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A Critical Discourse Analysis of the US and China Political Speeches—Based on the Two Speeches Respectively by Trump and Wang Yi in the General Debate of the 72nd Session of UN Assembly

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***Abstract*—The research attempts to analyze two political discourses delivered respectively by American president Donald Trump and Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi in the 72nd session of UN assembly. With Fairclough's 3-Dimensional Discourse Model as the analytical framework, we make an investigation into the two political discourses so as to gain insights into the interplay of discourse, ideology and society, by examining linguistic characteristics of text, discursive and social practice dimensions. On the first dimension of text, we find that both leaders prefer Judgment resources to the other two resources within the Affect System in their remarks, by resorting to the new advancement in Systemic Functional Grammar—Martin's Attitude subsystem under his Appraisal framework, and closely examining the interpersonal metafunctions, coupled with statistical measures. Within the Judgment subsystem, there exist significant differences between the two speeches in terms of Tenacity+ resources. On the dimension of discursive practice, our research reveals that both leaders use a great number of intertextuality resources in the remarks. Besides, both leaders have a preference to the sub-category of "The Original Producer of Discourse being the Speaker's Compatriots" under the category of "Intertextuality". That is, Wang Yi has a preference for the lines of Chinese sages in the Antiquity, whereas Trump is fond of using intertextuality resources from a diversity of domains, such as laws and statues, legal texts and documents of governments. Lastly, we develop an understanding of roles played by "American First" ideology and Chinese government's national interest in today's political arena through analyzing technologizing means of discourses.**

***Index Terms*—political speech, Fairclough's three-dimensional discourse analysis, ideology, intertextuality, appraisal theory**

I. Introduction

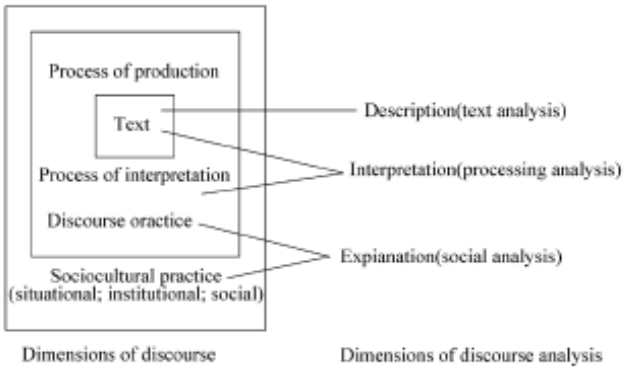
Political speeches refer to discourses in the forms of public addresses or orations delivered by government heads or officials, other representatives of governments, or heads of a nation, to clarify their positions, opinions and policies of the governments. The studies on political speeches can be traced to the Ancient Greece (Chilton, 2004), when orators like Cicero believed the power of speech was in the duty of the citizens, whereas others thought speeches full of rhetoric skills were but deception and distortion of social realities. In the Age of classical Athens, there were brilliant political figures, who were at the same time great speakers of political speeches, such as Demosthenes (384-322 BC), Aeschines (389–314 BC) and many others. As for political speeches, van Dijk (1997) claims that the study on political discourse analysis is not only concerned with the orators or speakers themselves, but also with the political and communicative events or encounters. He (van Dijk, 1997, p.11-52) highlights the role played by the interaction between context and text, and occasions are important in the analysis of political speeches, such as "cabinet meetings, parliamentary sessions, election campaigns, rallies, interviews with media, bureaucratic practices, and protest demonstrations". Relevant researches center on the following aspects: political talk and online discussion(Anastasia& Stamou, 2018; Magdalena& Diana, 2009), the relationship between politics, ideology, and the government (Fairclough, 1989; Hudson, 1978; van Dijk, 1997) political language as well as relevant theories and practices (Chilton, 2004; McCarthy, 2002; Cap, 2006; Wodak, 1989), political discourse as interdisciplinary topics (Kirvalidze, 2016; Reyes, 2011, Benson & Elisabeth, 2006; Bhatia, 2006). In Chinese linguistic academia, major strands of research on political discourse are as follows: the systemic-functional and CDA perspective (Chonglong Gu, 2018; Li Wei, 2016; Wang Hesi, Yin P'an & Wang Furong, 2011; Zhang Delu & Su Shiguang, 2015), historical CDA approach(Lin Yuting & Miao Xingwei, 2016), the translation

approach (Dou Weilin, 2011; Dou Weilin, Wen Jianping, 2015), the cognitive-discourse perspective(Zhang Tianwei, Guo Binbin, 2016; Wang Hui, Sun Jing, 2016), and other transdisciplinary methods or the combination of more than two approaches(Ju Yumei, 2020; Li Tao& Xu Fang, 2018; Wang Hongyang & Cheng Chunsong, 2007; Zhu Wei, 2015). Most the endeavors of the researches are oriented towards one or two certain aspect(s) of political remarks, whereas a unified and sound analytical framework is obviously lacking. Both the depth and number of research papers concerning Fairclough's 3-dimensional theoretical framework are far from sufficient. In the research papers so far collected from CNKI (China Zhi wang) in the five years, for example, most researchers follow the SFL analytical tools to analyze Transitivity system, mood and modality, and interpersonal metaphor in media reports. The analysis from the Attitude system or lexical discourse semantics can hardly be found. Further, still lacking is statistical analysis about significance of frequency between China and Foreign leader's political speeches, which may shed light on how the discourse and ideology can be mutually affected and constructed. Considering the above demerits, this research seeks out to give a more convincing and elaborated explanation of the US and China Political Speeches from Fairclough's three-dimensional perspective.

II. Faiclough's Three-dimensional CDA as an Analytical Framework

Critical Discourse Analysis, or, shortened as CDA, is a flourishing discipline of linguistics. It sheds light on social inequalities, injustice and the abuse of power, etc. in the light of discoursal analysis. Representative figures include Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk, Theovan Leeuwen, Gerlinde Mautner, who distinguish themselves from other CDA researchers by their peculiar research backgrounds and strategies, namely, the Dialectical—Relational Approach, the Discourse-Historical Approach, Socio-cognitive Approach, Social Actors Approach and Corpus-Linguistics Approach. Of all the CDA linguists, Norman Fairclough stands out as a peculiar socially-oriented contributor to critical discourse analysis studies. Fairclough (1989) claims, language and power are richly interrelated. It is through the uncovering of ideology and power behind language that we may bring to light the injustices in the society. Fairclough (1985) also claims that the important task ahead for critical discourse analysts is to denaturalize the ideology internalized already in discourse and text. He also encompasses in his theoretical framework Bakhtin's intertextuality and genre theory, as well as Gramsci's Theory of Hegemony. In the three-dimensional theoretical framework (Fairclough, 1985), as is shown below in Table 1, the first or the innermost dimension refers to text, involving the description of the discourse. The second tier is called discursive practice, which involves the interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction. The last analytical dimension represents social practice, which calls for the explanation of the relationship between social interaction and the social context as a whole. Also, in Stamou's estimation (Stamou, 2013), there exist 3 levels in Fairclough's theory, namely, the micro-level analysis of text dimension, the meso-level analysis mainly concerned with discursive practice, and the macro-level part focusing on social practice.

TABLE 1
FAIRCLOUGH'S THREE-DIMENSIONAL CDA ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK



III. Research Design

A. Data

The present data includes political speeches delivered respectively by US President Trump and Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi at the session of General Debate in the UN Assembly in 2017. Both leaders' speech texts can be found on the official websites of the US White House and China's Foreign Ministry and other famous media. We have provided the source of information at the end of this research paper for further reference. Based on the texts at hand, we have carefully marked out every and each linguistic resource according the requirements of the SFL framework and operational procedures, so the inter-coder reliability can be held as accurate in that we have invited students who are conversant with the SFL theories, and we have also made agreements about the accuracy and the standardization of the

marking work. As far as the two remarks are concerned, the length of the English text is 4134 words in all, and the Chinese totals 3459 characters. We have adopted methodology featuring a combination of both qualitative and quantitative ways. We strictly follow a three-dimensional analytical stage of Fairclough's CDA analysis, namely, "the description, interpretation, explanation of texts", this study adopts both a "top-down" and "bottom-up" method, that is, the concrete items of Attitude resources will first be searched, retrieved, and sorted out from the data, and their frequency as well as distribution will be provided mainly by our manual calculation as well as an analytical UAM Corpus tool. The author and the coding person have double-checked the data and the frequency in order to achieve the expected accuracy and efficacy. First, we have read carefully the two remarks and decided on the most appropriate analytical SFL methods—the Attitude system as postulated by J. R. Martin, a successful theory on discourse semantics. Secondly, we have also applied other theories, suitable methods and, drawing upon research findings of previous papers, determined the proper variables to be looked into. Thirdly, focusing on the linguistic resources, where most differences between the two remarks lie, we have carried out a statistical calculation to assess whether these differences are of significant value. Is so doing, we can come to more convincing conclusions about the relationship between language, power and ideology, based on quantitative data. The purpose of the research lies in revealing how meanings at three dimensions are constructed through our analysis from the perspective of SFL, evaluation theory and relevant social theories.

B. Research Questions

Our research questions are as follows:

(1) What Attitude resources have been used by president Trump and Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi in their political remarks in the UN Assembly?

(2) By means of the analysis of frequency, percentage as well as SPSS analysis into the Judgment resources, what statistical conclusions can we draw? Are the differences statistically significant?

(3) On the dimension of discursive practice and social practice, what interpretation and explanation can be made based on the two leaders remarks?

IV. Research Findings and Discussion

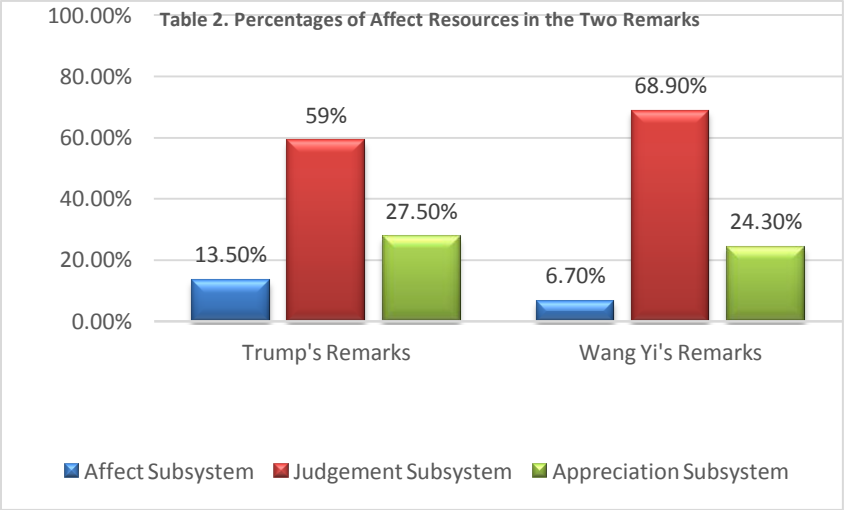
A. SFL-based Analysis of the Text

In Halliday's classification of 3 metafunctions, Halliday (1994) identifies three modes of meaning, namely, ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings, which operate simultaneously in all texts or discourses. However, when it comes to the speaker/ author's intersubjective stance, Martin& White (1999) finds the interpersonal part calls for further elaboration and development. Martin& White's (1999) lexically-based evaluation of language adopts a peculiar perspective into the interpersonal meaning of texts, lending itself to a better interpretation of language in use. Martin& White (1999, p.36) argues Attitude is about "people's feelings, including emotional reaction, judgment of behavior and evaluation of things".

1. Comparison between American and Chinese Speeches in terms of Attitude Subsystem

Appreciation refers to evaluations of toward world composed of semiotic meanings as well as natural phenomena, as regards the manners in which these things they are valued, assessed or not related to a particular field. Judgment (Martin& White, 1999, p.52) construes our attitudes to people and the way they behave, consisting of two subtypes—"Social Esteem and Social Sanction". Appreciation (Martin& White, 1999, p.56) refers to meaning as regards the construal of our evaluation of "things", especially those we make and performances we give, but also including natural phenomena—what such things are worth. Among the three subsystems, Attitude stands at the focal part, for it is effective in analyzing emotions and feelings. Compared with Engagement, which is mainly about strategy of discourse, speakers' Attitude can more revealingly show the three-sided relationship of "power—discourse—speaker".

TABLE 2.
PERCENTAGES OF AFFECT RESOURCES IN THE TWO REMARKS



It is clear that in the above chart, both Trump and Wang Yi do not use many Affect resources in their remarks. Compared with the Affect resources of Trump's, Wang Yi's Affect resources are much lower, only constituting 6.7% of the whole speech. The reasons underling this phenomenon is not hard to seek. One plausible reason is that due to the solemnity of the occasion, it is neither rational nor suitable to address the UN representatives with positive or negative subjective emotions. As the Chinese are commonly believed to be introverted in character, and due to the formality of the occasion, this tendency becomes more salient in Wang Yi's remarks. And it is more than understandable, Chinese government representatives will shy away from revealing personal emotions in front a large public. As far as Appreciation resources are concerned, there is also no great difference between the two remarks. In the same vein, President Trump is not in the mood to show whether he is happy or sad, confident or anxious, interested or bored. So, this type of Affect resources is relative few.

From Table 2, we can also see that leaders in both countries have resorted to the Affect resources of Judgment in their remarks, with Wang's remarks as high as 68.9% and Trump's reaching 59%. Judgment and Appreciation are different from Affect subsystem, in that feelings in the two resources are by nature institutionalized ones. In this sense, the two subtypes of resources (Martin& White, 1999, p. 45) are uncommon senses that worlds of shared community value. Judgment resources has more to do what we are expected to behave and what we should avoid doing in a society, where there are conventionalized rules and regulations administered by state and other authorities. In formal occasions like the discussing session in the UN assembly, it is conceivable that leaders of diverse countries are expected to air their unambiguous opinions and Judgments about key issues in the world arena, such as severe threats from environment degradation, terrorist and extremist attacks, authoritarian powers; position and stance of every country in their contribution to the world peace, stability and prosperity. This can speak for the high percentage of Judgment in both leaders' addresses. In Wang Yi's remarks, the percentage reaches as high as 68.9%, which carries strong determination of the Chinese government and exhibits the Chinese government's clear awareness of her due role in the international affair as well as in the UN. In like manner, Trump, as the representative of the American government, expresses what stance the US has taken toward possible perils from terrorism, what judgments the American has made about those "rogue countries", what responsibility the American government has undertaken in the global affairs and what role will his country play in the UN. Judgment subsystem (Martin& White, 1999, p.52), it is known, consists of "Social esteem" and "Social sanction", with the former dealing with "Normality (how unusual someone is)", "Capacity (how capable they are)" and "Tenacity (how resolute they are)", the latter with "Veracity (how truthful someone is)" and "Propriety (how ethical someone is)". Appraisal resources, as important attitudinal elements, are heavily reflective of ideology for Attitude linguistic resources, especially Judgment subsystem, is directly linked with a person, an institution or and government's fundamental values—the ethics, morality or social values of other people and other countries. These values are closely associated with ideological assumptions, which have been "naturalized" into common senses, and are taken granted in the two speeches, leaving few traces of persuasion or propagandizing.

Interestingly, within the Judgment resource, and in both remarks, "Capacity" and "Propriety" resources occur most frequently, with its frequency totaling 95 times. We will in the ensuing part do a statistical study to see whether the differences are statistically significant. Here are some examples of "Capacity" resource:

e.g. "The success of the United Nations depends upon the independent strength of its members…our success depends on a coalition of strong and independent nations that embrace their sovereignty to promote security, prosperity and peace, for themselves and for the world."

(https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/full-text-trump-s-first-address-to-un-1.5452208)

In this example, "success" , "strong" and "strength" are typical "Capacity" category of Judgment sources, which are

all used to express Trump and the US government's affirmation and praise for the achievement so far achieved by the UN.

For Appreciation resources, in the two remarks, they are 27.5% and 24.3% respectively. The Chinese remarks have fewer types of Appreciation resources than those in the English speech. Interesting to note that, there are both positive + and negative- types of Appreciation in Trumps remarks, whereas in Wang Yi's remarks all the Appreciation resources are positive-type. This reflects different cultural orientations in the West and the East, in that The American are quicker and more willing to say whether things are worthwhile, attractive or captivating.

2. Contrast between American and Chinese Speeches in terms of Attitude Subsystem

As far as "Propriety" is concerned in Trumps speech, we can acutely feel American government's way of judging whether things are ethical or not. These linguistic data are the "material forms of American ideology" (Fairclough, 1992, p.87)

e.g. "If the righteous many do not confront the wicked few, then evil will triumph. When decent people and nations become bystanders to history, the forces of destruction only gather power and strength."

(https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/full-text-trump-s-first-address-to-un-1.5452208)

It is obvious that the American has their own criterion for judging what group of people can be thought of as righteous or decent and what group are evil or wicked. They are righteous and decent, if they confirm fittingly with the American values of politics rather than the political code of their own countries.

Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi frequently uses both repetition and parallelism in his remarks to produce strong wills the Chinese government and the earnest hope of the Chinese people. Examples abound in this remarks, such as "我们现在需要的，是更加全面的无核化，更加彻底的无核化，更加不可逆的无核化。(…it is the greater need now for more comprehensive, more thorough and more irreversible denuclearization.)", "联合国应当发扬光大这一民主精神，推动各国在国际事务中权利平等、机会平等、规则平等，共同制定国际规则、共同治理全球事务、共同分享发展成果。(The UN should promote such spirit of democracy and make sure that all countries enjoy equal rights and opportunities and follow the same rules in international affairs. This way, countries can set international rules together, run global affairs together, and share in development achievements together.)""尊重多样性、维护多样性、促进多样性，应该成为我们的自觉和自愿。(We should raise awareness about its importance and be more than willing to respect, protect and promote such diversity.)"

(http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/zyjh_674906/t1495748.shtml)

In the case of the Chinese text, it is also the discourse semantic resources of Judgment occupy the largest share among the three Affect resources, with it reaching 68.9%. When it comes to particular types of judgment resources, things are different.

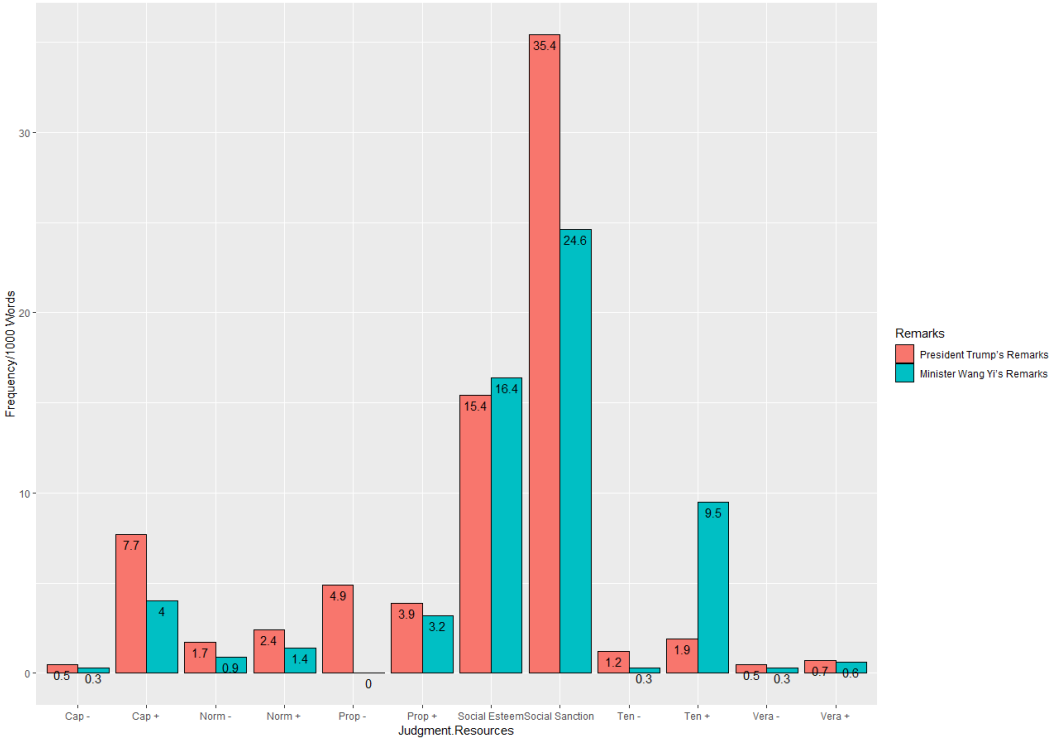
3. Differences between American and Chinese Speeches within Judgment Subsystem

As has been discussed above, unlike Affect and Appreciation subsystems, linguistic resources linked with Judgment system are most conspicuous in both leaders' remarks. Thus, a further statistical study of each and every item within Judgment system will bring us closer toward how the leaders of the two big nations view different political systems, such as communism, dictatorship, terrorist or democracy; what political values the two great figures and their nations cherish, like values of solidarity, freedom, morality or equality; what political relations the two leaders think are correct, including power, hegemony, oppression, tolerance, and many other aspects of political discourses.

TABLE 3.
JUDGMENT RESOURCES IN TRUMP AND WANG YI'S REMARK

	President Trump's Remarks			Minister Wang Yi's Remarks		
	Total Frequency	Frequency/100 Words	The Percentage in the Judgment System	Total Frequency	Frequency/100 Characters	The Percentage in the Judgment System
Social Esteem						
Norm +	10	2.4	9.5%	5	1.4	7%
Norm -	7	1.7	6.7%	3	0.9	4.2%
Cap +	32	7.7	30.5%	14	4	19.7%
Cap -	2	0.5	2%	1	0.3	1.4%
Ten +	8	1.9	7.6%	33	9.5	46.5%
Ten -	5	1.2	4.%8	1	0.3	1.4%
Social Sanction						
Vera +	3	0.7	2.9%	2	0.6	2.8%
Vera -	2	0.5	2%	1	0.3	1.4%
Prop +	16	3.9	15.2%	11	3.2	15.5%
Prop -	20	4.9	19%	0	0	0
Total	105	25.4		71	20.5	

TABLE 4.
THE BAR CHART OF JUDGMENT RESOURCE IN TRUMP AND WANG YI'S REMARKS



From the above two tables, we will easily find the American president has used more linguistic resources of Social sanction, for Social sanction has more to do with penalties, punishments, as levers against those who do not comply with the code as instituted by church and state (Marin& White, 1999, p.52). The US government is often condemned by the world for being too aggressive and hegemonic, which can be evidenced by our research on the Judgment resources. Trump's remarks use both negative and positive Propriety resources to judge how far so-and-so is beyond reproach or not.

TABLE 5
CHI-SQUARE TEST AND SIGNIFICANCE VALUE OF FREQUENCY/ 1000 WORDS/ CHARACTERS IN JUDGMENT SUBSYSTEM

Judgment Resources	President Trump's Remarks Frequency/1000 Words	Minister Wang Yi's Remarks Frequency/1000 Words	$\chi 2$	P Value
Social Esteem	15.4	16.4	0.032	0.857
Social Sanction	35.4	24.6	1.167	0.197
Norm +	2.4	1.4	0.333	0.564
Norm -	1.7	0.9	0.333	0.564
Cap +	7.7	4	1.333	0.248
Cap -	0.5	0.3	*	*
Ten +	1.9	9.5	5.333	**0.021**
Ten -	1.2	0.3	*	*
Vera +	0.7	0.6	0.000	1.000
Vera -	0.5	0.3	*	*
Prop +	3.9	3.2	0.143	0.705
Prop -	4.9	0	*	*

According to the results of the chi-square test above, there is a significant relationship between Tenacity+ item in President Trump and Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi's Remarks. As is shown in Table 5, for Tenacity+ item, $\chi 2=5.333$, df=1, $p<0.05(0.021)$. This is clear evidence that in terms of Tenacity+ item, the two leaders have great differences. It is important to note that, "Tenacity+" resources rank as the largest linguistic resources in all the subsystems and sub-categories in the Chinese discourses. China has displayed how dependable as the biggest developing nation the country is in the world affairs. Moreover, China has for many times shown the world how reliable and how robust the country's actions have been, and these have been witnessed by the countries the world over.

e.g. "中国始终是致力于和平的力量。我们为半岛核问题的和平解决做出了不懈努力。不管形势如何演变，不管需要多长时间，不管遇到什么困难，中国，都将坚守半岛无核化的目标，坚持对话谈判的方向，坚定维护地区的和平稳定。" (English translation from the website for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "China has always been a force for peace. We have made unremitting efforts for peaceful resolution of the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula. No matter how the situation evolves, no matter how long it takes, and no matter what difficulties lie ahead, China will

remain committed to the goal of denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula, stick to the direction of dialogue and negotiation and firmly uphold regional peace and stability.")

(http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/zyjh_674906/t1495748.shtml)

In this part, Wang Yi states China's pivotal role in aiding the Korean Peninsula restoring its peace and security. Minister Wang Yi gives full play to"Tenacity" resources, such as "始终"(always)，"不懈"(unremitting)，"坚守"(remain committed to)，"坚持"(stick to)and "坚定"(firmly)to prove to the world how dependable and how determined the Chinese government is in the great undertakings of world peace and stability. It is long been the Chinese government principle to develop relations of peace and friendship, equality and mutual benefit, and prolonged stability. These "Tenacity" resources are clear evidence of China's long-held peaceful foreign policies, which, through the remarks of the Chinese minister of Foreign Affairs, carry China's determination to maintain a fair and rational new international political and economic order.

B. Discursive Practice Dimension

"Intertextuality" (Kristeva, J, 1986; Bakhtin, 1981; Zhang Quanfang, 2016) highlights the point that texts are linked with other texts, either in the past or in the present. Hawthorn (Hawthorn, 1994, p.99.) believes "intertextuality" refers to "relation between two more texts which as an effect upon the way in which the intertext (that is the text within which other texts reside or echo their presence) is read". Fairclough (1992, p.4) maintains the discursive practice dimension, very much resembling "interaction" in the "text-and-interaction" view of discourse, reveals the essence of the processes of both discourse production and interpretation. Those elements closely related to the discursive event, such as the social environment, institutional or organizational circumstances will in this dimension be given premium on, and causes will be analyzed for what can account for the discursive event as well as the constitutive/ constructive effects of the discourse. The study of interextuality can helps to disclose the anonymous discursive practices, reveal to the audience the existing conditions of the previous discourses, to which the later discourses are given birth. First, in the stage of exploring into the reproduction and transmission of discourse, we may find, as far as both President Trump's and Wang Yi's speeches are concerned, there are intertextuality links between this oration and his other previous speeches. Intertextuality was first invented by Kristeva in the late 1960s, and Bakhtin (1986, p.46-47) thinks texts are inherently intertextual, which means texts are composed of components from other texts. Fairclough (1992, p.102) argues intertextuality has the power to transform prior texts and restructures the existing conventions, such as genres and discourses, to create new ones. It's not difficult to find that, to study the production of a discourse, intertextuality cannot be ignored. And relevant concepts like Recontextualization can be observed when we compare the two political remarks with other discourses.

Habermas (1984) proposed the colonization of the "life world" by the "systems" of the economy and the state. He thinks the originally cardinal roles of language as communicative tools have been replaced by "strategic of language". From Table 6, we can see that the number of intertextuality in China Foreign Minister's remarks is much higher than the American president's speech. In Wang Yi's speech, the instances of intertextuality constitute as high as 11.7%. A further analysis into his remarks shows that these instances include both "indirect quotes" and "direct quotes", whereas in the American president's speech, most intertextuality cases are "indirect quotes". It can seen that the American leaders are fond of using intertextuality resources from laws, legal texts and government documents. We have the impression that President Trump has made efforts to internalize ideology into his remarks. Here is one example: "As president of the United States, I will always put America first. Just like you, as the leaders of your countries, will and should always put your countries first."

(https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/full-text-trump-s-first-address-to-un-1.5452208) "Putting America first" is American government's national policy, and Trump has held it high in his heart when vying with Hillary Clinton for American president. He thinks it is natural to put one's national interest first above anything else. On the side of Wang Yi's speech, he faithfully quotes the intertextuality by putting them in quotation marks. Examples include "本届联大将"以人为本：和平、尊严和可持续发展"作为主题，具有重要意义。(the theme of this year's General Assembly session, "Focusing on people: striving for peace and decent life for all on a sustainable planet", is a most relevant one)", "两年前在这个讲坛上，中国国家主席习近平呼吁"构建以合作共赢为核心的新型国际关系，打造人类命运共同体"。(Two years ago at this very podium, Chinese President Xi Jinping called on us to foster a new type of international relations featuring win-win cooperation and to build a community of shared future for mankind.)" and "联合国要推动各方"彼此以善邻之道，和睦相处"，实现共同、综合、合作、可持续的安全。(The UN must encourage all its members to "live together in peace with one another as good neighbors", and achieve common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security.)"

(http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/zyjh_674906/t1495748.shtml)

TABLE 6
FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF INTERTEXTUALITY RESOURCES IN TRUMP AND WANG YI'S SPEECHES

Intertextuality / Orator	Time Duration of Each Address	Instances of Intertextuality (The number of characters/ words)	The total Number of words/ characters of the speech	Percentage of intertextuality in each speech
US President Trump	60'	153	4134	3.7%
China Foreign Minister	16'	405	3459	11.7%

TABLE 7
TYPES OF INTERTEXTUALITY RESOURCES

Intertextuality in Discourse	The Original Producer of Discourse being the Speaker's Compatriots (Frequency)	The Original Producer of Discourse Not being the Speaker's Compatriots (Frequency)	Citation with positive connotations (Frequency)	Citation with negative connotations (Frequency)	The total number of the occurrence of intertextuality instances (Frequency)
Remarks of Trump	11	0	10	1	11
Remarks of Wang Yi	20	27	44	3	47

From the above two tables, we can find both the percentages and frequencies of the instances of intertextuality are high in the two speeches. Examples of intertextuality of the English remarks constitute a percentage of 3.7, and the Chinese a percentage of 11.7, which is clear evidence of Bakhtin (1986)'s argument that discourses of whatever kind are characterized by the signals given by speakers or writers to show a transition, and will echo with previous utterances made by previous speakers or writers, point to anticipated utterances of future speaks or writers.

In Wang Yi's speech, for instance, he says,"展望未来，联合国的理想尚未实现，各国仍需继续努力。(The noble ideals of the UN are yet to be attained, and countries must make continued efforts toward those ideals:)"

(http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/zyjh_674906/t1495748.shtml)

At first sight, there is not a single trace of intertextuality in this utterance, especially in the eyes of foreigners. For those illiterate Chinese, the conclusion might remain the same. However, we can find in the Founding Father of China Sun-Yatsen's will, there are utterances like, "革命尚未成功，同志仍需努力。(My Translation: The great career of revolution has not yet been accomplished, so our comrades still have a long way to go.)""The insertion of the text into historyrespond, reaccentuate, reworks"(Kristeva,1986) previous text by Dr. Sun-Yatsen, the prominent political figure before the founding of the new China, and by so doing, contributes to making history in today's world, and helps to disseminate China's voice toward global affairs. Another type of example, as found in Wang's remarks, reveals to the audience how "The Original Producer of Discourse Not being the Speaker's Compatriots" Category can be effective in winning the applause of the target audience, the majority of whom are accustomed to English remarks with rich Western culture.

In the following example, "全球化是不可阻挡的潮流。既不是"西方化"，也不是"东方化"；既不能搞"丛林法则"，更不能"赢者通吃"。(Globalization is an unstoppable trend. It is neither "Westernization" nor "Easternization". It should not follow the law of the jungle, still less the winner-takes-all approach.)"

(http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/zyjh_674906/t1495748.shtml)

Regrettably, the number of this type of intertextuality is rather small, indicative of the room for improvement in China's future diplomatic discourses. "The Law of Jungle"[1] means the cruel rule of "survival of the fittest" or "every man for himself" in societies or in the natural world. Rudyard& Kipling (2007) in his novel *the Jungle Book*, wrote the poems concerning the theme of the jungle.

On the side of President Trump, he alluded to "the Marshall Plan", "the United States Constitution" as well as its content—"We are the people". He mentioned, for one, "the Institution" several times, so as to highlight the same aspect of American policy, scattered respectively in the genre of legal document and the genre of oration. Trump has made the "vertical intertextual relations"(Kristeva, 1986, p.30) accessible to the audience by minimizing the differences of parameters and various texts in terms of one theme. Trump has assigned new meanings to the Constitution, that is, as a successful canon for people the world over to follow. In so doing, Trump "reaccentuates" (Bakhtin, 1986, p.79-80) the American Constitution in a reverent and glorified fashion in order to disseminate the American value.

It is easy to find that both leaders have a preference to the intertextuality of Category of "The Original Producer of Discourse being the Speaker's Compatriots". There might be a couple of reasons for their practices. Both leaders are very familiar with anecdotes and quotations in their native land, so it is natural to use these language resources at hand. Besides, both leaders are apt to impress the audience with rhetorics rich in peculiar national characteristics. In this regard, Wang Yi, like other Chinese leaders, has a preference for using famous lines from classical Chinese texts.

[1] "Law of the Jungle." Oxford English Dictionary Online. Oxford University Press. n.d. Web. 10 May 2013.

Examples include, “彼此以善邻之道，和睦相处(live together in peace with one another as good neighbors)”, “我们要推动不同文明‘百花齐放’，鼓励不同文化‘百家争鸣’，促成不同国度‘百舸争流’。(We should encourage different civilizations, cultures and countries to flourish together through interactions and healthy competition.)”.

(http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/zyjh_674906/t1495748.shtml)

C. Social Practice Dimension

Social practices, in whatever forms, can be regarded as discursive constructions about relevant topics at a particular period in history. On the plane of national ideology, Donald Trump has earnestly preached what is representative of American government’s best interest. Discourse means more than a media of communication or transmission of information. According to Fairclough (1989, p.77), ideological assumptions will inevitably be embodied by discourses as “common sense”. The ideology of a nation will be institutionalized through a network of powers, and knowledge is applied to operate to help form what is truth for the US by means of discursive practices. These types of truth, once formed, will become “naturalized” as backgrounded national ideologies, which may exert its powerful dominance and control individuals and communities. Trump gives full play to his power of the American president, by manipulating and controlling his discourse practice so as to consolidate and construct “ideological—discursive formations” These IDFs, much resembling the concept of speech community, helps to constitute social systems (Fairclough, 1995). He, as one of the authors of the IDFs, and, also the representative of the American ideology, proactively participates in the constructing practice of “technologizing” political discourses, and the technologization of discourses, in turn, reveals how discourses are shaped and manipulated by power. In Foucault’s theory, he sees discourse as larger systems of thought, which can be used to regulate people’s behavior. In this sense, power, ideology and discourse are thus closely interrelated. In Trump’s speech, he does his utmost to preach to the world the cardinal American values and national interest by flamboyantly boasting about America’s indispensable role in defending world peace, dispelling ruthless despots, and upholding democracy and freedom. In Trump’s discourse, he says “authority and authoritarian powers seek to collapse the values, the systems, and alliances…”, this reveals that (Fairclough, 1989, p.32-34) ideology has a part to play to “coerce” others to go with them, otherwise they will exercise their power of penalty and ultimate sanctions by winning other nations’ consent or acquiescence in their possession and exercise of power. Trump also mentions “the depraved regime in North Korea”, who “is responsible for the starvation deaths of millions of North Koreans.”, thus justifying American diplomatic and military strategies against this country.

(https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/full-text-trump-s-first-address-to-un-1.5452208) By repeatedly inculcating American ideology into its native land as well as the world, Trump will successfully keep the balance of consent and coercion on the basis of a series of political beliefs. Behind the technologizing of discourse is the ideology of “American First” (Shen Yamei, 2018). “American First” as national level ideology can find its origin in the prevalent nationalist and protectionist movement in the 1930s. Today, President Trump begins to use this slogan once again, with its connotations somewhat changed in the new age. Obviously, Trump has seen “American First” as one important national ideology to “to make American great again”. The president makes sure that his discourse perfectly matches the canons of these ideological requirements. In contrast to Trump’s denouncement of North Korea and Iran as “corrupt dictatorship” “oppressive regime” or “rogue state”, China presents to the world a different national ideology by building “a community of shared future for mankind.”

V. Conclusion

The research focuses on two political remarks, respectively delivered by the American president Donald Trump and Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi in the 2017 UN Assembly. Under the classical Three-dimensional analytical CDA pattern, we carried out our analysis from the linguistic perspective of text, discursive practice and social practice. The research findings show that: on the first dimension of linguistic text, by applying Martin’s Attitude system, we found, in the interpersonal aspect, leaders in both countries have resorted more to Judgment resources in their remarks rather than the other two resources of the Affect System. Within the Judgment system, there is significant difference between Tenacity+ resources in the two leaders’ remarks. On the second dimension of our analysis, namely, discursive practice, we found both leaders use a number of intertextuality resources in their remarks. Besides, both leaders have a preference to the intertextuality of Category of “The Original Producer of Discourse being the Speaker’s Compatriots”. The Chinese politicians have a preference to quote statements of Chinese ancient sages, whereas the American leaders are fond of using intertextuality resources from laws, legal texts and government documents.

Notes

The data resource of American president Donald Trump—
https://www.haaretz.com/us-news/full-text-trump-s-first-address-to-un-1.5452208
The data resource of Chinese Foreign Minister—Wang Yi:
http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/web/ziliao_674904/zyjh_674906/t1495748.shtml

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