

# Donald Trump's Defeating ISIL Speeches: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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**خطابات دونالد ترامب هزيمة داعش : تحليل الخطاب النقدي**

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**Abstract:-**

ISIS is considered the most brutal group of terrorism in human history. Thus, the researchers apply Wodak's (2001; 2009) discourse-historical approach and van Leeuwen's (2008) sociological categories of actor representation approach to uncover the linguistic strategies in both the micro and macro level that President Donald Trump uses in his speeches about defeating ISIS. The researcher selects two speeches. Both were taken from the White House formal website. The first speech was delivered on July 10, 2017, to calibrate the news of Mosul liberation. It contains 189 words only, while the second speech was delivered 6 February 2019. It contains 1309 words. In his speeches, Trump focuses on three related topoi: topoi of unity, fighting and victory. Without Unity, it may be impossible to defeat ISIL. Therefore, the coalition of 74 nations and five international institutions is the first step in winning the fight against ISIS after fighting for months. In topoi of victory, the coalitions make spectacular victory on ISIL not only on the battlefield but also on the humanitarian aspects by freeing millions of civilians and keeping many ancient artifacts that ISIS used to destroy or sell. In the media field, the coalition blocked almost all ISIS propaganda and by this, they do not receive any financial support. Donald Trump states all these achievements as a kind of positive self-representation for America great role in stopping ISIS. Meanwhile, it is a negative other-representation for ISIL and its supporters as they used to brutally murdered millions of innocent people and destroy many historical places out of their ignorance of its value for human civilization. In assimilation, Trump uses the term 'people' with both positive and negative indications. Whenever it is positive it stands to the American people or military, while when it is negative it stands for ISIL and its supporters. This is a clear representation of the ideological theory of positive self-representation and negative other representation (in-group vs out-group).

**Key Words:** Critical discourse analysis, Donald Trump, Ideology, Iraq, and War.

**المخلص:-**

يعتبر تنظيم داعش أكثر الجماعات الإرهابية وحشية في تاريخ البشرية. وهكذا، يطبق الباحثون نهج الخطاب التاريخي ووداك (٢٠٠١؛ ٢٠٠٩) والفئات الاجتماعية لفسان ليوين (٢٠٠٨) لنهج تمثيل الممثل للكشف عن الاستراتيجيات اللغوية في كل من المستويين الجزئي والكلبي التي يستخدمها الرئيس دونالد ترامب في خطابه حول هزيمة داعش. يختار الباحث كلمتين. كلاهما مأخوذ من الموقع الرسمي للبيت الأبيض. تم إلقاء الخطاب الأول في ١٠ تموز / يوليو ٢٠١٧ معايرة خبر تحرير الموصل. يحتوي على ١٨٩ كلمة فقط، بينما الخطاب الثاني ألقى في ٦ فبراير ٢٠١٩، ويحتوي على ١٣٠٩ كلمة. ركز ترامب في خطابه على ثلاثة مواضيع ذات صلة: موضوع الوحدة والقتال والنصر. بدون الوحدة، قد يكون من المستحيل هزيمة داعش. لذلك فإن التحالف المكون من ٧٤ دولة وخمس مؤسسات دولية هو الخطوة الأولى لكسب المعركة ضد داعش بعد قتال دام شهوراً. في موضوع الانتصار، تحقق التحالفات انتصاراً مذهباً على داعش ليس فقط في ساحة المعركة ولكن أيضاً على الجوانب الإنسانية من خلال تحرير ملايين المدنيين والاحتفاظ بالعديد من القطع الأثرية التي استخدمها داعش لتدميرها أو بيعها. في المجال الإعلامي، منع التحالف جميع دعاية داعش تقريباً، وبهذا لا يتلقون أي دعم مالي. يذكر دونالد ترامب كل هذه الإنجازات كنوع من التمثيل الذاتي الإيجابي لدور أمريكا الكبير في صد داعش. وفي الوقت نفسه، يعد هذا تمثيلاً سلبياً آخر لداعش وأنصارها حيث اعتادوا قتل ملايين الأبرياء بوحشية وتدمير العديد من الأماكن التاريخية بسبب جهلهم بقيمتها للحضارة الإنسانية. في الاستيعاب، يستخدم ترامب مصطلح "الناس" مع كل من المؤشرات الإيجابية والسلبية. كلما كانت إيجابية فهي تقف إلى جانب الشعب الأمريكي أو الجيش الأمريكي، بينما عندما تكون سلبية فهي تقف إلى جانب داعش وأنصارها. هذا تمثيل واضح للنظرية الأيديولوجية للتمثيل الذاتي الإيجابي والتمثيل السلبي الآخر (داخل المجموعة مقابل خارج المجموعة).

**الكلمات المفتاحية:** تحليل الخطاب النقدي، دونالد ترامب، الأيديولوجيا، العراق، والحرب.

## 1. Introduction

After 11 September. Bush placed Iraq, North Korea, Iran, 'and their terrorist allies' in the category the 'axis of evil'. The US occupied Afghanistan and toppled its regime (Beeson, 2006, p.35; Ryan & Kiely, 2009, p.94). Over a year of invading Afghanistan and overthrow the Taliban regime, America set for a similar goal in Iraq that was to free the Iraqi people from a dictatorial regime which had frequently attacked its citizens, threatened its neighbours, and was supposed to possess WMD (Weapons of Mass Destruction) (Hoehn, etc., 2007, p.4). On March 20, 2003, the US launched the war against Iraq (Davidson, 2011, p.133).

During spring 2006, Iraqis practised the election process for the first time in the history of Iraq. Thus, Iraqi former Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki first came to power in 2006 and continued till 2014, at a time when sectarian violence was threatening to tear the country apart. As Shia majority came to power, the sectarian war among Sunnis and Shiites was escalated. Therefore, Al-Maliki negatively reacted through the use of force to kill 56 people at a protest in the north of Hawija in April 2013. This pushed some Sunnis to military solution by joining a new group of terrorism and as a sect of al-Qaeda which is of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) (Beauchamp, Fisher & Matthews, 2014).

Rosiny (2014, pp. 4-5) asserts that on 9 June 2014 ISIS launched an attack through which it controlled several Iraqi cities, such as Mosul, and parts from Diyala, Anbar, Salahuddin, and Kirkuk within a short time. The Iraqi army and security forces fled randomly. Consequently, ISIS destroyed symbols of the Iraqi state and security facilities. ISIS's recruiters controlled the property of the state including modern US weapons, tanks, and artillery. They took the minorities' (Christians and Yazidis) properties as spoils of war (ghanima) and later killed them. Moreover, they kidnapped young Yazidi women and sold them to their fighters. More than a thousand Shiites, as well as members of other minorities, were murdered (Rosiny, 2014, pp. 4-5). Besides, Sinjar was controlled by ISIS which expelled about ten thousand Yazidis to the top of a mountain where they were waiting to be killed by ISIS or to die of thirst (Beauchamp, Fisher & Matthews, 2014). All these acts were committed under the leadership of Abu Baker al-Baghdadi who was announced as the

new caliph on 29 June 2014 (Rosiny, 2014, pp. 4-5). Thus, by mid-June 2014 the United Nations reported that millions of Iraqis have been displaced, and more than one million refugees left the country (Beauchamp, Fisher & Matthews, 2014). However, the Shia militia in Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon played a noticeable role in fighting ISIS (Gulmohamad, 2014, p.6).

Meanwhile, Donald Trump becomes the 45th president of the United States of America. Trump is also a great developer who has several properties around the world. It was in 2015 when finally, Trump announced his nomination to the presidency as the leader of the Republican Party to the 2016 elections. Although Trump lost the popular vote facing Hilary Clinton, he was who won in the electoral votes with 306 votes in comparison with Hilary who only got 232 votes. Despite all, it has been one of the most controversial presidential races in the U.S. (Jiménez, 2017, PP.21-22). Many studies have been done about Donald Trump since he is one of the most controversial presidents in 21st century. Among them, Darweesh & Abdullah (2016) studied Trump's opinions regarding women on different occasions. The model used in this article is a mix between Van Dijk socio-cognitive framework (2006) and Mills' model of sexism (2008). The study concludes that Trump's evaluation of women is a reflection of his ideology about the superiority of males on females. Again in 2016, Liu studied the rhetorical elements of Donald Trump's tweets, because recently the social media played an essential role in the modern political movement, especially, the presidential candidates. And as Trump is one of the most effective politicians on Twitter. The researcher chose Trump's tweets from October 9, 2016, to November 9, 2016. The paper concludes that Trump may succeed in establishing a close relationship with USA citizens, communicating with voters, in order to show his political personality, and sharing his goals as he properly mastered the rhetorical skills and use of language. Another study about Donald Trump has been done by Mohammadi and Javadi (2017), they actually studied Donald Trump's acceptance speech at RNC (the Republican National Convention) delivered on July 21, 2016, as a sample of his language in the presidential election. Mohammadi and Javadi used Fairclough's ten-question model (1996) and van Dijk's ideological square (2004). The purpose of this study is to reveal Trump's hidden and unmask strategies. Trump used everyday

language with short sentences and simple words which helped him to shorten the distance between himself and his audience. García (2018) examines Donald Trump's speech via a critical discourse analysis and the representation of 'Otherness' to represent the ideological viewpoint of racism, immigration, and Trump's portrayal of the establishment. The researcher applies George Lakoff's Metaphors. The paper concludes that Trump is fun, and he has a sense of humour, thus, his character perfectly matches the US citizens way of being, especially the mid and lower class, who had the feeling of being ignored by other politicians who did not speak their language. Thus, no study has been done so far examining Trump's speeches relating to defeating ISIL. The researcher is going to use Wodak's (2001; 2009) *discourse-historical approach* and van Leeuwen's (2008) *sociological categories of actor representation approach* to fulfil this gap in the studies. The study addresses the following research questions:

1. What are the macro-topics that President Trump uses in his speeches about defeating ISIS?
2. What are the micro-strategies and categories that President Trump used to represent defeating ISIS?
3. How do the macro-topics and micro-strategies uncover Trump's ideology?

## 2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is also named Critical linguistic, and these two terms occasionally used interchangeably (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.1). Therefore, in his book *Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis* (1995, 17), van Dijk defined Critical Discourse Analysis is as follows:

Critical Discourse Analysis has become the general label for a special approach to the study of text and talk, emerging from critical linguistics, critical semiotics and in general from socio-politically conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication (Dijk ,1995, p.17)

van Dijk (1988; 1995) states that CDA is principally multidisciplinary, and it emphasizes significantly on the links between society and discourse, particularly politics, culture, and social

cognitive. (van Dijk, 1995, p. 17). Wodak & Meyer (2001) state that CDA must not be understood as a single method but rather as an approach, that establishes itself at different levels (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.14). CDA is not only a school, in fact, it includes a range of approaches (Amerian & Esmaili, 2015, p.1033). Furthermore, van Dijk (1998) stresses that CDA is not "a unitary theoretical framework or a specific direction" (p.353). The most prominent figures of CDA are Tenu van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, and Ruth Wodak. They state that "there is no single, homogeneous version of CDA", but what they have in common is that "language both shapes and is shaped by society"(Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.4). Accordingly, Fairclough presents a systemic functional linguistic perspective, van Dijk presents a text-linguistic and cognitive linguistics, and Wodak presents interactional studies (Amerian & Esmaili, 2015, p.1033), while, van Leeuwen (1996) establishes a practical structure for the communicative possibility of visual devices in the media. van Leeuwen studied film and television production. His main works are concerned with the language of written newspaper, television interviews as well as the semiotics of visual and music communication (Wodak & Meyer,2001, pp.8-9).

Consequently, CDA is not concerned in language use itself, but relatively in the linguistic character of social and cultural structures and processes (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.4). CDA focuses on the need for interdisciplinary work in order to reach a proper understanding of how language work in organizing social institutions, constituting and transmitting knowledge, as well as in exercising power (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p.11). Thus, CDA studies pay attention to all levels of discourse such as phonology, syntax, semantics, rhetoric, style, schematic organization, speech acts, and pragmatic strategies (van Dijk, 1995, p.17-18).

### 3. Theoretical Framework

Two critical discourse analysis approaches are used to answer the above-mentioned questions. Wodak's (2001; 2009) *Discourse-Historical Approach* focuses on the macro structures in terms of discourse topics and micro structures in terms of strategies which are integrated with linguistic categories from van Leeuwen's (1996; 2008) *Sociological Categories of Actor Representation*. In addition, Wodak's (2001; 2009) *Discourse-Historical Approach* is also used to

reveal the ideological manifestation on both macro and micro levels of analysis.

#### 4. Methodology and Data Analysis

First Speech: Statement from President Donald J. Trump on the Liberation of Mosul. After the American troops withdraw from Iraq by 2012. The situation in Iraq get worst as all the extremists groups united under one flag to form the largest terrorist organization of all times, ISIS. It is different from other organization as it aims to build a state or what they call caliphate. They want to establish the medieval Islamic state. They uses propagandas perfectly, and by this many fighters join them and they get many funds. They control Iraq second largest city Mosul between 4–10 June 2014. The Iraqis fight bravely with the help of Coalition to liberate Mosul on July 2017. This speech is delivered in the white house on July 10, 2017 to calibrate the news of Mosul liberation. It can be found in the White House formal online cite: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/statement-president-donald-j-trump-liberation-mosul/>. This speech is the shortest in this study as it contains 189 words only.

Second Speech: Remarks by President Trump to the Ministers of the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS. Three years after ISIL control on large territory in Iraq and Syria, America leads a Global Coalitions of contains seventy-four countries and five international organizations to defeat ISIS. This speech is delivered on 6 February 2019, almost two years after liberating Mosul. Trump mentions all the great achievements that the Coalitions reach so far, among them liberating over 20,000 square miles, and eliminated over 60 top ISIS leaders, and more than ten thousands of ISIS fighters. Yet, they are very close to achieve 100 percent victory. This speech can also be found in the White House Formal cite: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-ministers-global-coalition-defeat-isis/>. It contains 1309 words.

#### 5. Data Analysis

5.1 Analysis of Donald Trump's First Speech: Statement from President Donald J. Trump on the Liberation of Mosul

In July 2014, ISIS takes control over a huge territory from Iraq, including Iraq second-largest city, Mosul. The Iraqi forces rearrange

their lines and with the supports of the Global Coalition, and Peshmerga, they launch a major military campaign in October 2016 to liberate the city of Mosul from the control of the ISIL. By July 10, 2017, Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi formally announced the liberation of the city. The Iraqi forces liberate Mosul completely after fighting for months. They fight courageously and thousands of them lost their lives to defeat ISIL. Since American troops participate in an airstrike, American President Donald Trump announced his congratulations to the Iraqis in general and the Commander in Chief and his force in particular.

## 1 Discourse Topics

Example (1): Topoi of Unity, Victory and Sacrifices

- A. Today, Iraqi Security Forces, supported by the United States and the Global Coalition, liberated the city of Mosul from its long nightmare under the rule of ISIS.
- B. We congratulate Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi, the Iraqi Security Forces, and all Iraqis for their victory over terrorists who are the enemies of all civilized people.
- C. We in the United States and the Global Coalition are proud to stand with the Iraqi Security Forces and all those who made this moment of liberation possible.
- D. We have made tremendous progress against ISIS – more in the past 6 months than in the years since ISIS became a major threat.
- E. The victory in Mosul, a city where ISIS once proclaimed its so-called “caliphate,” signals that its days in Iraq and Syria are numbered. We will continue to seek the total destruction of ISIS.
- F. We mourn the thousands of Iraqis brutally killed by ISIS and the millions of Iraqis who suffered at the hands of ISIS.
- G. We grieve with the Iraqi people for the loss of the heroic soldiers and Peshmerga who gave their lives to restore life to their country, and we honour their sacrifice.

Fighting ISIS requires an international coalition to win it. Therefore, many countries engage in this fighting. This Fighting

continues for months. Eventually, the Iraqi forces succeed to defeat ISIS completely in July 2017. In the above extracts, Trump declares the happy news to the world and congratulating Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi and all Iraqis for such great victory. Trump emphasizes America and the Coalition role in this victory as seen in (A and C). In the first year of the ISIS threat, the fighting was rather slowly as the world was in shock from the huge territory that ISIS control in Iraq overnight. After that, the Iraqi force put the best strategies and make a coalition with other nations to defeat ISIS in a matter of six months. Trump promises that fighting ISIS is going to continue till the entire caliphate reaches its end. Therefore, Mansour and Al-Hashimi (2018) state that the UN described ISIS as "the world's richest terrorist organization". Yet, by 2017 ISIS lost most of the region is held in 2014. Economically, IS has lost 80% of the income is obtained by controlling territory and gathering taxes from the inhabitants under its rule.

Even Trump's speech is about celebrating the good news of defeating ISIS in Mosul. Yet, it is time to mention and glorifies all the people who make this moment of victory possible. Trump grieves all the heroic Iraqi forces who have been killed brutally by ISIS. He also mentions the suffering that millions of Iraqis have to go through under ISIS role in Mosul for three awful years. Trump sends his deepest condolences for all families who lost a loved one to win this fight. According to Revkin (2018), a survey of 1,409 residents of Mosul has done about the battle of Mosul shows that 52 per cent of survey respondents experienced serious property damage, while 22 % stated that one of their family was injured, and 13 % stated that one of their family members was killed by IS or the United States, or the Iraqi Army (Revkin, 2018: 11).

## 2. Referential Strategy

Example (2): Genericisation

- A. Today, *Iraqi Security Forces*, supported by the United States and the Global Coalition, liberated the city of Mosul from its long nightmare under the rule of ISIS.
- B. We congratulate Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi, the Iraqi Security Forces, and all Iraqis for their victory over *terrorists* who are the enemies of all civilized people.

Congratulating the Iraqi people for their victory on ISIS, Trump mentions the huge offers of Iraqi Security Forces and the supports they have from the Coalitions as seen in (A). Here Trump mentions *Iraqi Security Forces* without adding any article before them, and that is what makes it genericisation. In (B), Trump states that Iraqi victory is huge because they defeat *terrorists* who are enemies for all peaceful people. The term '*terrorists*' is genericisation as it is a plural noun without any articles.

#### Example (3): Assimilation

- A. We congratulate Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi, the Iraqi Security Forces, and all Iraqis for their victory over terrorists who are the enemies of all civilized people.
- B. We mourn the thousands of Iraqis brutally killed by ISIS and the millions of Iraqis who suffered at the hands of ISIS. We grieve with the Iraqi people for the loss of the heroic soldiers and Peshmerga who gave their lives to restore life to their country, and we honor their sacrifice.
- C. We in the United States and the Global Coalition are proud to stand with the Iraqi Security Forces and all those who made this moment of liberation possible.

The noun phrase "the Iraqi Security Forces" in (A and C) is assimilation as it is a plural noun preceded by definite articles. Extract (A) contains other assimilations such as "all Iraqis" in which Trump delivers his congratulations to all the Iraqis regardless of their religion, ideology, and age. This is victory upon "the enemies" as Trump states because his audiences already know what enemies Trump is taken about. He uses definite articles referring to them which make this assimilation. The last assimilation in (A) is "all civilized people", which indicates that the medieval ideology adopted by ISIL is against all civilized people. The mass noun people here is what makes this noun phrase assimilation. In (B), the assimilation occurs twice by using plural nouns preceded by definite articles as in "the Iraqi people" and "the heroic soldiers".

#### Example (4): Individualization and Nomination

- A. We congratulate Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi, the Iraqi Security Forces, and all Iraqis for their victory over terrorists who are the enemies of all civilized people.

According to the protocol, the Prime Minister is the first one to receive congratulates in happiness and condiments in sadness. Accordingly, Donald Trump congratulates Iraqi Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi for Iraq great victory on ISIL. Trump here uses al-Abadi's full name which makes it a semi-formal nomination with honorification as Trump mentions al-Abadi's title as ahead for the Iraqi's government out of respect. Then he congratulates the Iraqi Security Forces and all the Iraqis.

Example (5): Aggregation

- A. We have made tremendous progress against ISIS – more in the past 6 months than in the years since ISIS became a major threat.
- B. The victory in Mosul, a city where ISIS once proclaimed its so-called “caliphate,” signals that its days in Iraq and Syria are numbered.
- C. We mourn the thousands of Iraqis brutally killed by ISIS and the millions of Iraqis who suffered at the hands of ISIS.

Trump mentions that liberating Mosul is done by making quick progress in the "past 6 months" more than the progress that has been done in the first years from ISIS threat. In (B), Trump uses the statistical aggregation "once" referring to the one time when Mosul was part of the ISIS caliphate. Despite, the victory is achieved yet during the years of ISIS control "thousands of Iraqis" cruelly killed by ISIS and "the millions of Iraqis" was tortured and suffered at the hand of ISIS. All the italic terms in the above extracts are aggregation statistically.

Example (6): Speech Acts and Hyperbole

- A. Today, Iraqi Security Forces, supported by the United States and the Global Coalition, liberated the city of Mosul from its long nightmare under the rule of ISIS.
- B. We congratulate Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi, the Iraqi Security Forces, and all Iraqis for their victory over terrorists who are the enemies of all civilized people.
- C. We mourn the thousands of Iraqis brutally killed by ISIS and the millions of Iraqis who suffered at the hands of ISIS.

D. We grieve with the Iraqi people for the loss of the heroic soldiers and Peshmerga who gave their lives to restore life to their country, and we honor their sacrifice. We in the United States and the Global Coalition are proud to stand with the Iraqi Security Forces and all those who made this moment of liberation possible.

E. We will continue to seek the total destruction of ISIS.

Trump opens his speech by declarative speech act as he declares the news of Mosul liberation from ISIL as seen in (A). A declaration that changes the state of Mosul from a city under the control of the caliphate to a free city under the control of the central government in Iraq. Moreover, this new leads to a mix feeling, between the feelings of pride, honor, congratulation, and happiness of victory, to the feelings of grieve, mourning, and loss for all the brave Iraqi troops who give their life for the sake of Mosul's liberation as in (B, C, and D) and this is an expressive speech act. Finally, Trump ends his speech by promising the continuation of fighting ISIL till the complete defeat as in extract (E).

## **5.2 Analysis of Donald Trump's Second Speech: Remarks by President Trump to the Ministers of the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS**

In June 2014, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) forcibly controlled large swaths of territory in Iraq and Syria. ISIS aims to establish an Islamic state that operates under the caliphate system led by a caliph who is a successor of the Prophet. Accordingly, acts of cruelty have become routine in Iraq when ISIS activated its large-scale actions by destroying the border between Syria and Iraq in the town Qaim. ISIS' ideology was based on Sunni tenants and Salafism. Therefore, it ruined many mosques and tombs and carried out huge executions, sexual slavery and conducted enormous acts of savageness for the public to see. In 2014, ISIS held about 40 per cent of Iraq, but Americans form a collection between different countries to support the Iraqi forces. Therefore, On 10 December 2017, Iraq's Prime Minister, Haider al-Abadi, stated that Iraqi forces had completely free Iraq. The main ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi killed himself by exploding a suicide jacket during an American raid on the Idlib province of Syria in October 2019. Thus, ISIS is

considered the most brutal terrorist group in the modern world. ISIS has brought destruction and violence to the Middle East and the world.

## 1 Discourse Topics

Example (1): Topoi of Unity, Fighting and Victory

- A. Together, we comprise 74 countries and 5 international institutions, all united in the fight against this vile terrorist organization.
- B. Thank you. And all of our Coalition members here today for their enduring commitment to defeating ISIS in the Middle East and around the world.
- C. our Coalition partners, and the Syrian Democratic Forces have liberated virtually all of the territory previously held by ISIS in Syria and Iraq.
- D. Together, we have freed more than 5 million civilians from the grip of these bloodthirsty killers.
- E. Thanks to the Global Coalition, including all of you here today, and to our other partners, the ISIS caliphate has been decimated.
- F. I commend the 30 other nations who are already contributing troops to this vital effort. And it's a different effort than we had initially, but totally vital.
- G. In recent months, Germany, the United Arab Emirates, and Saudi Arabia have all made financial commitments.
- H. The struggle against terrorism is a shared fight. We do it together. If we don't do it together, it can never be the same. Everyone must do their part and contribute their fair share.

Many wars such as World War I, World War II, the Cold war, and the Vietnam War have divided the world into two different battlefields. The war against ISIS is spectacular as it united almost all the nations of the world against ISIS. Trump mentions that to defeat ISIS "74 countries and 5 international institutions" cooperate in one battlefiled against the radical Islamic movement led by Abu baker Al-Baghdadi. To show the importance of this war, Trump highlights in (B) that the

ISIS threat is not only in the Middle East where their caliphate takes place but it is "around the world." This justifies the global coalition because all the nations around the world are threatened by ISIS .

Every war has different aspects and to proclaim winning it, one should have the upper hand in all these aspects. The first and the most important aspect is the aspect of the battlefield, in which Trump mentions great achievement as seen in (A, B, C, and E). The victory on the battlefield is represented by retaken "over 20,000 square miles" that was controlled by ISIS in both Iraq and Syria, in addition to killing the top hundred ISIS leaders and fighters. On the humanitarian aspect, Trump highlights that the coalition has "freed over five million civilians" and ISIS has no longer access to destroy or steal ancient artifacts as seen in (D and G). The third and last aspect is winning in the social media field. Previously, Al Qaeda usually depends on traditional media to extent their message by sending videotapes record to Al-Jazeera (Klausen, 2015). Equally, ISIS adopted the Internet and social media to spread their ideas. The fire alarms related to ISIS propaganda started in 2014, and this is linked with the notion of the "dark web" existence of online violence and crimes (Ceron, Curini, & Iacus, 2019, p.1). ISIS has used online strategies to enlist youth, who are called "cubs of the caliphate" (Guthrie, 2018) (Revkin, 2018, p.13). In August 2015, ISIS released in its French online magazine Dar al-Islam, a guide on how to secure communications as well as on how to encrypt emails and hide IP addresses and locations. IS was skilled at cyber operations as it had several hacker teams such as Ghost Caliphate Section, Cyber Caliphate Army, Sons of the Caliphate Army and Kalachnikov E-Security. In 2016, these groups united in the United Cyber Caliphate (UCC) led by the British hacker Hussain al-Britani (Jones et al., 2018, pp.35-41; Revkin, 2018, p.10). ISIS was capable to spread hugely by using propaganda at the beginning "They used the Internet brilliantly". But the coalition stopped all their propaganda and by this no more people joining ISIS as well as no more funds they received. It is worth mentioning that these 74 coalition counties do not all participate by enrolling their troops in the fight. Some participate by providing financial support, such as the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Germany as in (G). Despite the differences, every nation does its part. Hence, this unity is the backbone in winning the fight

against ISIS and the topoi of victory are achieved on different levels in this fighting.

## 2. Referential Strategy

Example (2): Genericisation

- A. ISIS can no longer claim widespread ownership over local governments in Syria and Iraq.
- B. They can no longer tax the citizens in that area because they no longer have that area, or steal ancient artifacts or destroy ancient artifacts, as they've been doing. They've really been set back
- C. They used the Internet brilliantly, but now it's not so brilliant. And now the people on the Internet that used to ...
- D. Critically, ISIS also now lacks a significant territorial base from which to launch terrorist attacks against other countries, recruit foreign fighters...

According to van Leeuwen (1993, p.123), genericisation can occur by using plural without any articles. Thus, the social actor "local governments" in (A) is genericisation. Moreover, one of the most awful things that ISIL fighters did is destroying and stealing ancient artifacts. In (B), "ancient artifacts" has mentioned twice and in both, it is genericisation as Trump mentions them in plural forms without any articles. The means that ISIS uses to spread their ideology all around the world is the internet as in extract (C), in which the term "the Internet" is mentioned twice and in both is preceded by definite articles to make it genericisation. However, the opposite type of genericisation is found in (D) via using plural without articles such as "terrorist attacks", "other countries", and "foreign fighters"

Example (3): Assimilation

- A. As a result, as I noted in my State of the Union address yesterday, the United States Military, our Coalition partners, and the Syrian Democratic Forces have liberated virtually all of the territory previously held by ISIS in Syria and Iraq.
- B. Together, we have freed more than 5 million civilians from the grip of these bloodthirsty killers. And you know the killers they are.

- C. you're always going to have people; they'll be around. They're sick. They're demented. But you're going to have them no matter how well we do militarily. You can't do better than we've done, militarily. But you will have people that will be around.
- D. And now the people on the Internet that used to look up to them and say how wonderful and brilliant they are, are not thinking of them as being so brilliant.
- E. This afternoon, I want to applaud the outstanding men and women of the United States military — incredible people — for their remarkable skill and precision throughout this entire campaign.
- F. we will do what it takes to defeat every ounce and every last person within the ISIS madness, and defend our people from radical Islamic terrorism.
- G. We've been extremely tough on people that we think can be in any way working with — or even be a part of — radical Islamic terror. I've been very, very tough on that, and I hope every other nation is, too.
- H. This is a special group of brilliant people, and it's been an honor to work with you. And we will continue to work with you,

In extracts (A), Trump mentions all the forces that help in liberating vast territory previously held by ISIS which is "the United States Military, our Coalition partners, and the Syrian Democratic Forces". These three social actors are assimilation as they are plural nouns preceded by definite articles. Talking about ISIS brutality, Trump refers to them as "the killers" as the audience are already familiar with ISIL cruelty thus, it is assimilation by using definite article with a plural noun. Trump here tends to use "negative other-representation" for ISIS by highlighting their brutality in naming them "the killers". Another important assimilation occurs by using the mass noun 'people'. Still, this term is used to refer to different people. In (C), the term 'people' is mentioned twice standing for ISIS members regardless of whether they are families or fighters. According to Trump, they are going to be around in hidden waiting for the perfect moments to recreate their caliphate and this required a restricted military system that provides security. To prevent the existence of

ISIS fighters in America, Trump deports the suspected 'people'. Therefore, people in (G) does not refer directly to ISIS members like (C), it stands more to the suspected people. The term 'people' in (E, F and H) companies with different positive pre modifiers "incredible people", "our people", and " brilliant people" makes it easy to understand that Trump is talking about the American citizens in general or about his military troops as he emphasizes on describing them positively. This is part of van Dijk's ideological theory in which the speaker glorifies the "we" and humiliates the "others". Finally, the term 'people' in (D) stands for ISIL social media followers who get used to admire ISIS propaganda.

Example (4): Individualization and Nomination

- A. Thank you very much, Mike. And you are doing a spectacular job.
- B. I want to thank Acting Defense Secretary Patrick Shanahan. Patrick, stand up. You've been doing a fantastic job.
- C. Thank you. Ambassador James Jeffrey, thank you. Thank you.

In the above extracts, President Trump mentions three individuals whom he likes to thank for their role in defeating ISIS. In (A), he thanks Mark Esper who was the secretary of defense, and a former U.S. Army officer by mentioning his first name only. Trump also thanks "Patrick Shanahan" , who was the Acting US Secretary of Defense at that time and asks him to stand up to receive his appropriate thanks. In (C), Trump thanks "Ambassador James Jeffrey", who is a senior American expert in energy, political, and security issues in the Middle East. James Franklin Jeffrey is Special Envoy for the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS.

Even though the above extracts have the same topoi which topoi are of thank, yet President Donald Trump addresses the three people whom he likes to thank in different manners. Starting by Mark Esper, Trump addresses him by using his given name only, thus, it is an informal nomination. In (B), Trump thanks Patrick Shanahan, first by using formal-nomination with honorification as he mentions his given name, surname, and title. However, when Trump address Shanahan to stand up, he uses his first name only, which informal nomination. Finally, thanking James Jeffrey, Trump uses a semi-formal nomination by mentioning his full name with honorification.

Example (5): Aggregation

- A. I say that on behalf of many people.
- B. It's an honor to be here today at the State Department among so many distinguished diplomats
- C. Together, we comprise 74 countries and 5 international institutions, all united in the fight against this vile terrorist organization.
- D. And all of our Coalition members here today for their enduring commitment to defeating ISIS in the Middle East and around the world.
- E. In January 2017, only two years ago, ISIS had a vast amount of territory in Syria and Iraq.
- F. It was a lot. When I took office, one of my very first acts was to go to the Pentagon and ask them to produce and show me a plan to defeat ISIS.
- G. the United States Military, our Coalition partners, and the Syrian Democratic Forces have liberated virtually all of the territory previously held by ISIS in Syria and Iraq.
- H. It should be formally announced sometime probably next week that we will have 100 percent of the caliphate.
- I. Over the past two years, we have retaken more than 20,000 square miles of land.
- J. We have secured one battlefield.
- K. We have eliminated more than 60 mile high-value ISIS leaders. So we have a — if you look at the ISIS leaders of the 60 top, we've eliminated almost every one of them. More than a hundred other top ISIS officials have been eliminated, and tens of thousands of ISIS fighters are gone. They're gone.
- L. Together, we have freed more than 5 million civilians from the grip of these bloodthirsty killers. And you know the killers they are.
- M. Three weeks ago, I was in Iraq and I was talking to some of our great generals, and I gave them the absolute go-ahead. I

said, "Go at it. How long will it take once you get started?" He said, "Sir, one week." I said, "Where did that come from — one week?" And he meant it. And it's about a week since they really got going. And they'll be informing us very soon, officially. But it's 100 percent.

In the first four extracts, Trump greets and thanks all the attendants by using quantifier 'many' twice: "many people" and "many distinguished diplomats" and 'all' in "all of our Coalition members" as he highlights the presence of all the nations in the coalition. Then, he uses statistical aggregation by giving the exact numbers of attended which is at the same time the number of nations and institutions that is part of the coalition to fight against ISIS. Trump starts by narrating the story from the point when he became a president in "January 2017, only two years ago" at that point "a lot" of the area in the Middle East was under ISIS control. When first he comes to power, Trump decides to make "one of my very first acts" to go to the Pentagon and ask them to put a plan to defeat ISIS as in (F and E). In (G), he states that the coalition has liberated "all of the territory" previously controlled by ISIS. Then he repeats the same information by using numerical aggregation "100 per cent" to highlight the great change that he makes in liberating many areas from ISIL. In (I), Trump uses another statistical aggregation "more than 20,000 square miles" to show the huge territory that has been liberated by the coalition. Here he refers to the time that has been taken to liberate this land which is "two years". This is another indication that this great victory is only achieved during his presidency. This is a positive self-presentation for his offers. He gives more details about this "one battlefield" in which the "60 mile high-value", "the 60 top", and "More than a hundred" leaders from ISIS have been killed, in addition to "tens of thousands" of ISIS fighters. More than any other extracts, (K) contains four statistical aggregation. The humanitarian outcome of this fight is freeing "more than 5 million" innocent people. Trump highlights his trip to Iraq by using statistical aggregation "Three weeks ago" in which he talks to "some" American generals there. They use numerical aggregation to assure him that mission to defeat ISIS "100 percent" is just a matter of "one week" to be accomplished.

Example (7): Speech Acts and Hyperbole

- A. Thank you very much, Mike. And you are doing a spectacular job. I say that on behalf of many people.
- B. It's an honor to be here today at the State Department among so many distinguished diplomats and others representing the nations of the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS.
- C. Together, we comprise 74 countries and 5 international institutions, all united in the fight against this vile terrorist organization. And vile they are.
- D. I want to thank Acting Defense Secretary Patrick Shanahan. Patrick, stand up. You've been doing a fantastic job. We appreciate it. (Applause.) Thank you. Ambassador James Jeffrey, thank you. Thank you.
- E. When I took office, one of my very first acts was to go to the Pentagon and ask them to produce and show me a plan to defeat ISIS.
- F. It should be formally announced sometime probably next week that we will have 100 percent of the caliphate. But I want to wait for the official word. I don't want to say it too early.
- G. Over the past two years, we have retaken more than 20,000 square miles of land. We have secured one battlefield. And we've had victory after victory after victory, and retaken both Mosul and Raqqa.
- H. We have eliminated more than 60 mile high-value ISIS leaders. So we have a — if you look at the ISIS leaders of the 60 top, we've eliminated almost every one of them.
- I. We look forward to giving our brave warriors in Syria a warm welcome back home.
- J. I just want to thank everybody in this room. This is a special group of brilliant people, and it's been an honor to work with you.
- K. with you has been my honor. Our military has been incredible. And your militaries have been incredible. So it's an honor to work with you.

L. We will be working with you for many years to come.

M. Thank you all very much. It's a great honor to be here. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Donald Trump mentions two main facts in (C and G). The first fact is the number of nations participate in the "Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS", which seventy-four countries and five international institutions. While the second important fact is that this Global Coalition has made great victory against ISIL and retaken both Mosul and Raqqa. These two facts are representative speech acts. Trump also states that the top value of ISIS leaders has been eliminated, which is hyperbole because Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi the head of ISIL has not been killed till eight months later from this speech and ISIS is still active in the rural parts of Salah al-Din, Kirkuk, Anbar, and Diyala. It has returned to the pre-2014 insurgency tactics via targeting key tribal and village officials and government officials. ISIS controls rural areas as it is easy to operate at night. (O'Driscoll, 2019 p.2). ISIS also stated revenge attacks against anyone accused of betraying IS (Ahmad, 2019). Economically, ISIS depends on robberies and kidnappings to finance its operations. In addition to many other legitimate and illegitimate businesses in Iraq. This confirms that IS still gains funds in Iraq, although nothing close to the previous level. (O'Driscoll, 2019 p.2) Knights (2018: 2) states that ISIS has cells in at least 27 areas and its strongest activities in rural Kirkuk where ISIS has succeeded in increasing its activities (Revkin, 2018, p.7). Jones et al. (2018) mention that

Despite the loss of virtually all territory in Iraq and Syria, IS' primary goal remains establishing a pan-Islamic caliphate that extends from the Middle East into Africa, Europe, and Asia. However, with its decline in territorial control, IS leaders have shifted from governing territory to developing a long-term ideological programme, engaging in propaganda, fund-raising, recruitment, and communication on social media and other forums. As a result, IS has established a "virtual caliphate" by communicating through social media and encrypted communication, allowing its networks to share information and tactics, engage in propaganda and recruit new members.

However, the domain speech act in the above extracts is expressive speech act as Trump repeatedly thanks all the people

who help in defeating ISIS as in (A, D, J, and M). He also expresses his honor in working with them as (B, J, K, and M). In extract (I), Trump expresses the feeling of "a warm welcome" to the American warriors after their mission is accomplished by defeating ISIS. He mentions that announcing that victory is going to be soon. An announcement is going to change the state of Syria and Iraq to free countries from ISIS control. This is a declarative speech act. Furthermore, asking someone to do something is a directive speech act and that can be found in (E) when President Trump asks the Pentagon to put plans for defeating ISIL. Even after defeating ISIL, Trump asks the nations in the Coalition to continue working for the sake of securing the world from any terrorist threat as seen in (M).

## Conclusion

In both of Trump's speeches, there are topoi of victory in the war against ISIS. As the Iraqi troops and coalition forces have retaken more than 20,000 square miles that were under the control of ISIL. They also eliminated the top 60 ISIS leaders and hundreds of ISIS fighters. The success in freeing more than five million civilians from ISIS. Trump congratulates the Iraqi Prime Minister AL-Abadi and all the Iraqis for achieving such great victory against the most brutal terrorist organization of all times. Trump's speeches also emphasize on topoi of sacrifices, yet the source of scarifies is different. He highlights the great sacrifice that the Iraqis pay during ISIS control and during fighting to retake Mosul. Thousands of Iraqis were brutally killed by ISIL and millions have been displaced. In addition to many Iraqis troops heroically lost their lives to free their land.

However, Trump uses genericisation and assimilation to reflect his ideology via using negative terms such as terrorists, the enemies of all civilized people, terrorist attacks, these bloodthirsty killers, and the killers referring to ISIL. While he describes the Iraqi forces in positive terms referring to their heroic deeds in liberating Mosul, such as Iraqi Security Forces, the Iraqi Security Forces, and the heroic soldiers. Trump uses statistical aggregation, first in describing the Iraqis loss and sufferings under ISIL control: "the thousands of Iraqis brutally killed", and "the millions of Iraqis who suffered". Then, he uses statistical aggregation referring to the number of nations

participate in the Global Coalition to defeat ISIS "74 countries and 5 international institutions". Lastly, he uses aggregations in mentioning the numbers of ISIS loss as far as lands and fighters are concerned: "all of the territory", "100 percent of the caliphate", " more than 20,000 square miles", more than 60 mile high-value ISIS leaders", "the 60 top", "More than a hundred other top ISIS officials have been eliminated", and "tens of thousands of ISIS fighters are gone".

Among the different types of speech acts, Bush uses directive, commissives, representative, and declarative speech acts. Trump uses expressive speech acts as he repeatedly expresses his gratitude and honour in working with the coalition to defeat ISIS. Additionally, He uses a directive speech act by announcing news which radically changes the Iraqis life forever via declaring the victory against ISIL and liberating Mosul. Trump uses hyperbole only to exaggerate the outcome of defeating ISIS. In his first speech, Donald Trump describes the US troops as "incredible people", "our people", and "brilliant people". He emphasizes positively describing them. This is part of van Dijk's ideological theory in which the speaker glorifies the "we" and humiliating the "others". Additionally, when he gives details about the defeat of ISIS such as, "one battlefield" in which the "60 mile high-value", " the 60 top", and "More than a hundred" leaders from ISIS have been killed, in addition to "tens of thousands" of ISIS fighters. This is a positive self-presentation to America and the Global coalition's offer in fighting ISIL.

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