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**REPRESENTATION OF CHINA IN TRUMP'S DISCOURSE ON
COVID-19: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

*A Thesis submitted to the Council of the College of Education for the Human
Sciences, University of Karbala, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for
the Degree of Master of in English Language and Linguistics*

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

﴿ وَفَوْقَ كُلِّ ذِي عِلْمٍ عَلِيمٌ ﴾

صدق الله العليّ العظيم

يوسف: (76)

In the Name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

“But over all Endued with knowledge is One, The All-
Knowing”

Allah Almighty is Truthful

Yūsuf, Joseph: (76)

The Supervisor's Declaration

I certify that this thesis entitled (**Representation of China in Trump's Discourse on COVID-19: A Critical Discourse Analysis**) written by Zainab Abd Al-Razaq M. Al-Asfoor has been prepared under my supervision at the College of Education for Human Sciences / the University of Karbala in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree on Master in English Language and Linguistics.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is proudly dedicated to:

All my family

My farther: the Neurologist Dr. Abd Al-Razaq M. Alasfoor

My dear mother

My lovely husband

My handsome kids

My brothers

My friends

Thank you for your endless love, sacrifices, prayers, supports, and advice, I'm extremely grateful.

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ABSTRACT

This study aims at investigating the representation of China, throughout President Trump's political discourses, concerning COVID-19. Although several studies focused on the character of Donald Trump such as Olimat S. (2020), Bustan & Alakrash (2020), Zhu and Wang (2020), these studies are characterized by limited data, which seem to be non-representative. Besides, several researchers have taken into consideration the COVID-19 virus, but none of them tackled it from Donald Trump's view. Furthermore, none of the studies took into its consideration the struggle between America and China. Moreover, most of the studies focus on one type of discourse, whether written or spoken.

This study varies in its data, between press conferences and tweets. It is intended to reveal the hidden ideology behind Donald Trump's speeches and tweets, toward China, concerning COVID-19. Three approaches are utilized for analyzing the data, which are: Halliday's transitivity approach, Fairclough's three-dimensional approach, and van Dijk's ideological square. Halliday's Transitivity approach is used to analyze the syntactic structures of Trump's political discourse. The study focuses on investigating three processes: material, mental, and relational processes. Fairclough's three-dimensional approach is used to analyze the semantic structures and investigate the lexical terms used by Donald Trump to refer to China. Fairclough's framework is based on three various words value: the experiential, relational, and expressive value of words. Finally, van Dijk's ideological square is used to reveal the hidden ideology.

The results of this study indicate that Trump's ideologically charged discourse revolves around the construction of the "self" and the "other". The findings reveal that before COVID-19's outbreak, China (the other) is represented by positive characteristics by Trump, while after COVID-19's outbreak; it is represented by

negative characteristics. On the other hand, America (the self) is associated with positive actions and characteristics. The analysis shows that Trump blames China for spreading the virus intentionally; even he claims that COVID-19 is created in Wuhan labs. Terms such are: *China Virus*, *Wuhan virus*, *Hong Kong virus*, *Kung Flu...* etc. are highly existent in Trump's discourses, holding China the whole responsibility for COVID-19.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The Abbreviation	Meaning
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Critical Linguistics
DA	Discourse Analysis
SFG	Systemic Functional Grammar
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
WHO	World Health Organization

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This introductory chapter situates the current study's main aim which is to investigate China's image in Trump's political press conferences and tweets about the novel virus (COVID -19). This is achieved by providing a background of the study, a statement of the problem, the main research questions, research objectives, procedure of the study, limits of the study, significance of the study, and finally some definitions of key terms and words.

1.1 Background

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) has become a prominent field over the recent years. It aims to examine the relation between language, ideology, and power. Wodak and Meyer (2009) state that "CDA is fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control when these are manifested in language" (p.10) In other words, "CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, and legitimized by language use" (ibid). CDA is mainly interested in political discourse.

Political discourse is considered a complex human activity that plays a central role in the organization and management of society (Akinwotu,2013,p.43). Language is considered the main tool of political discourse, as it is a very powerful weapon in winning public support. Fernandez (2019) states that:

“political leaders know the language they use has a tremendous potential for mass persuasion and a profound impact on how social and political phenomena are perceived, therefore, language is a powerful tool for politicians not only to persuade the public opinion in favor of their interests but also against their opponents” (p.230)

Thus, politicians use a wide variety of linguistic devices to achieve their goals. Such goals indicate shaping the thoughts of the people, or convincing them to act as they want, manipulating their feelings against other governments, and driving them to follow the politicians’ beliefs. Politicians’ language reveals their attitude towards other governments which may be considered as enemies or competitors for them.

By the end of 2019, a novel virus emerged in China, specifically in Wuhan. This infectious disease spread all over the world, which is commonly named Coronavirus (the formal and medical name is: COVID-19. The World Health Organization (henceforth WHO) announced it by the 11th of March 2020 as a pandemic. Many countries, especially in Europe, suffered from increasing cases of COVID-19 and collapsing medical institutions. The political eyes turned towards creating medication and a vaccine for this unknown virus. Opinions on the virus's origins were varied; some said that its origin was from China, while others claimed that it was created in China’s labs! These variations have led to a war of words against China, especially by America.

The relation between China and America varied from positive into highly negative, and it is exemplified as a complex relation. America and China are two powerful nations in the world. After 1980 the economy of the two nations grew

rapidly. This economic flourishing aroused a kind of struggle between them, each nation adopted a cautious attitude regarding the other as an enemy or competitor, but at the same time, this relation maintained a strong economic partnership (Wang, 2010). According to (World Economic Outlook; 12 October 2014) America has the world's largest economy and China has the second-largest, although China has a great Gross Domestic Product. Cai (2010) states that “China is often referred to as the “world's factory” given its huge manufacturing and export base” (p.263).

Koshino (2015) states that “For more than half a century, leaders of the People’s Republic of China have challenged United States policymakers as their competitors and partners” (p.1). Furthermore, Koshino indicates that China's extraordinary economic and military ascent in recent decades, while still governed by a Communist dictatorship, has made the goals underlying its military expansion a source of international suspicion (ibid). Thus, some experts and scholars claimed that “this mistrust is leading these two nations into an inevitable ‘rivalry’” (ibid). Throughout the presidency of Barack Obama, the relation with China stressed “When Democratic President Barack Obama took office in 2009; Sino-American relations^① had become more complex and interdependent than ever, both economically and strategically. The increasing economic interaction resulted in the US. Trade deficit and China now held the largest amount of US. bonds” (ibid, p.7).

The relations between America and China deteriorated severely under the presidency of Trump. In 2019, some political observers started to warn about a new cold war, such as Elliott K. A. who wrote “Why a Cold War with China Would Be So Costly”, published on June 25, 2019. Jeong-ho L. wrote “Is a China-US cold war inevitable? Chinese analysts say it can’t be ruled out” published on 14 Aug 2019. Maru M. T. wrote “A new cold war in Africa: Increasing tensions

^①Sino-American relations: Refers to the China and the United States of America's diplomatic relations

between China and the United States will be detrimental to African prosperity and peace”, an article published on 1st of Jul 2019. Through 2020, The Pew Research Center made a study to investigate Americans’ views about China. The researchers found that Americans have varied in their views, from favorable to unfavorable for China. The poll revealed that about 64% of Americans accuse China of its failure to deal with COVID-19, while about 78% of Americans hold China government responsible for COVID-19’s outbreak (Laura Silver et al, 2020). By May 2020, both sides began to attack the other regarding guilt for the COVID-19 pandemic.

In this study, the researcher intends to analyze the image of China in Trump's political discourse. Fourteen press conferences and thirty-seven tweets are selected between the periods of COVID-19’s outbreak in America (January/2020, until July/ 2020). The study seeks to investigate the representation of political actors mainly embodied in Trump's discourse towards China on COVID-19 by employing CDA. The study examines texts systematically to see the range of ideological strategies whether positive or negative directed towards China.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Critical Discourse Analysis involves how exploitation, domination, and injustice of social power are applied, replicated, and resisted by written and spoken discourses, throughout social and political contexts (van Dijk, 1998). Thus, many linguists gave special importance to CDA. That's why several studies got a great deal of significance to the analysis of presidential speeches and arguments.

Consequently, several researchers utilized the framework of CDA to investigate the hidden ideology in Trump's discourse. There are a limited number of studies that are concerned with the struggle between America and China precisely concerning COVID-19. Yu Hangan, et al. (2021) researched the

COVID-19 discourse characteristics in China Daily and The Guardian newspapers. Dezhkameh, A. et al. (2021) used CDA to investigate COVID-19 in Iranian and American publications. AlAfnan (2020) examined media bias, superiority, and philosophies by analyzing the American Washington Post newspaper, and the Chinese People's daily newspaper articles on COVID 19.

Zhu and Wang (2020) studied two political discourses conveyed by Trump and the Chinese foreign minister. Olimat (2020) investigated the dysphemistic expressions in Trump's speeches about COVID-19. Elaf B. & Hussien A. (2020) concentrated on Trump's political discourse on Twitter. They investigated the strategies of impoliteness in Trump's tweets concerning the countries of the Middle East. Khan et al. (2019) investigated the representation of Muslims in Trump's statements. Chen W. (2018) looked at Trump's inaugural address from the viewpoints of "transitivity, modality, personal pronoun, and coherence". Rohmah (2018) looked at how Critical Discourse Analysis is organized in Trump's talks. Quinonez (2018) looked into Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric in speeches before and after the US presidential election.

The current study looks into how China is represented in Trump's political discourse before and after the COVID-19 outbreak. None of the studies cited above investigated the COVID-19 in the views of politicians like Trump. The previous studies are characterized by their limited scope, as most of the CDA studies focus on the media and the press. Additionally, none of the previous studies highlighted the struggle between America and China. Thus, due to the importance of Trump's character as the president of America, and the significance of the case itself (COVID-19), the researcher addresses this issue and fills in this gap.

This study focuses on analyzing Trump's spoken and written political discourses. Thus, fourteen press conferences are elected from February 2020, until

September 2020, based on the content and the date of publishing. This period corresponds to the appearance and dissemination of COVID-19. Moreover, thirty-seven tweets about COVID-19 are elected from (25/1/2020) until (23/8/2020). This study tries to reveal the hidden ideologies of Trump against China regarding COVID-19. The focus is based on linguistic choices, and discourse practices which include attitude, ideology, and dominance. Furthermore, it endeavors to examine the portrayed image of China in Trump's language after the pandemic of COVID-19. In this respect, the researcher, through this study, tries to find answers for the following questions:

1. What are the transitivity structures used in Trump's political discourse to construct the "Self "and the "Other"?"
2. What are the lexical items used in Trump's political discourse to construct the "Self" and "Other"?"
3. What are the discursive strategies used in Trump's political discourse to emphasize the "Self" and the "Other"?"
4. What are the changes in Trump's stance towards China, President Xi, and the state of COVID-19 throughout his press conferences and tweets?

1.3 Research Objectives

This research aims at achieving the following:

1. To identify the transitivity structures that are employed in Trump's political discourse.
2. To identify and analyze the lexical items and linguistic choices that are used by Trump to represent China before and after the outbreak of COVID-19.
3. To examine the discursive strategies that are used in Trump's discourse.
4. To explore the changes in Trump's view of China before and after the outbreak of COVID-19.

1.4 Procedure of the Study

To achieve the aims of the study and to answer the questions, the following procedures are followed:

1. Selecting the data sources, the press conferences, and tweets that are gained from the official sources.
2. The data selection is not random, but they are selected under investigation. Besides that, the information is matching the event that happened throughout the selected period. The data is selected according to the content and the date of publishing.
3. An eclectic Critical Discourse Analysis model is adopted.
4. The overall design is a qualitative method.

1.5 Limits of the Study

This study is based on data selected throughout the outbreak of COVID-19 in America from (January/2020), to (July/ 2020). Fourteen press conferences of Trump are obtained from White House official internet sources, and about thirty-seven tweets from Trump's Twitter account are chosen.

The study employs an eclectic model for the analysis which consists of van Dijk's ideological square theory, Fairclough's three-dimensional approach, and Halliday's Systematic Functional linguistic model of transitivity.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study is hopefully supposed to be valuable for those interested in critical discourse analysis studies, critical linguistics, applied linguistic studies, and political studies. Such studies are supposed to develop our understanding of political discourse. Furthermore, it is supposed to reveal how the ideologies of the speaker or writer affect the image of the groups or people portrayed.

1.7 Definitions of Key Terms and Words

1. Critical Discourse Analysis:

CDA according to van Dijk (2001) is a discourse analytical research that investigates “the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted y text and talk in the social and political context” (p.352). the idea of CDA will be examined thoroughly in the subsequent chapter of the study.

2. Political Discourse:

Simpson and Mays (2009) indicate that political discourse refers to the discourse practices used by all actors who are involved in politics. In other words, political discourse can be recognized as the discourse that is created by professional politicians and political institutions. van Dijk, (2001) states that the main function of political discourse is the “enactment, reproduction, and legitimization of power and domination” (p. 360). It is said that for thousands of years, political discourse was utilized to gather support for violence and conflict (Oddo, 2011,p. 289)

3. Ideology:

It is defined as a set of beliefs, ideas, and goals shared by a group of people. Fairclough (1992: p.87) describes ideologies as “constructions of reality, which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination”.

4. Representation

The term representation is defined as “the embodying of concepts, ideas, and emotions in a symbolic form which can be transmitted and meaningfully interpreted” (Hall, 1997, p. 10), as observed in the context of social circuits. Gergen (1985) argues that the idea of representation relates to the constructionist’s viewpoint that we are cultural beings, and our worldviews are the “products of historically situated interchanges among people” (p. 267). As a result, our representations of the world are culturally particular and contingent.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher provides a discussion of particular terms and concepts that are relevant to the current study. Furthermore, this chapter examines the theories that are used in the theoretical framework of this study, which are van Dijk's ideological square theory, Halliday's transitivity, and Fairclough's three-dimensional approach. Moreover, it presents a critical review of studies that are relevant to this research.

2.1. Defining the Concept of Discourse

The term discourse covers a wide range of definitions. Titscher et al (2000) define discourse as "integrating a whole palette of meanings" (p.25). Fairclough (1989) argues that the term discourse includes the whole procedure of social interaction of which a text is just a part. Thus, it is concerned with the study of language in context. It focuses on what people do in saying, not just what they say (Gee, 2011). Politics is a "struggle for power to put certain political, economic, and social ideas into practice" (Pandian A. et al, 2013,p. 21).

Heracleous and Marshak (2004) state that "There is no social reality without discourse, and we can't understand our experience, ourselves, and our reality without discourse" (p. 177). This emphasizes the importance of recognition and the awareness of specific discourses that could mislead the people in creating their identity. Foucault (1972) indicates that discourse is a set of statements which is

organized systematically”. O'Halloran (2003) argues that such statements can express the meanings and beliefs of a specific institution.

McCarthy and Clancy (2019) differentiate between two notions: discourse and language. They state that discourse is viewed as a system that operates at various levels. Such levels include (grammatical level, semantic level, and phonological level). McCarthy and Clancy (2019) argue about such a system exists for a purpose of communication. Such a system requires engaging in a discourse that indicates the formation of meaning in context to make communication. They mention various definitions for discourse by various linguists. Cook defines it as “language in use, for communication” (McCarthy & Clancy 2019, p. 3). Gee and Hanford represent discourse as “the meanings we give language and the actions we carry out when we use language in specific contexts” (ibid). Simpson (2011) defines discourse as a “stretch of language in use” (p. 431), which performs meaning and coherence. He states “the use and development of theories and methods which elucidate how this meaning and coherence is achieved” (ibid).

Discourse Analysis (henceforth DA) is identified as an “umbrella term” (Cameron, 2001, p.7). Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002) argue that Discourse Analysis involves several subdivisions some of which are: pragmatics, ethnography of speaking, conversational analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, and critical discourse analysis. Partridge (2006) states DA focuses on the knowledge behind a word, clause, phrase, and sentence are needed for successful communication. In addition, DA examines how language affects the relationships between the participants of a specific context and upon social identities (Kleiner-Liebau, 2009). Also, it relates to both spoken and written texts. Wodak and Meyer (2001) argue that DA relates to everyday knowledge, such knowledge get from everyday communication, school, and family, also to that particular knowledge

which is produced by various sciences. The variety of data represents an important contribution for the researchers to explore different discourses, such as political discourse, gender discourse, media discourse, and so on.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

The term Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is utilized to refer to “the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part” (Fairclough, 1989, p.24). In other words, CDA is defined as an interdisciplinary approach. It views language as social practice and aims to “investigate how social power relations are established and reinforced through language use” (Serafini and Gee, 2017, p. 199). Thus, it does not just analyze the structure of the text, or linguistic features and meanings, but it investigates the critically social or historical situation in which social variation is expressed, established, and legitimized by discourse, or language use (Wodak and Meyer, 2009)

Richardson (2007) defines CDA as “a theory and method analyzing the way that individuals and institutions use language” (cited in Mayr; 2008, p. 8). According to Simpson and Mayr (2009, P. 8-9), institutional discourses can “make, form, and enforce discourse, cultivating specific kinds of identities to fit their own intent” since they are primary sites for “truth creation”. Mayr defines discourse as a social practice. van Dijk (1993) emphasizes that CDA analysts focus on “relations between discourse, power, dominance, and social inequality”, thus it represents broader social affairs (cited in Mayr, 2008, p. 8).

CDA is identified to be created from Critical Linguistics (CL), which is established in the University of East Anglia through the mid-1970s by Roger Fowler (Fowler et al., 1979). CL is considered the Systematic Functional Linguistics of Halliday as the foundation for text analysis, which in turn reformed

social criticism by understanding that the definition of language should go beyond the formal description process. Halliday (1985) states that:

“Grammar goes beyond formal rules of correctness. It is a means of representing patterns of experience It enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them”. (p. 101)

Further steps have been added by critical linguists. The first one is inspired by Marx, known as the pattern of experience. These patterns aim to suit the interests and needs of the users to understand their reality and if these interests are dominant, they are ideological (Mey 2009, p. 167). The second concept is given by Whorf. It shows that “if different languages can encode different patterns of experience (and different ideologies)... so can different uses of the same language” (ibid). Thus, critical linguists seek to study and analyze texts to establish their ideology, and to investigate how ideology and ideological mechanisms are applied as linguistic features and processes (ibid).

Three various functions of language are assumed by critical linguists. These functions were first introduced by Halliday (1978). Michael Halliday, the founder of Systemic Functional Linguistics, names these functions as ideational, interpersonal, and textual functions. Through the ideational function, the image of the world or the world representation is constructed. The interpersonal function establishes the relationship between participants (speakers and listeners) in acts of communication (Van Leeuwen, 2006). The third and final function is the textual function which is concerned with the coherence and cohesion of the text (Wodak &

Meyer, 2001). Halliday argues about these meta-functions by stating that these different language functions are interrelated with various aspects of the text transitivity structures reflect the ideational role, mood and modality portray the interpersonal function, and textual function is expressed by a 'collection of systems collectively referred to as' theme " (Halliday, 1994, p. 113).

Fowler et al. (1979) explain that the immediate pioneer of Critical Discourse Analysis is Critical Linguistics, which is a movement that began at the University of East Anglia in the 1970s. Critical Linguistics is established in the United Kingdom by a group of linguists who based their research on Halliday's systemic linguistics theory and methods. Whereas, in France Pêcheux and Jean Dubois produced a discourse analysis based on Zellig Harris's work and a revision of Althusser's proposal concerning Marxism ideology (Cervera, J.T., et al, 2006). As an alternative to CL, CDA was established by Fairclough, van Dijk, Wodak, and van Leeuwen through the 1980s. In CDA, the word "critical" means a variation in the general expressive analysis whereby the emphasis is on explaining the linguistic characteristics in the text rather than researching why and how these characteristics are created (Simpson and Mayr, 2009). Fairclough (1989) states that the word 'critical' is used in the special context to display relations that can be concealed from people, such as the ties between language, power, and ideology, besides it analyzes social interactions based on their linguistic features.

The comparison between CL and CDA indicates that the first emphasizes language analysis, while the second emphasizes social perspective (Cervera et al, 2006). However, both of them “represent a static vision of power relations and give a salient value to the role of discourse in the maintenance and reproduction of power relations” (Cervera et al 2006, p. 9). van Leeuwen (2006) differentiates CDA from CL in several characteristics: firstly, CL differs from CDA, since CDA

attempts to establish critical social theory and investigates the connections of “discourse and social practice in which they are embedded” (p. 167), secondly, in adapting to a much more sophisticated interdisciplinary approach, CDA goes beyond CL, to investigate not only texts and transcripts of spoken discourse, but also their meaning, either by historical or ethnographic approaches. Thirdly, CDA moves beyond language “taking on board that discourses are often multimodality realized, not only through text and talk but also through other modes of communication such as images” (Mey, 2009, p. 168).

2.3 Discourse and Ideology

There is an uneasy relationship between the concepts of discourse and ideology since they puzzle most linguists in critical analysis studies at some points (Callahan, 2014).

"Most of us accept discourse and discourses to be present in all language but many of us consider ideology or ideologies to reside with varying degrees in different discourses. And while we often find discourse to be a concept that is easier to operationalize than ideology when analyzing the data, we prefer ideology as an analytical tool when that data is about language—when we examine language ideologies” (p. 63)

Discourse is observed as a wide-ranging term, it covers various definitions that “integrates a whole palette of meanings” (Titscher et al. 2000, p.25). van Dijk (1993, p. 259) states that discourse is a legitimation for certain attitudes, opinions, etc. He relates discourse to power by stating that “Discursive (re)production of power results from social cognitions of the powerful, whereas the situated discourse structures result in social cognition”. Fairclough (2005) states that discourse represents aspects of the material and mental of the world “I see

discourses as ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations, and structures of the material world, the ‘mental world’ of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth” (p. 124). Fairclough (1989) uses the term discourse to refer to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part. Thus, it works as a medium, through which the world is represented, signified, constituted, and constructed (Fairclough, 1992). In other words, “discourse is the study of language-in-use throughout the world; it is not just related to say things, but it is related to do things” (Gee, 2011, ix).

Ideology is a term used to refer to a set of beliefs or philosophies attributed to a person or group of persons for epistemic reasons (Honderich, 1995). van Dijk defines ideology as a fuzzy, vague notion: “ideology is hardly vaguer than similar Big Terms in the social sciences and the humanities These notions defy precise definition and seem to happily live the fuzzy life inherent in such catch-all terms that denote complex sets of phenomena...” (van Dijk, 1998, p.1). Besides, He argues that ideology is known as a political and social system of ideas, values, or prescription of groups or other collections and has the function of organizing or legitimating the actions of the group (ibid). van Dijk (2006) refers to the relation between ideology and discourse as a complex and indirect relation. van Dijk’s concept of ideology is matched to Wodak’s vision of in-group and out-group ideology in which we emphasize our good things and their bad things while deemphasizing our bad things and their good things (van Dijk, 1998).

Fowler, et al (1979) state that ideology is “linguistically mediated and habitual for an acquiescent, uncritical reader” (p. 190). van Dijk (1995) argues that the structure of the ideology needs to be explored to examine the fundamental ideologies that are embedded in discourse. The main concern of this study is the political discourse that focuses on discourse in political mediums which covers:

debates, speeches, and hearings. Political discourse means including all citizens in deciding to persuade others and to clarify which action should follow to solve the societal problems. In other words, it is “the formal exchange of reasoned views as to which of several alternative courses of action should be taken to solve a societal problem” (Deutsch et al, 2006, p. 90). van Dijk states that:

“The relations between discourse and political ideologies are usually studied in terms of the structures of political discourse, such as the use of ‘biased’ lexical items, syntactic structures such as actives and passives, pronouns such as us and them, metaphors or topoi, arguments, implications and many others properties of discourse”. (p.732)

2.4 Political Discourse

Schäffner (1997) argues that politics can be thought of as a struggle for power, the power to make decisions, to control other people's behavior, and often to control their values and beliefs. Such power is important for politicians to protect specific ideas and interests, and put them into practice. Macesich (1996) defines power as “the ability of its holder to exact compliance or obedience of other individuals to the power holder's will on any basis” (p.57)

Throughout politics and power, Language plays a crucial role in the transformation of power into rights and submission into duty. Language can both create power and become an area where power is applied. Thus, every political action is “prepared, accompanied, influenced, and played by language” (Horváth, 2009, p. 45). Although that language is certainly an important part of politics, Fairclough states that:

“Discourse can misrepresent as well as represent realities, it can weave visions and imaginaries which can (with consent and feasibility) be implemented to change realities and in some cases improve human well-being, but it can also rhetorically obfuscate realities, and construe them ideologically to serve unjust power relations”

(Cited in Cavaliere, 2012, p.47)

Schäffner and Chilton (2002) argue that political activity does not exist without the use of language, it may be true for other behaviors like coercion, but “the doing of politics is predominantly constituted in language” (p. 3).

Chilton (2004) mentions that there are three functions of political discourses, which are: Coercion, legitimation and de-legitimation, and representation and misrepresentation. Coercion relies on the speaker’s resources and authority, thus, it is not primarily linguistics. It is a fundamental notion in political discourse as it paves the way for “setting agendas, selecting topics in conversation, positioning the self and others in specific relationships, making assumptions about realities that hearers are obliged to at least temporarily accept to process the text or talk” (ibid, p. 45).

Legitimation is correlated with coercion because it institutes “the right to be obeyed, that is, ‘legitimacy’ ”. Self-positive representation is a technique used for legitimation. De-legitimization is the opposite term, it can be found in “in acts of negative other-presentation, acts of blaming, scapegoating, marginalizing, excluding, attacking the moral character of some individual or group, attacking the rationality and sanity of the other,...., the extreme is to deny the humanness of the other” (Sazonova, 2020, p. 3). In other words, De-legitimization is the process of

creating a “categorization of groups into extreme social categories which are ultimately excluded from society” (Volpato, 2010,p. 272).

The final function is representation and misrepresentation, (Chilton, 2004) argues that “political control involves the control of information, which is by definition a matter of discourse control” (p. 46). The politicians may prevent the public from receiving information or may give insufficient information. Misrepresentation can be established in lying, including various types of techniques as delusion, denial, and omission of information. They are characterized by having a “cognitive effect of conceptually ‘blurring’ or ‘defocusing’ unwanted referents” (ibid, p.46). Representation and misrepresentation are embodied in the political discourse by linguistic analysis.

Manipulation is a phenomenon that needs to be studied in CDA. In other words “political actors may seek to control, manipulate, or influence media organizations in ways which correspond with their political objectives” (Charteris-Black 2011, p.6). van Dijk (2006) produces a triangulated approach to explain the idea of manipulation “as a form of social power abuse, cognitive mind control, and discursive interaction” (p.259). Thus, he defines the term under three headings: from the social perspective, manipulation is defined as “illegitimate domination confirming social inequality”. From the cognitive perspective, van Dijk defines manipulation as “mind control involves the interference with processes of understanding, the formation of biased mental models and social representations such as knowledge and ideologies”. From the discursive perspective, van Dijk argues that “manipulation generally involves the usual forms and formats of ideological discourse, such as emphasizing Our good things and emphasizing Their bad things”.

The current study involves Trump's strategic exploitation of political discourses to portray China as an enemy of the people being guilty of spreading COVID-19 in the world in general, and in America in particular, and because of the economical struggle between China and America. Such claims are sufficient to create a gap between America and China, to make the world wonder about whether China is behind the creation and the spread of COVID-19. The researcher attempts to reveal the discursive strategies that helped Trump to manipulate the American public to believe that China is standing behind COVID-19's outbreak.

2.5 Representation

In Discourse Analysis, representation refers to the language employed in talk or a text to assign meaning to groups and their social activities, events, social and ecological contexts, and objects (Fairclough, 1989). Fairclough (1992) refers to the role of language in social life, by emphasizing that the meaning is not embedded in reality, rather is construed via linguistic representation. Thus, representation's modes are varying according to the view from which they are created, whether historical, biographical, and sociocultural. Fairclough (1989) emphasizes that ideology influences how groups portray important and relevant issues to the public. Fairclough (1998) indicates that linguistic representations reflect how a person thinks about specific objects, events, and circumstances, for instance: they act as a principle of action in determining actual social behavior. Thus, there is a conflict among groups over which representation is regarded as appropriate, or preferable (Fairclough, 1992).

This study is based on the representation of China in Trump's political discourse. The researcher elected van Dijk's ideological square as an appropriate analytical tool to reveal how Trump's ideology towards China, concerning the COVID-19 pandemic. The ideological square highlights the contrasts in self-other

representations, in which the self, or in-group, is frequently portrayed as positive, while the other, or out-group, is frequently portrayed as negative. The good and moral aspects of the self are constantly emphasized with the negative and bad aspects of the other (van Dijk, 1998).

2.6 Approaches of Critical Discourse Analysis

There are three main approaches to CDA which are linked with linguists such as Norman Fairclough, Teun A. van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak. Those linguists have the same notion of CDA, but they have distinct approaches or models of discourse analysis. Generally, they explore how social and political differences are manifested and replicated through the text or speech in a specific context. The subsequent part of this section briefly describes the most common approaches used to carry out a CDA analysis of texts and also briefly discusses the approaches that are adopted in this research.

Fairclough's approach to CDA is highly influenced by Foucault's critical theory and its stance of discourse as "socially constitutive" (Fairclough, 1993, p. 64), and Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar which is perceived as "the toolkit for deconstructing the socially constructed machinery of power" (Chilton, 2005, p. 21). Fairclough (1992) argues about using the term discourse. He proposes to regard language usages as a form of social practice, rather than only individual activity or a reflex of situational variables. Thus, the notion of discourse in Fairclough's framework is both constitutive and constituted (Jorgensen and Philips, 2002). Various studies used this model of CDA, such as Krishnan (2006), Ong (2007), Arjunan (2009), and David and Dumaning (2011).

Wodak's discourse historical approach is the second common type of discourse analysis method that attempts to systematically incorporate all available

background information into the study and understanding of a text's numerous layers (Wodak et al.,1999). Wodak introduces her method of discourse historical approach through her investigation of the language of anti-Semitism, which stressed the notion that the context of discourse plays a major role in the building of the structure, purpose, and context of the anti-Semitic utterances of discourse (Wodak et al., 1990). The historical discourse approach aims to integrate as much information as possible about “historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which the discursive events are embedded” through the study and the analysis of historical, organizational, and political topics and documents (Wodak and Meyer, 2001, p. 65). Several researchers employed Wodak's historical approach, including Graham et al (2004), Baker et al (2008), and Bhatia (2009).

van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach provides a comprehensive analysis that does not only focus on the textual or structural level of analysis but also the production and the reception level (Boyd-Barrett, 1994). The socio-cognitive approach is characterized by the investigation for the “Processes of language users when they produce and comprehend discourse and participate in verbal interaction, as well as in the knowledge, ideologies and other beliefs shared by social groups” and the mental representation (van Dijk, 2009, p.64). In addition to grammatical, phonological, methodological analyses, as well as semantic dimensions of discourse, the structural analysis in this methodology, integrates high levels of analysis such as coherence, general themes, news topics, and schematic structure, and the rhetorical dimension of texts and documents (Sheyholislami, 2001). Studies such as Hoyer (2008) and Krishnan (2006) employed this approach as a critical discourse analysis model.

2.7 van Dijk's Ideological Square Theory (1998)

Carter (1998) states that the word ideology is sometimes used to mean false or distorted consciousness, and presents in the ways of thought, speaking, witnessing, and acting of the society. Ideology, therefore, should not be eliminated, but can only be substituted by another one. Thus, the “choice of words or one syntactic construction instead of another will function not just in a vacuum but to articulate ideology” (ibid, p.109). Since our data is based on a political speech, it is necessary to point out the ideological strategies included in Trump's discourse, thus this study relies on van Dijk's "ideological Square". van Dijk's ideological square model is based on “emphasize Our good things and Their bad things, a form of polarization that is semantically implemented by contrast” (van Dijk, 2006, p.49). He organizes his logical square into four categories:

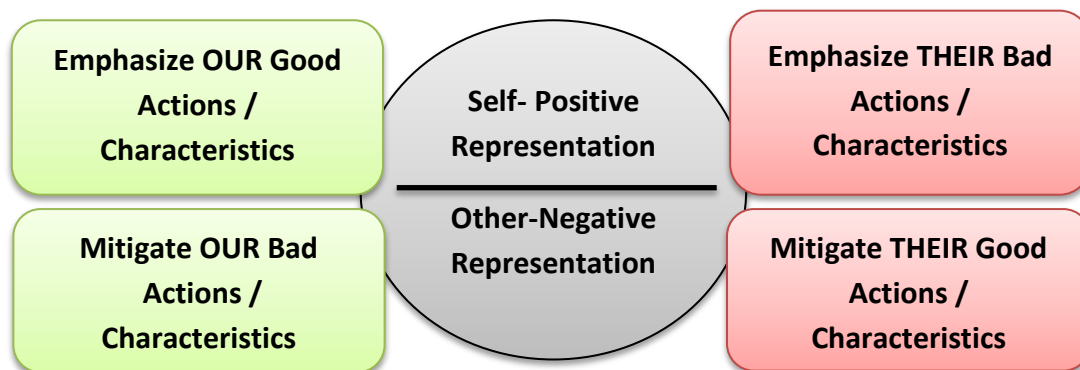


Figure 2.1: van Dijk's Ideological Squares.

Four conceptual possibilities are treated in van Dijk's model, to deal with text, discourse, and conversation. These possibilities focus on emphasizing “Our” good things, and “Their” bad things, as well as the de-emphasizing of “Our” bad things and “Their” good things (van Dijk, 2006). In ideological concepts, therefore, positive Self-representation and negative Other-presentation are prevalent,

suggesting “We are good and they are bad” (van Dijk, 1998, p. 25). This idea is prominent in Trump's discourse, in which he emphasizes and mentions the good things that America made to save their people from COVID-19, besides, he declares that the number of sufferers from COVID-19 is much less than China's. Trump emphasizes that China deceives the world about the real numbers of COVID-19, besides he blames China for creating and spreading COVID-19 across the world. On the other side, van Dijk (1998) set various criteria employed by discourse makers to emphasize the “Us vs. Them” dichotomy; these tactical strategies are discussed below.

2.7.1 van Dijk's (1998) Discourse Expression and Reproduction

Discourse strategies are employed by discourse makers to improve “the vividness of descriptions or the credibility of accounts ... is particularly relevant in expressing the ideological perspective and the opinions of groups and their members” (van Dijk, 1998, p.44). van Dijk (1998) suggests eleven devices to be used by discourse makers. The current study employs four diverse strategies, which the researcher deems most pertinent to the scope of this study, to reveal the entrenched ideology in Trump's political discourse whereby positive self-representation and negative other-presentation pervade. The four strategies include:

1. Attribution: through this technique, negative features and actions are attributed to our enemies, who are “consciously, intentionally and cynically aware of what they do and of the consequences of their actions, even if these actions may be branded as irrational or even crazy at the same time” (van Dijk,1998,p.58). In other words, they are considered deliberate contributors. Therefore, those of the

“us” who are unaware of the enemies’ destructive behaviors should correct their stance.

2. Descriptions: the ideological polarization in discourse also constitutes the descriptions of the in-group and the out-group and the associations that are part and parcel of “us” and “them” division.

3. Expression: Often, discourse makers use stylistic strategies to amplify the expression of their opinion towards the target.

4. Using History: History is strategically blurred and invoked by ideological opinions. The historical background between China and America is varied from positive to highly negative relation.

2.8 Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Framework

Fairclough (1989) interprets language as a form of social practice, stating that “Discourse refers to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part” (cited in Mullard & Cole, 2007, 18). He argues that critical analysts should not only concentrate on the texts, the text production’s process, and texts’ interpretation, but should also take into their consideration the interrelationship between texts, their social context, and the processes of production (ibid). Fairclough (1989) constructs his three-dimensional approach on such assumptions.

In Fairclough’s opinion, there are three dimensions of a communicative event: a text including (speech, writing, visual images, or a mixture of these); a discursive practice involves the creation and consumption of texts; and thirdly a social practice. Fairclough established three stages of CDA in line with the three levels of discourse: description, interpretation, and explanation. The Descriptive stage

includes the analysis of the text, as Fairclough, (2001) states “the formal properties of a text” (p. 21). The interpretation stage represents the connection between text and communication or interaction. Fairclough (2001) defines the representation of the text, in the interpretation stage, as a “product of a process of production, and as a resource in the process of interpretation” (p. 21). The Explanation stage aims to analyze the relationship between interaction and the social context in which social structures form events. Fairclough (2001) states that the Explanation stage shows “a discourse as part of the asocial process, as a social practice, showing how it is determined by social structures, and what productive effects discourses can cumulatively have on these structures” (p. 135)

Fairclough identifies discourse as the embodiment of social organization, which is a kind of social activity. He treats discourse as a unity, which consists of “context, interaction, and the text”. Text lies at the bottom of them, which is the product of contact. Both the development process and the interpretation process depend on context (Fairclough, 1992). The three-dimensional approach is illustrated below in the following figure:

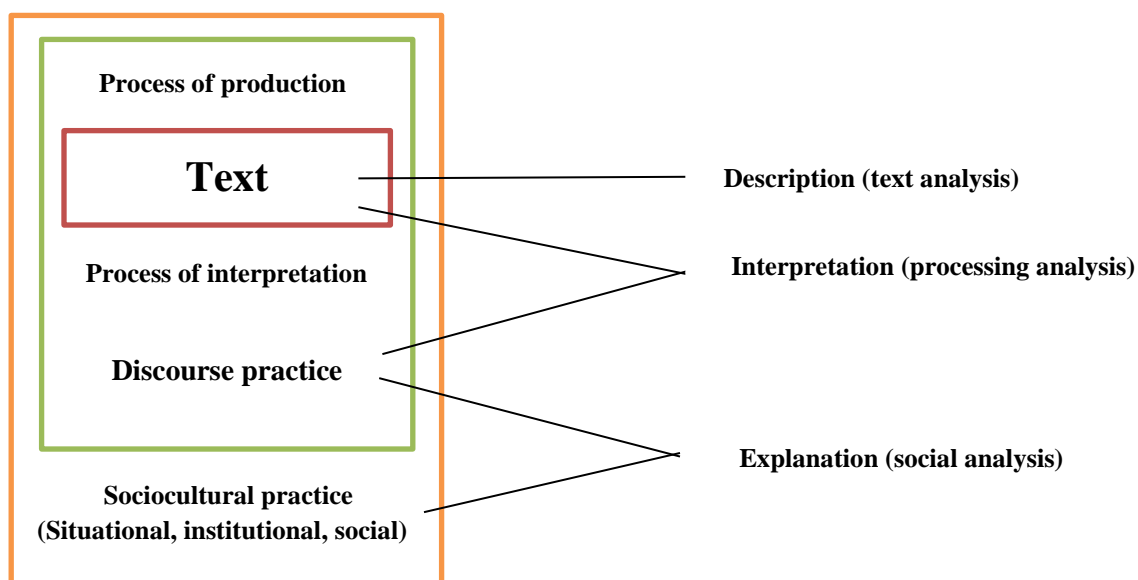


Figure: 2.2: Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework

Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) argue about the essential aim of Fairclough's three-dimensional approach which is based on the assumption that the texts are ambiguous and impossible to be analyzed in isolation because “they can only be understood with webs of other texts and with the social context” (p. 70). Lexical and semantic dimensions, of Fairclough’s model, are employed in this study.

2.8.1 Lexical Analysis

To reveal the embedded ideology in the discourse, lexical items are essential criteria that need to be examined and investigated. Carter (1998) defines vocabulary choices as “crucial to the expression of a viewpoint which extends beyond personal attitudinal marking towards a more sociopolitical position” (p. 109). Fowler (1991) defines vocabularies as a “representation of the world for a culture; the world as perceived according to the ideological needs of a culture” (p. 82). In the current study, throughout the context of COVID-19, Trump emphasizes that while “They” (China) spread the virus to destroy the world, “We” (America) endeavor to save the world by finding vaccines. Thus, the actors precisely differentiate between good characteristics and bad characteristics, as van Dijk (2009) states about using such opposite characteristics “not only contribute to the overall polarization of the conceptual structure of the text, but also to the formation of a bias, polarized model of the events, where the actors are neatly differentiated between the Good and the Bad” (p. 71). The lexical analysis consists of three dimensions: the experiential value of words, the relational value of words, and the expressive value of words. These dimensions are explained below:

2.8.1.1 Experiential Value of Words

Fairclough (2001) states that experiential values “reflects the knowledge and beliefs of the producer in question, which is evident in the choice of wordings” (p. 94). The terminological choices of texts are often the most ideological pointers within it since some words are “unconsciously associated with certain ideological frameworks” (ibid, p.95). The researcher, in this study, focuses on overwording and categorization. The aim behind employing these two categories is because of their importance and the possibility of using them to achieve the objective of this study.

The term overwording refers to the occurrence of numerous interrelated expressions that indicate the same phenomenon. Fairclough (2001) discusses “preoccupation with some aspects of reality” which may indicate an ideological struggle. Fowler (1991) alternates the term overwording with overlexicalization which is the “existence of quasi-synonymous terms for entities and ideas that are a particular preoccupation or problem in the culture’s discourse” (p.58). Thus, it is important to analyze the concept of overwording to reveal the ideology in Trump’s discourse.

The idea of categorization is connected to overwording. It clarifies the way ideological words are organized to indicate the bifurcation of the SELF and the OTHER. Fairclough (2001) uses the term classification schemes to refer to categorization. Categorization indicates a “particular way of dividing up some aspects of reality which is built upon a particular ideological representation of that reality” (Fairclough, 2001,p. 96). The researcher utilizes this category to reveal the way ideological words are organized to indicate the image of China in Trump’s discourse.

2.8.1.2 Relational Value of Words

Fairclough (2001) defines the Relational value of words as “social relationships are enacted via the text in the discourse” (p. 93). This dimension underlines how words are used to create social ties between participants in discourse. For the aim of this study, euphemisms and dysphemism are investigated to reveal how Trump presents China in the case of COVID-19.

O’Grady et al. (1996) define Euphemism as the term “that is used to avoid an expression that may be seen as offensive” (p. 713). Euphemism is interrelated to the ideology of discourse makers, for the purpose when a word of substitution of words which carry a negative value, by a more common word, it indicates that discourse makers De-emphasize their actions. Allan and Burrige (2006) define euphemism as “sweet-talking”, to be distinguished from dysphemism which is “speaking offensively” (p. 29).

The opposite term is dysphemism which is described by Allan and Burrige as a semantic connotation, the speaker chooses it to express his negative judgment on something or someone, resulting in negative nuances (cited in Kafi, 2020). Thus, dysphemism is a common linguistic feature in political discourses utilized by politicians to criticize their opponents indirectly. Since politicians have ways to influence their audience without showing the hidden truth behind them, therefore “the use of euphemism and dysphemism in political discourse plays an essential role in giving a subtle impression or a wrong impression of the speaker in his speech” (Kafi,2020, p. ix). The researcher employs both strategies in this study to analyze Trump’s expressions toward China concerning COVID-19, and to investigate whether Trump prefers “sweet-talking” or “speaking offensively” (Allan and Burrige, 2006, p.29).

2.8.1.3 Expressive Value of Words

Fairclough (2001) defines the Expressive value of words as “a trace of and a cue to the producer’s evaluation (in the widest sense) of the bit of the reality it relates to” (p. 93). Expressive value is “to do with subjects and social identities” (ibid). Fairclough states that dimension can be drawn from the classification schemes “ideologically contrastive schemes embodying different values in different discourse types” (ibid, p. 98). In this study, the researcher focuses on the predicative and pronominal adjectives to explore the expressive value of words used in Trump’s discourse. Biber et al (2007) indicate that predicative adjective “occurs in the subject predicative position, following a copular verb” (p. 459). Pronominal adjectives function “as pre-modifier before a noun “occurring before the head noun in a noun phrase” (ibid: p. 455).

2.9 Halliday’s Transitivity Structure

Transitivity analysis is a crucial notion of discourse that is advocated by Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Grammar in SFL is defined as “a way of understanding the functions that language performs and the choices people make when they speak/write to exchange meaning with readers/listeners” (Young and Fitzgerald 2006, p.16). Halliday (1973, p.134) defines transitivity as a “set of options whereby the speaker encodes his experience of the processes of the external world, and the internal world of his consciousness, together with the participants in these processes and their attendant circumstances”.

The writer's perspective on the world can be revealed through the choices that he/she makes in the transitivity system. Transitivity is concerned with the portrayal of a writer's mental vision of the world because it involves the transfer of concepts,

and therefore it relates to the ideational function (Isti'anah, 2014). The transitivity approach consists of six various processes, which are: material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal, and existential. In this study, the researcher concentrates on three processes, which are: material, mental, and relational. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), these processes are the main types through the transitivity system in the English language.

The study aims to analyze and identify transitivity patterns of material, mental, and relational processes in Trump's political discourses. Throughout the discussion and the analysis of Transitivity's processes, the emphasis is on the representation of "us" and "them" groups. Moreover, the focus is on how these groups are presented and portrayed by Trump.

2.9.1 Material Processes

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) define the material process as a "quantum of change in the flow of events as taking place through some input of energy" (p.179). Often, it happens in the external world. Through material processes, the structure of the sentence consists of the subject (actor), transitive/intransitive verb (process), and object 'in the case of transitive verb' (goal). Thus, the sentence with a transitive verb, based on the pattern (SVO), denotes an action that comprises the actor and the goal. The sentence with only one participant, based on the pattern (SV), in which the actor is acting on the goal, in this case, the participant either denotes an event or a non-directed action (Fairclough, 2001). Simpson (2003) states that the actor is an obligatory component that represents the 'doer' of the action, while the goal is an optional element that "represents the person or entity affected by the process" (p.89). The three participants within material processes, which are actor, processes, and goal, are exemplified below:

Table 2.1: Material Processes

1	John	Kicked	The ball
	Actor	Process (transitive)	goal
2	The lion	sprang	
	Actor	Process (intransitive)	
3	The man	died	
	Actor	Process (intransitive)	

2.9.2 Mental Processes

Mental processes are based on sensing verbs which indicate, as Eggins (1994) (cited in Emilia, 2014), the meaning of thinking or feeling. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) classify the verbs of this dimension into three types: Cognition (thinking, learning, recognizing processes), affection (liking, fearing processes), and perception (Verbs of seeing and hearing) (ibid, p. 153). There are two participants, through mental processes, are a Sensor (often human), and a Phenomenon (often a nominal clause based on what is thought, wanted, perceived, or liked/disliked). The following table shows mental processes examples:

Table 2.2: Mental Processes

1	The people	Desire	freedom
	Sensor	Mental process	phenomenon

2.9.3 Relational Processes

This type of process is defined as the process of being. Halliday indicates that there are three types of relational processes: Intensive, Circumstantial, and Possessive (Halliday 1994). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) state that relational processes “serve to characterize and to identify” (p. 210). They are subdivided into two main types: attributive, and identifying, these kinds can be intensive (x is a), possessive (x has a), and circumstantial (x is at a). Table (2.3) below represents examples:

Table 2.3: Relational Processes

		Attributive	Identifying
1	Intensive (x is a)	War is bad	War is our enemy
2	Possessive (x has a)	George has weapon	The weapon is George’s
3	Circumstantial (x is at a)	The show is on Sunday	Tomorrow is the 10 th of March

2.10 Review of Related Studies

van Dijk (1998) suggests that CDA is a field that concerns examining and analyzing written and spoken texts to uncover the discursive causes of dominance, power, bias, and inequality. In other words, throughout the social and political context, critical discourse analysis studies how social power exploitation, domination, and injustice are applied, replicated, and resisted by text and speaking (ibid). Discourse and ideology are interrelated concepts since discourse is known as a medium of exercising power, while ideology is defined as “a systemic body of ideas, organized from a particular point of view” (Hodge and Kress,1993:p.6).

Thus, Ideology is a concept that manifests itself in language, where it is expressed and formulated explicitly (van Dijk, 2005). van Dijk (1998:p.61) argues that “There is one standard way to do critical discourse analyses, nor to do an ideological analysis of editorials or other types of text or talk”. There are a large number of studies that have a great deal of significance to the analysis of Presidential speeches and arguments. This section presents a review of related studies in critical discourse analysis.

Chen W. (2018) analyzed Trump’s introductory speech chiefly from the viewpoints of “transitivity, modality, personal pronoun and coherence” to reveal the speaker’s political intention and allow readers to understand the meaning of discourse, improve their critical consciousness, and investigative ability. The research employed “Halliday’s systemic functional grammar for data analysis. The results showed that Trump uses diverse language forms to “transmit”, alter, and preserve audiences’ ideology subtly.

Rohmah (2018) investigated the organization of Critical Discourse Analysis that appears in Trump's speeches, besides the elements of the Socio-Cognitive Approach. van Dijk’s Critical Discourse Analysis approach was involved to achieve the goals of this study. The writer, through this study and under descriptive-qualitative technique, gave a widespread understanding of the emergence of linguistic features through the Critical Discourse Analysis structure. The result revealed that sixty-four expressions were observed as linguistic features from three selected speeches of Donald J Trump. The CDA framework showed that Donald J Trump uses repetition and irony to involve the addressee's emotional connection by using objective evidence and emotional participation. Then Trump tries to create a negative portrayal of another person's party to get a better representation of him. Moreover, the use of the pronoun is often aimed at

displaying solidarity as a tactic to persuade and encourage the addressee to agree with his claim and the resolution of the administration.

Trump's anti-immigrant rhetoric in speeches before and after the US presidential election was investigated by Quinonez E. S. (2018). The study is a corpus linguistics study and critical discourse analysis study. About 100+ transcripts were analyzed throughout this study. The findings revealed that Trump represents immigrants using demagogic and dehumanizing words, as well as constant discursive strategies. These tactics are used to demonstrate the positive representation of "us," while the negative portrayal of "them" is demonstrated. Moreover, the use of metaphorical formulations to incite fear and anti-immigrant sentiments toward newcomers Furthermore, to deprive individuals of their humanity, rendering them undeserving of the dignity and liberties that America's groups are entitled to.

Khan M. H. et al (2019) focused on the representation of Muslims throughout Trump's discourses. The study is based on "macro-strategies of the discourse given by Wodak and Meyer and van Dijk's referential strategies of political discourse" (Khan M. H. et al,2019). The research aimed to examine the representation of the Others in Trump's discourse. The study aimed to reveal the image of Muslims, in Trump's speeches, throughout the American Presidential Election of 2016. The results showed that Trump portrayed Islam and Muslims as a negative phenomenon. In contrast, he has portrayed himself as an Islamophobe, via criticizing Islamic terms, such as Shariah and Jihad. In Trump's biased representation of Islam, most Islamic viewpoints are portrayed as anti-women and anti-American, posing a threat to America's stability and way of life

AlAfnan, M. A. (2020) focused on the investigation in two newspaper articles written by the American Washington Post newspaper and the Chinese People's

Daily (English Edition) newspapers. The study discussed the biases in media, dominance, and ideology. The two newspapers are concerned with the COVID-19 pandemic. The research was based on “Critical Discourse Analysis and Halliday and Hasan’s (1976) models of cohesion” (AlAfnan, 2020) to observe ideology, power, and texture throughout “an electronic news article”. The results showed that media bias occurred throughout coverage bias, statement bias, and gatekeeping bias. Ideology bias was practiced via the election of tone to report, and the topics to cover COVID-19 news. Furthermore, the foregrounding and backgrounding of the ideas and information were established via dominance. Additionally, the study detected that the process of foregrounding does not have to be done overtly; it can instead be done implicitly by foregrounding the opposite.

Zhu and Wang (2020) employed analyzing two political discourses conveyed by the president of America: Trump, and the president of China: Wang Yi. The study is based on Fairclough’s three-dimensional Discourse approach as the analytical framework. The research aimed to investigate the linguistic aspects, throughout the selected political discourses, to acquire visions concerning the interplay between, discourse, society, and ideology. The first dimension revealed that both leaders favor judgment resources over the other two resources under the Affect System. Besides, “in terms of tenacity resources”, there are significant contrasts between the two addresses. On the discursive practice dimension, the researchers found that both leaders make extensive use of intertextuality resources. Besides, both leaders have a preference for the sub-category of “The Original Producer of Discourse being the Speaker’s Compatriots” under the category of “Intertextuality” (Zhu and Wang, 2020). Thus, Wang Yi favors the lines of Chinese sages from antiquity, while Trump favors intertextuality materials from a wide range of fields, including laws and statutes, legal writings, and government documents.

Olimat S. N. (2020) investigated dysphemistic expression in Trump's daily speeches about COVID-19. The study was restricted between the periods from 11th until 18th of March/2020. The research is based on the approaches of van Dijk's ideological square (1997), Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor theory (1980), and Allan and Burridge's concept of dysphemism (2006). The results revealed that Trump used war metaphors and strong language to defend his viewpoint, change Americans' ideas and beliefs, and attack foreign countries or organizations. Furthermore, it is noticed that some expressions were commonly used by Trump, such as a) a foreign enemy, b) a global battle, c) a dangerous threat, and d) an invisible enemy.

Elaf, B. and Hussien, A. (2020) analyzed Trump's political discourse (tweets), in which he addressed the Middle East. The study is based on Trump's tweets selected from 2015 until 2018. The study aimed to investigate the linguistic features used in Trump's written discourse. It is employed a qualitative approach based on description and interpretation. Fairclough's three-dimensional model was employed as a theoretical framework for the data analysis of this study. Through this study, the researchers employed Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for analyzing Trump's tweets. The researchers investigated the way that Trump used various linguistic features in terms of "vocabularies, grammar, and textual". Moreover, the researchers analyzed tweets from the perspective of ideology. The results showed that Trump used deceptive and disparaging adjectives to demonstrate his distrust of the Middle East countries. In the case of the text Trump used to convey his power behind the rhetoric in threatening and warning the Middle East countries, he also used some figurative details without providing any facts. Trump frequently used punctuations in his tweets as an exclamation mark to express his rage and sarcasm.

Recently, Yu, H. et al. (2021) looked into the COVID-19 discourse characteristics in China Daily and The Guardian newspapers. The study was based on the critical discourse analysis approach of Fairclough, and corpus linguistics by using “software AntConc 3.2.4w on self-built corpora”. The findings revealed that China Daily employed more objective and fair language, as well as more engaged attitudes in the fight against the pandemic. The Guardian uses more negative adjectives to describe COVID-19, as well as expressions with weak limiting force to report on COVID-19 pandemic management strategies. When comparing the discourse before and after the lockdown, it was clear that the descriptions of the COVID-19 in the UK press became more objective and unbiased, with more use of phrases of restriction and societal conflicts. When the same comparison was made in China Daily's discourse, it was discovered that terms like sharing experience and supporting cooperation increased significantly.

Dezhkameh A. et al (2021) employed the theory of CDA to analyze Journalism texts about COVID-19 by using van Dijk's ideological square. The study focused on Iranian and American newspapers. The study looked into the ideological differences in how the news about COVID-19 was reported. 56 articles were selected between the periods January 2020 until the end of January 2021, from The News York Times and Tehran Times. Both newspapers are published in the English language. To find the reason for the occurrence, the researcher employed the qualitative approach. The quantitative approach was embodied to account for the frequency of each micro-occurrence strategy. The results revealed that Hyperbole, Negative Lexicalization, Evidentiality, Number Game, National Self-Glorification, and Metaphor were the most frequently used micro-strategies in this study.

2.11 The Current Study

The concept of representation refers to the vocabulary used in a text or speech to give meaning to groups and their social activities, events, objects, social and environmental situations (Fairclough,1989). This perception of the role of language in social life is not expressed in reality, rather it represents through linguistic representation (Fairclough, 1992). Fairclough (1989) states that ideology can affect the way groups represent topics of importance to the political build. Moreover, in so far, as linguistic representations reveal the way we think of specific objects, events, circumstances, etc., also serve as a theory of action that determines real social practice (ibid). Thus, there is competition between groups for what is to be considered as the right, appropriate, or preferred representation (Fairclough,1992).

The current study highlights the representation of China in Trump’s political discourse. Since, the relations, between America and China, have declined severely under the presidency of Trump (according to an article published in Los Angeles Times, 31 May 2019). Political observers began to warn that a new cold war is emerging. Swaine, M. D. (2019) argues that “often positive and optimistic forces, interests, and beliefs that sustained bilateral ties for decades are giving way to undue pessimism, hostility, and a zero-sum mindset in almost every area of engagement” (Swaine, Jan. 16, 2019). By May 2020 the relations were worsened as both sides were enlisting confederates to attack the other concerning guilt for the global COVID-19 pandemic. (An article established in Wall Street Journal by Kate O’Keeffe K., et al on May 6/ 2020).

The study employs analyzing Trump’s press conferences and tweets. The researcher uses van Dijk’s concept (2006) of manipulation in political discourse, as a crucial tool to illustrate the way language is used in Trump’s political discourse.

Fairclough's three-dimensional model is applied to identify and analyze the lexical items and linguistics choices that are used by Trump to represent China before and after the spread of COVID-19. Furthermore, by Halliday's concept of transitivity, the researcher identifies and analyzes the transitivity patterns of material, mental, and relational processes, through Trump's political discourses. This study focuses on the representation of Us and Them groups, as well as how these groups are portrayed and presented as entities.

Thus, unlike the previous researches, this study contains more details about China's portrayal in Trump's COVID-19 statements. It also looks into China's representation in both spoken and written political discourses. Moreover, it tries to reveal how China was represented before and after COVID-19 throughout Trump's political discourse. The previous studies (reviewed in 2.10) are characterized by their limited scope of data, as most of the CDA studies focus on the media and the press, and there are studies focused on political discourse but not from the perspective of COVID-19. In other words, all the above studies did not tackle the event of COVID-19 from the viewpoint of a politician like Trump. Moreover, none of the previous studies have focused on the struggle between America and China. Additionally, none of the previous studies are based on written and spoken discourses. Thus, due to the importance of the character of "Trump" as President of America, besides that the significance of the situation itself (COVID-19), the researcher takes into consideration this issue and fills in the gaps throughout this study.

2.12 Summary of Chapter Two

This chapter views various terms, concepts, and theories that are interrelated to the purpose of this study. It reveals the way for framing the theoretical framework. Furthermore, the historical background of the relation between China

and America is taken into consideration in this chapter. van Dijk's (1998) ideological square, Halliday's transitivity, and Fairclough's three-dimensional framework are the models that the researcher uses, throughout this study. van Dijk's ideological square is used to observe the construction of the representation of the self (employed by America), and the other (employed by China) in Trump's political discourse. Throughout the analysis of transitivity's processes, the emphasis is on the representation of 'us' and 'them' groups, besides how these groups are presented and portrayed by Trump. Furthermore, Fairclough's approach is essential in analyzing the linguistic features of Trump's discourse from a lexical and syntactical level to investigate the ideology in Trump's political discourse.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND DATA DESCRIPTION

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the current research's design, the theoretical framework of this research, identifying the linguistic features, and the tool of data collection and data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

A research design is defined by Polit et al (2001) as “the researcher’s overall for answering the research question” (p.167). Thus, to answer the questions of this study, the researcher depends exclusively on the qualitative approach of analysis, because it does not only investigate: when and where, but also how and why the problem appears. The qualitative research approach is preferred; as Creswell (2014) argues: because it is a descriptive method that explains the outcomes obtained from the data collected. Moreover, in discourse analysis studies, it is noticeable that discourse analysts do not primarily discuss the sample size of their specified quantity since a huge sample produces an uncontrollable amount of information without contributing to the study's analytical result. Therefore, analytical, useful interpretations in discourse studies can also be achieved with a small sample size (Waikar, 2018). Baker (2006) argues that researchers are often more precise and selective in discourse studies, to elect extracts from any conference, interview, or argument on the foundation of keywords. Furthermore,

he adds that, during the collection of data, the emphasis should be on the quality and the explanation, not on quantity.

The researcher uses three critical discourse analysis approaches to analyze the data in this study, which are Halliday's transitivity, van Dijk's ideological square, and Fairclough's three-dimensional approach. van Dijk's ideological square is employed to observe the Chinese's portray in Trumps' press conferences and tweets, and to investigate the discursive expression which is used by Trump to represent China. Fairclough's model is utilized to analyze two linguistic levels in Trump's discourse, which are: the semantic level and the syntactic level. The semantic level is employed to investigate the linguistic items by examining three various lexical values, which are the experimental value; relational value; and expressive value. The syntactic level is used to examine the causal structures of Trump's press conferences and tweets by exploring the mechanisms of transitivity structures. The following part discusses the theoretical structure of this study.

3.2 Theoretical Framework

As mentioned previously, the theoretical framework of this study employs van Dijk's (1998) ideological square to observe the image of China in Trumps' press conferences and tweets. Moreover, it is used to investigate the discursive expressions that are used to represent China in Trump's political discourse. This approach is utilized because of its dynamic nature. It tends to clarify the ideological dimension and to reveal the discursive structures and strategies, such strategies are employed to fulfill the dominant power. Within this theory, the researcher uses Fairclough's lexical analysis and Halliday's transitivity structure to investigate the linguistic features of Trump's political discourse. This study is based on three stages, the description stage, the interpretation stage, and the explanation stage.

Two levels are examined through the description stage, which are the syntactic levels and the lexical. Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar is used to analyze the transitivity structures. Furthermore, it is used to observe the function of the agent position and the role of the affected in the clausal level of Trump's political discourse. The researcher precisely examined the material, mental, and relational processes. This in turn provides an answer to the 1st question which is; what are the transitivity structures used in Trump's political discourse to construct the "Self" and the "Other"?

Fairclough's framework is used at the lexical level which consists of three various value words, experiential, relational, and expressive value of words. This stage of analysis provided an answer to the 2nd question of the study, which is: what are the lexical terms used in Trump's political discourse to construct the "Self" and "Other"?

The findings, of the description stage, are analyzed in the interpretation stage. The following stage is the stage of explanation by using the discursive expression and reproduction of van Dijk's (1998) to examine the discursive techniques that are used by Trump's discourse to highlight the bifurcation of "us" and "them". This stage seeks to answer the 3rd question: What are the discursive used in Trump's political discourse to emphasize the "Self" and the "Other"?

The 4th question which investigates the changes in Trump's stance towards China, during the COVID-19 pandemic, is answered in this stage since it explores the diachronic stance of Trump concerning China. The fourth question is: What are the changes in Trump's stance towards China, President Xi, and the state of COVID-19 throughout his press conferences and tweets? The following figure represents the overall framework:

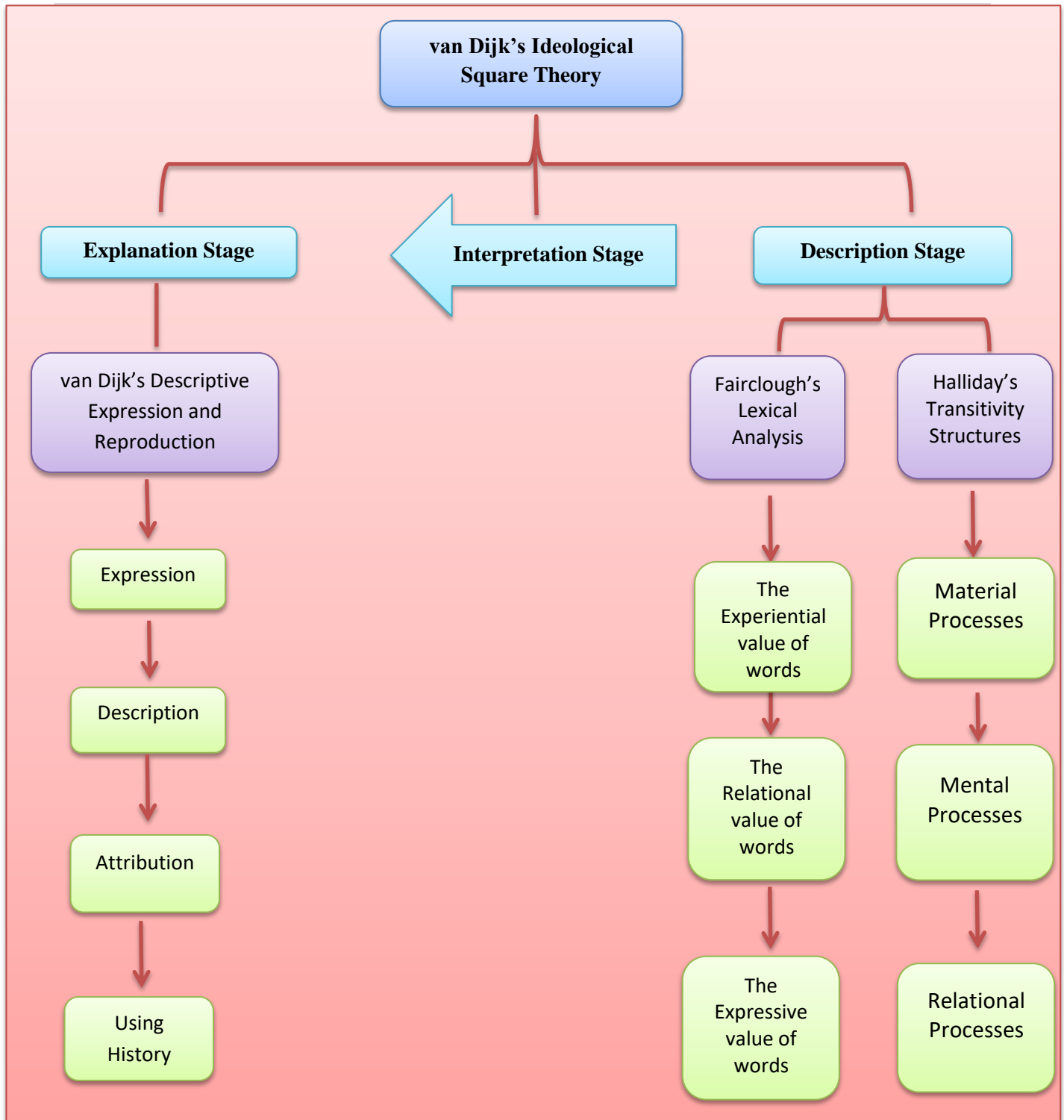


Figure 3.1: Theoretical Framework

3.3 Data Collection

The current study focuses on the analysis of political discourse. The study is based on spoken and written discourses. Such variation in the data makes the results more productive. In other words, the variety of using different social media platforms, in analyzing political press conferences and tweets, makes the investigation of the power struggle, in the political discourses, a worthwhile and valuable project (Biltvich & Bou-Franch, 2014). The similarity between the virtual and the real can be used fruitfully to “diagnose cultural change and social conditions” (ibid, p. 22).

Spoken and written data, whether online or offline can be part of analytical data and/or an area of study in Critical Discourse Analysis (Khosravinik, 2014). Moreover, Khosravinik adds that a socially-focused analytical study of language such as CDA is required to engage with all modes of organized interaction and communication in society, as sources of influence and power, and part of the value of accessing novel and socially generated texts. Furthermore, Wodak & Meyer (2016) urge the researcher in CDA to “join the new communicative areas and make use of the wealth of data sources available there” (p. 209). In this research, the data was selected not randomly, but purposefully. Moreover, the content, of the data, matches the events that happened throughout the selected period. The data is assigned according to the content and the date of publication.

3.3.1 Press Conferences

Fourteen press conferences, of Trump, are retrieved from two official websites <https://www.whitehouse.gov> and <https://www.rev.com>. The researcher matched the press conferences with the transcript of the official channels. The content of the spoken data are explained table (3.1):

Table 3.1: Press Conferences involved in this study

No.	Occasion and the place of the Speech	Date	The Transcript's Source
1	<p>“Remarks by President Trump, Vice President Pence, and Members of the Coronavirus Task Force in Press Conference” In the James S. Brady Press Briefing Room.</p>	26 February/ 2020	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-vice-president-pence-members-coronavirus-task-force-press-conference/
2	<p>“Donald Trump, Mike Pence, and the Coronavirus Task Force held an update today on COVID-19” An Interview, In the White House, Washington.</p>	19 March / 2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-coronavirus-task-force-briefing-transcript-march-19-trump-takes-shots-at-the-media
3	<p>“Donald Trump, Mike Pence, Dr. Fauci, and more from the Coronavirus Task Force provided new COVID-19 updates on March 21. Among them, Trump approved the Major Disaster Declaration for New York, he acknowledged coronavirus is hurting his business, and there was more talk of the drug hydroxychloroquine to fight the virus”</p>	21 March/ 2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-coronavirus-task-force-update-transcript-march-21
4	<p>“President Donald Trump’s April 18 coronavirus task force press conference. Trump railed against the media and gun control, going after both in Saturday’s press conference”</p>	18 April/ 2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-coronavirus-press-conference-transcript-april-18
5	<p>“ DonaldTrump held an April 30 press conference on protection for senior citizens from COVID-19”</p>	30 April / 2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-coronavirus-briefing-transcript-on-protection-for-seniors-april-30
6	<p>“Donald Trump held a press conference on May 11 on COVID-19 testing. Trump abruptly ended his press conference after a fiery exchange with CBS & CNN reporters Weijia Jiang &</p>	11 May/2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-press-conference-on-coronavirus-testing-may-11

	Kaitlan Collins. He told Jiang to “ask China that question” regarding coronavirus”		
7	“Remarks by President Trump on Actions Against China” In Rose Garden	29 May/ 2020	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-actions-china/
8	“Donald Trump held a press conference today on a new US jobs report showing progress in the economy & recovery from coronavirus impacts. Unemployment went down to 13.3% in May, and the economy added 2.5 million jobs”	5 June/ 2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-press-conference-transcript-on-jobs-report
9	“Remarks by President Trump at a Turning Point Action Address to Young Americans” In Dream City Church Phoenix, Arizona.	23 June / 2020	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-turning-point-action-address-young-americans/
10	“Remarks by President Trump at the 2020 Salute to America” In South Lawn	4 July/ 2020	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-2020-salute-america/
11	“Trump held a news briefing in the Rose Garden on July 14 where he talked about China, Joe Biden, and other topics” In Rose Garden	14 July / 2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-rose-garden-press-conference-transcript-july-14
12	“President Donald Trump held a campaign rally in Swanton, Ohio on September 21”	21 September/ 2020	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-swanton-ohio-campaign-rally-transcript-september-21
13	“Remarks by President Trump to the 75th Session of the United Nations General Assembly” In The White House	22 September/ 2020 The White House	https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-75th-session-united-nations-general-assembly/
14	“President Donald Trump held a campaign rally in Pittsburgh on September 22”	22 September /2020 In Pittsburgh	https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/donald-trump-pittsburgh-campaign-rally-transcript-september-22

3.3.2 Tweets

The world is in continuous progress, most people today cannot wait for tomorrow's newspaper to find out news, so they want to find what is happening at the exact moment. Thus, most people follow internet platforms, especially Twitter. Twitter is fast, fun, free, and immediate, such characteristics make it a popular and creative platform for people who are interested in the social network. Furthermore, there are no barriers, no geographical boundaries, no conversational boundaries, and no time restrictions. Besides, it is free; users do not have to pay to share their opinion.

The official account of Trump on Twitter is [@realDonaldTrump](#). Trump tweets continuously through this account. Trump's tweets are regarded as the most controversial. He had created his account in 2009, and more than 19 million people are following him. He was regarded as the first president to use social media, especially Twitter. Trump's first tweet expressed his happiness for his presidency. After that, he started attacking his critics like Russia, China, and Mexico. Also, he started attacking other presidents, especially Barack Obama. Moreover, he used to threaten the Toyota Company for cars. Such words as a big loser, boring, and fake, aren't absent from Trump's tweets. That's what has led others to ask for stopping his account, and wondering about what he tweets in the future!

This study involved thirty-seven tweets which are elected from the period (25/1/2020, at 12:18 PM.), until (23/8/2020, at 7:37 PM.), restricted to the breakout and the spreading of COVID-19. The Tweets are taken from the official account of Trump on Twitter on the link <https://twitter.com/donaldtrump>.

The following part of this section explains the levels which are employed to reveal the ideology in Trump's discourse.

3.4 The Semantic level

Three various dimensions of Fairclough's (2001) framework of lexical analysis are employed in this study which are the experiential value of words, the relational value of words, and the expressive value of words. The experiential value of words, as Fairclough explains "how ideology differences between texts in their representation of the world are coded in their vocabulary" (ibid,p. 94). This illustrates how a text is affected by ideology. The experiential value of words can reveal by various linguistic features. Thus, overwording and categorization are the main concern of this study, since they were presented in Trump's discourse.

Fairclough (2001) explains the relational value of words, as to how "a text's choice of wordings depends on, and help creates, social relationships between participants" (p. 97). It describes the words as intentionally used to produce an association between the discourse, and the listener or the reader. This study focused on how Trump uses specific linguistic items and words when he describes China. Precisely, euphemisms were considered.

The third notion, which is the expressive value of words, is taken into consideration in this research. The expressive value of words is an essential tool to explore the manner; discourse makers evaluate subjects and social identities. Thus, investigating the expressive value of words can reveal the image of China in Trump's discourse. Thus, prenominal adjectives and predicative adjectives were observed for the aim of this research.

3.5 The Syntactic level

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) mention, that Transitivity structures reveal the world of experience, into manageable procedures. These procedures are the core of the clauses (Arjunan, 2009), through the experiential feature of meaning.

Halliday (1985) argues that transitivity belongs to the ideational function since it is related to the transmission of ideas. It refers to the way meaning is denoted in a clause. In other words, it reflects the way, in which the writer sees the world around him. Halliday (1973) adds that:

“Transitivity is the set of options whereby the speaker encodes his experience of the process of the external world, and the internal world of his consciousness, together with the participants in these processes and their attendant circumstances.” (p. 134)

Halliday indicates that the writer utilizes transitivity to signify who acts (the doer of the action, agent), and who is affected by the action/ or is acted upon. Transitivity, as part of the ideational feature, reflects the viewpoint of the writer. Halliday (1978) distinguishes between three language functions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. The first two functions are related to critical linguistics and utilized to “uncover hidden ideologies in texts (Leonardi, 2007, p 99). As a result, many critical scholars use transitivity as a means to investigate foregrounded, backgrounded, or not included meanings in a text, besides, to reveal the ties between language and ideology.

Halliday describes transitivity in terms of three essential components, which are processes (verbal groups), participants (nominal groups), and circumstances (may consist of verbal groups or proposition phrases). Via these variables, in terms of what sort of action is done and by whom, we can detect a significant difference between active, passive, and nominalized sentences (Leonardi, 2007, p 99).

Processes include the condition or the state of affairs specified in the clause. It consists of an obligatory verb. One or more nouns or noun phrases may combine

with the processes, which indicate the participants in the clause. Furthermore, sometimes one or more circumstances may combine with processes to indicate the time, place, or manner of the event described in the clause. Thus, the doer or the subject of the action is called the agent, and the objects of the persons acted upon are known as affected participants, or patients (Fowler, 1991, p. 73- 36).

Transitivity processes reflect the syntax of the text, thus, every text can produce differently depending on the writer's choices of processes and participants. Within, the scope of Critical Discourse Analysis, transitivity aims to evaluate the theoretical, political, ideological, and cultural factors, which influence the way process is conveyed in a specific text (Fairclough, 1992). There are six processes include material, verbal, mental, relational, behavioral, and existential. In the present study, the researcher focuses on material processes, mental processes, and relational processes. Thus, Halliday's systemic functional grammar (SFL) is utilized to analyze the transitivity constructions and agency in Trump's discourse.

3.6 Data Analysis

Halliday's transitivity and Fairclough's three-dimensional approach are used for the analysis. van Dijk's ideological discursive expression and reproduction are employed to uncover the discursive strategies. van Dijk's ideological square is the core of this study, which is employed to examine how the "self" and the "other" are constructed. The subsequent figure illustrates the data analysis procedure of this study.

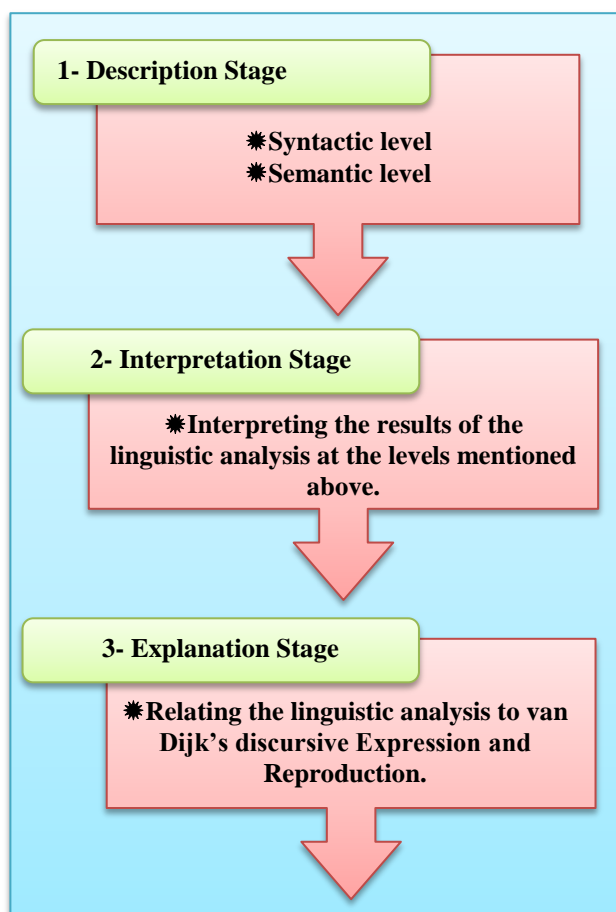


Figure 3.2: Data Analysis Procedure

3.7 Summary of Chapter Three

The theoretical and conceptual structure of this research is outlined in this chapter. Qualitative methodologies of critical discourse analysis are used for this study. Besides, the data description of Trump's press conferences and tweets are explained in this chapter. This chapter identifies the linguistic features that are used in this study since this research bases semantic and syntactic levels. This research's multi-methodological approach sought to obtain accurate outcomes while minimizing the presence of problems in the CDA methodological framework.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the practical part of the current study. The collected data are examined by using the analysis procedures described in chapter three. Halliday's transitivity structure is used to investigate the syntactic level, and Fairclough's (2001) three-dimensional model is used to investigate the semantic level. The analysis of the data is based on van Dijk's (1998) ideological square and discursive reproduction and expression.

It is essential to note that the data which are presented throughout this chapter are only a part of the data that is listed at the end of this study, in the appendix. The data analysis is presented in Tables and sometimes associated with figures for better depiction. Using tables and figures is useful to summarize information and to facilitate the reader's understanding of the work.

4.1 Syntactic Level Analysis

To analyze the syntactic level, the researcher utilizes Halliday's transitivity framework. Precisely, the research focuses on the material, mental, and relational processes. These processes are employed to examine the role of the agent and the role of the affected in Trump's political discourse, to reveal the hidden ideology.

4.1.1 Transitivity Structures

One of the tools used in Critical Discourse Analysis is transitivity analysis. This form of analysis is provided by Halliday's theory of Systemic Functional Grammar

which analyzes a text to reveal its ideology. Grammar, according to Mathiessen and Halliday (1997), refers to the resource for producing meanings through wordings. The presence of language elements leads to a wide range of interpretations. Grammar can be represented by three meta-functions in the creation of meanings: ideational (field), interpersonal (tenor), and textual (text) (mode). The ideational function is concerned with the events that occur within the text. The ideational function, according to Halliday (2004) is the function in which the speaker or writer embodies language in his perception of real-world phenomena. One of the strategies to perform CDA, according to Dijk (2008), is to analyze the action-process of a particular discourse.

Halliday and Mathiessen (2004) divide transitivity into various processes, which are material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioral, and existential processes. Throughout this study, the researcher focuses on three processes, which are material, mental, and relational. These three processes are involved to reveal the hidden ideology in Trump's political discourse.

4.1.1.1 Material Process

Material processes are known as processes of happening or doing, in the intransitive or transitive clauses. Mathiessen and Halliday (1997) argue that material processes involve doing activities, actions, and events. Thus, material processes consist of a process and participants that are involved in an action and require energy to happen. Halliday (1985) indicates that material processes are organized to illustrate events and actions (doings and happenings). The following tables reflect material processes in Trump's press conferences:

Table (4.1): Material Processes of China (Conferences)

No.	Utterance	Date
1	“I spoke with President Xi. We had a great talk. He's working very hard ”	26 February /2020
2	“And he is working so hard on this problem. He is working so hard “	26 February /2020
3	“..... of very talented people that <u>are working</u> ...”	26 February/ 2020
4	“ <u>It could have been stopped</u> <i>where it came from, China ...</i> ”	19 March / 2020
5	“ China <u>kicked</u> <i>the Washington Post out of China</i> and they <u>kicked</u> <i>the New York Times out of China</i> and I guess the Wall Street Journal”	21 March / 2020
6	“ China <u>has worked</u> <i>very hard. China has lost thousands and thousands of people.</i> ”	21 March / 2020
7	“ <u>Could have been stopped</u> in China before it started.”	18 April / 2020
8	“ They <u>should have let us go in.</u>”	18 April / 2020
9	“It came out of <i>China</i> and it could have been stopped and I wish they stopped <i>it</i> and so does the whole world wish they stopped <i>it.</i> ”	30 April /2020
10	“ They either <u>didn't do</u> it and they <u>couldn't do</u> it <i>from a competitive standpoint</i> or they <u>let</u> it spread.”	30 April / 2020
11	“ it <u>got out of control</u> ”	30 April /2020
12	“ ... they stopped <i>all the planes and all of the traffic from going into China</i> , but they <u>didn't stop</u> <i>the planes and the traffic from coming into the United States and from coming into all over Europe?</i> ”	30 April /2020
13	“Whether they made <i>a mistake</i> or whether it <u>started off</u> <i>as a mistake</i> , and then they <u>made another one</u> or <u>did</u> <i>somebody do something on purpose.</i> ”	30 April / 2020
14	“ They <u>should have stopped</u> <i>this</i> at the source”	11 May/ 2020
15	“ A gift from China. Not good. They <u>should have stopped</u> <i>it ...</i> ”	5 June / 2020
16	“ ... They <u>should've stopped</u> <i>it</i> at the source.. ”	5 June / 2020
17	“ .. they didn't stop <i>it</i> cold from coming to the United States, Europe and the rest of the world...”	5 June / 2020
18	“ It was <u>almost exclusively made</u> <i>in foreign lands</i> , in particular,	

	China where, ironically, this virus and others came from...”	4 July/ 2020
19	“ China ’s secrecy, deceptions, and cover-up <u>allowed</u> <i>it</i> to spread all over the world...”	4 July/ 2020
20	“ China <u>must be held</u> fully accountable. With respect to remedies ...”	4 July/ 2020
21	“ They <u>shouldn’t have allowed</u> <i>it</i> to happen, China..”	21 September/ 2020
22	“In the earliest days of the virus, China <u>locked down</u> <i>travel domestically</i> while <u>allowing</u> <i>flights</i> to leave China and infect the world.”	22 September– 2020 The White House
23	“ They <u>let</u> the plague out; they <u>shouldn’t have done</u> <i>it</i> ...”	22 September / 2020 In Pittsburgh

Notes:

- Bolted words represent agents
- Underlined words represent the processes
- Italic words represent the patient or goal.

Table (4.1) shows the material processes used by Trump to represent China. The data shows that there is a change in Trump’s stance against China, after the spread of COVID-19 (see figure: 5.7). In the first appearance of COVID-19 in China (on the 8th of December in 2019), which was never reached America at that time, Trump offered his help to President Xi to overcome COVID-19. By the 26th of February /2020, Trump claimed that he is continuously making calls with President Xi to offer his help. Furthermore, he stated that President Xi is working very hard to prevent COVID-19 from spreading across the world, as in “*he is working so hard on this problem. He is working so hard*” (the 26th of February / 2020). Besides, he declared that the Chinese group who is responsible for COVID-19 is clever “*of very talented people that are working*”. The pro-China stance

changed after the spreading of the virus in America. Trump began to attack China claiming that it is responsible for the spreading of the virus (see figures 5.7).

The prominent theme through the first table is that China is responsible for the spread of COVID-19 throughout the World in general and America in particular, which is, in turn, reflected Trump's continual blame on China. Trump used to blame China for not preventing COVID-19 from spreading at the beginning, for example:

- “ *It could have been stopped where it came from, China ...*” on March 19 / 2020.
- “*Could have been stopped in China before it started.*” On April 18/ 2020.
- “*It came out of China and it could have been stopped*” On April 30 / 2020.
- “*They either didn't do it and they couldn't do it from a competitive standpoint or they let it spread.*” April 30 / 2020.
- “*They should have stopped this at the source*” on May 11/ 2020
- “*... They should've stopped it at the source..*” on June 5 / 2020
- “*.. they didn't stop it cold from coming to the United States, Europe and the rest of the world...*” on June 5/ 2020
- “*They let the plague out, they shouldn't have done it...*” on September 22/ 2020 In Pittsburgh

By the 30th of April / 2020, Trump accused China of not preventing people from coming into America and Europe, while they prevented people from coming into their country, thus China, according to Trump, is intentionally spreading COVID-19 across America and Europe as in “... they stopped all the planes and all of the traffic from going into China, but they didn't stop the planes and the traffic from coming into the United States and from coming into all over Europe?”, and then he declared that “..... it got out of control”. Through the 4th of July 4

/2020, Trump claimed that COVID-19 made in Chinese labs “*It was almost exclusively made in foreign lands, in particular, China where, ironically, this virus and others came from...*”

Table (4. 2): Material Processes of America (Conferences)

No.	Utterance	Date
1	“ <u>we’ve</u> stopped <i>non-U.S. citizens</i> from coming into America from China”	26 February /2020
2	“ <u>We’re</u> dealing <i>with them</i> . <u>We’re</u> giving <i>them certain advice</i> ”	26 February /2020
3	“ <u>We’re</u> working <i>with China</i> ”	26 February /2020
4	“ <u>we</u> closed so <i>early to China</i> and most people..”	21 March / 2020
5	“ <u>We</u> asked to go in very early and they didn’t want us in”	18 April / 2020
6	“and I’m very lucky that <u>I</u> banned <i>China</i> , as you know, very early on.”	30 April /2020
7	“In January, <u>we</u> put <i>the ban on in China</i> and that was a very early day, that wasn’t a late day. That was an early day. Then <u>we</u> later banned <i>on in Europe</i> .”	30 April /2020
8	“And if <u>we</u> didn’t do <i>that</i> , as Alex knows, we would have had a problem like you wouldn’t have believed.”	30 April /2020
9	“ <u>We</u> acted extremely early in <i>keeping China out of our country</i> and banning people from China coming in”	11 May / 2020
10	“ <u>We</u> could close <i>our country</i> , save <i>millions of lives</i> , stop <i>people</i> very early on from China, from coming in, because we stopped early”	5 June / 2020
11	“But <u>we</u> made <i>that decision</i> ..”	5 June / 2020
12	“ <u>We</u> saved <i>tens of thousands of lives</i> with that decision.”	5 June / 2020
13	“ <u>We</u> went into a <i>ventilator period</i> that the likes of which nobody’s seen since the second World War ..”	5 June / 2020
14	“I could give you 19 or 20 names for that, right? It’s got all different names. “Wuhan.” “Wuhan” was catching on. “Coronavirus,” right?” “Kung flu,” yeah. (Applause.) Kung flu. “COVID.” “COVID- “I could give you many, many names” ...	23 June /2020
15	“..in recent months, America has faced down <i>that unseen enemy: the virus</i> from the distant land that spread across the	23 June /2020

	globe and invaded our shores, but invaded the shores of — think of it — 88 — 188 nations”	
16	“ We <u>hold</u> <i>China</i> fully responsible for concealing the virus and unleashing it upon the world”.	14 July / 2020
17	“... we’re <u>using</u> <i>the full power</i> of the Federal government to fight the China virus ...”	14 July / 2020
18	“ Joe Biden didn’t just <i>side with China</i> on the virus, he <u>did</u> ”	14 July / 2020
19	“.. To defeat the China Virus, we <u>launched</u> <i>the largest mobilization</i> since World War Two...”	21 September 2020
20	“ This state <u>lost one in three manufacturing jobs</u> after.... China disasters ...”	21 September /2020
21	“We <u>will make</u> <i>America</i> into the manufacturing superpower of the world and ...”	21 September / 2020
22	“ We <u>will end</u> the <i>reliance, this ridiculous, crazy reliance</i> on China, “	21 September / 2020
23	“ We <u>will make</u> our medical supplies right here in the United States”	21 September / 2020
24	“ We <u>have waged</u> <i>a fierce battle</i> against the invisible enemy — the China virus — ...”	22 September–2020 The White House
25	“ The United Nations <u>must hold</u> <i>China</i> accountable for their actions.”	September 22 – 2020 The White House

Notes:

- Bolded words represent agents
- Underlined words represent the processes
- Italic words represent the patient or goal.

Table (4.2) contains the processes of America utilized by Trump. On February 26/2020, Trump declares that America cooperates with China concerning COVID, for example: “We’re dealing with them. We’re giving them certain advice”. The most prominent theme in these processes is the ban on China:

- “ ... we closed so early to China and most people..” on March 21/ 2020
- “.... and I’m very lucky that I banned China, as you know, very early on.”
On April 30 /2020

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- “*In January, we put the ban on in China and that was a very early day, that wasn’t a late day...*” April 30 /2020
 - “*We acted extremely early in keeping China out of our country and banning people from China coming in*” On May 11/2020
 - “*... we could close our country, save millions of lives, stop people very early on from China ...*” on June 5/ 2020
 - “*But we made that decision..*” on June 5/ 2020
 - “*... We saved tens of thousands of lives with that decision.*” On June 5/2020

Trump announces that despite the objections to the ban, from John Biden, but he insisted on his decision which is the banning of China to prevent the spread of the COVID-19. Furthermore, he declares that the COVID-19 is an invisible enemy, and America and the world are in a struggle with that enemy, as in “*We have waged a fierce battle against the invisible enemy — the China virus*” On September 22 /2020, The White House. By mentioning “*the China virus*“, Trump regards the virus and China as enemies of America and the world.

Through the material processes of China (Table 4.1), Trump presents China as an enemy of the World. He declares that China is intentionally spreading the virus. Even, he claims that the virus was made in Chinese labs without giving any evidence. This indicates that Trump associates China with negative characteristics and actions (emphasize China's negative actions); since most of the themes show that China is responsible for the spreading of COVID-19. The continual blaming involved statements like these: “*China kicked the Washington Post out of China*”, “*In the earliest days of the virus, China locked down travel domestically while allowing flights to leave China and infect the world*”, “*They let the plague out*”. Thus, the material processes reveal Trump’s stance toward China which is a negative one. He represents China as a country that making bad actions to destroy the world by creating a novel virus and spreading it across the rest of the world.

Besides he tries to reveal that the world is a more dangerous place under the effect of China's actions.

Furthermore, table (4.2) reveals America's processes, shows a positive –self-representation of America. Trump represents himself as a good actor who is trying to do everything in his power to save his people and the world from the novel virus: COVID-19. Before the spreading of the virus throughout America, Trump represents America as a cooperating country, which tries to help China to defeat this trouble, as in “*We're dealing with them. We're giving them certain advice*” on February 26/2020.

The data analysis reveals that Trump uses “polarization” to present himself and America on the same side by associating them with noble characteristics. Such characteristics are used to reveal the virtue of America as the savior of the world, and the most cooperative country even with its competitors. In other words, and this particular case, the use of the so-called inclusive 'we' could mean that Trump is speaking not only in the name of himself but also in the name of the country as a whole. This emphasizes the positive self-representation by showing their efforts in fighting the virus while emphasizing the negative other by deeming them the ones responsible for the spread of the virus. Thus, Trump and America are associated with positive actions: “*banned China, put the ban, acting early to overcome corona, saving tens of people*”. Trump represents America as a good country that tries to save millions of people and to save the world from COVID-19. Expressions such as: “*We're giving them certain advice*”, “*we put the ban on in China*”, “*We acted extremely early*”, “*save millions of lives*”, “*... we saved tens of thousands of lives*” are conveyed by the speaker to construct ‘positive- self-representation.

Negative ‘Other’ characteristics are associated with Chinese processes. Such characteristics are used to exemplify China's discredibility on the news about

COVID-19. Moreover, the declarations are indicated that China intentionally was spreading the virus across the world. Expressions such as “*kicked Washington, kicked the New York Times, it got out of control, they made a mistake*” are associated with China's processes. Trump, throughout his press conferences, was emphasizing the positive qualities of himself and his nation. Trump claims that President Xi and his country brought problems to America and the rest of the world.

The following tables represent material processes in Trump Tweets:

Table (4.3): Material Processes of China (Tweets)

No.	Sentences	The Date
1	“ China <u>has been working very hard to contain</u> the Coronavirus....”	25/1/2020
2	“ Great Discipline <u>is taking place</u> in China,”	2/7/2020
3	“ China <u>has developed</u> a <i>strong understanding</i> of the Virus..”	27/3/2020
4	“ They <u>were recently thrown out of</u> China like dogs, and obviously want back in...”	12/4/2020
5	“ They <u>use</u> <i>US airways</i> to help china. The Enemy of the people!”	1/5/2020
6	“ MSDNC and FAKE NEWS CNN <u>are going wild trying to</u> protect China!”	5/5/2020
7	“What Chins <u>has done to our</u> Country, and the World....”	12/5/2020
8	“.. China .., ... <u>is paying a tiny fraction</u> of \$’s to the World Health Organization,..”	17/5/2020
9	“ Some wacko in China just <u>released a statement blaming everybody other than China</u> for the Virus which has now killed hundreds of thousands of people.”	20/5/2020
10	“.... They <u>could have easily stopped</u> <i>the plague</i> , but they didn’t”	21/5/2020
11	“All over the World the Coronavirus , a very bad “gift” from China, <u>marches on</u> . Not good!”	28/5/2020
12	“ The Radical Left Lamestream Media, together with their partner, the Do-Nothing Democrats, <u>are trying to spread a new narrative that Trump</u> was slow in reacting to Covid 19.”	27/5/2020
13	“ China <u>has caused</u> <i>great damage</i> to the United States and the rest of the World!”	6/7/2020

14	“ Major China Virus <u>flares up</u> <i>in many of the countries</i> that the Fake News was toughing as doing so well...”	30/7/2020
15	“ Big China Virus <u>Breakouts</u> <i>all over the World...</i> ”	2/8/2020
16	“..... Hardworking Americans that <u>have been hurt</u> <i>by the China Virus. ...</i> ”	14/8/2020

Notes:

- Bolded words represent agents
- Underlined words represent the processes
- Italic words represent the patient or goal.

Table (4.3) shows China's material processes. The table indicates that throughout the material processes of China, especially from (25/1/2020) until (27/3/2020), Trump's tweets stand beside China concerning COVID-19. He declares his cooperation with China to overcome the novel virus. Furthermore, he announces that he is continuously making calls with President Xi to investigate COVID-19's recent news, as in “*Just finished a very good conversation with President Xi of China*” on 27/3/2020. From (12/4/2020) until (23/8/2020), Trump begins a war of words against China, especially when he starts to describe it as “*the enemy of the world*” on (1/5/2020). So, continually, he criticizes the press, for their standing beside china and defending it, as in “*MSDNC and FAKE NEWS CNN are going wild trying to protect China!*”. Despite that China rejected the American press to transform COVID-19 news “*They were recently thrown out of China like dogs, and want back in...*”. Besides, on 5/5/2029, Trump attacks John Biden, because He was one of the oppositionists for making a ban on China, thus he stands beside them concerning COVID-19 (as Trump claims) “*Sleepy Joe Biden went crazy when I banned,*”. Besides the criticism of John Biden, Trump criticizes The World Health Organization (WHO) for standing beside China and defending it, despite that China pays much less than America. The data analysis reveals that there is a matching in the change of Trump’s stance toward China, in both press

conferences and tweets (see figure 5.8). The most prominent theme throughout table (4.3) is the blaming of china for spreading the virus. Besides the claims, that China was able to prevent COVID-19 from spreading but it didn't, as in: “*They could have easily stopped the plague, but they didn't*”.

Table (4.4): Material Processes of America (Tweets)

No.	Sentence	Date
1	“... It will all <u>work out</u> well. ...”	25/1/2020
2	“ <u>Working</u> closely with China and others on Coronavirus outbreak. ..”	31/1/2020
3	“... We are <u>working</u> closely with China to help ..”	7/2/2020
4	“ We are <u>working</u> closely together.”	27/3/2020
3	“Just <u>finished</u> a very good conversation with President Xi of China..”	27/3/2020
5	“...tens of thousands of lives <u>were saved</u> by my <i>EARLY BAN</i> of China into our Country.”	3/5/2020
6	“ We are <u>getting</u> great marks for handling of Coronavirus pandemic, especially the very early BAN of people from China	10/5/2020
7	“... We just <u>made</u> a great Trade Deal, the ink was barely dry, and the World was hit by the Plague from China...”	13/5/2020
8	“... prior to the Plague floating in from China, our Economy was <u>blowing everybody away</u> , the best of any country EVER.”	17/5/2020
12	“ Sleepy Joe Biden <u>went crazy</u> when I banned, in late January, people coming in from China.”	25/5/2020
10	“ Big China Virus <u>Breakouts</u> all over the World,”	2/8/2020
11	“..... We <u>are doing on combating</u> the China Virus, ..”	3/8/2020
12	“..... the great men & women of the U.S. <u>fighting</u> the China Plague!”	11/8/2020

Notes:

- Bolded words represent agents
- Underlined words represent the processes
- Italic words represent the patient or goal.

Table (4.4) shows American processes, throughout Trump's tweets. It displays that Trump presents America as a good entity, which tries to save people and the world from the COVID-19 as in "*tens of thousands of lives were saved by my EARLY BAN of China into our Country*". This tweet illustrates that Trump presents America with a good appearance. He emphasizes that his early ban on China saved thousands of lives of American people. In 3/5/2020, Trump emphasizes the idea of banning China, by writing in capital letters. Furthermore, he presents America as the savior of the world because it works on combatting the virus by creating a vaccine, as in "*We are doing on combating the China Virus*". Besides, he declares that the specialists of America are making their efforts to overcome the COVID-19 as in: "*the great men & women of the U.S. fighting the China Plague!*"

This indicates that Trump, throughout his tweets, represents China as "*an enemy, has a bad characteristic, ban entity, caused damage to America and the world in general, intentionally wanted to destroy the world*". On another hand, Trump presents America as a good entity, attached to the good characteristics, tries to save and rescue the world from China's virus by creating a vaccine. This demonstrates van Dijk's ideological square, which reflects emphasizing OUR good actions and emphasizing THEIR bad actions, in other words, positive- self-representation, and negative-other-representation.

4.1.1.2 Mental Process

The mental processes are known as the process of "feeling, thinking, or seeing" (Barke and Galasinski, 2003, p.70). Thus, Halliday (2004) indicates that mental processes refer to the inner experience of our conditions, our reactions, and our reflection on our outer experiences. Two participants are involved throughout mental processes which are sensor and phenomenon. A sensor is a human-like entity "the one that 'senses'- feels, thinks, wants or perceives" (Halliday and

Matthiessen, 2014, p.249). A sensor is a participant that is “being ‘endowed with consciousness” (ibid,p.249) for instance, “*Mary* (sensor) *liked the gift*”. The “participants that are perceived or felt is called ‘phenomenon’”, that is sensed the state (Barker and Galasinski, 2003,p. 70). A phenomenon is a second main element in the mental process that indicates “which is felt, thought, wanted or perceived, the position is in a sense reversed”, for instance: “*you recognized her?*” (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2010, p. 203).

The following tables reflect mental processes in Trump’s press conferences:

Table (4. 5): Mental Processes of China (Conferences)

No.	Utterances	Date
1	“... He <u>wants</u> <i>it</i> to go away from China and <u>go away</u> fast, and he <u>wants</u> <i>to get back to business</i> as usual”	26 February / 2020
2	“President Xi is working hard. He <u>wants</u> <i>this problem</i> solved”	26 February / 2020
3	“ ... they know it ...”	18 April /2020
4	“ They <u>didn’t want</u> <i>us</i> in ..”	18 April / 2020
5	“ The world <u>is now suffering</u> <i>as a result of the malfeasance of the Chinese government</i> ”	29 May/ 2020
6	“ Chinese officials <u>ignored</u> <i>their reporting obligations</i> to the World Health Organization and <u>pressured</u> the World Health Organization to <i>mislead the world</i> when the virus was first <u>discovered</u> by <i>Chinese authorities.</i> ”	29 May / 2020
7	“ China’s cover-up of the Wuhan virus <u>allowed</u> <i>the disease</i> to spread all over the world”	29 May / 2020
8	“ The world <u>needs</u> <i>answers from China on the virus</i> “	29 May / 2020
9	“ Chinese officials <u>ignored</u> <i>their reporting obligations to the World Health Organization</i>	29 May/ 2020
10	“ They <u>knew</u> <i>it</i> was a problem ...”	5 June/ 2020
11	“, it’s the China virus. They <u>don’t want</u> <i>to say it..</i> ”	22 September / 2020 In Pittsburgh

Notes:

- Bolded words represent agents
- Underlined words represent the processes
- Italic words represent the patient or goal.

Through the mental processes, the writer reflects his conscious feelings and inner experience of specific states. Table (4.5) reflects Trump's attitudes towards China. In the early periods of COVID-19, during 26/February, Trump begins his declarations as standing beside China by stating that President Xi wants to eliminate COVID-19 and get back the usual life of trade and business "*... He wants it to go away from China and go away fast, and he wants to get back to business as usual*". Through April/18, Trump begins to attack China, by declaring that China didn't permit America to enter its country to inquire about COVID-19, thinking that it did so because it was embarrassing concerning COVID-19. In an angry temper, Trump addresses the reporter, claiming that America, China, and the press all know that America is not number one in death in COVID-19, while China is number one, but they don't want to report that, as in "*They know it*". Besides, he declares that the world is suffering from COVID-19, because of the violation of China "*The world is now suffering as a result of the malfeasance of the Chinese government*" on 29 May. Trump claims that China let the virus spread across the world "*China's cover-up of the Wuhan virus allowed the disease to spread all over the world*". At the same time, he declares that China knows that COVID-19 is a problem, despite that it didn't stop it "*They knew it was a problem*" on 5 June. So he insists on associating COVID-19 with China, despite the refusal of China "*it's the China virus. They don't want to say it*". On the 22nd of September/ throughout a conference in Pittsburgh, Trump insisted to attach China's name with the virus "*it's the China virus. They don't want to say it...*" Most of the themes reflect Trump's blaming for China regarding COVID-19.

Table (4.6): Mental Processes of America (Conferences)

No.	Utterance	Date
1	"...But <u>we have to focus</u> on <i>this country</i> ..."	26 February /2020
2	" <u>We hope</u> we can open it up to China as soon as possible"	26 February/ 2020
3	" <u>We hope</u> the numbers that we've been getting are true on China, where it really has leveled off and started to go down,"	26/ February /2020
4	" <u>I know</u> it ..."	18 April / 2020
5	" <u>I believe</u> they called me a racist because I did that.."	19 March / 2020
6	".. it would've been much better if <u>we had known</u> about this a number of months earlier .."	19 March / 2020
7	" <u>I hope</u> it's true. Who knows? But <u>I hope</u> it's true"	19 March / 2020
8	"Unfortunately, China, <u>I wish</u> China would have told us more about what was going on in China long prior to us reading about it...."	21 March/ 2020
9	" <u>I wish</u> they could've told us earlier about what was going on inside ..."	21 March / 2020
10	" <u>They didn't want</u> us in .."	18 April / 2020
11	" <u>I think</u> they were embarrassed"	18 April / 2020
12	" <u>I think</u> they knew it was something bad and <u>I think</u> they were embarrassed."	18 April /2020
13	" <u>I mean, look at Italy, look</u> what happened to Italy."	30 April / 2020
14	" <u>I think</u> that the World Health Organization should be ashamed of themselves because they're like the public relations agency for China"	30 April / 2020
15	"And if we didn't do that, as Alex knows, we would have had a problem like <u>you wouldn't have believed.</u> "	30 April / 2020
16	" <u>I don't understand</u> how traffic, how people weren't allowed into the rest of China, but they were allowed into the rest the world"	30 April /2020
17	"But after that, all of a sudden, we <u>heard there's a virus</u> , and a virus is coming in. That <u>changes my mind</u> very greatly"	April 30 -2020
18	" <u>We're going to see where it comes from</u> and <u>look</u> , you know every theory that you had the theory from the lab"	April 30 -2020
19	"I'm <u>not allowed</u> to tell...."	April 30 -2020
20	"I'm <u>not happy</u> with China"	May 11- 2020

21	“.... a very hard decision to make. Nobody, almost nobody <u>wanted</u> <i>me</i> to make it.”	June 5, 2020
22	“... now I <u>think</u> hopefully, <i>they’re going to have a great year</i> ...”	5 June / 2020
23	“ I <u>want</u> to tell you, if you go back a few months before this pandemic, we were gaining, gaining, gaining.”	21 September
24	“We <u>were very, very sadly disturbed</u> <i>by what happened with China..</i> ”	22 September– 2020 In Pittsburgh

Notes:

- Bolded words represent agents
- Underlined words represent the processes
- Italic words represent the patient or goal.

Table (4.6) shows America's mental processes that are utilized by Trump. Trump s’ declarations, reflect his positive attitude towards China: “*We hope we can open it up to China as soon as possible*” he hopes to open the borders with China soon, “*We hope the numbers that we've been getting are true on China*” Trump hopes that China declared the real numbers of people with COVID-19 since the numbers indicate that the cases are started to go down. On 19/March, he thinks that the Chinese people call him a racist for making a ban on China: “*I believe they called me a racist because I did that*”. Besides, he answers the reporter that it is better if they know about the number of cases in China because it hides the real number of COVID-19 cases. On April/18, Trump expresses his views and believes that China government didn’t permit Americans to enter the country because it was embarrassed concerning the novel virus ‘COVID-19’ “They didn’t want us in ..”, “I think they were embarrassed”, “I think they knew it was something bad and I think they were embarrassed” On 18/ April. Through 30/April, he uses Italy as a phenomenon to address the listeners (mass people), about the disaster made by China. Thus China is responsible for the spreading of COVID-19 across the world, as it didn’t prevent the virus from the rest of the world: “*I mean, look at Italy, look*

what happened to Italy". At the same conference, he denotes the World Health Organization, claiming that it stands beside China, although America pays more than China for the World Health Organization. Then, he criticizes the ban of China on American people "*I don't understand how traffic, how people weren't allowed into the rest of China, but they were allowed into the rest the world*".

Trump announces the economic relations between America and China, declaring that they were about to set up a trade, but the spreading of COVID-19 prevented that "*we heard there's a virus and a virus is coming in. That changes my mind very greatly*". He uses the perception verb "*going to see*" to claim that COVID-19 came from the China lab, which reveals that he is going to investigate, inquire about the source of the virus in China. When the reporter asked him for more information Trump didn't want to tell the reporter that COVID-19 originated from Wuhan labs "*I'm not allowed to tell*". Thus, on 11/May, he declares that Trump has bad feelings concerning China, for the state of the COVID-19 "*I'm not happy with China*". In the 22/September conference, Trump states that America is upset with China because it caused COVID-19 "*We were very, very sadly disturbed by what happened with China*". On 21/September, Trump reminds the press and American people that before several months ago China was far beyond America in the economy, but because of the pandemic, America's economy was affected. Ideologically he means that China intentionally spread the virus to attack the American economy. He also reveals about Biden's agenda is to stand beside China to destroy America's economy since Joe Biden is the competitor for Trump in the American election.

Sometimes Trump speaks in polarization '*we*' for America, and '*they*' for China. That demonstrates that the speaker utilizes the first person singular which denotes an ideological portray that the speaker is not only authoritative and

courageous but also persistent to save his nation. Using pluralization pronounces ‘we’ indicates that Trump equals himself with other personnel in his government that talk about the virus, like Dr. Anthony Fauci, Mike Pence the vice president, Admiral Giroir who is an American physician and a retired four-star admiral, and other members of the Republican Party. Trump used to attack members of the Democratic Party, claiming that they stand beside China, like Joy Biden, as in “*The Biden agenda would obliterate our economy*”, and Nancy Police “*Nancy Pelosi. She wanted to dance in the streets of Chinatown in San Francisco, long after I banned China from coming here*” (June 23). Thus, we conclude that Trump tries to reveal that Republican Party cares about America, while Democratic Party does not.

The speaker’s self-representation conforms to van Dijk’s ideological square theory. He emphasizes the good characteristics of himself and his followers. He represents himself as the guardian and protector of America and the world from the evil virus which came from China. Fundamentally, every presentation of Trump and America is positive, which indicates positive things about the Self, while every wicked characteristic attached to China, demonstrates emphasizing negative things about the Other. As an example, when the reporter asked him about the real number of death of COVID-19 cases in America, he got upset and answered “*that’s a question you should ask China, don’t ask me, and ask China that question, okay. When you ask them that question, you may get a very unusual answer*” on May 11, 2020. The purpose of associating China with negative representation is discursively intended to isolate it from those who care about the world and people's safety.

The following tables reflect mental processes in Trump’s tweets:

Table (4.7): Mental Processes of China (Tweets)

No.	Sentences	Date
1	“ He <u>feels</u> <i>they</i> are doing very well, ...”	7/2/2020
3	“ They <u>don’t</u> want to <i>blame their cash cow, China</i> , for the splague”	2/5/2020
4	“ People <u>can see</u> <i>it</i> , and I <u>can feel</u> <i>it!</i> ”	1/7/2020
5	“ You <u>will never hear</u> <i>this</i> on the fake News concerning the China Virus, ...”	21/7/ 2020

Notes:

- Bolded words represent agents
- Underlined words represent the processes
- Italic words represent the patient or goal.

Most of the tweets in the table (4.7), reflect China's processes, carry Trump's criticism for China, even for those who stand beside China concerning COVID-19. Trump's tweets, throughout the first appearance of COVID-19, reflect his stance toward President Xi. On 7/2/2020, he denotes that President Xi tries to control COVID-19 by building hospitals, as in “*He feels they are doing very well,*”. Using the perception verb “*feel*”, Trump’s viewpoint indicates that president Xi expects that he will control COVID-19, but his attempts are useless. Through the 2/5/2020 tweet, Trump criticizes the Democrats for standing beside China concerning COVID-19, as in “*They don’t want to blame their cash cow, China, for the plague*”. Furthermore, through 1/7/2020, he declares that people can see that China is responsible for the spreading of COVID-19. Even the press gets its share of criticism. Trump criticizes the press, claiming that they don’t publish what America made to eliminate the virus. Instead, he shows his rejection claiming that the press standing beside China concerning the COVID-19 disaster “*You will never hear this on the fake News concerning China Virus*” on 21/7/2020.

Table (4.8): Mental Processes of America (Tweets)

No.	Sentences	Date
1	“ The United States greatly <u>appreciated</u> <i>their efforts and transparency. ...</i> ”	25/1/2020
2	“ I <u>want</u> <i>to thank President Xi!</i> ”	25/1/2020
3	“ Sleepy Joe Biden ... <u>went crazy</u> <i>when I banned, in late January, people coming in from China. ...</i> ”	25/5/2020
4	“ I <u>can feel</u> <i>it!</i> ”	1/7/2020

Notes:

- Bolded words represent agents
- Underlined words represent the processes
- Italic words represent the patient or goal.

In table (4.8), Trump expresses his positive feelings toward China and President Xi since the virus didn't attack America yet. Throughout the data mentioned previously, Trump states that America recognizes the efforts of China to control COVID-19. Furthermore, he thanks the president of China for his efforts to control COVID-19. Through May, in which the virus began attacking the world and America, Trump declares the ban on China to reduce the number of infections. On (25/5/2020) he expresses his criticism for his democratic competitor 'Joe Biden' because he was refusing the ban on China's citizens which is made by Trump.

COVID-19 began in Wuhan and spread across the world, and precisely in Europe. Therefore the tweets in the first table contain a criticism for China and for those who stand beside it. The second table reflects Trump's positive stance toward China since the virus was not attacked America yet. This indicates that before the spreading of COVID-19 in America, Trump has a positive emotion toward China, while when the virus attacked America and the world; he changed his stance into negative (see Figures 5.7 & 5.8). Trump's positive – representation of America, and negative –representation of China conform to van Dijk's ideological square

(Us/Them). He represented America as the savior of the world and its people, and China as an evil country that has no emotional feeling towards the world, so do not care about the health of the world. Even he represented his competitors (Democratic Party and Joy Biden) in a negative image, indicating that they do not care about the health and the safety of the American people.

4.1.1.3 Relational processes

Relational processes are known as processes of being (Halliday, 1994). Throughout relational clauses there exist two separate entities. It is related to something being said to something else. Halliday (1994) explains that relational processes are unlike material processes which indicate doing an action and mental processes which reflect inner feelings. Relational processes are covering the 3rd area of our experience “classifying, identifying, relating one thing to another” (Laffut, 2006, p. 157). There are three basic relational clauses: “intensive, possessive, and circumstantial” (Muntig, 2004, P.154). Clauses of intensive relation have a general pattern “X is Y”, possessive relations which construct part-whole; reflect the pattern “X has Y”, and circumstantial clauses interpret relations circumstantially, for instance, place, time, manner, cause, etc., reflect the pattern “X is (+ preposition) y” (ibid). The previous three processes are further divided into two processes which are attributive and identifying. Attributive processes indicate that “y is an attribute of x”, as in “you were um a teacher”, throughout this example “‘teacher’ is an attribute of you”, besides “‘you’ is a member of a class of teachers” (Muntig, 2004, p. 154). Throughout identifying processes “y is the identity of x”, for instance: “*you* are the mentor”, “the mentor serves to identify *you*”, thus, it associates *you* with a unique feature (ibid).

The following tables reflect the relational processes in Trump’s press conferences:

Table (4.9): Relational Processes of China (Press Conferences)

No.	Utterances	Date
1	“.. He's working <i>very hard</i> ”	26 February / 2020
2	“And they're <i>very tough and very smart</i> ”	26 February /2020
3	“And it's <i>significant - it's a significant group ...</i> ”	26 February /2020
4	“ The relationship with China is <i>a very good one.</i> ”	26 February / 2020
5	“ China was <i>very secretive ...</i> ”	21 March / 2020
6	“ They're way ahead of us in terms of death. It's not even close ...”	18 April / 2020
7	“ Was it a mistake that got out of control or was it done deliberately?”	18 April / 2020
8	“ China is <i>a very sophisticated country</i> and they could have contained it.”	30 April / 2020
9	“ China has <i>total control over the World Health Organization</i> , despite only paying \$40 million per year compared to what the United States has been paying, which is approximately \$450 million a year.”	29 May /2020
10	“ it's <i>a gift from China and a very bad gift</i> ”	5 June/ 2020
11	“.. China had <i>a very bad year before the plague ...</i> ”	5 June / 2020
12	“ They were <i>very badly...</i> ”	5 June / 2020
13	“ They were <i>in bad trouble...</i> ”	5 June / 2020
9	“I always heard they were <i>going to catch us by 2019 for 10 years</i> ”	21 September
14	“ it's <i>the China virus, not the coronavirus ...</i> ”	22 September/ 2020 In Pittsburgh
15	“Corona. No, it's <i>a China virus</i> ”	22 September/ 2020 In Pittsburgh

Notes:

- Bolded words represent agents
- Underlined words represent the processes
- Italic words represent the patient or goal

Relational processes reveal the act of being (Halliday, 1994). It creates a link between two items (Simpson, 2003). Table (4.9) reflects China's relational processes used by Trump through his conferences. It shows that through the early months of 2020, China has a positive representation in Trump's political

discourses. On 26/February, he declares that he is continuously making a conversation with President Xi to inform him about the news of the virus. Trump states that President Xi is doing his best concerning COVID-19: “...*He's working very hard,*” He confirms that the Chinese are strong, clever, and can control the COVID-19 pandemic. Moreover, he declares that the Chinese who are responsible for COVID-19 have an important role in COVID-19’s beating it “*And it's significant - it's a significant group*”. Furthermore, he declares that the cooperation between America And China is very good, as in “*The relationship with China is a very good one.*”

Trump’s negative reaction, in the table (4.9), which appears through 21/March, precisely when the virus attacked America, through which he declares that China was hiding the facts concerning COVID-19, and that lead to the disaster “*China was very secretive*”. Thus, his declaration confirms that the relation between China and America was good before COVID-19 “*Our relationship with China was good until they did this*”. Even, he states that China is number one even in the cases of death with COVID-19, as well as, in the cases of deaths, as in “*They’re way ahead of us in terms of death. It’s not even close ...*” to confirm that America working hard to save the life of people, while China was hiding the real number, People, with COVID-19.

From 18 – 30 April, Trump insists that the virus was made in Chinese labs, and maybe it got out of control “*Was it a mistake that got out of control or was it done deliberately?*”. Trump insists that China made COVID-19 intentionally and allowed it to spread across the world, besides it didn’t prevent the virus from spreading across the world. Throughout 29th of May, he declares that the world now is suffering from COVID-19, because of the violation of China, as in “*The world is now suffering as a result of the malfeasance of the Chinese government*”, and the virus is a bad gift from China “*it’s a gift from China and a very bad gift*”

on the 5 June/ 2020. Even he accuses China of taking control over the World Health Organization despite that America pays more than China to the World Health Origination. As a result, he insists on naming COVID-19 by China virus “*it’s the China virus, not the coronavirus*”, “*Corona. No, it’s a China virus*”.

Table (4.10): Relational Processes of America (Press Conferences)

No.	Utterance	Date
1	“I spoke with President Xi. We <u>had</u> a great talk.	February 26-2020
2	“ We actually <u>have</u> - through World Health; we <u>have</u> them over there also. And we <u>have</u> <i>a lot of our people making</i> ”	February 26-2020
3	“ We just <u>did</u> <i>the biggest trade deal in history</i> ”	February 26-2020
4	“ Our relationship with China <u>was</u> good until they did this”	April 18 – 2020
5	“ we ’re <u>not</u> <i>number one, China’s number one</i> ”	April 18 – 2020
6	“And <u>it</u> ’s <i>very lucky</i> . This country <u>is</u> <i>very lucky</i> and I ’ <u>m</u> <i>very lucky that I put the ban on China</i> , as you know, very early on.	April 30 -2020
7	“And if we didn’t do that, as Alex knows, we <u>would have had</u> <i>a problem like you wouldn’t have believed.</i> ”	April 30 -2020
8	“ That <u>was</u> <i>a very hard decision</i> to make”	June 5, 2020
9	“ We <u>had</u> an insurmountable lead on China”	September 21 – 2020
10	“ I <u>want</u> to tell you, if you go back a few months before this pandemic, we <u>were</u> <i>gaining, gaining, gaining.</i> ”	21 September

Notes:

- Bolded words represent agents
- Underlined words represent the processes
- Italic words represent the patient or goal.

The second table (4.10) shows America's relational processes used by Trump. 26/February’s quote indicates Trump's positive stance towards China. He offers his cooperation with China concerning COVID-19 by stating that America has information about COVID-19, got through World Health Organization, and can present them to China as support. Through April, he begins to attack China, since

COVID-19 spread and reached America, and caused great damage to the lives of the people. He states, through April 18, that the cases of COVID-19 in China more than in America, it is number one, as in “*we’re not number one, China’s number one*”. On 30/ April, Trump announces that Italy is the most affected country of COVID-19. Moreover, he declares that Italy and America are lucky for banning China, to prevent COVID-19 from spreading, and if America didn’t ban China, they would have a problem. Then Trump mentions the state of America before COVID-19, declaring that a few months before the virus, America was moving ahead on China “*We had an insurmountable lead on China*”, for this quote he conforms that China caused great damage to America’s economy. In other words, Trump reminds the press and American people that before several months ago China was far beyond America in the economy, but because of the pandemic, America's economy was affected severely. Ideologically, he means that China intentionally spread COVID-19 to attack America’s economy. Besides, he comments Biden's agenda stands beside China to destroy America’s economy since Joe Biden is the competitor for Trump in the American election “*I want to tell you if you go back a few months before this pandemic, we were gaining, gaining, gaining*”.

By using relational processes or processes of being, Trump emphasizes that China is responsible for the spreading of the COVID-19 because it allowed its citizens to go across the rest of the world; besides, it was hiding the facts about the real number of the infections. Trump highlights that his ban on china has an important role in reducing the cases of the COVID-19, and constantly blaming China for the pandemic. He confirms that America is working hard to save the life of people, while China hid the real number of People in COVID-19. Trump declarations contradict the reality of COVID-19’s cases and deaths in America,

according to an article written by Bill Chappell on 22 September/2020, under the title “Enormous And Tragic’: U.S. Has Lost More Than 200,000 People To COVID-19”. Such declaration asserts van Dijk’s ideological square which is to emphasize Our good things and de-emphasize Our bad things, besides, emphasize Their bad things, and de-emphasize Their good things.

The following tables reflect the relational processes in Trump’s tweets:

Table (4.11): Relational Processes of China (Tweets)

No.	Sentences	Date
1	“.. He <u>is</u> <i>strong, sharp, and powerfully</i> ...”	7/2/2020
2	“... He <u>will be</u> <i>successful</i> ”	7/2/2020
3	“.. President Xi strongly <u>leads</u> <i>what will be a very successful operation.</i> ”	7/2/2020
4	“ It <u>is</u> <i>far higher than that and far higher than the U.S., not even close!</i> ”	17/4/2020
5	“ They <u>are</u> <i>Chinese Puppets who want to do business there.</i> ”	5/1/2020
6	“.... It <u>was</u> <i>the in competence of China</i> and nothing else, that did this mass Worldwide killing!	20/5/2020
7	“Pelosi & Schumer blocked desperately needed unemployment payments ... it <u>was</u> <i>not the workers fault</i> that they are unemployed, it’s the fault of China!”	31/7/2020

Notes:

- Bolded words represent agents
- Underlined words represent the processes
- Italic words represent the patient or goal.

Table (4.11) reflects the relational processes that are used in Trump tweets through the spreading of COVID-19. Throughout February’s tweet, Trump shows his positive attitude towards president Xi and China, since the virus wasn’t spread across the world yet. On 7/2/2020, Trump states that president Xi has a powerful character to overcome COVID-19 “*He is strong, sharp and powerfully ... so that*

he will succeed to overcome the Virus... He will be successful". Through April, he begins taking aggressive action against China. He begins blaming China for the spreading of COVID-19. Through the (17/4/2020) conference, Trump claims that China surpasses America in the number of deaths. On the 20th of April, he accuses China of the responsibility for the spreading of COVID-19, by saying that *"It was the 'incompetence of China', and nothing else, that did this mass Worldwide killing!"*. Through 31/7/2020, again he holds China the responsibility for the spreading of COVID-19 *"it's the fault of China!"*

Table (4.12): Relational Processes of America (Tweets)

No.	Sentences	Date
1	<i>"We <u>are</u> in very close communication with China concerning the Virus."</i>	27/1/2020
2	<i>"..... our experts <u>are</u> extraordinary!"</i>	27/1/2020
3	<i>"Just <u>had</u> a long and very good conversation by phone with resident Xi of China."</i>	7/2/2020
4	<i>"... I was very fast, even doing the Ban on China ..."</i>	27/5/2020
5	<i>"....., I become more and more angry at China"</i>	1/7/2020
6	<i>".... China Virus Mortality Rate <u>is</u> among the LOWEST of any country."</i>	8/7/2020
7	<i>"We <u>are</u> United in our effort to defeat the Invisible China virus"</i>	20/7/2020

Notes:

- Bolded words represent agents
- Underlined words represent the processes
- Italic words represent the patient or goal.

Table (4.12) reflects America's processes utilized by Trump throughout Twitter. January and February, Trump's tweets reflect a good relationship between America and China. Trump indicates that there is cooperation and communication between the two countries to overcome the novel virus *"We are in very close communication with China concerning the Virus."* on 27/1/2020, *"Just had a long*

and very good conversation by phone with resident Xi of China.” on 7/2/2020. On 27/5/2020, he claims that he was fast in his procedures concerning COVID-19, especially in the ban upon China “... *I was very fast, even doing the Ban on China*”. Through the first of July, Trump expresses his anger against China, being responsible for spreading COVID-19 “*I become more and more angry at China*” (1/7/2020). Besides, he declares that the death cases of COVID-19 are decreasing in America; in contrast, the economy grows “.... *China Virus Mortality Rate is among the LOWEST of any country.*” (8/7/2020). Furthermore, he stands beside the American people to overcome COVID-19 “*We are United in our effort to defeat the Invisible China virus*”

Figures (4.1) & (4.2.) below simplify the results of transitivity’s processes throughout Trump’s political discourses. They indicate the percentages of the processes that are used in Trump’s conferences and tweets. Figure (4.1) shows that material processes are prominent throughout press conferences. As well, figure (4.2) indicates that the material processes are prominent throughout Trump’s tweets.

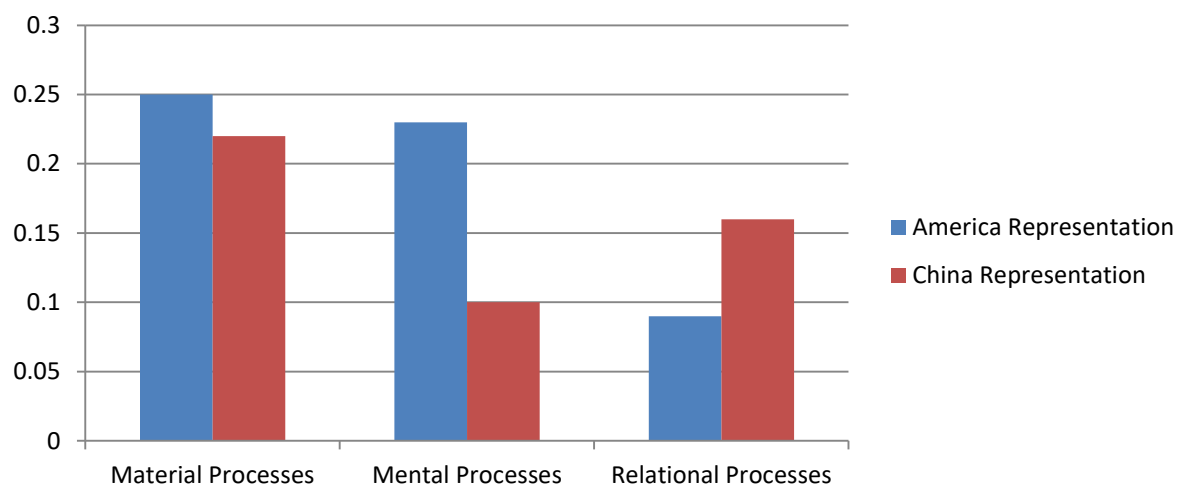


Figure (4.1): The Transitivity Structure in Trump’s Press Conferences

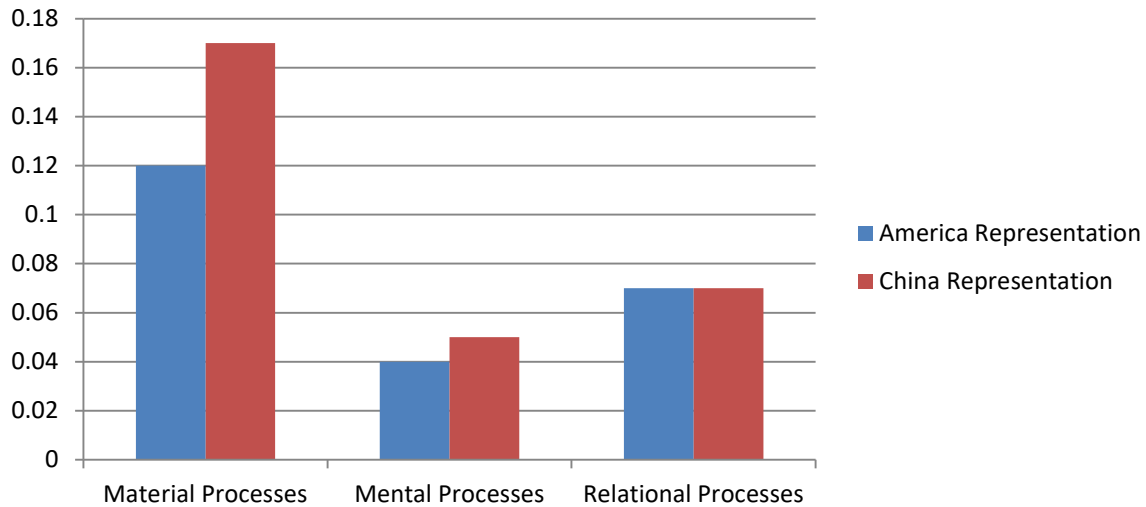


Figure (4.2): The Transitivity Structure in Trump's Tweets

4.2 Semantic level of analysis

Texts, according to Widdowson (2004), can all be written or spoken, and they must be represented linguistically and in terms of their intended context or meaning. Discourse is characterized by its influence as text in context. Widdowson (2004) states that discourse is "the pragmatic method of sense negotiation," and text is "the result of that process" (p. 8). Text and contextual relationships are the focus of co-textual interactions.

Fowler (1991) defines vocabularies as a "major determinant of ideational structure" that invents the concepts we should talk about. Thus, it's essential to highlight how Trump uses words in his political discourses, besides investigating the ideological meaning behind his words. This study uses Fairclough's three-dimension model. In turn, it consists of three various words' values which are the experiential, relational, and expressive value of words.

4.2.1 Data Analysis and Discussion of the Experiential Value of Words

Fairclough (1989) refers to experiential values as the text producer's experience of the natural or social world affects, and how it is expressed in a text. The researcher elected overwording and categorization of the experiential value of words, to reveal the rooted ideology in Trump's political discourse toward China, concerning COVID-19. Thus, the data of press conferences and Tweets are discussed and analyzed.

4.2.1.1 Overwording

Overwording occurs when a variety of terms or expressions are used to portray the same phenomenon. Liu defines overwording as "over-concern with aspects of reality while down-playing or excluding certain other aspects" (cited by Dolón & Todolí, 2008, p.60) overwording in Trump's discourse employed to make a dichotomy between the "Self" and the "Other". The "Other" is represented by China's responsibility of spreading COVID-19 across the world; while, the "Self" is represented by America's sacrifices to overcome COVID-19. For Arjunan (2009), overwording is not necessarily to be found in individual lexemes, but rather it can occur in broad grammatical structures.

The following tables represent Trump's overwording for China through his press conferences:

Table (4. 13): China's Efforts Concerning COVID-19.

No	Utterances	Date
1	<i>"I spoke with President Xi. <u>We had a great talk. He's working very hard</u>"</i>	26 February - 2020
2	<i>"And <u>he is working so hard on this problem</u>"</i>	26 February - 2020
3	<i>"And it's significant; It's <u>a significant group of very talented</u>"</i>	26 February -

	<i>people that are working.”</i>	2020
5	<i>And <u>they're very tough and very smart.</u></i>	26 February - 2020
6	<i>“<u>He wants it to go away from China and go away fast, and he wants to get back to business as usual</u>” (he means President Xi)</i>	26 February - 2020
7	<i>“<u>President Xi is working hard. He wants this problem solved</u>”</i>	26 February - 2020
8	<i>“<u>And they're very tough and very smart</u>”</i>	26 February - 2020
9	<i>“China has <u>worked very hard.</u> China has lost thousands and thousands of people.”</i>	21 March 2020

Before the spreading of COVID-19 across America, Trump represents China in a positive image. He chooses expressions to indicate that China is putting in a lot of effort to combat COVID-19, and he constantly cooperates with present Xi to overcome COVID-19. In this case, table (4.13) denotes expressions that indicate Trump’s positive stance, such expressions include “*working very hard, group of very talented people, wants to get back to business as usual, worked very hard*” such expressions reflect the good work which is done by China.

Table (4.14): China is responsible for the spreading of COVID-19

No.	Utterances	Date
1	<i>“<u>It could have been stopped</u> where it came from, China ...”</i>	19 March / 2020
2	<i>“<u>Could have been stopped</u> in China before it started.”</i>	18 April/ 2020
3	<i>“Our relationship with <u>China was good until they did this</u>”</i>	18 April/ 2020
4	<i>“Was it <u>a mistake that got out of control</u> or was it done deliberately?”</i>	18 April/ 2020
5	<i>“It came out of China and it <u>could have been stopped and I wish they stopped</u> it and so does the whole world wish they stopped it.”</i>	30 April / 2020
6	<i>“China is a very sophisticated country and <u>they could have contained it.</u>”</i>	30 April / 2020
8	<i>“They either didn’t do it and they couldn’t do it from a</i>	30 April / 2020

	<i>competitive standpoint or <u>they let it spread.</u></i>	
9	<i>“they stopped all the planes and all of the traffic from going into China, but they didn’t stop the planes and the traffic from coming into the United States and from coming into all over Europe?”</i>	30 April / 2020
10	<i>“Whether they made a mistake or whether it started off as a mistake, and then they made another one or did somebody do something on purpose.”</i>	30 April / 2020
11	<i>“I’m not happy with China. They should have stopped this at the source”</i>	11 May / 2020
12	<i>Well, they’re losing their lives everywhere in the world. And maybe that’s a question you should ask China, don’t ask me, ask China that question, okay. When you ask them that question, you may get a very unusual answer</i>	11 May / 2020
13	<i>“<u>Chinese officials ignored their reporting obligations to the World Health Organization and pressured the World Health Organization to mislead the world when COVID-19 was first discovered by Chinese authorities</u></i>	29 May/ 2020
14	<i>“The world is now suffering as <u>a result of the malfeasance of the Chinese government</u>”</i>	29 May/ 2020
15	<i>“<u>China’s cover-up of the Wuhan virus allowed the disease to spread all over the world</u>”</i>	29 May/ 2020
16	<i>“The world needs answers from China on COVID-19 “</i>	29 May/ 2020
17	<i>“A gift from China. Not good. They should have stopped it”</i>	5 June / 2020
18	<i>“They should’ve stopped it at the source”</i>	5 June / 2020
19	<i>“They didn’t stop it cold from coming to the United States, Europe and the rest of the world... ”</i>	5 June / 2020
20	<i>“it’s a gift from China and a very bad gift”</i>	5 June / 2020
21	<i>“It was almost <u>exclusively made in foreign lands, in particular, China</u> where, ironically, this virus and others came from...”</i>	4 July / 2020
22	<i>“China’s secrecy, deceptions, and cover-up <u>allowed it to spread all over the world...</u>”</i>	4 July / 2020
23	<i>“<u>China must be held fully accountable. With respect to remedies ...</u>”</i>	4 July / 2020
24	<i>“ They shouldn’t have allowed it to happen, China..”</i>	21 September/ 2020
25	<i>“In the earliest days of COVID-19, <u>China locked down travel</u></i>	22 September/

	<i><u>domestically while allowing flights to leave China and infect the world.</u></i>	2020 The White House
26	<i><u>“They let the plague out; they shouldn’t have done it...”</u></i>	22 September / 2020 In Pittsburgh
27	<i><u>“It’s the China virus. They don’t want to say it”</u></i>	22 September/ 2020 In Pittsburgh
28	<i><u>“it’s the China virus, not the COVID-19 ...”</u></i>	22 September / 2020 In Pittsburgh
29	<i><u>“COVID-19. No, it’s a China virus”</u></i>	22 September / 2020 In Pittsburgh
30	<i><u>“We were very, very sadly disturbed by what happened with China..”</u></i>	22 September/ 2020 In Pittsburgh

Table (4.14) represents Trump’s blaming of China for being the source of the spreading of COVID-19. The table contains some expressions which refer to the responsibility of China for the spreading of COVID-19. Such expressions include *“they did this, got out of control, could have been stopped, they could have contained it, they let it spread, allowed the disease to spread all over the world”* Such Expressions indicates that Trump holding China the whole responsibility for spreading of COVID-19. Also, he claims that COVID-19 was created in China labs *“Was it a mistake that got out of control or was it done deliberately?”* on 18 April 2020, or sometimes Trump’s expressions indicate that China spreads COVID-19 intentionally *“they let it spread”* on 30 April 2020. Other times, he refers to the bad strategies which China has followed, he claims that they made a ban on planes and the people who are coming into China, but they let its citizens go into the rest of the World, in this case, COVID-19 was spread throughout Europe *“They*

stopped all the planes and all of the traffic from going into China, but they didn't stop the planes and the traffic from coming into the United States and from coming into all over Europe?" 30 April 2020.

Trump sometimes declares that China's government ignored the World Health Organization concerning COVID-19 *"Chinese officials ignored their reporting obligations to the World Health Organization"* 29 May 2020. The rest of the table contains expressions of blaming for China *"They should have stopped it, didn't stop it cold from coming to the United State, I wish they stopped it"*. On 22 September 2020, Trump expresses his upset on China being caused by the spreading of COVID-19 intentionally as he claims *"We were very, very sadly disturbed by what happened with China. They let the plague out"*, he uses polarization to put himself the rest of the American government on the same side, thus, all America is angry toward China being caused such damage, as he claims. Table (4.15) below reflects Trump's overwording concerning, which indicates that China hides the real information about COVID-19.

Table (4.15): China Hides the Real Information about COVID-19.

No.	Utterances	Date
1	<i>"We hope the numbers that we've been getting are true on <u>China</u>, where it really has leveled off and started to go down"</i>	26 February / 2020
2	<i>"It would've been much better if we had known about this a <u>number of months earlier</u>"</i>	19 March/ 2020
3	<i>"<u>I hope it's true.</u> Who knows? But I hope it's true"</i>	19 March/ 2020
4	<i>"China was <u>very secretive.</u> Okay? Very, very secretive..."</i>	21 March /2020
5	<i>"<u>China kicked the Washington Post out of China</u>"</i>	21 March/ 2020
6	<i>"they kicked <u>the New York Times out of China and I guess the Wall Street Journal</u>"</i>	21 March/ 2020

7	<i>“Unfortunately, China, I wish China would <u>have told us more about what was going on in China long prior to us reading about it</u>”</i>	21 March/ 2020
8	<i>“Even though the <u>news isn’t exactly disseminated</u>”</i>	21 March/ 2020
9	<i>“China was <u>very secretive</u>”</i>	21 March/ 2020
10	<i>“I wish they <u>could’ve told us earlier about what was going on inside</u>”</i>	21 March/ 2020
11	<i>“<u>I think they were embarrassed. I think they knew it was something bad and I think they were embarrassed.</u>”</i>	18 April/ 2020
12	<i>“They should <u>have let us go in. We asked to go in very early and they didn’t want us in</u>”</i>	18 April / 2020
13	<i>“We asked to go in very early and <u>they didn’t want us in</u>”</i>	18 April / 2020

Table (4.15) indicates that China was hiding the real information about COVID-19. The overwording expressions which indicate that China was hiding the information beside the real numbers of the cases concerning COVID-19 are employed in *“We hope the numbers are true on China, better if we had known about this a number of months earlier, China was very secretive, they kicked the New York Times out of China, was very secretive”*. Most of the press conferences indicate that China was secretive concerning COVID-19, and it was avoiding revealing the real numbers from the rest of the world, and even the press. On 26 February 2020, Trump hopes China to declare the real numbers of people with COVID-19 since the numbers reveal that the cases are started to go down *“We hope the numbers that we've been getting are true on China, where it has leveled off and started to go down”*.

Through the 19th of March 2020, Trump replies the reporter that it was better if they know about the number of cases in China *“It would’ve been much better if we had known about this a number of months earlier. It could have been contained*

to that one area in China where it started”, otherwise Trump hopes that China was declaring the real number of COVID-19 cases. On 21 Mar 2020, Trump declares and insists that China was hiding the COVID-19 news from America and the world, so that caused the spreading of COVID-19 *“I wish China would have told us more about what was going on in China long prior”*. Besides, it was kicking the journals to prevent reporting the news *“China kicked the Washington Post out of China and they kicked the New York Times out of China and I guess the Wall Street Journal”*. Throughout 18 – April – 2020, Trump thinks that China didn’t permit to enter the country because it was embarrassing *“China was embarrassed concerning COVID-19”*. Such expressions indicate that Trump was accusing China of hiding COVID-19 news intentionally because can be controlled if they were informed about it earlier as he claims *“It could have been contained to that one area in China where it started”*. Table (4.16) below reveals Trump’s overwording concerning the support of the WHO and the Democratic Party for China.

Table (4.16): China is Supported by the World Health Organization, the Democratic Party, and the Press.

No.	Utterances	Date
2	<i>“the fake news gets out there and <u>they start talking about the United States as number one, but we’re not number one, China’s number one, just so you understand</u>”</i>	April 18
3	<i>The stupid people, I call them stupid people or the haters, they say, <u>“Trump’s given up so much.”</u></i>	April 18
4	<i>Because if sleepy Joe won, <u>they own our country. They will take our country</u></i>	April 30
5	<i>“And I think that the World Health Organization should be ashamed of themselves because <u>they’re like the public relations agency for China</u>”</i>	Apr 30, 2020
6	<i>“<u>Chinese officials ignored their reporting obligations to the World Health Organization and pressured the World Health</u></i>	29 May 2020

	<i>Organization to mislead the world when COVID-19 was first discovered by Chinese authorities”</i>	
7	<i>“China has total control over the World Health Organization, despite only paying \$40 million per year compared to what the United States has been paying, which is approximately \$450 million a year.”</i>	May 29, 2020
8	<i>“The Chinese government and the World Health Organization — which is virtually controlled by China — <u>falsely declared that there was no evidence of human-to-human transmission.</u> <u>Later, they falsely said people without symptoms would not spread the disease”</u></i>	Press Secretary Washington, D.C. September 22, 2020

Table (4. 16) contains Trump’s overwording in which he accuses the World Health Organization, the Democratic Party, and the press for their standing beside China and defending it concerning COVID-19. On 29 May 2020, Trump declares that *“Chinese officials ignored their reporting obligations to the World Health Organization”*. Thus, he emphasizes that China was careless concerning COVID-19, since ignored the World Health Organization, and didn’t present a report to the WHO to inform it about the state of COVID-19. On 29-May-2020, he declares that the World Health Organization was controlled by Chin, despite its low payment comparing to the US *“China has total control over the World Health Organization, despite only paying \$40 million per year compared to what the United States has been paying, which is approximately \$450 million a year”*. On 22 September 2020, he announces that China and the World Health Organization are cooperating and declaring false news concerning COVID-19 *“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”*.

On 18 April – 2020, Trump criticizes the press for standing beside China and declaring fake news on America concerning COVID-19. On the 18th of April, Trump criticizes the press for declaring that America is number one in COVID-19 patients, instead, he announces that China is number one: *“the fake news gets out there and they start talking about the United States as number one, but we’re not number one, China’s number one, just so you understand”*. Even the member of the Democratic Party ‘Joy Biden’ had his share of the criticism, since Trump declares that Biden was continually defending China concerning COVID-19, even he rejected the Ban on China. Thus, he declares that if Biden comes to the presidency, China will own America in the future *“Because if sleepy Joe won, they own our country. They will take our country”* on 30 April 2020. All the previous tables indicate the OTHER overwording, the following tables contain the SELF overworking:

Table (4. 17): America Cooperates with China Concerning COVID-19

No.	Utterances	Date
1	<i>“<u>We’re dealing with them.</u> We’re giving them certain advice”</i>	26 February /2020
2	<i>“ <u>We’re working with China</u>”</i>	26 February /2020
3	<i>“We actually have - through World Health; we have them over there also. And we have a lot of our people making”</i>	26 February / 2020

Table (4.17) contains Trump’s overwording, which emphasizes America’s cooperation with China, through the first period of COVID-19. Mostly on 26 February 2020, when Trump announces that America cooperates with China and giving them the advances concerning COVID-19. Besides, he declares that America has information about COVID-19, got through World Health Organization, and can present them to China as cooperation. Such

declarations reveal that Trump presents America as the most powerful and hard worker entity, which tries to save people and help even its competitors.

Tale (4. 18): The Ban on China was a Useful Strategy to Eliminate the Cases.

No.	Utterances	Date
1	<i>"But we have to <u>focus on this country</u>"</i>	26 February /2020
2	<i>"<u>We're screening people, and we have been, at a very high level - screening people coming into the country from infected areas</u> So it was a, you know, bold decision. It turned out to be a good decision"</i>	26 February/ 2020
3	<i>"I mean, some people called me racist because <u>I made a decision so early</u>"</i>	26 February/ 2020
4	<i>"So it was a, you know, <u>bold decision. It turned out to be a good decision</u>"</i>	26 February/ 2020
5	<i>"I believe they called me a racist because <u>I did that</u>"</i>	19 March / 2020
6	<i>" we <u>closed so early to China and most people..</u>"</i>	21 March / 2020
7	<i>"And it's very lucky. This country is very lucky and I'm very lucky that <u>I put the ban on China, as you know, very early on.</u></i>	30 April /2020
9	<i>"In January, <u>we put the ban on in China and that was a very early day, that wasn't a late day. That was an early day. Then we later banned on in Europe.</u>"</i>	30 April /2020
10	<i>"And <u>if we didn't do that, as Alex knows, we would have had a problem like you wouldn't have believed.</u>"</i>	30 April /2020
11	<i>" We <u>acted extremely early in keeping China out of our country and banning people from China coming in, other than our citizens</u>"</i>	11 May / 2020
12	<i>"we could close our country, <u>save millions of lives, stop people very early on from China, from coming in, because we stopped early</u>"</i>	5 June / 2020
13	<i>And even my enemy said, that was an extremely important... <u>We saved tens of thousands of lives with that decision</u></i>	5 June/ 2020
14	<i>"But we <u>made that decision</u>"</i>	5 June/ 2020
15	<i>That was a <u>very hard decision</u> (to make. Nobody, almost nobody wanted me to make it. I would almost say nobody wanted me to make it. But we made that decision.)</i>	5 June/ 2020

16	<i><u>"We saved tens of thousands of lives with that decision."</u></i>	5 June/ 2020
17	<i><u>"We took swift and early action to ban travel from China very, very early"</u></i>	23 June/ 2020
18	<i><u>"that early decision"</u></i>	23 June / 2020
19	<i><u>"He called me. Xenophobic"</u></i>	14 July / 2020
20	<i><u>"we're placing massive tariffs and have placed very large tariffs on China"</u></i>	14 July / 2020
21	<i><u>"He opposed my very strict travel ban on Chinese nationals to stop the spread of the China virus"</u></i>	14 July / 2020
22	<i><u>"had thousands of people additionally die if we let people come in from heavily infected China"</u></i>	14 July / 2020

Table (4.18) represents Trump's overwording regarding America. Trump emphasizes the early ban, which he refers to as the most important strategy made by America to overcome COVID-19. Besides the importance of the ban, Trump emphasizes the reactions of other sides like the Democratic Party. On 26 February 2020, Trump emphasized that they made a ban on China, not other countries. He describes the level of strategies that the US follows as the "high" one; such strategies were used to indicate the early ban on China to prevent the people from coming from what he described as the (infected) areas. Furthermore, he states that *"Mike alluded to it - had I not made a decision very early on not to take people from a certain area, we wouldn't be talking this way"*, besides he mentions that he was criticized by the Democrats who called him a racist *"But I was criticized by the Democrats. They called me a racist because I made that decision"* since they were standing beside China. Thus, He indicates that despite calling him a racist, he took an early ban on china which is the most important decision, and has the main role to save the lives of the American people *"I mean, some people called me racist because I made a decision so early"*. Furthermore, he refers to his early ban as a risk, in other words as a good and a bold decision, which indicates that he can take risks; confident and courageous.

On 19 March 2020, again, he states that China would call him a racist for making a ban on China, “I believe they called me a racist because I did that”. At the same mouth, on 21, he declares that the early closing of the boundaries with China decreased the cases of COVID-19 in America. On the 30th of April, he refers to Italy, declaring that Italy and America are lucky foes banning China, to prevent COVID-19 from spreading. Trump criticizes the traffic ban of China on its people, that America closed the boundaries with China very early, to control COVID-19 and the early closing of the boundaries with China was a good hard decision. Thought 5th of Jun, he declares that nobody wanted trump to make a ban on China, besides by the decision of the ban on China, he saved the lives of the American people, as he claims “*we saved tens of thousands of lives with that decision.*” On the other quote, he states that it was a very good decision that made even his enemies emphasizes it as the most important role America made to overcome COVID-19. “*And even my enemy said, that was an extremely important... We saved tens of thousands of lives with that decision*” Such declarations indicate that America has good strategies to overcome COVID-19. Trump continually was referring to his good strategies and chooses expressions that indicate the role of America to overcome COVID-19.

Table (4.19): America Made Great Efforts to Overcome COVID-19

No.	Utterances	Date
1	<i>“when we have the best team anywhere in the world”</i>	26 February / 2020
2	<i>“I really believe that as good as we’ve done and we’ve done great”</i>	11 May /2020
3	<i>“So we did a lot of things. And then we really ended up with empty cupboards”</i>	5 Jun / 2020
4	<i>“we’ve made tremendous progress on both, tremendous progress. But you’re looking and the people are now starting to return to work”</i>	5 Jun / 2020

5	<i>“we <u>are now doing unbelievably well</u> and are in deep testing on vaccines, treatments, and therapeutics”</i>	4 Jul / 2020
6	<i>“distributing them to many foreign countries <u>as a gesture of good will</u>”</i>	4 Jul / 2020
7	<i>“We’re using the full power of the Federal government <u>to fight the China virus</u>”</i>	14 July/2020
8	<i>“<u>We’re unleashing our nation’s scientific genius to kill COVID-19</u>”</i>	14 July /2020
9	<i>“<u>We were doing much better than they were.</u>”</i>	21 September /2020
10	<i>“<u>We have waged a fierce battle against the invisible enemy — the China virus</u>”</i>	22 September 2020 The White House

Table (4.19) represents Trump’s overwording concerning America’s efforts to overcome COVID-19. Such expressions include “have the best team anywhere in the world; we’ve done great, made tremendous progress, doing unbelievably well, using the full power of the Federal government to, waged a fierce battle against the invisible enemy”. On 26 February 2020, Trump describes the American group, which is responsible for saving the people of COVID-19, as the good one. On the 4th of July, he declares that America working on making vaccines *“we are now doing unbelievably well and are in deep testing on vaccines, treatments, and therapeutics”*. At the same date, he Through this paragraph, firstly mentions the state of COVID-19 by declaring that it is coming from China *“we got hit by COVID-19 that came from China”*, then he announces that America getting progress to overcome COVID-19, and they began to make ventilators *“We’ve made ventilators where there were none by the tens of thousands”*, and started *“distributing them to many foreign countries as a gesture of good will”*. He presents America as a good entity that tries to save the world from the disaster of COVID-19 and a country that does

its best to prevent the China virus from spreading “*we’re using the full power of the Federal government to fight the China virus*”. Trump presents China as a bad entity that spreads the disaster across the world, since it is the start point of COVID-19. On 21 September 2020, he mentions that America preparing to overcome COVID-19, through creating remedies, and he assembles it as a struggle with an invisible enemy; like World War II “*We have waged a fierce battle against the invisible enemy — the China virus*”.

Table (4. 20): America’s Economy Affected by COVID-19 Virus

No.	Utterances	Date
1	<i>“<u>We had the greatest economy in the history of the world Better than China, better than any country in the world, better than any country’s ever had</u>”</i>	18 April/2020
2	<i>“<u>We had the highest stock market in history by far, and I’m honored by the fact that it has started to go up very substantially</u>”</i>	18 April/2020
3	<i>“<u>And all of a sudden, I have to close the economy. I have to close the country. So we’ve had tremendous death and tremendous sorrow, sadness</u>”</i>	30 April 2020
4	<i>“<u>we had the best economy in the history of the world, not just here, but anywhere in the world, you can talk China, you can talk any other country, we had the best economy anywhere in the world</u>”</i>	11 May /2020
5	<i>“<u>the whole world almost is inflicted with this horrible</u>”</i>	19 Mar / 2020
6	<i>“<u>it’s too bad ... It’s too bad because we never had an economy as good as the economy we had just a few weeks ago</u>”</i>	19 Mar / 2020
7	<i>“<u>We made a great trade deal. Great. They’re going to buy \$250 billion worth of product. But the ink wasn’t dry on that deal when the plague floated in. A plague is floating in from China</u>”</i>	5 June / 2020
8	<i>“<u>that the economy would lose tremendous numbers of jobs</u>”</i>	5 June / 2020
9	<i>“<u>We had the greatest economy we ever had, the greatest job numbers we ever had, the greatest of everything</u>”</i>	23 June /2020
10	<i>“<u>We will make America into the manufacturing superpower of the world and ...</u>”</i>	21 September/2020

11	<i>“We will make our medical supplies right here in the United States”</i>	21 September/2020
12	<i>“ We had an insurmountable lead on China”</i>	21 September 2020
13	<i>“I always heard they were going to catch us by 2019 for 10 years”</i>	21 September / 2020
14	<i>“if you go back a few months before this pandemic, we were gaining, gaining, gaining”</i>	21 September/ 2020
15	<i>“We built the greatest economy in the history of the world and we are doing it again”</i>	21 Sep / 2020

Table (4.20) represents Trump’s overwording concerning the effect of COVID-19 on America’s economy. Firstly, and through April, he mentions that America has the greatest economy in the world, and betters those other countries, and the highest market, better than China. Such declarations *“We had the greatest economy in the history of the world better than China, We had the highest stock market in history by far”* indicate that Trump regards America as the most powerful country in the world, and China is the main competitor, therefore most of the quote through this table reflects the responsibility of China of the lowing America's economy *“And all of a sudden, I have to close the economy”* on 30th April 2020, *“we had the best economy in the history of the world, not just here, but anywhere in the world, you can talk China, you can talk any other country”* on 11 May 2020. On 21 September 2020, he promises America that will have a better economy than China in the future *“we will make America into the manufacturing superpower of the world”*. Furthermore, he declares that a few months before COVID-19, America has the best economy in the world *“We had an insurmountable lead on China”* he reminds American people of the past by mentioning that America was gaining and in continuous progress. Furthermore, he mentions that America and China are in continuous

economical struggle, emphasizing that China is the main competitor for America.

In addition, Trump reminds the press and American people that before several months ago China was far beyond America in the economy, but because of the pandemic America's economy was affected “*if you go back a few months before this pandemic, we were gaining, gaining, gaining*” on 21 September. At the same date, Trump uses the pluralization (*we*) to indicate that he has the main role in building the American economy through time, “*We built the greatest economy in the history of the world and we are doing it again*”... now he trying to restore the US economy and promising “*Make America Great Again. Again*”. At the same quite he mentions COVID-19, by stating “*To defeat the China Virus*”, thus he insists on holding the Chinese government the responsibility of COVID-19.

Such overwording expressions, through Trump’s conferences, indicate that Trump represents China as an evil entity that spread COVID-19 intentionally and caused all damage to America and the rest of the world, since it was hiding the real information about COVID-19, besides hiding the real numbers of cases in COVID-19, and it could not stop it from the start point. He represents America as a good entity which sacrifices to save people and overcome COVID-19, besides that its economy was affected by COVID-19, which is, as Trump claims, caused by China. Thus, he emphasizes that China spreading it intentionally. Trump chooses evil expressions to refer to China, while he elects good expressions to refer to America. van Dijk’s ideological square, emphasizes our good characteristics (America), and emphasize their bad characteristics (China)

The following Tables reflects overwording in Trump’s tweets:

Table (4. 21): China is putting in a Lot of Efforts to Combat COVID-19.

No.	Sentences	Date
1	<i>“China has <u>been working very hard to contain the COVID-19</u>”</i>	25/1/2020
2	<i>“He is strong, sharp and powerfully focused on leading the counterattack on the COVID-19” (He = President Xi)</i>	7/2/2020
3	<i>“Great Discipline is taking place in China, as <u>President Xi strongly leads what will be a very successful operation</u>”</i>	7/2/2020
4	<i>“President Xi strongly leads what will be a very successful <u>operation</u>”</i>	7/2/2020
5	<i>“China ... has <u>developed a strong understanding of COVID-19..</u>”</i>	27/3/2020

Table (4.21) reflects Trump’s overwording expressions on Twitter. The table contains expressions that refer to China’s efforts to overcome COVID-19. These expressions reflect his positive stance toward China; it is restricted to the first period of COVID-19 appearance. Through (January, February, and the beginning of March) COVID-19 didn’t yet attack America. Through the 25th of January, he emphasizes the great efforts of China with COVID-19 *“China has been working very hard to contain the COVID-19”*. On the 2nd of February he refers to president Xi as *“He is strong, sharp and powerfully focused on the COVID-19”*, *“President Xi strongly leads what will be a very successful operation”*. On the 3rd of March, he indicates that China has developed great information concerning COVID-19. Such expressions reflect that he has a positive attitude toward China since COVID-19 did not yet attack America and the rest of the world.

Table (4. 22): China is Responsible for the Spreading of COVID-19.

No.	Sentences	Date
1	<i>“What Chins <u>has done to our Country</u>, and the World”</i>	12/5/2020
2	<i>Asian Americans are VERY angry at what <u>China done to our Country</u>, and the World. Chinese Americans are the most angry of all. I don’t blame them!</i>	12/5/2020 2:19 PM

4	“Some wacko in China just released a statement blaming <u>everybody other than China</u> for COVID-19 which has now killed <u>hundreds of thousands of people.</u> ”	20/5/2020
5	“It was <u>the ‘incompetence of China’,</u> and nothing else, that did this mass Worldwide killing!	20/5/2020
6	“... They could have easily stopped <u>the plague, but they didn’t</u> ”	21/5/2020
7	“All over the World the COVID-19, a very bad <u>“gift” from China,</u> marches on. Not good!	28/5/2020
8	Fake News @CNN is blaming RUSSIA, RUSSIA, RUSSIA.... <u>Can’t blame China because they need the cash?”</u>	30/5/2020 8:04 PM
9	As I watch the Pandemic spread its ugly face across the world, I <u>become more and more angry at China</u> ”	1/7/2020
10	“ <u>China has caused great damage</u> to the United States and the rest of the World!”	6/7/2020
12	Pelosi & Schumer blocked desperately needed unemployment payments ... it was not the workers fault that they are unemployed, <u>it’s the fault of China!</u>	31/7/2020
13	“ <u>Big China Virus Breakouts all over the World...</u> ”	2/8/2020
14	“Hardworking Americans that have been hurt <u>by the China Virus.</u> ...”	14/8/2020

Table (4.22) reflects Trump’s overwording expressions in his tweets. Throughout the 5th of March, Trump insists that China is responsible for the spreading of COVID-19. He began to attack China when COVID-19 reached America. He mentions Asian Americans and Chinese people, whether those of Chinese descent or immigrants, indicating that those citizens are angry, and emphasize the idea by the intensifier “VERY”, printed in the capital litter to highlight that China is responsible for the spreading of COVID-19 “*Asian Americans are VERY angry at what China has done to our Country*”. Then he assigns “*Chinese Americans*” which gives them the greatest degree of emphasis by using “*the most*” “*Chinese Americans are the most angry of all. I don’t blame them!*”. Such reference indicates that even the Americans from Chinese ancestors know that China is responsible for the spreading of COVID-19, thus he indicates that those citizens know “*what China has done to our Country*” (12/5/2020). He indicates that China must blame, not America, for spreading COVID-19 which

killed hundreds of people “Some wacko in China just released a statement blaming everybody other than China for COVID-19 which has now killed hundreds of thousands of people”. (20/5/2020). Besides, Trump declares that China is incompetent to overcome COVID-19 since many people lost their lives because of that. Furthermore, he accuses China that was intentionally spread COVID-19, since “They could have easily stopped the plague, but they didn’t” (21/5/2020).

On the 30th of July, Trump reminds the audience of the disaster and the continuous damage for people’s lives, thus he reflects his negative attitude toward China since it is responsible for the spreading of COVID-19 “As I watch the Pandemic spread its ugly face across the world....., I become more and more angry at China”. He refers especially to the great damage that was happening to the American people “including the tremendous damage it has done to the USA”. He emphasizes that all the economic damage was caused for the unemployed and working people, is China fault “it was not the worker's fault that they are unemployed, it’s the fault of China!” (31/7/2020).he highlights that COVID-19 is caused by China, thus, he associates the word virus with China “Big China Virus” (2/8/2020), “Americans that have been hurt by the China Virus” (14/8/2020). Trump uses such expressions to emphasize that China is responsible for the spreading of COVID-19, and it is intentionally spreading it.

Table (4.23): The World Health Organization, the Press, and the Democrats are standing beside China.

No.	Utterances	Date
1	<u>“The W.H.O. really blew it, For some reason, funded largely by the United States, yet very China centric.</u>	6/4/2020 6:8 PM
2	<u>“Now the Fake News @nytimes is tracing the COVID-19 origins back to Europe, NOT China”</u>	12/4/2020 2:34 AM
3	<u>“Failing New York Times got for this one? They were recently thrown out of China like dogs, and obviously want back in”</u>	12/4/2020 2:34 AM

4	<i>“Concast (@NBC News) and Fake News @CNN are going out of their way to say GREAT things about China. They are Chinese puppets who want to do business there. They use USA airwaves to help China. The Enemy of the People”</i>	1/5/2020 6:27 PM
5	<i>“The Democrats are just, as always, looking for trouble. They do nothing constructive, they don’t want to blame their cash cow, China for the plague”</i>	2/5/2020
6	<i>“Fake News got it wrong again, as always, and tens of thousands of lives were saved by my EARLY BAN of China into our Country”</i>	4/5/2020 11:18 PM
7	<i>MSDNC and FAKE NEWS CNN are going wild trying to protect China</i>	5/5/2020 1:35 AM
9	<i>“.. China .., ... is paying a tiny fraction of \$’s to the World Health Organization,..”</i>	17/5/2020
10	<i>“Sleepy Joe Biden (mostly his reps.) went crazy when I banned”</i>	25/5/2020 11:00 PM
11	<i>“Radical Left Lamestream Media, together with their partner, they do nothing Democrats, are trying to spread a news narrative that Trump was slow to reacting to Covid 19. Wrong”</i>	27/5/2020 4:19 PM
12	<i>“we will never hear this on the Fake News concerning the China Virus, but by comparison to most other countries, who are suffering greatly, we are doing very well-“</i>	21/7/2020 1:39 PM

Table (4. 23) indicates that China was supported by others, such as World Health Organization, the Press, and the Democrats. Trump indicates that America was working hard to overcome COVID-19, despite that the W.H.O. was standing beside China, and the press was defending China; even the Democratic Party was rejecting the Ban on China. The press and the Democrats are standing beside China against America. Trump states that Media carry fake news concerning China “Concast (@NBC News) and Fake News @CNN are going out of their way to say GREAT things about China” (1/5/2020), while the Democrats are doing nothing concerning COVID-19 “The Democrats are just, as always, looking for trouble. They do nothing constructive”, thus he presents himself as the only one who tries to save the world from COVID-19 “Radical Left Lamestream Media, together with their partner, they do nothing Democrats, are Are trying to spread a news

narrative that Trump was slow to reacting to COVID- 19. Wrong” (27/5/2020). Furthermore, China paying to the World Health Organization, thus it is standing with China “*China ... is paying a tiny fraction of \$’s to the World Health Organization...*” (17/5/2020). Throughout the 21st of May /2020, he criticizes the media for its standing beside China concerning COVID-19. He describes it by (Fake News) indicating that they didn’t stand beside the countries which were suffering greatly, thus he states that “*we will never hear this on the Fake News concerning the China Virus, but by comparison to most other countries, who are suffering greatly, we are doing very well*” (21/7/2020). All these, through Trump's tweets, overwording expressions emphasize the OTHER negative characteristics. He gives China an evil portray as an entity that spread COVID-19 intentionally, while through the first period of COVID-19, trump gives China a good portray since COVID-19 hasn’t yet reached Europe and the rest of the World.

The previous tables represented the OTHER, the next table will present SELF portray in Trump’s Tweets, exemplified in America:

Table (4.24): The Early Ban on China.

No.	Sentences	Date
1	<i><u>Trump closed our border, and ended flights, VERY EARLY</u></i>	28-2-2020 8:05 AM
2	<i>“... and tens of thousands of <u>lives were saved by my EARLY BAN of China into our Country.</u>”</i>	3/5/2020
3	<i>“<u>We are getting great marks for handling of COVID-19 pandemic, especially the very early BAN of people from China</u>”</i>	10/5/2020
4	<i>“<u>Sleepy Joe Biden ... went crazy when I banned,</u> in late January, people coming in from China. ...”</i>	25/5/2020
5	<i>“... <u>I was very fast, even doing the Ban on China ...</u>”</i>	27/5/2020
6	<i>“<u>even doing the Ban on China long before anybody thought necessary</u>”</i>	27/5/2020 4:19 PM

Table (4.24) contains the positive characteristics used by Trump to present a positive portrayal of America. Throughout (28/2/2020), Trump mentions the good strategies which America followed to overcome COVID-19 by the virtue of Trump. Trump highlights the most important strategy which is closing the borders with other countries, indicating that his early ban on China. Throughout Twitter, he states that *“the COVID-19 which started in China and spread to various countries throughout the world, but very slowly in the U.S. because Trump ...”* Thus, he represents china in a negative portray claiming that it is intentionally spreading COVID-19, while he represents America and especially himself in a positive portray stating that by the virtue of his strategies, COVID-19 spread *“very slowly in the U.S. because Trump closed our border”*.

Trump argues that because of the early ban on China, America saved thousands of its citizens' lives *“tens of thousands of lives were saved by my EARLY BAN of China into our Country”* (3/5/2020). He highlights the early ban on China was reduced COVID-19 cases. He mentions their accomplishments by indicating that by the virtue of his Early “BAN” and other strategies, America controlling COVID-19 *“getting great marks for the handing of COVID-19 pandemic”* (10/5/2020), comparing that to the period of previous presidents (Obama and Joy Biden), through which *“H1N1 Swine Flu”* was spread and got out of control *“Compare that to the Obama/Sleepy Joe disaster Known as H1N1 Swine flu. Poor marks, bad pools- didn't have a clue!”* Trump emphasizes the role of the Democratic Party, especially the elected Joe Biden who rejected the early Ban on China *“went crazy when I banned, in late January, people coming in from China”* (25/5/2020), and doing nothing for America. Thus, Trump regards his early ban on China as the most important strategy by which he protected and saved many lives of the American people, despite the rejection of his competitors.

Table (4. 25): The Cooperation between America and China.

No.	Sentences	Date
1	<i>“... It will <u>all work out well.</u> ...”</i>	25/1/2020
2	<i>“We are <u>in very close communication</u> with China concerning COVID-19.”</i>	27/1/2020
3	<i>“<u>Working closely with China and other on COVID-19 outbreak.</u> <u>Only 5 people in U.S, all in good recovery”</u>”</i>	31/1/2020 1:4 AM
4	<i>“... We are <u>working closely</u> with China to help ...”</i>	7/2/2020
5	<i>“We are <u>working closely together”</u>”</i>	27/3/2020

In table (4.25), Trump announces his cooperation with China concerning COVID-19. He presents himself as a protector and cooperator for other nations, even his competitors. Throughout January, he published a tweet indicating that America and China will cooperate to eliminate COVID-19 “... *It will all work out well. ...*” (25/1/2020). Through the first period of COVID-19, Trump uses good characteristics to reveal his cooperation with China; Since COVID-19 didn’t reach America yet. He uses overwording expressions indicating his positive attitude with China “*Working closely with China*” (31/1/2020), “*we are working closely*” (7/2/2020), “*we are working closely together*” (27/3/2020)”.

Table (4.26): The Effect of COVID-19 on America’s Economy.

No.	Sentences	Date
1	<i>“USA <u>will be stronger than ever before, and soon!</u>”</i>	8/2/2020
2	<i>“... prior to the Plague floating in from China, our <u>Economy was blowing everybody away, the best of any country EVER.</u>”</i>	17/5/2020
3	<i>“our economy <u>was blowing everybody away, the best of any country, EVER.</u> “</i>	17/5/2020 1:58 AM
5	<i>“economy and job <u>are growing MUCH faster than anyone</u>”</i>	8/7/2020 4:50 PM

Table (4.26) reflects the effect of COVID-19 on America’s economy. Trump accuses China of the effect on America’s economy since it is holding China the

whole responsibility for the spreading of COVID-19. Trump highlights his great economy. He states that before COVID-19, America’s economy was the best in the World “*Prior to the Plague floating in from China, our Economy was blowing everybody away, the best of any country EVER.*” (17/5/2020). Throughout his tweets he indicates that China attack America economy. Then he promises to make America’s economy as good as possible. Through (8/7/2020), he emphasizes that death cases of COVID-19 become decrease in America; in contrast, the economy grows; besides he refers to America’s economy and job by “*growing MUCH faster than anyone*”. Through (8/7/020) he uses expressions to indicate that America’s economy progresses as the “*good and great*” to indicate that America will overcome the economic difficulties which were caused by COVID-19, which came from China, as he claims. Besides, he mentions that “*NASDAQ at new record high*”, which is the abbreviation of the National Association of Securities Dealers Automated Quotations system, is a daily stock market. He states that the American economy getting up by the virtue of Trump.

Table (4.27): America Efforts to Overcome COVID-19.

No.	Sentences	Date
1	“..... <i>Our experts are <u>extraordinary!</u></i> ”	27/1/2020
2	“ <i>There is nobody more <u>Patriotic than me, your favorite President</u></i> ”	20/7/2020 10:43 PM
3	“ <i>They use cases to demean the <u>incredible job done by the great men& women of the U.S. fighting the China Plague</u></i> ”	11/8/2020 3:33 PM
4	“ <i>The very good job we are doing on combatting the China Virus, including Vaccines & Therapeutics</i> ”	3/8/2020
5	“..... <i>the great men & women of the U.S. <u>fighting the China Plague!</u></i> ”	11/8/2020

Table (4.27) includes overwording expressions for America's efforts to prevent the spreading of COVID-19. On 27/1/2020, America can help China with the help

of its specialists. Trump highlights America's continual efforts, the efforts that are devoted to protecting the American people, and preventing COVID-19's spreading. Trump uses a plural pronoun to indicate the unity of American members. Furthermore, He highlights the job of the group who is responsible for the COVID-19 case in America, besides he appreciates their Job to overcome COVID-19 which he named "*China Plague*" to reveal that China is responsible for the spreading "*They use cases to demean the incredible job done by the great men & women of the U.S. fighting the China Plague*" (11/8/2020).

Trump emphasizes that America is trying to eradicate the COVID-19 virus by creating a vaccine "*The very good job we are doing on combatting the China Virus, including Vaccines & Therapeutics*" (3/8/2020). In the same tweet, Trump's criticism for Nancy Pelosi who relates to the Democratic Party, describing her as the "*crazy*" and saying "*horrible things*" about the Doctor who is responsible for COVID-19 cases. Urgently, he refers to the American group, who is responsible for COVID-19, and continually he associates the name of China with Plague, or virus, to indicate that china spreading COVID-19, while American workers to overcome it "*the great men & women of the U.S. fighting the China Plague!*"

Trump's press conferences and tweets throughout the COVID-19 period reveal his attitude toward his competitors. During the first period of COVID-19, he used to reflect his positive attitude toward China, but at the same time, there is a kind of authority, power, besides presenting America as the most cooperative nation in the world "*We're dealing with them. We're giving them certain advice*" (26 February 2020). He presents America's role to save the world from COVID-19. When COVID-19 began to attack China, Trump's stance toward China changed into negative, especially when COVID-19 attacked America "*Our relationship with China was good until they did this*" (April 18 – 2020) (see figures 5.1 & 5.2)

Trump used to accuse China by its responsibility for spreading COVID-19, hiding the information and the real numbers of the COVID-19 cases, hiding the information of COVID-19 from the rest of the world, preventing the American press from recording the news about COVID-19, preventing all the foreign people from coming into China while didn't prevent Chinese people from going into Europe, holding China the whole responsibility of America's economic damage. He represents America as the most powerful country, the most cooperating country, and the sacrifice country in the world.

There is a dichotomy is created between SELF and OTHER because instead of China is spreading COVID-19 intentionally, America works to overcome COVID-19, instead of America made an early ban on China, China didn't prevent people from going through the rest of the World, China was hiding the information and the real numbers of the cases, while America was announcing continuously, China brought great damage to America and the rest of the world, while America was trying to eliminate COVID-19 and making great economic progress.

4.2.1.2 Categorization

As politically charged discourse creates a gap between Us and Them, this is known as categorization. Such a dichotomy pervades Trump's political rhetoric to emphasize America's eternal nobleness and China's evilness. Categorization in Trump's discourse designates the OTHER via indicating that China is responsible for the spreading of COVID-19, since China is the start point of COVID-19, and it is caused great damage to America and the rest of the world.

The first table denotes Trump's categorization of "Self", which indicates that America working hard to overcome COVID-19. The second table represents Trump's indicative of "Other" which was strongly presented through Trump's

political speech to emphasize the responsibility of China and the great damage which was caused to America and the rest of the world. Thus, the following table represents the categorization throughout his press conferences, which indicate America’s sacrifices through the COVID-19 period:

Table (4. 28): Categorization of America Sacrifices (Press Conferences)

No.	Utterances	Date
1	<i>“We're dealing with them , We're giving them certain advice”</i>	26 February /2020
2	<i>“We're screening people, and we have been, at a very high level - screening people coming into the country from infected areas”</i>	26 February/ 2020
3	<i>“So it was as you know, bold decision. It turned out to be a good decision”</i>	26 February/ 2020
4	<i>“We had the greatest economy in the history of the world Better than China, better than any country in the world, better than any country’s ever had”</i>	18 April / 2020
5	<i>“We had the highest stock market in history by far, and I’m honored by the fact that it has started to go up” very”</i>	18 April / 2020
6	<i>“We made a lot of good decisions”</i>	18 April / 2020
7	<i>“We’re working on it strongly now and I think it’s going to be very powerful”</i>	30 April/ 2020
8	<i>“I really believe that as good as we’ve done and we’ve done great”</i>	11 May /2020
9	<i>“we could actually close our country, save millions of lives, stop people very early on from China, from coming in, because we stopped early”</i>	5 Jun / 2020
10	<i>“And even my enemy said, that was an extremely important... We saved tens of thousands of lives with that decision”</i>	5 Jun / 2020
11	<i>“That was a very hard decision (to make. Nobody, almost nobody wanted me to make it. I would almost say nobody wanted me to make it. But we made that decision”</i>	5 Jun / 2020
12	<i>“that was a big decision”</i>	11 May/ 2020
13	<i>“we’re placing massive tariffs and have placed very large tariffs on China”</i>	14 July / 2020
14	<i>“we took swift and early action to ban travel from China very, very early”</i>	23 June/ 2020

Table (4.28) shows Trump's categorization of America. Through 26th February 2020, Trump presents America as the most cooperative nation, even with its competitors. He indicates that America deals with China and China takes the advice concerning COVID-19 "*We're giving them certain advice*". He refers to the level of strategies that the US follows as the "*high*" one. He indicates that America's strategies concerning COVID-19 are the high one. Such strategies indicated: Trump's cooperation with China throughout the first period of the appearance of COVID-19 "*We're dealing with them. We're giving them certain advice*" on 26 February 2020, checking and testing people who come from infected countries into the US. "*Screening people coming into the country from infected areas*", on 26 February 2020, the early ban on China and other infected areas "*It turned out to be a good decision*" on 26 February 2020/ "*stop people very early on from China, from coming in*" on 5 June 2020/ "*We saved tens of thousands of lives with that decision*" on 5 June 2020/ "*That was a very hard decision (to make. Nobody, almost nobody wanted me to make it*" on 5 June 2020/ "*that was a big decision*" on 11 May 2020/ "*have placed very large tariffs on China*" on 14 July 2020/ "*early action to ban travel from China very, very early*" on 23 June 2020. Besides all the previous tactics, Trump refers to the great effect of COVID-19 on America's economy "*We had the greatest economy in the history of the world Better than China*" & "*We had the highest stock market in history by far*" on 18 April 2020.

Trump is holding China responsible for problems in the American economy. Trump declares that he was criticized by the Democrats who called him a racist because of the ban "*But I was criticized by the Democrats. They called me a racist because I made that decision*". Through 18 April, he refers to America's economy as the "*greatest economy*" in the world and "*Better than China*". Furthermore, he announces that America had "*the highest stock market in history*" (18 April), and

“We’re working on it strongly now and I think it’s going to be very powerful”, such declarations reflect positive characteristics for America. Throughout 5th of June 2020, he declares that his early ban on China was a good decision since it is saved millions of lives “we could actually close our country, save millions of lives, stop people very early on from China”, he emphasizes his idea about the ban via indicating that even America’s enemy admired his good strategies “And even my enemy said, that was an extremely important... We saved tens of thousands of lives with that decision”.

Table (4.29): America had the Greatest Economy in the world before COVID-19 (Press Conferences).

No.	Utterances	Date
1	<i>“We <u>just did the biggest trade deal in history</u>”</i>	26 February 2020
2	<i>“<u>we had the strongest economy in the history of the world</u>”</i>	30 April / 2020
4	<i>“<u>But we had the greatest economy in the world</u>”</i>	18 April /2020
5	<i>“<u>we had the best economy in the history of the world, not just here, but anywhere in the world, you can talk China, you can talk any other country, we had the best economy anywhere in the world</u>”</i>	11 May / 2020
7	<i>“<u>We made a great trade deal. Great. But the ink wasn’t dry on that deal when the plague floated in. What’s going on? A plague is floating in from China</u>”</i>	5 Jun / 2020
8	<i>“<u>But we built a tremendous thing, a tremendous power platform</u>”</i>	5 Jun / 2020
9	<i>“<u>We have a pandemic, we’ve made tremendous progress really on both if you look at where we’ve come on, both, we’ve made tremendous progress on both, tremendous progress. But you’re looking and the people are now starting to return to work</u>”</i>	5 Jun / 2020
11	<i>“<u>we had the greatest economy we ever had, the greatest job numbers we ever had, the greatest of everything</u>”</i>	23 June /2020
12	<i>“<u>We have the most and finest testing anywhere in the world</u>”</i>	4 Jul / 2020
13	<i>“<u>We built the greatest economy in the history of the world and we are doing it again</u>”</i>	21 Sep/ 2020
14	<i>“<u>will make America into the manufacturing superpower of the world</u>”</i>	21 Sep / 2020

Table (4.29) shows another categorization for the representation of America. It indicates that America's economy is the greatest in the world "*we had the strongest economy in the history of the world*", during the Past, but throughout the COVID-19 period is getting lower. Trump holds China responsible for the decline of America's economy "*We made a great trade deal. Great What's going on? A plague is floating in from China*" (5 Jun 2020). Throughout 12 February 2020, Trump shows his positive attitude towards holding trade with China, since COVID-19 didn't attack America yet. He describes the trade with China as the biggest one and America still working with them, Trump declares that they were going to sign a trade deal with each other, but because of COVID-19, everything stopped "*We just did the biggest trade deal in history*" (26 February). On the 4th of July 2020, he declares that America is the most productive nation in the world. Thus, via Trump's strategies, America can control COVID-19. The strategies include distributing the rescue devices and continual testing of the American people. By following these strategies America could eliminate the spreading of COVID-19 "*show cases, 99% of which are totally harmless*". Trump indicates that COVID-19's cases in America are not the most dangerous like the cases in other countries. Whereas, we know from the news that COVID-19's deaths and cases reached their highest number in America.

On the 21st of September 2020, he promises the Americans that the economy will advance again "*We built the greatest economy in the history of the world and we are doing it again*". Trump highlights his main role in building the economy of America during the past "*We built ...*". Moreover, he tries to restore the US great's economy and promises to "*Make America Great Again. Again*". In the same quote, he mentions COVID-19 by stating "*To defeat the China Virus*", in which he insists on holding China government the

responsibility of COVID-19. Throughout the 21st of September, Trump promises that he will develop America “*will make America into the manufacturing superpower of the world*”, and America will rely on itself, rather than china “*We will make our medical supplies right here in the United States*”.

Table (4.30) below reflects China’s responsibility for the suffering of America and the world, throughout the COVID-19 period.

Table (4.30): China is Responsible for the Suffering of America and the World, under the Effect of COVID-19.

No.	Utterances	Date
3	<i>“they were <u>knowingly responsible</u>”</i>	18 April /2020
4	<i>“We had the best economy in the history of the world, not just here, but anywhere in the world, <u>you can talk China, you can talk any other country, we had the best economy anywhere in the world</u>”</i>	11 May 2020
5	<i>“I’m not happy with China. <u>They should have stopped this at the source</u>”</i>	11 May 2020
6	<i>“Well, they’re losing their lives everywhere in the world. And maybe that’s a question you should ask China, <u>don’t ask me, ask China that question, okay. When you ask them that question, you may get a very unusual answer</u>”</i>	11 May 2020
7	<i>“The world is now suffering as <u>a result of the malfeasance of the Chinese government</u>”</i>	29 May 2020
8	<i>“China’s cover-up of the Wuhan virus <u>allowed the disease to spread all over the world</u>”</i>	29 May 2020
9	<i>“The world needs answers <u>from China on COVID-19</u>”</i>	29 May 2020
10	<i>“They knew <u>it was a problem</u> ...”</i>	5 June 2020
11	<i>“The world is suffering so badly”</i>	5 June 2020
12	<i>“<u>They didn’t stop it cold from coming to the United States, Europe, and the rest of the world...</u>”</i>	5 June 2020
13	<i>“China’s secrecy, deceptions, and cover-up <u>allowed it to spread all over the world...</u>”</i>	4 July 2020
15	<i>“<u>China fully responsible for concealing COVID-19 and unleashing it upon the world</u>”</i>	14 July 2020
16	<i>“had thousands of people additionally die if we let people come in from <u>heavily infected China</u>”</i>	14 July 2020

17	<i>“They let the plague out, they shouldn’t have done it...”</i>	22 September 2020 In Pittsburgh
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Holding China the whole responsibility for the spreading of COVID-19 is the main theme throughout the other's categorization. Thus, Trump emphasizes that China is standing behind the suffering of America and the Rest of the World. The previous table contains Trump’s claims which highlight the evilness of China toward America: *“I’m not happy with China”*, *“China’s cover-up of the Wuhan virus”*, *“The world needs answers from China”*, *“they didn’t stop it”*, *“China fully responsible for concealing COVID-19”*, *“heavily infected China”*, *“They let the plague out”*. These expressions indicate that Trump holds China the whole responsibility of COVID-19’s disaster, and he associates China with wicked characteristics. Trump criticizes the Democrats for calling him a racist, mainly Joy Biden who called him *“Xenophobic”*, being made a ban on China to control COVID-19: *“I was called xenophobic by sleepy Joe Biden. I was called a racist by Democrats. A racist. I was a racist because I decided that I didn’t want to have people that could hurt our country come in, and I was pretty much in a very small group of people”* (21 March 2020). Throughout the conferences, Trump insists that Joy Biden and the Democrats are standing beside China against America. He presents himself as the protector and the savior of the world and America. He insists that China is supposed to tell America about the virus in advance. Moreover, he claims that China was hiding the information concerning COVID-19. Such declarations are holding China the whole responsibility for the spreading of the virus, at the same time to distract the world’s attention away from America concerning COVID-19.

On the 11th of May 2020, during a conference, Trump talks about America’s economy before the pandemic. When the reporter asked Trump about the

economy, he responds angrily to ask China about the economy of America “*we had the best economy in the history of the world, not just here, but anywhere in the world, you can talk China*”. Such specification of China indicates that Trump accuses China of the suffering of America. Throughout the 11 May 2020 conference, Trump answers the reporter angrily to ask China about the number of COVID-19 cases, not America, since China is the source of COVID-19 and was hiding the real number of the cases “*they’re losing their lives everywhere in the world. And maybe that’s a question you should ask China, don’t ask me, ask China that question, okay*”. On the 29th of May, 2020, he declares that the world is suffering from COVID-19, because of the violation of China “*The world is now suffering as a result of the malfeasance of the Chinese government*”, furthermore he insists that China made COVID-19 spread across the world, and China was hiding the information, it should declare the fact about COVID-19. On the 5th of June 2020, He states that America never lost anything before COVID-19; through the pandemic, they lost many lives and event their economy. Furthermore, he declares that not only America was losing, but the entire world “*we’ve never lost anything close to this, but it’s not only our country, it’s the whole world. The world is suffering so badly*”. On the 14th of July 2020 Trump indicates that not only the World and America are suffering from China, but Also Hong Kong people. Thus, he tries to hold China responsible for all bad things other than COVID-19. He mentions “*Their freedom has been taken away. Their rights have been taken away and with it goes Hong Kong, in my opinion*” such declaration gives China evil characteristics.

In the previous tables, Trump associates America with positive characteristics. He associates China with negative characteristics. The positive features exemplified via America's sacrifices during the period of COVID-19 “*We're dealing with them. We're giving them certain advice*” (26 Feb.), “*We*

made a lot of good decisions” (18 Apr.), “We’re working on it strongly” (30 Apr.), “We saved tens of thousands of lives” (5 Jun.), “we’re placing massive tariffs” (14 July), “we took swift and early action to ban” (23 June), He represents China with negative characteristics which indicate the responsibility of COVID-19’s spread and causing great damage to the economy of America and the world, as in: “they were knowingly responsible” (18 April), “I’m not happy with China” (11 May), “the world is now suffering Of the Chinese government” (29 May), “China’s cover-up of the Wuhan virus” (29 May), “the world needs answers from China” (29 May), “they didn’t stop it cold from coming to the United States” (5 June). Furthermore, America tries to develop its economy, while China causes great damage to the economy of America and the rest of the world. Trump de-emphasizes America's negative characteristics, while emphasizing China's negative characteristics.

The following tables reflect categorization throughout Trump’s tweets:

Table (4. 31): America Sacrifices (Tweets)

No.	Sentences	Date
1	<i>“our experts are <u>extraordinary</u>”</i>	27/1/2020 5:56 PM
2	<i>“We have <u>offered China and President Xi any help that is necessary</u>”</i>	27/1/2020 5:56 PM
3	<i>“<u>Very few cases</u> reported in the USA, but strongly on watch”</i>	27/1/2020 5:56 PM
4	<i>“<u>Only 5 people in the U.S., all in good recovery</u>”</i>	31/1/2020 1:4 AM
5	<i>“COVID-19, which started in China and spared to various countries throughout the world, but very slowly in the U.S. because <u>Trump closed our borders, and ended flights VERY EARLY</u>”</i>	28/2/2020
6	<i>“I <u>was very fast, even doing the Ban on China long before anybody thought necessary!</u>”</i>	27/5/2020 4:19 PM
7	<i>“including the <u>tremendous damage</u> it has done to the USA”</i>	1/7/2020 1:52 AM

8	<i><u>"We are working closely with China to help"</u></i>	7/2/2020 1:31 PM
9	<i>"we will never hear this on the Fake News concerning the China Virus, but by comparison to most other countries, who are suffering greatly, we are doing very well"</i>	21/7/2020 1:39 PM
10	<i>"They use cases to demean <u>the incredible job done by the great men& women of the U.S. fighting the China Plague</u>"</i>	11/8/2020 3:33 PM
11	<i>"I am <u>ready to send Rental Assistance payments to hardworking Americans that have been hurt by ChinaVirus</u>"</i>	14-8-2020 10:02
12	<i><u>"USA will be stronger than ever before, and soon!"</u></i>	2/8/2020
13	<i>"The <u>very good job we are doing on combatting the China Virus, including Vaccines & Therapeutics</u>"</i>	3/8/2020 4:44 PM
14	<i>"There is nobody more <u>Patriotic than me, your favorite President!</u>"</i>	20/7/2020 10:43 PM

On the Twitter platform, Trump emphasizes American strategies concerning COVID-19 describing them as “*extraordinary*” (27/1/2020). In February's tweets, he categorizes China as the most cooperative country in the world “*We have offered China and President Xi any help that is necessary*” on 27/1/2020. Besides Trump used to reflect that America is controlling on COVID-19, he mentions that “*only 5 people in the U.S.*”, and describes the state by “*good recovery*” on (31/1/2020). Throughout (28/2/2020), He mentions that COVID-19 is coming out from China, but spread in America slowly because of the sacrifices made by Trump which is the early Ban on China. Thus, Trump presents America as a sacrifice who tries to save its people, while China is malicious which spread COVID-19 and caused great damage to the economy and loss in people's lives.

On 27/5/2020, Trump indicates that he has done fast strategies to overcome COVID-19, thus he compares himself with others, indicating that he is the best “*I was very fast, even doing the Ban on China long before anybody thought necessary!*”. On (21/7/2020) Trump criticizes the media for standing beside China concerning COVID-19. He describes it by (Fake News) indicating that they didn't stand beside the countries which are suffered greatly, thus he describes his

strategies as “*we are doing very well*”, using “*greatly*” to describe the portrayal of the suffering. On (11/8/2020), Trump highlights the job of the American group who is responsible for COVID-19 cases, he appreciates their Job to overcome COVID-19 which he named “*China Plague*” to reveal that China is responsible for the spreading. On (14/8/2020), Trump states that “*I am ready to send Rental Assistance payments to hardworking Americans that have been hurt by China Virus*”. Trump uses “*ready*” to put himself in a suitable state for helping American people to overcome the hard days of COVID-19; thus he fully prepared “*to send Rental Assistance payments to hardworking Americans that have been hurt by China Virus*”. He associates the name of COVID-19 with China to indicate that China had caused all these suffers, while America via its Trump is trying to save America and the world in general.

On (3/8/2020) Trump criticizes the Democratic Party. He claims while America tries to create vaccines to save people from COVID-19 “*The very good job we are doing on combatting the China Virus, including Vaccines & Therapeutics*”, China creates a virus and spreads it intentionally to destroy the world. Nancy Pelosi, an American politician in the Democratic Party, takes her share of criticism. Trump describes Pelosi as “*crazy*”, who declares “*horrible things*” about the Doctor who is responsible for COVID-19 cases. Moreover, Trump associates the name COVID-19 with China. Throughout Such association, Trump insists that China is responsible for COVID-19’s spread. Thus, he presents himself in a positive portrayal as a president who devotes himself to supporting America “*There is nobody more Patriotic than me, your favorite President!*” (201712020). Trump presents China and the Democratic Party in a negative image. Table (4.32) below reflects the categorizing of America as it had the greatest economy in the world before COVID-19 on Twitter.

Table (4.32): Categorizing America as the Greatest Economy in the World before COVID-19 (Tweets)

No.	Sentences	Date
1	<i>“ We are getting great marks for the handing of COVID-19 pandemic, especially the very early BAN of people from China ”</i>	10/5/2020 2:48 PM
2	<i>“Our economy was blowing everybody away, the best of any country, EVER”</i>	17/5/2020 1:58 AM
3	<i>“economy and job are growing MUCH faster than anyone”</i>	8/7/2020 4:50 PM
4	<i>“Job growth is biggest in history”</i>	8/7/2020 4:50 PM
5	<i>“shaping up for a good third quarter, and a great next year”</i>	8/7/2020

On (10/5/2020), Trump mentions America’s efforts to control COVID-19 *“We are getting great marks for the handing of COVID-19 pandemic, especially the very early BAN of people from China”*. He mentions by his early ban on China and other strategies, America can control the virus *“getting great marks for the handing of COVID-19 pandemic”*. He compares his period of the presidency to the period of previous presidents (Obama and Joy Biden), through which *“H1N1 Swine Flu”* spread and got out of control *“Compare that to the Obama/Sleepy Joe disaster Known as H1N1 Swine flu. Poor marks, bad pools- didn’t have a clue!”*. On (17/5/2020), Trump describes America’s economy as the most excellent and effective by comparison to other countries *“Our economy was blowing everybody away, the best of any country, EVER” the best of any country, EVER*. Besides, he indicates that China attacks America's economy. Then, he promises to get back the economy of America into its highest state, indicating that America will overcome the economic difficulties caused by COVID-19, which came from China, as he claims. Furthermore, he mentions that *“NASDAQ at new record high”* (8/7/2020), which is the abbreviation of the National Association of Securities Dealers Automated Quotations system which is a daily stock market. Trump describes the

daily stock market of America as “*high*” to indicate that their economy is getting up by the virtue of Trump. Thus, Trump considers America the best and the greatest country in the world, in comparison with China. Besides, he emphasizes that America is working hard to defeat COVID-19.

The previous tables represent the categorization of America in Trump tweets (SELF). The following tables represent the categorization of China in Trump tweets (OTHER):

Table (4.33): Categorizing China as an Evil Entity

No.	Sentences	Date
1	<i>“They use USA airwaves to help China. <u>The Enemy of the People</u>”</i>	1/5/2020 6:27 PM
2	<i>“.... <u>What Chins has done to our Country, and the World....</u>”</i>	12/5/2020
3	<i>“Some wacko in China just <u>released a statement blaming everybody other than China for COVID-19 which has now killed hundreds of thousands of people.</u>”</i>	20/5/2020
4	<i>“.... It was the <u>‘incompetence of China’</u>, and nothing else, that did this mass Worldwide killing!”</i>	20/5/2020
5	<i>“As I watch the Pandemic spread its ugly face all across the world, including the tremendous damage it has done to the USA, <u>I become more and more angry at China</u>”</i>	1/7/2020
6	<i>“China <u>has caused great damage to the United States and the rest of the World!</u>”</i>	6/7/2020
7	<i>“You will never hear this on the fake News concerning <u>the China Virus, ...</u>”</i>	21/7/ 2020
9	<i>“<u>Big China Virus Breakouts all over the World...</u>”</i>	2/8/2020
10	<i>“..... <u>Hardworking Americans that have been hurt by the China Virus. ...</u>”</i>	14/8/2020

Trump used to represent China as an evil entity, which is responsible for the spreading of COVID-19. Besides, he attacks all those who stand beside China whether the press or his competitors of the Democratic Party. On the 5th of February, he Criticized NBC News and CNN news is reporting fake news, and standing beside china concerning COVID-19. It states that they are controlled by

China “*They are Chinese puppets who want to do business there*”. At the end of the post, he tweets that “*the enemy of the people*” giving China an evil attribute”. On (20/5/2020), he states that China is responsible for spreading COVID-19 and he Presents China as an evil entity that caused all these disasters to the people in the world “some wacko in China just released a statement blaming everybody other than China for COVID-19 which has now killed hundreds of thousands of people”. On (1/7/2020) Trump declares that people can see that China is responsible for spreading COVID-19. He describes COVID-19 by the “*ugly face*” to indicate the disaster caused by COVID-19 “*As I watch the Pandemic spread its ugly face all across the world*”. At the end of the tweet, he mentions his stance toward China's “*angriness*”. By such indication, he means that China was caused all these disasters “*I become more and more angry at China*”.

On 21/7/2020 Trump criticized the press because they weren't publishing what Trump made to eliminate COVID-19. Throughout the Association of COVID-19 with China, Trump asserts the responsibility of China concerning COVID-19. On the 14th of August, Trump states that COVID-19 which comes from China causes great damage for American citizens, especially for workers “*Hardworking Americans that have been hurt by the China Virus. ...*”. These expressions used via Trump on Twitter, emphasizing he portray China as an evil entity that spread damage to America and the world. It is noticeable that throughout these expressions “*China. The Enemy of the People (1/5/2020), incompetence of China (20/5/2020), I become more and more angry at China (1/7/2020), China has caused great damage (6/7/2020), China Virus, ...*” (21/7/2020), *Big China Virus (2/8/2020), China Virus (14/8/2020)*”. These expressions characterize China as a wicked entity that was trying to destroy America and the world.

Trump, throughout Twitter, represents America as the best nation in the world, especially during the period of COVID-19. Furthermore, he regards America as the most cooperative country, even with its competitors. Trump mentions how America was following great strategies to save its people from COVID-19, America's economy is the greatest in the world, but affected by COVID-19 which came from China. He presents China as the nation which is responsible for spreading great damage across the world; responsible for the spreading the strange virus which caused losing many lives in Europe and the rest of the world, besides it caused a great effect on America's economy.

According to van Dijk's ideological square, throughout Trump's tweets, he emphasizes (Self) America's positive characteristics by referring to America's cooperation with China, besides America's sacrifices concerning COVID-19. Trump accuses China of the great damage caused by COVID-19. He claims that COVID-19 made in China labels, accusing China that it didn't inform the rest of the world about the danger of COVID-19. Furthermore, he claims that China caused great damage to the American hardworking citizens because of the great effect of COVID-19. Thus, such negative characteristics represent China as an evil entity.

As a result, the concept of categorization is devoted to emphasizing the evilness of the "other," as shown by China's responsibility for COVID-19's spread. Simultaneously, it stresses the nobleness of the "self," as shown by declarations about America's cooperation and sacrifices concerning COVID-19.

4.2.2 Data Analysis and Discussion of the Relational Value of Words

The relational value of words may reveal the social relationship between the text's producer and its intended recipient. This study concentrates on dysphemism rather than euphemisms since they are more prevalent in Trump's political discourse.

4.2.2. 1 Euphemisms and Dysphemism Concepts

Euphemisms are ideologically bound techniques in which a "word or an expression" is used to replace "a taboo word" or to avoid mentioning such acts or subjects" (Fromkin et al., 2007). Euphemism is widely used in political debate as a rhetorical technique obliquely to materialize ideological coercion (Blackledge, 2006: cited in Mohamed Abidi, 2015). Euphemism is based on diminishing a negative characteristic or deliberately switching the means or names by which it is embedded, resulting in hidden and beneficial connotative meanings (Lutz, 1989). van Dijk states that Euphemism is a tactic with an ideological meaning and "may be implemented, more or less consciously".

The most common linguistic element in the political discourse of Trump is dysphemism. Politicians are used for employing dysphemism in their discourses to handle argumentative affairs or criticizing their opponents or other governments indirectly. This indicates that the rejection and unpleasantness of some serious issues motivate politicians to use harsh expressions to attack the other side. Thus, it is defined by Allan and Burridge as "a word or phrase with connotations that are offensive either about the dentate and/or to people addressed or overhearing the utterance" (2006, p. 31). Thus, curses, naming-calling, influencing, blaming, and any other negative statements are made to offend the addressee or the other side.

In other words, Allan and Burridge describe dysphemism as opposite to euphemisms, besides that there is a big difference between them “it is tabooed” (2006, p. 31). They distinguish it from euphemism by explaining that it is often associated with hating and scorn: “like a euphemism, it is sometimes motivated by fear and distaste, but also by hatred and contempt” (ibid). Thus, Speakers use dysphemism to describe people and objects that irritate and offend them, which they dislike and want to disparage.

The data analysis reveals that Trump tends to use dysphemistic expressions rather than euphemistic terms. Throughout the first period of the COVID-19 appearance, Trump uses euphemistic expressions to present a good working of Chinese’s government, which are few in contrast to dysphemism. Such euphemistic expressions were noticed on 26 February- 2020, in which Trump refers to the efforts of the Chinese Government represented by president Xi “*He is working very hard, I have to say. He is working very very hard*”. Trump uses euphemistic expressions to refer to the efforts of President Xi, instead of revealing the real horrible scene of the cases and continual losing of Chinese Lives. Thus, Trump tends to use dysphemistic expressions more than euphemistic throughout his conferences (figure 4.3) below reflects the variation between euphemism and dysphemism:

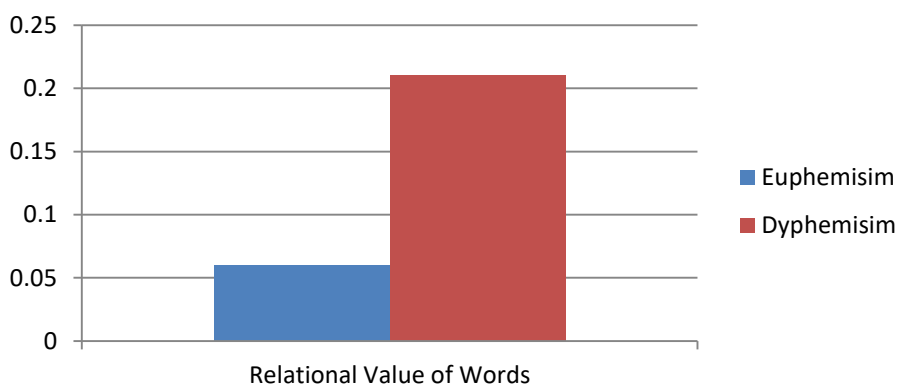


Figure (4.3) Euphemism & Dysphemism in Trumps' Press Conferences.

The following table indicates Trump’s dysphemistic expressions in his press conferences:

Table (4.34): Dysphemistic Expressions in Trump Press Conferences.

No.	Utterances	Date
1	<i><u>“They’re way ahead of us in terms of death. It’s not even close ...”</u></i>	18 April /2020
2	<i><u>“Was it a mistake that got out of control or was it done deliberately?”</u></i>	18 April /2020
3	<i>Many of the counties as you know, <u>are really free of this horrible enemy</u></i>	18 April 2020
4	<i>“But if you would’ve said that after going through this horrible plague”</i>	18 April 2020
5	<i>“fact that we have found the answer to that horrible, horrible plague”</i>	18 April 2020
6	<i>“And I would say probably it was <u>it got out of control</u>”</i>	30 April/ 2020
7	<i><u>“Well, they’re losing their lives everywhere in the world. And maybe that’s a question you should ask China, don’t ask me, ask China that question”</u></i>	11 May/ 2020
8	<i>“ <u>China’s cover-up of the Wuhan virus allowed the disease to spread all over the world</u>”</i>	29 May /2020
9	<i>“ We were doing the greatest — we had the greatest economy we ever had, the greatest job numbers we ever had, the greatest of everything ... then they said <u>there’s a plague coming over from China</u>”</i>	23 June / 2020
10	<i>“I could give you 19 or 20 names for that, right? <u>It’s got all different names. “Wuhan.” “Wuhan” was catching on. “COVID-19,” right?</u>”</i>	23 June / 2020
11	<i><u>“Kung flu,” yeah. (Applause.) Kung flu. “COVID.” “COVID-19.” “COVID.” I said, “What’s the ‘19’?” “COVID-19.” Some people can’t explain what the 19 — give me the — “COVID-19.” I said, “That’s an odd name.” I could give you many, many names Some people call it the “Chinese flu,” the “China flu.” Right?</u></i>	23 June / 2020
12	<i>“ we got hit by <u>COVID-19 that came from China</u>”</i>	4 July / 2020
13	<i>“Our strategy is moving along well. <u>It goes out in one area and rears back its ugly face in another area.</u>”</i>	4 July / 2020
14	<i>“China’s secrecy, deceptions, and cover-up <u>allowed it to spread all over the world</u>”</i>	4 July / 2020
15	<i>“It was almost <u>exclusively made in foreign lands, in particular,</u></i>	

	<i><u>China</u> where, ironically, this virus and others came from...</i>	4 July / 2020
16	<i>“ I want everyone to know, I want every citizen now that we’re using the full power of the Federal government <u>to fight the China virus and to keep our people safe.</u>”</i>	14 July 2020
17	<i>“ They <u>shouldn’t have allowed it to happen, China.</u>”</i>	21 September/ 2020
18	<i>“<u>it’s the China virus.</u> They don’t want to say it”</i>	22 September 2020 In Pittsburgh
19	<i>“ <u>it’s the China virus, not the coronavirus ...</u>”</i>	22 September/ 2020 In Pittsburgh
20	<i>“<u>Corona. No, it’s a China virus</u>”</i>	22 September/ 2020 In Pittsburgh
21	<i>“We have waged a fierce battle against the invisible enemy — the China virus”</i>	22 September/ 2020 The White House

Trump changes his style to the harshest one, after the spreading of COVID-19 across the world and precisely in America. He starts to attack china and holding it the whole responsibility of COVID-19 (see figure 5.5). Continually, He mentions that China has more cases in COVID-19 more than America. Besides, he started to claims that China was number one even in the cases of death with COVID-19. Furthermore, he starts to attack the Democratic Party by claiming that it stands beside China, he refers to John Kerry's speeches which reveals that if the Democratic candidate Joe Biden win the election, so China will own America because the Democratic party standing beside China *“ if sleepy Joe won, they own our country. They will take our country”* On 18 April 2020. At the same date, he mentions *“Was it a mistake that got out of control or was it done deliberately?”*, *“Many of the counties as you know, are really free of this horrible enemy”*, *“But if you would’ve said that after going through this horrible plague”*, *“fact that we*

have found the answer to that horrible, horrible plague” such dysphemistic expressions reflect the horrible scene which caused by COVID-19.

On 18 April 2020, Trump asks a rhetorical question indicating whether COVID-19 was a mistake or done intentionally in China *“Was it a mistake that got out of control or was it done deliberately?”*. Instead of saying that China created COVID-19 to attack America and the world, Trump grasps the world’s attention toward China to hold it responsible for creating and spreading the COVID-19. Besides, Trump repeatedly utilizes dysphemistic expressions to refer to COVID-19 by *“horrible plague”, “horrible enemy”* to reflect the fear of the great damage which caused. On the 30th of April, Trump emphasizes the view that COVID-19 was made in China labs by stating *“probably it was it got out of control.* Furthermore, throughout (11 May 2020), when he was asked by the reporter about the reason behind losing the great numbers of deaths in America, Instead of saying the reason, he answers the reporter to ask China about the reason for losing American’s lives because of COVID-19 *“Well, they’re losing their lives everywhere in the world. And maybe that’s a question you should ask China, don’t ask me, ask China that question”*. For that answer, Trump insists that China is behind COVID-19 and the great damage.

On the 23rd of June, Trump used to attach China's name with COVID-19, Instead of saying that COVID-19 was created in Wuhan labs (directly as he made previously) and it is responsible for the spreading across the world. He used to mock the names of COVID-19, and identifying them according to Wuhan's name *“I could give you 19 or 20 names for that, right? It’s got all different names. “Wuhan.” “Wuhan” was catching on. “COVID-19,” right?”, “Kung flu,” yeah. (Applause.) Kung fu. “COVID.” “COVID-19.” “COVID.,” I said, “What’s the ‘19’?” “COVID-19.” Some people can’t explain what the 19 — give me the —*

“COVID-19.” I said, “That’s an odd name.” I could give you many, many names; some people call it the “Chinese flu,” the “China flu.” Right?” on 23 June 2020. On the 4th of July, Trump states that *“It was almost exclusively made in foreign lands, in particular, China where, ironically, this virus and others came from”*, he used to refer to the virus as a “foreign”, which indicate that it is external, abroad, unknown, and strange from America.

Trump uses such dysphemistic expressions to emphasize the responsibility of China for the spreading of COVID-19. On 21 September, Trump blames China for the spreading of COVID-19, by stating that it should prevent COVID-19 from spreading. On the 22nd of September, Trump associates China with “virus” insisting that China lead COVID-19 to spread across the world *“it’s the China virus”*, *“it’s the China virus, not the coronavirus ...”*, *“Corona. No, it’s a China virus”*. People often refer to them via their origin, besides products are often described with the reference to where they are made. Thus, Trump frequently naming COVID-19 as a “Chinese Virus” throughout his conferences and daily interviews. Instead of declaring the responsibility of Chin, Trump declares and insists that COVID-19 is caused by China. He tries to characterize China as the center of the virus, furthermore guilty for causing the global pandemic. At the same date throughout the White House conference, Trump uses dysphemistic expressions as *“invisible enemy”* which is one of the political speeches strategies to criticize the rapid spreading of COVID-19 across the U.S. and blaming the foreign power which is China. Thus, America cannot be responsible for causing such damage.

Such dysphemistic expressions and others are used via Trump to emphasize the responsibility of China for the great damage that caused to America and the world by COVID-19. Sometimes Trump avoids stating directly that China is

responsible for the spreading of COVID-19, but he refers to that indirectly as when he asked by the reporter about his continual accusing for China, instead of conforming that, he states *“probably it was it got out of control”* to underline that COVID-19 was intentionally made in Wuhan labs.

On Twitter, through the data analysis and investigation of dysphemism and euphemistic expressions in Trump’s tweets, there is a matching throughout the frequency of events. Euphemistic expressions are used throughout January to declare about the hard efforts of the Chinese government, precisely president Xi *“China has been working very hard to contain the COVID-19. The United States greatly appreciates their efforts and transparency”* on (211112020). Instead of using expressions of blaming China for COVID-19, Trump uses euphemistic expressions to highlight the hard-working which done by president Xi.

On the 7th of February 2020, Trump declares that President Xi strategies, concerning COVID-19, are useless *“He feels they are doing very well, even building hospitals in a matter of only days”*. Trump uses the verb (feel) to indicate that he is not sure that president Xi will overcome COVID-19 *“He feels they are doing very well, even building hospitals in a matter of only days”*. At the end of the tweet, he declares that *“nothing is easy, but he will be successful”*. Throughout (12/4/2020), Trump states that China prevents the press from covering the state of COVID-19 in its country, thus it was hiding the real numbers of COVID-19 cases from the rest of the world *“they were recently thrown out of China like dogs, and want back in”*.

Trump uses a harsh style to reflect the unreceptiveness of China towards the press. On 2/5/2020, Trump accuses the Democrats by standing beside China concerning COVID-19. Trump uses dysphemistic style to refer to China *“they*

don't want to blame their cash cow, China, for the plague". On 28/5/2020, Trump announces directly that Chia is responsible for the spreading of COVID-19, by declaring that *"COVID-19, a very bad "gift" from China, marches on"*. Repeatedly, Trump declares that China pays for the press to hide their disaster concerning COVID-19 *"@CNN... Can't blame China because they need the cash"* on 30/5/2020. He accuses China of paying for the Democratic Party and the press to hide the information concerning COVID-19 as in the tweets on 2/5/2020 & 30/5/2020. Thus, most of the tweets reflect the responsibility of China for spreading COVID-19 such declarations employed in *"it's the fault of China!"* on 31/7/2020, *"fighting the China Plague"* on 11/8/2020, *"Worldwide killing"* on 20/5/2020, *"Invisible China Virus"* 20/7/2020, *"Americans that have been hurt by the ChinaVirus"* 14/8/2020. Figure (4.4) below reflects the percentages of euphemism and dysphemism in Trump's tweets:

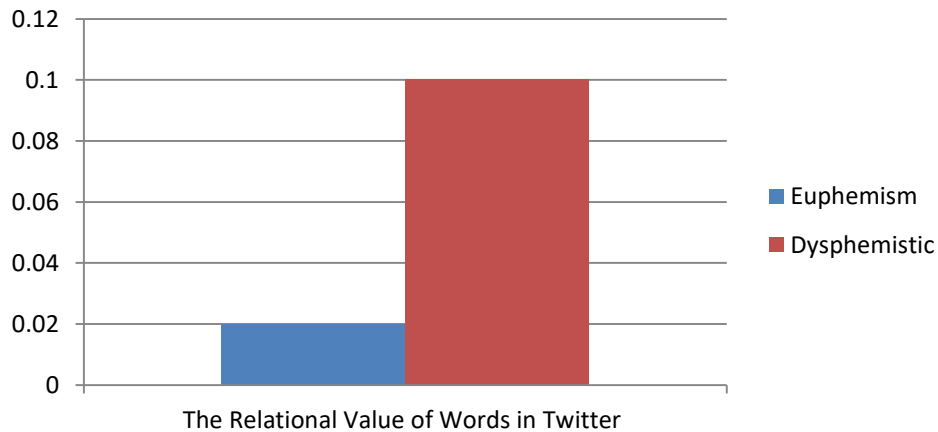


Figure (4.4) Euphemism & Dysphemism in Trump's Tweets

The following table reflects dysphemistic expressions throughout Trump's tweets.

Table (4. 35): Dysphemistic Expressions in Trump’s Tweets.

No.	Sentences	Date
1	<i>“He feels they are doing very well, even building hospitals in a matter of only days”</i>	7/2/2020 1:31 PM
2	<i>“they were recently thrown out of <u>China</u> like dogs, and obviously want back in”</i>	12/4/2020 2:34 AM
3	<i>“Concast (@NBC News) and Fake News @CNN are going out of their was to say GREAT things about China, <u>they are Chinese puppets</u> ...”</i>	1/5/2020 6:27 PM
4	<i>“The Democrats are just always, looking for trouble. They do nothing constructive, ... they don’t want to blame their cash cow, <u>China for the plague</u>”</i>	2/5/2020
5	<i>“.. it was the <u>“incompetence of China”</u>, and nothing else, that did this mass Worldwide killing!”</i>	20/5/2020 3:35 PM
6	<i>“COVID-19, a very bad <u>“gift”</u> from China, marches on”</i>	28/5/2020 55:34 PM
7	<i>“@CNN... <u>Can’t blame China because they need the cash</u>”</i>	30/5/2020 8:4 PM
8	<i>“As I watch the Pandemic spread its ugly face all across the world, I <u>become more and more angry at China...</u>”</i>	1/7/2020 1:52 AM
9	<i>“China Virus Mortality Rate is among the LOWEST of any country”</i>	8/7/2020 On 4”50 PM
10	<i>“We are United in our effort to defeat the <u>Invisible China Virus ..</u>”</i>	20/7/2020 10:34
11	<i>“you will never hear this on the Fake News concerning <u>the China Virus ...</u>”</i>	21/7/2020 1:39 PM
12	<i>“<u>Major China Virus flare ups</u> in many of the countries “</i>	30/7/2020 3:33 PM
13	<i>“It was not the worker's fault that they are unemployed, <u>it’s the fault of China!</u>”</i>	31/7/2020 10:33 PM
14	<i>“we’ve doing MUCH better than most other Countries in dealing with the <u>China Virus</u>”</i>	3/8/2020 2:46 PM
15	<i>“.. the very good job we are doing on combatting <u>the China Virus, including Vaccines & Therapeutics</u>”</i>	3/8/2020 4:44 PM
16	<i>“I will be doing a news conference on <u>ChinaVirus</u>”</i>	8/8/2020 1:32 AM
17	<i><u>“fighting the China Plague”</u></i>	11/8/2020 3:33 PM
18	<i>“I am ready to send Rental Assistance payments to hardworking Americans that have <u>been hurt by the ChinaVirus</u>”</i>	14/8/2020 10:2 PM
19	<i>“I put an extremely early BAN on people coming into our Country</i>	23/8/2020

The previous tables show that Trump used dysphemistic expressions, more than euphemisms. Thus, Trump utilized an abundant number of dysphemistic terms with harsh connotations throughout his daily conferences and tweets. Such dysphemistic expressions are employed for different goals, such as attacking China where the virus is believed to have originated, blaming China for the violation of the health strategies, and spreading the virus intentionally, using metaphorical expressions to refer to the COVID-19 pandemic, and defending Democratic Party for rejecting his strategies.

4.2.3 Data Analysis and Discussion of the Expressive Value of Words

The expressive value of words indicates the ideological contrast between "self" and "other" determines the expressive meaning of language. Fairclough states that expressive value provides a vision into “the producer’s evaluation (in the widest sense) of the bit of the reality it relates to” (1989, 122). Van Leeuwen mentions that moral evaluation legitimization relies heavily on evaluative adjectives (2007, p. 98). This study focuses on two types of adjectives Prenominal and Predicative. It is based on examining the adjectives which are associated with “Other” portrayed via “China BEFORE the spreading of COVID-19 across America”, “China AFTER the spreading of COVID-19 across America”, conversely the “Self” which is portrayed via “we”, “Our”. The use of adjectives reflects Trump's stance toward China and America, emphasized via the dichotomy of “Other”& “Self”.

4.2.3.1. The Press Conferences

In Trump’s press conferences, the following tables reflect both types of adjectives, productive and prenominal adjectives. Adjectives used to represent OTHER occurred into two orientations, before the spreading of COVID-19 and

after the spreading. China presented a positive stance before the spreading of COVID-19. Such adjectives which are used before the spreading of COVID-19 are (Hard, reliable, tough, smart, significant, talented), which are used to describe China and its efforts. After the spreading of COVID-19 across America, Trump uses negative adjectives to refer to China, such adjectives (Responsible, Horrible, sophisticated, accountable, bad, and secretive). Such adjectives indicate the responsibility of China for the spreading of COVID-19. The representation of SELF is associated with positive adjectives (happy, tough, strongest, important, great, well, deep, insurmountable, etc.). Trump uses such adjectives to describe America's sacrifices and efforts. Thus, according to van Dijk's ideological square, positive adjectives are associated with America (SELF), while negative adjectives are associated with China (OTHER).

4.2.3.1.1. Representing the OTHER

1. before the spreading of COVID-19

Table (4.36): Predicative Adjectives for Naming China before the spreading of COVID-19

No.	Predicative Adjective	Frequency
1	Hard	8
2	Reliable	1
3	Tough	1
4	Smart	1
5	Significant	1

Table (4. 37): Prenominal Adjectives for Naming China before the Spreading of COVID-19.

No.	Prenominal adjectives	Frequency
1	Significant	1
2	Talented	1
3	Great	1

During the early period of COVID-19's breakout, Trump uses positive adjectives to represent China. He indicates that the Chinese government was working hard to overcome COVID-19, besides his continual offering to help China. Trump tries to represent America as the most cooperative country, even with its competitors. Using adjectives like (smart, significant, hard talented, etc.) is to highlight China's work during the first appearance of an unknown virus (COVID-19), with the help of America. Such adjectives are embodied in utterances like: (*He's working very hard, I have to say. He's working very, very hard*). Both types of Adjectives are used before the spreading of COVID-19. In March, COVID-19 started to attack Europe and the rest of the world. Throughout that time, there is a clear alter in Trump's stance against China (see figure 5.5).

2. after the spreading of COVID-19

Table (4.38): Predicative Adjectives for Naming China after the Spreading of COVID-19.

No.	Predicative adjectives	Frequency
1	Infected	3
2	Responsible	1
3	Accountable	4
4	Bad	5
5	Secretive	2
6	Condemned	1

Table (4.39): Prenominal Adjectives for Naming China after the Spreading of COVID-19.

No.	Prenominal Adjectives	Frequency
1	Infected	5
2	Bad	4
3	Tough	1

Tables (4.38) & (4.39) show Trump’s stance toward China after the spreading of COVID-19. There is an alteration in Trump’s stance toward China (see figure 5.5). The first table illustrates Trump’s predicative adjectives such as (infected, responsible, accountable, bad, condemned, and secretive). These adjectives indicate China's responsibility for spreading COVID-19. Furthermore, he denotes China’s secrecy for the real number and cases of people with COVID-19. Besides, Trump insists that China must present a justification for the spreading of COVID-19, thus, it is (responsible, accountable, and condemned).

Trump utilizes prenominal adjectives less than predicative ones. He states that China is an infected area and country “*heavily infected China*” (14 July), “*very heavily infected country*” (21 May), “*shut off infected people from Wuhan*” (29 May). Furthermore, Trump used to describe the spreading of COVID-19 as a “*bad gift*” (5 Jun), “*bad trouble*” (5 Jun) from China. This indicates that Trump holding China the whole responsibility for spreading COVID-19.

4.2.3.1.2. Representing the SELF

Table (4. 40): Predicative Adjectives for Naming America its Actions

No.	Predicative Adjectives	Frequency
1	Tough	6
2	Smart	2
3	Good	6
4	Tremendous	1
5	Disturbed	1
6	Hard	11
7	Incredible	4
8	Great	1
9	Better	2
10	Powerful	3
11	Brilliant	6

Table (4.41) Prenominal Adjectives describe America and its actions

No.	Prenominal Adjectives	Frequency
1	Significant	3
2	Talented	4
3	Good	25
4	Strong	2
5	Tremendous	19
6	Insurmountable	1
7	Hard	3
8	Incredible	2
9	Beautiful	6
10	Strict	1
11	Bold	2
12	Scientific	4
13	Great	30
14	Highest	4
15	Best	3
16	Greatest	6
17	Massive	2
18	Largest	2
19	Powerful	4
20	Positive	4
21	Better	5

Tables (4.40) & (4.41) contain adjectives that are associated with America in Trump's discourse. The first table reflects predicative adjectives which are used in Trump's press conferences to represent America. The second table exemplifies prenominal adjectives which are utilized by Trump in his political press conferences. It is fundamental to notice that the prenominal adjectives are used more than predicative adjectives in Trump's spoken discourse. The most prominent predicative adjectives are (hard, better, good, tough, incredible, smart, powerful, etc.). These adjectives are used to emphasize the positive actions and strategies of America throughout COVID-19. Furthermore, these adjectives are used to

distinguish America from China, since America is presented as a noble notion, while China is a wicked one. The predicative adjectives indicated throughout utterances like: “*we did things that were very tough*” (11 May), “*our people are smarter*” (23 June), “*we were very, very sadly disturbed*” (22 Sep), “*we will work hard to tell the truth*” (4 July), “*We are working hard*” (32 Mar), “*We were incredible*” (5 Jun), “*we did better*” (22 Sep), “*our body were so powerful*” (5 Jun).

Prenominal adjectives that are associated with America are “Good, Great, Talented, Significant, Tremendous, Incredible, bold, Strict, etc.” these prenominal adjectives are utilized by Trump to highlight America’s actions and strategies. It refers to America’s people as the most talented, besides the situation of COVID-19 as good in America and better than China. Furthermore, Trump used to describe the strategies that America follows to overcome COVID-19. Such Prenominal adjectives that are used by Trump embodied in utterances like “*we even had significant cases*” (18 April), “*I have very talented people*” (26 February), “*We made a lot of good decisions*” (18 April), “*that we’re doing a really good job*” (26 February), “*We’re going to have the strongest economy in the world*” (5 Jun), “*we’ve made tremendous progress on both, tremendous progress*” (5 Jun), “*Our bold and early action saved millions of lives*” (21 Sep), “*our nation’s scientific brilliance*” (4 Jul), “*we had the best economy in the history of the world*” (11 May), “*we did a great job*” (14 July), “*We have great capability*” (11 May), “*we’re a positive force*” (5 Jun), “*a very powerful border now*” (11 May), “*We have a better system*” (5 Jun). Moreover, adjectives like (Good, Tremendous, Hard, Incredible) are used in both tables, for predicative and prenominal.

Continually, Trump refers to COVID-19 as an enemy, which reflects his attitude toward China. Thus, he tries to present China as an enemy for America and

the rest of the world, as it tries to destroy the world by creating a dangerous virus to eliminate on the world. He presents America as the most powerful country which is controlling COVID-19. Repeatedly, he indicates that the cases of COVID-19 are much less in America than in other countries across the world particularly in China “*It can happen. It’s the hidden enemy. Remember that. It’s the hidden enemy. So things happen, but the three tested negative. The one who tested positive will be fine. It will be absolutely fine*” (11 May), “*Germany and the United States are at the lowest rung of that ladder. Meaning low is a positive, not a negative*” (11 May). This reflects van Dijk’s ideological square which emphasizes the dichotomy between “us” and “them”, which emphasizes our good characteristics and their bad characteristics.

4.2.3.2 Tweets

4.2.3.2.1 Other’s representation

Trump’s tweets reveal his attitude towards China. Throughout the first period of COVID-19 spreading across China, Trump’s positive stance about China. Trump’s positive stance alters after the spreading of COVID-19 across Europe and especially America. Thus, the period which is before the spreading of COVID-19 is restricted by using predicative adjectives, while after the spreading of COVID-19 is restricted by using prenominal adjectives.

1. Before the Spreading of COVID-19

Predicative adjectives are used to name China before the spreading of the COVID-19 period. Such adjectives are (strong, Sharp, Powerful, and Successful) which reflect the positive stance of Trump toward China, Moreover to emphasize the good strategies of China to overcome COVID-19. Table (4.42) below reflects

the predicative adjectives, which describes China, before the spreading of COVID-19 across America:

Table (4.42): Predicative Adjectives for Naming China before the Spreading of COVID-19. (Tweets)

No.	Predicative Adjectives	Frequency
1	Strong	1
2	Sharp	1
3	Powerful	1
5	Successful	1

2. after the Spreading of COVID-19

There is a clear alter of Trump’s attitude toward China after the spreading of COVID-19. Trump’s positive stance towards China altered to a highly negative one (see figures 5.5 & 5.6). Furthermore, Prenominal adjectives are utilized to describe china, which is used to designate the number of Chinese’s people with COVID-19, to indicate the state of COVID-19, etc. as in table (4.43) below:

Table (4.43): Prenominal Adjectives for Naming China after the Spreading of COVID-19 (Tweets)

No.	Prenominal Adjectives	Frequency
1	Big	1
2	Great	1
3	Ugly	1
4	Tremendous	1
5	Bad	1
6	Infectious	1
7	Inaccurate	1
8	Infected	1

4.2.3.2.2 *Self's Representation*

1. Predicative adjectives

Table (4. 44): Predicative for Naming America and its Actions (Tweets)

No.	Predicative adjectives	Frequency
1	Patriotic	1
2	Fast	1
3	Extraordinary	1
4	Better	1

2- Prenominal Adjectives

Table (4. 45): Prenominal Adjectives for Naming America and its Actions (Tweets)

No.	Prenominal adjectives	Frequency
1	Hard	1
2	Incredible	1
3	Great	1
4	Good	4
5	Innocent	1
6	Improving	1

Both tables above determine the adjectives which are associated with America in Trump's political discourse. Both predicative and prenominal adjectives are utilized by Trump to represent America. Adjectives (patriotic, fast, extraordinary, and better) are all used as predicative adjectives to define the Self (America & Trump). Conversely, prenominal adjectives are used to stress the enemy's imminent danger: "hard, incredible, great, good, innocent, and improving". Prenominal adjectives are used to describe America's actions and strategies that are followed to overcome COVID-19. Throughout the previous tables, Trump used to associate the Self with positive adjectives, to emphasize the good characteristics and strategies made by America to overcome COVID-19.

The data analysis reveals that adjectives associated with China (represented the Other) are divided into two periods: the period before the spreading of COVID-19 and the period after the spreading of COVID-19. Before the period of COVID-19's spreading, China is associated with positive adjectives, while the period after the spreading of COVID-19 is characterized via negative adjectives. Predicative and pronominal adjectives are found in both periods. Conversely, Trump's tweets analysis revealed that the era before the spreading of COVID-19 was associated with pronominal adjectives. After the spreading of COVID-19, Trump's pronominal adjectives were pronominal, throughout tweets analysis. Figures (4.5), (4.6), and (4.7) below show the adjective's frequency:

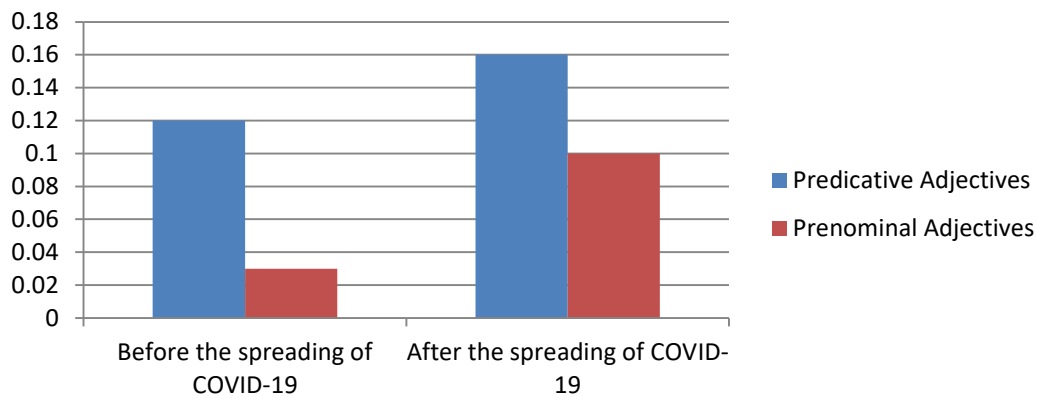


Figure (4. 5): Predicative and Pronominal Adjectives in Trump's Press Conferences (the Other Representation).

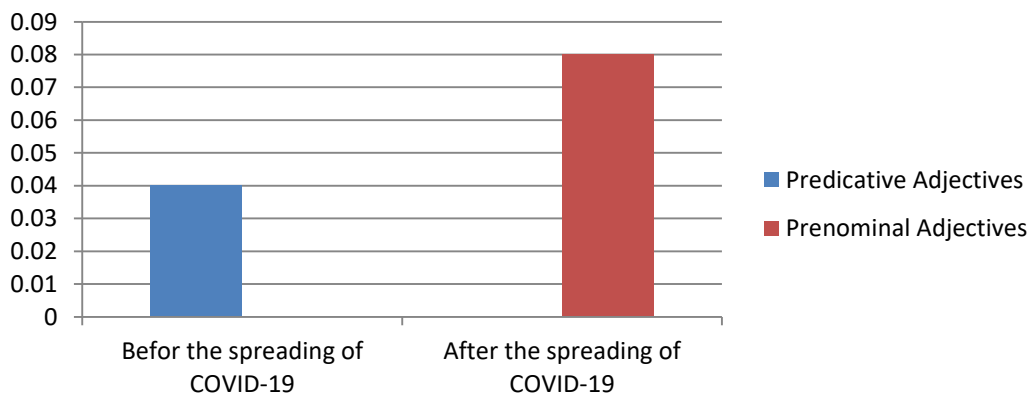


Figure (4.6): Predicative and Pronominal Adjectives in Trump's Tweets. (The Other Representation)

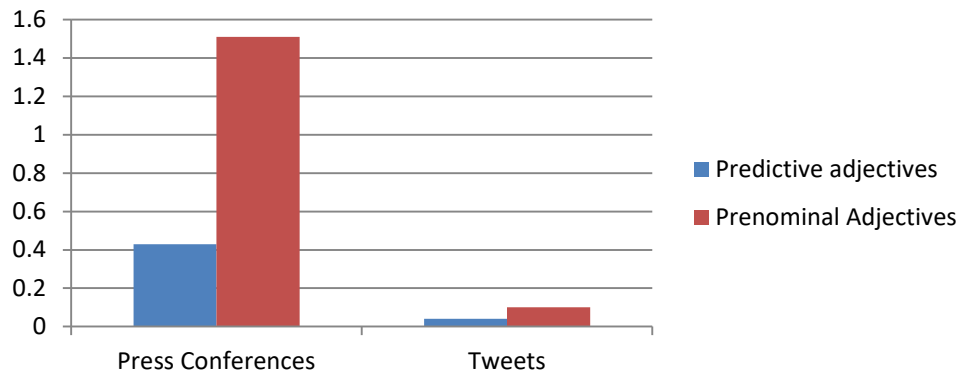


Figure (4.7): Predicative and Prenominal Adjectives in Trump’s Press Conferences and Tweets.

4.3 Summary of Chapter Four

Data analysis is based on various linguistic levels. It is emphasized the idea that ideologically oriented discourse focuses around the formulation of the "self" and "other". This is gained in Trump’s discourse via the association of the “Self” with positive characteristics and actions “*we are getting great marks for the handing of coronavirus pandemic, especially the very early BAN of people from China*” (10/5/2020 on Twitter) “*The very good job we are doing on combatting the China Virus, including Vaccines & Therapeutics*” (3/8/2020 on Twitter), while the “Other” is associated with negative properties “*China’s cover-up of the Wuhan virus allowed the disease to spread all over the world*” (29 May 2020), “*They use USA airwaves to help China. The Enemy of the People*” (1/5/2020 on Twitter). Furthermore, the polarization of the “Self” and the “Other” is highlighted via presenting the nobleness of America as in: “*We’re screening people, and we have been, at a very high level - screening people coming into the country from infected areas So it was a, you know, bold decision. It turned out to be a good decision*” (26 Feb 2020), “*We have waged a fierce battle against the invisible enemy — the*

China virus” (22 Sep 2020), and the evilness of China as in: “*They should’ve stopped it at the source..*”, “*They didn’t stop it cold from coming to the United States, Europe and the rest of the world...*” (5th of Jun 2020).

This study is based on both syntactic and semantic analysis. Throughout the syntactic analysis, Halliday’s transitivity approach is involved. Fairclough’s three-dimensional approach is embodied the semantic analysis throughout this study. The researcher utilized figures to show the results. Figure (4.1) is indicated the transitivity structure in Trump’s press conferences, also figure (4.2) is indicated Trump’s transitivity structure in Trump’s Twitter account. Both figures (4.1) & (4.2) are revealed that the material approach is prominent throughout Trump’s political discourses. America's material processes are prominent thru Trump’s press conferences indicating that America tries to take action to overcome COVID-19. Trump’s Twitter account is revealed that China's material processes are prominent to emphasize China's bad actions against the world.

Figure (4.3) is reflected the range of euphemism and dysphemism in Trump’s press conferences, while figure (4.4) is reflected in Twitter. Both figures illustrated that dysphemistic expressions were prominent in Trump’s political discourses. Figures (4.5) & (4.6) are showed the percentages of predicative and prenominal adjectives. Figure (4.5) is designated that predicative adjectives are prominent before and after the spreading of COVID-19, in Trump’s press conferences. Figure (4.6) is the period before the spreading of COVID-19 is characterized by predicative adjectives, and lacks the prenominal adjectives. The period after the spreading of COVID-19 is characterized by prenominal adjectives, and lacks the predicative adjectives. Figure (4.7) is showed the Frequency of Predicative and Prenominal Adjectives in Trump’s Press Conferences and tweets.

Trump presents America as the greatest country in the world. He represents himself as the most powerful President in the world and American history and the protector of the world from COVID-19. He refers to his strategies like the early ban on China as the most important strategies to overcome COVID-19. He declares that America controlling COVID-19 and it is not number one in the number of cases, since China is number one. Despite the fact, the Washington Post announced on the 27th of May 2020 by an article written by Marc Fisher, that in less than four months, a hundred thousand Americans died in COVID-19 (Mac Fisher, 2020). Furthermore, according to an article by Bill Chappell depending on data collected from Johns Hopkins University, the article indicated that the number of deaths in the U.S. overrides 200,000 deaths:

“COVID-19 is now one of the leading causes of death in the U.S., which has reported more than 6.8 million COVID-19 cases – more than any other country, according to data collected by Johns Hopkins University. More than 31 million cases have been reported worldwide, including more than 965,000 deaths”

(Chappell, 2020)

Trump discourse is formulated via deception and misconception for the American public and the world, to emphasize America's good actions and China's bad actions.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.0. Introduction

This chapter aims to answer the questions that are aroused at the begging of this study, throughout chapter one (see page: 6). Furthermore, it provides recommendations and implications, the study's main contributions, in addition to suggestions for further studies.

5.1 The Answer of the 1st Research Question

Halliday's transitivity, in this study, is employed to highlight the representation of "self" and "other" in Trump's discourse. The researcher focused on the material, mental, and relational processes that exist in Trump's spoken and tweets discourses. These three processes are the most common in transitivity structures in English (Halliday and Matthiessen,2004). These systemic functional grammar processes are analyzed concerning the representation of "China and "America" throughout the COVID-19 period.

The material processes are utilized to construct China's negative actions encountered throughout the COVID-19 period. Trump employed material processes to blame China for its ignoring the WHO's COVID-19 reports, for its failure to stop COVID-19's spread across America and the rest of the world, For hiding the real information and the cases of people with COVID-19, and For locking domestic travels while allowing people to move out of Chain. Besides, Trump claimed that the virus was made in Wuhan's labs without mentioning any

evidence. Such negative actions are associated with China to emphasize the ‘Other’ negative strategies:

- *China kicked the Washington Post out of China and they kicked the New York Times out of China and I guess the Wall Street Journal” (21 March / 2020)*
- *“Whether they made a mistake or whether it started as a mistake, and then they made another one or did somebody do something on purpose.” (30 April -2020)*
- *“Chinese officials ignored their reporting obligations to the World Health Organization and pressured the World Health Organization to mislead the world when the virus was first discovered by Chinese authorities.” (29 May 2020)*
- *“China’s secrecy, deceptions, and cover-up allowed it to spread all over the world...” (4 July 2020)*
- *“They let the plague out; they shouldn’t have done it...” (22 September - 2020)*
- *In Pittsburgh “In the earliest days of the virus, China locked down travel domestically while allowing flights to leave China and infect the world.” (September 22 – 2020 The White House)*

Alternatively, the material processes that describe America, are employed to emphasize the cooperation and the great strategies of America which sacrifices to overcome COVID-19 and to save people.

- *“We’ve stopped non-U.S. citizens from coming into America from China” (26 February 2020)*
- *“We’re dealing with them. We’re giving them certain advice” (26 February 2020)*
- *“We acted extremely early in keeping China out of our country and banning people from China coming in” (11 May 2020)*
- *“We saved tens of thousands of lives with that decision” June 5, 2020*
- *“We hold China fully responsible for concealing the virus and unleashing it upon the world” (14 July 2020)*
- *“This state lost one in three manufacturing jobs after.... China disasters ...” (21 September – 2020)*

The mental processes throughout Trump’s press conferences reflect his inner feelings and attitude toward the Chinese government. It indicated the transformation of China from a country that works hard to overcome a novel virus

(COVID-19), to a country that intentionally spread COVID-19 across the world. The mental processes that are used to construct America “the Self” are used to emphasize America’s great strategies concerning COVID-19, suspiciousness in the real numbers and cases of people with COVID-19 in China, and America's greatest economy before COVID-19 attacking. Thus, Trump’s declarations reflect the authority, power, and cooperative entity of America that is dedicated to fighting the invisible virus (COVID-19)

- *“We hope the numbers that we’ve been getting are true on China, where it really has leveled off and started to go down,”* (26, February -2020)
- *“We hope we can open it up to China as soon as possible”* (26 February 2020)
- *“We’re going to see where it comes from and look, you know every theory that you had the theory from the lab”* (30 April -2020)
- *“I want to tell you, if you go back a few months before this pandemic, we were gaining, gaining, gaining.”*(21 September 2020)
- *“We were very, very sadly disturbed by what happened with China...”* (22 September 2020, In Pittsburgh)

While China’s mental processes are highlighted Trump’s upset for China’s failure in controlling COVID-19. Besides, it reflects Trump’s continual blaming and holding China the whole responsibility for spreading COVID-19.

- *“The world is now suffering as a result of the malfeasance of the Chinese government”* (29 May 2020)
- *“China’s cover-up of the Wuhan virus allowed the disease to spread all over the world”* (29 May 2020)
- *“The world needs answers from China on the virus”* (29 May 2020)
- *“It’s the China virus. They don’t want to say it”* (22 September 2020, In Pittsburgh)

In addition to the material and mental processes, relational processes show approximately the same results. Trump utilized relational processes to hold China the whole responsibility for the COVID-19 outbreak. In the early period of

COVID-19's breakout, most of the relational processes indicated Trump's positive attitude toward China and President Xi, even about the Chinese group who is responsible for the COVID-19 state.

- *"He's working very hard"* (26 February 2020)
- *"And they're very tough and very smart"* (26 February 2020)
- *"And it's significant - it's a significant group"* (26 February -2020)
- *"China is a very sophisticated country and they could have contained it"* (30 April -2020)

Besides, Trump used to reflect negative declarations about China in comparison with America.

- *"China was very secretive ..."* (21 March 2020)
- *"They're way ahead of us in terms of death. It's not even close"* (18 April 2020)

Concerning the representation of "Self", America is represented as a country that is controlling the COVID-19 state and able to overcome it. Moreover, it is presented as the most powerful and progressive country.

- *"we're not number one, China's number one"* (18 April 2020)
- *"And it's very lucky. This country is very lucky and I'm very lucky that I put the ban on China, as you know, very early on"* (30 April 2020)
- *"That was a very hard decision to make"* (5 June 2020)
- *"We had an insurmountable lead on China"* (21 September 2020)

There is a match in Trump's stance on China thru his press conferences and Tweets. Trump used to associate China with negative characteristics, indicating that it was intentionally sought to destroy the world. He presents China as an adversary, as a country that caused great damage to America and the world. Trump represents America as a good organization with good characteristics that attempts to save and rescue the world from the virus by developing a vaccine, for instance:

-
- “.... *They could have easily stopped the plague, but they didn't*” on 21/5/2020
 - “*We are getting great marks for handling of Coronavirus pandemic, especially the very early BAN of people from China*” on 10/5/2020
 - “*They don't want to blame their cash cow, China, for the plague*” on 2/5/2020
 - “*Sleepy Joe Biden ... went crazy when I banned, in late January, people coming in from China*” On 25/5/2020
 - “*It was the incompetence of China' and nothing else, that did this mass worldwide killing!*” On 20/5/2020
 - “*I was very fast, even doing the Ban on China*” On 27/5/2020

The transitivity approach reflects the ideological workings of Trump's political discourse. Via the transitivity approach, Trump has represented America as a country that tries to save its people from COVID-19 by making strategies to overcome the virus and to prevent its spreading. China is presented as the enemy of the world, which spread the virus intentionally and prevents the press from reporting COVID-19's news. However, America is deemed to be a great nation, while China is an evil entity and a careless nation.

Thus, the researcher concludes that Trump has a positive attitude toward America “the Self” concerning COVID-19 giving it an in-group, while a negative attitude towards China “the Other” gives it an out-group.

5.2 The Answer of the 2nd Research Question

The lexical level in this research consists of Fairclough three dimensional model of a word's value, which consists of the experiential, relational, and expressive value of words. The research focused on overwording and categorization throughout the experiential analysis. The relational value is analyzed by investigating euphemistic expressions. Furthermore, the expressive

value of words is based on the investigation of the prenominal adjectives and the predicative adjectives.

Overwording in Trump's press conferences shows that he represents China as an evil force that knowingly spreads the virus and causes all of America's and the rest of the world's problems. Since China hid the truth about the virus, as well as the real number of cases in COVID-19. Furthermore, China spread COVID-19 on purpose and was unable to stop it from the start. Such declarations are exemplified in:

- *“The world is now suffering as a result of the malfeasance of the Chinese government”* on May 29, 2020
- *“China's cover-up of the Wuhan virus allowed the disease to spread all over the world”* on May 29, 2020
- *“A gift from China. Not good. They should have stopped it ...”* on June 5, 2020
- *“..., it's the China virus, not the coronavirus ...”* on September 22- 2020
- *“China was very secretive. Okay? Very, very secretive...”* on March 21-2020
- *“We hope the numbers that we've been getting are true on China, where it has leveled off and started to go down”* on February 26-2020
- *“Chinese officials ignored their reporting obligations to the World Health Organization and pressured the World Health Organization to mislead the world when the virus was first discovered by Chinese authorities”* on 29 May 2020

Trump portrays America as a good organization that makes sacrifices to save lives and defeats COVID-19, although the virus harmed America's economy, which Trump says is caused by China. He emphasizes the advantages of the early ban which he was made on China. As a result, he stresses that China is spreading it intentionally. As a result, he stresses the Self's nobleness and the Othe's wickedness. Trump uses evil expressions to refer to China, while positive expressions refer to America. This indicates van Dijk's ideological square, emphasizes our good characteristics (America), and emphasizes their bad characteristics (China). As in:

- “We’re dealing with them. We’re giving them certain advice” on February 26-2020.
- “ We acted extremely early in keeping China out of our country and banning people from China coming in, other than our citizens” on 11 May - 2020
- “We saved tens of thousands of lives with that decision.” on 5 June 2020
- “had thousands of people additionally die if we let people come in from heavily infected China” on 14 July 2020
- “I believe that as good as we’ve done and we’ve done great” On 11 May 2020.
- “We’re using the full power of the Federal government to fight the China virus” On 14 –July 2020.
- “We have waged a fierce battle against the invisible enemy — the China virus” on 22- September- 2020
- “it’s too bad ... It’s too bad because we never had an economy as good as the economy we had just a few weeks ago” on 19 Mar 2020

Throughout Overwording there is a clear alter in Trump's stance toward China, especially when COVID-19 attacked America “Our relationship with China was good until they did this” (April 18 – 2020)

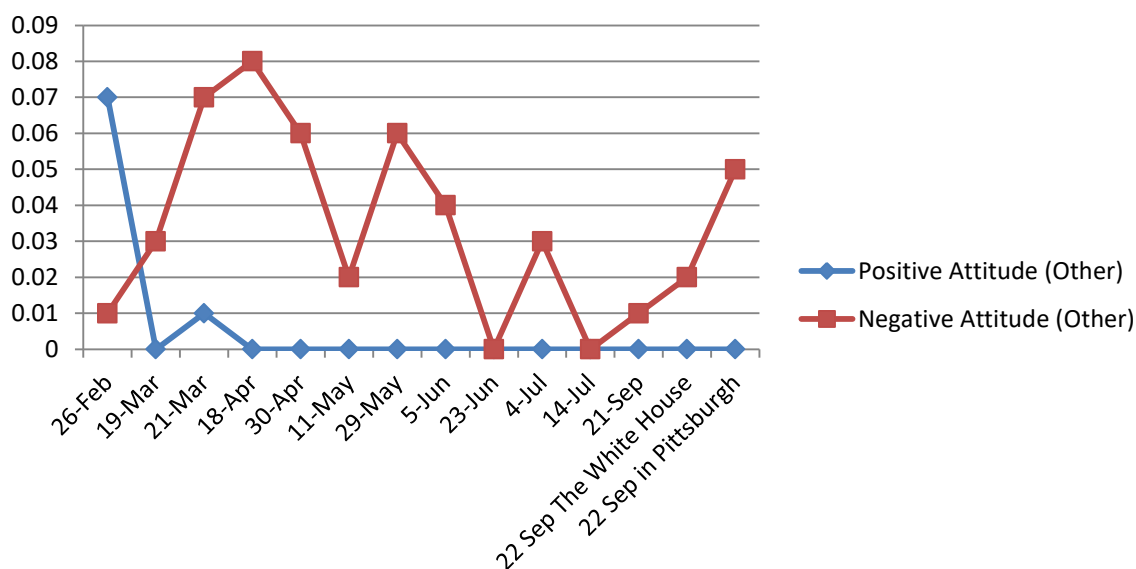


Figure (5.1): Trump’s Altered Stance throughout the Press Conferences (Overwording)

Figure (5.1) above shows a noticeable alter in Trump’s stance toward China after the spreading of the COVID-19 period. The blue line reflects Trump’s positive stance toward China. It starts with a positive stance, especially during February, and then gradually the line falls to change into negative representation for China. The red line reflects the negative stance of Trump against China.

America’s overwording reflects Trump positive stance toward his nation, figure (5.2) below reflects that:

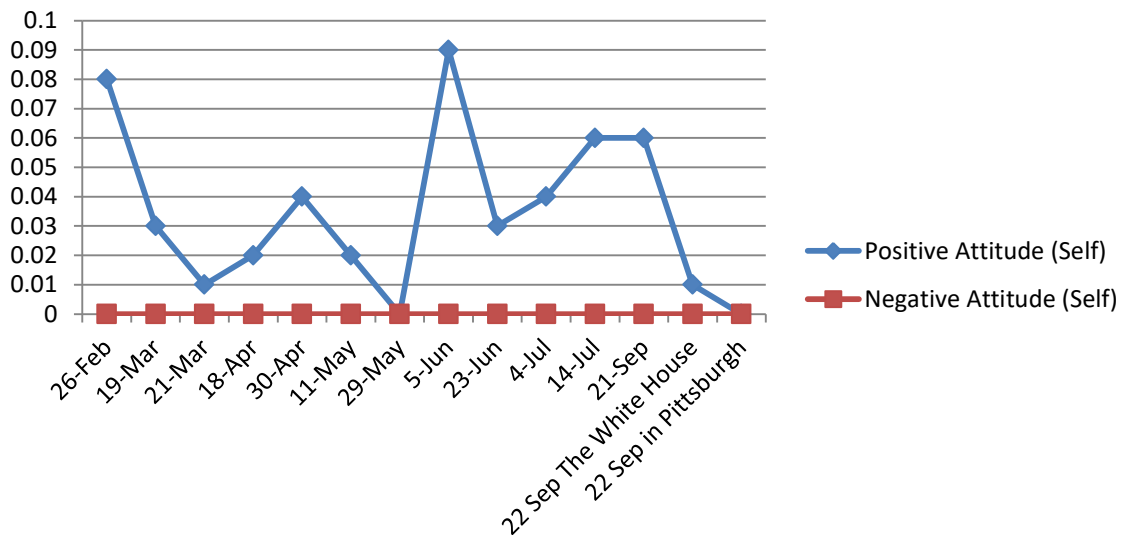


Figure (5. 2): Trump Positive Stance of America in Press Conferences (Overwording)

Figure (5.2) above reflects Trump’s attitude toward America (the representation of Self). The blue line shows Trump’s attitude toward America, which is a positive one. The red line, which represents Trump’s negative attitude toward America, is still stable since he represents America with positive characteristics and properties, thus the diagram lacks a negative stance.

Almost the same results gained throughout tweets as well as press conferences. Trump represented China as an evil entity that spread the virus across the world

and caused great damage to America and the rest of the world. The negative overwording expressions associated with the “other” in:

- *“Asian Americans are VERY angry at what China done to our Country, and the World. Chinese Americans are the most angry of all. I don’t blame them! On 12/5/2020*
- *“.... They could have easily stopped the plague, but they didn’t” On 21/5/2020*
- *“As I watch the Pandemic spread its ugly face across the world....., I become more and more angry at China” on 1/7/2020*
- *“China has caused great damage to the United States and the rest of the World!” 6/7/2020*
- *“Big China Virus Breakouts all over the World...” On 2/8/2020*

Trump associated America with positive overwording expressions which reflect good characteristics of the “self”. He highlights America’s cooperative and sacrifices concerning COVID-19, emphasizing the advantages of his early ban on China, stressing the greatness of America’s economy before the virus, as well as highlighting America’s efforts to overcome the virus, for instance:

- *“... and tens of thousands of lives were saved by my EARLY BAN of China into our Country.” On 3/5/2020*
- *“We are getting great marks for handling of Coronavirus pandemic, especially the very early BAN of people from China” On 10/5/2020*
- *“even doing the Ban on China long before anybody thought necessary” On 27/5/2020*
- *“Working closely with China and other on Coronavirus outbreak. Only 5 people in U.S, all in good recovery” On 31/1/2020*
- *“Prior to the Plague floating in from China, our Economy was blowing everybody away, the best of any country EVER.” On 17/5/2020*
- *“Our economy was blowing everybody away, the best of any country, EVER.” On 17/5/2020*
- *“..... Our experts are extraordinary!” On 27/1/2020*
- *“They use cases to demean the incredible job done by the great men& women of the U.S. fighting the China Plague” On 11/8/2020*

Trump's tweets reflect that before COVID-19's outbreak China presented in a positive stance, while after the spread Trump's stance altered into a negative one. Figure (5.3) below shows Trump's stance toward China throughout his overwording in tweets:

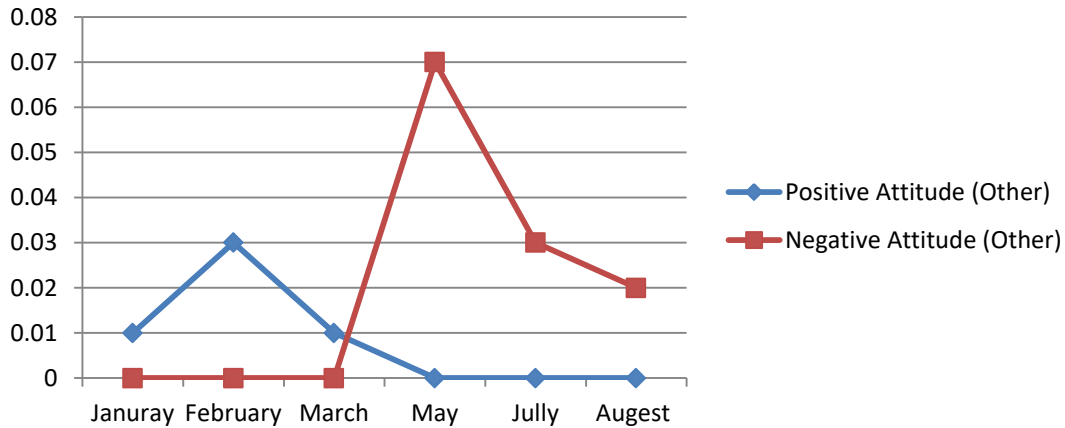


Figure (5.3): The change in Trump's Stance toward China on Twitter (Overwording)

Trump's stance toward America is constant, which denotes his positive representation of America. Through figure (4.7) below:

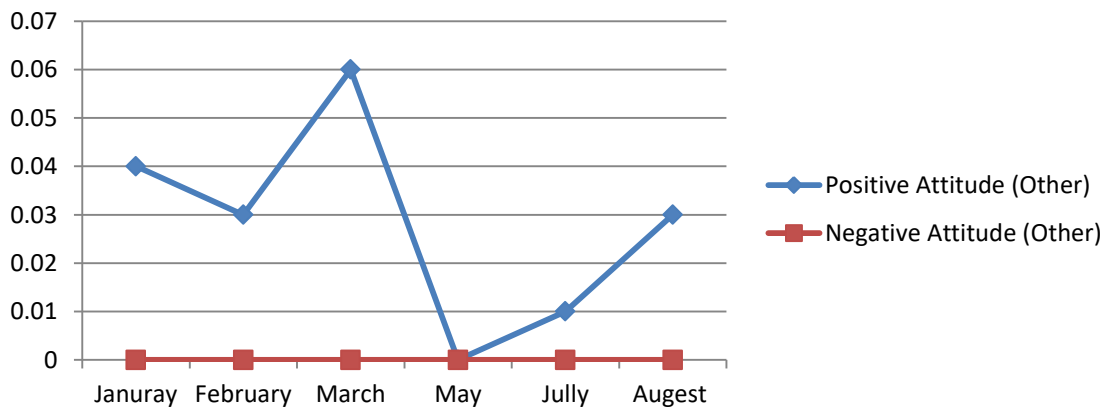


Figure (5.4): The Change in Trump's stance toward America on Twitter (Overwording)

This demonstrates van Dijk's ideological square, which shows "emphasize "our" good acts and emphasizing "their" bad actions.

It is noticeable that Trump associates positive attributes with America and negative attributes with China throughout the categorization process. Such positive characteristics are exemplified by the sacrifices made by America during the COVID-19 period:

- *"We're dealing with them. We're giving them certain advice"* (26 Feb.)
- *"We made a lot of good decisions"* (18 Apr.)
- *"We're working on it strongly"* (30 Apr.)
- *"We saved tens of thousands of lives"* (5 Jun.)
- *"We're placing massive tariffs"* (14 July)
- *"We took swift and early action to ban"* (23 June)

China is represented by negative characteristics such as being responsible for the spread of the virus, which has caused great economic damage to America and the rest of the world. Such declarations can be found in Trump's press conferences, for example:

- *"they were knowingly responsible"* (18 April)
- *"I'm not happy with China"* (11 May)
- *"the world is now suffering Of the Chinese government"* (29 May)
- *"China's cover-up of the Wuhan virus"* (29 May)
- *"The world needs answers from China"* (29 May)
- *"They didn't stop it cold from coming to the United States"* on (5 June.)

Besides the press conferences, Trump's tweets reflect the same results. Thus, there is a matching in the ideology, authority, and bad attitude against China throughout these spoken and written discourses. The representation of "other" as in:

- *"It was the 'incompetence of China', and nothing else, that did this mass worldwide killing! On 20/5/2020"*

-
- *“As I watch the Pandemic spread its ugly face all across the world, including the tremendous damage it has done to the USA, I become more and more angry at China”* On 1/7/2020
 - *“Hardworking Americans that have been hurt by the China Virus. ...”* On 14/8/2020

The good characteristics are associated with America, as in the following examples:

- *“Our experts are extraordinary”* On 27/1/2020
- *“They use cases to demean the incredible job done by the great men& women of the U.S. fighting the China Plague”* On 11/8/2020
- *“We are getting great marks for the handing of coronavirus pandemic, especially the very early BAN of people from China”* On 10/5/2020

As a result, this categorization strategy is dedicated to stressing the "other" evilness, as shown through China's responsibility for COVID-19's spread. Simultaneously, it emphasizes the "self's" nobleness, as shown by statements about America's cooperation and sacrifices concerning the COVID-19 case.

The relational value of words in this study is exemplified by dysphemism in Trump's political discourse. Throughout the analysis of Trump's discourse, Trump tends to use dysphemistic expressions, rather than euphemistic expressions. Euphemistic expressions were restricted in limited periods, throughout the first appearance of COVID-19, since the virus did not yet attack America. During the 26th of February and the 21st of March, Trump uses euphemistic statements to express his positive attitude toward China. Trump's positive attitude toward China's government is exemplified by frequent referring to China's hard-working concerning COVID-19, for instance:

- *“I spoke with President Xi. We had a great talk. He's working very hard...”* On 26 February

-
- *“He is working so hard”* On 26 February
 - *“China has worked very hard”* On 21 March

Furthermore, euphemisms in Trump's discourse were used to cover up the ugly and devastating truth of the virus and also to emphasize the notion that America is the most cooperative country even with its competitors *“We're working with China”*, *“We're dealing with them. We're giving them certain advice”* On 26 February.

The results show that dysphemism is the most prominent linguistic element throughout Trump's political press conferences. Politicians tend to utilize Dysphemistic statements for argumentative affairs and criticize other governments indirectly. Trump used to criticize and blame China claiming that it spread COVID-19 intentionally across America and the world. Such Dysphemistic expressions embodied such declarations:

- *“China's cover-up of the Wuhan virus allowed the disease to spread all over the world”* (29 May)
- *“I could give you 19 or 20 names for that, right? It's got all different names. “Wuhan.” “Wuhan” was catching on. “COVID-19,” right?”* (23 June)
- *“Kung flu,” yeah. (Applause.) Kung flu. “COVID.” “COVID-19.” “COVID.” I said, “What's the ‘19’?” “COVID-19.” Some people can't explain what the 19 — give me the — “COVID-19.” I said, “That's an odd name.” I could give you many, many names; some people call it the “Chinese flu,” the “China flu.” Right?”* (23 June)
- *“It was almost exclusively made in foreign lands, in particular, China where, ironically, this virus and others came from...”* (4 July)
- *“it's the China virus, not the coronavirus ...”* (22 September in Pittsburgh)
- *“Corona. No, it's a China virus”* (22 September in Pittsburgh)
- *“We have waged a fierce battle against the invisible enemy — the China virus”* (22 September in the White House).

The expressive value of words in this thesis revolved around the analysis of pronominal and predicative adjectives. The data analysis revealed that before the spreading of COVID-19, Trump used to describe China via positive adjectives,

while the period after that, China is described by Trump via negative adjectives. Trump's tweets revealed that the era before the spreading of COVID-19 was associated with predicative adjectives, whereas the period after the spreading is focused on prenominal adjectives. The Self's description, throughout Trump's press conferences, is characterized via the existence of both predicative and prenominal adjectives. Besides, Trump's tweets are also contained both predicative and prenominal adjectives. Positive adjectives are used to represent America (the Self) throughout Trump's discourse. Figure (5.5) below reflects Trump's changed stance by using negative adjectives, throughout his press conferences:

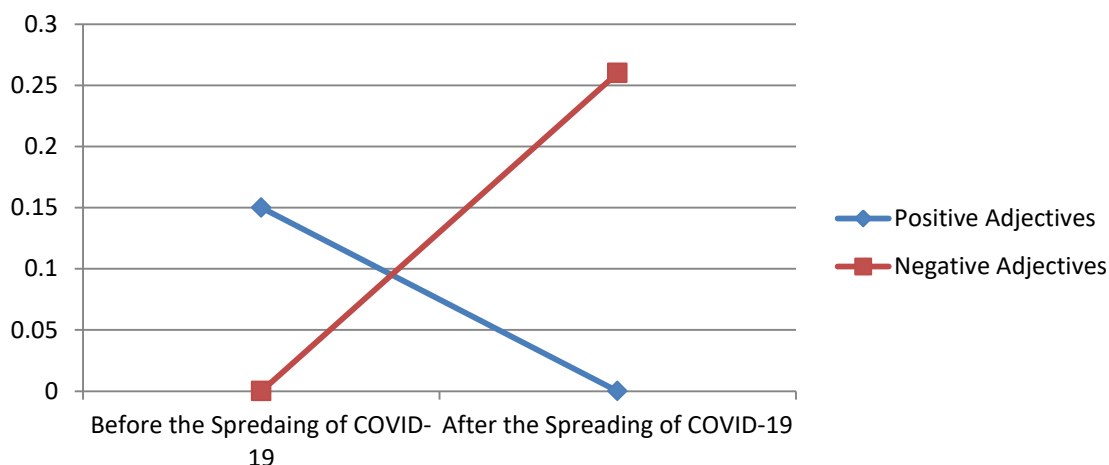


Figure (5.5): The Change in Trump's Attitudes toward China throughout Press Conferences (Predicative and Prenominal Adjectives)

Throughout tweets analysis, the Other's representation is revealed that before the spread of COVID-19, predicative adjectives are prominent. Conversely, after the spread of COVID-19 prenominal adjectives are prominent. In contrast, the Self's representation noticed the presence of both predicative and Prenominal Adjectives and prenominal adjectives, and the prenominal adjectives are prominence. Besides, positive adjectives are associated with China, before the spreading of COVID-19, like (Sharp, Powerful, Successful... etc.). During, the period after the spreading of COVID-19, negative adjectives are associated with

China, like (Bad, Infectious, Inaccurate, Infected.. etc.). Self's representation focused only on positive adjectives, such as: (Patriotic, fast, Extraordinary, Great, Good, Innocent, etc.). Figure (5.6) below reflects the change of trump's stance toward China from a positive into a highly negative one:

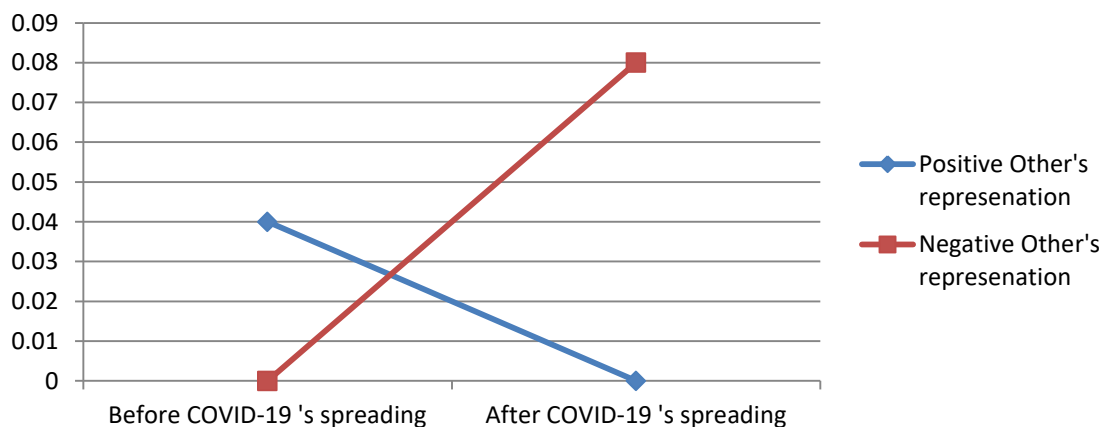


Figure (5.6): The change in Trump's Stance toward China in Twitter (Predicative and Prenominal Adjectives)

Prenominal adjectives are used vividly to convey an entity's individuality, whereas predicative adjectives are used to represent an entity's overarching character, thus foregrounding the attribute. Moreover, positive adjectives such as (Smart, Powerful, Talented, Significant, Strong... etc.) are used to describe the Self (America), whereas negative adjectives such as (Infected, Responsible, Secretive, Condemned, Bad ... etc.) are utilized to describe the Other (China). Positive adjectives that are associated with America reflect Trump's stance of holding China the whole responsibility of COVID-19. In contrast, the Self is described as a savior of the world, used to hold virtuous strategies to overcome the disaster of COVID-19. Thus,

Thus, Trump uses certain linguistic choices through his discourse to represent China, such as those presented with various adjectival patterns, like “out of control” or nouns, such as “Kung Flu”. The lexical items are a crucial ideological

technique used in Trump's political discourse to construct the Self (represented by America), and the Other (represented by China). The lexical items indicate that Trump considers China as an enemy for Europe, accusing it of the creation and damage that occurred throughout the COVID-19 outbreak.

5.3 The Answer of the 3rd Research Question

The discursive expression of van Dijk is an essential criterion in revealing Trump's ideological strategies which are embodied to construct the dichotomy of "self" & "other". This study is based on examining the strategies of descriptions, expression, attribution, and using history. Description's strategy is involved in Trump's discourse. The Self's description is centered around utterances that are involved throughout Trump's political discourse via describing America as a great, a powerful, and a strong nation, for instance: "*so powerful*" (5 Jun), "*we've done great*" (11 May), "*we've done a good job*" (8 April), "*very good, very powerful*" (30 April), "*very powerful*" (30 April), "*strongest economy*" (April 30), "*insurmountable lead*" (21 Sep.), "*a very hard decision*" (5 Jun), "*empty cupboards*" (5 Jun), "*tremendous power platform*" (5 Jun), "*tremendous progress*" (5 Jun), "*beautiful thing*" (5 June), "*best economy*" (11 May), "*very strict travel*" (14 July), "*greatest economy we ever had, the greatest job numbers*" (23 June), "*good decisions*" (18 April). Such descriptions associated with the Self indicate the positive actions and characteristics of America. The Other is described as a responsible and secretive nation, that spread COVID-19 intentionally across America and the rest of the world, such expressions include: "*Knowingly responsible*" (18 April), "*fully accountable*" (4 July), "*very secretive*" (21 March), "*condemned*" (22 Sept), "*very bad gift*" (5 Jun), "*bad trouble*" (5 June), "*oppressive actions*" (14 July). Throughout Twitter, the Other was described

positively before COVID-19 spreading, as in (successful, strong, powerful... etc.), while In a negative manner after COVID-19 spreading, as in: (ugly, infectious, major China Virus, inaccurate... etc.). On the other side, America is described by Trump, throughout Twitter, positively indicating the good strategies and actions which are made to overcome the virus, as in: (great, good, innocent, improving, patriotic, extraordinary... etc.). Thus, America is aligned with saving people's lives, while China with destroying the world via spreading COVID-19 intentionally.

Trump utilized an attributive strategy to emphasize the violence that was committed by China government. China is portrayed as a malignant and wicked country, which created COVID-19 to destroy America's economy. Furthermore, China was accused by Trump of creating and spreading COVID-19 intentionally across the world. In opposition, the Self is portrayed to be a brave and sacrifice entity that tries to save its country and the rest of the world from the COVID-19 disaster.

The discursive strategy, throughout Trump's political discourse, is portrayed via Other's negative description (throughout the COVID-19 period), which is illustrated by predicative and prenominal adjectives in Trump's press conferences and tweets. Before COVID-19's outbreak, Trump's discursive strategies focused on positive adjectives which highlight the good work of China to overcome COVID-19. Thus, the predicative adjectives that were associated with China before COVID-19 spread are: (Reliable, smart, significant, hard... etc.), and prenominal adjectives are (significant, talented, and great). After COVID-19, Trump's attitude toward China altered into a negative one. Thus, predicative adjectives which are associated with China include: (infected, accountable, bad, secretive, condemned, stupid), besides, prenominal adjectives restricted into (infected and bad). The Self is described positive manner. Adjectives such as

(tough, smart, good, disturbed, hard, incredible, positive, powerful) are employed as predicative adjectives, whereas (significant, talented, talented, good, tremendous, incredible, insurmountable, bold, scientific... etc.) are embodied the prenominal adjectives. Thus, throughout Trump's press conferences the other represented as a hard-working entity before COVID-19 increased, while after the spreading of COVID-19, Trump is dedicated for holding China the whole responsibility. The Self is described as the most powerful and hardworking entity that tries to overcome COVID-19. Trump's tweets were restricted into predicative adjectives, before COVID-19 spreading which involved a positive manner, like: (strong, sharp, powerfully, successful), while after COVID-19's spreading period involved prenominal adjectives like (Big, great, ugly, infectious, inaccurate... etc.). Trump used to refer to America positively involved both predicative and prenominal adjectives, for instance: (incredible, hard, innocent, great, and improving) as prenominal adjectives, while (patriotic, fast, and extraordinary) as predicative adjectives.

The strategy of using history is elected in Trump's press conferences by referring repeatedly to the greatness of America's economy, and how it is affected by COVID-19 which came from China, as Trump claims. throughout Trump's press conferences, he states that "*We had the greatest economy in the history of the world Better than China, better than any country in the world, better than any country's ever had*" (18 April 2020), "*We had the highest stock market in history by far, and I'm honored by the fact that it has started to go up very substantially*" (18 April 2020), "*we had the best economy in the history of the world, not just here, but anywhere in the world, you can talk China, you can talk any other country, we had the best economy anywhere in the world*" (11 May 2020). Such declarations illustrate Trump's view of America as the world's most powerful country, and with China as its main opponent. As a result, reminding the American

people and the audience of the greatness of America's economy across the past, and highlighting China's role in powering America's economy, by creating COVID-19 in Wuhan's labs (as Trump's claims). Throughout Twitter, Trump mentions the state of the past through H1N1 Swine Flu, to compare his presidency's period and Obama's presidency period "Compare that to the Obama/Sleepy Joe disaster Known as the H1N1 Swine flu. Poor marks, bad pools-didn't have a clue!" Such declarations highlight his good strategies that lead America to control COVID-19.

Thus, the discursive strategies: descriptions, expressions, attribution, and using history are employed in Trump's political discourses to emphasize the good characteristics of America "the Self" and bad characteristics of China "the Other". Trump's ideology towards China presents itself in his discourses about COVID-19 through the selected data as China shows patterns of misconduct against America.

5.4 The Answer of the 4th Research Question

Trump's discourse reveals a clear variation in his stance toward China. The data analysis shows that Trump, throughout the first appearance of COVID-19, has a positive stance toward China, while this stance is altered into a negative one when the virus attacked America. Trump's positive posture toward China reveals throughout February. The positive stance is embodied in highlighting the strategies of the Chinese government concerning COVID-19. The positive stance toward President Xi "*I spoke with President Xi. We had a great talk. He's working very hard*", "*And he is working so hard on this problem*", "*He wants it to go away from China and go away fast, and he wants to get back to business as usual*", "*President Xi is working really hard. He wants this problem solved*" (26 February 2020), and toward China in general "*And it's significant; It's a significant group of*

very talented people that are working”, “And they're very tough and very smart”, “And they're very tough and very smart”, “China has worked very hard. China has lost thousands and thousands of people” (26 February 2020). Such a positive stance indicates that America’s government is the most cooperative country in the world; even with its competitors “We’re dealing with them. We’re giving them certain advice”, “We’re working with China” (26 February 2020). Before the spreading of COVID-19 throughout America and the rest of the world, Trump used to refer to the virus sometimes as a (Coronavirus) “We have, through some very good early decisions - decisions that were actually ridiculed at the beginning - we closed up our borders to flights coming in from certain areas, areas that were hit by the coronavirus and hit pretty hard” (26 February 2020), other times he refers to COVID-19 as a problem “And he is working so hard on this problem”, “President Xi is working really hard. He wants this problem solved”

Trump’s positive stance is altered into a negative one when COVID-19 started to attack Europe, especially America. *“Our relationship with China was good until they did this” (18 April 2020), “The world is now suffering as a result of the malfeasance of the Chinese government”, “China’s cover-up of the Wuhan virus allowed the disease to spread all over the world”, “The world needs answers from China on the virus” (29, May 2020), “A gift from China. Not good. They should have stopped it” (5 June 2020), “China must be held fully accountable. With respect to remedies”(4 July 2020), “They let the plague out, they shouldn’t have done it...” (22 September 2020/ In Pittsburgh). Even, he started to claim that COVID-19 was made in Wuhan labs, and china spread it intentionally to attack America’s economy “They either didn’t do it and they couldn’t do it from a competitive standpoint or they let it spread” (30 April -2020), “They should’ve stopped it at the source...” (5 June 2020), “it’s a gift from China and a very bad gift”, “It was almost exclusively made in foreign lands, in particular, China where,*

ironically, this virus and others came from...” (4 July 2020). Besides, he declares that China’s government is prevented non-Chinese citizens from coming into its countries, while does not prevent Chinese’s people from going into America, so the virus spread across America and caused great damage “... *they stopped all the planes and all of the traffic from going into China, but they didn’t stop the planes and the traffic from coming into the United States and from coming into all over Europe?*” (30 April 2020), “*In the earliest days of the virus, China locked down travel domestically while allowing flights to leave China and infect the world*” (22 September 2020/ the White House).

In addition, he accuses China of ignoring the WHO’s reports about COVID-19 “*Chinese officials ignored their reporting obligations to the World Health Organization and pressured the World Health Organization to mislead the world when the virus was first discovered by Chinese authorities*” (29 May 2020), or it many got out of control and spread throughout the world “*Was it a mistake that got out of control or was it done deliberately?*” (18 April 2020), “*They either didn’t do it and they couldn’t do it from a competitive standpoint or they let it spread*” (30 April 2020), “*It was almost exclusively made in foreign lands, in particular, China where, ironically, this virus and others came from...*” (4 July 2020). Furthermore, Trump used to accuse China of its secrecy about the information and the real numbers of COVID-19 s’ patients “*China’s secrecy, deceptions, and cover-up allowed it to spread all over the world...*” (4 July 2020), “*China was very secretive. Okay? Very, very secretive*” (21 March 2020). After the spreading of COVID-19, Trump is started to associate China with the virus’s name “*it’s the China virus. They don’t want to say It.*”, “*it’s the China virus, not the coronavirus ...*”, “*Corona. No, it’s a China virus*” (22 September 2020/ In Pittsburgh), or naming it as (Kung flu) “*Kung flu, yeah. (Applause.) Kung flu. “COVID.” “COVID-19.” “COVID.” I said, “What’s the ‘19’?” “COVID-19.” Some*

people can't explain what the 19 — give me the — “COVID-19.” I said, “That’s an odd name.” I could give you many, many names; some people call it the “Chinese flu,” the “China flu.” Right?” (23 June). Figure (5.7) below shows the change in Trump’s stance toward China, by utilizing transitivity processes, from a positive into a highly negative one, throughout his press conferences

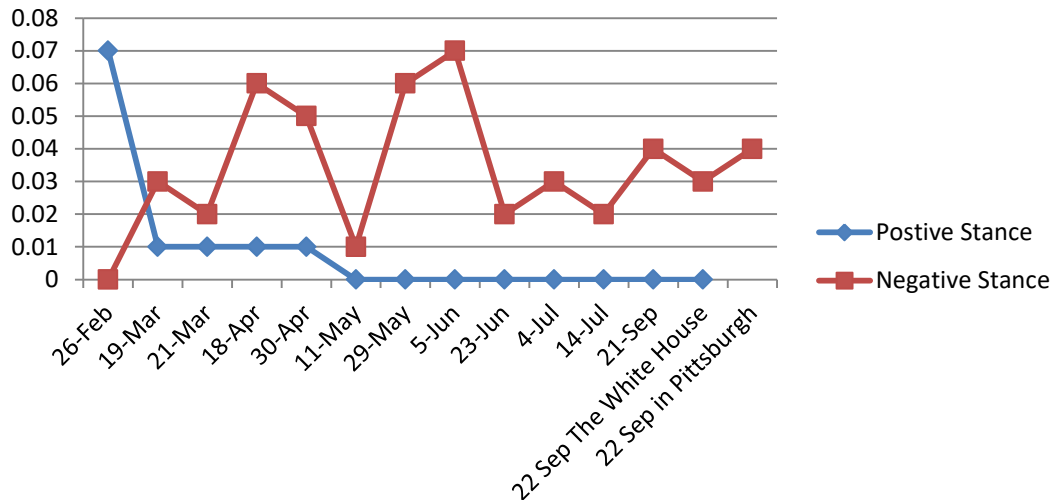


Figure (5.7): The Change in Trump’s Attitude toward China in Conferences (Transitivity)

Trump’s tweets, almost reveal the same results. At the earliest appearance of COVID-19, Trump is started to associate China and president Xi with a good portray “China has been working very hard to contain the Coronavirus” (25/1/2020), “President Xi strongly leads what will be a very successful operation”, “Great Discipline is taking place in China, as President Xi strongly leads what will be a very successful operation”, “He is strong, sharp and powerfully focused on leading the counterattack on the Coronavirus” (7/2/2020).

As soon as, the virus attacks America, Trump’s positive representation transformed into a negative one “What Chins have done to our Country, and the World” (12/5/2020), “It was the ‘incompetence of China’, and nothing else, that

did this” (20/5/2020), “*They could have easily stopped the plague, but they didn’t*” (21/5/2020), “*As I watch the Pandemic spread its ugly face across the world....., I become more and more angry at China*” (1/7/2020). Moreover, he started to blame the Chinese’s government for controlling the press and preventing them from covering the state of COVID-19 state in China “*They were recently thrown out of China like dogs, and obviously want back in...*” (12/4/2020), “*They use US airways to help china. The Enemy of the people!*”, “*They are Chinese Puppets who want to do business there*” (1/5/2020). Furthermore, he was criticizing the Democrats being standing beside China concerning COVID-19 “*They don’t want to blame their cash cow, China, for the plague*” (2/5/2020). Repeatedly, Trump is started to declare that China is responsible for spreading COVID-19 “*Some wacko in China just released a statement blaming everybody other than China for the Virus which has now killed hundreds of thousands of people*”, “*It was the ‘incompetence of China’, and nothing else, that did this mass Worldwide killing!* (20/5/2020), “*They could have easily stopped the plague, but they didn’t*” (21/5/2020), “*All over the World the Coronavirus, a very bad “gift” from China, marches on. Not good!* (28/5/2020), “*China has caused great damage to the United States and the rest of the World!*” (6/7/2020).

During the first appearance of COVID-19, Trump used to name the virus by Coronavirus “*China has been working very hard to contain the Coronavirus....*” (25/1/2020), other times using ‘the virus’ “*China ... has developed a strong understanding of the Virus...*”(27/3/2020), whereas, after COVID-19 attacked America, Trump was using sometimes ‘coronavirus’ “*All over the World the Coronavirus, a very bad “gift” from China, marches on. Not good!*” (28/5/2020), and other times attaching China with the virus name “*You will never hear this on the fake News concerning the China Virus,*” (21/7/ 2020), “*Major China Virus flares ups in many of the countries that the Fake News was toughing as doing so*

well...”(30/7/2020), “Big China Virus Breakouts all over the World...” (2/8/2020), “Hardworking Americans that have been hurt by the China Virus” (14/8/2020). Figure (5.8) below reflects the alteration in Trump stance toward China, by using transitivity, throughout his tweets:

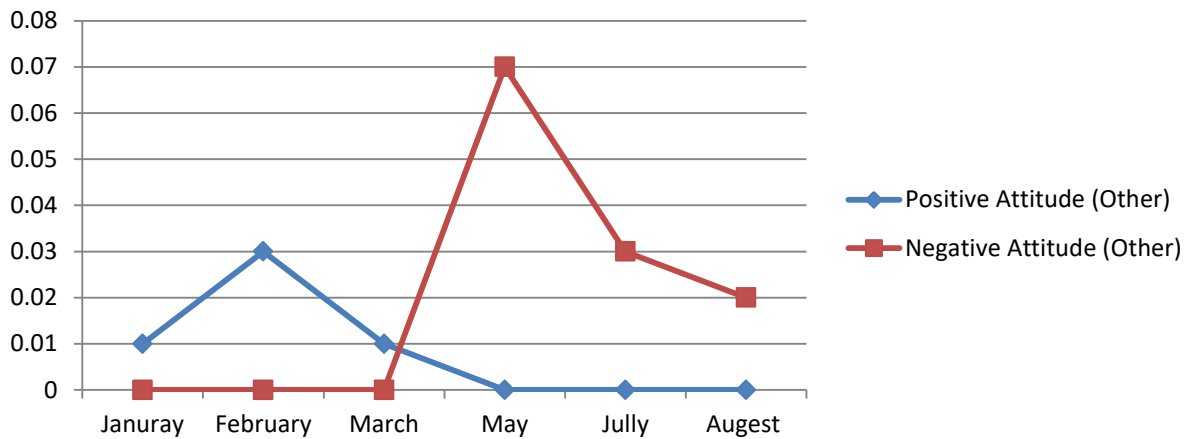


Figure (5.8): The Change in Trump’s Stance toward China on Twitter (Transitivity)

Thus, there is a clear negative change in Trump's stance toward China, when COVID-19 attacked America. Before the spread, he presented China as a country that works hard to overcome COVID-19. After the spread of COVID-19, he began to hold China the whole responsibility for the COVID-19 pandemic, even started to attach China with COVID-19 names. The language and statements for accusing China are harsher throughout Trump’s press conference more than his tweets.

5.5 Recommendations

It is recommended that researchers of English Critical Discourse pay more attention to the linguistic features in texts and their role in the transmission of the required message throughout the political discourses.

Political discourse analysts need to have a very clear idea about linguistic features, whether in spoken or written discourses, to provide accurate analyses and criticism, and to reveal the hidden ideology.

It is also recommended that people from all walks of life should never be rendered as passive consumers of political discourse, which is now ubiquitous in today's context. Therefore, critical literacy, which is a "reading and writing pedagogy that examines an omnipresent, unstated social agenda of powers" (Lesely, 2004,p.6), should be integrated fully to be part and parcel of the literacy pedagogy in Iraq. This, in turn, would formulate an individual that is critically aware and able to distinguish the entrenched ideology in discourse.

5.6 Suggestions for Further Research

Depending on the theoretical and practical sides of the current study, the following topics are suggested for future research:

2- Democratic Party's Portrayal in Trump's Press Conferences Concerning COVID-19: A Critical Discourse Analysis Study.

3- A Critical Comparative Discourse Analysis between America and China Press Concerning COVID-19.

4- Critical Discourse Analysis of Trump's Conferences Concerning Creating Vaccinations for COVID 19.

5- COVID-19 Coverage News in America press and China Press: A Critical Comparative Analysis

6- Trump Biases toward Europe Reporters, Rather than Asian reporters through his Press Conferences Concerning COVID-19.

7- A Critical Discourse Analysis Study of Vladimir Putin's Discourse Concerning COVID-19.

8- A Critical Discourse Analysis of World Health Organization Declarations Concerning COVID-19.

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Appendix A

The Press Conferencesses

Apendix B

The Tweets

المستخلص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التحقيق في تصوير الصين من خلال الخطابات السياسية للرئيس دونالد ترامب فيما يتعلق بـ كوفيد-19. على الرغم من أن العديد من الدراسات ركزت على شخصية دونالد ترامب مثل سمير ناصر عليمات (2020)، بستان والأكرش (2020)، ولي تشو ووي وانج (2020) إلا إن هذه الدراسات تتميز ببياناتها المحدودة. إلى جانب ذلك، هنالك العديد من الباحثين الذين تناولوا موضوع فيروس كوفيد-19، لكن لم تؤخذ من وجهة نظر الرئيس الأمريكي دونالد ترامب. بالإضافة إلى أن أي من الدراسات السابقة لم تأخذ بعين الاعتبار الصراع بين أمريكا والصين. كذلك معظم الدراسات السابقة ركزت على نوع واحد من الخطاب، سواء كان كتابي أو منطوق. لذلك تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التحقيق في تصوير الصين في خطابات ترامب المكتوبة والمنطوقة.

تتنوع هذه الدراسة في بياناتها بين المؤتمرات الصحفية والتغريدات الخاصة بالرئيس الأمريكي دونالد ترامب. حيث انها تهدف إلى الكشف الأيديولوجية الخفية وراء خطابات وتغريدات دونالد ترامب تجاه الصين فيما يتعلق بـ كوفيد-19. وقد تم استخدام ثلاثة مناهج خلال هذه الدراسة: منهج هاليداي، ومقاربات فيركلاف ثلاثية الأبعاد، ورباعية فان ديك الأيديولوجية. يستخدم نهج مايكل هالدي الانتقالي لتحليل الهياكل النحوية لخطابات ترامب السياسية. يركز على التحقيق في ثلاث عمليات: العمليات المادية والعقلية والعلائقية. يستخدم نهج فيركلاف ثلاثي الأبعاد لتحليل الهياكل الدلالية والتحقيق في المصطلحات المعجمية التي يستخدمها دونالد ترامب للإشارة إلى الصين. يعتمد إطار عمل فيركلاف على ثلاث مصطلحات مختلفة: القيمة التجريبية والعلائقية والتعبيرية للكلمات. أخيرًا، يتم استخدام رباعية فان ديك الأيديولوجية للكشف عن الأيديولوجية الخفية.

أظهرت النتائج أنه قبل انتشار كوفيد-19، صُوِّرت الصين بخصائص وأفعال إيجابية، بينما بعد انتشار كوفيد-19، صُوِّرت الصين بخصائص سلبية. هناك تغييرًا واضحًا في موقف ترامب تجاه الصين بعد انتشار COVID-19، بدأ في إلقاء اللوم على الصين لنشر الفيروس عن قصد؛ حتى أنه بدأ يدعي أن الفيروس تم إنشاؤه في مختبرات ووهان. بعض المصطلحات كـ "فايروس الصين، فايروس ووهان، فايروس هونك كونك، زكام هونك كونك... الخ" وجدت بشكل مفرط في خطابات ترامب والتي تهدف إلى تحميل الصين المسؤولية الكاملة عن انتشار COVID-19.



جمهورية العراق
وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي
جامعة كربلاء
كلية التربية للعلوم الانسانية
قسم اللغة الإنجليزية

تمثيل الصين في خطابات ترامب حول كوفيد-19:

تحليل الخطاب النقدي

رسالة تقدمت بها الطالبة:

زينب عبد الرزاق محمد العصفور

الى مجلس كلية التربية للعلوم الانسانية – جامعة كربلاء جزأ من متطلبات نيل شهادة الماجستير في
اللغة الانكليزية و علم اللغة

بإشراف:

أ.م.د. ريث زهير عبد الامير

تشرين الاول
م 2021

ربيع الاول
هـ 1443