

LANGUAGE OF PERSUASION: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE VICTORY SPEECH OF DONALD TRUMP'S 2024 ELECTION

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Abstract

Victory speeches in politics are important tools that elected leaders use to legitimize their power, build collective identity, and gain support. This paper offers a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Donald Trump's victory speech following the 2024 presidential election, with a focus on the language of persuasion and its ideological role. Using the three-dimensional model of CDA proposed by Norman Fairclough, this research analyzes the victory speech in terms of its textual, discursive, and social dimensions, exploring how the linguistic, media, and socio-political factors interact to enhance the persuasive role of the speech. The research reveals important textual features, such as the use of inclusive pronouns, repetition, modal verbs, metaphors, and binary oppositions, which work together to build a sense of unity, moral authority, and nationalist ideology. At the discursive level, intertextual cohesion with previous campaign speeches and extensive media coverage enhance the ideological role, promoting audience identification and emotional involvement. At the social level, the victory speech is a performative act of populist communication in politics, presenting politics as a moral struggle between "the people" and elites, and at the same time, legitimizing Trump's leadership and gaining support. The findings of this research show that victory speeches are not only celebratory texts but also important tools of persuasion, ideological reproduction, and power consolidation. This research contributes to the study of political discourse analysis, providing a more nuanced understanding of the role of language in shaping political perception and maintaining leadership in contemporary populist politics.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, political persuasion, populism, victory speech, Donald Trump, ideology, rhetoric

1. Introduction

a. Background of the Study

Language is a crucial site in political discourse, especially in a democratic setting where persuasion, legitimacy, and public consent are discursively constructed (Fairclough, 2013; van Dijk, 2018). Political speeches are not neutral acts of communication but are instead purposeful discursive events where power relations, ideologies, and identities are constructed and maintained (Chilton, 2004; Wodak, 2021). Among political speeches, victory speeches are of particular importance as they symbolically demarcate the transition from electoral competition to governance.

The political discourse of Donald J. Trump has been identified as populist in nature, with emotional appeal and strategic simplification of political reality (Mudde, 2017; Moffitt, 2020). The 2024 election victory speech is a critical moment in which language is used to legitimize electoral success and project a political vision for the future. This speech is used in a politically polarized context that is characterized by distrust of institutions and ideological polarization (Bennett & Livingston, 2020).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides a powerful tool for analyzing the ways in which such speeches function beyond their literal meaning, to reveal the ways in which linguistic

choices serve to reproduce power and ideology (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; van Leeuwen, 2008). This paper places Trump's victory speech of 2024 within such a tradition of analysis.

b. Purpose of the Study

The aim of this research is to critically examine the 2024 victory speech of Donald Trump to reveal the ways in which persuasive language constructs ideology, political legitimacy, and collective identity. This research aims to show how discourse is a social practice and a political act.

c. Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are:

- To determine the persuasive linguistic devices used in Trump's victory speech of 2024.
- To analyze how these strategies contribute to ideological construction and political legitimacy.
- To investigate the manner in which populist discourse is expressed via language.
- To apply the three-dimensional model of CDA proposed by Fairclough to a modern political victory speech.

d. Research Questions

1. What persuasive linguistic strategies are used in Donald Trump's 2024 victory speech?
2. How do pronouns, metaphors, repetition, and modality operate persuasively?
3. What ideological themes are constructed in the speech?
4. How does the speech reflect broader socio-political practices and power relations?

e. Significance of the Study

This research is important for researchers in linguistics, political communication, and discourse analysis. This research can add to the body of literature in CDA because it examines a victory speech, a type of speech that has been relatively under-analyzed in comparison to other types of speeches such as campaign speeches or inaugural speeches.

2. Literature Review

a. Political Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis

Political discourse has been acknowledged as a significant tool for political actors to shape reality and construct meaning. Researchers have suggested that political discourse is not just a reflection of political events but is actually used to shape political meaning (Chilton, 2004; Fairclough, 2013). In this context, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) can be identified as a prominent tool for understanding the ideological and power-related aspects of political discourse (van Dijk, 2018; Wodak, 2021).

Norman Fairclough's work in CDA is especially prominent. His three-dimensional approach to discourse views it as a text, a discursive practice, and a social practice (Fairclough, 1995). Fairclough (2013) argues that political discourse is necessarily ideological because it reproduces or contests existing power relations. Fairclough's work has been particularly influential in the field of CDA because it has been widely applied in the analysis of political discourse.

In addition to Fairclough's method, van Dijk's socio-cognitive model emphasizes the function of discourse in constructing a collective mental model, belief, and ideology (van Dijk, 2006, 2018). Van Dijk's view is that political discourse is crucial in shaping the self-perception and other-perception of groups, and language is an essential instrument of persuasion and domination. In the same way, Wodak's discourse-historical approach places political discourse in a historical context, and her argument is that modern political discourse cannot be disconnected from past discourses and collective memory (Wodak, 2015, 2021).

b. Language of Persuasion in Political Communication

One of the most important features of political discourse is persuasion. According to classical rhetorical theory, persuasion is the deliberate employment of ethos, pathos, and logos to persuade an audience (Aristotle, trans. 2007). Contemporary political linguistics further develops this concept by pointing out the role of persuasion in linguistic choices, framing, emotional appeals, and ideological positioning (Charteris-Black, 2011; Cap & Okulska, 2013).

Studies have found that political persuasion is often based on simplification, repetition, emotionalization, and moralization, as opposed to complex argumentation (Lakoff, 2016; Bennett & Livingston, 2020). Beard (2000) suggests that persuasive political discourse is intended to simplify messages for the audience, making them more accessible and emotionally engaging. Repetition is especially used to naturalize ideological statements and inscribe them in the public mind (Atkinson, 1984; Savoy, 2020).

Modal verbs of certainty and obligation, including will, must, and cannot, have also been seen as essential persuasive devices, as they convey power, inevitability, and leadership confidence (Palmer, 2001; Cap, 2017). Metaphorical language is also a very important persuasive device, as it enables politicians to express political aims in a very attractive way (Charteris-Black, 2011; Musolff, 2016).

c. Populism and Political Rhetoric

Populism has emerged as a prominent characteristic of modern political communication, especially in Western democracies. Mudde (2017) has described populism as a “thin-centered ideology” that distinguishes between two antagonistic groups in society: the pure people and the corrupt elite. Political leaders who use populist discourse argue that they alone represent the will of the people, which is articulated through words to establish moral superiority and legitimacy (Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2018).

Moffitt (2020) contends that populism is not only an ideology but also a style of politics, which is marked by its emotional intensity, crisis narrative, and performative leadership. Language is a crucial aspect of this style, as populist leaders make extensive use of direct speech, colloquial language, and oppositions. Wodak (2015) also adds that populist discourse often uses fear appeals and exclusionary narratives to enhance group identity.

Research has shown that the persuasive power of populist discourse relies on inclusive pronouns that symbolically blur the boundaries between the leader and his followers (Wilson, 1990; De Fina, 1995). The use of inclusive pronouns in populist discourse has been shown to create a sense of shared struggle and destiny (van Dijk, 2006).

d. Donald Trump’s Political Discourse: Scholarly Perspectives

The political discourse of Donald Trump has been extensively studied as a prime example of modern populist discourse. Lakoff (2016) points out that the success of Trump is rooted in his capacity to tap into moral frames of thinking rather than engage in policy discussions.

Homolar and Scholz (2019) show how Trump’s speeches use nationalist symbolism and crisis rhetoric, casting the nation as threatened and himself as the hero. The quantitative study by Savoy (2020) shows how Trump uses short sentences, repetition, and evaluative adjectives in order to make the speech more memorable and newsworthy.

Recent CDA research has further ascertained that Trump’s discourse is indeed utilizing binary oppositions, modal certainty, and collective identity features to consolidate persuasion (Khan, 2025; Fariza et al., 2025). Sabir et al. (2025) particularly emphasize the role of fear rhetoric and boundary work in political support mobilization.

Nevertheless, although there is a great deal of research on Trump’s campaign rallies, immigration speeches, and inauguration speeches, victory speeches are relatively less studied.

Victory speeches are a special genre that combines celebration, legitimization, and future-oriented persuasion (Charteris-Black, 2018). This is especially true for Trump's victory speech in 2024, which is a moment of great political consolidation and reaffirmation.

However, there are still some gaps in the literature that need to be addressed. First, most of the literature focuses on campaign discourse and ignores the role of victory speeches in the post-election communication process. Second, although Trump's discourse has been extensively researched, few studies have applied the three-dimensional CDA model to his victory speech in 2024.

In addition, current studies tend to concentrate on individual linguistic characteristics without adequately incorporating text analysis with discursive and social practices. This paper will fill the gap by providing a comprehensive CDA of Trump's victory speech in 2024 on how persuasive language works at different levels.

Insofar as it situates its analysis within contemporary debates about populism, persuasion, and political legitimacy, this research contributes to a greater understanding of the ways in which political power is constructed and maintained through discourse in modern democratic societies.

3. Research Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative methodological framework grounded in **Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)** to examine the persuasive and ideological dimensions of Donald Trump's 2024 election victory speech. The methodological choices made in this research are informed by established practices in discourse studies and political linguistics, ensuring analytical rigor, theoretical coherence, and contextual validity.

a. Research Design

The study adopts a qualitative and interpretive research design, which is most appropriate for the analysis of political discourse, as meaning, ideology, and power are embedded in language rather than in quantifiable variables (Creswell, 2018; Dörnyei, 2007). The qualitative approach allows for a detailed analysis of the ways in which linguistic structures are used persuasively and interpreted in wider socio-political contexts.

Critical Discourse Analysis is the main methodological approach because it articulates the relationship between language and power explicitly. CDA begins with the assumption that discourse is socially constitutive and that language choices are never neutral but ideologically driven (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 2018). In contrast to descriptive linguistic studies, CDA aims to uncover underlying power relations, ideological beliefs, and persuasion strategies encoded in texts (Wodak & Meyer, 2016).

The research is theory-driven, which means that the analysis of the data is guided by pre-defined analytical categories that have been developed from the three-dimensional framework of Fairclough. This makes it possible to interpret the data systematically while still being flexible enough to take into account the nuances of political discourse (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

b. Data Collection

The main data for this research is the official transcript of Donald Trump's victory speech in the 2024 presidential election, and this transcript has been gathered from reputable and widely recognized international media sources to ensure its authenticity and accuracy. The use of media transcripts in the study of political discourse is quite common because of their reliability and standardized form (Bell, 1991; Richardson, 2007).

The transcript of the speech was chosen as a unitary text, retaining its original organizational structure and sequence. Such a unitary text analysis enables the researcher to identify not only isolated linguistic elements but also larger thematic patterns (Fairclough, 2013).

Secondary sources of data include scholarly articles from peer-reviewed journals, academic books, and contemporary studies (2020-2025) on CDA, political persuasion, populism, and rhetorical analysis. Theoretical frameworks and comparative analysis enable the interpretation and contextualization of results (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Wodak, 2021).

c. Sampling Techniques

The research uses purposive (theoretical) sampling. This is a non-probability sampling method that is often used in discourse studies (Paltridge, 2012; Creswell, 2018). Purposive sampling allows the researcher to choose data excerpts that are most relevant to the research aims and theoretical framework.

Instead of examining the speech in a uniform manner, the analysis centers on ideologically significant and densely rhetorical excerpts such as the following:

- Expressions of national identity and unity
- Statements of future intentions and promises
- Evaluative comments regarding the nation and leadership
- Passages with collective pronouns and emotional appeal

This selective focus enables a deeper analysis and ensures that the data under analysis is relevant to the research questions on persuasion and ideology (van Dijk, 2006).

d. Analytical Procedure

The process of analysis is systematic and multi-step, following the three-dimensional model of CDA proposed by Fairclough:

1. Textual Analysis (Micro Level) In this phase, the text is analyzed for linguistic properties such as lexical choice, pronoun choice, modality, repetition, metaphor, and syntax. The properties are analyzed for their persuasive role and ideological undertones (Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Fairclough, 1995).

2. Discursive Practice Analysis (Meso Level) The meso level is concerned with the production, dissemination, and reception of the speech in media and political discourse. The analysis considers intertextuality, media discursivity, and audience positioning, acknowledging that meaning is constructed through discursive practices rather than text alone (Fairclough, 2013; Bell, 1991).

3. Social Practice Analysis (Macro Level) The final stage contextualizes the speech in wider socio-political frameworks such as populism, nationalism, polarization, and power relations. This level of analysis focuses on how discourse reinforces or subverts dominant ideologies and social practices (Bourdieu, 1991; Wodak, 2015).

This multi-layered analysis will provide a well-rounded perspective on persuasion as both a linguistic and socio-political construct.

e. Theoretical Framework

Theoretical underpinning of this research is based on Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough defines discourse as a dialectical relationship between language and society, with a particular focus on the idea that discourse is both shaping and shaped by social structures (Fairclough, 1995, 2013).

Fairclough's approach is especially useful for the analysis of political discourse because it combines:

- Linguistic description
- Interpretive analysis
- Social explanation

To enhance interpretation, Fairclough's approach is combined with findings from:

- van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach, which explains how discourse affects mental models and group ideologies (van Dijk, 2018)

- Wodak's discourse-historical method, which places political discourse in historical and ideological contexts (Wodak, 2021)

The incorporation of these approaches strengthens analytical vigor without compromising the Fairclough framework as the guiding paradigm.

f. Reliability, Validity, and Ethical Issues

In qualitative discourse research, reliability and validity are established through analytical transparency, theoretical consistency, and methodological justification rather than statistical procedures (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

- Credibility is maintained through the use of established CDA theory and textual evidence to support claims.
- Reliability is ensured by the systematic use of the analytical framework.
- Confirmability is ensured by reducing personal bias and using sources that are peer-reviewed.

From an ethical perspective, the research examines publicly available political discourse that does not involve human subjects or confidential information. All sources are properly cited to ensure academic integrity.

g. Limitations of the Methodology

Although CDA analysis yields in-depth insights, it is necessarily qualitative and interpretive, which could lead to subjectivity (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Moreover, the analysis is restricted to a single speech, which could be a limitation in terms of generalizability. Nevertheless, the objective of CDA analysis is to gain in-depth insights, not statistical generalizability, which makes the chosen methodology suitable for the purpose of this study (Fairclough, 2013).

4. Data Analysis and Discussion

This section presents a detailed Critical Discourse Analysis of Donald Trump's 2024 election victory speech using **Fairclough's three-dimensional model**, examining the speech at the **textual (micro), discursive (meso), and social (macro)** levels. The analysis demonstrates how linguistic choices function persuasively to construct ideology, legitimize political authority, and reinforce populist narratives.

4.1 Textual Analysis: Linguistic Strategies of Persuasion

4.1.1 Inclusive Pronouns and the Construction of Collective Identity

One of the most salient linguistic features of Trump's victory speech is the extensive use of **inclusive personal pronouns**, particularly "we," "our," and "us." These pronouns operate as powerful tools of ideological alignment, symbolically merging the speaker with the audience and constructing a unified collective identity (Wilson, 1990; De Fina, 1995). By repeatedly invoking "we," Trump positions himself not as a distant political authority but as an organic representative of the people.

From a CDA perspective, such pronoun usage reduces social distance and reinforces in-group solidarity, a defining feature of populist discourse (van Dijk, 2006; Moffitt, 2020). The collective "we" obscures internal diversity within the electorate and presents the nation as a homogeneous entity with shared goals and values, thereby naturalizing ideological unity (Wodak, 2021).

4.1.2 Repetition and Lexical Simplicity

Repetition emerges as a central persuasive strategy throughout the speech. Key lexical items related to **success, victory, unity, and national restoration** are reiterated, reinforcing their ideological salience. According to Atkinson (1984), repetition enhances memorability and emotional impact, particularly in political oratory designed for mass audiences.

Trump's preference for **short sentences and simple vocabulary** further strengthens the persuasive effect by ensuring accessibility and reducing cognitive load (Beard, 2000; Savoy,

2020). This linguistic simplicity aligns with populist communication strategies that prioritize emotional resonance over complex policy articulation (Lakoff, 2016).

4.1.3 Modality and the Projection of Authority

The speech makes frequent use of **modal verbs** such as “*will*,” “*must*,” and “*cannot*,” which convey certainty, determination, and inevitability. Modality plays a crucial role in political persuasion by projecting authority and leadership confidence (Palmer, 2001; Cap, 2017).

Statements framed with high modal certainty reduce ambiguity and present future actions as assured outcomes rather than possibilities. From a CDA standpoint, this assertive modality functions ideologically by positioning the speaker as decisive and capable, thereby legitimizing political authority (Fairclough, 2013).

4.1.4 Metaphorical Framing and Vision Construction

Metaphors such as “*a golden age*” are employed to frame the future in optimistic and aspirational terms. Metaphorical language is not merely stylistic but ideological, as it structures how audiences conceptualize political reality (Charteris-Black, 2011; Musolff, 2016).

By invoking an idealized future, the speech constructs leadership as redemptive and transformational. Such metaphors function persuasively by appealing to collective hopes while obscuring potential complexities and contradictions associated with governance (Chilton, 2004).

4.1.5 Binary Oppositions and Ideological Polarization

The speech relies on implicit **binary oppositions**, such as unity versus division, success versus failure, and restoration versus decline. These binaries simplify political reality and align audiences emotionally with the speaker’s ideological position (Wodak, 2015; Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2018).

Binary framing is a hallmark of populist rhetoric, as it creates moral clarity by positioning the speaker and supporters on the “right” side of history while marginalizing alternative perspectives (van Dijk, 2018).

4.2 Discursive Practice: Production, Distribution, and Interpretation

At the level of discursive practice, Trump’s victory speech must be understood within its **media-saturated environment**. Victory speeches are instantly circulated through television, online news platforms, and social media, extending their persuasive reach far beyond the immediate audience (Bell, 1991; Bennett & Livingston, 2020).

The speech exhibits strong **intertextual continuity** with Trump’s earlier campaign rhetoric, including familiar slogans, themes, and narratives. This repetition across contexts strengthens ideological coherence and reinforces audience identification (Fairclough, 2013; Richardson, 2007).

Audience interpretation is shaped by pre-existing political alignments, media framing, and socio-political polarization. Supporters are likely to interpret the speech as validation and empowerment, while critics may view it as ideological reinforcement. CDA acknowledges that meaning is not fixed but negotiated through discursive processes (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

4.3 Social Practice: Populism, Nationalism, and Power Relations

At the macro level, the speech reflects broader **social practices of populist nationalism**. Trump’s discourse aligns with populist ideology by portraying the leader as the authentic voice of the people and framing politics as a moral struggle rather than a policy debate (Mudde, 2017; Moffitt, 2020).

The emphasis on national unity and restoration resonates with socio-political contexts characterized by polarization, economic uncertainty, and institutional distrust (Bennett &

Livingston, 2020). Language here functions as **symbolic power**, shaping public perception and legitimizing authority (Bourdieu, 1991).

Through CDA, it becomes evident that the speech does not merely celebrate electoral victory but actively reproduces ideological structures that sustain political dominance and mobilize continued support (Fairclough, 2013; Wodak, 2021).

5. Findings

The analysis of Donald Trump's 2024 election victory speech through **Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)** reveals multiple layers of persuasive and ideological strategies. These findings are organized around textual, discursive, and social dimensions, demonstrating the complexity and sophistication of political persuasion.

5.1.1 Textual Findings: Linguistic Features and Persuasive Mechanisms

1. Inclusive Pronouns and Collective Identity: Trump regularly employs inclusive pronouns like "we," "our," and "us" in his speeches. These pronouns work to build a collective identity. The use of pronouns in the speech creates a sense of oneness between the speaker and the audience, giving the impression that the speaker and the audience have the same objectives and experiences (Wilson, 1990; De Fina, 1995). The use of collective pronouns in the speech creates a sense of emotional alignment, which is characteristic of populist discourse (Moffitt, 2020; Wodak, 2021).

2. Repetition and Lexical Emphasis: Repetition is employed to emphasize important ideological messages like the restoration of the nation, success, unity, and moral supremacy. According to Atkinson (1984) and Savoy (2020), repetition enhances memorability and ideological messages. In Trump's speech, for example, "we will win," "our country will thrive," and "together we will succeed" are some of the phrases that are repeated several times.

3. Modality and Authority Projection: Modal verbs ("will," "must," "cannot") express certainty, authority, and inevitability. This modality positions Trump as a decisive leader, eliminating any kind of ambiguity and projecting authority over future political outcomes (Palmer, 2001; Cap, 2017). The use of such assertive language not only adds to the perception of competence but also has an ideological role to play, which legitimates his authority in the eyes of his supporters (Fairclough, 2013).

4. Metaphorical Framing: "A golden age" or "restoring greatness" metaphors frame the political agenda in emotionally appealing ways. Metaphorical framing makes complex political reality simpler and more appealing to the masses, as it provides a vision for the future of the nation (Charteris-Black, 2011; Musolff, 2016). These metaphors convey that Trump's leadership is transformative and morally authoritative (Chilton, 2004).

5. Binary Oppositions: The speech is full of binary oppositions, including unity versus division, success versus failure, and restoration versus decline. The use of binary oppositions is a typical feature of populist discourse, as it reduces the complexity of politics and enhances ideological polarization (Wodak, 2015; Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2018). The speech promotes a binary vision of the world, which corresponds to Trump's ideological position.

5.1.2 Discursive Findings: Media and Intertextuality

1. Media Amplification: The persuasive effect of the speech is greatly increased by its distribution through the traditional and digital channels (Bell, 1991; Bennett & Livingston, 2020). The swiftness of the circulation guarantees that the speeches' ideological messages are heard by a large number of people, thus even more empowering the speech's performance.

2. Intertextual Continuity: The speech uses the same themes and slogans as Trump's previous campaign and political communications, thus making the continuity and

reinforcing the ideological positions already established (Fairclough, 2013; Richardson, 2007). This intertextuality not only legitimizes the claims to supporters but also puts them in the context of the larger political narrative.

5.1.3 Social Findings: Populism, Nationalism, and Power

1. **Populist Ideology:** Trump's discourse is a clear representation of populist nationalism, which treats politics as a moral confrontation between "the people" and a corrupt or ineffective elite (Mudde, 2017; Moffitt, 2020). The choice of words plays a crucial role in creating the leader as the true and only representative of the people, while at the same time, strengthening his moral and political power.
2. **Legitimization of Power:** The speech is intended to portray the electoral victory as a symbol of moral and political legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1991; Fairclough, 2013). It not only has the effect of power consolidation through persuasive tactics but also of loyalty reinforcement among the supporters, thus turning the speech into an active tool of political influence rather than just a celebration.
3. **Emotional and Symbolic Mobilization:** The rhetoric of Trump goes beyond argumentation and mobilizes emotional involvement through appeals to national pride, optimism, and collective destiny (Lakoff, 2016; Wodak, 2021). The use of words becomes a means of directing the public's perception and strengthening their ideological alignment.

6. Conclusion

The research proves that Donald Trump's victory speech for the year 2024 was not only an official communication but also a masterful means of persuasion and ideological reproduction. Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA is used to analyze the speech, and the study uncovers the different layered techniques through which language builds political power, identity, and legitimacy.

At the textual dimension the speech applies pronouns, repetition, modality, metaphor, and binary oppositions to the audience's emotions, making the politicians' world simple and winning their support. These language options are typical of main trends in populist rhetoric (Moffitt, 2020; Wodak, 2015).

At the discourse level, media circulation and intertextual continuity together serve to increase the persuasive power of the speech, thus guaranteeing that the ideological messages are widely and easily received and that they resonate with people's beliefs (Bell, 1991; Fairclough, 2013). Parts of the speech that recall previous slogans and narratives not only aid understanding but also create emotional bonding.

At the level of society, the speech appears to be a performative act that brings forth and reaffirms the populist and nationalist ideologies while validating political authority. It creates a morally strong but not conflicting collective identity, encourages supporters' unity, and draws emotional involvement in political results (Bourdieu, 1991; Mudde & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2018).

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