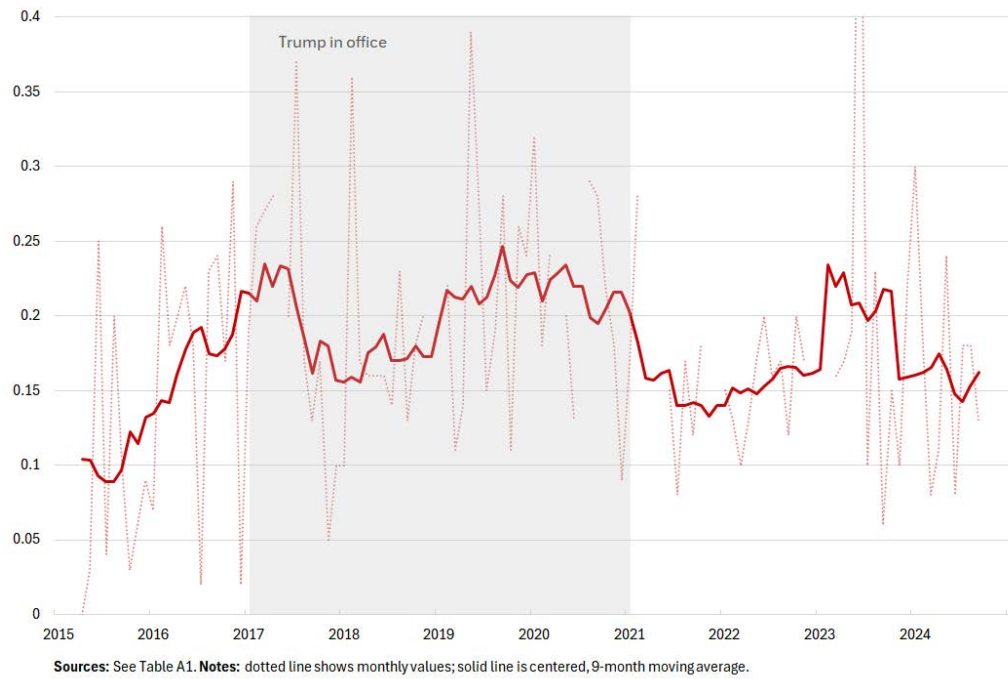


Figure A7.f Trump's use of swear words (% of words)

