An Overt Linguistic Identity of a Covert Xenophobic Ideology: Trump Castigating the Democrats A Critical Discourse Analysis of Donald Trump's Tweets against Illegal Mexican Immigration

هوية لغوية جلية تعكس الأيديولوجية السرية لرهاب الأجانب
ترامب ينقد الديمقراطيين: التحليل الخطابي النقدي لتغريدات
ترمب تجاه الهجرة المكسيكية غير الشرعية

Sara BOUAKAZ *
Mohamed Khider University
Biskra / Algeria
Sarabouakaz5@gmail.com

Ahmad BACHAR,
Mohamed Khider University
Biskra / Algeria
Ahmadbashar2012@hotmail.fr

Abstract:

In all political arenas, presidents have such an eager passion to grip a tight dominion over the populace to gain their endorsement. The American political terrace as well after 2015 has witnessed an excellent apotheosis of the entwined relation between language, power and politics. This article aims at scrutinizing Trump's rhetoric which demonstrates a hidden xenophobic ideology through adopting Critical Discourse Analysis as both an approach and a method to analyze 12 tweets against Illegal Mexican Immigration clustered to highlight the constant attack of Trump chastising the democrats for not helping him keeping the Sothern border safe. The chosen sample is analyzed critically through both Faircoulgh's Three-Dimensional Model and Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model to conclude that Trump's language is a linguistic spin that incorporates a hidden sociopolitical ideology of xenophobia.

Keywords: CDA; Faircoulgh's Three-Dimensional Model; Trump's Tweets; Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model; Xenophobic Ideology.

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* *Corresponding author.*

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الملخص:

يعرف عن رؤساء الدول في جل الساحات السياسية شغفهم في فرض السيطرة على الجماهير العامة والجهات السياسية وذلك لكسب تاييدهم ودعمهم وهو حال السياسة الامريكية التي شهدت بعد سنة 2015 تجسيدا ثنائيا لتزاوج العلاقة بين اللغة، القوة والسياسة. ومنه يهدف هذا المقال إلى التدقيق في لغة الرئيس الأمريكي السابق دونالد ترمب المنمقة والتي تظهر مذهبه الفكري المعادي للأجانب وذلك من خلال إنتهاج المذهب النقدي لتحليل الخطاب وذلك من خلال تحليل 12 تغريدة ضد الهجرة المكسيكية غير الشرعية إلى داخل الاراضي الأمريكية. تم جمع هذه العينة من التغريدات لتسليط الضوء على الهجوم المتوالي لترامب على الحزب الديمقراطي لعدم مصادقته على مشروع حماية الحدود الجنوبية للبلاد. تم اختيار كل من نموذج ثلاثي الأبعاد و المربع الإيديولوجي لكل من *Fairclough* و *Van Djik* للتحليل والاستنتاج بأن لغة ترامب عبارة عن لولب.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التحليل النقدي للخطاب، نموذج *Fairclough* ثلاثي الأبعاد، الهجرة المكسيكية غير الشرعية، تغريدات ترمب، إيديولوجيا الرهاب من الاجانب، النموذج الرباعي لـ *Van Djik*

Introduction :

Politics is a conflict for acquiring and harnessing power; an acquisitive power, chased particularly by presidents, pining for a perpetual socio-political ascendancy over national and international populace. Donald J Trump has used a very special rhetoric. The forty fifth President of the Unites States of America, has created a revolution in the way he attests his beliefs, attitudes, banner, and contention apropos the foreign and domestic affairs of the U.S through the adoption of a special linguistic emanation using the social media particularly Twitter as an official barometer of his political conviction. The case of protecting America from the unsecure threat of immigration, especially the Mexican, has taken the lion's share of his political platform which has been clearly expressed through his tweets that have been traced effusively by more than 62 million followers. A great array of tweets were castigating the Democrats for not helping him keeping the Sothern border safe and thus keeping America safe. Therefore; the present article probes the analysis of the way such tweets rhetoric covers, from the one hand, a discursive power and dominance; from another hand, a hidden ideology of Xenophobia through the use of Critical Discourse Analysis.

1. *Critical Discourse Analysis:*

(CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the observation, study, and analysis of discourse, both as a written and/or an oral

communication, within its social or political context. It aims at studying how people, sharing a set of beliefs, influence the use of language within a specific cultural and social context. CDA is the study and analysis of particular equivocal relationships between some discursive practices in socio- cultural or political settings where the amalgamation of the text and public events highlights the compatible attitudes of the world's members as far as language, power, and ideology are concerned. CDA is as a broad umbrella where a set of assorted approaches, methods, models and agendas are clustered; in order to, first, fix the regard on the change instigated within the society; second, figure out the role played by the various factors controlled with power and dominated by ideological identities. Thus, CDA is an interdisciplinary approach that studies language from a very critical perspective dealing with its social, political, economic, and cultural manifestations in real life.
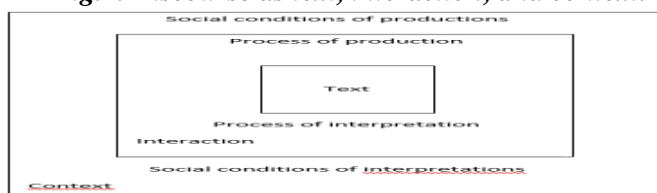
1.1. Fairclough's CDA Approach:

The contribution of Norman Fairclough is considered the foremost center in the field of CDA. So, Fairclough advocates critical studies on real life samples of power dominance and ideology. In his beginnings, he called his approach Critical Language Study (CLS).He focused on scrutinizing texts from their linguistic and social dimensions to show that when people speak' linguistically' or 'semiotically' can instigate social change. Hence, Fairclough's CDA aims at affirming the discursive nature of some recent social, economic, and political changes in the epoch. This amalgamation of linguistic and social theories claims that language is a natural phenomenon which is, both an irreducible part of real life and a social process. What analyzes such a connection is the 'Social Discoursal' model of Fairclough, i.e. the dialectic relation between language and its authentic context is realized through explaining the concepts of social events, social practices (orders of discourse) and social structures within the scope of what is technically referred as the Dialectical- Relational Approach (DRA).

DRA Explains that language is a 'social practice' since "Firstly, that language is a part of society, and not somehow external to it. Secondly, that language is a social process. And thirdly, that language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other (non-linguistic) parts of society" (Fairclough, 1996, p. 22). L*anguage is a part of society* means that in any society, people communicate socially, – whether they speak, listen, write, or read- they plunge language into the

deep ambiance of the social conventions. Language and society are profoundly inseparable: each incorporates in the constitution of the other. *Language is a social process* is approached by Fairclough to make a clear cut between *text*-what is said in an oral or in a written mode- and *discourse*. Text is the final product of the process of language production, and discourse is the process of the direct and the complete social interaction. This simply implies that text is a part of discourse. For that, the production of any piece of communication is not merely affected linguistically, but it is socially influenced as well. This is simply the interpretation of the third factor which is *language is a socially conditioned process*
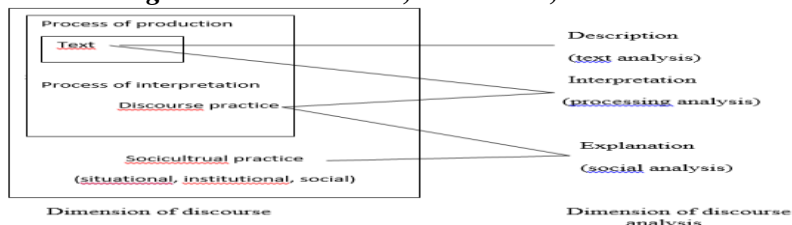
Fig.1. Discourse as text, interaction, and context.

The source: "Language and power" by N. Fairclough (1989, p.25)

This diagram is provided by Fairclough (1989) to offer a clear explanation of a CDA for any kind of discourse. In any form of a social communicative interaction, a text is regarded as a product for the senders of the massages who endeavored to the process of the linguistic and the social production; and it is regarded as a source for the receivers of such massages that need to be interpreted depending on the social conditions of the specific context. Hence, the whole generated discourse- includes the process of production and interpretation- is both linguistically and socially determined. Moreover, Fairclough (1989) supplied an adjoined three- dimensional framework analysis of both text and discourse.

Fig.2. Discourse as text, interaction, and context.

The source: "Language and power" by N. Fairclough (2010, p.133)

Figure (2) shows Fairclough's CDA model which includes both the dimensions of discourse as a social and discursive practice and the dimensions of the discourse analysis as a tool of analyzing any type of discourse. The three interrelated levels of Fairclough's CDA model are:

- Description: It is the level of analyzing the formal structures of the text. This type of linguistic analysis involves the segmental and the supra-segmental features of the text,
- Interpretation: interpretations are generally made as a result of what exists in the text and what types of schemata the interpreters have in their minds as a form of shared background knowledge.
- Explanation: It is considered with providing explanation for the relationship between the communicative interaction and the social context which affects the flow of the discursive event.

1.2. Teun Van Dijk CDA Approach:

The beginning of the CDA network was represented by the launch of Van Dijk's journal *Discourse and Society* (1990). Teun A. Van Dijk is considered as a reference in the field of media discourse studies. He claims that social participants in a communicative event do not rely on merely personal beliefs and experiences, but also on collective borders and structures of social banners and perceptions called *social representations.* In his attempt to make a clear cut between the structural features and the social characteristics of a particular text, Van Dijk provided a two- level framework of research based on *the micro level* and *the macro level*.

Social cognition is "the system of mental representations and processes of group members" (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 18); i.e., these mental representations are the shared background knowledge that people internalize in their minds as forms of schemata. These examples of schemata are the systems that shape peoples' thoughts, beliefs, and experiences under the large scope of ideology. For this, "ideologies … are the overall, abstract mental systems that organize … socially shared attitudes" (ibid). So, this social cognition which forms the social ideologies explicitly influences the personal cognition and shapes the ways people interact and react in social communicative events. Van Dijk called such individual mental representations 'models' that "control how people act, speak or write or how they understand the social practices of others" (ibid). He, also, distinguished the concept of models by using the

terms 'US' versus 'THEM' specifications of mental processes; "Models are being expressed and persuasively conveyed that contrast US with THEM" (p. 263).

Fig.3. The Ideological Square.

Emphasize *Our* good things	Emphasize *Their* bad things
De-emphasize *Our* bad things	De-emphasize *Their* good things

The source: "Discourse and Ideology" by Teun. A. Van Dijk (2001, p.396)

Figure (3) expresses the twin strategies of positive 'in-group' characteristics and negative 'out-group' hallmarks; i.e. the 'WE' presents all favorable 'good' and 'THEY' presents all unfavorable 'bad'. These strategies are divided into two levels of analysis: the *macro level* includes four principles: "1)- 1). Emphasize positive things about "us"; 2). Emphasize negative things about "them"; 3). Deemphasize negative things about "us"; and 4). De-emphasize positive things about "them"" (Tobbi, 2021, p. 2154). However, the : the *micro level* include 25 linguistic items representing main rhetorical discursive strategies which are: *Actor Description, Authority, Burden, Categorization, Comparison, Consensus, Counterfactuals, Disclaimers, Euphemism, Evidentiality, Illustration/ Example, Generalizations, Hyperbole, Implication, Irony, Lexicalization, Metaphor, National Self Glorification, Norm Expression, Number Game, Polarization, Populism, Presupposition, Vagueness,* and *Victimization.* (ibid, pp. 2154, 2157).

2. *Trump, Politics and Twitter:*

Many politicians, today, approach increasingly an à la mode trend of doing politics; they tend to use the social media especially the Twitter sphere for they have thrived in the new medium which has paved the way to a revolution in political communication. "Twitter, a microblogging platform that allows users to compose messages in 280 characters or fewer, has helped politicians in their networking efforts (Ausserhofer & Maireder, 2013) as cited in (Anderson, 2017, p. 37) offers a fast track for the political decision-makers to the establishment of a new forum of expressing direct messages to the publics; messages which decode hidden interrelated manifestations of enacted power and ideology .Researchers claims that Twitter is considered the most prominent digital instrument in modern communication. It represents the most powerful

tool in modern politics. Donald J. Trump is "the most prolific Twitter user in politics" (Anderson, 2017) with a mass base of 62.2 million followers in 2019.

From his inauguration, Trump often used Twitter as "his own private spin room, shaping developing stories, and discrediting mainstream Media" by considering Twitter as" strategic instrument of power to sell his own authoritarian brand of politics" (Gounari, 2018). Therefore, a critical discourse analysis of some of his tweets against the Mexican flows of immigration to the U.S is an authentic exemplification of how a finite number of written linguistic codes demonstrated in a virtual context of digital media creates a discursive discourse that elucidates an opaque ideology of a socio-political xenophobic entity. Trump by castigating a higher political class in the governmental hierarchy of the US; the Democrats who are working to cover political inequalities in order to draw a discursive map of unbalanced distribution of socio-political and sociocultural power.

3. *Results and discussion :*

The thorough examination of this study corpus entails a critical analysis of Trump's Tweets rhetoric using the aforementioned eclectic methods and tools of CDA. The analysis will start first with listing the tweets in a chronological order (table 1):

Table 1: The Sample of Trump's Tweets for the CDA

N°	The Tweets	Date of publication
1	"Democrats, working with Republicans in Congress, can fix the Asylum and other loopholes quickly. We have a major National Emergency at our Border. GET IT DONE NOW!"	01April 2019
2	"Will soon be lending in Calexico, California to look at a portion of the new WALL being built on our Sothern border. Within two years we will have close to 400 miles built on under construction &`keeping our country SAFE- Not easy when the Dems are always fighting to stop you!"	5 April 2019
3	"Hard to believe that with the Crisis on the Border, the Dems won't do the quick and easy fix. Would solve the problem but they want open Borders, which equals crime!"	31 May 2019

4	"There is a crisis at our border. Time for congress to wake up, secure the border, and #DoWhatWeSaid"	21 June 2019
5	"I want to give the Democrats every last chance to quickly negotiate simple changes to Asylum and Loopholes. This will fix the Sothern Border, together with the help that Mexico now is giving us. Probably won't happen, but worth a try. Two weeks and big deportation begins!"	23 June 2019
6	"Democrats want open borders which equals violent crimes, drugs, and human trafficking. They also want very high taxes, like 90%. Republicans want what's good for America-the exact opposite!"	26 June 2019
7	"Too bad the Dems in Congress won't do anything at all about Border security. They want open Borders, which means crime. But we are getting it done, including building the Wall! More people than ever before are coming because the US Economy is so good, the best in history."	26 June 2019
8	"The Democrats want more suffering and more lives to be taken at our southern border for political purposes. Sad!"	26 June 2019
9	Mexico is doing a far better job than the Democrats on the Border. Thank you Mexico."	03 July 2019
10	"The Democrats in congress are getting nothing done, not on drug pricing, not on immigration, not on infrastructure, not on nothing! Sooo much opportunity, yet all they want to do is go 'fishing'. The American people are tired of the never ending Witch Hunt, they want results now!"	17 July 2019
11	"Big Progress at the Border, but Dems in congress must change Immigration Laws for all to be good! End the Loopholes and much more."	21 July 2019
12	"The 'Squad' is a very Racist group of troublemakers who are young, inexperienced, and not very smart. They are pulling the once great Democrat Party far left, and were against humanitarian aid at the Border… And are now against ICE and Homeland Security. So bad for our country!"	22 July 2019

The above sample will be selected accordingly to be dissected at the micro linguistic level and the macro socio-political level in order to be interpreted from two interrelated critical perspectives; First, how

Trump's linguistic amalgam of vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures is used effectively as a political discourse to instigate a political change concerning arguing the Democrats to validate the Wall Building at the Sothern Border of the US to prevent illegal Mexican immigrants from coming into the country; Second, how Trump's tweets manifest a linguistic description of self-positive representation of his 'good' political vision as a president whose duty is to preserve the sociopolitical peace of the Americans from the 'bad' threat of the unlawful Mexican migration. At the same line, his rhetoric is, as well, a textual portray of the other 'Democratic'-negative representation of their irresponsible attitudes towards the social political national security of the U.S.

3.1. A Critical View of Trump's Tweets as a Discursive Sociopolitical Practice:

The chosen sample is going to be critically analyzed through Fairclough Three Dimensional Model in which the textual properties of Trump's language will conclude that he is practicing unbalanced authoritative power in the American political terrace. Analyzing the vocabulary of Trump, many lexical and semantic linguistic manifestations clearly display the Trump's sociopolitical practice as a right American representative; Trump uses so many repetitions to reinforce his political views towards the sensitive crisis of the Southern Border as the repetition of the words 'crime' the' bad Democrats' 'building the Wall' and 'American safety'.

The grammatical features of the sample shows a rich linguistic 'Textuality: Fairclough's strategic 'Modality' is demonstrated in numerous tweets: 'This will fix the Sothern Border' (T n° ,5) implies the use of the modal 'will' as a certain futuristic step towards the national Safety of the U.S. (T n° 5) 'Dems in congress must change Immigration Laws' is another example of the use of the modal 'must' to describe an urgent obligatory need to protect America and to demonstrate an overt manifestation of practicing political power . The use of Imperatives as well is an illustration of unbalanced distribution of a discursive power in a sociopolitical context manipulated by Trump against the Democratic Party and the Illegal Mexican immigrants: "GET IT DONE NOW!" (T n° 1), "#DoWhatWeSaid" (T n°4) and 'End the Loopholes and much more." (T n°11). Trump's Rhetoric shows that political language has

deep social dimension far from its textual structure. Such dimension presents a production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power. A sociopolitical power that is effectively enacted and practiced by Trump within a finite number of linguistic features: Tweets.

3.2. The Linguistic Representation of Trump's Xenophobic Ideology:

The above mentioned sample is going to be critically scrutinized by implementing Van Dijk's Ideological Square Model to the extent that the Tweets rhetoric will demonstrate that Trump is intentionally and constantly attempts to emphasize his self-positive political vision concerning protecting the Southern Border from the irregular movements of Mexico to and fro the U.S and simultaneously emphasize the Democrats' negative sociopolitical attitudes towards the crisis.

3.2.1. Van Dijk's 'Macro' Analysis Strategy of Trump's 'self' and 'other' Democratic Ideological representations:

Table 2: The Positive-Self Representation of 'US/ Trump and the American Republican Political Party'

N°	Trump's emphatic Positive–Self Linguistic Representations	Interpretational implications of 'in-groups' Positiveness: Trump and the Republicans 'WE/ US'	Interpretational implications of 'Out-group' Negativeness: the Democrats 'THEY'
2	"Within two years we will have close to 400 miles built on under construction" "…&`keeping our country SAFE"	WE have **good** futuristic objectives for the betterment of OUR Border security. WE have a high spiritual patriotism and aware of OUR sacred national duty.	THEY have **bad** plans for OUR future safety. THEY lack sociopolitical responsibilibty and awareness
3	"Hard to believe that with the Crisis on the Border, the Dems won't do the quick and easy fix.	WE feel sorry and pitty for OUR country's national security.	THEY surprisingly do not cooperate immediately to solve urgent natioanl crisis to stop a dangeous foreign threat.
6	"Republicans want what's **good** for America- the exact opposite!"	WE know how to practice successful polititics. WE are competent politicians.	THEY want what's **bad** for America THEY are unskillful politicians.

7	"…we are getting it done…" "…the US Economy is so good, the best in history."	→ WE decide hopefully OUR self-determination. → WE work hard to save OUR finantial supplies by saving OUR Great Economic Heritage.	→ THEY are preventing OUR progress. → THEY are trying to devastate OUR **GOOD** economy
11	"Big Progress at the Border"	→ We achieve a great political and social victory.	→ THEY feel Political failure.

Table (2) shows five tweets in which Trump criticizes the non-support of the Democrats regarding the safety of the Sothern Border from the unsecure and illegal Mexican Immigration to the point that he emphasizes his 'good' political vision towards keeping America the 'good' country safe with the help of the Republican Party. Contrary to that, his tweets lexicalization and semantic micro structures imply an atrocious description of negative representation of the Democrats who refuse to cooperate with him to either change the Immigration laws or to finance the Wall structure to minimize the social, political and economic dangers that illegal Mexican comers may cause in the U.S. Thus, such a corpus of tweets represents that Trump is a 'good', 'self-determined', 'wise', 'patriot' and 'nationalist' president who sweat blood to protect the American public, government, and economic properties.

Table 3. The Positive-Self Representation of 'US/ Trump and thevAmerican Republican Political Party'

N°	Trump's De-emphatic Negative– Linguistic Representations of Democrats	Interpretational implications of 'Out-group' Negativeness: the Democrats 'THEY'
1	'Democrats, working with Republicans in Congress, can fix the Asylum and other loopholes quickly. We have a major National Emergency at our Border…'	→ THEY have the capability of protecting the sociopolitical safety of America but THEY refuse to participate in the national call of duty.
2	"…Not easy when the Dems are always fighting to stop you!..."	→ THEY always stands in front of Trump's angelic altruism towards America's safety.

3 **6** **7**	"…but they want open Borders, which equals crime!..." "Democrats want open borders which equals violent crimes, drugs, and human trafficking. They also want very high taxes…" "Too bad the Dems in Congress won't do anything at all about Border security. They want to open Borders, which means crime."	→ THEY are disloyal committing national treason. THEY encourage cruel crimes in the American society so THEY have an intentional plan to destroy the American citizens with social catastrophes like drugs.
	"The Democrats want more suffering and more lives to be taken at our southern border for political purposes".	→ THEY are criminals who manage to socially contaminate the American society. → THEY have from their humanity leaving both illegal Mexican immigrants and American Border Patrol Agents die on the southern border when clashing together.
12	"The 'Squad' is a very Racist group of troublemakers who are young, inexperienced, and not very smart. They are pulling the once great Democrat Party far left, and were against humanitarian aid at the Border"	→ THEY are not faithful to the American Political principles any more by having allegiance to unlawful Mexican criminal body invades the streets of U.S: the 'Squad'. Americans are not for Americans any more.

Table (3) shows that Trump's tweets is a concrete exemplification of negative 'out-group' ideological representation; Trump's rhetoric implies that the Democrats are not holding to the merits of the American constitution that casts the security of the American public and the integrity of the American institutions. Trump deliberately emphasizes the negative, shallow and short-sighted political vision of the Democrats who have been depicted as traitors welcoming foreign criminal entities. Such a macro strategy analysis represents as well an ideological opposition against both the Democrats who refuse to protect the Southern border and the illegal Mexican comers who, from Trump's sociopolitical perspective, will threaten the welfare of the U.S.

3.2.2. Van Dijk's 'Micro' Analysis Strategy of Trump's 'self' and 'other' Democratic Ideological representations:

Trump's tweets articulate many micro strategic representations of self 'positiveness' and other 'negativeness'; the most prominent ones, in the sample, are embodied in the 'Actor Description' and 'Categorization' strategies in which Trumps describes himself positively while he presents the Democrats so negatively. Both the 'Authority' and the 'comparison' strategies are shown in the integration of the Republicans who are oppositional poles to the Democrats who are unlike the Republic party refuse to aid the Wall construction (T n° 01 and 6). 'Burden' and 'Victimization' strategies are displayed in the 'lives -both American soldiers and Mexican immigrants- to be taken at our southern border' (T n° 8). The safety of America from the unsecure threat of the Illegal migration is demonstrated through the 'Consensus' strategy. In order to show the conceivable claim of Trump xenophobic ideology towards the Mexicans, the 'Illustration' strategy is used. It is exemplified in referring the 'squad' (T n¨° 12). 'Hyperbole' and 'Generalizations' are linguistically displayed via the continuous attack of all the Democrats in the American Congress. It is clear as well that Trump sarcastically belittles the Democrats in their lack of political gripe claiming that they are 'fishing' instead of doing right politics (T n° 11) and comparing them to Mexico the controversial country which is likely to provide more help in protecting the U.S.

Conclusion:

The study aimed at investigating the linguistic features and ideology of the American president Donald Trump against the Mexican immigrants in a selected number of Tweets. Following Van Dijk's and Fairclough's models of CDA analysis, the study concludes that the discursive narrative of the President has, par excellence, bore elements of not only xenophobia, but also vindicated his myopic posture regarding the multifaceted nature of the immigrants. Through the deliberate use of disparaging discourse to voice his contempt of the 'aliens', Trump has sought to extensively establish a discriminatory discourse within the American populace that would constitute the backbone of his campaign motto "make America Great Again". Therefore, merging the Mexican immigrants into one dimensional group of outlaws and wrong-doers coupled with the President's extensive use of repetition, hyperbole and

derogatory discourse, it could be ascertained that Trump followed a strategy of hate, racism, fear and xenophobia to justify his qualms to "build walls against them".

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