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Control, Communication, and the Voice of the Leader. A Control-Character Analysis of the 2016 US Presidential Debate

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Abstract In the current research, we showed the strongest parts and the clouds of the speeches of the 2016 presidential candidates Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. A communication control analysis of this type could reveal the role control-characters play in assessing the performance of the actors of political communication. We also concluded that people want to be controlled in an easy but still total way. To make people think that there is a man who is able to do this: it was Donald Trump's greatest asset. He was able to utter up to 37% more assertions than his opponent, clearly stressed the boundaries between 'Us' and 'They', and showed greater integrative complexity and objective control. As the result of our peculiar and detailed linguistic analyses, control direction and thematic role tests show that Trump was a man of 'know', 'say' and 'take', while Clinton was full of 'think' and 'want.'

Keywords campaign communication, USA presidential debate, content analysis, political communication, control and communication

Introduction

The role of control in social and behavior studies: an interdisciplinary approach

"Social control includes all of the practices by which people define and respond to deviant behavior" – says Donald Black in his *Toward a General Theory of Social Control* (Black, 1984, p. xi). The authors of the aforementioned work, in spite of the fact that most of them are experts of criminal justice or criminology, say that social control has not always been the research field of law: philosophy, anthropology, social sciences, and even mythology and theology have addressed the question of controlling people's behavior and guiding it in the right direction. But most authors seemingly state that social control is something against crime, deviant, unseemly or incorrect behavior. So, for the sake of a peaceful life, people need to be controlled by political power and communication (Castells, 2011). Historically, there are many occurrences of the problem of control as early as Pre-Socratic philosophy, or even the Homeric Myths, where legions of gods control the lives of the Greeks. But it was Heraclitus who first emphasized the importance of control in a given society. He was also the one who created the concept of *Logos*, a genuine controller of the world (Kahn, 1979), of society, of the individual (Johnstone, 2014) and also of particular things. Without *Logos*, the world

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would fall apart: so the universe must be controlled, it is not autonomous in the narrow sense of the word. But it was admittedly Plato who stressed the importance of control in the life of the individual, and he also emphasized that, in an ideal society, social order or social control are the most important things. As we could read, for example, in Plato's *Laches*, the main source of control is education, or pedagogy, and it can be accomplished by exercises, reward, and punishment (Allen, 1996). He also states that we only need control when we are not quite good in something that we want to do. This is a typical learning situation, where the teacher controls the behavior of the students, or the parents control their children, and so on. This clearly shows that, for Plato, control is desirable mainly in hierarchical situations. In his *The Republic* (Bloom, 1991), Plato stressed his most famous ideas on control and hierarchy. Here he states that the structure of the human soul could, and should be correlated with the structure of the ideal state. In the case of the individual, his appetite must be controlled by his courage, and his courage must be controlled by his reason, so the human soul has three hierarchical parts. Similarly, the state has three layers or parts, where workers must be controlled by soldiers and soldiers must be controlled by the king, or by the caste of philosophers. Interestingly enough, maybe no philosopher (with the possible exception of anarchists) ever questioned the role of control in societies since the time of Plato, although there are considerable differences as to what exactly is the nature of this control. As for the human soul, or more recently, the human mind, as early as the first rationalist psychologists thought (Parkinson, 2005; Vendler, 1971) that the rational part of the human soul must control the other parts (the beastly instincts and desires). Actually, their opinion is quite popular nowadays thanks to cognitive therapies. However, we must not forget the analytical school, which states that mainly unconscious desires control us and our seemingly rational behavior (Williams et al., 2012).

The concept of control in psychology

Unlike sociology, psychology is much more interested in self-control, but its evaluation changes over time, and there are serious differences between the perspectives of scientific communities. For example, psychoanalytical experts and therapists suggest that excessive self-control could lead to serious mental symptoms so patients should also learn how not to control themselves. Of course, a psychoanalyst could control the mind of the patient, especially in the case of dynamic psychotherapy. However, sometimes even a psychoanalyst needs to be controlled: that's why he or she must go to supervisions, or, in other words, to control cases (Mijolla, 2005). On the other hand, cognitive and behavior therapies rely on the presupposition that an effective self-control would produce adaptive behavior and cognition (Piquero et al., 2016), which could overwrite the patient's harmful old habits and ways of thinking. Interdisciplinary research shows that individual, personal self-control could cause social and even cortical changes (Hassin, Ran R. et al., 2010). Of course, the practice of self-control is a very old method for both spiritual progress and psychotherapy (Rachlin, 2004). But the theory and practice of the recently very fashionable mindfulness therapy is the field where the role of self-control is the most significant. Here the method is based on the conscious presence of the patient and it calls for a continuous but moderated self-control (Bowlin and Baer, 2012). This latter is also known as pro-active self-control, as contrasted with reactive or automatic self-control. In neuroscience, the concept of control is generally described as a "process of acting on a system to cause it to behave in some desirable fashion" (Binder et al., 2009, 880-881) When neuroscientists talk about 'control,' they often refer to a system with at least four components. First, it would contain the controlled physical system itself; we should call it the controlled compartment. Second, every control system should have

some sensors that measure the behavior of the controlled part(s). The other two parts of the control system, namely, the actuators and the algorithms, could be called the controllers of the system. Algorithms are the cognitive (or mental, intellectual) agents of the control, while actuators are the executors. For example, in the case of a human agent (where his body could be conceived as a physical system), we have our ears and eyes as sensors, actuators would be the hands, and, of course, the brain serves as the source of algorithms, which are often called control laws.

Control as regulation, automatization, and programming

Of course, within this paper we could not deal with the role of control and related concepts throughout all of the history of philosophy and psychology; we just tried to show that the idea of control was, and it is still, one of our most basic concepts when we try to understand and explain the nature of our behavior and our social mechanisms. It is important to see the very close interrelation between the concept of control and automation in the relevant literature. As an example, we could cite the Control Theory entry from the MIT Encyclopedia of the Cognitive Sciences, which clearly states that "The modern development of *automatic control* evolved from the regulation of tracking telescopes, steam engine control using fly-ball governors, the regulation of water turbines, and the stabilization of the steering mechanisms of ships" (Wilson and Keil 1999, p. 199, my emphasis). And later, the author adds, "The simplest and most frequently studied problem in automatic control is the regulation problem" (Wilson and Keil 1999, p. 200). In all the above-mentioned cases, control simply means automatization. For example, a typical regularization control consists of a problem where the level of a given variable must be held *automatically* by a regulator or controller. As a contemporary philosophical dictionary suggests, the prototype of any control studies, namely, cybernetics, was conceived as the science of regulation and self-regulation from the beginning, since the term 'cybernetics' had been "introduced by Norbert Wiener in 1947 for the study of communication and the manipulation of information in self-regulating systems and control systems, both in machines and in living organisms" (Bunnin and Yu, 2004, p. 156). It is true, since we could read on the pages of Cybernetics, that "We have decided to call the entire field of control and communication theory, whether in the machine or in the animal, by the name Cybernetics" (Wiener, 1949, p. 11). In a later writing, Wiener also emphasizes the important role of automatization in control studies:

> "Besides the electrical engineering theory of the transmission of messages, there is a larger field which includes not only the study of language but the study of messages as a means of controlling machinery and society, the development of computing machines and other such automata, certain reflections upon psychology and the nervous system, and a tentative new theory of scientific method." (Wiener 1989, p. 15).

But the fact that, for Wiener, control and cybernetics mean automatization or automatic communication, could also been discovered by the chapter "The History of Cybernetics" in which we rather get to know the history of machines, instead. It is not a surprise then that control studies from the time of Norbert Wiener have become the science of computation, automatic communication, and programming.

Take again the practice of cognitive psychology, but now from a wider philosophical point of view. As it is well known, one of the most useful exercises in cognitive psychotherapy is when the patient is asked to examine his or her automatic thoughts. As research suggest, negative automatic thoughts could affect not just maladaptive ways of

thinking, risky behavior (Choon, 2015) but also serious mental diseases as depression (Hjemdal, 2013), anxiety (Pirbaglou et al., 2013), addiction or even adult ADHD (Mitchell et al 2013). If the patient wants to overcome his symptoms, he must learn how to use self-control over automatic associations and thoughts (Gonsarkolare et al., 2010). Automatic thoughts represent the automatization of the self, or, phrased in everyday language, the automatization of the human being itself. Most of our physiological processes are automatic in a sense that they are not subject to conscious control. But, at least this is what we think, we could control our behavior, our thoughts, and, most importantly, we could also control our communication. Now cognitive psychology – among others – clearly shows that this is far from being true.

Since its beginning, cognitive therapies state that automatic thoughts are maladaptive or irrational thinking patterns, which cause inappropriate behavior. These patterns are often called cognitive distortions, and to eliminate them by conscious control is one of the main aims of cognitive therapy. During the so-called cognitive restructuring (Morrison et al., 2015), the patient must validate his automatic thoughts, feelings, and even behavior (Strickland, 2001; Rnic et al., 2016), and then he can change them in the right direction. Here involvement and control of the self are very important because the therapy will not be successful with patients who do not want to take an active role during their treatment process.

Communicative approach even points out those automatic thoughts could be conceived as unconscious self-talk or self-statements. Some authors make distinctions between automatic thoughts and voluntary thoughts; the latter are conscious and decision-like entities while the former are unconscious, non-accessible, and very powerful schemata. “Automatic thoughts are considered to be unconscious or lying below the surface of immediate conscious awareness. They are spontaneous self-statements, stemming from core beliefs out of conscious awareness.” (Craighead - Nemeroff, 2004, p. 95)

While in standard cognitive behavior therapies control usually means our ability to manage our cognition against automatic thoughts, in the case of the so-called cognitive control therapies we have a more detailed analysis of control itself. A normal cognitive control therapy includes computer-aided exercises by which our controlling abilities can be improved, and as a result, many mental disorders, including major depression, could be successfully treated (Brunoni et al., 2014, Segrave et al., 2014). In control therapies, we have “three basic postulates: (1) All individuals want a sense of control in their lives; (2) there are healthy and unhealthy ways by which they attempt to gain or regain that sense of control; and (3) there are individual differences in control profiles of individuals and in how they face this central issue of maintaining a healthy sense of control in their lives.” (Craighead and Nemeroff, 2004, p. 223). When, as a pre-intervention method, specialists draw the profile of the patient, they are interested in four things: (1) where the client wants control and why he or she wants it, (2) the patient’s actual sense of control, (3) the modes by which the client seeks control and (4) the use of both self and other agencies in gaining control (Craighead - Nemeroff, 2004, p.223).

It is noteworthy that, not just in philosophy, but also in psychology, there are fundamental differences between the western and the eastern perspectives on control.In the west, control is basically positive, and the traditional view argues that instrumental control is good and that the more control, the better. Normal control is “defined as gaining control (which even includes an illusion of control) and is equated with mental health.” (Craighead and Nemeroff 2004, p.224). In contrast,

> “the yielding, accepting mode, which has historically been emphasized by non-Western philosophical and psychological traditions, helps clients learn the value of surrendering, accepting, and letting go with serenity (i.e., without feelings of helplessness or

> resignation) of those aspects of their lives that are not under personal control, or of inappropriate active control efforts." (Craighead and Nemeroff, 2004, p. 223).

So we can see that control is not necessarily good or bad in itself, but it depends on our environment. An optimal level of control could be reached by (1) maintaining our current level of control (2) increasing our control or (3) decreasing it.

Control in linguistic analysis

In linguistic studies, more precisely, in generative grammar (Chomsky, 1956; Landau, 2013), control is conceived as a predicate that assigns a thematic role to the controller (Brown, 2006). In cognitive linguistics, there are many thematic roles. Evans (2006) specifies nine of them: agent, patient, theme, experiencer, beneficiary, instrument, place, aim, and source. But it could be simplified to two main proto-roles, namely agent and patient. As the prototype-theory (Dworty, 1991) suggests, all other thematic roles could be rated to one of the main categories. For example, all roles in the 'agent' proto-role could be classified with the following properties 1) conscious participation in a given event 2) perception or detection 3) causes events or makes change in the state of an another participator 4) dynamical 5) independent in his/her/its act. Other authors use different terms for agent (see for example Davis, 2004 or Foley and Van Valin, 1984) but their 'actor' is quite the same as Dworty's agent. Now we can state that a controller, as a thematic role, could be conceived as the agent of a given situation. While thematic roles (including controllers) are related to the arguments of a given sentence, the control-predicates are related to the verbs. Basically, we have two types of control, and thus we have two sets of control-verbs. In the case of the object-control verbs (like persuade, encourage, recommend, appeal, force, plead, order, urge, dissuade), the subject of the sentence controls the behavior of another participant while subject-control terms (try, condescend, promise, decide, plan, agree, hope, prefer, wonder, refrain) refer to an agent who controls his/her/its own behavior (Landau, 2013, p. 10).

The formal description of a control statement is, then ((CV')(cv')(AC)(PC)) where CV' is the control-verb of the sentence, cv' is the controlled verb, AC is the agent of the sentence (the controller), and PC is the patient (the controlled). In the case of object-control (1), AC and PC should be different entities, but in the case of subject-control (2), the controller and controlled is one and the same.

(1) Elsa commanded Anna to go (command')(to go')(Elsa)(Anna)
(2) Elsa will try to do her best (try')(to do sg')(Elsa)(Elsa)

Control in political communication

Communication is obviously the most powerful tool for controlling the behavior and thinking of other people. In spite of the fact that this had been emphasized as early as Wiener's Cybernetics or Control and Communication in the Machine and in the Animal (1948), control studies somehow underestimate the importance of communication. The same is also true in social sciences where, at least from the writings of Georg Simmel, the exercise of power among people was the central issue. It is noteworthy that both power-related issues and control-related issues were always in connection with communication issues, but the emphasis was rarely on communication itself. The main areas where communication frequently appeared as means of control are in children-teacher relations (Richmond and McCroske, 2009) or consultant-children relations (Erchul, 1987). The term 'control' has also been

defined as ‘interpersonal power’ that regularizes hierarchical relations. For example, one could be *dominating*, when he or she wants to control the relationship, or he or she could be the *recipient*, when he or she accepts the relation that the other person offers, and, finally, one could be *nondemanding*, when he or she seeks to neutralize relational control.

Another frequently investigated topic is the complexity of the speech of political leaders, which is conceived as one of the most important factors of cognitive style. There are two main types of complexity here: the first is the so-called integrative complexity that presupposes the respect of alternative views of the opponents, and the second is cognitive complexity, which means that the speaker has alternative views in his or her own mind (Tetlock and Tyler, 1996). Regarding their relation with contact issues, we could say that while cognitive complexity is related to subjective control, integrative complexity is related to objective control. There is also a distinction between emotional and cognitive control, which could be analyzed by the type of the control-verbs in a given corpus. Many scholars, including Kinder (1994) suggested that former research on political analysis had underestimated the importance of emotions in political life. However, current research clearly emphasizes the role of emotion in political campaign communication (Huddy et al., 2015; Hoggett, 2016; Powell and Cowart, 2013), which is often called “passionate reason” (Huddy, 2012). While our current analysis is much more linguistic than psychological, we should also mention those well-known authors who investigated campaign communication and the behavior of both the political leaders and their voters form a political psychological point of view (Caprara and Zimbardo 2004, Laustsen and Petersen 2016).

The role of communication control in presidential debates

The most important part of political communication in the US is obviously the campaign for presidency (Schroeder, 2000; Jamieson and Birdsell, 1988). Since the era of mass communication, the most effective and spectacular events of the presidential campaign are the presidential debates between the leading candidates. It is even truer today when the television performance can be seen over and over again on various video sharing websites (Benoit et al., 2016). We have a widely accepted proposition in the literature that states that there is a significant discrepancy between the rationality of the candidates and the irrationality of the voters (Miller and Shanks, 1996; Wittman, 1983). In other words, while politicians are professionals, voters are amateurs (Simon, 2004). But as we can see from the results of the recent presidential debates between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, an unprofessional candidate with unprofessional style could win against a professional politician. Voters are not really interested in technical or biographical issues: instead of this, they are looking for a leader who can provide strong leadership, but also must display integrity and an empathic understanding of them the voter (Trenaman and McQuail, 1961). It seems we should look for other aspects of political communication besides professionality and competence. Maybe a more recent work by Kitchens and Powell (2015) would help us in understanding what people expect for an ideal candidate. In The Four Pillars of Politics, the authors state that there are some basic factors in political communication with which voters could be successfully controlled. The authors apply Festinger’s theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) to the voters to explain their behavior as a reaction to a candidate’s messages. Moreover, their Four Pillar Model could be conceived as a specialization of the Social Judgement Theory (Hovland and Sherif, 1961, 1980) since the former applies the latter directly on the American society. According to the Four Pillar Model, there are four basic foci, namely fear, narcissism, consumerism, and religiosity. The authors argue that Americans view the communication of the candidates through a filter of these four categories, which means that, in order to win the

debates, candidates should show their capacities to control fear, narcissism, consumerism, and religiosity (see also Stecker, 2011). In short, they must be ready to control the average American psyche, which contains both thoughts and emotions. While political rationalists tend to overemphasize the role of thoughts in decision-making, other theorists warn that emotions might play a more important part (Hoggett and Thompson, 2012; Bennett, 2001).

Presidential debates are the most important media events in the political communication of the United States since the 1960s. These so-called "High Holidays of Mass Communication" (Dayan and Katz, 1992) or "epitomes of the election campaign" (Blais and Perella, 2008) embody everything we expect from an epic contest: we have heroes, noble ideas, conquest and fall. The winner takes it all – and this is why "debate winners are often the election winners" (Castells, 2011, 234). As Benoit suggests in his *Functional Theory* (Benoit, 2007; Benoit, Glantz, and Rill, 2016; Hanson and Benoit, 2010), there are three types of messages with which candidates should operate: acclaims, attacks, and defenses. This author also points out that empirical research shows that acclaims are more preferable to attacks, and defenses are the least effective in campaign communication.

Research question

But why should we examine the role of control in political communication? The answer is that, while most people wish to control their own lives, they also wanted to be controlled by their leaders (Simon, 2004, Laustsen and Petersen 2015). Voters want to live in a country where everything is under appropriate control in the sense of being able to handle every situation without foreign, outer assistance. In order to draw a picture of the control-character of a given candidate, we should analyze his or her communication content in regard to his or her 1) level of control 2) control terms 3) domination style and 4) control performance. The level of control (the amount of the person's need for being the controller of the debate) can be analyzed through the modes the candidate seeks control and by the use of both self and other agencies in gaining and maintaining control. It will also show the optimal level of control for a given communicator. The analysis of the control terms provides deeper insight into the control-character of the candidate and it will tell us which kind of semantic field is used by the nominee. The domination style contains the main aspects of control as regards thematic roles like demanding controller, the controlled recipient, and the nondemanding participator. Finally, the control performance of a candidate shows his or her cognitive and integrative complexity and semantic elegance.

Now we can hypothesize that a candidate should show the appropriate control-character to appear as someone who can handle the fate of the biggest collective agent, namely, the nation. Differences between the apparent control-character of the candidates could induce differences in the way the voters judge the candidates' abilities to lead the country. As it has been formerly mentioned, people like to think that they control their lives, and if the nation is a collective agent, its members also like to think that the leader of the nation could control not just him or herself, but also the country. That's why the perceived control-character could decide a candidate's fate.

Methodology

Beyond all question, the most characteristic parts of the campaign are the presidential debates, so we decided to analyze all three debates to draw the control-character of the candidates. We used the *New York Times* transcriptions (NYT, 2016) of the original debates for the sake of an

objective textual analysis, which has been conducted with CATMA 5.0 software. The total corpus consists of 44,606 words. After we had separated the texts of the two candidates, we made simple frequency tests for nouns, verbs, and pronounce usage to analyze control levels and control terms. For the most frequent control terms, we also made CATMA Double Tree analyses, which show the most peculiar contexts and co-occurrences. At the next level, we analyzed the interactional control between the two candidates. We measured the length of contiguous speech in the case of both candidates (which shows how long they could argue without interruption). Then we marked the 50-50 longest speech, and made a 10-10 sample with random number generator, so we could test for both integrative and cognitive complexity. We measured integrative complexity with a standard 7 point scale, where 1 refers to the minimum level, and 7 to the maximum level of integrative complexity. Cognitive complexity, which shows the number of arguments in a given position, was measured with the following scores: 0-1 argument/position = 0; 2 arguments/position = 2 points; 3 arguments/position = 3 points and so on. As a validity probe, we also made the standard readability tests (Flesch - Kincaid Score, Gunning Fog Score, SMOG and Coleman Liau Indices and Automated Readability Index) to make sure of we measured valid complexity levels. At the third and last level of the analysis, we identified the thematic roles as regards the most common control terms by using the formal description of linguistic analysis as it had been proposed by Bierwisch (2006) and Wunderlicht (2006). A control-sentence is a sentence in indicative mood that contains at least one control verb. This formalization shows not just the logical structure of a given control-sentence, but is also reveals the correspondent thematic roles (Agent {Controller}, Patient {Controlled}, Instrument, Force, Path, Location and so on). On a second level we could also show the hierarchical structure of the control-sentences and we could relate it to the controlled nouns.

Results

As we can see in Figure 1A, Donald Trump was far more successful in controlling the time: he was able to use many more words than Hillary Clinton in all three debates. Even though Secretary Clinton could radically decrease the amount of differences during the debates, the average difference was still 18% in favor of Trump.

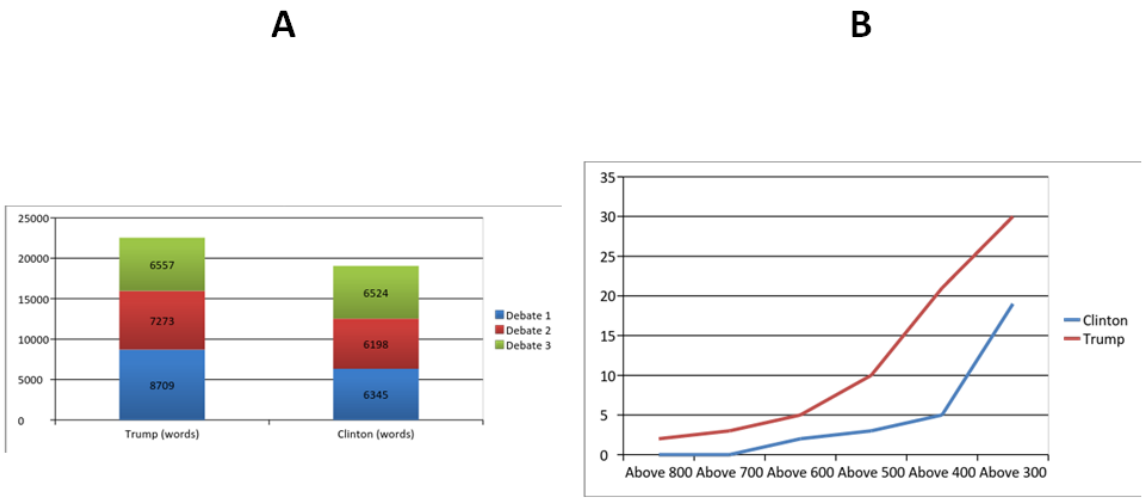

Figure 1: (A) Differences in the number of words used by the candidates (B) Number of blocks of contiguous speaks in all three debates

While in the first presidential debate, the word-count bias to the direction of Donald Trump was 37%, it was only 18% in the second, and almost 0% in the third debate. It is obvious that Clinton and her campaign professionals recognized that Trump was speaking much more than Clinton, so they tried to work off the handicap but were only successful in the third debate. We found additional inequalities when we focused on the length of the contiguous talks of the two candidates. Donald Trump was able to speak many more words without interruption than Clinton: he has 2 blocks of contiguous talk with more than 850 words while the longest speech by Clinton consists of only 644 words. As can be seen in Figure 1B, Trump had many more long monologues than Secretary Clinton: he had 21 blocks of more than 400 words of speech while Clinton had only 5. The inequalities start to decrease in the case of more than 300 words talks because here Clinton has 19 while Trump has 30. It is also noteworthy that both Trump and Clinton had their longest speeches in the second debate. The result of the cognitive complexity (CCT) and integrative complexity tests (ICT) shows that while Secretary Clinton produced a high level of cognitive complexity (an average of 2.8), she had an average of zero in the ICT (0/7). Donald Trump presented the direct opposite of that with his 0.1 points in CCT and his 4.5/7 as regards integrative complexity (see Figure 2A).

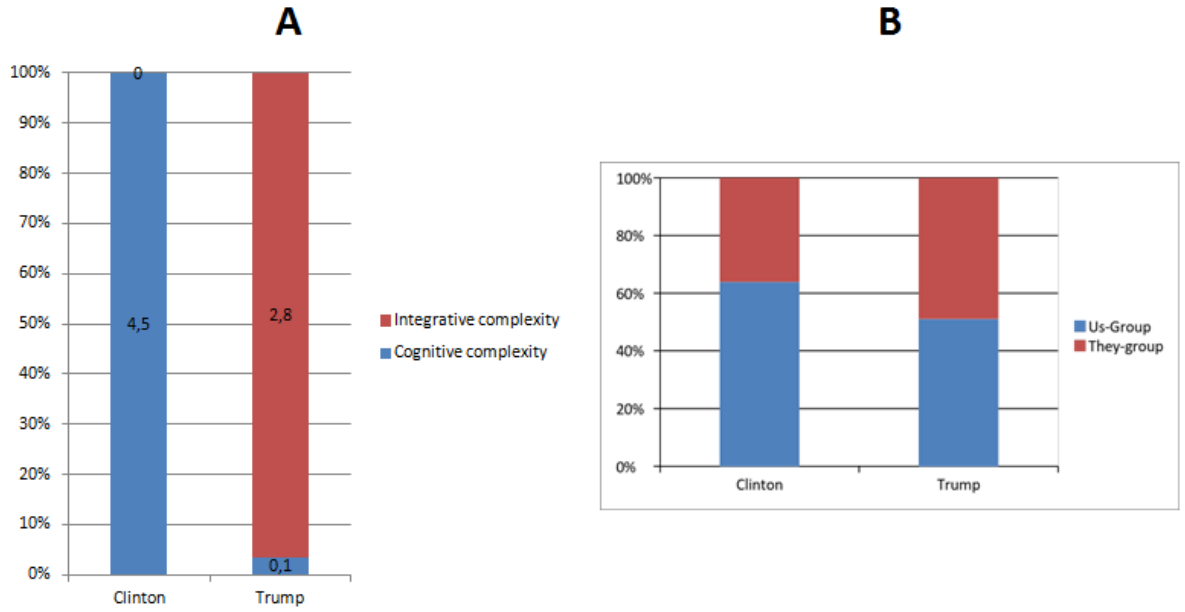

Figure 2: (A) The integrative and cognitive complexity levels of the candidates (B) They-group and Us-Group usage of the candidates

Hillary Clinton shows a higher level of complexity by our readability tests, to, which means that readability correlates with cognitive complexity, but not with integrative complexity (See Table 1)

Readability measure	**Donald Trump**	**Hillary Clinton**
Flesch Kincaid Reading Ease	80/100 School level: 7th grade Fairly easy to read	71,3/100 8th & 9th grade Plain English
Flesch Kincaid Grade Level	4,9 5th grade student level	7,2 7th grade student level
Gunning Fog Score	6,9 7th grade student level	9,6 High school sophomore
SMOG Index	5,6 6th grade student level	7,4 7th grade student level

Coleman Liau Index	8,5 8th grade student level	9,2 9th grade student level
Automated Readability Index	3,6 4th grade	6,4 6th grade
Text Statistics		
No. of sentences	2028	1229
No. of words	22564	19160
No. of complex words	1769	1949
Percent of complex words	7,84	10,17%
Average words per sentence	11,13	15,59
Average syllables per word	1,37	1,41

Table 1 Readability Scores for the candidates

When we analyzed the semantic control field of the two candidates, we had to conduct frequency tests for nouns, verbs, and pronouns. Adjectives do not really matter here because they could only label or qualify control verbs and thematic roles but could not change their directions. But before we present the results of the frequency analysis, we should mention semantic elegance, which shows the opulence of the vocabulary of the candidates. In short, the low elegance level shows semantic simplicity (which does not imply grammatical simplicity necessarily). Here Donald Trump turned to be much more scrimpy: from his 27,905 words he used only 4,657 different ones, while Clinton had 5261 different words despite using appreciably less words altogether (22,605). If we calculate the semantic elegance level by dividing the number of different words with the number of total words we get 0.167 for Trump and 0.23 for Clinton (range: 0-1). In other words, Clinton spoke less but more elaborately while Donald Trump preferred long but semantically simple speeches. As the most important aspect of control-character is the direction the speaker's communication style, we analyzed the frequency of pronouns first. As can be seen in Table 2, the first and maybe most important difference is that Trump used many more pronouns than Clinton: the average rate <the sum of the 5 most frequent pronouns/total frequencies> was 0.081 for Trump and 0.071 for Clinton. Moreover, there is a notable difference between the pronoun-usage of Donald Trump and Secretary Clinton: while both of them used 'I' in the first place, Clinton used 'We', and Trump used 'You' as the second most frequent pronoun, which signifies different perspectives. It is also noteworthy that, when referring to their opponents, the candidates followed different strategies: Clinton usually referred to Trump as 'he', while Trump referred to Clinton as 'you', which is far more direct, natural, and informal in a situation where both candidates are present.

Clinton pronoun	Frequency	Trump pronoun	Frequency
	n=22605		n=27905
I	555	I	625
We	384	You	519
It	242	We	440
He	232	It	420
You	205	They	271
Our	149	She	259
They	64	Our	140
His	54	Me	94
Them	53	Them	80
Us	51	Her	76

Their	48	My	47
Your	46	Your	42
My	35	Their	42
Me	35	Us	29
Him	29	Her	28

Table 2: the most frequent pronouns used by the candidates

We could also group the pronoun-usage of the candidates to Us-group (I, We, Our, Us, My, Me) and They-group (You, They, His/Her, Them, Their) to see the differences between the thematization tendencies of the candidates (Figure 2B). The diagram shows the data after scaling by the total frequencies of the candidates. We can easily see that Clinton tended to speak mostly of the Us-group while Trump also emphasizes the role of the Others (as we will see later, mainly as enemies). The next step was the analysis of the most frequent nouns used by the candidates during the three presidential debates. Nouns are the objects of any communication; they define not just the topic or theme of speech but also ascertain the possible values of control-verbs. When we take a look at the frequency table (Table 3) we should mind not just the differences, but the similarities as well.

	Trump Nouns	Frequency n=27905	Clinton Nouns	Freqency n=22605
1	People	130	People	111
2	Country	116	Donald	89
3	Thing(s)	95 ↑ 14	Country	67
4	Years	56	President	52 ↑ 36
5	Company(es)	55 ↑	Tax(es)	48
6	Hillary	52	Jobs	39
7	Tax(es)	52	Women	35 ↑ 20
8	Money	49 ↑ 18	Years	30
9	ISIS	43 ↑	Family(es)	30 ↑ 5
10	Clinton	43	State(s)	29
11	Jobs	39	Time	27
12	Obama	38 ↑ 14	America	25
13	President	36	Economy	24 ↑ 5
14	Russia	34 ↑ 10	Business	23 ↑ 17
15	Disaster	31 ↑ 1	Trump	20
16	Time	29	ISIS	20
17	Deal	28 ↑	Health	20 ↑ 7
18	World	28	Plan	19
19	Iran	27 ↑ 9	System	18 ↑ 2
20	Border(s)	26 ↑ 7	Children	18 ↑ 3

Table 3: The 20 most frequent nouns used by the candidates

The sign ↑ indicates that the corresponding candidate used the term much more frequently than his or her opponent; in some cases, when the difference was salient, we also mark the frequency value of the opponent at the right side of the sign ↑. For example, when we see ‘Money 49 ↑ 18’ in Trump’s column it means that the word ‘money’ was used by Donald Trump 49 times, while Clinton used it only 18 times. As we can see, the most frequently used noun by both candidates was ‘people’, and this is absolutely not surprising in a country where,

since the Gettysburg Address of Abraham Lincoln democracy is considered as government of the people, by the people, and for the people. It is far more interesting that, on the part of Secretary Clinton, the second most frequent word was 'Donald' while Trump designated his opponent only on the 6th place. The most ostensive differences were the following. Trump used the undefined 'Thing' almost 7 times more frequently than Clinton, which shows his affinity for generalizations, while Clinton used more specific terms. 'Disaster' was the most special word in the sense that Trump used it very frequently (31 times) while Clinton used it only once. Something similar happened with the word 'family': the proportion was 30/5 in favor of Clinton. We could also group the most frequent nouns to the following sub-categories. 'Country' includes nouns which refers to the United States generally, like 'US', America', 'country', and so on. 'People and Social Issues' relates to social words like 'insurance', 'health', 'people', 'community', and so on. 'Business and economy' entails 'money', 'business', 'trade', 'deal' and 'tax', while the 'War terminology' group consists of terms like 'war', 'Syria', ISIS', 'weapon', 'border'. Finally, the 'Political issues' subcategory includes terms that refer to political actors and institutions like 'president' or 'election'. The candidates also reflect the debate-situation itself by using political terms. In Figure 3A, we can see not just the preferred sub-categories of the candidates but also the differences between their stressing. Clinton's most frequent themes were People & Social Issues and Political Issues, while Trump prefers War terminology, Country, and Business. Note, that there were absolutely no equally important categories for both candidates: they emphasize totally different topics in spite of the fact that, majorly, they had to answer the same questions.

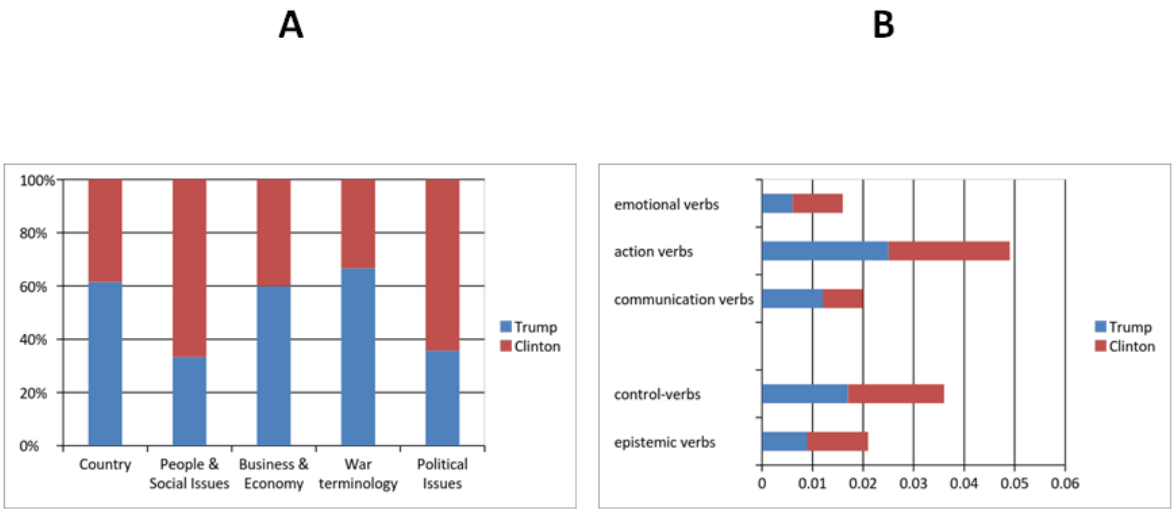

Figure 3: (A) Main thematic groups of the most frequent nouns (B) Modal grouping for the verb-usage of the candidates

The table of the 20 most frequent verbs used by the candidates also shows important differences and similarities (Table 4). As a general rule, Trump used many more verbs (1064 tokens in top 50, which means a 0.04 ratio after scaling) than Clinton (721 in top 50, which means a 0.03 ratio after scaling). Since the frequency of verbs could show the activity level of the speaker, we should conclude that Trump was more active not just quantitatively (because he talked more) but also qualitatively (because he used more verbs). The control-profiles of the two candidates are very different in spite of the fact that 'say' and 'know' were important and frequently used verbs by both of them. But when we consider the numbers, we will see that Trump is a say-character while Clinton seems to be a think-character (the ratios were 188/116 for 'say', and 118/87 for 'think').

	Trump verbs	Frequency N=27905	Clinton verbs	Frequency n=22605
1	say/said/saying	188 ↑	think	118 ↑
2	look	103 ↑	say/ing/s/said	116
3	know	96 ↑	want/s/ed	90 ↑
4	want/s/ed	93	know	80
5	take/ing/n/took	92 ↑	make/ing/made	77 ↑
6	think	87	work/ing/ed	76 ↑
7	go/es/went/gone	75	go/went/goes	63
8	happen/s/ed/ing	62 ↑ 12	need/ed	49 ↑
9	talk/ed/ing	61 ↑	see/n/saw	45
10	see/seen	59	take/n/took	43
11	make/made	59	look/ed	35
12	tell	50 ↑	try/ing/tried	32 ↑ 4
13	come/ing/came	44 ↑	talk/ing	30
14	give/gave	34 ↑ 11	plan/s	26 ↑
15	believe	32 ↑	pay/paid	25
16	bring/ing	32 ↑	help	23 ↑
17	pay/ing	29	come	19
18	start/s/ed	29	start/s/ed	28
19	need/ed	25	use/ing/ed	18
20	use/d/ing	22	support	17

Table 4: The 20 most frequent verbs used by the candidates

The modal profiles of the verbs are also very instructive. We classified the verbs into different modal groups to see the amount of control verbs, epistemic verbs, communication verbs, action verbs, and emotional verbs in the corpus. Figure 3B shows the results after scaling.
Emotional verbs are expressions like ‘to feel’, ‘to care’, ‘to love’, and so on; action verbs describe actions like run, stop, start or fight. Communication verbs refer to acts like to call, to say or to hear, while control-verbs describe control activities like to give, to defend or to use. Finally, epistemic verbs refer to expression like ‘to know’ or ‘to believe’. Figure 6 shows that the most frequently used terms were the action-words for both candidates. The most significant difference could be found as regards emotional and communication words: while Clinton preferred the former, Trump used the latter more frequently. Clinton used more epistemic verbs than Trump, and both of them used a number of control-verbs. We also categorized the most frequent verbs to definite and indefinite subgroups, which could show the perceived confidence level of the candidates. Definite verbs could be both epistemic verbs like ‘to know’ or ‘to understand’ and action verbs like ‘to do’ or ‘to make’. Similarly, we have indefinite epistemic verbs like ‘to think’, ‘to hope’ or ‘to believe’ and indefinite action words like ‘to try’ or ‘to plan’. As we can see on Figure 4, Secretary Clinton used many more indefinite verbs than Donald Trump who obviously preferred definite epistemic and action words. While using indefinite verbs in phrases like ‘I think that…’ counts as a polite way of speaking, it could also mean incertitude or even obscurity. On the other hand, however inelegant it may appear, the frequent use of definite verbs shows a great level of confidence and positivity. Note, that definite verbs suggest objective control, while indefinite verbs suggest subjective control.

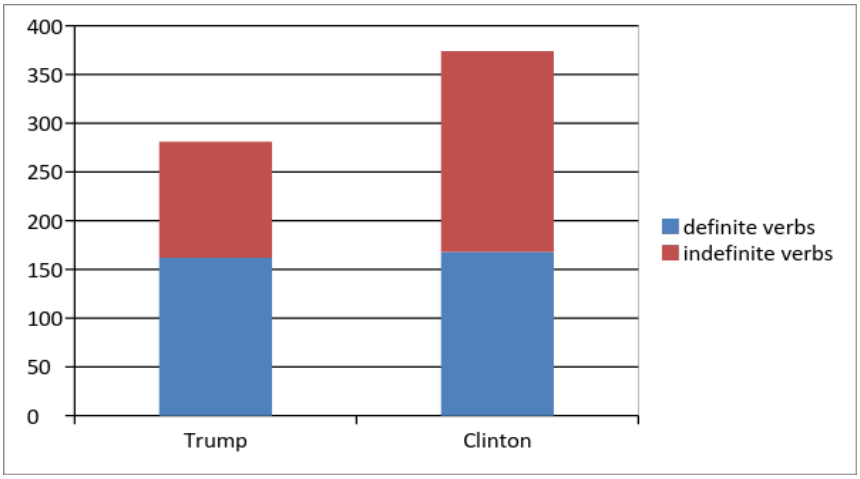

Figure 4: Definite and indefinite verbs in the corpus

Finally, we made a thematic-role based analysis of the 10 most frequent control verbs of both candidates. In the first column, we can see the analyzed control term. Meanwhile, the second column shows the most typical examples of the corresponding verb in the corpus of the candidate's debate speeches. The numbers in brackets refer to the frequency of the type in the whole corpus of the three debates. The third column shows the corresponding thematic relations: λ represents the elements of lambda terms that serve to bind variables z,y,x in a given logical expression. Then, for example, λyλx ,TAKE CARE (x,y) should be interpreted as 'x takes care for y' where y and x are bound variables. Accordingly, we interpret 'λzλyλx ,GIVE(x,y,z)' as 'x gives y a(n) z' where all variables are bound. In the fourth column, we can see the dependency structure of the most frequent statements containing the analyzed control verb. These formal expressions also show the main thematic roles with their dependency order. For example, a BENEFICIARY always depends on its CONTROLLER (CONTROLLER $>_{dep}$ BENEFICIARY), just like a POSSESSUM depends on the PATIENT, which also depends on its CONTROLLER (CONTROLLER >dep PATIENT >dep POSSESSUM). Finally, the fifth column shows the thematic role of the candidate (the speaker) in the analyzed examples. Now Table 5 shows the results for Donald Trump.

Control term	Example(s)	Thematic relations	Thematic roles (dependency)
TAKE	We take care of People (3) Vets (2) Illegal immigrants (1)	λyλx ,TAKE CARE (x,y)	CONTROLLER >dep BENEFICIARY
	They take care of their oil (1)		
	I'll take care of ISIS (1)		CONTROLLER >dep PATIENT
	Take a look at The people Syria Benghazi The person Washington Her Senate Mosul	λyλx ,TAKE A LOOK(x,y)	CONTROLLER >dep PATIENT >dep GOAL

	Russia Wikileaks Those commercials CNN Her website Carrier air			
GIVE	Give amnesty We cannot give amnesty Hillary wants to give amnesty She wants to give amnesty	λyλx ,GIVE (x,y)	CONTROLLER GOAL	>dep
	She doesn't give up (2 times)			
	I give you One other thing An example	λzλyλx ,GIVE(x,y,z)	CONTROLLER	
	A list of banks (2 times)		CONTROLLER	>dep
	The example of Mexico		BENEFICIARY INSTRUMENT	>dep
PAY	I pay Tax(es) (3) Hundreds of millions of dollars (2)	λyλx ,PAY(x,y)	CONTROLLER POSSESSUM	>dep
		λx ,PAY UP(x)	CONTROLLER	>dep
	They have to pay up (5)		PATIENT POSSESSUM	>dep
	They will pay off (2)	λzλyλx ,PAY OFF(x,y,z)		
	Our national debt Our tremendous budget deficit			
USE	We use	λyλx ,USE(x,y)	CONTROLLER PATIENT	>dep
	We use our people We have to use our great people We use people			
	We don't use We don' use those people We don't use our great leaders			
FIGHT	She does fight hard	λyλx, FIGHT(x,y)	CONTROLLER	>dep
	She wants to fight for rebels	λyλx, FIGHT(x,y)	PATH	>dep
	She wants to fight (two times)	λx ,FIGHT(x)	BENEFICIARY	
HELP	We have to help to Create profits Wealthy people	λyλx ,HELP(x,y)	CONTROLLER GOAL	>dep
	Families Small businesses (4 times) Kids and families Revitalize coal country Agriculture Syrians Make our country what it is		CONTROLLER BENEFICIARY	>dep

STOP	We have to stop Radical Islamic terrorism The drugs Her Insurance companies Them The violence Them (business firms) from leaving (3 times) These countries (from stealing our businesses) Our jobs from being stolen	λyλx ,STOP(x,y)	CONTROLLER PATIENT	>dep
ALLOW	She She will always allow Hillary Clinton wants to allow (3) Hillary Clinton won't allow them to bring the money	λyλx ,ALLOW(x,y) λzλyλx ,ALLOW(x,y,z)	CONTROLLER PATIENT >dep FORCE	>dep
	We We can't allow it to happen anymore	λyλx ,ALLOW(x,y)	CONTROLLER PATH	>dep
DEFEND	Defend yourself! Defend yourselves (2)	λx ,DEFEND(x)	CONTROLLER PATIENT	>dep
	We cannot afford to defend (8) Japan Saudi Arabia Germany South Korea	λzλyλx ,DEFEND(x,y,z)	CONTROLLER GOAL	>dep
CHANGE	On Clinton She never will change (4) you won't change the law you wouldn't change it why didn't you change it? Why didn't she change it? You should have change the law (4)	λyλx ,CHANGE(x,y)	CONTROLLER CONTROLLER PATIENT	>dep
BUILD	They build houses for the veterans (2 times)	λzλyλx ,BUILD(x,y,z)	CONTROLLER PATIENT BENEFICIARY	>dep >dep
	We/I want to build The wall (2) roads company(es) (5)	λyλx ,BUILD(x,y)	CONTROLLER GOAL	>dep

Table 5: thematic roles as regards the most frequent control verbs of candidate Donald Trump

Before starting to analyze the thematic relations in Discussion, let's see the most frequent control terms of Hilary Clinton with examples and thematic roles (Table 6).

Control term	Example(s)	Thematic relations	Thematic roles (dependency)
MAKE	We will make The economy fairer (3) Your life better (2) Investments It work Our country even greater	λzλyλx ,MAKE(x,y,z)	CONTROLLER>dep GOAL
	Our country what it should be	λyλxMAKE SURE(x,Y)	CONTROLLER>dep BENEFICIARY
	We will make sure that Our police are.. They respect the communities We keep people safe Women Kids with disabilities Women get equal pay		
WORK	We can make it work again I know how to really work to get new jobs We have to work with the police We have to work more closely with our allies	λyλx ,WORK(x,y)	CONTROLLER>dep PATIENT >dep GOAL
	I will work with every American We will work with one another I will work on behalf of the people We have to work with American Muslim communities		CONTROLLER>dep BENEFICIARY
	I worked with President Obama Bernie Sanders George W. Bush Latinos		
TAKE	I take responsibility For that (e-mail usage) For using a personal e-mail address	λyλx ,TAKE(x,y)	CONTROLLER>dep POSSESSUM
	He needs to take responsibility for his actions		CONTROLLER>dep POSSESSUM
	(the goal is to) Take back Mosul (2 times) Raqqa (2 times) Take out ISIS (2 times) Al-Qaida Their leadership (of ISIS)		CONTROLLER>dep GOAL
PAY	Corporations should pay their fair share	λyλx ,PAY(x,y)	CONTROLLER>dep POSSESSUM
	The wealthy should pay their fair share		CONTROLLER>dep PATIENT>dep

	He (Trump) didn't pay federal taxes		BENEFICIARY CONTROLLER>dep
	He (Trump) refused to pay (3)		PATIENT>dep BENEFICIARY
	We should pay equally for women (4)		
HELP	We should help	λyλx ,HELP(x,y)	CONTROLLER>dep
	Families		BENEFICIARY
	Kids		
	Small business		
	Haiti		
START	If he wants to start, he could start (2)	λyλx ,START(x,y)	CONTROLLER>dep
	Let me start (2)		PATIENT
USE	Mainly war terminology	λyλx ,USE(x,y)	CONTROLLER>dep
	Russia has used cyber attacks		PATH
	They are well prepared to use force		CONTROLLER>dep
	only when necessary		FORCE
	I would not use American ground forces		
	I do think the use of special forces		
	About the use of nuclear weapons		
SUPPORT	We have to support	λyλx	CONTROLLER>dep
	People	,SUPPORT(x,y)	BENEFICIARY
	Our Arab and Kurdish partners		
	Our democracy		
	Children		CONTROLLER>dep
	I'm not support putting American		POSSESSUM
	soldiers into Iraq.		
	Corporations should paid their fair		
	share to support this country (2)		
CREATE	Create jobs, profits, businesses (8)	λzλyλx	CONTROLLER>dep
	Will they create jobs in America?	,CREATE(x,y,z)	GOAL
	Create more new jobs		
	(My plans) would create 10 million new		
	jobs		
	Clean energy superpower and create		
	millions of new jobs		
	Create new opportunities and new		
	businesses		
GIVE	They/he	λzλyλx	CONTROLLER>dep
		,GIVE(x,y,z)	POSSESSUM

Table 6: Thematic roles as regards the most frequent control verbs of Hillary Clinton

Discussion

Based on the results of our analysis, we can draw the communication control-characters of the candidates. Let we start with Donald Trump. First of all, he was far more successful in controlling time. Since it is commonplace in the literature on campaign communications that more assertion means more persuasion, we can also state that the person who controls time controls the debate. Speech length and semantic elegance tests also show that Trump used the easiest communication style so he could make much simpler assertions than Clinton. Moreover, he was able to talk much longer without interruption. Because of the above-mentioned properties of his communication style, Trump seemed to be very productive, energetic, a real man of clear-cut control. However, his communication style proved to be simplistic and easy to understand. It has been reinforced by the results of our readability tests.

These results have been also verified by the fact that Trump was more successful amongst high school or less educated voters while, compared to past Republican candidates, he underperformed with college (or higher) educated voters. This is a new and important schism in the American electorate, and Trump's easy-to-understand language aimed at less educated voters worked in his favor.

The accurate and somehow informal aspects of Trump's control-character could also be shown by his control-direction. He used much more pronouns than his opponent with 'I' as the most frequent one, which made his speeches personal and expressive. By using many pronouns, Trump clearly stresses the boundaries between 'Us' and 'They' which is obviously one of the most powerful tools of political persuasion. It was also reinforced by his noun usage, with which he could draw an expressive picture of not just his ideal country but of the enemies of the nation, too. Trump frequently spoke about ISIS, Iraq, emphasized many dangers, problems, and pictured many future disasters, and he was also very inquisitive about the responsibility of former presidents Barack Obama and Bill Clinton. He definitely used many more general terms than Clinton did, which shows his tendency to make generalizations. Moreover, we could also see that Trump's favorite noun-group was "war-terminology group," which means that his most important aim was to create a definite image of enemies. A vivid picture of enemies causes fear: this is one of the most common features of emotional control. As regards his verb usage, we could also state that Trump was more active in his control-character than Secretary Clinton: he used many more verbs than his opponent, which shows a high level of capacity and spiritedness. During his speeches in the presidential debates, he was a man of 'know', 'say' and 'take', while Clinton was full of 'think' and 'want'. He used mainly communication and control verbs, and he deliberately used more definite than indefinite verbs, which shows a high level of certitude, confidence, and positivity. The same could be perceived when we consider the results of the analysis of the most frequent control terms of the candidates. It is obvious that, in most cases, the main thematic role played by the candidate is the role of the controller. But there are also remarkable cases where other people play this important role: in Trump's case, 'give', 'fight', 'allow' and 'change' are the examples. In the case of 'give', he frequently refers to Hillary Clinton's supposed plans for giving amnesty to criminals. It is more interesting that, in the case of the control verb 'fight', he also exclusively refers to Clinton as the fighter, so the agent and controller of all the control situations that had been mentioned by Donald Trump. 'Allow' and 'change' were also frequently associated with Secretary Clinton in the context of her former decisions. The strongest control terms of Donald Trump were unquestionably 'take care', 'help' and 'stop'. He portrayed himself as a man who takes care of his people, who would help companies and families alike, and who is able to stop crime and violence. In short, the control-character of Donald Trump seems like a mixture of features like simplicity and confidence, certitude and positivity, intimacy and clear-cut control. He turned out to be a good controller of time, and he was able to make much more positive assertions than his opponent. He drew a simple, maybe primitive, but clear picture of his vision of America, and he also depicted a vivid image of the enemies of the country.

On the contrary, Secretary Clinton was not very good at controlling time issues. She used fewer words than her opponent, and she has shorter and fewer uninterrupted speech phases. In addition, Secretary Clinton used much longer sentences with a more elaborate semantical frame than Trump, so she made significantly fewer assertions. She was elegant, sophisticated and professional – but she did not appear to be as energetic and sparkling as Donald Trump. As regards Secretary Clinton's control-direction, we should mention that she used significantly fewer pronouns than her opponent and she failed to talk about the Other group. Instead of stressing a clear dichotomy between We and They, Secretary Clinton concentrated on 'we-and-I' issues while she also kept some distance from Trump by referring to him with

an indirect ‘he’ instead of the more direct and personal ‘you’. With these aspects of her control-direction, Clinton appeared not just a little bit cold, distanced, and remote but also as a candidate who speaks only of, and only for, her own voters. When we examine the noun frequency of Clinton, we will find that the second most frequent noun was the first name of her opponent, Donald. This resulted in a loss of control because we can say that the second most frequent topic of Hillary Clinton was Donald Trump himself, which means that Trump-controlled not just his almost 20% longer speeches but Clinton added to this through her own Trump-related speech phrases. Beside Trump-content, Clinton frequently used nouns as regards women, families and children: her most frequent noun category was obviously ‘People and social issues’, but she also had a partiality on political issues. This shows that she preferred professional and intellectual topics instead of popular ones like crime, war, business, and terrorism. Her verb usage was also rather different from Trump’s active and definite communication style. Clinton was the candidate of ‘think’, ‘want’ and ‘need’ with active supplements like ‘make’ and ‘say’. As opposed with Donald Trump, Secretary Clinton used indefinite verbs like ‘think’ and ‘try’ to a great extent, so she appeared to be less confident and assertive when contrasted with Trump. As a representative of a more intellectual and sophisticated professional, Clinton preferred emotional and epistemic verbs, but she was somewhat negligent of communication verbs, which ultimately led to decreasing communication control. While, as a general rule, the main thematic role played by Hillary Clinton was of course the controller, she had also speech situations where she could not play this role. The most important ones of them were ‘use’, ‘start’ and ‘give’ where Clinton could not take the place of the controller. The most important control verbs for her were ‘work,’ ‘help’ and ‘support’. It reinforces the results of her verb-usage: she portrayed herself as a caring, diligent professional who wants to work for the people instead of fighting with their enemies. In short, Secretary Clinton’s control-character is a complex one of professionalism and caring attitudes with a clear line of dubiousness and elitism. But she also shows a serious discrepancy between her image as a receptive and tolerant politician and her loss of flexibility and willingness for dialogue (note that her integrative complexity level which shows cooperative attitudes was 0). Table 6 shows the components of control-characterization for a better picture of the differences between the two candidates.

	Donald Trump	**Hillary Clinton**
Time control (quantitatively)	Much more words and assertions than Hillary Clinton	Fewer words and assertions than Donald Trump
Time control (qualitatively)	Shorter assertions Less usage of bolted language Semantically simple speeches	Long sentences Professional language Semantically complex speeches
Speech length control	Much longer uninterrupted speeches than Clinton Much more long speech phases than Clinton	Shorter speeches with frequent interruptions Fewer uninterrupted speeches
Cognitive complexity	Zero	Relatively high
Integrative complexity	Relatively high	Zero
Control direction	Personal – expressive Us – They dichotomy	Subjective and distanced Us and I perspective
Noun usage control	Generalizations War-terminology group	Specifications People and social issues
Verb usage control	Definite verbs Know, say and take Communication and control verbs Definite verbs (object-control)	Indefinite verbs Think and want Emotional and cognitive verbs Indefinite verbs (subject-control)

Main thematic roles in expressions with the most frequent control verbs	Controller	Controller
	Take care, help and stop	Care, help and work
Basic features of the control character	Productivity	Caring
	Intimacy	Professional
	High level a spiritedness and capacity	Intelligent
	Simplicity	Sophisticated
	Clear-cut control	Inflexible
	Certitude	Dubious
	Confidence	Emotional
	Populist	Elitist

Table 7: Summary of the control characters of the two candidates

It is controversial, however, that polling data showed Hillary Clinton as the consistent winner in all three debates. Most political analysts thought that she will win the election, but they were wrong. One possible explanation could be that sometimes as impressions of the candidates harden there can be changes in how voters perceive the debate outcome. The first Bush-Gore debate in 2000 is a case in point. Gore was initially viewed as the winner, but his sighing led many to come to an opposite conclusion in a matter of days. Maybe the same is true to the Trump-Clinton debates, where CNN made the poll interviews too early, right after the debates. The National Tracking Poll was also made too early, only one day after the debates. The second explanation could be that the measured impact of the debates only reinforced the preconceptions of the interviewees. As, for example, the results of CNN – ORC International Poll suggest, the vast majority of the interviewees thought that Clinton will performing better on the presidential debates before it even happened. It means that the poll measures not just the outcomes of the debates but the preconceptions of the interviewees, too.

Conclusion

In every system, the aim of control is to make the system behave in the desirable fashion. In the case of political communication, the controllers of the system are the candidates and their consultants, while voters constitute the controlled compartment with electors as actuators. On a psychological level, every individual wants a sense of control in their lives, but on a political level, everyone wants to be also controlled by an appropriate leader. But the wannabe leader should be careful because he or she must anticipate where voters want to be controlled and why. To be perceived as an ideal leader, one should be dominating but still caring, easy to understand but still assertive, personal but still persuasive. If there are events in the world where these issues could be investigated on a grand scale then they are the presidential debates of the United States. Who controls time and space, controls communication. During the last presidential debates, it was obviously Donald Trump who controlled all aspects of time issues: he made many more assertions, used many more words, and had much longer periods of uninterrupted speech. Moreover, he was the one who used simpler vocabulary, shorter sentences, and many more pronouns - which made his speeches easy to understand, personal, and persuasive. It is not surprising then, that Trump was more successful and popular amongst less educated workers and was able to to carry the key states of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania because of his dominance in these rural communities. In short, he was more successful in not just controlling the topics of the debate but also in controlling the attention of the audience. For the sake of greater control, we should interact with others first. Hillary Clinton missed this point. Her integrative complexity was on a zero level during all three debates, while the more aggressive and dominant Donald Trump was able to use his

integrative skills quite well. With this is mind, we cannot wonder that Secretary Clinton appeared to be a candidate who speaks only for her own voters, while Trump successfully positioned himself as the candidate of everybody. Word frequency tests also show that Clinton focused chiefly on her specific issues like women's rights and other social issues while Trump was able to be concerned, albeit superficially, with many issues. Donald Trump also successfully stressed the Us-Enemy dichotomy during his debate speeches while Clinton somehow forgot to draw a picture of the Other, excepting Donald Trump himself, who was her second most frequent topic. Which kind of control do the voters prefer? Knowing both the result of the election and our content-based control analysis, we could draw a rough conclusion that people want to be controlled in an easy but still total way. At first it seems to be a sort of contradiction but it is not. First, easy control means easy-to-understand-control: people are kind of indifferent towards the details: instead, they want to hear simple assertions repetitiously. But easy also means that people do not like to make sacrifices: they want others to offer up the sacrifice; they need others to pay the bills. That's why they need not just to see the problems but the Others, the people who caused the problems and who must solve the problems instead of them. On the other hand, people like total control, which means that they look for a leader who can manage countless issues instead of being a specialist: a leader who has a good word for not just the intelligentsia but for the workers and peasants as well. In the current research, we showed the strongest parts and the clouds of the communication of the candidates. A communication control-analysis of this type could reveal the role control-characters play in assessing the performance of the actors' political communication. We also concluded that people want to be controlled in an easy but still total way. To make people think that there is a man who is able to do this: it was Donald Trump's greatest asset. But how can a candidate show that his campaign communication was truthful, and when will he fulfill his promises? The secret curl of communication control is that no candidate should ever fulfill his or her promises: only a president could do it. But this is a quite different story.

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