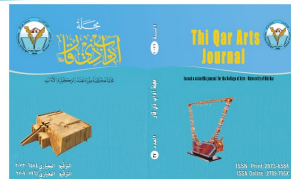


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Dialectics and International Hegemonism in the Discourse of Trump on COVID-19

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Abstract

The present study was an attempt to bridge the gap between political discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and COVID-19 which can be considered as the most recently contentious social event in the contemporary history of the world. It aimed to identify the relationships between language and identity and to examine the dialectics of the international hegemony in the speech of the former American President Trump which was delivered to the United Nations General Assembly on Sept. 22, 2020. For achieving the objectives of this study, Fairclough's (2001) Dialectical Ways of Social Practices and Halliday's (1985) SFG were adopted. The study arrived at certain conclusions which could be summed up as the following: I. via ideational and interpersonal metafunctions, the American national identity was disclosed as the most prominent theme in the whole speech; II. Interpersonal metafunctions of 'Tense', whereby the employment of present tense appeared to be more frequent (11 times) than the past tense (7 times), helped reveal the embedded ideology of 'Americanism' or 'exceptionalism' as a social act and behavior; III. the ideology of 'Americanism' was also displayed by the interpersonal metafunctions of pronouns whereby the inclusive pronouns appeared to be more frequent (11 times) than the exclusive ones (1 time), IV. by-way-of the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions, the dialectical social practice of 'Othering' was defined; China and the WHO were identified to be the fundamental 'Other' for Trump, and V. the American hegemony as a dialectical social practice was revealed through the interpersonal metafunction of the modal verb 'must'.

Keywords: Political Discourse, National Identity, Critical Discourse Analysis, COVID-19, Intra-national Struggle

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المستخلص

تعد الدراسة الحالية محاولة لسد الفجوة بين الخطاب السياسي والتحليل النقدي للخطاب وكوفييد ١٩ الذي يمكن اعتباره من أكثر الأحداث الاجتماعية المثيرة للجدل في تاريخ العالم المعاصر. هدفت الدراسة الى التعرف على العلاقات بين اللغة والهوية، وكذلك التعرف على ديالكتيك الهيمنة العالمية المتضمنة في خطاب الرئيس الامريكى ترامب الذي ألقاه أمام الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة في ٢٢ \ ٠٩ \ ٢٠٢٠. لتحقيق أهداف الدراسة تم اعتماد طريقة فيركلف (٢٠٠١) والتي تعرف (بالطرق الديالكتيكية للممارسات الاجتماعية) واعتمدت الدراسة كذلك القواعد المنهجية الوظيفية لهالدي (١٩٨٥). توصلت الدراسة الى الاستنتاجات التي يمكن تلخيصها على النحو الاتي:

١. من خلال التعريفات الفكرية الشخصية تم الكشف عن الهوية الوطنية الأمريكية باعتبارها الموضوع الأبرز في الخطاب بأكمله.
٢. ساعدت الوظائف الوصفية الشخصية لاستخدام الزمن المضارع الذي هو أكثر تكراراً (١١ مرة) من الزمن الماضي (٧ مرات) في الكشف عن أيديولوجية الأمركة كعمل وسلوك اجتماعي.
٣. كذلك تم الكشف عن أيديولوجية الأمركة من خلال التعريفات الشخصية للضمائر والتي من خلالها ظهرت الضمائر الشاملة أكثر تكراراً (١١) من الضمائر الحصرية (مرة واحدة).
٤. تم التعرف على الممارسة الاجتماعية الديالكتيكية لمفهوم الأخر من خلال الفوقية الفكرية لشخصية الرئيس الأمريكي ترامب عندما حدد الصين ومنظمة الصحة العالمية على أنهما الأخر الأساسي.
٥. تم الكشف عن الهيمنة الأمريكية كممارسة اجتماعية جدلية من خلال الاستنتاج الشخصي لفعل الإيجاب (must).

Introduction

Social life is seen as interconnected networks of social practices which involve diverse sorts of life aspects: economic, political, cultural, family, etc. Social structure and social action are oscillated by the concept of social practice. Classroom teaching, television news, political speeches, and medical consultations are all examples of social practice (Fairclough, 1989). Every practice, according to Fairclough (2001), contains elements that are dialectically related such as activities, subjects, instruments, objects, time and place, forms of consciousness, values, and discourse, which are fully separate elements and are internalized but are not reducible. For example, social relations, social identities, cultural values, and consciousness are partially semiotic; they cannot be theorized and researched in the same way language is theorized and researched. In other words, researching them gives rise to distinct disciplines because they are of distinct properties.

The notion of hegemony should be highlighted in the current study since it tackles the American president's discourse. Hegemony, according to (van Dijk, 1993), can be simply defined as the leadership or predominant influence that is exercised by one nation or power over others. Verba, Norman, and Norman (1993), on their part, look upon it as the predominance of one power or country over other countries or groups. An obvious example of hegemonism is the attempt of Great Powers to establish European or American hegemony over African, Asian, or Latin American countries. Hegemony can be cultural, ideological, and geographical. In the Gramscian perspective (1971), cultural hegemony is linked to the inclination of governing powers to win consent to their rule from those countries they subjugate. An example of ideological as well as geographical hegemony, according to Sasson (2000), is that between communism and capitalism; it is that form of hegemony, established between the Warsaw Pact countries (1955- 1991) and the NATO countries (1949- Present). Hegemony can be formed by a political or military predominance or control of one country over others. van Dijk (2006) adds that the US has continued to be a hegemon even after the end of the Cold War. An example of the US post-Cold War hegemonism was the American occupation of Afghanistan in 2001 as well as the American occupation of Iraq in 2003. Katz (2006) views that hegemony entails rules of the game and forms of oppression that are oriented for capturing resources and containing political orders. Dominance and domination are seen by Gramsci (2006) as equated with the repressive forms of hegemony. Hegemons, according to him, are perceived as a "group with power". It is the power that presumably depends on coercive and normative ideological potentialities. He adds that hegemony can denote the following situations: a. great material asymmetry for one state, b. a state with sufficient military potentials that can systematically defeat any potential contender, c. a state with power that can control the access to raw materials, natural resources, capital and markets, and d. a state with power that has competitive advantages in the production of values and the generation of an ideology reflecting its status quo.

Defining political discourse is not an easy process. It can be identified by its actors, authors, and politicians. What is significant to be considered in this context is that not only politicians are involved in the social activity of political discourse; the public, the people, the citizens, the masses, and other categories do all take part in the process of political communication (Fairclough 1995, van Dijk 1993). Verba et al. (1993) add that voters, people as pressure members and issue groups, demonstrators, and dissidents are all involved in the social process of political communication or political discourse.

Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (2004) see that political discourse analysis is particularly concerned with the analysis of political discourse. However, it is difficult to decide which discourse is political and which is not. Political discourse and critical enterprise are both areas of political discourse analysis which is one of the domains of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

CDA is basically a qualitative analytical approach that is taken up for the critical description, interpretation, and explanation of the ways whereby various discourses can construct, maintain, and legitimize social inequalities. It is a methodology that helps produce a concrete assessment of social problems and power relations. It revolves around discourse that constitutes society, culture, and discourse as it is ideologically charged (Fairclough and Wodak,1997).

Dealing with the discourse of Trump in this critical period when there is much argument on who is responsible for the outbreak of COVID-19, becomes necessary to consider the question of ‘national identity’ as a concept of political culture. National identity, as seen by Smith (1995), is a sense of belongingness to one’s state or nation. An example of the extreme expression of ‘national identity’ is ‘Americanism’ which refers to the firm belief in the US superiority and the extreme loyalty toward the US. Territory, race, language, customs, history, religion, and national consciousness do all contribute to forming the concept of ‘national identity’.

The current study investigates Trump’s discourse on Covid-19 which was addressed to the United Nations General Assembly on September 22, 2020, at 11: 10 am. This pandemic can be looked upon as a turning point in the contemporary history of the world. Covid-19 has been identified by the World Health Organization (WHO) as an ongoing pandemic of coronavirus disease 2019. It was caused by severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS – CoV-2). It was first identified in Wuhan/ China in December 2019. Due to the outbreak of the virus, the WHO declared the state of a Public Health Emergency of international concern in January 2020 and a pandemic in March 2020. There were more than 86. 4 million confirmed cases on January 6 and there were more than one million deaths that were attributed to the COVID-19. Social distancing, wearing face masks in public, ventilation and air filtering, hand washing, covering one’s mouth when sneezing or coughing, disinfecting surfaces, and self-isolation for people were recommended preventive measures. Authorities across the world responded by implementing travel

restrictions and lockdowns. Global social and economic disruption, agricultural disruption, food shortages resulted in response to the pandemic (Howard and Utton, 2020).

2. Research Objectives

The current study seeks to realize the following objectives:

1. identifying the “other”, via the interrelationship between language and identity, in the discourse of Trump while considering the responsibility for COVID-19 outbreak, and
2. examining the dialectics of the international hegemonic struggle in the discourse of Trump while talking about the responsibility for the outbreak of COVID-19.

3. Research Questions

This piece of work attempts to answer the following questions:

1. How is the “other” shaped, via the interrelationship of language and identity in the discourse of Trump while considering the responsibility for COVID-19 outbreak?
2. What role can dialectics, in the given discourse, play to reveal the social practice of international hegemonic struggle?

4. Theoretical Framework

CDA analysis is viewed by Fairclough (2001) as dialectical relationships that occur between language and other semiotic forms, such as body language or visual images as well as elements of social practices. The role of discourse, which may change in importance over time, can be established only through discourse. Discourse is broadly figured in three ways of social practices:

1. discourse as a way of **social activity** within a practice: Shop assistants, for instance, use a language in a particular way that is different from the one used by diplomats.
2. discourse as a way of **representation and self-representation** within any practice: social actors produce representations of other practices and reflex representations that are of their own, that is in the course of their activity within the practice. In other words, practices are contextualized and

recontextualized by themselves (Benstein, 1990, Chouliaracki & Fairclough, 1999). Representation, which involves reflexive self-construction, is a process of the social construction of practices that shape social processes and practices. For example, businessmen produce their representations but reflex representations of other practices when they consider affairs of health, politics, presidency elections, etc.

3. discourse as a way of **identity construction**: The identity of Boris Johnson, for example, is different from that of Trump because each of whom has his own semiotically constituted way of being.

Genres are constituted by discourse as a part of social activity; they are diverse ways of achieving everyday conversation, meetings in diverse contexts, political speeches and interviews, and book reviews. Discourses are constituted by discourse in the representation and self-representation of social practices which are differently positioned by different social actors (Fairclough, 1992, Fairclough, 1995, van Dijk, 2004). The repercussions or aftermath, for example, of the coronavirus are represented by mediums of different discourses in the social practices of governments, politics, medicine, social sciences, and economic deals, education, etc.

Discourse is characterized by style; for instance, the style of political readers is different from that of teachers or businessmen. Social practices are networked in a particular way constituting what is called a social order, as the social order of education or health in a particular society at a certain time. The discourse, which is a semiotic aspect of social order, is what can be called an order of discourse wherein various genres, discourses, and styles are networked together to establish an order of discourse (Fairclough, 1992).

Order of discourse can be dominant or mainstream, marginal, oppositional, or alternative. The doctor-patient consultation in Britain, for example, can be considered a dominant way; nevertheless, other various ways might be adopted or developed or going in opposition to the dominant way. The dominant way involves social distance when the authority of the doctor is over. However, there is a democratic order of discourse when doctors play down their authority (Fairclough, 1992).

The political concept of hegemony can carefully be used in analyzing orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1992, Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). A particular social structuring of semiotic difference may become hegemonic when legitimizing a common sense that sustains relations of domination. What is significant in this context is that hegemony is always contested, to a greater or lesser extent, in the hegemonic style.

Discourse is an open system as it is always interconnected with what happens in actual interactions. The dialectical relationship between discourse and other elements of social practices indicates processes of internalization. In other words, discourse internalizes and is internalized by other elements without the reducibility of the different elements to each other. These elements are not discrete although they are different. “Knowledge economy” and “knowledge society” are considered as two concepts of internalization. By –way- of generating, circulating, and operationalizing knowledge economically and socially, processes of knowledge-driven changes take place. ‘Knowledge-driven’ amounts generate ‘discourse-driven’ knowledge produced and circulated as discourses. The process whereby discourses are operationalized economically and socially is precisely described as the dialectics of discourse. What is significant to be mentioned in this respect is that projections of possible states of affairs are quite possible at the knowledge of the “knowledge economy” and “knowledge society” which are imaginaries (Fairclough, 1992: 34).

Against such background, social practices and networks of social practices are imagined. Such imaginaries, which are enacted as actual practices, subjects, and social relations, can become real activities, subjects, social relations, etc. Consider, for example, political discourses, which imagine political relations and acts, as based upon interests, are relatively hierarchical networked ways of running organizations. They become enacted discursively as new genres, for instance, genres for allies’ meetings. Such specifically discursive enactments are embedded within their enactment as new ways of acting and interacting in the production process (Fairclough, 1992). Discourses, which are imaginaries, as seen by Fairclough, generate new identities. Based on such background, it could be assumed that COVID-19, for example, requires neo-management systems, based upon changes in the ways of being and in the identities of the top officials and politicians. At this particular time, when the virus broke out in the whole world, politicians have come to own special discourses to position themselves inside themselves. They start acting, thinking, and seeing themselves in terms of new discourses.

Changing the subject, as a process, can be thought of by means of inculcating new discourses. Inculcations can be defined as that complex process which is probably less secure than enactments. One stage of inculcation is rhetorical deployment whereby people may learn new discourses and employ them for particular purposes; meanwhile, they self-consciously keep a distance from them. The process when

self-conscious rhetorical deployment becomes ownership, people become unconsciously positioned within a discourse. It is considered one of the mysteries of the dialectics of discourse.

Enactment and inculcation are not the only processes with which the dialectical processes end. In other words, people do not only act and interact with networks of social practices, but they also interpret and represent themselves. Such representations and self-representations could shape and reshape what they do. Ways of interacting and acting (including discourse aspect, genres, and styles) are represented in discourses in that they may contribute to the production of new imaginaries which may, in turn, be enacted and inculcated. Hence, dialectic involves movements across a variety of social elements, such as the movements between the material and the non-material, and movements within discourse, that is between discourses, genres, and style (Fairclough, 1992: 50).

Discourse Analysis (DA) which is correlated with language in use or context, is a broad term that implies various accounts. It is an integration of a whole palette of meanings. Linguistics, Anthropology, Philosophy, Psychology, and Politics can all be theoretical and methodological frameworks for discourse analysis practitioners (Tistcher, 2000: 42). The functions of language and the functions it serves are closely connected. A point that is highlighted by Halliday (1978:14) who believes that the grammatical system of language is closely associated with the social and personal need which can be served throughout the language. Studying authentic text and conversations in the social context is one of the prominent functions of DA. According to Halliday (1978), personal and social processes should be encoded by texts. Against such background, words and texts are generated, comprehended, and manipulated in a social context; they should be looked into as communicative or social events that are employed by people to convey messages or bits of social information that are transferred allusively. Having based his approach on the interconnection between language studies and social theory, Fairclough (1992) forwards his view on how the social acts of power, dominance, ideology, and inequality, which are represented by text and talk, are produced and reproduced or shaped and reshaped. Political speeches, political debates, advertisements, newspapers, and official documents can all be the foci of CDA practitioners.

Halliday's **Systemic Functional Grammar** (SFG) is considered one of the most important linguistic approaches correlated with CDA. It has been supported by CDA pioneers, as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999); Fairclough (1992) and (1995); and Kress (1985) who advocated it for critical

interpretation of texts of diverse discourses. Halliday (1985) developed his approach of SFG which looks upon language as interlocking options or network of systems for creating meaning. It tackles structures that are derived from the options created by encoding rules. According to Halliday and Hassan (1989: 10), language is functional since the meaning of written and verbal language can convey social meaning in a specific and real situation. Text as a product and text as a process are two perspectives that are concurrently taken into account by Halliday and Hassan. A text is a product when it is studied as a linguistic structure, and it is a process when it is seen as a semantic component that could encode the meaning, established metafunctionally, in which it seems to be Halliday's basic idea. Halliday (1985) classifies language functions, which are called by Fairclough as metafunctions, into three kinds of semantic units: ideational function, interpersonal function, and textual function:

A. Ideational Metafunction

The function, providing a ground for understanding human experience as a kind of resource for realizing reality, is referred to as ideational function (Halliday, 1994). Unfamiliar elements and new pieces of information are conveyed in terms of such functions. Via this kind of function, the events, and experience, in both the real and intuitive world, are represented. Halliday (1994) believes that this function is divided into logical and experiential metafunctions. The logical metafunction is of two or more grammatical units, combined into one or more complex ones. The experiential metafunction, whereby language evolves, refers to the grammatical options which allow individuals to create meanings about the world around them. 'Transitivity' and 'voice' are the two basic elements that foreground the analysis of a text. Transitivity system, which represents an ideational function in grammar, is comprised of six processes:

1. material processes: they are processes that refer to the process of doing or happening. They indicate the doing or the happening of actions, activities, and events,
2. relational processes: they are processes that can identify general nouns whether they are human or inanimate subjects. Examples of relational function comprise verbs, as 'be', 'become', 'remain', 'taste', 'turn into', 'constitute', 'express', 'signify', 'stand for', 'get', 'seem', 'sound', 'look', 'play', 'cost', 'have', etc. The modes established in this process are attributive and identifying. The participants of the

attributive process are “carrier” and “attribute”, whereas the participants of the identifying process are “token” and “value”. Identifying participants undergo passivization whereas the attributive ones do not,

3. mental processes: they are processes that signify ‘perception’ via the verbs (see, hear, feel), ‘cognition’ through the verbs (know, understand, believe, think, remember), ‘affection’ by the verbs (like, love), and ‘desire’ through the verbs (hope, want, wish),

4. verbal processes: they are communication processes that include a message, sender, receiver, and channel. They create exchanging and sharing ideas, information, opinions, and acts and experience attitudes between a sender and a receiver. Such processes involve individuals talking to each other,

5. behavioral processes: they are a combination of material and mental processes. They can be identified as psychological and physiological processes involving acts, like breathing, coughing, smiling, dreaming, chatting, watching, etc, and

6. existential processes: they are processes which represent the existing or happening of something.

Examples of such functions include: ‘exit’, ‘remain’, ‘stand’, ‘lie’, ‘emerge’, ‘grow’, ‘erupt’, ‘prevail’, ‘flourish’, ‘ensue’.

B. Interpersonal Metafunction

Interpersonal metafunction is a representation of how the addressers and addressees interact through language. It is a representation of how language is used to establish and maintain their relations, influence their behavior, and express their views. It mainly concerns the roles of addresser and addressee, mood, and modality (Halliday, 1985: 62).

All uses of language for expressing social and personal relations are embodied by the interpersonal function (Huzhuanglin, 1988: 313). This function involves the different ways the speaker practices to tackle a speech situation and perform a speech act. The interpersonal metafunction, as seen by O’Haloran (2006: 15), is related to a text’s aspect of tenor or interactivity. ‘Tenor’ is of three parts: the speaker/writer persona, social distance, and relative social status. Social distance and relative social status are fit to a spoken text; nevertheless, they have been applied to a written text. The speaker/writer persona is correlated with the speaker/writer's attitude, personalization, and place. Negative and positive use of language is the concern of this area. Relative social status is interested in whether speakers are equal or

not (Coffin, 2006: 22). How close the speakers are and how their nicknames are used is an indication of how intimate they are. Relative social status shows if the speakers are of equal power and knowledge, as is the case in the relationship between a mother and a child, or the relationship between a schoolmaster and a teacher which is considered unequal. Speech acts are the foci in this respect. For example, the power and knowledge of the speaker who asks a question chooses a topic and turns management are not the same as those who answer and respond.

Speakers employ language so as to provide a relationship between themselves and a hearer. Informing, questioning, greeting, persuading are all acts performed via language. Modality and mood are two basic terms that can be deployed to express interpersonal functions. Modality extends between extensive positive use and extensive negative use of language in social communication. Mood is revealed through the role of the speaker in a speech situation and the role of hearer or addressee (Halliday, 1985: 123).

C. Textual Metafunction

Phenomena, such as thematic structure, information structure, and cohesion are involved in textual metafunction that is related to mode. It refers to the internal organization and the communication nature of a text (Halliday, 1985). It includes textual interactivity, spontaneity, and communicative distance (Coffin, 2006: 245). Spontaneity is determined by factors, such as lexical density, grammatical complexity, coordination, and the use of the nominal group. Investigation of text cohesion is how a text is combined altogether in the area of the communicative distance. Coffin (2006) states that context, which is related to lexical, grammatical, and intonational aspects, can analyse cohesion in terms of lexical chains, speech register, tonality, tonicity, and tone. Lexical reiteration and sense relationship is the emphasis of the lexical factor.

5. Related Studies

A number of studies have drawn on CDA and Halliday's SFG as two methodologies that can be compatibly collaborated to analyse political texts. To start with, Nima and Jameel (2017) analysed the speech of the former American President Obama at election campaigns in 2012 and the speech of the former British Prime Minister Cameron at the Conservative Party Conference in 2012 under the light of

Halliday's "Systemic Functional Theory" in political texts. The objective of the study was to identify the linguistic choices of the transitivity system occurring in the speeches of the two given politicians. The study concluded that the material processes were the most frequent in the speeches of both presidents. Moreover, it revealed that Halliday's "Systemic Functional Theory" was applicable to all cultures and all situations.

Abdulameer, Noor, and Khalis (2019), embracing the conventions of CDA, examined the functional linguistics of some political articles in Eastern and Western electronic news to realize the experiential meaning in the selected social actors' discourse. Halliday's (1985) SFG was advocated in this study as an approach of analysis. The data of the study were collected from two online newspapers: 'Al-Jazeera', as an eastern newspaper, and 'The Guardian' as a western one. The study came up with certain findings: a. the verbal processes are the most predominant in the social actors' discourse in the Eastern online news especially in the discourse of the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, b. the transitivity processes were the most predominant in the western online news, namely in the discourse of the French President Emmanuel Macron, and c. Halliday's approach of SFG approved to help reveal the cultural features and attitudes of both the Eastern and Western social actors.

Sameer and Al-Dilaimy (2020) drew on CDA and Halliday's SFG in their study "Ideational Aspect of Systemic Functional Grammar in Bush's and AL-Assad First Inaugural Speech". The study aimed at explaining how ideational metafunctions were used by the two given Presidents to consider a variety of ideologies or attitudes. The study concluded that material processes (processes of action) and relational processes (processes of being and having) were the most frequent in the discourse of both presidents.

6. Methodology

Depending on the proposed questions of the current study, the research design of this study is qualitative. Susan (2011) stated that qualitative research is exploratory and interpretative as it is employed to develop an explanation of basic causes, perspectives, and motivations. On this backdrop, the researchers based their analysis by employing the qualitative method which depends on words, not numbers (Creswell & Poth, 2017). This study attempted to bridge the gap between political discourse, Functional Linguistics, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by considering the discourse of Trump on COVID-19 Pandemic (the virus that threatens the lives of people of the whole world).

Collected data covered samples from Trump’s speech addressed to the United Nations General Assembly on September 22, 2020, at 11: 10 am. The transcript of the full speech is downloaded from www.vox.com. The researchers targeted Trump’s discourse because it tackled one of the most recently controversial issues which is ‘Who is responsible for unleashing COVID-19 to the whole globe?’ By means of CDA, they intended to expose the discursive practices of hegemony, identity, and ideology/attitude embedded in the given discourse. The conceptual framework of the study involves Fairclough’s (2001) Dialectical Relationships of Discourse and Halliday’s (1985) Systemic Functional Grammar, as shown in the following figure:

Fairclough’s (2001) Dialectical Relationships of Discourse	Halliday’s (1985) Functions of Language
1. Discourse as a Way of Social Activity 2. Discourse as a Way of Representation and Self-representation 3. Discourse as a Way of Identity-construction	1. Ideational Function 2. Interpersonal Function 3. Textual Function
The Interrelationship of language and Identity & the International hegemonic Struggle in the Discourse of Trump on COVID 19	

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of the Proposed Study

6.1 Approach for Analysis

The approach of analysis in this study went through the following steps:

1. reading the whole speech carefully several times,
2. setting up the context,
3. investigating the production process,
4. preparing data for analysis,
5. coding data based on the theoretical insights advocated in this study,
6. examining the structure of the text,

7. gathering and scrutinizing discursive statements, and
8. identifying the underlying social acts of attitudes, hegemony, and identity.

It is worthy to mention that verbal processes, behavioral processes, and existential processes, developed by Fairclough (2001), are not considered in this study because it is based on the written text, not the audible form whereby these processes should be accounted for.

7. Data Analysis and Findings

The data analysis of this study is based on Fairclough's (2001) Dialectical Relationships of Discourse and Halliday's (1985) Systemic Functional Grammar. The data are mainly performed through the transitivity system.

7.1 Ideational Metafunctions

Three types of ideational processes are grounded in the analysis of this study: transitivity analysis of material processes, transitivity analysis of relational processes, and transitivity analysis of mental processes.

7.1.1 Transitivity Analysis of Material Process

Transitivity of material analysis can be applied to the following five utterances:

1. **We have waged a fierce battle against the invisible enemy- the China virus-** which has claimed countless lives in 188 countries.
2. **We pioneered lifesaving treatments, reducing our fatality rate by 85 percent since April.**
3. **We are mass producing them in advance so they can be delivered immediately upon arrival.**
4. In the earliest days of the virus, **China** locked down travel domestically while **allowing flights to leave China-** and **infect the world.**
5. In addition, every year **China dumps millions and millions of tons of plastic and trash into the ocean, overfishes other countries' waters, destroys vast swaths of coral reef, and emits more toxic mercury into the atmosphere** than any country anywhere in the world.

Table 1: Transitivity Analysis of Material Process

Actor		Process	Goal
1.	We	waging a fierce battle	against the invisible enemy- the China virus
2.	We	pioneering life-saving treatments	reducing our fatality rate
3.	We	producing treatments in advance	delivering them immediately upon arrival.
4.	China	allowing flights to leave China	infecting the world
5.	China	dumping millions and millions of tons of plastic and trash into the oceans	overfishing other countries' waters, destroying vast swaths of coral reef, emitting more toxic mercury into the atmosphere

The table above reverberates the material processes and the goals that are established in Trump's discourse concerning the outbreak of coronavirus. The pronoun "We", in utterances 1,2, 3, is employed by him to indicate that the given material processes and goals are national responsibility; an attempt to boost his national identity construction. In utterance 1, the material process "waging a fierce battle" and the goal "against the invisible enemy- the China virus" reverberates one of the controversially underlying conflicts between the US and China. The nominal phrase "the China virus" shows that the ties between the two world powers- the US and China- are strained on several fronts. It is used by Trump to tout his achievements during the outbreak of the pandemic and to tear into China and heap opprobrium on it as being accountable for unleashing the virus onto the globe. His achievements are declared in the material processes of utterances 1,2, and 3. That "waging a fierce battle", "pioneering lifesaving treatments", and "producing treatments in advance" are all plans of action, as he proclaims, that has been adopted by his administration to fight the pandemic. The material processes of these three utterances appear to be an overt swipe that brings into mind two significant issues: the cold war and the clash of civilizations.

The cold war, as a term, was used to describe the post-cold war era of political and military tensions between the two superpowers: China/Russia and the Western world, specifically the US. It was partially fueled by escalating rhetoric and propaganda on the part of the anti-communist efforts adopted by the US (Pillsbury, 2016:77). The cold war had not only shaped the American foreign policy and the

American political ideology, but it also affected the American domestic economy, the American presidency, and the personal lives of the Americans. At present, there are unresolved concerns regarding the questions of democracy and human rights in China even though there have been security, political, and economic interests between the US and China, especially in the field of nuclear weapons proliferation (Scarborough, 2020: 176).

The employment of the nominal phrase “the China virus”, in utterance 1, is an example of the dialectical situation. This medical term “virus” is borrowed by Trump to benefit from its bad connotations as an infective agent consisting of a nucleic acid molecule in protein coat; it is too small to such a degree that it cannot be seen by light microscopy, and it can multiply within the living cells of a host. Moreover, it is capable of copying itself having detrimental and serious effects (Oldstone, 2020: 144). Having identified the coronavirus as the “China virus”, Trump aims to accentuate his dissatisfaction with China. The use of this phrase demarcates the levels of tensions between the US and China. These tensions, according to Howard & Utton (2020: 99), are caused by the spreading of the COVID-19; although, the two opposing powers are tied by economic, political, and security interests. It is a dialectical situation whereby two opposing facts are involved: the tensions between the two countries; meanwhile, the mutual relations between them. Such type of dialectical materialism emphasizes the significance of real-world conditions especially the political and economic ones.

One more dialectical situation can be seen in the material processes of utterances 1, 2, and 3 whereby Trump asserts the US unprecedented and unrivaled efforts to identify potential antiviral treatment and to manufacture a vaccine against the novel coronavirus. In the material processes of these utterances, Trump indirectly compares US supremacy to the supremacy of his rivals especially China. By these processes, Trump tries to emphasize the point that the US has encountered the threat of coronavirus which originally came from China. It is a challenge that has deepened and intensified the competition between the two rivals: the capitalist US and communist China. It is noteworthy that Norman Fairclough is influenced by Marx’s views on dialectics. Their (2020) states that Marx (a German philosopher, economist, historian, sociologist, and political theorist) sees dialectics as the general and robust method of how things come into existence, change, and extinguish. Based on this method, one could examine personal, social, and economic behaviors.

The goal of the material process of utterance 1 resounds Trump's preparedness to fight the virus. By the goals of the material processes of utterances 2 and 3, Trump sheds light on the aftermath that has hit the Americans by the virus. He endeavors, via the use of the pronoun "Our" in the goal of utterance 2, to stress his integration to his nation which has been fiercely rocked by the outbreak of COVID-19. Throughout the goal of utterance 3, he seeks to draw the attention of his nation about the dynamics advocated by his administration to provide antiviral treatments and vaccines to make them accessible to the Americans as soon as they are forwarded.

It is worth noting that the 'actor' in utterances 4 and 5 is "China". The recurrent reference to China in the given discourse discloses that the dominating source of conflict could be cultural. Civilizational or cultural differences, according to Huntington (1996), are more fundamental than differences in political ideologies and political orders. Hence, they have proved to be more intractable and violent. Cultural conflicts, as seen by Huntington (1996), might lead to challenges to the West on the part of non-Western civilizations due to the long status of the west as the master of global culture.

As a developed country and an economic powerhouse, China can be looked upon as a significant challenge for the governance and rule-making of global trade; an issue that makes China a great challenger and a revisionist force in the face of the US (Huntington, 1996). This underlying conflict between the two superpowers was ignited by the outbreak of the pandemic coronavirus. This argument appears to be clear by way of the goals of the material processes of utterances 4 and 5. The goal "infecting the world" of the material process of utterance 4 reflects the American view that China is responsible for the damage wreaked by virus worldwide; whereas, the goal "overfishing other countries' water, destroying.... atmosphere" indicates that the US-China differences go beyond the question of Coronavirus to cover up to further geopolitical and economic problems.

7.1.2 Transitivity Analysis of Relational Processes

Transitivity analysis of relational processes can be made in the following utterances:

- 1. American prosperity is the bedrock of freedom and security all over the world.**
- 2. 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.**

Table 2: Transitivity analysis of Relational Processes

Attributive Relational Process	Identifying Relational Process
<p>1. American prosperity is the bedrock of freedom and security all over the world.</p>	<p>2. The World Health Organization which is virtually controlled by China.....</p> <p>(China virtually controls the World Health Organization.)</p>

The table above shows that the modes “attributive” and “identifying” are established in the relational process. The utterances, in the table above, clarify that the “American prosperity” is the carrier, and “bedrock of freedom and security” is the attribute. The carrier, which is represented by the auxiliary “be” is concrete and obvious. Throughout the “carrier” and the “attribute”, Trump seeks to outplay the traditional ideals of the American order like democracy, global peacemaking, global justice, social equality, etc. It is a shape of self-presentation through which he tries to produce an intentional and tangible component of national identity. By way-of- the given “carrier” and “attribute”, he endeavors to portray himself as a patriotic American, political hoopla, and global leader whose concern is not only the US affairs but also the global ones. He emphasizes his national pride in the US as a global leader, as the keeper of peace, freedom, and security for all people of the world. The many humanitarian interventions, undertaken or backed by the US, proved that theory and reality regarding the US orders are contradictory. An example of this contradiction, as viewed by Yergin (2020), is the American occupation of Vietnam in (1965) and Iraq in (2003). Against such background, many people across the world look upon the US as an imperialist dominant power whose merely goal is to maintain its interests and the interests of its allies at the expense of millions of lives and resources across the globe.

The identifying mode can be seen in the utterance “... the World Health Organization which is virtually controlled by China...”; it can be passivized, as “Chine virtually controls the World Health Organization”. The relational identifying process of this utterance is obvious through the relationship between the token, which is “China”, and the value which is the “World Health Organization” (WHO). Trump’s central argument in this relational process is that the WHO’s mismanagement of the pandemic coronavirus costs many lives and this is due to its acceptance of the Chinese assessment of the spread and

threat of the pandemic while it was in its early days. It is an argument that reveals that China is the fundamental “other” for Trump about the outbreak of the pandemic. It is important to look into the factors of this “Othering” from Fairclough’s (1992) dialectical point of view. ‘Othering’, as a technical term, is utilized to describe the manner whereby the social group dichotomy US/Them is represented the by-way-of language. Fairclough (1992) believes that through linguistic choices, realities are constructed through representation and self-representation. According to him, not only semantic stances are encoded through linguistic choices but also critical stances. The category of the other, as seen by Fairclough (1992), is primordial and consciousness; it is sustained and reflected, as a critical stance, via discursive stances which are inherently linguistic choices. What is notable in the above identifying relational process is that Trump is engaged in the exclusion of China and WHO through the semantic mechanism of blaming. It is a critical stance employing incredulity and skepticism are encoded in polar terms, ‘US’ (the US.) vs. ‘Them’ (China and the WHO).

7.1.3 Transitivity Analysis Mental Processes

An example of mental processes can be seen in the following utterance:

We also know that American prosperity is the bedrock of freedom and security all over the world.

Table 3: Transitivity Analysis of Mental Process

Sensor	Perception Verb
We	Know

The verb in the table above sheds light on how Trump thinks about the American superiority. It addresses one important dimension which is ‘American First’ or ‘American exceptionalism. Such a view is part of the American cognitive system which is based on the assumption that America is the first nation; a nation that has historically developed a unique ideology of Americanism (Levin, 2018:88); an ideology that is based on liberty, democracy, equality, and individual responsibility. Against such background, the American general sense that America is superior to other nations has prompted the American successive governments to adopt the strategy of global leadership. Based on this strategy,

America should fight for freedom across the world, support democratic nations everywhere, and end tyranny and injustice across the world. Trump, through the cognitive verb “know”, intends to stereotype the power and supremacy of the US. He, as a political actor, applies this stereotypification to the sociopolitical context to confirm the American status as an actor of global dignity and security.

7.2 Transitivity Analysis of Interpersonal Metafunctions

Interpersonal processes are of three components: modal verbs, tenses, and personal pronouns:

7.2.1 Modal Verbs

Modal verbs, in the speech under investigation, can be found in the following utterances:

1. As we pursue this bright future, we **must** hold accountable the nation which unleashed this plague onto the world: China.
2. The United Nations **must** hold China accountable for their actions.

Table 4: Transitivity Analysis of Interpersonal Processes Via Modal Verbs

Modal Verbs		Semantic Category	Type of Speech Act
1.	Must	Certain	Obligation
2.	Must	Certain	Obligation

The interpersonal process in the above utterances is highlighted by the modal verb “must”, as shown in the table above, which is semantically used to mean “certain” and is pragmatically used to signify “obligation”. It is employed by Trump to emphasize his stance that the international community was misled by China about its management of the assessment reports of COVID 19. China, in the above utterances, is assailed by Trump as it has acted irresponsibly to fight COVID 19. The above utterances imply a portrayal, on the part of Trump, that the US is the benevolent and responsible global leader, whereas China is the world’s aggressor. Both, the semantic category and the speech act of the modal “must”, in the above utterances, indicate that there had already been a rift between the two superpowers:

China and the US. It was a political split that has complicated in the wake of the spreading of COVID 19. In utterance 2, Trump leveled his criticism at China as it is the nation that unleashed the virus. That “The United Nations **must** hold China accountable for their actions” is an indication of the American hegemonism. By the employment of the modal “must”, Trump intends to impose his judgment upon the UN that China must be held accountable for unleashing the COVID 19 on the world. The pragmatic connotation of “obligation” of the modal “must” in both utterances above exhibits Trump as a global hegemon seeking to mobilize the whole international community against China.

7.2.2 Tenses

Examples of the interpersonal processes of tense, employed in the speech under analysis, can be examined in terms of the present forms and past forms.

A. Utterances with the present forms:

1. We **are again engaged** in a great global struggle.
2. Thanks to our efforts, three vaccines **are** in the final stages of clinical trials.
3. We **are mass producing** them in advance so they can be delivered immediately upon arrival.
4. We **will distribute** them.
5. We **will defeat** the virus.
6. We **will end** the pandemic.
7. And **we will enter** a new era of unprecedented prosperity, cooperation, and peace.
8. As we **pursue** this light future, we must hold accountable the nation which unleashed this plague onto the world: China.
9. In addition, every year China **dumps** millions and millions of tons of plastic trash into the oceans, overfishes...
10. China’s carbon emissions **are** nearly twice what the US has, and it’s rising fast.

Table 5: Transitivity Analysis of Interpersonal Processes Via Tense

Utterance No.	Present			Past	
	Simple Form (s)	Perfect Form	No.	Simple Form (s)	Perfect Form
1.	are engaged		1.	Launched	
2.	are		2.	Produced	
3.	are mass producing		3.	Pioneered	
4.	will distribute		4.	locked down	
5.	will defeat		5.	Condemned	
6.	will end		6.	Declared	
7.	will enter		7.	Said	
8.	will pursue				
9.	Dumps				
10.	Are				
11.		have waged			
Total No.	11		Total No.	7	

It can be seen, in the table above, that simple present forms (occurring 11 times) are more frequent than the past forms which occur only 7 times. The present tense is employed by Trump to focus the attention of his audience on the threats of COVID-19 as one of the direst situations which challenge the whole globe. He forwards his present arguments about the pandemic to the present audience which are the UN top officials and the top representatives of most countries of the world. He used the present forms to talk about what he sees as facts about the pandemic and about the plans his administration takes on to fight the COVID-19. For him, the virus is not only a national emergency but it is also an international one. Via the present tense, Trump endeavors to emphasize how effective and strong his administration is while fighting the coronavirus which is described by him as a global enemy. He states that the virus, in the US,

is very much under control. In this context, he tries to highlight the stark contrasts between the US and the rest of the world that the US has the most powerful platform and resources to fight the virus. Cuomo (2020) explains that the failure of Trump's administration has begun with the start of the pandemic. It is worth remembering that the US has got the highest death toll of any country across the world. Cuomo (2020) sees that Trump's administration failed to take on serious steps to encounter the COVID 19 Pandemic. Notably, the present tense is also used by Trump to express his plans through the US would be able to forward vaccines and distribute them to the world, and thereby it could pioneer the whole globe in defeating the virus and ending it. Henceforth, the US, according to him, would be able to establish a world blessed with prosperity, peace, and cooperation.

B. Utterances with Past Simple Forms:

1. In the United States, we **launched** the most aggressive mobilization, since the Second World War.
2. 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.
3. We **pioneered** lifesaving treatments, reducing our fatality rate by 85 percent since April.
4. In the earliest days of the virus, China **locked down** travel domestically while allowing flights to leave China- and infect the world.
5. China **condemned** my travel ban on their country, even as they canceled domestic flights and locked citizens in their homes.
6. 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.
7. Later they falsely **said** people without symptoms would not spread the disease.

Trump employs the past tense to attract the attention of his audience to policies that his administration already advocated to fight the COVID 19. These policies involved producing a record supply of ventilators and lifesaving treatments to the US and, then to the world. Moreover, the past tense was employed by him to focus attention on the Chinese social action of locking down all domestic travels while allowing flights to leave China to infect the whole world. The past simple form "locked down", which indicates the

completeness of action in the past, was used by him to reveal his decisive attitude that China and the WHO are responsible for transmitting the virus to the world. Trump's use of the past tense, in the utterances above, indicates that he is proudest of his efforts to create more pathways to struggle COVID 19. He is also proud that the US has preceded the whole world in producing lifesaving treatments and vaccines. Using the past tense, he shows his decisively negative attitude towards China. By this attitude, he sets the foundation of global division between the two superpowers: The Us, which he looks upon as the keeper of global peace and security, and China which he sees as being accountable for spreading the virus to the globe. That "In the earliest days of the virus, China locked down travel domestically while allowing flights to leave China- and infect the world" reflects Trump's attempt to repudiate idealism and moral vision that China was not honest in its reports about the spread of the virus. What can be perceived in this context is that power is not only Trump's salient social act as well as the common thread of his words and actions, but it is also the lens through which he identifies his nation and sees the other (China and the WHO).

7.2.2 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns in this speech can be seen in the following utterances:

1. **We** are again engaged in a great global struggle.
2. Thanks to **our** efforts, three vaccines are in the final stages of clinical trials.
3. **We** are mass producing them in advance so they can be delivered immediately upon arrival.
4. **We** will distribute them.
5. **We** will defeat the virus.
6. **We** will end the pandemic.
7. And **we** will enter a new era of unprecedented prosperity, cooperation, and peace.
8. As **we** pursue this light future, we must hold accountable the nation which unleashed this plague onto the world: China.
9. In the United States, **we** launched the most aggressive mobilization, since the Second World War.

10. 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.

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

12. Later they falsely said people without symptoms would not spread the disease.

The table below shows the personal pronouns with their type and frequency.

Table 6: Types and Frequency of Personal Pronouns

Utterance No.	Personal Pronoun	Type
1.	We	First-person plural pronoun
2.	Our	First-person possessive pronoun
3.	We	First-person plural pronoun
4.	We	First-person plural pronoun
5.	We	First-person plural pronoun
6.	We	First-person plural pronoun
7.	We	First-person plural pronoun
8.	We	First-person plural pronoun
9.	We	First-person plural pronoun
10.	We Us	First-person plural pronoun First-person object pronoun
11.	We Our	First-person plural pronoun First-person possessive pronoun
12.	They	Third-person plural pronoun
Total No. of Inclusive Pronouns: 11		
Total No. of Exclusive Pronouns: 1		

The table shows that there are 11 inclusive pronouns and only 1 exclusive pronoun (they). The inclusive pronouns (we, our, us) are used by Trump to show his involvement with the most critically current issue which is the global outbreak of the COVID 19. By using these pronouns, Trump intends to invoke a sense of unity, harmony, and integration with his nation that they are an exceptional nation that is capable enough to fight the pandemic and to precede the whole globe in producing vaccines and treatments. Via these pronouns, he tries to show the loyalty and commitment of the US, as a superpower, to overcome the global expediency of coronavirus with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution to the national troubles and a restoration of national peace and health. Utilizing the given inclusive pronouns, he aims to become one people with his nation by building bonds of trust, as it is expressed in utterances 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. Against such a backdrop, it could be conceived that “Americanism” is the most prominent theme in the speech under study. Trump tends to devote this theme to the given inclusive pronouns to establish patriotic values and create a collective American identity. He endeavors to explain to his nation, via the given inclusive pronouns, the rightful place of America in the world. Americanism, according to Haugh (2019:134), is an ideology of loyalty for the US and a defense of its political ideals. Furthermore, it is a question of spirit, conviction, and devotion to its flag, traditions, customs, culture, symbols, institutions, constitution, and governments.

The exclusive pronoun “They”, in utterance 12, is employed by Trump to stress the point of contrast between the US and China. The other, China, in the eyes of Trump, is responsible for transmitting the pandemic to the world, whereas the US takes on the role of fighting the pandemic and puts an end to it not only nationally but also internationally.

7.3 Textual Analysis

This type of metafunction is interested in the internal organization of a text which involves the entailed messages. According to Wang (2010), a text should have the elements of coherence, organization, accuracy, and logic to be persuasive. The speech under study contains the following bits of information:

1. Trump’s profound expression of honor in addressing the United Nations General Assembly,
2. his introduction of two contrasting portrayals: the portrayal of the US as a benevolent, responsible world leader and the portrayal of China as the world’s aggressor,

3. his pride in the US economic and military strength,
4. his overly satisfaction with the handling of his administration of the COVID 19 Pandemic,
5. his hopes for a better pandemic-less globe,
6. his key takeaway that China is the most responsible for COVID 19 outbreak; henceforth, it deserves the condemnation and scorn of the world,
7. his description of China as a Cold War-like enemy, and
8. his description of the US as the leading country which can produce lifesaving treatments and vaccines for COVID 19 to the American nation and the world too.

The texture in the given address is achieved through the use of various conjunctions as shown in the examples below. They are: “addition” (see example 1), “result” (see example 2), “time” (see examples 3, 4, and 5), “place” (see example 6), “comparison” (see example 7), and “condition” (see example 8). They are used by Trump to demonstrate how his ideas are connected to each other. By virtue of such conjunctions, he intends to form a convincing and coherent text. The examples below, involving the given conjunctions, draw on the superiority, power, and importance of the U.S. as a global and security leader.

1. **In addition** every year China dumps millions of tons of plastic and trash into the ocean, overfishes other countries’ waters, destroy vast swaths of coral reef, and emits more toxic mercury into the atmosphere than any country anywhere in the world.
2. 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.
3. I am surprisingly confident that next year, **when** we gather in person, we will be in the midst of one of the greatest year in our history.
4. In the United States, we launched the most aggressive mobilization **since** the Second War.
5. This month, we achieved a peace deal between Serbia and Kosovo. We reached a landmark breakthrough with two peace deals in the Middle East, **after** decades of no progress,
6. We revitalized the NATO Alliance, **where** other countries are now paying a much more fair share.

7. China's carbon emissions are nearly twice what the U.S. has, and it's rising fast. **By contrast**, after I withdrew from the one-sided Paris Climate Accord last year, America reduced its carbon emissions by more than any country in the agreement.
8. **If** the United Nations is to be an effective organization, it must focus on the real problems of the world.

Heyland (2005) sheds light on items of coherence announcing a change in topic, such as (now) which can be found in “ We are stronger now than ever before”. It is employed by Trump to highlight the position of the U.S. in the world as being more stronger and revitalizing than before.

8. Conclusion

The results and discussion of this study came up with certain predominant themes which were revealed by the adopted theoretical framework and methodology. National identity construction, as a way of discursal dialectics, was one of the prominent themes in Trump's speech; it was disclosed through the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions. Via these two metafunctions, Trump intended to produce an intentional and tangible component of national identity when he emphasized his national pride in the US as a global leader and as the keeper of peace, freedom, and security for all people around the world.

It can be noted that through the interpersonal metafunctions of ‘Tense’ where the present tense was more frequent (11 times) than the past tense (7 times), Trump tended to put forward what he sees as facts. The utterances, expressed via the present tense, showed him as a national leader who was highly aware of what his nation needed at a critical era when COVID-19 had stormed the American social structures, as explained in utterances 1,2,3,4,5,6, and 7. His frequent use of the present tense in these utterances also revealed his belief in virtuous ‘exceptionalism’ or ‘Americanism’ which can be considered as a consistent theme in his speech. What is significant in this context is that the ideology of Americanism, as a dialectical social act and behavior, is part of the American cognitive system which is based on the assumption that America is the first nation. This ideology was also revealed by the interpersonal metafunctions of pronouns whereby the inclusive pronouns were more frequent (11 times) than the exclusive pronouns (1 time). The

inclusive pronouns were also overused by Trump to establish patriotic values and to create a collective identity.

The notion of “othering”, as a dialectical way of representation and self-representation, was well-established in Trump’s discourse via the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions. Both metafunctions revealed that China is the fundamental “other” for Trump who is fully engaged in the exclusion of China and the WHO through the semantic mechanism of blaming. It is a critical stance whereby incredulity and skepticism are encoded in polar terms: “Us” (the US) and “Them” (China and the WHO). Ideational metafunctions were also helpful in revealing Trump’s intra-national hegemonic struggle with China especially when he described COVID 19 as “the China virus”. The American hegemony, as a dialectical social act, was also disclosed by the interpersonal metafunction’ via the modal verb ‘must’ by which he intended to impose his judgment upon the UN that China must be held responsible for unleashing COVID 19 on the world. The pragmatic connotation of this modal showed Trump as an intra-national hegemon seeking to mobilize the whole international community against China.

It is worth mentioning that Fairclough’s discursual dialectics was vivid in the whole speech through Trump’s strategy of national identity construction, his social act of intra-national hegemony, and his strategy of positive self and negative other presentation. Trump’s strategy of positive self-presentation was reflected by the ideology of Americanism or exceptionalism, whereas, his strategy of other negative presentation was represented by his negative presentation of China and the WHO which were condemned by him as being responsible for spreading COVID 19 on the whole globe. One obvious example of negative other presentation was Trump’s use of the nominal phrase “the China virus” which unmasked the concrete tensions between China and the US. Such tensions are controversial; they go beyond the issue of COVID 19 to involve geopolitical and economic problems between the two superpowers.

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