Discursive Construction of National Identity in Selected Presidential Speeches of Donald Trump and Barham Salih

البنـــاء الخطابي للهوية الوطنية في خطابات رئاســـية مختارة لدونالد ترامب وبرهم صالح

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المستخلص

تهدف هذه الورقة إلى التحقيق في البناء الخطابي للهوية الوطنية في خطابات مختارة للرئيس الأمريكي دونالد ترامب والرئيس العراقي برهم صالح، وتعتمد الدراسة على المنهج التاريخي للخطاب لـ(ووداك) وآخرون. (٢٠٠٩) والذي يعد من المناهج الأكثر تأثيراً في تحليل الخطاب النقدي، وتكونت بيانات التحليل من خطابين لكل رئيس. وأجرت الدراسة تحليلاً كماً ونوعاً لمقتطفات مختارة لبيان اهم الاستراتيجيات الكلية والجزئية، والثيمات الأساسية ووسائل تحقيقها. أظهرت النتائج اعتماد كلا الرئيسين وبشكل كبير على استخدام استراتيجيات بناءة لبناء هوياتهما الوطنية. أما بالنسبة للاستراتيجيات الصغيرة، وجد أن ترامب يبني هويته الوطنية عن طريق استخدام استراتيجيات الاستيعاب والشمول وبالمقارنة تبين أن صالح اعتمد استخدام استراتيجية التوحيد، ومن ناحية أخرى، استخدم الرئيسان ثيمات التشابه المدعوم بالمرجع الشخصي والإله ‹نحن› كوسيلة للإدراك.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي، الهوية الوطنية، استراتيجية، ثيمات أساسية، وسائل الادراك.

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Abstract

This paper aims at investigating the discursive construction of national identity in selected speeches of the US president Donald Trump and the Iraqi president Barham Salih. The study adopts Wodak et al. (2009) of Discourse Historical Approach which is one of the most influential approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis. The data of analysis consists of two speeches for each president. The study relies on mixed method approach of analysis. Selected excerpts have been chosen to be analyzed via macro and micro strategies, topoi and means of realisation. The findings of the study show that both presidents rely heavily on using constructive strategies to construct their national identities. For the micro strategies, it is found that trump constructs his national identity via using strategies of assimilation and inclusion. In comparison, Salih relies on using strategy of unification. On the other hand, the two presidents use topoi of similarity supported by personal reference and the deictic 'we' as means of realisation.

Key words: CDA, national identity, strategy, topoi, means of realisation.

Introduction

National identity is one the most complicated and multi-dimensional concepts. Eventually, each scholar chooses certain perspectives when defining and explaining this controversial concept. De Fina et al. argues that the study of national identity is "crucially, about conveying to one another what kind of people we are; which geographical, ethnic, social communities, we belong to; where we stand in relation to ethical and moral questions; or where our loyalties are in political terms" (2006, p. 263).

Moreover, De Cillia et al. (1999) argue that national identity is "a complex of common ideas, concepts or perception schemes of related emotional attitudes intersubjectively shared with a specific group of persons, all of which are internalized through national socialization" (p.153). Likewise, Barrett (2007) defines national identity as "a subjective sense of affiliation and per-

sonal sense of belonging to a particular nation and state, as well as a sense of how people personally are positioned and situated in relationship to the world of notions and states». (p.١٨)

National identity is characterized by individuals› sense of belonging to one nation or state; then it is «a constructed and public national self-image based on membership in a political community as well as history, myths, symbols, language, and cultural norms commonly held by members of a nation». (Hutcheson et al.,2004, p.28). Consequentially, Schlesinger (1991) asserts that national identity is a specific form of ‹collective identity› that primarily polarizes into the inclusive ‹us› and the exclusive ‹them›; thus, it helps in understanding who we are and of who other people are.

For the most part, there is a view says that «everyone has a national identity whether they like it or not» (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2009, p.2). Bechhofer and David (2008) clarify that «who we are» means who we are judged to be and under which circumstances and the type of well or bad judgements by those around us. In the same vein, national identity affects how one is considered ‹one of us› regards cultural and political engagement in the wider society.

Approaches to National Identity

The construction of national identity has traditionally gone beyond the process of nation building. However, a great emphasis is given to historical accounts of the origins of nations. As de Beus states:

> A nation can be defined as an extensive set of non-relatives who think and feel that they have important things in common and that they differ so much from other large groups, that they constitute a distinctive and self-contained society (group consciousness). Nationals share a certain way of life and attach meaning to it up to the point where it turns into a self-enforcing culture (publicity). They see this society and culture as intermingled with their conceptions of self and appreciate their bounded opportunities so strongly, that they pursue protection by political means and political recognition by other peoples (loyalty) (2001, p. 292).

Primordialism is One approach to national identity. Particularly, Primordialists argue that a prior ethnic groups, kinship ties and ancient heritage have the role of deriving nations. They claim that nation is not imagined or construed outside the prior forms of social community. Otherwise, they argue that national identity is drawn directly upon the previous forms of group identity such as myth, languages, and social practices (Bellamy, 2018). The essential claim of primordialists is that nations exist as an organic entity rather than social construct. It claims that «such one is born into the national community, much as one is born into a family» (Etherington, 2003, p.10).

Another prominent approach is Modernism (also known as constructivism) is today «clearly dominate the field» (Helbing, 2007, p.7). Mole (2007) claims that constructivism is the dominant approach to the study of nations and national identities. Constructivists argue that national identity is not fixed rather, it is continually negotiated and renegotiated. They view national identities as ‹constructs› used to obtain different economic and socio-political objectives. The core premise of this approach is that nation does not generate nationalism, instead, nationalism that ‹invents›, ‹creates› or ‹imagines› the nation (Etherington, 2003, p.12). Modernists view the nation and nationalism as «historically recent and modern occurrence». (Anbarani, 2013, p.64)

Anderson proposes that nation is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

> It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. (Anderson 2006: 6)

Anderson claims that nations are imaginary entities in the mind of their members who will feel the communion of belonging to a group although they never know their fellow of nationals.

As a result of ongoing investigation into the origins of nations, a new approach emerges to reject previous approaches like primordialist and modernist. One of these approaches is Ethno-Symbolism. Despite the fact of rejection, ethno-symbolism incorporates elements of both approaches

(Anbarani, 2013).   Antony Smith, the founder of this approach argues that ethnic core is the resource of national identity, thus, shared historical memory is the most important components that reflect the sense of continuity and common destiny (Bellamy,2018) .The continuity of national identity depends on complex elements such as myths, symbols, memories, traditions and values (Leoussi and Grosby, 2007). Smith (1996) points out that ethnic ties are part of an imagined community relying not only on physical features like blood ties but also on historic, sense of common past, and shared memories.

Karner (2011) claims that the essential assumption of the ethno-symbolism is that nations have ethnic roots and the modern nationalism is antedated by the national sentiment. According to ethno-symbolists, the basis of today›s nations is built and formed by the pre-modern ethnic communities. Thus, they consider these communities fundamentally similar but they are different in development level. (Aeslaner, 2022)

Iraqi and American National Identity

Iraq is characterized by number of various ethnic, cultural, and religious forces. Arabs are the largest ethnic groups that live alongside with other ethnicities like Kurds, Shabakis, Mandean, Assyrian and Turkmen. In addition to the ethnic diversity, Iraq has religious division where the major religion is Islam and minorities of Christians, Yezidis and Sabian Mandeans (Kirmanj, 2013). The dominant situation in the last fifty years of Iraq's history was violence and blood. Iraq witnesses many struggles such as violent struggle for power, coups, ethnic and religious oppression, unjustified wars and UN sanction. All these prolonged struggles primarily occur during the rule of the Baath Party and Saddam Hussein. (Masmoudi, 2015)

The construction of social identification is changed by the US invasion of 2003, thus the Sunni hegemony is shifted into Shia›as taking the power (Tripl,2007). After removal of Saddam Hussein from power in 2003 by the American invasion, Iraq starts through new period of its political history. The Iraq Governing Council (IGC) was the first political formation established and supported by the United States-led Coalition Provisional Authority(CPA).

The members of (IGC) belong to different regions, ethnicities, and sects. One year later, the Americans transformed the authority to Iraqi politicians who were responsible for forming their new government. (Sharhan, 2022, p.75). The supreme governmental office is occupied according to consociational system where the presidency allocated to a Kurdish person, the premiership to a Shiite person, and the Speakership to Sunni person (Al-Tahmazi, 2016, p.13).

Scholars who investigate national identities argue that language, religion, and ethnic heritage shape the national identity. In the case of American identity, it is described as *ideological* in nature (Reingold & Green 1990). Gunnar Myrdal (1962, p.3 cited in Bendall, 2012) points out that "Americans of all national origins, classes, regions, creeds, and colors, have something in common: a social ethos, a political creed". The ideals of liberty, justice, equality, and fair treatment are all involved in the American creed which puts its roots in philosophy of enlightenment and Christianity.

Fukuyama (2020) states that American national identity is "critical to maintaining a successful modern political order". He claims that it supports the legitimacy of liberal democracy, security, strength and effective civil. The most significant impact on American national identity is determined by the the words of ruling president. This impact appears clearly in the time of war. In the last few decades Americans have cut into clear understanding of their international identity (Yang,2020).

In his investigation of the formation of American national identity at the early twentieth century, Ricento (2003) explores that the ideology of American exceptionalism is the most essential component of the collective American narrative. He adds that another significant role is for "developing the necessary language-themes, metaphors, and other rhetorical tropes- to express American identity".

There are two main perspectives to identify what it means to be American: the first one mainly related to how an American understands what it means, and second, others' understanding of what it means to be a person from the United States (Thiel, 2019). The country is known around the world

for being "a melting pot where people share a common national identity that is not based in a common ethnic heritage" (Thiel, 2019, p.6).

Methodology

Based on the fact that "there is no typical CDA way of collecting data" (Meyer,2001, p.23), the current study tends to adopt the qualitative-quantitative (mixed method) in analyzing the chosen data. Creswell (2014, p.32) defines the mixed method as "an approach to inquiry involving collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data, and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks". Creswell (2018) asserts that adopting mixing or integration of qualitative and quantitative data can provide more insight to a problem. Thus, mixing or integrating of data can offer a stronger understanding of the problem or research question.

Data Selection

Since the current study is contrastive in nature, the data collected consist of two presidential speeches, one for American president Donald Trump and another for the Iraqi president Barham Salih. Data which are designed to find answers to the research questions are taken from the American and Iraqi official websites; the speeches are selected according to their relevance to the construction of national identity. It depends on a purposive-representative sampling of the data. The selected presidential speeches are listed below.

Table 1: *The Selected Presidential Speeches*

No	Name of President	Events	Date	Source
1.	Donald Trump	74th Session of the United Nations General Assembly	25th September 2019	https://trumpwhitehouse. archives.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-74th-session-united-nations-general-assembly/
2.	Barham Salih	74th Session of the United Nations General Assembly	25th September 2019	https://presidency. iq/Archive/Details. aspx?id=10222

Model of Analysis

The present study is drawn on Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). Concerning this approach, the model adopted in this study is Wodak et al. (2009). They conduct an analysis of three levels related to contents, strategies and means of realisation. For the purpose of finding answers to the research questions, only the last two levels will be followed.

At the discursive strategies level, Wodak et al. (2009, p.33) introduce four macro strategies used to identify how national identity is constructed through discourse. First, constructive strategies (support unity, solidarity and identification that is shaped by differentiation). Second, Perpetuation strategies; (a threatened identity can be protected). Another type of strategies is included within this type which is known as 'strategies of justification'. They are used in justifying current situations through using collective past memories so that helps in establishing 'We-group' in order to defend a threatened national identity. Third, transformation strategies (work on transforming well-established identity as well as its components into another form of identity which is conceptualized by the speaker). Fourth, dismantling or destructive strategies (aim at destroying the current national identity but without providing an alternative to replace the old one). This level involves the using of topoi or argumentation schemes which basically work on connecting an argument with a conclusion. Topoi are assigned to obtain the aims of strategies.

Several micro strategies can serve these macro-strategies which are essential in uncovering the discursive construction of national identity. Depending on the current data and the text chosen, this study will not apply all the number of micro-strategies. Instead, only the most important and relevant to the purpose of the study will be chosen. Wodak et al. (2009) identify three types of reference used for analyzing any national identity; personal, spatial, and temporal.

In addition to the three types of reference, they account for the use of metaphor in shaping the discursive strategies. Metaphors plays a pivotal role in creating sameness and difference between people and things. Accordingly, three main types of tropes of metaphor are utilized., metonymy, synecdoche,

and personification. Besides, there is another linguistic means which is the use of deictic 'We». Basically, it is used to show sameness as «We-group›› and to realize the exclusion and inclusion of people. The model of analysis is elaborated in the figure below:

Figure 1: *Theoretical framework Adopted from Wodak et. al (2009)*
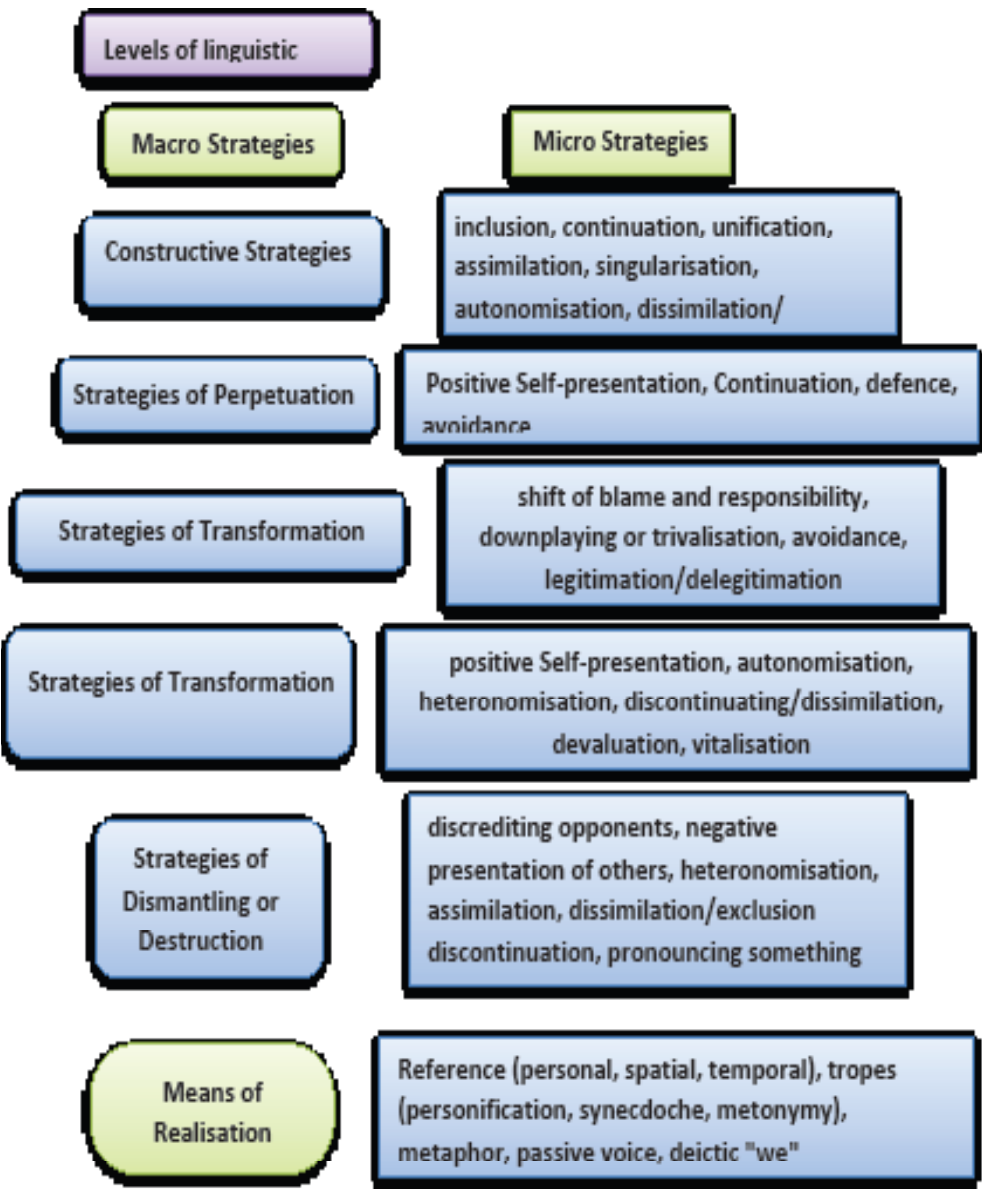
Discussion and Results

This section provides an overall statistical analysis and discussions of the selected data. The data consist of excerpts quoted from two speeches, one for the former president of the united states Donald Trump and another for the former president of Iraq Barham Salih. The criteria for choosing the speeches are their relevant to the topic of the discursive construction of national identity. Both speeches take place in one occasion which is the session of the United Nations General Assembly. The analysis concerns macro and micro strategies, topoi and the means of realisation following the model of analysis Wodak et al. (2009). The tables and figures below show the results of frequencies and percentages of each level of analysis.

Table 2: *The Frequencies and percentages of Strategies in Trump and Salih's Speeches.*

	Macro Strategies		Donald Trump		Barham Salih
		No.	*%*	*No.*	*%*
Strategies of justification		12	15.7	6	12
Micro Strategies					
Shift of Blame and Responsibility		1	1.3	2	4
Trivalisation		-	0	1	2
Avoidance		1	1.3	3	6
Legitimation/ Delegitimation		8	10.5	-	0
Macro strategies					
Constructive strategies		33	43.4	22	44
Macro Strategies					

Inclusion	*7*	*9.2*	*6*	*12*
Continuation	*2*	*2.6*	*2*	*4*
Singularisation	*6*	*7.8*	*2*	*4*
Autonomisation	2	2.6	1	2
Unification	4	5.2	8	16
Assimilation	7	9.2	1	2
Dissimilation/ Exclusion	1	1.3	1	2
Discontinuation	2	2.6	-	0
Avoidance	1	1.3	-	0
Vitalisation	1	1.3	-	0
Macro Strategies				
Strategies of perpetuation	12	15.7	7	14
Micro Strategies				
Positive Self-Presentation	3	3.9	3	6
Continuation	3	3.9	2	4
Defence	5	6.5	1	2
Avoidance	1	1.3	1	2
Macro Strategies				
Strategies of Transformation	9	11.8	12	24
Micro Strategies				
Positive Self-Presentation	2	2.6	5	10
Heteronomisation	1	1.3	1	2
Autonomisation	-	0	-	0
Discontinuating	1	1.3	2	4
Continuation	-	0	-	0
Dissimilation	1	1.3	1	2
Devaluation	1	1.3	1	2
Vitalisation	3	3.9	1	2

Macro Strategies				
Strategies of dismantling and destruction	10	13.1	3	6
Micro Strategies				
Discrediting Opponents	2	2.6	-	0
Negative Presentation of Others	3	3.9	-	0
Heteronomisation	1	1.3	-	-
Assimilation	1	1.3	2	4
Dissimilation	1	1.3	-	0
Exclusion	-	0	-	0
Discontinuation	-	0	-	0
Pronouncing Somebody «Dead»	2	2.6	-	0
‹Cassandra› strategy	-	0	1	2

Table 3: *The Representation of Topoi*

Topoi	Donald Trump		Barham Salih	
	No.	%	No.	%
Similarity	26	34.2	16	32
Comparison	5	6.5	2	4
Difference	9	11.8	3	6
Authority	8	10.5	-	0

Superiority	1	1.3	4	8
Force	4	5.2	4	8
Idyllic place	6	7.8	3	6
Threat	9	١1.8	1	2
Definition	4	5.2	4	8
Consequence	3	3.9	6	12
History as teacher	2	2.6	5	10
Disaster	1	1.3	1	2

Table 4: *The Representation of Means of Realisation*

Means of Realisation	Donald Trump		Barham Salih	
	No.	%	No.	%
Passive voice	7	9.2	1	2
Personal Reference	37	48.6	35	70
Temporal Reference	21	27.6	12	24
Spatial Reference	22	28.9	20	40
Metaphor	15	19.7	23	46
Personification	2	2.6	2	4
Deictic we	29	38.1	24	48
Metonymy	2	2.6	1	2
Synecdoche	0	0	0	0

Figure 2: The Percentages of strategies in Trump's speech
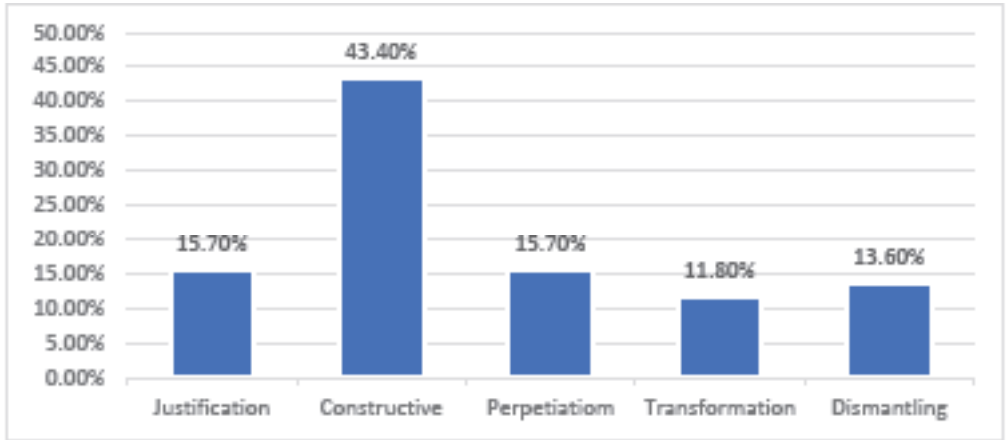
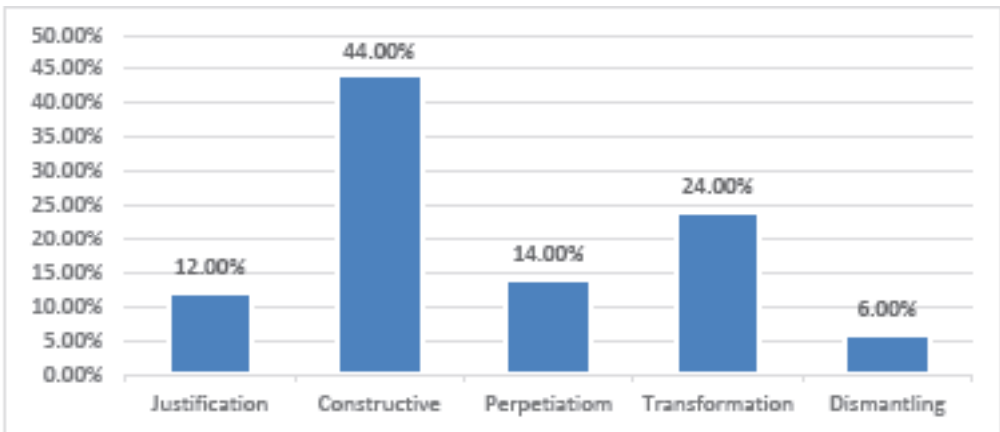**Figure 3: The Percentages of strategies in Salih's speech**

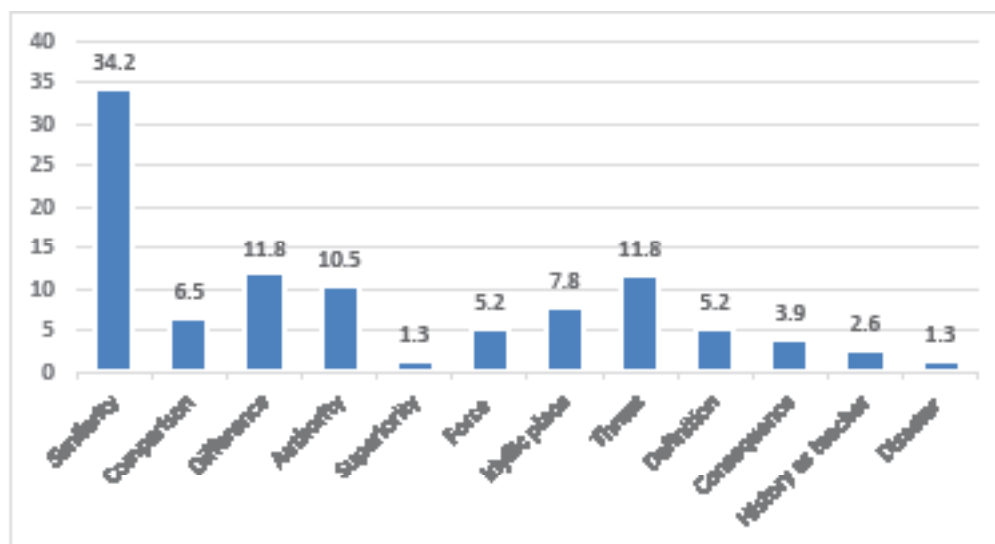**Figure 4: Frequencies of Topoi in Trump's speech**

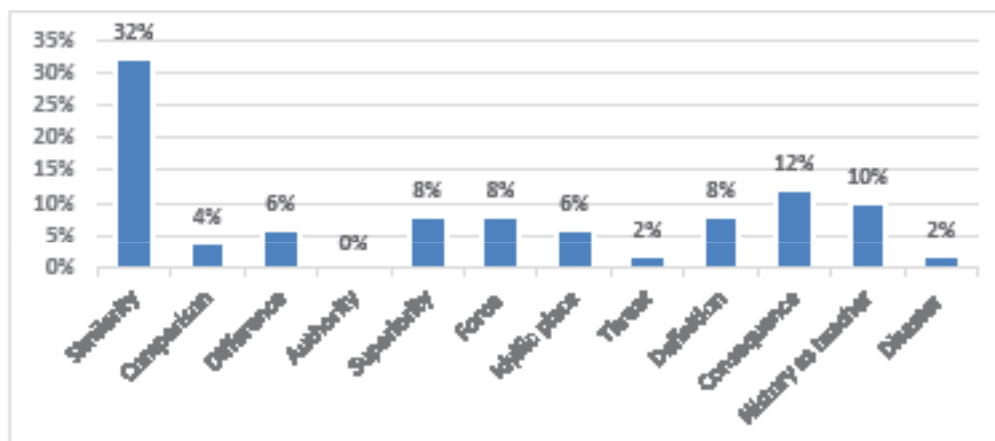**Figure 5: Percentages of Topoi in Salih's Speech**

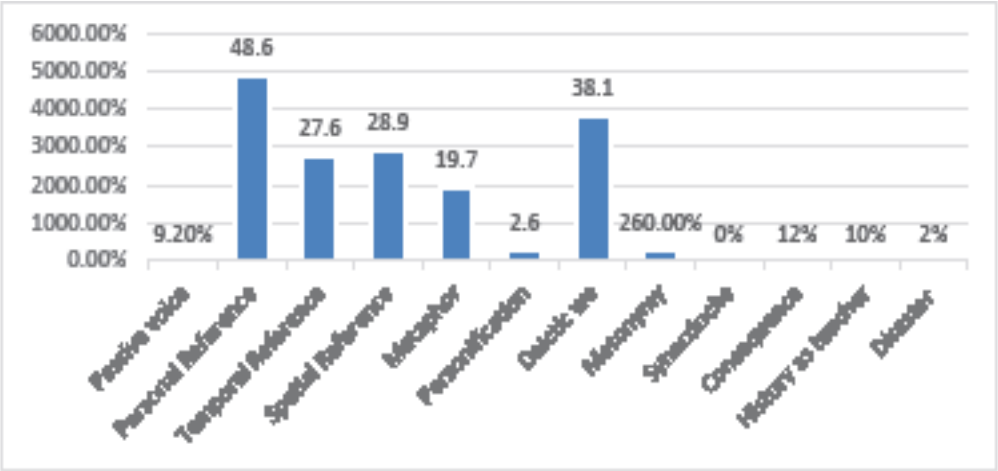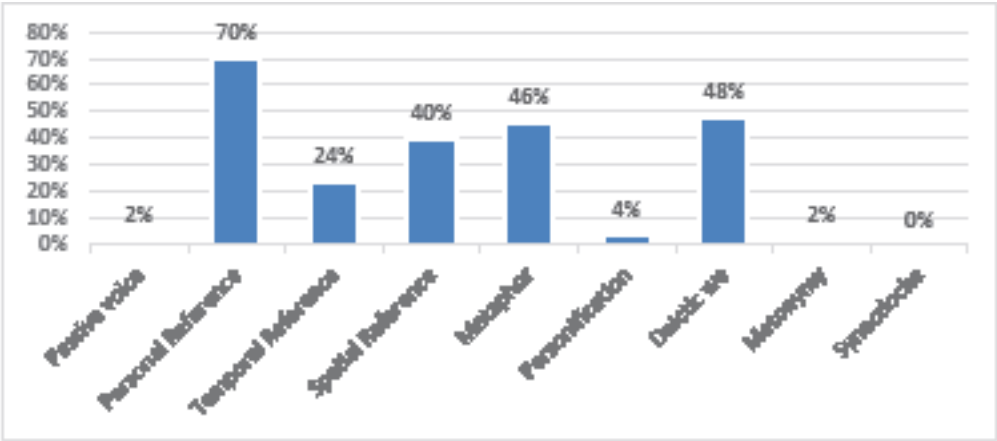**Figure 6: Means of Realisation in Trump's Speech**

Figure 7: Means of Realisation in Salih's Speech

Concerning the quantitative analysis of the strategy of justification, the results show that Trump tend to use it in his speech more than Salih in total percentage of (15.7%) while it is only (12%) in Salih's speech. The total number of excerpts analyzed concerning this strategy include (12) instances in Trump's speech while it is 6 instances in Salih's speech. The analysis of the micro strategies reveals that *Legitimation* is widely used in about (%۱۰٫٥) percentage in Trump›s speech, rather, there is no evidence to such strategy in Salih›s speech. Basically, this strategy is used when a speaker wants to show authority among Others as in the following excerpts;

Following our withdrawal, *we have implemented severe economic sanctions* on the country. Hoping to free itself from sanctions, the regime has escalated its violent and unprovoked aggression.

In this excerpt Trump addressed the leaders of the world with strong emphasis on imposing sanctions on Iran. He incited them since he has the power and authority to impose sanctions on whomever the US sees that they deserve.

Interestingly, the results also show that both strategy of shift of blame and responsibility and the strategy of avoidance scored higher percentages in Salih's speech in rate (4%) and (6%) rather, it is (1.3%) in Trump's speech.

Measures towards rebuilding the areas damaged by the war and ensuring the return of internally displaced persons (IDPs) are still at their early stages. ***There is an international role and responsibility*** in that regard, some features of which were determined during last year's Kuwait International Conference for the Reconstruction of Iraq, and we are striving to activate them with the assistance of our brothers and friends

ما زالتْ خُطواتُ إعمارِ المَناطقِ التي تَضررتْ من الحَربِ وإعادةِ النازحينَ في بِداياتِها، **وهُناكَ دورٌ ومسـؤوليةٌ دَوليةٌ** في هذا الصَددِ تَجسدتْ بعضُ مَلامِحها بِمقرراتِ مُؤتمرِ الكويتِ لِإعادةِ الإعمارِ عام 2018، والتي نَسعى الى تَفعيلِها بِمساعدةِ أشقائِنا وأصدقائِنا.

In this excerpt Salih used the strategy of shift blame and responsibility to remind the international community that it has the same responsibility towards Iraq. He emphasized on the role of Others in assisting his country to rebuild what was destroyed by the war.

Terrorism has ravaged our country, *which has gone through difficult and*

dangerous times. There were some who expected worse than that.

لقدْ استباحَ الإرهابُ بِلادِنَا، **وكَـانتْ مَرحـلةٌ عصيبةٌ وخَـطيرةٌ**، وهُناك من تَوقعَ الأسوأ.

Salih here used the strategy of avoidance to show the world how his country passed the difficult times when terrorism ravaged it.

In regard to the constructive strategy, Trump relies heavily on using the constructive strategies that comprises 33 instances out of a total of 76. This strategy scores 43.4% of total percentage. It is mostly achieved via using the micro strategy of inclusion with 9.2 percentage and the strategy of assimilation with the same percentage. The following excerpt shows that Trump used the strategy of inclusion.

For **all of the countries** of the Western Hemisphere, our goal is to help people invest in the bright futures of their own nation. **Our region** is full of such incredible promise: dreams waiting to be built and national destinies for all.

Assimilation, on the other hand is expressed in the following excerpt:

For this reason, the United States is taking steps to better screen foreign technology and investments and to protect our data and our security. **We urge every nation present to do the same**.

When it comes to Salih's speech, the results show that constructive strategy is used in 22 instances out of 50. Accordingly, the micro strategy of unification scores the highest use with 16% out of all other percentage of strategies. It is usually concerned with the using of personal reference *Our* and *Us*. Essentially, it expresses the common inter/intra features. Rather, it scores only 4% in Trump's speech. The excerpts below show the use of this strategy.

Our people and the armed forces — the army, the popular mobilization forces, the Peshmerga and others — made great sacrifices to secure freedom and resist terrorism, ***with the help and assistance of the international coalition and other friends,*** whom we thank and appreciate

ورَغم التَضحياتِ الكبيرةِ التي سَجلها شَعبنا وقُواتنا المُسلحة من الجَيشِ والحَشدِ الشَعبيّ والبيشمركَةِ وغيرها عَلى طريقِ الحُريةِ ومُقاومةِ الإرهابِ بُمساعدةِ ومُساندةِ التَحالفِ الدَوليّ والأصدقاءِ الذينَ نُقدم لَهُم شُكرنا وتَقديرَنا،

A federal, democratic and stable Iraq will present a chance ***to join together all of our brothers and neighbours in the region*** and to enhance understanding

and agreement among the countries of the region to create a regional system that is based on economic integration and common security.

العراقُ الديمقراطيُّ الاتَّحاديُّ المستقرُ سيكونَ منطلقاً للم شمل أشقائهِ وجيرانهِ وتعزيزِ تفاهمِ وتوافقِ دولِ المنطقةِ لخلقِ منظومةٍ اقليميةٍ مبنيةٍ على التكاملِ الاقتصاديّ والامنِ المشتركِ.

The following excerpts are taken from Trump's speech;

To our country, I can tell you sincerely: *We are working closely with our friends in the region* — including Mexico, Canada, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Panama — to uphold the integrity of borders and ensure safety and prosperity for our people.

So to all the leaders here today, *join us in the most fulfilling mission* a person could have, the most profound contribution anyone can make: Lift up your nations.

The second highest strategy used via constructive strategy in Trump's speech is the strategy of singularisation with 7.8%. in this respect, Trump used this strategy to refer to the unique features of the US. Surprisingly, this strategy scores 4% in Salih's speech. This can be shown in these excerpts:

In the United States, *my administration has made clear to social media companies that we will uphold the right of free speech.* A free society cannot allow social media giants to silence the voices of the people, and a free people must never, ever be enlisted in the cause of silencing, coercing, canceling, or blacklisting their own neighbors.

We are marshaling our nation's vast energy abundance, and *the United States is now the number one* producer of oil and natural gas anywhere in the world.

On the other hand, Salih used the strategy of inclusion with 12% percentage. He employs this strategy so that he shows Others that ''we are in the same boat''. This is can be seen in the following excerpts:

Attempts to target the security of the Gulf and our sister country the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia constitute a dangerous development. We in Iraq are concerned by that tension and escalation. *Our security is tied to the security of the Gulf and the region*

إِنَّ استهدافَ أَمنَ الخَليجِ، والمَملكةِ العَربيةِ السُعوديةِ الشَقيقةِ، تَطورٌ خَطيرٌ، ونَحنُ في العِراق قَلِقونَ مِن هَذَا التوتُرِ والتَصعيدِ، فَأَمننا مُرتبطٌ بأمنِ الخَليجِ والمَنطقةِ.

For the rest of strategies, Trump›s speech includes using strategy of discontinuation with 2.6%, and both avoidance and vitalisation with 1.3% while such strategies were not seen in Salih›s speech.

One thing to notice about the strategies of perpetuation is that it is employed 12 times in Trump›s speech with 15.7% percentage while it is only 7 times with 14% percentage in Salih›s speech. The most frequent strategy in the former is the strategy of defence with 6.5% while the latter relies on using the strategy of positive Self-Presentation with 6% of all micro strategies via the strategies of perpetuation. At one hand, the strategy of continuation scores 4%in Salih›s speech, on the other hand, the less frequent is scored in Trump›s speech with 3.9%.

Here, the excerpts of the strategies of defence are provided;

There is no circumstance under which the United States will allow international entries [entities] to trample on the rights of our citizens, including *the right to self-defense*

The United States does not seek conflict with any other nation. We desire peace, cooperation, and mutual gain with all. ***But I will never fail to defend America's interests.***

strategy of positive Self-Presentation is exemplified in the following excerpts;

Mesopotamia is the cradle of civilization and has done great service to human civilization, just as it has suffered and witnessed many disasters

وادي الرَافدين مهدُ الحَضارةِ وفيه مِن المآثر والخَدماتِ الجَليلة التي قُدمتْ الى الحضارةِ الانسانيةِ، بقدرِ ما فيه مِن الآلامِ والكوارِث،

It gives me pleasure to address the General Assembly on behalf of Iraq, a founding Member of the United Nations

يُسعِدُني أَن أُحييكم باسم العراق، الدَولةِ المُؤسسةِ في الأممِ المُتحدةِ،

The last strategy is avoidance which scores 1.3% in Trump›s speech and a little higher percentage in Salih›s speech with 2% out of total number of strategies.

With respect to the strategies of transformation, it noticeable that Salih relies heavily on using this strategy in constructing his national identity with

24% of the total percentages. However, the percentage is less in number in Trump›s speech with 11.8%. Vitalisation is the most frequent micro strategy via Trump›s speech with 3.9% out of total 11.8%. Apparently, this strategy scores only 2% in Salih›s speech.

We are working closely with Prime Minister Boris Johnson on a magnificent new trade deal.

We believe that combating terrorism and extremism and achieving economic transformation in order to offer work opportunities to our unemployed youth take precedence over current disagreements.

ونَعتقدُ أَن مُشتركاتِ مُحاربةِ الارهابِ والتَطرفِ وضَرورةِ التَحولِ الاقتصاديّ لإيجادِ فُرصِ عَملٍ لشبابِنَا العَاطِلِ عَنْ العَملِ تَبقَى أهمَ من الاختلافاتِ القَائِمةِ.

While Trump used the strategy of positive Self-presentation with only 2.6%, Salih tend to use this strategy with the highest percentage of 10%. It implies the sense of superiority i,e ''We are superior compared to Them''.

The remaining strategies form less affect in constructing national identity. The table above shows that strategy of heteronomisation, discontinuation, dissimilation and devaluation comprise 1.3% in Trump's speech while the strategy of autonomisation and continuation have no evidence. For Salih's speech, discontinuation scores the second highest frequent with 4%, heteronomisation, dissimilation and devaluation comprise 2% and there is no evidence of the rest of strategies.

With regard to the strategies of dismantling and destruction, they score 13.1% of the total percentage of the macro strategies in Trump's speech. It is mostly achieved via the use of the strategy of negative presentation of Others which comprises 3.9%. the second highest frequent strategies are discrediting opponents and pronouncing somebody "Dead" with 2.6%. Moreover, strategies of heteronomisation, assimilation and dissimilation comprise 1.3 of total number of strategies. Surprisingly, there is not percentage for the strategies of exclusion, discontinuation and 'Cassandra' strategy.

Here are excerpts that shoe the strategies of negative presentation of others,

discrediting opponents and pronouncing somebody "Dead";

Today, I have a message for those open border activists who cloak themselves in the rhetoric of social justice: Your policies *are not just*. Your policies *are cruel and evil*. You are empowering criminal organizations that prey on innocent men, women, and children.

Iran's citizens deserve a government that cares about reducing poverty, ending corruption, and increasing jobs — *not stealing their money to fund a massacre abroad and at home*.

In the last century, socialism and communism *killed 100 million people*. Sadly, as we see in Venezuela, the death toll continues in this country.

When it comes to Salih's speech, it is clearly noticed that the occurrence of this strategy is the lowest compared with other four strategies. It scores only 6% of the total number. The table shows the absence of most micro strategies, rather, it shows the strategy of assimilation with highest frequent use of 4% and the 'Cassandra' strategy with 2% only. The following excerpts show these two strategies;

Despite what I have just said, challenges remain. The gains of our victory over the total elimination of terrorism still *require regional and international cooperation* to combat this dangerous scourge and to address the conditions that gave rise to an environment conducive to its growth and proliferation.

ومعَ هذا، فإنَّ التَحدياتِ مازالتْ ماثلةٌ، واستحقاقاتُ النَصرِ الناجِزِ بالقضاءِ التامِ على الإرهابِ مازَالتْ **تَتطلبُ تكاتفاً إقليمياً ودولياً** لمحاربةِ هذهِ الآفةِ الخَطيرةِ ومُعالجةِ الظُروفِ التي سَاهمتْ في إيجادِ بيئةٍ صَالحةٍ لنموَها وتكاثُرِها.

The situation in the region is dangerous and threatens to bring about disastrous consequences that we must contain. We have had enough wars. We do not need a new war in the region, especially since the most recent war on terrorism has not yet been settled definitively

الوَضعُ الإقليميّ خَطيرٌ ويُنذرُ بعَواقبَ كَارثيةٍ. علينا تَداركَها. كَفى بِنا حُروباً، يَقيناً لسنا بحاجةٍ الى حربٍ جديدةٍ في المنطقةِ وخُصوصاً انَّ الحَربَ الأَخيرةِ ضِد الإرهابِ لم تُستكمل بِصورةٍ قَاطعةٍ.

Discussion of Topoi

One important aspect in the analysis of the discursive construction of national identity is the use of topoi. They serve to obtain a certain effect which is primarily the aim of the strategy. As it is illustrated in the table, the topos of similarity is highly used in both speeches. It scores 34% in Trump's speech and 32% in Salih's speech. This topos is usually concerned with certain strategies to express the "sameness" with Others. It is mostly used with the strategies of assimilation, inclusion and unification. The occurrence of the topos of difference is equal to the occurrence of the topos of threat with 11.8% of all number of topoi. The former is explicitly used when a speaker wants to show dissimilarity with Others. It is mostly occurred with the strategies of dissimilation, exclusion, discrediting opponents and the negative presentation of Others. The latter, on the other hand, is mostly occurred with the strategies of defence and legitimation.

Trump uses the topos of difference when he wants to differentiate his country from other countries especially when he refers to Iran and china. Consequently, the topos of threat is used when Trump warns any danger against the US.

For the case of Salih's speech, it is noticed that topos of similarity continues to make majority of the use among other topoi with 32%. Salih employs this topos to reflect the sense of similar features with Others. It is mainly used when he expressed the sense of belonging to the region and the international community. He tends to address the leaders of the world with emphasis on having the same fate specially via using the strategy of unification and inclusion. It is mostly shown with talking about defeating Da'esh.

Authority comes to score the second highest frequency with 10.5% in Trump's speech whereas it does not appear in Salih's speech. Basically, it is concerned with the strategy of legitimation. Trump relies on this topos when he emphasized on the right of the US to impose sanctions especially when he talks about the nuclear program of Iran and North Korea.

The topos of consequence scores the second highest frequent in Salih's

speech with 12% but it is only 3% in Trump's speech. This topos usually used to give conclusions to certain argumentations. When it comes to the third frequent use of topoi, idyllic place scores 7.8% in Trump's speech and only 6% in Salih's speech. The occurrence of this topos is mostly with the strategies of positive Self-presentation and singularisation. Both presidents use it when they describe their countries positively and focus on certain unique features. Accordingly, the occurrence of the topos of history as teacher comes in the third frequent in Salih's speech with 10% while it is too lower in Trump's speech with 2% only. Salih relies on such topos especially via the strategies of continuation and devaluation. Another important topos is comparison which is used for the sake of comparing Self to Other. It occurs with 6.5% frequent in Trump's speech and 4% in Salih's speech. Intrinsically, it concerned with the strategies of dissimilation. Shift of blame and responsibility and discontinuation.

With regard to the topoi of superiority, force and definition, they have equal occurrence of frequent with 8% in Salih's speech. In comparison, Trump's speech scores different frequents. Thus, topos of superiority scores lower frequent with 1.3% while topoi of force and definition have equal frequents with 4%.

Hence, both presidents use the topoi of superiority with strategies of singularisation and positive Self-presentation. Elsewhere, topos of force is used with the strategies of defence and autonomisation while topos of definition is concerned with the strategies of vitalisation, heteronomisation and avoidance.

Discussion of Means of Realisation

Another important aspect in the analysis of the discursive construction of national identity is the use of the means of realisation. Primarily, they are employed to serve constructing certain strategies. As it is shown in the table, personal reference comes in the top in both speeches. It scores a very high percentage with 70% in Salih's speech whereas it scores lower percentage with 48.6 in Trump's speech. This means of realisation is mostly achieved via

using personal pronouns (I, our, us) which represent the sense of 'in-group' and (them, you) which represents the sense of 'out-group'.

The second highest frequent use of the means of realisation in the both speeches is the deictic 'we'. The occurrence of it scores 38.1 in Trumps speech whereas it scores a higher percentage in Salih's speech with 48%. On the other hand, metaphor scores the third highest use with 46% in Salih's speech whereas it scores only 19.7% in Trump's speech. Furthermore, it seems that Salih relies heavily on using spatial reference with 40%, rather, it is only used with 28.9% in Trump's speech.

Additionally, what is noticed about temporal reference that it is used with 27.6% in Trump's speech while it scores 24% in Salih's speech. This means of realisation is concerned with referring to the past, as in the topos of history as teacher or it might refer to the present and future to compare the events between 'then' and 'now' or between 'now' and 'future'.

Henceforth, that the passive voice constitutes 9.2% of the total number of the means of realisation in Trumps speech and only 2% in Salih's speech. One more thing to be noticed is that the means of realisation of synecdoche does not appear in both speeches. Moreover, personification scores 2.6% in Trump's speech whereas it scores 4% in Salih's speech. Finally, the means of realisation of metonymy scores 2.6% in Trump's speech while it scores 2% in Salih's speech

Conclusions

Relying on the results of the analysis, it comes to conclude that both Trump and Salih have number of similarities and differences via the levels of analysis. The results show that both of presidents rely heavily on using the constructive strategies to construct their national identity discursively. For Trump, both the strategy of inclusion and the strategy of assimilation have taken wide range in his speech. He depends on such strategies to show the world that he cares about Others and they have similar interests. In comparison, Salih mostly uses the strategy of unification which indicates sense of belonging to Others so that they have common features. Salih calls for group work and

insists on the assistance of both the regional and international community. It is also noticed that Trump uses legitimation via the strategy of justification to reflect the powerful position of his country and the authority it has among Others. Rather, Salih avoids using such strategy in his speech. Moreover, the strategy of positive Self-presentation forms most of Salih's speech but this is not seen with Trump's speech. Likewise, the strategy of negative presentation of Others is noticed with Trump's speech rather than Salih's speech.

To support these strategies, both presidents rely on using topos of similarity. Besides, topos of difference is highly employed in Trump's speech. It simply indicates distinguishing Self from Others. This is not shown in Salih's speech, rather, he tends to confirm topos of superiority to present the distinguished 'Self'. In addition, topoi of authority, threat and idyllic place are employed to express the power of nation that Trump highly stressed. On the other hand, topoi of consequence, superiority and history as teacher are employed to construct the Iraqi national identity in Salih' speech.

In account for the means of realisation which have pivotal role in constructing the national identity, the results show that personal reference is mostly used in both speeches. The two presidents are highly concerned with using the personal pronoun *I* and *Our*. Furthermore, the deictic 'we' constitutes high number of use too. The difference between the two speeches is shown in using metaphor. It is noticed that Salih accounts for using this means of realisation more than Trump. Consequently, both spatial and temporal reference are emphasized in these speeches more than metonymy and passive voice which have lower consideration. Surprisingly, there is evidence for the use of synecdoche.

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