

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria

**Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Kasdi Merbah Ouargla University**

Faculty of Letters and Languages

Department of Letters and English Language



**Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the
Master's Degree in field of English Language and Literature**

Specialty: Linguistics

**Critical discourse analysis of Donald
Trump's speech in UN**

Case study : The role of China in spreading Corona virus

Presented and publicly defended by

Rezzag Hebla Ahlem and Zigha Nassrine

Supervised by:

Amrani Djalal Eddine

**Rank, First Name and Last Name of Thesis Director
Jury**

Dr.Belarbi Ahmed Noureddine	Institution	Chairperson
Dr.Amrani Djalal Eddine	Institution	Supervisor
Miss.Gerrouge Fouzia	Institution	Examiner

Academic Year: 2021-2022



Dedication

"بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ"

I would like to dedicate our humble work to the people that cared about me the most.

A special feeling of gratitude to my loving parents, their words of encouragement and push for tenacity ring in my ears in my whole life.

To my lovely sisters Amina and Asma that have never left my side.

To my supporting brothers.

To my partner throw thick and thin Nesrine.

Who has been so loving, encouraging and caring to me.

Also to my dear beloved friends that I love the most

Rosa, Zehour ,Iman and Abdo who have supported me throughout this hard process and have been patience with me.

I will always appreciate all what they have done to me you have been my best cheerleaders.

A massive thanks to all of the Teachers that guided me in my Academic journey, especially ,Dr.DJALAL EDDINE AMRANI thank you for all your efforts with us .

Finally, this effort is dedicated to my family for their patience all these years.

Thank you all

Ahlem.Rh

Dedication

"بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ"

"In The Name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful"

Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him, who brought us from the darkness to the lightness.

I dedicate this work To my super mother for her invaluable love, her support, her sacrifices and all the values her have been able to increase, may Allah bless her.

I also dedicate this modest work to the memory of my father. I love you and miss you beyond words. May Allah grant you Jannah Firdaws.

To my dear sister Amina for her support when I was feeling stressed and for her encouragement.

To my beloved brothers, for the selfless support he has offered over the years and they financial and moral support, which is in valuable.

My pumpkin , and wonderful best friend Ahlam that we have spent almost four years together at English Language Education Department. May our friendship last forever.

To the one who believed in me.

To all my family, teachers and friends as they have been also a great support for me.

Thank you all.

Nassrine.z



Acknowledgements

All praise and gratitude be to Allah having power upon people on earth, giving the inspirations, health, and power to us so we can finally finish this dissertation.

Our deepest thanks go to Dr. DJALAL EDDINE AMRANI for accepting supervising and guiding us in this research study, and for providing the necessary advices and books that helped this work to see light. Thank you for being patient with us. We wish for him all the best and ask Allah the Almighty to grant him the happiness and the success he deserves.

We would like to thank the members of the jury for the precious time they devoted reading our thesis and for their constructive comments.

To all the teachers of the English department especially DR.YOUCEF BENCHIECK who helped us to reach this level and spared no effort to give us the tools and the knowledge for mastering such needed Language, a massive thanks and regards.

Finally, we would like to thank all people who helped us in achieving this work.



Abstract

This study seeks to investigate how the language is used in Donald Trump's speech in UN the 22th of September 2020 during the corona virus crisis. The main focus is to find the discursive language strategies used in this speech that signify power and ideology. Based on Roman Jakobson's theory (1990, p. 185), the speech will be analysed by using the six functions of language, referential, emotive, poetic, conative, phatic, and metalingual. Additionally, the study uses modality and personal pronoun as additional linguistic devices in order to reveal the president's political intention. A quantitative approach is also employed to count the personal pronoun "We" and modal verbs "Must "and "Will". The result of the finding shows that Donald J Trump consistently uses repetition, and he tends to make negative representation of the other group. Furthermore, the use of pronoun are mostly aimed to show the unity as the strategy to convince and persuade his addressees .The result also shows that the building of discursive practice of his language is organized by the word order to persuade the audience to believe and support his ideological view.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Political Speech, Jakobson's theory, ideology, modality.



List of abbreviations

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis.

DA: Discourse Analysis.

LF: language function.

PD: Political Discourse.

UN: United Nations.

US: United States.

WHO: World Health Organization.



List of Tables

Table 1: Language function and its classifications, orientations, roles, and examples	30
Table 2: Frequency of pronouns	36
Table 3: Frequency of modal verbs “Will” and “Must”	36



List of Figures

Figure 1: Factoes of jakobson's functions of language.....	29
Figure 2: Figure 4: Types of language function.....	40



Table of Contents

Dedication	I
Acknowledgements	II
Abstract	IV
List of Abbreviations	VI
List of figures	VII
List of Tables	XI
Table of Contents	XIII
General Introduction	
Introduction of the topic.....	2
Objectives of the study.....	3
Motivations of the study.....	3
Research Questions.....	4
Hypotheses of the study.....	4
Methodology of the study.....	4
Corpus.....	5
Structure of the Dissertation.....	5
Chapter One: Critical Discourse Analysis and Jakobson theory	
1.1. Introduction.....	8
1.2. Discourse Analysis	8



1.3. Discourse	12
1.3.1. Context in Discourse.....	13
1.3.2. Text in Discourse.....	14
1.4. The Frankfurt school and critical theory.....	16
1.4.1. What is Critical Theory	18
1.5. Critical Discourse Analysis.....	19
1.5.1. CDA by scholars	19
1.6. Political Discourse.....	23
1.6.1. Political Discourse by John Wilson.....	24
1.6.2. Studying Political Discourse.....	26
1.7. Review of literature.....	27
1.7.1. Language and Communication	27
1.8. Roman Jakobson's model of the function of language.....	28
1.8.1. Referential function.....	31
1.8.2. Poetic function.....	31
1.8.3. Emotive function	31
1.8.4. Conative function.....	32



1.8.5. Phatic function.....32

1.8.6. Metalingual function.....32

Conclusion.....33

Chapter Two: Data analysis

2.1 Introduction37

2.2. Results & Implicature.....38

2.2.1. Results38

2.2.1.1. Pronouns “Will”38

2.2.1.2. Modal Verbs “Will” and “Must”38

2.2.2. Implicature.....39

2.2.2.1. Personal pronouns "We".....39

2.2.2.2. Modal verbs “Will”40

2.2.2.3. Modal verbs “Must”40

2.2.3. Result of the analysis41

2.2.4. The language function.....44



2.2.4.1. Conative function.....	44
2.2.4.2. Referential function.....	45
2.2.4.3 .Emotive function.....	45
2.2.4.4 Phatic function	45
2.2.5. Implicature of the functions	46
2.2.5.1. Conative function.....	47
2.2.5.2. Phatic function.....	48
2.2.5.3 .Emotive function.....	48
2.2.5.4 .Referential function.....	49
Conclusion.....	51
General Conclusion.....	53
References.....	56
Appendix.....	57




General introduction



Introduction of the topic and the statement of the problem

The 2019 corona virus outbreak (COVID-19) in Wuhan, China, has sparked a global pandemic. Many people have died from this disease. On 31 January 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared COVID-19 as a public health emergency of international concern " only the sixth time the organization has identified an emergency of this scale" (ABC News, 2020). The sudden emergence of this disease has sparked many questions; particularly it spreads rapidly across the world. Several heads of state made statements about it. One of the most political speeches that caused a global media controversial was the speech of US President Donald Trump. Being the President of one of the world's most powerful and influential countries paves the way for the examining and analyzing of one's discourse and political ambitions. During the presidency of Donald Trump, US-China relations have witnessed sharply deteriorated. The conflict developed in 2020 when they both started exchanging public blames and accusation for the corona virus pandemic it even went further to the trade war, Such as the Competition for the fifth generation networks (5G) and other technological techniques. Later, the increase in cases of Covid-19 in the United States at that time, and the outbreak of the mass protest, following the killing of "George Floyd" .Soon after, Trump sought to distract domestic attention by holding China responsible for the pandemic and accusing the World Health Organization of being controlled by china .The accusation of China being behind the spread of the pandemic has led some US politicians to demand a disengagement from China. This accusation it also led to mistrust between the two countries.

Based on this background, this research examines Donald Trump's ideology and power embedded in his political speech in UN the 22th of September 2020 during the corona virus crisis. the main aim is to use the Critical Discourse Analysis approach to identify the real intention of



Donald Trump and how he manifestate his language to convey and persuade the audience with his ideology. And most important to describe and identify the discursive strategy, the frequent pronouns and model verbs Trump used in his discourse to find out how he use the power of speeches to persuade the public to accept and support his policies. The theory of Roman Jakobson language function is used in the analysis of this research which is intended to investigate two main research problems. First, the types of language functions used and the most dominant one in Donald Trump speech. Second, to find out the most frequents pronouns and models in the speech, to discover his real intention by reading between the lines of his speech.

Objectives of the study

As this study is very concerned with the deconstruction of Donald Trump speech in order to read some of his ideologies, the study also aims at:

- To show how discursive devices have helped in assessing the discourse to become more powerful to influence trump's audience.
- The aim of this research is to identify, analyze and discuss some examples of language function used in Donald trump's discourse to show how they affect the arguments of persuasion in the speech.
- To find out how does the use of personal pronoun "We" affected the discourse and the reason behind using it.
- To find out how feature of modality bring up issues conveyed by Donald Trump discourse.
- To find out what particular language function is dominant in the discourse.



Motivation of the study

As Master degree students specialized in linguistics studies, this particular subject about Critical Discourse Analysis is tackled in order to broaden our knowledge about CDA, this is the main motivation .Also this kind of topic has been yet tackled from a political perspective, thus, and this current research is tackled from Critical Discourse Analysis perspective. This particular speech made a huge controversial worldwide with lots of break down between the two countries' relationship up to now, and it provides a great deal of data and themes to be analysed.

Research Questions of the study

In order to achieve the purpose of this study, the following research questions are asked:

- What are the discursive strategies used by Trump in his speech during the 75th session of the U.N to convince his audience with his ideology?
- To what extent does the use of personal pronoun and Modality had influenced his discourse?
- What arguments employed by Trump in his discourse to convince his audience that China is committed in the spread of the virus?

Hypotheses of the study

The hypotheses suggested for this study are as follows:

- Donald trump may have used a certain discourse strategy that helped him to convey his ideology to the audience.
- The use of the pronouns and modality could have been a strategy by Trump to attracted and impact on others to gain their support.

- It appears that Trump's communication style might be able to overcome his questionable political platform with his strong language to reinforce his various arguments.

Research Methodology

This section contains two essential elements which are research methods and corpus.

Research Methods

The text of this study was read closely with the help of an experts in language to help us in identifying some linguistic figures in the speech .In the process of Analysis procedures we tried to link what is in the text and what is around the text. For this present study a quantative and qualitative approach as the research design. By applying Roman Jakobson's (1995) theory of language function. It deals with text and also explains it, based on the context. Also, to analyse the most frequents pronouns and models in the speech to set the main goals of the speaker of using them. The results of the analysis are explained linguistically and pragmatically. The source of data of this study is Donald Trump speech at the UN on 22th September 2020. The speech can be found on NBC's official YouTube channel
:(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BAy1nC9BJA0>) .

Corpus

The corpus selected for this study is the transcript of the speech of America's previous president, Donald Trump in U.N, which Trump Blasts China and WHO, Blaming Them for Spread of COVID-19 on September 22, 2020. President Trump speaks in a prerecorded message played Tuesday during the 75th session of the U.N. General Assembly. UNTV via AP .The corpus encompasses 276 English words. The script of the speech was retrieved from the official



website of the United Nations (<https://www.vox.com/world/2020/9/22/21450727/trump-unga-speech-2020-full-text-china>).

Structure of the Dissertation

The present dissertation is composed of two chapters including general introduction and general conclusion. To start with, the general introduction includes background of the study and an explanation to the subject of the study also the main research problem and the method used to solve them, including all the part of our chapters in brief .the first chapter is the theoretical and background of the study, it mainly reviews critical Discourse Analysis and its aspects, its definitions and background. It tackles also ideology and power. The second chapter is the practical part; it is concerned with the methodology that has been followed in this study including the theory of Roman Jakobson, and the analysis of the collected data and its results. Finely, the general conclusion contains the full summary of the study with the findings of the analysis, as well as the answers of the research question following the correct hypothesis all in brief with full explanation, point of view and recommendation based on our study.



Chapter One:
**Critical Discourse Analysis and Jakobson's
theory**

1.1. Introduction


This chapter provides a conceptual and theoretical overview of the study. The chapter explains discourse analysis, Critical Discourse analysis (CDA), power and ideology, discourse, text, context, and political discourse analysis. It is followed by a description of the context in which this study has taken place and an explanation of why it is needed. In this chapter we used also the theory of analysis of Roman Jakobson. Finally, it offers operational definitions and an overview of the thesis. The main goal of this chapter is to introduce the reader to some of the fundamental terms and concepts used in discourse analysis. The reader is also given an overview of some of the approaches to discourse linguistics.

1.2. Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis (DA) is a broad field of study that draws some of its theories and methods of analysis from disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, philosophy and psychology. More importantly, discourse analysis has provided models and methods of engaging issues that emanate from disciplines such as education, cultural studies, communication and so on. The vast nature of discourse analysis makes it impossible for us to discuss all that the reader needs to know about it in an introductory work of this nature.


The term 'discourse analysis' was first used by the sentence linguist, Zellig Harris in his 1952 article entitled 'Discourse Analysis'. According to him, discourse analysis is a method for the analysis of connected speech or writing, for continuing descriptive linguistics beyond the limit of a simple sentence at a time (Harris, 1952)

Discourse analysis can also be seen as the organization of language above the sentence level. The term 'text' is, sometimes, used in place of 'discourse'. The concern of discourse analysis is not restricted to the study of formal properties of language; it also takes into consideration what



language is used for in social and cultural contexts. DA studies the relationship between language (written, spoken – conversation, institutionalized forms of talk) and the contexts in which it is used. What matters is that the text is felt to be coherent. Guy Cook (1989:6-7) describes discourse as language in use or language used to communicate something felt to be coherent which may, or may not correspond to a correct sentence or series of correct sentences. Discourse analysis, therefore, according to him, is the search for what gives discourse coherence. He posits that discourse does not have to be grammatically correct, can be anything from a grunt or simple expletive, through short conversations and scribbled notes, a novel or a lengthy legal case. What matters is not its conformity to rules, but the fact that it communicates and is recognized by its receivers as coherent. Similarly, Stubbs (1983:1) perceives discourse analysis as ‘a conglomeration of attempts to study the organization of language and therefore to study larger linguistic units, such as conversational exchanges or written text.’ Again, we affirm that what matters in the study of discourse, whether as language in use or as language beyond the clause, is that language is organized in a coherent manner such that it communicates something to its receivers.

Discourse analysis evolved from works in different disciplines in the 1960s and early 1970s, including linguistics, semiotics, anthropology, psychology and sociology. Some of the scholars and the works that either gave birth to, or helped in the development of discourse analysis include the following: J.L. Austin whose *How to Do Things with Words* (1962) introduced the popular social theory, speech-act theory. Dell Hymes (1964) provided a sociological perspective with the study of speech. John Searle (1969) developed and improved on the work of Austin. The linguistic philosopher, M.A.K. Halliday greatly influenced the linguistic properties of discourses (e.g. Halliday 1961), and in the 1970s he provided sufficient framework for the consideration of the functional approach to language (e.g. Halliday 1973). H.P. Grice (1975) and Halliday (1978)




were also influential in the study of language as social action reflected in the formulation of conversational maxims and the emergence of social semiotics. The work of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) also developed a model for the description of teacher-pupil talk. The study grew to be a major approach to discourse. Some work on conversation analysis also aided the development of discourse analysis. Some of such works from the ethno methodological tradition include the work of Gumperz and Hymes 1972. Some other works influential in the study of conversational norms, turn-taking, and other aspects of spoken interaction include Goffman (1976, 1979), and Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974). The brief review above shows that the approach to discourse is anything but uniform, so below is an attempt to provide a more systematic insight into some of the approaches to discourse.

To embark on defining discourse analysis (henceforth DA), one would inevitably tackle two divergent approaches to language in general and discourse in particular: the formal approach and the functional approach. Schiffrin (ibid) combines both approaches when designating DA as ‘the study of language use above and beyond the sentence’ (p.170).

The first trend in defining DA is a formal or structural trend. In this paradigm, DA is seen as the exploration of language use by focusing on pieces larger than sentences. Schiffrin (1994) elucidates that discourse is merely a higher level in the hierarchy: morpheme, clause and sentence (as stated originally by Zellig Harris in his first reference to DA); she also explains that the pursuit of DA is to depict the internal structural relationships that tie the units of discourse to each other: to describe formal connectedness within it.

The second trend is functional in perspective: it is not so much concerned with intra-sentential relations as much as with language use. Brown and Yule's (1983) conception seems to be compatible with this paradigm: The analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language




in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs. (p.1)

The focus in this conception is on the regularities which utterances show when situated in contexts. Thus, it is obvious that the aspects of the world in which an utterance is used can also contribute to the meaningfulness of discourse. Van Els et al. (1984), in this respect, argue that ‘the study of language in context will offer a deeper insight into how meaning is attached to utterances than the study of language in isolated sentences’ (p.94).

Discourse analysis (DA), or discourse studies, is an approach to the analysis of written, vocal, or sign language use, or any significant semiotic event. The objects of discourse analysis (discourse, writing, conversation, communicative event) are variously defined in terms of coherent sequences of sentences, propositions, speech, or turns-at-talk. Contrary to much of traditional linguistics, discourse analysts not only study language use 'beyond the sentence boundary' but also prefer to analyze 'naturally occurring' language use, not invented examples. Text linguistics is a closely related field. The essential difference between discourse analysis and text linguistics is that discourse analysis aims at revealing socio-psychological characteristics of a person/persons rather than text structure (Yatsko. 2019; (Betti, 2021u and Igaab, 2010: 5)

Discourse analysis has been taken up in a variety of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, including linguistics, education, sociology, anthropology, social work, cognitive psychology, social psychology, area studies, cultural studies, international relations, human geography, environmental science, communication studies, biblical studies, public relations, argumentation studies, and translation studies, each of which is subject to its own assumptions, dimensions of analysis, and methodologies.



Meanwhile, scholars have attested to the difficulty in coming up with a comprehensive and acceptable definition for discourse analysis. However, a way to simplify the attempt to define discourse analysis is to say that discourse analysis is ‘the analysis of discourse’. The next question, therefore, would be ‘what is discourse?’

Discourse can simply be seen as language in use (Brown & Yule 1983; Cook 1989). It therefore follows that discourse analysis is the analysis of language in use. By ‘language in use’, we mean the set of norms, preferences and expectations which relate language to context.


1.3. Discourse

Discourse has several definitions explained in many theory books. These definitions are dissimilar depending on the theory used by each researcher. The term “discourse” dates back to the 14th century. It is derived from the Latin root “discursus” which means speech or conversation in general (McArthur, 1996). This means that discourse can be in social conversation, written or spoken. Van Dijk (1997, p.2) defines discourse as “the form that people make of language to convey ideas, thoughts, or beliefs within a social context”.

Discourse is the main social manifestation of communication. It refers to all forms of language used by communicators in a society (Fairclough, 1993; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 1997). It is the process of exchanging linguistic sentences between the speaker or writer, on the one hand, and the listener or reader, on the other. Brown (1983) mentioned that discourse may be performed by text. It could be only in the form of text, spoken or written.

Discourse is described as "a serious speech or piece of writing about a certain subject" in the dictionary (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 2001, p.388).

It incorporates both spoken and written modes in this broad meaning, while it is sometimes limited to speech, which is defined as "a serious conversation between individuals" (ibid). When



the word is employed as a verb, this constraint is also implied. Carter (1993) defines the term 'discourse' in different ways. To begin, it relates to the topics or types of language that are used in special contexts. Political discourse, philosophical discourse, and the like can all be discussed here. Moreover, the term 'discourse' is often used to refer to what is spoken, whereas the term 'text' refers to what is written. It's important to note, though, that the text/discourse difference emphasized here isn't always clear. Nunan (1993) demonstrates that these two concepts are frequently used interchangeably and regarded differently in many cases. The 'discourse/text' dichotomy is frequently correlated with the 'process/product' dichotomy, according to Carter (ibid). Third, this word is used to establish a significant contrast with the traditional notion of 'sentence', the 'highest' unit of language analysis: discourse refers to any naturally occurring stretch of language. In this connection, Trask (1999) clarifies that a discourse is not confined to one speaker or writer, but it can embrace the oral or written exchanges produced by two or more people. It is this last sense of the term that constitutes the cornerstone of the approach known as Discourse Analysis.

Despite the fact that discourse is defined as a chunk of language that extends beyond the sentence, not all chunks of language can be included in this definition. In fact, what characterizes discourse is not so much its supra-sentential nature as it is its overall coherence. To be more explicit, discourse is a complete meaningful unit conveying a complete message (Nunan, 1993). 'There are structured relationships among the elements that result in something new,' says the author (Schiffrin, 2006, p.171). Larger units, such as paragraphs, conversations, and interviews, appear to fit under the 'discourse' umbrella since they are linguistic performances in and of themselves.


1.3.1. Context in Discourse

Different linguists attempt to define context from different perspectives in order to address issues in their own areas and to support their own theories and concepts.

Widdowson, focused in his research on language meaning, he defined "context" as "those features of the actual language usage scenario that are viewed as significant to meaning." He further pointed out, "in other words, context is a schematic construct... the achievement of pragmatic meaning is a matter of matching up the linguistic elements of the code with the schematic elements of the context." (H.G. Widdowson, 2000, p.126), on the other hand (Guy Cook) studied the relationship between discourse and literature, he took "context" into consideration as well. In his definition, context is just a form of knowledge the world and "the term „context“ can be used in a broad and narrow sense. In the narrow sense, it refers to (knowledge of) factors outside the text under consideration. In the broad sense, it refers to (knowledge of) these factors and to (knowledge of) other parts of the text under consideration, sometimes referred to as „co-text“." (Guy Cook, 1999, p. 24).

When studying reference and inference, George Yule also took "context" into account. He provided us with a somewhat general definition, "Context is the physical environment in which a word is used." (George Yule, 2000, 128) Although they are viewed from different perspectives for different purposes, these definitions have an important point in common: one main point of the context is the environment (circumstances or factors by some other scholars) in which a discourse occurs. A discourse analyst takes account of context in which discourse occurs; most obvious elements that require contextual information for their interpretation are deictic forms.

In a sense, context is particularly essential in discourse analysis. A discourse and its context are intimately linked: the discourse explains the context, and the context assists in the



interpretation of the meaning of the discourse's utterances. The knowledge of context is a premise of the analysis of a discourse.


1.3.2. Text in Discourse

Text is usually a written form of communication information, which is a non-interactive nature. In contrast, discourse can be from spoken, written, visual and audial form, communicating information that is interactive in nature.

In a text, the grammatical cohesion and the structure of sentences are analyzed .It, refers to the connected sequences of signs and signals, under their conventional meanings, produced by the speaker and (in informal spoken interactions: signals of acknowledgement, approval, objection, etc.) by the addressee certain of which point to possible ways of grounding the discourse to be constructed within a particular context, in cognitive terms. These signals correspond to what Gumperz (1992a:234) calls “contextualization.

Text, in normal circumstances of communication, on the other hand is essentially linear, due to the constraints imposed by the production of speech in real time – though in the spoken medium, paralinguistic, non-verbal signals may well co-occur simultaneously with the flow of verbal signs and signals, and overlapping speech by more than one participant may and does occur. It is the discourse constructed in terms of the text and a relevant context which is capable of being stored subsequently in long-term memory for possible retrieval at some later point. On the other hand, the textual trace of the communicative event is short-lived, disappearing from short-term memory once that discourse is constructed — or very soon thereafter (cf. Clark, 1996:53). Short-term memory is by definition very limited in storage capacity.


We saw in the section on discourse that text as a matter of fact is part of discourse. This is when discourse is seen as an overall communicative act in a certain specified context. What then



is a text and what is it not? The definition of a text by Richards et al (1985:292) represents most of the views expressed by linguists; they say thus text is a piece of spoken or written language. A text may be considered from the point of view of its structure and/or its functions, ea. Warning, instructing, carrying out a transaction... A text may consist of just a word, e.g. 'Danger' on a warning signs, or it may be of considerable length, e.g. a sermon, a novel or a debate.

The view of what a text is by Leech and Short (1981:209) parallels the one quoted above partly. Leech and Short both define text from both the structural and functional point of view. Text, according to them is a linguistic communication that expresses semantic meaning and which may be spoken or written. Text according to Short and Leech (1981) is seen as merely message expressed in visual or auditory symbols. The definition by Richards et al above maintaining that a text can be used to warn, instruct, confuses the system a text is and what it is used to do in a discourse situation. Although the definition is partly right by saying that text is a spoken or written piece of information, it fails to give a clear-cut distinction between the broader discourse and text which is only an element of discourse. A text can only be used to partly warn when it is in actual use. In such a situation, it is not the text that is solely responsible for warning but the overall discourse. The warning as a speech act is dependent not just on the linguistic expression but on the context and general rules of communication in a given situation.

The most excellent example ever given representing this view of text as opposed to discourse is that, if one pulled a drawer and got out a message, drive slowly, children crossing and hospital ahead . This would be a text but it would not be a discourse. However, it can be made part of a discourse if it is used in an actual communicative activity. The communicative activity as it were would target some audience on some correct situation and place. This view is also expressed by Brown and Yule (1983) who say that a text is either a verbal or written record of a communicative event. The term text therefore essentially refers to a section of discourse. The




larger discourse gives text a frame that is institutionalised for operation. It is that text of discourse that is a system of communicative linguistic signs. These signs can be verbal or written. The system is organised in such a way that it is seen as belonging together as an entity. However, within the large system, there exist micro-systems that may be texts in their own right. Example, a poem in an anthology is a text yet the anthology is an overall text.

1.4. The Frankfurt school and Critical theory

The Frankfurt School, known more appropriately as Critical Theory, is a philosophical and sociological movement spread across many universities around the world. It was originally located at the Institute for Social Research (Institut für Sozialforschung), an attached institute at the Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany. The Institute was founded in 1923 thanks to a donation by Felix Weil with the aim of developing Marxist studies in Germany.

The academic influence of the critical method is far reaching. Some of the key issues and philosophical preoccupations of the School involve the critique of modernity and capitalist society, the definition of social emancipation, as well as the detection of the pathologies of society. Critical Theory provides a specific interpretation of Marxist philosophy with regards to some of its central economic and political notions like commodification, reification, fetishization and critique of mass culture.

Some of the most prominent figures of the first generation of Critical Theorists were Max Horkheimer (1895-1973), Theodor Adorno (1903-1969), Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979), Walter Benjamin (1892-1940), Friedrich Pollock (1894-1970), Leo Lowenthal (1900-1993), and Eric Fromm (1900-1980). Since the 1970s, a second generation began with Jürgen Habermas, who, among other merits, contributed to the opening of a dialogue between so-called continental and the analytic traditions. With Habermas, the Frankfurt School turned global, influencing




methodological approaches in other European academic contexts and disciplines. It was during this phase that Richard Bernstein, a philosopher and contemporary of Habermas, embraced the research agenda of Critical Theory and significantly helped its development in American universities starting from the New School for Social Research in New York.

The third generation of critical theorists, therefore, arose either from Habermas' research students in the United States and at Frankfurt am Main and Starnberg (1971-1982), or from a spontaneous convergence of independently educated scholars. Therefore, the third generation of Critical Theory scholars consists of two groups. The first group spans a broad time—denying the possibility of establishing any sharp boundaries. It can be said to include also scholars such as Andrew Feenberg, even if he was a direct student of Marcuse, or people such as Albrecht Wellmer who became an assistant of Habermas due to the premature death of Adorno in 1969. Klaus Offe, Josef Früchtl, Hauke Brunkhorst, Klaus Günther, Axel Honneth, Alessandro Ferrara, Cristina Lafont, and Rainer Forst, among others, are also members of this group. The second group of the third generation is instead composed mostly of American scholars who were influenced by Habermas' philosophy during his visits to the United States.

1.4.1. What is Critical theory

“What is ‘theory’?”: asked Horkheimer in the opening of his essay *Traditional and Critical Theory* [1937]. The discussion about method has been always a constant topic for those critical theorists who have attempted since the beginning to clarify the specificity of what it means to be “critical”. A primary broad distinction that Horkheimer drew was that of the difference in method between social theories, scientific theories and critical social theories. While the first two categories had been treated as instances of traditional theories, the latter connoted the methodology the Frankfurt School adopted.




Traditional theory, whether deductive or analytical, has always focused on coherency and on the strict distinction between theory and praxis. Along Cartesian lines, knowledge has been treated as grounded upon self-evident propositions or, at least, upon propositions based on self-evident truths. Accordingly, traditional theory has proceeded to explain facts by application of universal laws, that is, by subsumption of a particular to a universal in order to either confirm or disconfirm this. A verificationist procedure of this kind was what positivism considered to be the best explicatory account for the notion of praxis in scientific investigation. If one were to defend the view according to which scientific truths should pass the test of empirical confirmation, then one would commit oneself to the idea of an objective world. Knowledge would be simply a mirror of reality. This view is firmly rejected by critical theorists.

Under several aspects, what Critical Theory wants to reject in traditional theory is precisely this “picture theory” of language and knowledge as that defined by “the first” Wittgenstein in his *Tractatus*. According to such a view, later abandoned by “the second” Wittgenstein, the logical form of propositions consists in showing a possible fact and in saying whether this is true or false. For example, the proposition “it rains today” shows both the possibility of the fact that “it rains today” and it affirms that it is the case that “it rains today.” In order to check whether something is or is not the case, one must verify empirically whether the stated fact occurs or not. This implies that the condition of truth and falsehood presupposes an objective structure of the world.

1.5. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice. Scholars working in the tradition of CDA generally argue that (non-linguistic) social practice and linguistic practice constitute one another




and focus on investigating how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language use. (Fairclough, 1995). CDA is a unique approach in discourse analysis, which focuses on discursive components, conditions, and consequences of power abuse by dominant (elite) groups and institutions (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 65). Moreover, Critical Discourse Analysis is a method of analysis in relation to ideology and power (Fairclough, 2013). It is an approach that examines all aspects of language use in political or social domains. Jorgesen and Philips (2011) state that CDA has supplied methods for the empirical study of the relations between discourse, social and cultural developments in various social domains.

1.5.1. CDA by scholars

Van Dijk (1998) argued that CDA is a kind of discourse analytical research that studies the way dominance, inequality and social power abuse are resisted, reproduced and enacted by the talk and text in the political and social context. From the above mentioned, we can say that CDA focuses on revealing the hidden meaning of the text. It also shows how the speaker or the writer applies the power in his discourse in order to control the minds and actions of the dominant groups and persuade them with his beliefs and thoughts. Fairclough (1989) focuses on the study of ideology in political discourses. He proposes three-dimensional framework of analysis; description, interpretation and explanation. His approach is based on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) that is proposed to explain theories of discourse, language and society associated with the linguistic theory analytical method (Halliday, 1979).

Kress (1979) examines the shared aspects of language, lexical and syntactic structures used by society members when they intend to write or speak in all discourses. Fairclough (1989) argues that there is a strong relationship between society and discourse. This view claims that the structures are produced by the society and shape discourse which, in turn, shapes beliefs and




values in society. In other words, linguistic features are used in discourse to form and represent reality. The main purpose of CDA is then to find how the spoken or written texts are organized, and it investigates the hidden ideological features and power relations by analyzing the characteristics of language and structures in the text. Likewise, Joworski and Coupland (2006) observe that power relations are formed in discourse. Fowler (1985) states that the speaker uses language to manipulate, consolidate social relationships, concepts to reveal power and control.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p. 271-80) argued that the general principles of CDA are:

1. It deals with social problems.
2. Power relations are considered as discursive.
3. Discourse constitutes culture and society.
4. It performs an ideological work.
5. Discourses are historical.
6. It mediates connection between society and text.
7. It is explanatory and interpretative.
8. Social action shapes discourse.

Penny Cook (2001) presented a general classification of CDA. The first class deals with the way in which unequal power is represented in conversation. It concentrates on several issues such as turn-talking, control over topic and interactions. By doing this, we can prove for example that topics are started and changed by the dominant participant in a conversation. This demonstrates how power determines the identity of the speaker, about which topic and for how long.

The second class doesn't deal with structures but rather with the content. It focuses on the ways in which ideologies are represented in discourse. The aim of analysis in this class is to reveal




the underlying ideological representations and systems, and to show how they are connected with the larger social order. This class of analysis underpins the hidden ideological views of certain social groups, which they are able to enhance as naturalized.

Accordingly, CDA has moved beyond text analysis. It joined macro social analysis, power relations and micro linguistic analysis. Wang (2007) argued that Wodak's and Fairclough's works rely on linguistic analysis of texts, starting with the analysis of lexical resources, and moving through the analysis of syntactic functions and ending with the analysis of text metafunction and genre.

CDA is a sensitive approach of discourse analysis which gains its identity by distinguishing itself from other approaches and constitutes itself at several levels of selection, starting from choosing data, observation, explaining some theoretical concepts, and ending with the methods that link observation and theory (Meyer, 2001). The main purpose of CDA is to find how the text is organized and it investigates the hidden ideological features by analyzing the characteristics of language and structures in the text.

Critical discourse analysis is an innovative, multidisciplinary approach, which tackles a number of important social issues. It draws on many of the methodological tools of more traditional fields such as critical linguistics, text linguistics and sociolinguistics (Osisanwo, 2011). In fact, Norman Fairclough's approach or model draws upon the Hallidayan systemic functional linguistics (SFL) theory; his concern with language, discourse and power in society allows the integration of sociological concepts as well. CDA researchers do not merely 'simply appeal to 'context' to explain what is said or written or how it is interpreted', rather, they have come to see language as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1992:47). Discussions on the origin and developments of CDA have often centred around the quartet of Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Teun Van Dijk and Paul Chilton (Blommaert, 2005: 21). Another major scholar whose



propositions and initial theory have greatly encouraged the development of this theory is Roger Fowler, the proponent of Critical Linguistics. CDA has been viewed as an offshoot of Critical Linguistics. Another very useful definition of CDA that encapsulates most of the other definitions is the one given by Fairclough (1995b). According to him, CDA is the study of often-opaque relationships of causality and determinism between: (A) Discursive practices, events and texts, and (B) wider social and cultural structures.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997:271-80) give a summary of the main tenets of CDA to include:

- 1) CDA addresses social problems.
- 2) Power relations are discursive.
- 3) Discourse constitutes society and culture.
- 4) Discourse works ideologically.
- 5) Discourse is historical.
- 6) The link between text and society is mediated.
- 7) Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory.
- 8) Discourse is a form of social action.


Fairclough (1993: 135) in his definition perceives CDA as : discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practice, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

1.6. Political Discourse

Political discourse is an interdisciplinary subject in which different fields of study interact, such as politics, sociology, psychology, socio-linguistics, and others. It's importance stems from the influence that this discourse has on the future of the nation. People know very well that politicians have a direct impact on economic, social, cultural, and political aspects of life. However, it is politics which closely affects the decisions of war, peace, stability or conflict. For this reason, political speeches have attracted the attention of scholars, trying to interpret all message types, whether implicit or explicit, and uncover what they mean in reality (Sheveleva, 2012). PD is usually spoken. It is delivered by an affective speaker, president, king, deputy parliament, minister...etc. The affective speaker should have the advantage of voice quality which helps him influence listeners. He has to pay attention to what he said and plan the outcomes of the speech. Hence, politicians are looking for the effective speech in order to control and manipulate people minds. They use language to send their messages to achieve their goals.

Political language is usually simple because the speaker tries to communicate with people and who can't all understand the complex language. Moreover, political speeches have a number of functions. It is used to transform and deepen a particular phenomenon. It is used to convince listeners with the speaker's ideas by using some techniques such as analysis and explanation. Seidel (1985) argued that a political speech may constitute a domain, field or a genre. It is also an incredible achievement at a particular place and at a particular time, and contains three major elements;

- 1) The addressor or (the speaker).
- 2) The addressee or (the hearer).
- 3) The political speech itself.



Van Dijk (1998) mentioned that political discourse analysis deals with political authority abuse, supremacy or dominance. Thus, he views PD as a class of genres defined by the domain of politics, but not a genre by itself. Thus, political speeches, electoral debates, parliamentary deliberations, political programs and government discussions are therefore, some genres related to politics.


The current study is concerned with the political discourse of President Donald Trump during the corona virus pandemic. It investigates the structures that reveal some aspects of Trump's political attitudes and ideologies. Furthermore, Political Discourse defines as the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local national and international levels, includes both the speaker and the audience (Wortham, et al. 2017; Betti, 2021m: 10; and Igaab, 2015a: 121).

Political discourse analysis is a field of discourse analysis which focuses on discourse in political forums (such as debates, speeches, and hearings) as the phenomenon of interest. Policy analysis requires discourse analysis to be effective from the post-positivist perspective (Hult, 2015: 217–31; and Johnson, and Johnson, 2000: 291–317; Igaab, 2015b: 13; and Betti, 2021o: 1).

Political discourse is the formal exchange of reasoned views as to which of several alternative courses of action should be taken to solve a societal problem (Breeze, 2013; Betti, 2021p: 2; Igaab, and Al-Bdeary, 2016: 57).


1.6.1. Political Discourse by John Wilson

The study of political discourse, like that of other areas of discourse analysis, covers a broad range of subject matter, and draws on a wide range of analytic methods. Perhaps more than with other areas of discourse, however, one needs at the outset to consider the reflexive and potentially



ambiguous nature of the term political discourse. The term is suggestive of at least two possibilities: first, a discourse which is itself political; and second, an analysis of political discourse as simply an example discourse type, without explicit reference to political content or political context. But things may be even more confusing. Given that on some definitions almost all discourse may be considered political (Shapiro 1981), then all analyses of discourse are potentially political, and, therefore, on one level, all discourse analysis is political discourse. This potentially confusing situation arises, in the main, from definitions of the political in terms of general issues such as power, conflict, control, or domination (see Fairclough 1992a, 1995; Giddens 1991; Bourdieu 1991; van Dijk 1993; Chilton and Schaffer 1997), since any of these concepts may be employed in almost any form of discourse. Recently, for example, in a study of a psychotherapeutic training institution, Diamond (1995) refers to her study of the discourse of staff meetings as “political,” simply because issues of power and control are being worked out. They are being worked out at different levels, however: at interpersonal, personal, institutional, and educational levels for example, and in different strategic ways (Chilton 1997). By treating all discourse as political, in its most general sense, we may be in danger of significantly overgeneralizing the concept of political discourse.

Perhaps we might avoid these difficulties if we simply delimited our subject matter as being concerned with formal/informal political contexts and political actors (Graber 1981); with, that is, *inter alia*, politicians, political institutions, governments, political media, and political supporters operating in political environments to achieve political goals. This first approximation makes clearer the kinds of limits we might place on thinking about political discourse, but it may also allow for development. For example, analysts who themselves wish to present a political case become, in one sense, political actors, and their own discourse becomes, therefore, political. In this sense much of what is referred to as critical linguistics (Fairclough 1992b) or critical




discourse analysis (Van Dijk 1993; Wodak 1995) relates directly to work on political discourse, not only because the material for analysis is often formally political but also, perhaps, because the analysts have explicitly made themselves political actors (see van Dijk, this volume).

But such delimitation, like all delimitations, is not without its problems. For example, how do we deal with the work of Liebes and Ribak (1991) on family discussions of political events? Is this political discourse, or family discourse of the political? In one sense it is both – but the issue of which may simply be a matter of emphasis (see, for example, Ochs and Taylor 1992). While delimitations of the political are difficult to maintain in exact terms, they are nevertheless useful starting points. Equally, while one can accept that it is difficult to imagine a fully objective and nonpolitical account of political discourse, analysts can, at best, and indeed should, make clear their own motivations and perspectives. This may range from setting some form of “democratic” ideal for discourse against which other forms of political discourse are then assessed (Gastil 1993) to explicitly stating one’s political goals in targeting political discourse for analysis (as in the case of a number of critical linguists: Fairclough 1995; Wodak 1995; Van Dijk 1993). It also allows for more descriptive perspectives (Wilson 1990, 1996; Geis 1987), where the main goal is to consider political language first as discourse, and only secondly as politics. The general approach advocated above would respond to the criticism of Geis (1987), who argues that many studies of political language reveal their own political bias. Most of us who write about political discourse may do this at some level, but as long as this is either made clear or explicitly accepted as a possibility, then this seems acceptable.

1.6.2. Studying Political Discourse

The study of political discourse has been around for as long as politics itself. The emphasis the Greeks placed on rhetoric is a case in point. From Cicero (1971) to Aristotle (1991) the concern




was basically with particular methods of social and political competence in achieving specific objectives. While Aristotle gave a more formal twist to these overall aims, the general principle of articulating information on policies and actions for the public good remained constant. This general approach is continued today.

Modern rhetorical studies are more self-conscious, however, and interface with aspects of communication science, historical construction, social theory, and political science (for an overview see Gill and Whedbee 1997). While there has been a long tradition of interest in political discourse, if one strictly defines political discourse analysis in broadly linguistic terms (as perhaps all forms of discourse analysis should be defined: see Fairclough and Wodak 1997), it is only since the early 1980s or 1990s that work in this area has come to the fore. Indeed, Geis (1987) argues that his is the first text with a truly linguistic focus on political language/discourse. There is some merit in this argument, but without opening up issues about what is and what is not linguistics, many of the earlier studies in social semiotics and critical linguistics should also be included in a general linguistic view of political discourse (Fowler et al. 1979; Chilton 1990, 1985; Steiner 1985). While language is always clearly central to political discourse, what shifts is the balance between linguistic analysis and political comment. Distinguishing the direction of this balance, however, is not always straight forward.

1.7. Review of literature

1.7.1. Language and Communication

Language and communication are to process that walks a side. Language is used as the way to communicate in human interaction. This makes language very important as part of communication. In the other hand, communication itself is a learned skill of humans. Normally, human has a natural ability to talk and speak to each other. Communication is defined as the act



of giving, receiving, or exchanging information, ideas and opinions between the addresser and addressee they 're linked by important elements of communication which are ;source, message, encoding, channel, decoding, receiver, feedback, and context (Gemma, 2013). The first element is source. Source is the person or thing attempting to share information. The source of communication can be a person (living) or thing (non-living entity) because communication does not depend on what kind of entity as the source of communication is, but it focuses on the information delivered by the source of communication and will be gotten by the receiver. The second element is message. There always will be a message inside a communication because the aim of the communication itself is to deliver a message to the receiver. The simplest definition of the message is the information you want to communicate. Next is encoding. Encoding is the process of assembling the message into a representative design with the objective of ensuring that the receiver can comprehend it (Gemma, 2013).

The fourth is channel. We can simply say channel as a medium of communication. It can be written or spoken channel, direct or indirect channel, and so on. Decoding is the next element. It is the process of the receiver try to understand the message from the encoder or the speaker. Next is receiver. There are some factors that influence how the receivers decode the messages from the speaker, for instance how they will react, their sense of humor, their moral conduct, where common ground is shared, and so on. The seventh element is feedback. Feedback here in communication is the moment of reckoning. The last element is the context. This is also an important element because the meaning of the message from the speaker of communication can be interpreted by the receiver by considering the context of their communication too.

1.8. Roman Jakobson's model of the function of language

Roman Osipovich Jakobson, as known as Roman Jakobson (1896-1982), a Russian linguist, proposed a theory related to language functions. It is popular as Jakobson's six functions of language. Jakobson in (Chandler, 2007, p.184) states that there were six important elements in his models of communication; context, message, addresser, addressee, contact, and code. A message is sent by the addresser (a sender, or enunciator) to the addressee (a receiver, or enunciatee). The message cannot be understood outside of a context. A "Code" should be common fully or at least partially to the addresser and addressee. A contact which is physical channel and psychological connection between addresser and addressee is necessary for both of them to enter and stay in communication. From those elements of communication, Jakobson conducted six functions of language which are still oriented with six important elements. According to Lanigan (2010, p.154), there were referential function or cognitive function, poetic function or articulating function, emotive function or expressive function, conative function or interpretive function, phatic function or connotative function, and metalinguist function or glossing function.



Figure 1: Factoes of jakobson's functions of language





The table below is a compilation that contains a brief overview of each function’s classification, orientation, role, and an example to illustrate its use:

Table 1: Language function and its classifications, orientations, roles, and examples

Classification	Strongest Factor	Function	Examples
Referential	Context	descriptions, contextual information	The Earth is round. Our store working hours are 8am-7pm, Sunday through Friday.
Emotive	Addresser	interjections/expressions of emotional state	Yuck, Wow, Oh, yummy, yuppy...
Conative	Addressee	concerned with commanding; vocative or imperative addressing of the receiver	Shoo. Get out of here. Check this out. Go on, open it!
Phatic	Contact	concerns channel of communication; performs social task as opposed to conveying information; to establish, prolong, or discontinue conversation	Hello! Mmmhmm...How about that? Really? No way.
Metalinguistic	Code	requires language analysis; using language to discuss language	Noun, adjective, codes witching What do you mean by 'krill'?
Poetic/Aesthetic	Message	involves choosing words carefully; the art of words, often self-reflective	Smurf But, soft! What light through yonder window breaks?

Briefly, these six functions can be described as follows:

1.8.1. Referential function

According to Holmes “referential function is a function to convey information and this is done through different forms of speech, such as declarative or interrogative statements” (2001, p.286).


According to Jakobson in Sebeok, referential or cognitive function is the leading task of numerous messages, the accessory participation of the other functions in such messages must be taken into account by the observant linguist (1960, p.353). Referential function is oriented towards the context of the communication. This function aims to send information or to tell others about the speaker’s idea.

1.8.2 .Poetic function

Jakobson stated in Sebeok’s book that poetic function is “the function towards the message as such, focus on the message for its own sake” (1960, p.354) this function cannot be productively studied out of touch with the general problems of language, and, in the other side, the scrutiny of language requires a thorough consideration of its poetic function. This function is oriented towards the message of communication (Chandler, 2007, p.184). This function focuses on the paradigmatic and syntagmatic category reversal (Lanigan, 2010, p.154). This function is aimed at foregrounding textual features in which the particular form chosen is the essence of the message.

1.8.3. Emotive function

Based on Jakobson in Sebeok, emotive function focused on the addresser, aims at a direct expression of the speaker’s attitude toward what he is speaking about (1960, p.354). It is oriented to the addresser which is the speaking person. Emotive function state the speaker, affect bodily comportment, and implementation of cognition (Lanigan, 2010, p.154). It also an indication of phonic, grammatical, and lexical levels of distinctive features. The function of this emotive



function is to communicate the emotion of the addresser or express the feelings of the speaker's attitude.

1.8.4. Conative function


Conative or interpretive function is an orientation toward the addressee. It occurs earliest in the child's language acquisition. This function is influencing behavior or in other words, through this function, the speaker is trying to get someone as the receiver to do something related to his or her utterances. In this conative function, we just take a look at the speaker's utterance. If it indicates the addressee to do something, then we called it as a conative function (Jakobson, 1995).

1.8.5. Phatic function

These functions of language follow of communication factors (sender, receiver, message, code and channel) traditionally identified, and improve the previous works of the German linguist Karl Bühler (1879-1963). It is also known as the relational function, is one that focuses on the communication channel that allows the physical transmission of information between sender and receiver. In the case, for example, of spoken language, the channel is the sound waves of the voice, transmitted through the air. This means that the phatic function takes place when language is used to verify the availability and suitability of the communication channel, before beginning the exchange of information. In this way, it is verified that there are no stumbling blocks or barriers in the channel, which could deteriorate the quality of communication, if not impede it altogether.

1.8.6. Metalingual function


Jakobson in Sebeok (1960, p.356) stated: "Whenever the addresser and/or the addressee need to check up whether they use the same code, speech is focused on the code: it performs a



multilingual function.” This function is aimed to refer to the nature of the interaction and focusing attention upon the code, clarify it or renegotiate it. Furthermore, it can be used to talk about semantic or grammatical structures, to provide students with tools to monitor their own learning, and to clarify misunderstandings. It’s also an essential part of early language, not only in second language acquisition, but also for children who are learning to speak their first language. When small children begin to connect objects or abstract notions with certain combinations of sound and stress, they occasionally need to confirm what they are hearing through this metalinguistic function, or code. It allows the language to explain itself, that is, find equivalents from one language to another, or clarify terms that the receiver does not know, or even convert elements from one language to another. It focuses on the code of communication.

1.9. Conclusion

This chapter highlights notions related to discourse analysis. It was devoted to a historical, theoretical research and discourse analysis background. It involves multiple definitions of Discourse analysis, Discourse, Text and importantly by focusing on political Discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis, which are related to our research. Moreover it illustrates the role and the importance of Roman Jakobson's theory of the function of language in studying political speeches. Taking into consideration all what have been presented this chapter will pave the way to the next chapter in analyzing the political speech of Donald Trump by using the theory of Roman Jakobson.



Chapter Two:

Data Analysis



2.1. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to analyse the data collection from the discourse of Donald Trump in UN the 22th of September 2020. By using two research approaches. First, qualitative by employing Roman Jakobson's theory to analyse the data collection in the speech, to select the types of language functions used and the most dominant one. Second, quantitative approach to identify the most frequent pronouns and models in the speech types of language functions used in Donald Trump speech. This analysis provided a detail explanation in the form of descriptions of the data.

2.2. Results & Implicature

2.2.1. Results

2.2.1.1. Personal pronoun "We"

After collecting the personal pronoun "We" in Donald Trump's speech, the findings are presented in the tables below.

Table below is the categorization of the research finding of pronoun:

Table 2: Frequency of Personal pronoun "We" in Donald Trump's Speech

Personal pronoun	We
Frequency	12

The pronoun that is examined in this study is the subjective plural pronoun "We".

Noticeably, Donald Trump used the personal pronoun "we" twelve times in his speech. We can observe that the pronoun "We" is used more frequently in his speech.


2.2.1.2 Modal Verbs "Will" and "Must"

In this section of analysis, we as researcher analyzes the structures of modal verbs as this helps in exploring the speaker's intentions and degrees of certainty, and may also reflect the potential hopes, predictions, the abilities of the speaker and decisions. The modal verbs "Will", "Must" are investigated.

Table below is the categorization of the research finding of model verbs.

Table 3: Frequency of modal verbs "Will" and "Must"

Modal verbs	Will	Must
Frequency	4	2



From the above figure, we can observe that “will” is the most frequently used modal by Donald Trump. It was used four times in his speech. Another noticeable aspect is the use of “Must” two times in order to express necessity and obligation.

2.2.2. Implicature

2.2.2.1. Personal pronouns "We"


With regard to the use of pronouns, the results show that Trump uses the pronoun "we" more frequently in his speech to express the institutional identity of America. He uses this technique to convey the meaning of one team in which every member shares responsibility and is involved in serving the country. The following examples help in illustrating this idea:

"We pioneered lifesaving treatments, reducing our fatality rate 85 percent since April." (NBC 22/09/2020).

These utterances show that Trump is trying hard to take all necessary measures to save the lives of the infected patients by providing life-saving treatments. He tries to imply that his decisions are wise and taken on the right time in order to obtain their trust.

The notions of "togetherness" and unity are emphasized again through the use of "we" as can be seen in the following utterance:

"We will distribute a vaccine. **We** will defeat the virus. **We** will end the pandemic. And we will enter a new era of unprecedented prosperity, cooperation, and peace."
(NBC 22/09/2020).



Trump here uses impressive language to influence the emotions of his audiences to side with him, especially after the number of infected people has increased to 85 percent since April. He tries to gain popularity in order to win the elections.

2.2.2.2. Modal verbs “Will”


"We **will** distribute a vaccine. We **will** defeat the virus. We **will** end the pandemic. And we **will** enter a new era of unprecedented prosperity, cooperation, and peace" (NBC 22/09/2020).

These quotations show that the president promised his people that the epidemic will end and will not spread further. Also, Trump shows a strong belief that his country will get through this crisis and that his country will enter a new era of unprecedented prosperity again.

The results revealed that Donald Trump used the modal "will" quite frequently in his speech because he wanted to show that he is a powerful president who has a good experience which enables him to achieve the goals he set for himself and for the American people. The following quotations are to illustrate his presupposition.

2.2.2.3. Modal verbs “Must”

Another modal used by Trump in his speech is must. This modal expresses obligation and necessity. The modal must serve as a very general marker of obligation, with more specific senses such as urgency, irresistibility, and unconditionality being attributable to pragmatic interpretation. In Trump's speech, the modal must mostly refer to obligation. The results show that Trump used the modal "must" frequently. He tried to underline the importance of holding



China, the nation that brought this epidemic to the world, accountable. As can be seen in the following examples:

"We **must** hold accountable the nation which unleashed this plague onto the world: China. In the earliest days of the virus, China locked down travel domestically while allowing flights to leave China and infect the world"(NBC 22/09/2020).

"The United Nations **must** hold China accountable for their actions"(NBC 22/09/2020).

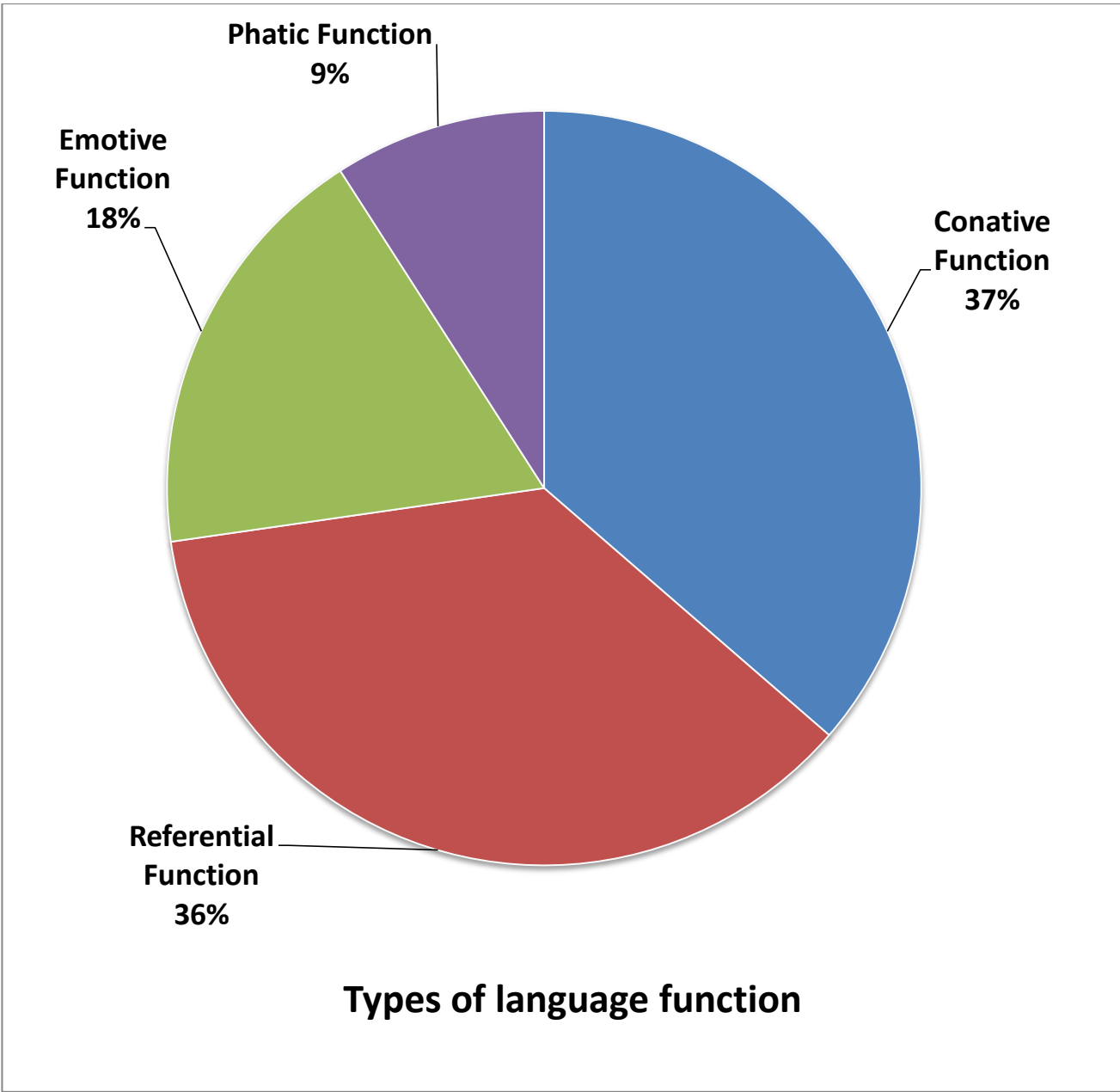
Both examples "must" mentioned with the notions of "togetherness", which refers to the speaker, his audience, and the UN, hence, establishing its epistemic meaning.

2.2.3. Result of the analysis

The results show that there are four types of language functions used in Donald Trump's speech. Conative function is found in 4 utterances (37%), emotive function is found in two utterances (18%), referential function was found in four utterances (36%), phatic is found in one utterances only(9%), while poetic function is found in one utterance .Below are some representatives of the result analysis:



Figure 4: Types of language function



2.2.4. The language function

2.2.4.1. Conative function

The conative function concern with the (Addressee). It finds its purest way in using the imperative with a vocative. This is where you mention a person's name or some other way of identifying the person to whom a command or request is being addressed.

In the speech of Donald Trump regarding his speech about China virus, we can notice that he uses sort of conative function. Trump used the modal verb "Must" with the verb "Hold" to persuade and insist to the United Nation to take the necessary measures against China. This is showed in the following utterances:


"The United Nations **must hold China accountable** for their actions."

(NBC 22/09/2020).

Also, in this second utterances he also used conative function, by using the Adverb "rapidly" to show that he and his governments rushes to provide his people and others with the supply that was needed. Also, Trump said "we rapidly produced" to show that he is sharing responsibility of producing supply of ventilators to get them out of the pandemic. This is showed in the following utterances:

"We **rapidly produced** a record supply of ventilators creating a surplus that allowed us to share them with friends and partners all around the globe." (NBC 22/09/2020).

We can also observe that he uses of conative function, by addressing his audience and informing them that he is one of the first producers of treatment. And he express that by sharing responsibility with US government by using the personal pronoun "We". Moreover, Trump in



this specific sentence trump is trying to comforts his people that the virus is under control and that his policy in reducing the spread of disease is working by using statistics as reasoning. This is showed in the following utterances:

"We pioneered lifesaving treatments, reducing our fatality rate 85 percent since April."
(NBC 22/09/2020).


In the following utterances he also used conative function. We can observe it when he used the personal pronoun " We" in making a statement that informs his people that he and the US government will end the pandemic. Also, the used the modal verb "will" because he is the decision maker and he is sure of what he is saying. He is expressing his beliefs about the future by making declarative sentence containing vitally important information. This is showed in the following utterances:

"We will distribute a vaccine. We will defeat the virus. We will end the pandemic. And we will enter a new era of unprecedented prosperity, cooperation, and peace"(NBC 22/09/2020).

2.2.4.2. Referential function

Referential function is its main concern is the (context). In brief it is about conveying information and this is done through different forms of speech, such as declarative or interrogative statements.

In the speech of Donald Trump regarding his speech about China virus, we can observe that he use sort of referential function. Trump use in his speech racist dichotomy, and "Us" refer to we, USA government and American. Also, "Them" refer to the invisible enemy China, China virus and World Health Organization. It is showed in the following statement:



"We have waged a **fierce battle against the invisible enemy — the China virus** — which has claimed **countless** lives in 188 countries." (NBC 22/09/2020).

The next statement also a referential function was mentioned , Trump used the adverb "falsely" to blame Chinese government and WHO for their false information, and he used the adverb "falsely" to denial the information of WHO and accusing it of conspiracy with China. It is showed in the following statement:

"The Chinese government and the World Health Organization, which is virtually controlled by China, **falsely** declared that there was no evidence of human-to-human transmission." (NBC 22/09/2020).

Also, we can notice that he use sort of referential function. We found that they are referring all what is against US and, Trump used the personal pronoun "They" to refer to the government and the World Health Organization. It is showed in the following statement:

"Later **they** falsely said people without symptoms would not spread the disease."
(NBC 22/09/2020).

Moreover, we can notice that he use sort of referential function in the following statement, Trump mentioned that he will share supply with friends and partners instead of saying the entire world. By these utterances he's clearly showing racist dichotomy. It is showed in the following statement:

"We rapidly produced a record supply of ventilators creating a surplus that allowed us to share them with **friends and partners** all around the globe." (NBC 22/09/2020).

2.1.4.3. Emotive function

Emotive function concerns with the (Addresser). It is to express personal feelings, thoughts, ideas and opinions, with different choice words, intonation, etc. These expressions are submissive to social factors and to the nature of the expression as negative or positive.

In the speech of Donald Trump regarding his speech about China virus, we can notice that he use sort of emotive function. He used the adjective profound to show that he felt and experienced very strongly and in an extreme way. He used the adjective profound to show the emotion that he felt were very strongly to speak up in such a place. It is showed in the following statement:

"It is my **profound honor** to address the United Nations General Assembly, 75 years after the end of World War II and the founding of the United Nations." (NBC 22/09/2020).

In the speech of Donald Trump regarding his speech about China virus, we can notice that he use sort of emotive function. He used the noun Thanks to express his gratitude about the efforts that has been done to produce the vaccines. It is showed in the following statement:

"**Thanks to our efforts**, three vaccines are in the final stage of clinical trials." (NBC 22/09/2020).

2.2.4.4. Phatic function

Phatic function concerns with the (contact). It focuses on physical and psychological engagement. This function is establishing, prolonging, checking, or discontinuing the linguistic messages in communication.

In the speech of Donald Trump regarding his speech about China virus, we can notice that he use sort of phatic function. He used once again to know whether the channel works or no and

whether the addressee is still there. He used once again to provide the keys to open maintain and verify the communication channel. It is showed in the following statement:

"We are **once again engaged** in a great global struggle." (NBC 22/09/2020).

Finally, the result shows that there are five types of language functions used in this speech. Each of them has a various number of utterances, start from the conative and referential function as the most dominant type of language functions used in this speech until poetic function that only consists of one utterance only in this speech.

2.2.5. Impicature of the functions

2.2.5.1. Conative function

Trump insists on punishing China by putting pressure on the United Nation to take the necessary measurements. It is showed in the following statement:

"The United Nations **must hold China accountable** for their actions." (NBC 22/09/2020).

Also, In light of the lack of ventilators during the pandemic, Trump took advantage of this matter and produced them .By his statement he indirectly made an advertisement about them to be one of the pioneers in its production and sale to the world. It is showed in the following statement:

"We **rapidly produced** a record supply of ventilators creating a surplus that allowed us to share them with friends and partners all around the globe". (NBC 22/09/2020).

Trump in this specific sentence trump is trying to comforts his people that the virus is under control and that his policy in reducing the spread of disease is working by using statistics as reasoning. It is showed in the following statement:

"We pioneered lifesaving treatments, reducing our fatality rate 85 percent since April".

(NBC 22/09/2020).

Trump in this statement is undertaking or promising his people that he is on the process of making the change to end this pandemic. He was trying to gain the people's trust by showing them that he is capable of that by using his strong language. It is showed in the following statement:

"We will distribute a vaccine. We will defeat the virus. We will end the pandemic. And we will enter a new era of unprecedented prosperity, cooperation, and peace". (NBC 22/09/2020).

2.2.5.2. Phatic function

Trump exacerbated the crisis after talking about World War II, as if he was indicating that we are currently fighting a new war against china. It is showed in the following statement:

"We are **once again engaged** in a great global struggle." (NBC 22/09/2020).

2.2.5.3. Emotive function

In the following utterances Donald Trump expresses his gratitude for the American efforts to create a vaccine for the Corona virus.

"**Thanks to our efforts**, three vaccines are in the final stage of clinical trials." (NBC 22/09/2020).

At the beginning of his speech, Trump expresses his feeling by saying this utterance. He wants the audience to know that it is such an honor for him to be with the UN. It is showed in the following statement:

"It is my **profound honor** to address the United Nations General Assembly, 75 years after the end of World War II and the founding of the United Nations." (NBC 22/09/2020).

2.1.5.4. Referential function

Trump said a controversial statements "the china virus" he is clearly accusing china for the spread of the disease he is clearly being racist against china .which is not new for him he is well known for his racist thoughts against others un-American. One of the major consequences of this speech that it lead to Rise in incidents of hate since the onset of COVID-19, according to officials and advocates, and critics say the former president's repeated use of "China Virus" . It is showed in the following statement:

"We have waged a **fierce battle against the invisible enemy — the China virus** — which has claimed countless lives in 188 countries." (NBC 22/09/2020).

President Donald Trump abruptly stopped referring to the Covid-19 corona virus by its usual name, which specialists and laypeople had been using for months, and began referring to it as "the Chinese virus". That is showing his racist against China. It is showed in the following statement:

"The Chinese government and the World Health Organization, which is virtually controlled by China, **falsely** declared that there was no evidence of human-to-human transmission"(NBC 22/09/2020).

A part of Trump's statement holds some credibility that the WHO did not alert the world quickly that the new virus could travel among people. The WHO said initially that there was "no clear evidence." But by Jan. 14, a senior official said they could not rule out human-to-human transmission given the experience with SARS. That statement was made only two weeks after the WHO first learned of the new virus. Accepters assure that The WHO could have highlighted



the human-to-human transmission sooner than it did and pressed China for more information. Trump, of course, could have done the same — and failed to do so, for weeks longer. It is showed in the following statement:

"Later **they** falsely said people without symptoms would not spread the disease."(NBC 22/09/2020).

Trump took advantage of the original statements of The WHO that elicited a strong reaction from outside public health experts, who noted that the agency had erred, or at least miscommunicated, when it said that people without symptoms were unlikely to spread the virus. He clearly blamed the WHO for the misleading news. Trump after that announced that he is halting funding for the World Health Organization. It is showed in the following statement:

"Later **they** falsely said people without symptoms would not spread the disease."(NBC 22/09/2020).

Trump announces that he will provide supply of ventilators with friends and partners only, and he did not circulate to the entire world .In short, America with its allies only. . It is showed in the following statement:

"We **rapidly produced** a record supply of ventilators creating a surplus that allowed us to share them with friends and partners all around the globe." (NBC 22/09/2020).

The results show that there are four main types of language functions used in Donald Trump's speech each one are explained above with details .



As a conclusion to this chapter, the results of this analysis shows that the speech of Donald Trump according to the theory Roman Jakobson of language function it contains four main functions of language function. Which are conative, emotive, referential and phatic. And the most dominant type of LF that he used in his speech is the conative function and the referential. In addition, Language in Donald Trump's speech is analyzed from the angles of personal pronouns "We" and modal verbs "Will" and "Must ". Language form can reflect the audience's view, attitude and stance, which reveal his real intention, and to influences the audience's minds and change their ideologies.



General Conclusion


General Conclusion

This thesis has dealt with the analysis of Donald Trump speech in UN the 22th of September 2020 during the corona virus crisis. The main focus was to reveal the ideology of Trump, the strategies and arguments that he used to persuade his audience. For these objectives, the thesis was divided into chapters.

First chapter, shed light on the historical and theoretical side of discourse analysis and the main concepts of it. Also, the theoretical stance that political discourses are generally, characterized or underpinned by linguistic expressions carefully selected by speakers in order to achieve a certain purpose or intent and to have a specific kind of impact on listeners was underscored by this study.

The second chapter was a part of the analysis. It has been devoted to answer the research question. Regarding the first research question, the answer is that there are four main function of language function which are conative , emotive , referential and phatic , and the most dominant type of language function used in Donald Trump's speech are the conative function and the referential . It means that Donald Trump focuses on his audience through the message that he delivered inside this speech and he used a series of resources that facilitate the transmission and understanding of the message. A specific case is the use of verbs and nouns. Through this speech, he wants to persuade and convince his audience as his addressee to follow his opinion and doing something like the impact of his speech.

Concerning the second research question, the answer is Trump also builds the discursive practice by limiting the use of pronoun "I" and increases the use of pronoun "we", because they are mostly aimed to show the unity as the strategy to convince and persuade addressee to being in accord with his argument. Furthermore, the analysis showed that Donald Trump used the



modal "will" quite frequently to make his audience believe that he is capable of ending the pandemic by trusting his policy and to follow his ideology in order to achieve his goals, his speech was very powerful because it made wide controversial and many believed his words, because of that particular speech had huge negative impact on China both sides politically and economically, also both USA- China relation.

For the last research question, its answer is that Trump uses multiple arguments including statistics and facts that China and WHO shared wrong information about the virus in its early stages.

As a final remark from this research, point of view our point of view as a researcher, we discovered that the existence of language functions in speech, as our form of communication, is definitely important either for the speaker as the addresser or the audience as the addressee. The speaker should understand the aim of conveying their speech in order to choose the right types of language functions , pronouns , modal verbs and verbs ..., to make the appropriate utterances, since there are six elements influencing the communication that are required in having communication, such as context, addresser, addressee, contact, common code, and message (Jakobson, 1995). Those elements play an important role to make their message sent clearly to the audience. Without understanding the elements and types of language functions, the speaker will be difficult to choose the appropriate utterances, especially if the speaker is someone who has an important role in society, as Donald Trump did. .

As a recommendation, we hope that other students use the theory of Roman Jakobson's to study political speech .It will increase their awareness of the discursive aspect of language and improve their critical proficiencies in doing discourse analysis. It also will help training them in doing Critical discourse analysis to speeches of political discourse.

References

- Al-Haq, F. A. A., & Al-Sleibi, N. M. (2015). A Critical Discourse Analysis of Three Speeches of King Abdullah II. *US-China Foreign Language*, 13(5), 317-332.
- Aliyah, I. (2015). Language functions of toyota advertisement headlines. Thesis. English Department Faculty of Adab and Cultural Sciences State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.
- Asdar, M. S. (2017). An analysis of language Function in BPEC (Benteng PanynyuaEnglish Club) in Fort Rotterdam. Thesis. English and Literature Department.
- Bramley, N. R. (2001). *Pronouns of Politics: the use of pronouns in the construction of 'self'*.
- Brown, G. and Yule, G. (1983). *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, G. and Yule, G. (1988). *Discourse analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coates, J. (1983). *The semantics of the modal auxiliaries*. Routledge.
- Collins, P. (2009). *Modals and quasi-modals in English* (No. 67). Rodopi. Edley, N., & Litosseliti, L. (2010). Contemplating interviews and focus groups. *Research methods in linguistics*, 155-179.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *CriticalLanguage Awareness*. London:Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge, UK, and Cambridge, MA: Polity.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London and New York:Longman. (Fairclough, N, 1992)
- Fairclough, N. & Wodak, R. (1997). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. In T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction* (Vol. 2, pp. 258-284). London: Sage.

- Fairclough (N.). 2004. *Critical Discourse Analysis in Researching Language in the New Capitalism: Overdetermination*.
- Gemma, W. (2013). *The elements of communication: A theoretical approach*. UdeMy, Inc. Retrieved from blog.udemy.com.
- Holmes, J. (2013). *An introduction to sociolinguistics* (4th ed.). London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.
- Jakobson, R. (1960). *Linguistics and Poetics*. T. Sebeok (ed.), *Style in Language*, Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press.
- Jakobson, R. (1995). *On Language*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- (Purwati, L) Purwati, L. (2015). Analysis of language function in president susilo bambang yudhoyono's speech. 1-15. Retrieved from Academia.edu database.
- NEUMAN, S. (2020, September 22). *Coronavirus Updates*. Récupéré sur <https://www.npr.org/sections/coronavirus-live-updates/2020/09/22/915630892/in-u-n-speech-trump-blasts-china-and-who-blaming-them-for-spread-of-covid-19>.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (Ed.). 1997b. *Discourse as social interaction*. Discourse studies 2. London: Sage.
- Van Dijk, T. (2001). *Critical discourse analysis*. The Handbook of discourse analysis. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Widdowson, H.G. (2007). *Discourse Analysis: Oxford Introduction to Language study*.
- Wilson, J. (2001). *Political discourse*. The Handbook of discourse analysis. Oxford: Blackwell
- Widdowson, H.G. (2007). *Discourse Analysis: Oxford Introduction to Language study*. Oxford University Press.



Ward, A. (2020, Sep 22). *voxmedia*. Récupéré sur

<https://www.vox.com/world/2020/9/22/21450727/trump-unga-speech-2020-full-text-china>.



Appendix

Transcripts of Trump's speech on September 22, 2020.

"It is my profound honor to address the United Nations General Assembly, 75 years after the end of World War II and the founding of the United Nations.

We are once again engaged in a great global struggle. We have waged a fierce battle against the invisible enemy — the China virus — which has claimed countless lives in 188 countries.

In the United States, we launched the most aggressive mobilization, since the Second World War. We rapidly produced a record supply of ventilators creating a surplus that allowed us to share them with friends and partners all around the globe. We pioneered lifesaving treatments, reducing our fatality rate 85 percent since April. Thanks to our efforts, three vaccines are in the final stage of clinical trials. We are mass producing them in advance so they can be delivered immediately upon arrival.

We will distribute a vaccine. We will defeat the virus. We will end the pandemic. And we will enter a new era of unprecedented prosperity, cooperation, and peace.

As we pursue this bright future, we must hold accountable the nation which unleashed this plague onto the world: China. In the earliest days of the virus, China locked down travel domestically while allowing flights to leave China and infect the world.

China condemned my travel ban on their country, even as they canceled domestic flights and locked citizens in their homes. The Chinese government and the World Health Organization, which is virtually controlled by China, falsely declared that there was no evidence of human-to-human transmission. Later they falsely said people without symptoms would not spread the disease. The United Nations must hold China accountable for their actions."



Résumé

Cette étude vise à étudier comment la langue est utilisée dans le discours de Donald Trump à l'ONU le 22 septembre 2020 pendant la crise du virus corona. L'objectif principal est de trouver les stratégies langagières discursives utilisées dans ce discours qui signifient pouvoir et idéologie. Sur la base de la théorie de Roman Jakobson (1990, p. 185), le discours sera analysé en utilisant les six fonctions du langage, référentiel, émotif, poétique, conatif, phatique et métalinguistique. De plus, l'étude utilise la modalité et le pronom personnel comme dispositifs linguistiques supplémentaires afin de révéler l'intention politique du président. Une approche quantitative est également employée pour compter le pronom personnel "Nous" et les verbes modaux "Must" et "Will". Le résultat de la découverte montre que Donald J Trump utilise systématiquement la répétition et qu'il a tendance à faire une représentation négative de l'autre groupe. Par ailleurs, les usages du pronom visent surtout à montrer l'unité comme stratégie pour convaincre et persuader ses destinataires. Le résultat montre aussi que la construction de la pratique discursive de sa langue s'organise par l'ordre des mots pour persuader l'auditoire de croire et de soutenir sa vision idéologique.

Mots clés : Analyse critique du discours, discours politique, théorie de Jakobson, idéologie, modalité.

خلاصة

تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى استقصاء نسق اللغة المستخدمة في خطاب دونالد ترامب في الأمم المتحدة في 22 سبتمبر 2020 أثناء تفشي أزمة فيروس كورونا. ينصب التركيز الرئيسي للبحث على إيجاد استراتيجيات اللغة الخطابية المستخدمة في هذا الخطاب والتي تدل على القوة والأيدولوجية. استنادًا إلى نظرية رومان جاكوبسون (1990 ، ص 185) ، سيتم تحليل الخطاب باستخدام الوظائف اللغة الستة : المرجعية والعاطفية والشعرية والانتباهية والافهامية ووظيفة ما وراء اللغة . ايضا ، تستخدم الدراسة النمطية والضمائر الشخصية كأدوات لغوية إضافية من أجل الكشف عن القصد و النية السياسية للرئيس. ايضا سيتم استخدام النهج الكمي لحساب الضمير الشخصي "نحن" والأفعال الشرطية "لا بد" و "سوف". تظهر حصيلة النتائج أن دونالد ترامب يستخدم التكرار باستمرار ، ويميل إلى تقديم تمثيل سلبي للمجموعة الأخرى. علاوة على ذلك ، فإن استخدام الضمير "نحن" يهدف غالبًا إلى إظهار الوحدة كاستراتيجية لحث وإقناع من يخاطبهم. تظهر النتيجة أيضًا أن بناء الممارسة الخطابية للغة يتم تنظيمها من خلال ترتيب الكلمات وذلك لإقناع الجمهور لدعم وجهة نظره الأيدولوجية .

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي, الخطاب السياسي, نظرية جاكوبسون , ايدولوجيا , ادوات شرطية .