

**Selected speeches from three world leaders in reaction to the Covid-19 pandemic: A
comparative linguistics analysis**

By

Romaana Muhammad

217002559

Supervisor

Professor Heike Tappe

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School of Arts
University of KwaZulu-Natal

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Signed

08/02/2024

Date

DEDICATION

I was faced with many obstacles whilst writing this dissertation; it was through my family members that I drew my strength. For that reason, this dissertation is dedicated to them.

To my father, Idrees, who continuously gives me the courage to pursue my dreams and who never lost faith in me and in my ability to succeed, both in this dissertation and in life. I would not have come this far in my education without your support and encouragement.

To my mother, Razia, who has made countless sacrifices for my entire family, especially for me to continue my schooling – you are my inspiration and my motivation. I am grateful for your love, patience and understanding. Without your sacrifices, I am sure this dissertation would have been unattainable.

To my grandmother, Logie, and my sister, Nooreen, thank you for offering me a shoulder to lean on through the difficult times and for helping me persevere. This dissertation would not have been completed without your moral support,
I love and appreciate you all!

ABSTRACT

Key words: pragmatics; political discourse; speech acts; pronouns; modal verbs; presidential speeches; Covid-19

This dissertation contributes to a growing body of critical political-discourse analysis (Chilton and Schaffner 1997, Chilton 2004, 2017, Jeftić 2020, Van Dijk 1997, Wodak 2015). Six speeches from three world leaders are analysed, viz., former Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern (New Zealand), President Ramaphosa (South Africa) and former President Donald Trump (USA). The world leaders delivered the speeches to their respective nations at two different points during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020. The first three speeches react to the respective national outbreak of the pandemic; the second set of speeches were delivered after the “first wave” of Covid-19 had passed in each country.

Using the critical discourse analysis framework (Van Dijk 1997, Wodak 2015), this dissertation focuses on discursive structures that make up meanings in a genre of political discourse. Linguistic analysis is used to highlight vastly different ways of engaging with the respective populaces.

Analyses of the types of illocutionary acts and the use of pronouns substantiate that former president Trump predominantly self-represents as a powerful and competent protector who is in control of the situation. He consistently accentuates his administration’s authority in his speeches which can be characterised as coercive monologues about the “greatness” of his administration’s actions. The latter is corroborated by the analysis of modal verb usage. In stark contrast, Prime Minister Ardern and President Ramaphosa focus on the encouragement of solidarity. Both politicians emphasise knowledge-based joint actions and behaviour of the general population and the government alike, by promoting the observance of guidelines issued by expert entities. In their respective speeches, they enable their nations to conceptualise the Covid-19 reality as one of enablement and encourage their audiences to act out of moral duty and concern for others. Notably, President Ramaphosa stands out in emphasising shared feelings and knowledge to a greater extent than either of the other world leaders.

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1. Introduction

Language is a social practice used to persuade, influence, and shape the views and attitudes of people (Leonard, 2012, p. 135). If individuals can use language appropriately – they are more likely to get what they want; however, if their language usage is poor – miscommunications may arise – and the individual may not achieve what he intended. Language plays a critical role in every aspect of communicative discourse and can be seen as a crucial tool used in the implementation of effective governance (Rabiah, 2018, p. 1).

1.1 The role and character of political speeches during the Covid-19 pandemic

In order to give a successful speech, one needs to present good ideas and have the skills of speaking persuasively. It is important to recognise that political speakers invest a large amount of time and effort into their speeches; they work with experts in the fields of language, linguistics, and sociology. These learned professionals help political leaders write their speeches and ensure every word is chosen wisely. Speeches are usually delivered to an audience in attendance; however, millions of people all around the world have the opportunity to listen to these speeches through media sources. It is for this reason that it is important for the speech to be easily understood by the general population and be interesting enough to convince them to agree with the ideas delivered through the speech.

It is vital to have a good understanding of the use, functions and patterns of language, particularly in the period of critical situations and crises such as the Coronavirus disease 2019 (henceforth Covid-19) pandemic. It is for this reason that the language used by political leaders came into strong focus since the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic (see, e.g., Anber, 2020; Al-Khayyat and Anber, 2020; Jeftići, 2020). The loss of lives, disturbance to economies and the absence of knowledge about Covid-19, brought cataclysm to the lives of people across the world. The uncertainties around the course of Covid-19, the instructions to exercise social distancing, reduce mobility and stay-at-home, and the number of lives taken by the virus—instilled fear in individuals.

Political leaders took to public platforms to address their people as they dealt with grave uncertainty, financial pain, and grief and encouraged the confidence of healthcare professionals who battled to control the impact of Covid-19. The global health emergency caused by Covid-19 required urgent response and action from the relevant parties worldwide. Therein rose the need for political leaders to explain to their nations the specific measures that had been undertaken in which the laws of the economy were to be superseded by the authority of the government, collective actions, solidarity, and concern for others. Presidential speeches during

the time of a pandemic are imperative to inform the people of the rules of the country and other relevant information that would calm the unsettled nation. Political leaders therefore held daily briefings and delivered speeches about precautionary measures and plans formulated to reduce the threat of the virus. This made their people feel secure during a difficult time.

1.2 The language in political speeches

Political speakers use multiple different rhetorical devices in their speeches to make their message more appealing and persuading. One aspect of the message that needs to be delivered is the promotion of the speaker's own identity (Caprara and Zimbardo, 2004, p. 581). Political speeches have an aim to present multiple individual and group identities to the audience that the audience will identify with (Allen, 2007, p. 2).

If political speakers present themselves as multi-faceted characters, they will attract a large, diverse audience, that will want to support them in their views (Allen, 2007, p. 2). One way of achieving this, is through a careful choice of personal pronouns usage (Allen, 2007, p. 2). The way presidential candidates choose to represent their identity by referring to themselves, their opposition, and their audience, can work as an effective persuasive means in speeches, interviews and other political matters (Allen, 2007, p. 2).

Personal pronouns form a major part of political speeches as they give an idea of who the speaker in question identifies with. The choices of pronouns used in political speech influence the overall effect of the speech (Beard, 2000, p. 43). By using pronouns, speakers present themselves as possessing the ability of identifying with the wants, interests and needs of the listeners. The manner in which political leaders refer to themselves, their audience and their opposition, can be used to persuade the audience to agree with them. In political speeches, speakers have a tendency to present the positive aspects of themselves and the negative aspects of their opponents to their audience. One way of achieving this is by using specific personal pronouns, which refer to themselves or others (Allen, 2007, p. 2).

Delivering a message is an integral part of the political leader's role in publicising policy and encouraging people to agree with it (Beard, 2000, p. 35). The language used in matters of politics is important, as it is carefully planned in a way to convince citizens to invest in the speaker's beliefs. Political leaders use linguistic and rhetorical tactics in their speeches, this enables them to communicate effectively with their people. Speeches are delivered to address the masses before the elections, after an election and at those points in time as circumstances dictate. Such circumstances can be during a national emergency, economic instability, and an epidemic such as the Covid-19 pandemic.

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) can be used to analyse these speeches. CDA is a type of discourse analysis that studies the manner in which dominance, social power abuse, and inequality are enacted, resisted, and repeated by talk and text in the political and social context (Simpson, 2011, p. 68). CDA extracts the interconnections among language, power, and ideology and how ideology is revealed through discourse (Hale, 2007, p. 210). Current approaches to CDA also study the way discourses (whether spoken or written) are reproduced. CDA is also concerned with how power relations revealed in discourses are maintained or challenged through texts and the procedures which affect their production reception and dissemination (Locke, 2004, p. 38). Critical discourse analysts intend on understanding, exposing, and ultimately resisting social equality (Ali, nd, p. 1). In modern society, individuals have the ability to use language successfully, especially in speech. Speech is the ability to speak in front of an audience to express one's opinions. An idea can be conveyed aptly by using suitable language that the audience can understand. The purpose of speech is to convey words and sentences, and to relay an effect to the listener (Bhatara, Laukka and Levitin, 2014, p. 217).

1.3 The speeches under consideration in this research

This study does not have a physical geographic location. Rather, I base my data analysis on digitally accessible speeches of the three selected world leaders (see the websites provided: Arden's speeches: <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/minister/rt-hon-jacinda-ardern>
Ramaphosa's speeches: <https://www.gov.za/speech-subjects/corona-virus>
Trump's speeches: <https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts?s=Covid+trump> ;
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/>).

The current research explores how New Zealand's prime minister – Jacinda Ardern, the South African president – Cyril Ramaphosa, and the former US-American president – Donald Trump, utilised language in their political speeches whilst exercising their authority during the Covid-19 pandemic. The selected speeches were delivered in 2020 during the first phases of the Covid-19 crisis. The socio-political contexts in which the speeches were delivered are the following: context one: the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic in each of the countries under consideration, i.e., New Zealand (NZ), the Republic of South Africa (RSA), and the United States of America (USA) and context two: the period immediately after the peak of the pandemic within each respected country.

1.4 The political leaders under consideration

1.4.1 Jacinda Ardern

Ardern is one of the political leaders who have been shown to handle issues surrounding Covid-19 well. Ardern, the prime minister of New Zealand, brought world praise to New Zealand once the spread of Covid-19 in New Zealand was under control. Ardern took hard action early by instating the national shutdown in the country in March 2020. This decision was later credited with defeating Covid-19 in New Zealand. The 100-day shutdown was said to be one of the strictest shutdowns in the world (Graham-McLay, 2020). In her speeches, Ardern has a way of delivering solutions and avoiding chaos in the country, her speeches are concise and contain information on what to do at the time.

Ardern responded to the Covid-19 pandemic in New Zealand in various ways. In early February 2020, Ardern imposed travel restrictions on China in response to the global pandemic originating in Wuhan and repatriated citizens and residents from Wuhan (1News (a), 2020). She also imposed travel restrictions on Iran following the country's first case which originated in Iran (Radio New Zealand (a), 2020).

On 14 March 2020, Ardern announced that the New Zealand government would be requiring anyone entering the country from midnight of the 15 March 2020 to isolate themselves for 14 days (Beehive.govt.nz, 2020). She said the new rules will mean New Zealand has the toughest border restrictions out of every country in the world (Ardern, 2020). On 19 March 2020, the Prime Minister stated that New Zealand's borders would be closed to all non-citizens and non-permanent residents on 21 March 2020, she further announced that New Zealand would move to alert level 4, including a nationwide lockdown on 25 March 2020 (Nzherald.co.nz. 2020).

Due to the success of the Government's elimination strategy in reducing the spread of the virus, most lockdown and social distancing restrictions were lifted by 8 June 2020. However, border restrictions remained in force (Radio New Zealand (b), 2020).

On 11 August 2020, Ardern reinstated lockdown restrictions in Auckland following a second outbreak of community transmissions (Ensor, Palmer and Kronast, 2020). Due to successful efforts to reduce community transmissions, lockdown restrictions were eliminated by 7 October 2020 (Franks, 2020). In November, the New Zealand government required travellers entering New Zealand to book a place in managed isolation and quarantine (MIQ) prior to travelling to the country (1News (b), 2020).

1.4.2 Cyril Ramaphosa

Similar to Ardern's response to Covid-19, Ramaphosa was also quick to respond to Covid-19. A national lockdown was implemented within 23 days from the first Covid-19 infection in South Africa (Heiberg and Winning, 2020). The prompt implementation of a nationwide lockdown can be interpreted as a stellar example of great governance and decisive action.

The first confirmed Covid-19 case in South Africa was reported on the 5th of March 2020 (SA News, 2020). Between the 7th and the 27th of March 2020, Ramaphosa, along with the South African government, had reached out to sectors such as labour, water affairs, education, and mining to discuss plans to help hinder the spread of the virus (de Villiers, Cerbone and Van Zijl, 2020, p. 799). This swift and coordinated response improved the government's legitimacy and WHO applauded the country's response (ibid., 800).

Ramaphosa used a "rip off the Band-Aid" approach and executed harsh restrictions which was an introduction to the government's response, he furthermore made a comment that Covid-19 "calls for an extraordinary response; there can be no half measures" and stated that the government's priority is the health of its people (ibid., p. 801). The South African government used a strategy that focused on four factors: preparation, primary-detection, lockdown, and enhanced surveillance, which was applauded internationally and resulted in the WHO declaring that the rest of the world should learn from South Africa (ibid., p. 802).

Whilst delivering his speeches, Ramaphosa creates a relationship of unity between himself and his citizens by using lexical choices that metaphorically construct the nation as a family. This is evident in his use of the words, "we", "family" and "together". Ramaphosa's reference to his national addresses as 'family meetings' flattens the hierarchy implied in the political relationship of president and citizens. Trust and compliance are further invoked within Ramaphosa's listeners when he uses his speeches to shift his identity from the role as a powerful President in position of control, to a position of mutuality with the listeners in a shared concern and responsibility for the country.

1.4.3. Donald Trump

Compared to Ramaphosa who took 23 days from the first Covid-19 infection in South Africa to place South Africa under lockdown, Trump took 54 days from the first Covid-19 infection in the United States of America to place the country under lockdown. Trump had taken almost double the amount of time that Ramaphosa had taken.

Through much of the Covid-19 pandemic, the former President of the United States of America was optimistic that the virus would stop spreading. From January to March 2020, Trump downplayed the severity of the outbreak and the threat that Covid-19 posed to the world

(Summers, 2020). He has since explained that this was a means to give people hope and help them stay calm (ibid).

Trump used a staggered approach to lockdown by cancelling public events and implementing social distancing measures. On January 31, 2020, he placed restrictions on travel from China (Wetsman, 2020), however, the The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) waited until February 25, 2020, to first warn the American public that there would be a local outbreak of the virus (CDC, 2020).

In March 2020, the Trump administration started conducting daily press briefings at the White House. On March 11, 2020, Trump stated that his administration was using the entire strength of the government and the private division to protect Americans (Reuters, 2020). He further announced that the country had suspended all travel from for the following 30 days, except for travel from the United Kingdom. Trump also listed numerous economic policy proposals designed to provide tax relief for workers, aid small businesses, and fight the spread of the Covid-19 (ibid).

On March 16, 2021, the former President and the Coronavirus Task Force released new recommendations based on CDC guidelines for Americans, titled "15 Days to Slow the Spread" (Feuer and Higgins-Dunn, 2021). These recommendations included physical distancing and hygienic instructions, as well as directions in dealing with school closures, nursing homes, and common public venues (ibid).

1.5 Research Aims

The current research aims at identifying the linguistic means that the three world leaders under investigation use in their addresses. The linguistic analysis will take into consideration the socio-political context in which the speeches were delivered. The underlying hypothesis is that the ability or inability to take responsibility for fighting Covid-19 is reflected in the Covid-19 response speeches of the selected world leaders. Furthermore, the linguistic analysis can reveal specific ideologies and roles that are adopted by each president.

My research questions are:

- What similarities and differences exist on a linguistic level between the selected speeches of the three world leaders under consideration?
 - Which types of speech acts are employed by the three world leaders?
 - Which lexical choices stand out in the selected speeches?
 - Which personal pronouns in conjunction with which modal verbs do the world leaders use in the selected speeches under investigation?

1.6 Significance of this Dissertation

The significance of this study lies in its investigation and analysis of spoken discourse that plays a role in the field of critical discourse analysis. Political speeches, in particular – inaugural and campaign speeches – have been widely analysed (Obiajulu, 2021). However, emergency speeches and public messages – such as those delivered during the Covid-19 pandemic – have been less extensively researched (ibid). This study, which analyses the Covid-19 addresses, will help readers scrutinise the discourse of politicians. It will therefore make the reader ready for additional exploration on political discourse involving public emergency messages by using the distinctive theoretical frameworks. The current research hopes to provide a framework with which political speeches can be compared with respect to selected linguistic variables. The presented analysis aids to further understand the political discourse of world leaders who are faced with crisis situations. This is of central interest because political discourse plays a critical role in organising, developing, and managing societies.

1.6.1 Statement of the Problem

In the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, political leaders worldwide have utilised language as a crucial tool to address their nations, disseminate information, and navigate through the crisis. Understanding the linguistic strategies employed in political speeches during such critical periods is essential for comprehending how leaders convey messages, assert authority, and foster solidarity among citizens. While extensive analysis exists on political discourse in various contexts, there remains a research gap concerning emergency speeches delivered amidst crises like the Covid-19 pandemic.

1.6.2 Importance of the Study

Language is not merely a means of communication but a powerful instrument that shapes perceptions, influences attitudes, and mobilises collective action. Political speeches, especially during times of crisis, carry immense significance as they serve to reassure, inform, and mobilise populations. Effective communication from leaders can mitigate fear, inspire confidence, and facilitate cooperation among citizens. Therefore, analysing the linguistic strategies employed in political speeches during the Covid-19 pandemic is crucial for understanding how leaders engage with their audiences, construct identities, and convey messages of responsibility and solidarity.

Research on discourse analysis provides linguists with a comprehensive insight into speeches and the factors influencing speech development. Through analysis, linguists can examine how political leaders perceive situations based on their choice of words and communication strategies. Furthermore, it allows linguists to delve into the diverse strategies

employed by different presidents when addressing crises, which can vary greatly in their approaches. These differences are often reflected in presidential speeches, which can have either positive or negative impacts on the public.

This study aims to contribute to the field of linguistics, particularly in speech acts, by exploring the distinctions and resemblances among the speeches of political leaders.

1.6.3 Research Gap

While there exists extensive literature on political discourse, particularly in contexts such as inaugural and campaign speeches, there is a notable gap in research focusing on emergency speeches and public messages delivered during crises like the Covid-19 pandemic. Previous studies have primarily examined political speeches in conventional settings, overlooking the unique linguistic dynamics present in emergency situations. Therefore, this study seeks to address this research gap by conducting a detailed analysis of the linguistic features utilized in political speeches during the Covid-19 pandemic, thereby providing insights into how leaders navigate language during times of crisis and its implications for public perception and response.

1.7 Overview of the dissertation

The language used in political discourse is a potent tool for persuasion, influencing public opinion, and shaping societal attitudes. Effective governance often hinges on the ability of leaders to articulate their ideas convincingly and connect with their audience. Particularly in times of crisis, such as the Covid-19 pandemic, the language employed by political leaders takes on heightened significance. This study focuses on analysing the linguistic strategies utilised by three prominent world leaders during the initial phases of the Covid-19 crisis: Jacinda Ardern of New Zealand, Cyril Ramaphosa of South Africa, and Donald Trump, the former President of the United States. These leaders were chosen due to their pivotal roles in managing the pandemic within their respective nations. Notably, Ardern and Ramaphosa demonstrated swift and decisive responses to the crisis, while Trump's approach differed significantly. Through an examination of their speeches, this study aims to identify linguistic patterns, speech acts, and lexical choices employed by these leaders in addressing their nations during the pandemic. By doing so, it seeks to shed light on the rhetorical strategies used by political leaders in crisis communication, contributing to a deeper understanding of political discourse and its implications for governance and public perception.

The present work is organised as follows. Firstly, in chapter 2, a literature review is undertaken, and the theoretical background of the research is discussed. The research methodology is given in chapter 3. In chapter 4, the research findings and proposed future directions for the research will be discussed and chapter 5 concludes the dissertation.

2. Literature Review

The exploration of political speeches within the realm of discourse analysis offers a nuanced understanding of the linguistic strategies employed by leaders to convey their messages and influence public opinion. This literature review delves into the intricacies of discourse, focusing on the various types of discourse and their application within political contexts. From narrative to argumentative discourse, each serves a distinct purpose in shaping the narrative of political communication. Furthermore, the review highlights the significance of speech acts, examining how politicians utilise language not only to convey information but also to perform actions and elicit specific responses from their audience. Against the backdrop of the Covid-19 pandemic, there has been a surge of interest in analysing political speeches, particularly those addressing crisis situations. This research aims to contribute to this growing body of literature by conducting a comparative analysis of selected speeches from three world leaders, shedding light on their leadership styles and communication strategies during the unprecedented challenges posed by the pandemic. Through an in-depth examination of linguistic features such as pronoun usage, modal verbs, and speech acts, this study seeks to unveil the underlying mechanisms through which political leaders engage with their constituents and navigate crisis communication. Moreover, by incorporating insights from previous studies on crisis communication and leadership discourse, this research endeavours to provide valuable perspectives on effective communication strategies in times of crisis.

The analysis of this dissertation is intertextual, as it investigates the differences and similarities between the speeches of the respective political leaders. Speeches are a type of discourse, and the speeches under investigation in this dissertation are examples of political discourse.

Generally speaking, discourse is a systematic and logical treatment of a topic in written or spoken language (Aragbuwa, 2021, p.3). It may be classified into narrative, expository, descriptive, and argumentative discourse (ibid., p.4).

A narrative discourse portrays causally related incidents. The incidents are arranged one after another in order of chronology (Allen, 2018, p.273). Narrative discourse is often referred to as fiction as it provides a highly detailed and structured conception of anecdotes (ibid., p.274).

Expository discourse involves giving a definitive explanation and clarification employing examples and illustrations, details, comparison and contrast, definition, and other

rhetorical devices of the exact nature (Aragbuwa, 2021, p.13). An example of expository discourse can be found in textbooks.

Descriptive discourse takes two forms; it can be in static form or process description. Political discourse makes use of descriptive discourse in both static and technical forms (Terdiman, 2018, p.55). The static description illustrates a verbal picture utilising words that appeal to the senses, while the process description explains the degrees or levels of advancement concerned with carrying out a task (ibid., p.56). The static description may be in the technical or imaginative form. The technical form provides a description and explanation of details, whereas the imaginative form uses suggestive words to create an effect about the subject being described (ibid., p.60).

Argumentative discourse is used to persuade the audience to either accept or reject opinions. Political discourse can be argumentative, especially in electoral campaigns (Fetzer, 2013, p.79). Argumentative discourse only takes effect when there is a controversial topic (ibid., p.80). The word “discourse” will be used in this dissertation to describe the generalisation of the notion of a conversation to any form of communication, whereas the word “text” will be used to describe a piece of written material.

While political speeches are a commonly studied text type in discourse analysis, most of the research is centred on inaugural addresses (Mohammed Hashim, 2015; Altikriti, 2016; Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere, 2012). Existing research often analyses the speeches of one head of state at a time or compares the speeches of two heads of state. In contrast, the current study forms part of the growing literature on comparative analyses of political speeches dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic by analysing selected speeches of three world leaders.

Many situations demand the acceptance of sacrifice from the people; therefore, during times of crisis, political leaders need to steer their population towards accepting their political leadership. It is, therefore, no surprise that linguistic analyses of political speeches often focus on speeches that address a nation’s response to terror, war, and other threats (Jackson, 2005; Hiland, 2019; Nohrstedt and Ottosen, 2004). The recent Covid-19 pandemic is a prime example of such a crisis; therefore, the linguistic analysis of political speeches has started to flourish since the beginning of this global pandemic (Anber, 2020; Al-Khayyat and Anber, 2020; Obiajulu, 2021; Jeftić, 2020; Dzhurova, 2020; Tamano, Guimba and Disangcopan, 2021). The current research aims to add to the growing body of research in this area.

In the analysis of political speeches, researchers examine discourse at various levels of the linguistic system. One level of linguistic analysis is concerned with the strategic choice of words. Words may be chosen according to rhetorical devices, such as alliteration. The President

of South Africa – Ramaphosa – uses alliteration to stress the dangers of Covid-19 by pointing out that, “Given the scale and speed at which the virus is spreading, it is clear that no country is immune from the disease nor will be spared its severe impact.” Anyanwu and Abana (2020, p.14) highlight that the repetition of the letter ‘s’ in ‘scale’, ‘speed’, and ‘spreading’ emphasises the virus’s dangers as the sibilant ‘s’ sounds connote the dangerous hissing of a snake (Chang, 1996, p.98) alerting the listener to be vigilant and careful. Lexical decisions are also highly influenced by the semantic meanings and the associated connotations of words. For example, Ramaphosa habitually uses the signature noun phrase “Fellow South Africans” in his speeches. This noun phrase creates solidarity, unity, involvement and commitment (Anyanwu and Abana, 2020, p.15) and hence strengthens the connection between the government and the population.

A further critical and widely used method for the linguistic analysis of (political) speeches consists of identifying and interpreting the types of speech acts that a politician employs in their addresses (e.g., Hashim, 2015; Attamimy, Junining and Khasanah, 2020). Speech act theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969) explores language use in terms of how speakers use language not only to present information but also to carry out actions. According to Austin (1962, p.6), by making utterances, we ‘perform’ acts. Likewise, Attamimy et al. (2020, p. 214) concur that whenever we use speech to carry out social behaviours, our utterances are, in fact, speech acts.

Speech acts that explicitly state the action we perform by uttering the words are known as performatives. Examples of performative speech acts are:

- 2.1) I promise I will be at your house at 9 o’clock.
- 2.2) I believe in God.
- 2.3) I swear I did not eat the cake.

According to Austin (1962, p. 156-157), performative verbs like “promise”, “believe”, and “swear” expressly reflect the action that they denote and that co-occurs when a speaker utters them with sincerity. Further examples of performative verbs are "apologise", "accuse", "order", "pledge", "announce", etc. President Ramaphosa tends to use performatives in his speeches, “We *thank* the leadership and the people of Polokwane and Limpopo... We are *responding* as a united nation to a common threat... We *congratulate* them on the outstanding work they have done.”

Against this background, this research aims to identify the types of speech acts used by each of the three selected politicians in their Covid-19 response speeches. It is expected that the frequency with which different speech acts appear in the individual addresses will yield important insights into the leadership style of each leader. For example, President Ramaphosa

seems to use constatives frequently. According to Anyanwu and Abana (2020, p. 15), constatives are declarative sentences and can either be true or false. Examples of constatives in Ramaphosa's speeches are, "...the measures we have *put in place*... have yielded positive outcomes against the projections. It is true that *we are facing a grave emergency*. I have great trust that *our people will respond positively* to this call to common action."

A third, widely used level of analysis concerns using pronouns in political speeches. Linguistic analysis of pronoun usage can reveal the 'mindset' and a political speaker's intentions (Al-Khayyat and Anber, 2020). Pronouns such as "I", "you", "we", and "they" show how the attention of a political speaker is distributed between them and their audience and how they construe a collective "we" versus their own person (Al-Khayyat and Anber, 2020, p. 1630). Furthermore, the inclusive "we" is often used in contrast to an opposing "they". Many politicians use an enemy "they" to strengthen unity against an actual or constructed enemy (Al-Khayyat and Anber, 2020, p. 1631). Hence, this research will include analysing first-person singular and plural personal pronouns existing within the specific political speeches. Following the analyses by Al-Khayyat and Anber (2020) and Jeftići (2020), I will combine the study of pronoun usage with an analysis of how the selected heads of state employ modal verbs.

2.1 The concept of political leadership

The origin of political leaders traces back to the Sixth Century era of Plato and Aristotle when they tried to conceptualise an idea based on ancient Greek democracy and city-states (Takala and Tuomo, 1998, p.786). Blondel (1987, as cited by Cummings, 2002, p.2) describes political leadership as a power that one or a few individuals exercise in order to direct members of the nation towards action. Masciulli, Molchanov and Knight (2016, p.6) define leadership as a set of power relations and influences applied over a range of national and global salient issues and from a position of authority involving ideologies and ethics. Political leadership exists within a democracy wherein leaders have the responsibility to practice it, and their citizens have the opportunity to experience it diversely.

Okoro (2017, p.50) states that political leadership is concerned with the power to make decisions, control the state's resources, control the politicians' values, and control the behaviour of other people.

2.1.1 The role of language in politics

Language is a vital tool for communication in politics as it can convey multiple meanings (Aduradola and Ojukwu, 2013, p.105). Politics deals with power, the power to make decisions, manage resources, and influence the behaviour and values of others (Thomas, Wareing, Jones

and Thornborrow, 2004, p.32). According to Chilton and Schaffner (1997, p.206), the connection between the governed and those who govern them are negotiated and sanctioned through language. Leaders within all types of political systems rely on the spoken word to convince others of the benefits arising from their governance (Charteris-Black, 2005, p.4).

Pelinka (2007, p.129) states that politics must be considered and studied as a discursive phenomenon. According to Szanto (1978, p.7), the language of politics contains a dictionary of conflict, ridicule and persuasion designed to make some men look like heroes and annihilate others by changing the public's views. Political leaders and people seeking political power, make use of language to convey their ideologies and to build perceptions in the minds of voters, in order to gain their votes.

Political leaders use language to produce a social ideology with which their followers would want to be associated. Onuigbo (2013, p.9) says that language can be manipulated as a tool in offence and defence. According to Rozina and Karapetjana (2009), "linguistic manipulation" is using language in a scheming way to control others. Linguistic manipulation is grounded in the use of indirect speech acts, which focuses on the perlocutionary effects of what is being said (Al-Hindawi and Kamil, 2017, p.9). Linguistic manipulation is an effective instrument of political rhetoric, as political discourse is primarily centred around influencing people and persuading them to make critical political decisions or to take political action (Rozina, and Karapetjana, 2009, p.120).

Language plays a substantial role in politics as it is a tool by which the manipulative intentions of political leaders become evident (Rozina and Karapetjana, 2009, p.113). The language applied in politics uses rhetorical devices such as pronouns, metonymy, metaphor, alliteration and hyperbole to persuade the voting public. Political leaders participate in arguments and make speeches and public statements; thus, language is an essential tool for political construction and reconstruction.

Lakoff and Johnson highlight "orientational metaphors" that are concerned with spatial concepts such as in/out, up/down, on/off and front/back (1980, p.15-17). Focusing on the up/down dimension, they provide several metaphorical expressions involving medicine. Phrases such as "Falling ill," "You're in tip-top condition", and "He sank into a coma" are created around the idea that being healthy is up and being ill is down (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 15-17). Lakoff and Johnson also use the metaphor, "Medicine is war." The association can be seen in phrases such as, "He had a heart *attack*," "The body's *defences*," "*Killer* T cells," and "We need to treat him *aggressively*."

The “medicine is war” metaphor has sombre implications as it stresses that the action taken by doctors and healthcare staff is a virtue, whereas the diseases they treat are passive. The main protagonists in this scenario are healthcare workers, whereas technologies and medical devices are used as weapons in medicine.

2.2. Crisis communication during Covid-19

The Covid-19 crisis has generated an interest in crisis and risk communication, largely around how behavioural change can be managed in similar emergency situations. Numerous papers were published (cite them) suggesting how communication should be handled and proposing areas of research that could inform more effective communication by leaders. Jaspal and Nerlich (2020) predicted the difficulties that could arise by governments seeking compliance with measures that may threaten the identities of individuals by changing their daily routines. These authors warn against emphasising negative emotions such as fear, and rather, propose communication approaches that involve diverse groups and frame public health measures in more positive terms, such as team spirit. Similarly, Lunn et al. (2020, p. 4) highlighted the importance of using inclusive language by making statements of a desired collective behaviour clearly and presenting such behaviour as a benefit to all of society.

An important aspect of crisis communication is the clarity and consistency of messages. Focus on this is made in studies of the communication of national leaders during Covid-19. In such a study, Ardern's interactions with the New Zealand public were studied, and it was found by McGuire et al. (2020, p. 368) that Ardern communicates “clearly and formally”. In a similar vein, Australian politician, Scott John Morrison, is also described as a clear communicator by Reyes Bernard et al. (2021), although, this claim is inconsistent with the observation made by Marsen and Ali-Chand (2022, p.10), who found him to be the most indirect of the three leaders that they had studied (Ardern, Morrison, and Bainimarama). Nielsen et al. (2020), Sanders (2020) and Jones (2021), found that Boris Johnson created confusion through his inconsistent messages and therefore lost the trust of his audience.

2.3. Research on the discursive strategies used to encourage behavioural change

Leaders invoke ideas of social solidarity (McGuire et al., 2020; Dada et al., 2021), though not always in the same way. Dada et al. (2021) base their research on the analysis of 122 speeches given by 20 world leaders, half of which were male and half of which were female. He found that male leaders have a tendency to focus more on war rhetoric, whereas women – including the likes of Ardern and Nicola Sturgeon – use a more compassionate approach based on empathy. Ardern is praised for being sympathetic and approachable (McGuire et al., 2020;

Marsen and Ali-Chand, 2022), whereas Morrison largely avoids expressing empathy (Reyes Bernard et al., 2021). War rhetoric is highlighted as bringing about a collectivism based on fear and division, whereas empathy encourages a collectivism based on compassionate social cohesion (Dada et al., 2021, p. 10).

Studies on the strategies of crisis communication used by leaders during the pandemic have pointed to appeals made to the public to follow health guidelines by emphasising “responsibility” and “paternalism” (Dada et al., 2021). Leaders encourage people to act independently through “responsibility” and use tactics such as guilt, shame, or punishment to influence behaviour through “paternalism” (Dada et al., 2021, p. 7). Dada et al. found that these rhetorical strategies were used by many world leaders, irrespective of their gender. Similar concepts are referred to in McGuire et al. (2020) and Marsen and Ali-Chand (2022). These concepts are of interest for the present dissertation as they relate to how instructions are delivered, highlighting the importance of directive speech acts.

2.3.1. Studies focusing on the linguistic aspects of Covid-19 crisis communication

A study conducted by Marsen and Ali-Chand (2022), compares the use of speech acts in six key speeches given by the leaders of Australia, New Zealand and Fiji in the period of March-June 2020. The focus of this study is on speech acts and gives importance to language use and how the use of language differs from leader to leader. The authors point out that the manner in which directives are framed shows the relationship between interactants, their status and authority and the expectations of addressees (Marsen and Ali-Chand, 2022, p. 24). Directives were the most commonly used speech act in all of the three leaders’ communications, but the directives were used in different ways by each speaker. Morrison uses hedging and is found to be the most indirect speaker, while Ardern combines sympathy with directives, which, the authors argue, reduces the force of the directives.

In order to avoid an overlap between different speech acts, Marsen and Ali-Chand refrained from focusing on indirect directives and, rather, classed utterances according to their “face-value”. Utilising this approach eliminates some instances of declaratives (for example, whilst making reference to a rule) and commissives (for example, by making promises, warnings or threats). This narrowed the set of forms counted as realising directives to imperatives, modals of obligation, and what Marsen and Ali-Chand refer to as “‘I want’ and ‘I ask’ statements”.

2.4. Leadership communication strategies during crisis situations

Leadership and how it is interpreted through language, has been studied extensively by academics both before and since the outbreak of Covid-19. Political communications differ according to culture, society, and political environment; this is visible in the varied styles of political addresses given by leaders around the world (Montiel, Uyheng and Dela Paz, 2021). Research on leadership and leadership communication has brought to light certain plans which may be considered effective methods of encouraging people (Haslam et al., 2021). Haslam et al. (2021) highlight the importance of producing a social identity with the listeners; they propose creating an “us-ness” by enacting what is known as the five Rs:

- 1) representing “us” and our goals;
- 2) realising shared identity in plans and policy;
- 3) reflecting on shared identity;
- 4) readying the group for mobilisation and
- 5) reinforcing shared identity through ongoing action.

2.5. Crisis communication using corpus linguistics approaches

Several studies have adopted corpus approaches to study crisis communication during the Covid-19 pandemic. The crisis communication of Ardern and Morrison is examined in a corpus study by Powel and Crosthwaite (2022), who contrasted the keywords in each of the respective leaders’ 2020 Covid-19 briefings. This was done to investigate the discursive styles and examine the association between the styles of each world leader and the public perception of how well these leaders managed the global crisis. The findings of Powel and Crosthwaite (2022) give empirical linguistic support to the claims about Ardern's interpersonal, empathetic approach, highlighting the importance of the use of personal pronouns in combination with “if-clauses”, which provide clear procedural instructions. These discoveries back the observations made by others, such as Marsen and Ali-Chand (2022), that Morrison uses language in ways that avoid taking responsibility for unpopular moves, while concurrently taking credit for his government’s decision-making.

Another paper of interest by Williams and Wright (2022) contrasts the use of the “*inclusive we*” and the “*exclusive we*” in the Downing Street briefings from March to June 2020. These authors define the “*inclusive we*” as referring to the speaker and their audience, and the “*exclusive we*” is defined as referring to the speaker and other parties not present but excludes the audience. Williams and Wright (2022) found that representatives of the government make use of the “*exclusive we*” (i.e., where “we” does not include the general

public) in communications, which distances them from responsibility for key actions, which does not apply in cases of “*inclusive we*”. This pattern included several instances where government spokespeople uttered directives such as in the utterance, “*We have to take special steps to protect the particularly vulnerable*” (Johnson, 22 March 2020). The directive in this sentence is marked by *have to*. In this example, the authors argue that the vital action being referred to is to protect the vulnerable, but the responsibility for doing so is subtly dissociated from the government (we) to the steps. The study by Williams and Wright (2022), therefore, provides an interesting contrast to other studies, such as the one by Marsen and Ali-Chand (2022), which assume “*we*” is straightforwardly a marker of unity or togetherness.

A study done by McClaughlin et al. (2021) focuses on Johnson's Covid-19 communication strategies and examines his speeches delivered between March 2020 and April 2021. The study also finds the importance of “*we*” in the situation of bringing people together, observing that the actions being referred to are commonly vague. McClaughlin et al. (2021), who do not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive “*we*”, note the co-occurrence of “*we*” with “*must*”, claiming that Johnson's instructions are given as a collective obligation (McClaughlin et al., 2021, p. 4). The authors also point out the approaches to expressing gratitude to the public and showing empathy to support instruction giving, but they criticise Johnson's communication for its over-reliance on reference to personal responsibility, for his “*counterproductive*” use of war metaphors and contradictory messages, and for his vagueness and lack of conciseness.

2.6. Speech Act Theory

Speech act theory is a field of pragmatics that investigates how words are utilised to carry out actions (Usó Juan and Martínez Flor, 2010, p. 7). This theory was created by J.L. Austin (1962 as cited by Usó Juan and Martínez Flor, 2010, p. 7) and was further enhanced by J.R. Searle (1969, as cited by Usó Juan and Martínez Flor, 2010, p. 7). In linguistics, a speech act is an utterance recognised in terms of a speaker's intention and the effect it has on the people who are listening (Crystal, 2019, p. 522). A speech act studies the extent to which utterances are said in order to perform locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts (Usó Juan and Martínez Flor, 2010, p. 7). Mey (as cited in Ibileye, 2017, p. 50) says that speech acts are verbal actions that occur in the world, and by uttering a speech act, a person *does* something by using his words. According to Ibileye (2017, p. 50), speech acts are acts of communication performed using oral or written language to generate a change of affairs in the world.

We are attuned in conversation not predominantly to the sentences we express to each other, but to the speech acts that those sentences are used to perform warnings, requests,

invitations, apologies, promises, etc. According to Austin (2018, as cited in Attamimy et al., 2020, p. 214), all cultures use speech acts to execute social functions, and in most languages, particular performative verbs reflect an act of speech, such as an accusation, an apology, an order, a pledge, etc. The speech act is executed in a situation that presents contextual elements that assist in understanding the speaker's intention; for example, an individual says, "It is very humid in here," in a room with the windows closed. This utterance suggests an order for anyone near a window to open it. It could also easily be understood as a request to open the windows. When intentions are not overtly stipulated, contextual and social knowledge assists individuals in recognising each other's intentions.

Stark (1976, as cited in Archer, Wichmann and Aijmer, 2012, p. 39) proposed multiple dimensions of variation that make it possible to classify speech acts into categories that refer to basic things that we can do with language. These five categories are representatives/assertives, commissives, directives, expressives and declarations (Archer et al., 2012, p. 39).

Representatives are shown by speech acts conveying the speaker's belief that something is true. Examples of representatives are stating, boasting, suggesting, complaining, concluding, claiming and deducing (ibid., p. 39). Commissives are commitments made by a speaker to do something in the future. Examples of commitments are promises, vows and pledges (ibid., p. 40). Directives are used to get the hearer to do something; an example is, "Will you buy this for me?" Directive speech acts are used for functions such as asking, requesting, commanding, pleading, inviting, advising and permitting (Erdogan and Wei, 2019, p. 227). In expressives, the speaker articulates a psychological state; examples are congratulating, thanking, apologising, welcoming and deploring (Archer et al., 2012, p. 39). Declarations change the world by uttering something; examples are the baptism of a child and a juridical speech, such as a sentencing. The declaration speech acts are institutionalised – their success is dependent on the speaker being permitted by the community (ibid., p. 39). The effect of utterances on the behaviour of the hearer and the speaker is studied in speech act analysis (Mazid, 2014, p. 87). This is done by looking at the three aspects of utterances: the locutionary, the illocutionary and the perlocutionary.

2.6.1. Locutionary Acts

The locutionary act is the speaker's intent to say something that is expressive and truthful, by using words according to the meaning of said words in the dictionary of the language used, and basing the meaning of the sentence according to the syntactic rules of the language. A locutionary act produces a meaningful linguistic expression. Locution is a speech act used to

express something. The term “locutionary act” was introduced by John L. Austin in *How to Do Things with Words* (1962). According to Austin, if the speaker aims at saying something directly, without the need for him to apply the contents of his speech, his intention is called “locution”, an act of saying something with a particular meaning, where words are spoken with a definite sense and reference. For example, “I am tired,” this utterance is a description of “I” – the speaker, and “tired” – the loss of physical energy and the need to recuperate, without explicitly stating that one intends to sleep. According to Rohmadi (2004, p.30), locutionary is the act of saying something. It is a simple fact that the utterance has been made. Locutionary acts comprise of phonic acts (phones and phonetics), phatic acts (vocabulary) and rhetic acts (meaning). When a speaker utters meaningful sentences that can be understood by the hearer, then a locutionary act is performed.

2.6.2. Illocutionary Acts

According to Tarigan (2009, p.35), an illocutionary act is an act of doing something by saying something. An illocution is a speech act containing meaning and having a function. Illocutionary acts consider why an utterance is made and not what the meaning of the utterance is. Rustono (1999, p.38) explains that several verbs mark illocutionary speech acts, such as: announcing, reporting, suggesting, asking, acknowledging, thanking, proposing, promising, urging, congratulating, etc. In an illocutionary act, the speaker says something in a way that makes the speaker act according to what is said. This action relates to social functions.

The illocutionary act is the action performed through an expression and can be regarded as the intention of the speaker (Ibiley, 2017, p.51). An example of an illocutionary speech act is saying, “It is very chilly in here”. This utterance may contain the intention that the speaker requests that the door or windows be closed or asks someone to turn on the heater. The statement, therefore, may contain intentions addressed to the listener. According to Yule (1996, p.48), a person might utter words to explain something, make a statement, give an offer, or for another communicative purpose. This is the illocutionary force of the utterance. In every utterance that we make, another act is performed inside the utterance. Searle (1979) classifies illocutionary acts based on various criteria, namely assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives.

2.6.2.1 Assertives

Assertive illocutionary acts connect the speaker with the truth of the proposal expressed, for example, telling, stating, suggesting, complaining, boasting, demanding, and reporting. Assertive sentences are those of fact, description, question and conclusion. These types of illocutionary acts are neutral in terms of politeness.

2.6.2.2 Directives

These illocutionary acts are intended to bring about effects through the listener, for example, by begging, ordering, asking, advising, and recommending. Directive utterances are used when the speaker tries to get the listener to perform an act or refrain from performing a particular act. In the sentence, “Wash the dishes!” the speaker instructs and commands the listener to act and wash the dishes.

2.6.2.3 Commissives

These illocutionary acts commit the speaker to future actions (Searle, 1979, p.14). They are utterances made such as swearing (Kiki made me *swear* not to tell anyone where the gifts were hidden), promising, and offering (prayer). In the sentence, “I *promise*, I will buy you that dress,” the speaker vows to purchase the dress for the listener at a later stage. Cutting (2002, p. 17) explains that threatening, promising, pledging, offering, refusing, vowing, and volunteering are examples of illocutionary forces within the category of commissives.

2.6.2.4 Expressives

The illocutionary point of this class is to express the speaker’s psychological state (Searle, 1979, p. 16). Expressives are what the speaker feels. Expressive sentences are those of pain, pleasure, dislikes, likes, sorrow and joy. For example, sentences used to thank, congratulate, express condolences, blame, apologise, forgive, praise, deplore, and welcome are examples of expressives. According to (Yule, 1996, p.54), by making use of an expressive, the speaker uses words and makes them fit the world.

2.6.2.5 Declaratives

Declarative acts are performed by a person who has special authority in a particular institution (Yule, 1996, p.53). Examples of declaratives include: dismissing, surrendering, sentencing, releasing, naming, baptising, christening, appointing, determining, defining, and abbreviating. Examples of actions of declaratives are a judge who sentences a criminal to imprisonment, a priest who baptises a child, and an important person who names a hospital. A declaration changes reality: For example, when someone says, “You are guilty!” it changes the propositional content of the utterance and the existence of the listener from being innocent to guilty.

2.6.3 The Perlocutionary Act

The perlocutionary act encompasses how the speaker attempts to affect the audience (Mohammed Hashim, 2015, p.701). It is the “sense” of the utterance for the hearer (Attamimy et al., 2020, p.215). According to Austin (1962, p.120), a perlocutionary act is executing an act for “[t]he achieving of certain effects by saying something,” it refers to the impact that the

utterance has upon the hearers' thoughts, actions, or feelings. Perlocutionary speech acts can be convincing, persuading, scaring, inspiring or enlightening and can produce specific effects on the listener, such as fear, worry, sadness, anxiety, and disappointment. Perlocutionary acts affect the attitudes, beliefs or behaviours of the addressee (Mohammed Hashim, 2015, p. 701).

Nunan (2015, as cited in Attamimy et al., 2020, p. 213) suggests that it is only possible to classify speech acts executed by an utterance if we consider the context in which the phrase occurs. Take the following sentence as an example, "By the way, if you need a new hobby, I have the Harry Potter novel series." The illocutionary function of this utterance is an offer to lend the listener the novels, while its intended perlocutionary effect is to let the listener know that the speaker is friendly or to encourage the listener to take up reading. The perlocutionary act refers to the impact this utterance has on the action of the other person, i.e., that the listener is grateful and accepts the offer to borrow the novels. According to Rahardi (2009, p. 17), perlocutionary acts can, therefore, be called the acts of affecting someone.

2.6.4. Summary

Speech act theory explores how language is used to perform actions, originated by J.L. Austin and developed further by J.R. Searle. A speech act is an utterance recognized based on the speaker's intention and its effect on the listener. It encompasses locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. Locutionary acts involve the literal meaning of the utterance, illocutionary acts involve the intention behind the utterance, and perlocutionary acts involve the effect on the listener.

Speech acts can be classified into categories: representatives/assertives, commissives, directives, expressives, and declarations. Representatives express the speaker's belief in something, commissives commit the speaker to future actions, directives aim to get the listener to do something, expressives convey the speaker's psychological state, and declarations change the world by uttering something.

Illocutionary acts are actions performed through expressions, categorized into assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declarations. Assertives connect the speaker with the truth of a proposition, directives intend to bring about effects through the listener, commissives commit the speaker to future actions, expressives express the speaker's psychological state, and declarations change reality.

Perlocutionary acts refer to the impact of the utterance on the listener's thoughts, actions, or feelings. They can include convincing, persuading, scaring, inspiring, or enlightening the listener, affecting their attitudes, beliefs, or behaviors. Perlocutionary acts are

dependent on the context in which the utterance occurs and can be considered acts of affecting someone.

2.7. Theoretical Framework

The current research contributes to the field of linguistic pragmatics, more specifically, the pragmatics of political discourse. Within the broader research field of linguistic pragmatics, it more specifically uses theoretical insights and analysis tools from Critical Discourse Analysis (Halliday, 1978) and specifically speech act theory (Austin 1962; Searle, 1969). There are many well-established studies in the field of critical discourse analysis, including the work of Chilton (2004), Wodak (2009), Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) and Charteris-Black (2004, 2005, 2014).

2.7.1 Pragmatics

Pragmatics – a subfield of linguistics – studies how the context in which an utterance occurs, the speaker and listener’s pre-existing knowledge about those involved, the intent of the speaker, and other factors contribute to the meaning of an utterance (Shaozhong 2005 as cited in Robertson, 2016, p.108; Khalyapina, 2020, p.207). The subfield originated from the philosophical thinking of the early 19th century and was devised by Charles W. Morris as one of the three parts of semiotics (Loae and Mohd Hilmi, 2020, p.697). Pragmatics includes speech act theory, talk in interaction, conversational implicature and other approaches to language behaviour in linguistics, sociology, philosophy and anthropology (Mey, 2001 as cited in Robertson, 2016, p.108). It is concerned with the use of language in social contexts and the manners in which people produce and comprehend meanings through language (Kecskés, 2014, p.6).

Wilson (2015, p. 4, as cited in Anber, 2020, p.354) declares that informal interaction is not the only concern of pragmatics; the field also studies formal and institutional linguistic behaviours within different disciplines, e.g., medicine, law, teaching, and politics. Pragmatics studies language as a tool of interaction, what individuals mean when they speak and how individuals communicate and understand each other (Loae and Mohd Hilmi, 2020, p.698). In order to achieve this aim, pragmatics considers the context of the utterance, the possible meaning of the utterance, and the negotiation of meaning between a speaker and a listener (De Bartolo, 2014, p.453).

2.7.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) is an approach to textual analysis. Van Dijk (1993, p.131) states that CDA is different from other discourse analysis approaches as its stance

is not aimed at contributing to a specific discipline or school of thought but is rooted in social issues in search of understanding them through analysis of discourse. It can be understood as a set of explicitly or implicitly defined assumptions that are linked with empirical data, permit ways of interpretation and relink the empirical with the theoretical field (Meyer, 2001, as cited in Elsharkawy, 2017). CDA acknowledges that authentic texts are produced and read/heard in a real-world context and not in isolation; therefore, it tries to consider the most pertinent textual and contextual factors that contribute to the production and interpretation of a text. In this regard, CDA tries to unite three levels of analysis: the text, the discursive practices that create and interpret it, and the larger social context that it is used within (Fiorito, 2013, p. 55).

CDA takes on a social constructionist view of discourse and is concerned with societal issues, including culture and politics (Jahedi, Abdullah and Mukundan, 2014, p.30). Ogone and Orwenjo (2010, p. 62) indicated that CDA could be classified into two types. The first type of analysis deals with how unequal power is reproduced in conversations and focuses on matters such as interactions, control over topics, and turn-taking (Ogone and Orwenjo, 2010, p. 62). The second type deals with the content of the text and focuses on the manners in which ideologies are reproduced in discourses (Ogone and Orwenjo, 2010, p. 62). The goal of this second type of analysis is to discover the primary ideological systems and representations, and to reveal how they are linked to the bigger societal order (Ogone and Orwenjo, 2010, p. 62). An ideology encompasses the concealed opinions of social clusters, which can publicise as widely accepted (Ogone and Orwenjo, 2010, p. 62). These groups hold power in society, and by promoting their ideology, they can reproduce the social relations of power (Ogone and Orwenjo, 2010, p. 62).

Chilton sees language as representing politics as action and studies how political actors use language to obtain cooperation in discourse (Chilton, 2004, p.19). Wodak (2009, p.23) also sees language in political discourse as action; her work concentrates on different discursive representation subgenres. Fairclough and Fairclough, too, regard language as action; however, they use an argumentation perspective to see how argumentation and rhetoric are used to enable manipulation and persuasion in political discourse (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012, p.3). Fairclough and Fairclough's approach to critical discourse analysis entails two steps: first, the argument is reconstructed to outline the claim, values, goals and circumstances of the argumentation in discourse; second, the argument is evaluated to learn how persuasion, power, and manipulation are affected in the reconstructed argument of the previous step.

CDA conveys the theoretical aspects which magnify societal autocracies to influence human action (Wodak and Meyer, 2011, p.40). Fairclough (1989, p.52) states that CDA is used

in a quest to highlight connections that could be hidden from people, such as relationships between language, power and ideology. He, therefore, emphasises analysing the linguistic elements in texts, which highlight generally hidden details in the system of social relationships and emphasises the effects they may have on the system itself. CDA academics such as Fairclough, van Dijk and Wodak acknowledge that both the critical and discursive natures of CDA deal with power, ideological and social practice.

2.7.2.1 Power

The role of language in upholding social power is significant as language is where actual and probable forms of social organisation and their consequences are contested, and so too, the place where our sense of selves and our subjectivity are constructed (Weedon, 1997, p.21). According to Fairclough (1989, p.52), in CDA, power relates to the concept of hegemony, where a social group has uniformity in their views over an issue without accepting or perceiving any alternatives to their opinion. CDA is interested in language and power as it is usually in language that discriminatory practices are enacted, imbalanced relations of power are formed and reproduced, and social irregularities may be contested and changed (Blackledge, 2005, p.5). Blackledge (2005, p.6) states that CDA is associated with the knowledge that language is not powerful if it is functioning in isolation but becomes powerful via its meanings and in the manner in which influential people use it. Van Dijk (2002, p.84) claims that dominance is emphasised in the exercise of social power by institutions and social groups which perpetuate inequalities.

South African history can be used to depict this example. The relationship between language and education in South Africa is political. During the Apartheid regime, British and Dutch colonisers were not invested in teaching their languages to the indigenous population of the country until it became necessary to boost skilled labour and spread their respective languages and cultures to bolster colonial expansion (Alexander, 1989, p.9). The placement of linguistic identities within social and cultural identities was rooted in the classification of indigenous South African people into ethnic “tribes” based on the language that they spoke (Alexander, 1989, p.22).

Language was also the means through which social and economic mobility was facilitated under apartheid, especially as the education of Indian, coloured, and black learners was deliberately declared inferior to the education of whites. This was accomplished by inadequately educated teachers, under-resourcing of schools, and the employment of mother-tongue teaching policy, which was associated with inferior learning (Sayed, Badroodien,

McDonald, Balie, De Kock, Garisch, Hanaya, Salmon, Sirkhotte-Kriel, Gaston, and Foulds, 2015, p.17).

Wodak and Meyer (2011), state that language cannot be powerful in isolation from those who use it within a discursive practice. They explain that CDA analyses the use of language by the powerful – those who propagate inequalities, although they could be in a position to improve the conditions for those who are oppressed.

2.7.2.2. Ideology

Van Dijk (2003, p. 12) describes ideology as the fundamental values and beliefs shared by a group of people; he argues that ideology offers a representative form and contains accepted rules that allow actors to understand, build, modify or reject alternative ideologies. Members of a group will accept, modify, or reject an ideology based on these criteria and will use these criteria to outline how it feels to be a member of a group. According to Fairclough (1995, p. 72), historical and current circumstances are the root of the creation and maintenance of ideological beliefs and ideology. He states that ideology is located in structures which include the result of events of the past and the requirements for current events. Furthermore, ideology is located in the circumstances themselves as they reproduce and change their conditioning structures (Fairclough, 1995, p. 72).

According to Sipra and Rashid (2013, p.29), metaphors in a discourse depict an ideology which shapes reality within a given context. They show this by making reference to Martin Luther King's metaphoric use of language, which mirrored his ideology. They emphasise metaphors used by Martin Luther King to illustrate the circumstances of black Americans. Words such as "flames of withering injustice" are highlighted to depict the cruelty performed by white Americans on people of African descent. Sipra and Rashid (2013, p. 31) remind us that black Americans were not provided with equal rights, freedom and economic equality. King used the word "flame" to refer to something that causes destruction and "withering" to refer to black people. This example clearly illustrates how political leaders can use discourses and linguistic features. Sipra and Rashid (2013, p.28) also say that speech has textual and stylistic devices which are used to attain specific ideological purposes. Therefore, they suggest that we should expect to come across textual and stylistic elements in speech which are used to propagate ideology in a cultured manner.

2.7.2.3. Social Practice

According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997, p. 258), CDA sees discourse as a system of "social practice", meaning that a dialectical relationship exists between a discursive event and the institutions, situations, and social structures which surround it. Discourse is socially

conditioned and socially constitutive; it helps to reproduce, sustain and transform the social status quo. Discursive practices can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between women and men, social classes, and ethnic/cultural minorities and majorities (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258),

CDA deals with ideology as epitomised through language in use and an exploration of the dialectical and opaque relationship between texts and the methods and circumstances of their production and reception (Fairclough, 1989). Van Dijk (1993, p.131), however, states that CDA is not a homogenous model but a shared perspective on doing linguistics, suggesting that approaches to CDA are multifaceted. Fairclough's (2001, p.229) study is concerned with the association between language and other elements of social life. He describes social practices as stabilised forms of social activity with characteristics such as productive activity, means of production, social identities, social relations, cultural values, semiosis and consciousness. Fairclough (2001) thinks that part of leading a country involves using language in a valuable way. The speeches delivered by political leaders consist of speech acts with social effects. Understanding the dynamics of these speeches means knowing how power is encoded in the language that the political leaders are using. The 'social practice' in language use includes issues of concern in social analysis, such as the organisational and institutional issues of the discursive event and how that influences the nature of the discursive practice (Fairclough, 1993).

Reisigl (2003, p.88) comments that media plays a role in distributing information and determining how audiences will receive it. He says that the occasion of a speech and the audience which is being addressed influence the content, structure and form of a political speech (Reisigl, 2003, p.259). In this regard, speeches made by political leaders may also have power in social conditions and affect the way that a political party is able to connect with the people.

2.7.3. Summary of Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the current research lies within the field of linguistic pragmatics, specifically focusing on the pragmatics of political discourse. It draws upon Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a theoretical framework, incorporating insights from speech act theory. CDA is unique in its approach as it is rooted in social issues and aims to understand them through discourse analysis. It emphasizes the interplay between text, discursive practices, and the larger social context.

Pragmatics, a subfield of linguistics, examines how various factors such as context, speaker intention, and listener knowledge contribute to the meaning of utterances. It encompasses speech act theory and other approaches to language behavior in social contexts.

CDA, on the other hand, takes a social constructionist view of discourse and focuses on societal issues such as culture and politics. It can be classified into two types: one analyzes power dynamics in conversation, while the other examines how ideologies are perpetuated through discourse. CDA scholars like Fairclough, van Dijk, and Wodak emphasize the role of language in reinforcing power structures and ideologies within society.

The discussion on power within CDA highlights how language plays a significant role in upholding social power dynamics and perpetuating inequalities. Ideology, as another key concept, involves the fundamental values and beliefs shared by a group of people, which are reflected and reinforced through language use. Social practice, within the CDA framework, refers to the dialectical relationship between discourse and the social structures in which it occurs, shaping and being shaped by societal norms and power dynamics.

Overall, the theoretical framework outlined combines insights from linguistic pragmatics, particularly speech act theory, with the analytical tools of Critical Discourse Analysis to investigate the complexities of political discourse and its implications within society.

2.8. Previous Studies on Speech Act Theory

In the realm of political discourse, the study of speech acts has emerged as a crucial area of investigation, shedding light on how language is employed by leaders to convey messages, assert authority, and influence public opinion. This subheading delves into a collection of scholarly works that examine the utilisation of speech acts in various political contexts, ranging from inaugural addresses to crisis communications, conducted by researchers across different regions and time periods.

In a study conducted by Akinkuolere (2012), an examination is undertaken of the inaugural and victory speeches delivered by Nigerian President Umaru Musa Yar' Abdu. Employing Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) speech act theory as analytical frameworks, Akinkuolere scrutinises the speeches to discern both their commonalities and distinctions. Utilising a qualitative methodology, the research reveals that assertive speech acts constitute a significant portion, accounting for 60% of the total occurrences within the President's addresses. Furthermore, these assertive utterances are identified as instrumental in articulating Umaru Musa Yar' Abdu's thoughts, views and agenda.

Antony (2015) also employs Searle's (1969) theory of speech act in his examination. The focus of his study lies in exploring the interplay between language and power evident in a speech delivered by former US President Obama. The overarching objective of this investigation is to discern the strategies employed by Obama to convey messages effectively to the public through language. Through a qualitative inquiry, Antony's findings reveal that assertive illocutionary acts emerge as the most frequently utilised, followed closely by commissives, in the rhetorical repertoire of former President Obama.

Alattar (2014) conducted a study on the utilisation of illocutionary acts. His data were derived from the orations delivered by four American Presidents – Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama. These speeches addressed a variety of topics: Reagan's discourse pertained to the tragedy of the Challenger spacecraft explosion, Clinton's address centred on the annual White House prayer observance, Bush's speech tackled the 1990 conflict with Iraq, and Obama spoke about the occasion of the national school day. Alattar employed Bach and Harnich's (1979) taxonomy of illocutionary acts as the theoretical framework for his investigation, which adopted a qualitative approach to scrutinise the illocutionary acts within the four speeches. Alattar's findings revealed a predominant reliance on constative illocutionary acts among the presidents for expressing opinions, asserting facts, and reporting information, constituting 57.6% of all identified speech acts. Following constative acts, directive illocutionary acts emerged as the second most prevalent type, accounting for 48.05% of the total speech acts, primarily manifesting in requests. Assertive illocutionary acts formed a smaller proportion, representing only 12.14% of the entire corpus of speech acts identified in the study.

Basiru (2015) conducted a study analysing both military and civilian speeches delivered by Nigerian President Obasanjo, employing Searle's (1976) theory of speech acts. Basiru's objective was to ascertain the frequency of commissive and directive acts employed by the President. The investigation revealed that Obasanjo presented 12 commissive acts in his military speech and 27 commissive acts in his civilian speech. Furthermore, he delivered 14 directive acts in his military speech and eight directive acts in his civilian speech. Basiru observed a higher frequency of promises made by Obasanjo in his civilian discourse compared to his military addresses, alongside fewer instances of directive acts. Obasanjo's military commissives centred on initiatives concerning human and agricultural resource development, promotion of public morality, and advancement of education. Conversely, his civilian commissives conveyed his commitment to national service, diplomatic reinforcement, enhancement of military and police welfare, assurance in governance, and eradication of

corruption within the country. The study concludes that the President demonstrates adeptness in employing speech acts that align with the exigencies of each respective context.

Hashim (2015) conducted a study delving into the role of language within interactions and the elucidation of meanings. Employing the speech act theories of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), Hashim aimed to investigate the deployment of locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts in selected speeches delivered by Presidents John Kerry and George W. Bush. Specifically, he analysed two speeches from John Kerry's presidential campaign and two speeches from George W. Bush's inaugural address in 2011. Due to the variability in the lengths and sentence counts of the speeches, Hashim limited his analysis to twenty sentences from each. The findings revealed that 50% of Kerry's speech comprised commissive acts, predominantly utilised for making promises. Conversely, 40% of the illocutionary acts in Bush's speech were assertive, conveying his beliefs and agenda. When aggregating all study results, commissive acts constituted 40%, indicating the prevalent use of such acts by politicians to pledge commitments and persuade listeners to endorse their agendas. Assertive acts were employed to articulate the presidents' thoughts, constituting 35% of the overall results.

Novitasari (2015) conducted a study examining the utilisation of illocutionary acts. The focus of the investigation was the speeches delivered by the Indonesian President, Joko Widodo. Specifically, the study analysed two speeches: Joko Widodo's inaugural address and his speech delivered at the 9th East Asia Summit. Drawing upon Searle's (1969) speech act theory and Leech's (1983) functions of illocutionary acts, Novitasari explored the patterns of illocutionary acts within these speeches. The findings indicated that the assertive act emerged as the most frequently employed illocutionary type. The study revealed that the Indonesian President predominantly utilised assertives to articulate his thoughts and communicate messages to his audience.

Bashir and Sameer (2017) undertook a study examining the first inaugural speeches delivered by Presidents Barack Obama and George W. Bush. The primary focus of their research centred on speeches pertaining to policy matters, with the objective of determining the predominant type of speech act employed by each president. Bashir and Sameer (2017) adopted Searle's (1969, 1979) and Ferrara's (1980) speech act theory as theoretical frameworks for their analysis. Their findings revealed that the assertive type of speech act was most frequently employed in Bush's inaugural address, whereas the commissive type was most prevalent in Obama's speech. The study elucidated that Bush utilised assertives to articulate his

programme, while Obama predominantly employed commissives to make promises and present his agenda.

In a separate investigation conducted by Sameer (2017), the inaugural speeches delivered by Egyptian Presidents El-Sadat and El-Sisi were subjected to qualitative analysis. Speech act theory served as the theoretical foundation for this study, with the primary objective being to discern the manner in which each president conveyed their messages to their respective audiences. The analysis revealed that the commissive type of speech act was predominantly utilised in El-Sadat's speech, whereas the assertive type was more frequently employed by El-Sisi.

In 2017, Dylgjeri conducted a study utilising Searle's (1969) theory of speech acts to qualitatively examine the utilization of illocutionary acts within the election victory speech delivered by Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama. The study's findings revealed that the commissive type emerged as the most frequently employed speech act, with the assertive type following closely as the second most used by Edi Rama. Specifically, Edi Rama employed the commissive type to instil hope among the Albanian populace, while the assertive type was employed to articulate his opinions and relay factual information.

Koutchadé (2017) conducted a mixed methods study employing Searle's (1969) theory of speech act. The study sought to scrutinize the discourse of Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari. Analysis revealed that the representative type constituted 52% of the results, while the directive type comprised 19% of the total findings. The investigation indicated that Muhammadu Buhari predominantly utilised the representative type to articulate his thoughts, and he employed the directive type to offer suggestions to his audience. Notably, the declaration type was absent from the speech delivered by the Nigerian President.

In 2017, Virginia and Olanrewaju conducted an investigation into the utilisation of speech acts. Their study analysed twenty speeches delivered by a Nigerian presidential candidate during the 2015 presidential election, employing Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) theory of speech act. The findings revealed that the assertive type was the most frequently utilised across the twenty speeches, followed by the directive type. The researchers inferred that candidates predominantly communicate factual information and express their thoughts to their audience through the assertive type, while employing the commissive type to articulate promises to their electorate.

Widiatmoko (2017) undertook a study investigating the utilisation of speech acts in inaugural addresses. The speeches delivered by five presidents were meticulously analysed using Searle's (1979) theory of speech act. The findings of this research revealed that only one

president predominantly employed the commissive type, while the remaining presidents primarily utilised the assertive type. Notably, the study did not identify instances of the declaration illocutionary act in any of the inaugural speeches examined.

In 2018, Mufiah and Rahman conducted a study investigating the utilisation of illocutionary acts within the inaugural speech delivered by former President Donald Trump. The study employed Yule's (1996) speech act theory, which posits that speech acts encompass the examination of how both speakers and listeners employ language. Analysis revealed that the representative type emerged as the most frequently utilised, with the directive type following as the second most used. The study elucidated that Trump extensively relied on the representative type to articulate his opinions and convey factual information. Furthermore, the directive type was employed to issue commands directing officials to safeguard the United States of America and fortify its borders.

Nurkhamidah (2020) conducted a qualitative study examining illocutionary speech acts within Trump's address on the Covid-19 outbreak. The research applied Searle's (1979) theory of speech acts and identified that Trump employed all five categories of illocutionary speech acts, albeit with varying frequencies. The most prevalent category was assertive, encompassing utterances such as claiming, boasting, informing, describing, and stating. Commissives ranked as the second most frequently used category, including instances of planning and promising. Directives were observed in the form of commands and advice. Expressives, primarily consisting of expressions of gratitude, and declaratives in the form of blessings, were the least frequently employed categories.

Anyanwu and Abana (2020) employed the theoretical framework of Speech Acts to scrutinise the speeches delivered by three African presidents: Muhammadu Buhari of Nigeria, Akufo-Addo of Ghana, and Cyril Ramaphosa of South Africa, all of which were delivered during the coronavirus pandemic. The researchers discerned that the three presidents utilised performative and constative acts to request, command, urge, direct, appeal, and inform their audience about Covid-19, its detrimental effects, and the necessary measures to combat the disease. Certain performative acts were executed under essential and sincerity conditions. Anyanwu and Abana noted that the tone, manner, and language adopted by the presidents varied depending on their respective experiences and the focal points of their speeches. Taking this into consideration, each speaker employed language to achieve a pragmatic effect. The analysis of the study uncovered that through the use of speech acts such as instructing, commanding, and requesting, the presidents displayed their individuality and distinctive linguistic styles.

In 2021, Krishnan, De Mello, Arumugam, Suppiah, Paramasivam, and Nor Afandi bin Ibrahim conducted a comparative study examining the utilisation of speech acts in the initial announcements of the Covid-19 pandemic by the prime ministers of Malaysia and Singapore. Employing qualitative analysis, the researchers analysed the data based on Searle's framework of speech acts. The study revealed that the Prime Minister of Malaysia employed directive speech acts more frequently in comparison to the Prime Minister of Singapore. Notably, both prime ministers demonstrated limited familiarity with declaration speech acts, yet conveyed their messages to their respective nations in a firmly dignified manner. Despite minor differences, the analysis identified that both prime ministers effectively communicated the severity of the Covid-19 pandemic through their speeches. According to the researchers, speech acts play a pivotal role in political communication, facilitating the delivery of efficient and inspirational speeches. The study further highlights that the initial statements made by the prime ministers influenced the types of speech acts utilised, with both leaders predominantly employing directive speech acts to convey their intentions. This finding underscores the importance of directive speech acts in political statements. Additionally, Krishnan and colleagues (2021) suggest that assertive speech acts aid speakers in reaffirming their positions and influencing the audience's perception. The researchers observed that the prime ministers rarely employed other speech acts, such as assertive, commissive, and expressive.

In conclusion, the studies reviewed underscore the importance of speech acts in political communication, elucidating how leaders employ language to convey their intentions, assert authority, and shape public discourse. From the assertive rhetoric of Nigerian President Umaru Musa Yar' Abdu to the strategic use of commissive and assertive acts by various American and international leaders, these works offer valuable insights into the rhetorical strategies employed by politicians across different contexts and time periods.

Furthermore, the findings highlight the adaptability of leaders in employing speech acts that align with the exigencies of each respective context, whether it be crisis communication, inaugural addresses, or campaign speeches. By understanding the nuances of speech acts, scholars and practitioners alike can gain deeper insights into the dynamics of political discourse and the effective communication strategies employed by leaders to engage with their audiences.

Overall, the research presented in this section underscores the pivotal role of speech acts in political communication, emphasising their significance in conveying messages, shaping perceptions, and influencing public opinion in diverse political landscapes.

2.9. Lexical Choices

The utilisation of dysphemistic expressions within Trump's discourse concerning Covid-19 was examined in the study conducted by Olimat (2020). Employing the conceptual metaphor theory developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), alongside the critical-political discourse analysis framework established by Van Dijk (1997; 2001) and the concept of dysphemism as elucidated by Allan and Burrige (2006), Olimat (2020) scrutinised Trump's language choices. The findings of the study, as outlined by Olimat (2020, p. 17), reveal that Trump employs robust language and war metaphors to influence the perspectives and opinions of his audience, to defend his stance, and to denigrate other nations or institutions. Trump frequently utilises conceptual metaphors, such as portraying Covid-19 as an "invisible enemy," a "foreign enemy," a "dangerous threat," and engaging in a "global battle" (Olimat, 2020, p. 17).

2.9.1. Covid-19 and the metaphor of war

The interplay between metaphorical language and public response to the Covid-19 pandemic has become a focal point of research, with scholars seeking to elucidate how linguistic framing influences perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours. Burnette et al. (2021) delve into this discourse, examining the impact of metaphors on fostering a growth mindset and self-efficacy concerning individual empowerment in controlling the pandemic. Through two studies, they explore the effects of metaphors evoking notions of change and warfare on participants' responses to Covid-19-related information. The findings of their research shed light on the nuanced dynamics between metaphorical framing and individual agency, revealing intriguing insights into how linguistic representations shape public understanding and response to the ongoing crisis. Additionally, Schnepf and Christmann (2021) contribute to this discourse by investigating the influence of the war metaphor on actual behaviour and governmental responsibility. Through a series of studies conducted in different socio-political contexts, they offer valuable insights into the complex relationship between metaphorical framing, individual compliance, and perceptions of governmental response. Together, these studies highlight the importance of metaphorical choices in shaping public discourse and response strategies amidst the evolving landscape of the Covid-19 pandemic, while also cautioning against the overestimation of framing effects in influencing individual behaviours and attitudes.

Burnette et al. (2021) delve into the impact of metaphors on fostering a growth mindset and self-efficacy concerning individual empowerment in controlling the Covid-19 pandemic. Across two studies, they assigned participants to read articles discussing the virus, each featuring either a metaphor related to change (such as "flatten the curve" or "break the chain of

transmission") or a metaphor depicting warlike imagery (e.g., 'fight' a virus). The article incorporating war metaphors aimed to rally the audience to "fight the enemy," whereas the change-oriented article portrayed Covid-19 as a challenge that individuals could directly address by taking action to "flatten the curve" (Burnette et al., 2021, p. 13).

During the first study, conducted from March to April 2020, participants exposed to the change metaphor reported higher levels of self-efficacy regarding behavioural changes, whereas those exposed to bellicose metaphors exhibited lower self-efficacy. In the second study, conducted in November 2020, growth mindset and self-efficacy correlated with stronger intentions to adhere to recommended health behaviours. This study additionally explored political ideology and affiliations, revealing that conservatism correlated with lower anxiety levels, reduced growth mindset, decreased behavioural intentions, and heightened well-being. However, there was no significant relationship between the message (change or war) and political ideology or mindset. Moreover, ideology strongly correlated with attitudes towards mask-wearing.

Nevertheless, the second study failed to replicate the effects observed in the first, as both metaphors exerted similar levels of influence. This discrepancy may be attributed to changing social circumstances, notably the decreased frequency of the "flatten the curve" metaphor by November 2020, potentially diminishing its efficacy in instilling beliefs in change. This outcome underscores the challenges of conducting replicable experiments and deriving conclusive findings amidst evolving political and social contexts, as exemplified by the Covid-19 pandemic.

In a separate investigation, Schnepf and Christmann (2021) explored the impact of the war metaphor on actual behaviour. They hypothesized by comparing two metaphors - "war" and "struggle." Participants were randomly assigned to two groups and exposed to fictitious newspaper reports on the pandemic, each featuring one of the metaphors. Results indicated no enhancement of policy support with the war metaphor and revealed a reverse framing effect of perceived danger, with participants exposed to the struggle metaphor perceiving a faster spread of the virus. Republicans perceived a lower spread when presented with the war metaphor compared to the struggle metaphor, suggesting their diminished susceptibility to war rhetoric.

This study, replicated in Germany and the United States in July 2020, affirmed similar results and highlighted the influence of control variables such as political trust, risk aversion, and trust in science. The findings supported the hypothesis that metaphorical framing influences speech production concerning other individuals or the government, with variations across countries attributed to control variables. Notably, the war metaphor did not significantly

impact attitudes and reasoning towards the pandemic, prompting the formulation of a new hypothesis suggesting that militaristic metaphors attribute greater responsibility to the government, whereas the concept of struggle enhances individual accountability.

Schnepf and Christmann (2021) presented two additional studies in November and December 2020, confirming a stronger link between individual measures and responsibility with the struggle concept, and governmental responsibility with the war concept. These results underscore the ineffectiveness of militaristic metaphors in promoting adherence to Covid-19 restrictions and suggest the potential effectiveness of the struggle frame in encouraging individual compliance with preventive behaviours.

In conclusion, the choice of metaphors influences perceptions and behaviours in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, with the struggle frame potentially more effective in fostering individual compliance. However, caution is warranted in overstating framing effects, as metaphorical choices may inadvertently reduce personal involvement rather than enhance it (Schnepf and Christmann, 2021, p. 43).

After exploring the intricate influence of metaphors on perceptions and behaviours regarding the Covid-19 pandemic, attention is directed to another fundamental aspect of language: adjectives. Just as metaphors shape our understanding of concepts through symbolic representations, adjectives play a crucial role in providing detailed descriptions and nuances to the nouns or pronouns they modify. Through the lens of linguistic analysis, I delve into the multifaceted nature of adjectives, examining how they contribute to the richness and complexity of communication. From attributive positions that convey enduring meanings to the capacity for intensification and inflectional variations, adjectives offer a versatile toolkit for expressing ideas and shaping discourse.

2.9.2. Adjectives

An adjective, as elucidated by Crystal (2008, p.11), functions as a constituent of speech employed to modify either a noun or a pronoun. Serving to provide additional information about the noun or pronoun, adjectives address questions concerning its nature, type, or quantity. In English, as well as in numerous other languages, adjectives can assume an attributive position when they precede the nouns or pronouns they are intended to modify, as exemplified by phrases like "A smart lady." Attributive adjectives convey enduring meanings or serve to characterize the noun or pronoun they qualify (ibid., p.432). Quirk (1985, p.428) illustrates this phenomenon through the phrase "my old friend," wherein the adjective "old" signifies the antithesis of "new," indicating a long-standing friendship. Notably, the attributive position confines the adjective's scope of meaning, as in "my old friend," where "old" pertains to the

friendship rather than the friend; thus, the phrase differs in meaning from "my friend is old." Furthermore, adjectives possess the capacity for intensification, as demonstrated by constructions such as "very smart" or "rather smart." Additionally, according to the inflectional criterion, adjectives can adopt comparative and superlative forms through inflection (e.g., smart, smarter, smartest). Moreover, while concrete nouns refer to entities perceptible through the senses—such as those that can be seen, heard, smelled, tasted, or touched—abstract nouns, exemplified by terms like happiness, bravery, hate, or love, denote concepts that are not directly perceptible through sensory experience (Quirk et al., 1985, p.247).

2.9.3. Redundancy as a discursive strategy

Redundancy refers to the occurrence of expressing the same idea multiple times, either through the exact repetition of words or through the use of different words that convey identical meaning. This concept encompasses two distinct discursive strategies: repetition and reiteration (Inigo-Mora, 2012, p. 8). Repetition involves the use of the same word or words within a single sentence or across consecutive sentences (*ibid.*). This technique serves to emphasize a particular word or idea, establishing a stronger connection between sentences and enhancing cohesion within the discourse.

2.9.4. Repetition in political discourse

It is essential to note the differences between speech and written text. In speech, orature, poetry and song lyrics – repetition is a stylistic tool used for several reasons and effects. The speeches delivered by the world leaders under investigation are given orally. Hence, repetition may be used strategically by them for various reasons. In written text, repetition is used to a much lesser extent.

According to Tannen (2007, p.63), linguistic repetition is the recurrence and recontextualisation of words and phrases in a particular conversation or text – known as synchronic repetition or intratextual patterns; or in another, later conversation or text – known as diachronic repetition or intertextual patterns. Repetition can also be described in terms of persistence, i.e., an exact repetition or a repetition with variation – also known as a paraphrase; temporal scale, which is either an immediate repetition or a delayed repetition; and whether it is self-repetition or allo-repetition i.e., a repetition of others (*ibid.*, p.64).

Kim (2002, p.53) notes that repetition in discourse has been studied by many researchers, such as Kavin (1972), Johnstone (1994) and Tannen (2007). Repetition, according to Johnstone (1994, p.27), is a figure of speech that can be used to produce a marked structure with a special rhetorical effect and may enable speakers to talk fluently and efficiently (1994, p. 6). Farghal and Shunnaq (1999, p.136) define repetition as a semantic phenomenon which

describes copying words, phrases and sentences more than needed to illuminate a term or concept. Kawin (1972, p.1) suggests that repetition is a fundamental and infinitely valuable linguistic strategy. Jasim and Aziz (2007, p.5) assert that repetition can be used for emphasis or rhythm in the development of ideas, to give logical importance to the utterance and to show the speaker's emotional state.

Repetition in discourse aids as a cohesive agent by connecting new utterances to previous ones through the use of reoccurring words, phrases or sentences (Halliday and Hasan, 1976, p.592). Tannen (2007, p.60) argues that cohesion is the most apparent and straightforward explanation of repetition, but this is not its only function. Repetition indicates the speaker's attitude, partakes in the organisation of ideas, and plays a role in the meaning of the discourse. Hence, repetition is a vital part of discourse that gives discourse a character of familiarity and makes it sound correct (*ibid.*, 2007, p.62). Repetition can furthermore be used to achieve textual functions by producing a stylistic or poetic effect.

Repetition can be used to increase the audience's understanding by adding more excitement and pleasure to the discourse, thereby influencing the listener's feelings (Nodelman, 1994, p.233). Repetition is, therefore, an excellent strategy that allows politicians to present themselves in a certain way, justify their thoughts and actions and generate specific political effects on the audience.

Repetition has a function of efficiency and allows a speaker to produce language more fluently, thus making it easier for the speaker to hold the listener's attention (Tannen, 2007, p.58). Repetition also helps in comprehension; if a speech contains much repetition, it has less new information for the hearer to understand. Repetition creates interpersonal involvement and, according to Tannen, can be seen as an analogue to the pleasure associated with familiar physical surroundings (Tannen, 2007, p.61).

An assumption is that patterns of repetition in lexical composition can be linked to the social circumstances of discourse production, for example, the use of synonyms or synonym-like words for one concept – known as 'overlexicalisation' (Halliday, 1978, p.165) or 'overwording' (Fairclough, 1989, p.115) – has been interpreted as a signal of speaker's preoccupation with a problematic aspect of reality.

Bazzanella (2011, p. 249) declares that repetition, as a clarifying device, filler, text-building mechanism, and a literacy and rhetorical device, is also a powerful conversational and interactional resource. Hsieh (2011, p. 163) pin-points that repetition can be used to emphasise function or when the listener does not catch up with what was said in the previous turn. He also finds that self-repetition can be a means of emphasis or persuasion.

Even though repetition is necessary in discourse, Johnstone (1987, p.206) found that educated people mock this style of speech by saying that the speaker is “redundant”, that he “repeats himself”, or that he “keeps saying the same thing over and over”. Such thoughts may be based on the expectation of conciseness and verbosity avoidance.

In Edelman’s work on language use in politics, he expressed a negative attitude towards certain instances of repetition by saying that repetition of clichés and “stale” phrases evoke a conditioned uncritical response, which is a time-honoured habit among politicians and is mentally restful for audiences (Edelman, 1985, p.125). Orwell (1968, p.172) states that intertextual repetition in political speeches signifies a reduced state of consciousness of the speaker. If the politician’s speech is one that he is accustomed to making frequently, he may not be speaking consciously, just as a one-word response to sermons in a church (ibid.). This reduced state of consciousness is favourable to political conformity (ibid.).

Klemperer (2006, p.14) provides an example of the Nazi use of the term ‘fanatical’ by explaining that if the words ‘heroic’ and ‘virtuous’ are replaced with ‘fanatical’ for long enough, the speaker will come to believe that a fanatic is a virtuous hero and that it is not possible to be a hero without fanaticism. Bayley (2007) gives an analysis of the use of the word ‘terror’ in American and British political speeches and shows differences in its frequency of occurrence as well as its meaning before and after the 2001 September 11 attacks on the Twin Towers.

Kim (2002, p.53) states that repetition in discourse has been widely studied by researchers. Repetition is a semantic phenomenon which involves repeating words, phrases and sentences over and again to clarify a term or concept (Farghal and Shunnaq, 1999, p.136). The use of repetition in political speech can depict the ability to manipulate language for stylistic command and to convey political ideologies and views that can impact the audience.

According to Kawin (1972, p.1), repetition is an infinitely helpful linguistic strategy; he calls it “fundamental”, “automatic”, and “pervasive”. Johnstone (1994, p.27) says that repetition is a figure of speech that can be used to create a special rhetorical effect.

Repetition in discourse links new utterances to previous ones using repetitive words, phrases or sentences (Halliday and Hasan, 1976, p. 592). According to Tannen (2007, p.60), repetition shows us the speaker’s attitude, organises the ideas of the speech and contributes to the meaning of the discourse. Tannen further states that repetition is an integral part of discourse that gives it a character of familiarity and makes it sound correct (2007, p.62).

Repetition can be used to achieve emphasis or rhythm whilst developing ideas as it implies reiterating words, expressions, clauses and sounds, which places emphasis on the utterance and shows the speaker's emotional state (Jasim and Aziz, 2007, p.5).

The repetition of words, phrases and sentences can also be used to achieve certain textual functions, such as stylistic or poetic effects. It could also be used to increase the audience's understanding as, according to Nodelman (1994, p.233), it adds excitement and pleasure to the discourse. Repeated words, phrases and sentences emphasise essential points in a speech and integrate these points into the thoughts of the listeners.

Johnstone (1994, p.6) points to the fact that in political speech, repetition assists speakers in speaking fluently and efficiently; the speaker repeats words to influence the audience's feelings. In this way, repetition can be seen as a persuasive strategy that could have an emotional impact on the audience. Hence, repetition is a necessary aid that allows political speakers to achieve specific functions, such as presenting themselves in a positive light, justifying their actions and generating specific political effects on the audience.

According to Tannen (1987, p.585), repetition is a consequence of seeing language just as a means of transferring information, which results in the view that the use of language that does not relay information is seen as unnecessary and therefore – bad. However, Tannen (1987, p.576) also says that repetition serves in production, comprehension, interaction, and cohesion. Tannen (1987, p.580) also suggests that repetition can offer the speaker re-usable patterns and help the listener understand by slowing down the pace of communication. Repetition can also serve as a stalling technique – giving the speaker time to think about what to say next – which can be seen as a hesitation device.

As we delve into the intricacies of linguistic analysis, transitioning from the exploration of repetition to the examination of pronouns unveils a fascinating interplay between these two fundamental elements of discourse. While repetition serves as a cornerstone for creating coherence, emphasising key points, and shaping rhetorical effects, pronouns offer a means of linguistic efficiency by substituting specific nouns or noun phrases. In essence, pronouns act as linguistic shortcuts, allowing speakers to avoid the cumbersome repetition of exact words while maintaining clarity and fluidity in communication. From personal pronouns facilitating direct address and self-reference to reflexive pronouns emphasising actions directed towards oneself, the diverse array of pronoun types plays a pivotal role in shaping discourse across various contexts, including political speeches. Thus, the transition from repetition to pronouns underscores not only their individual significance but also the symbiotic relationship between them in constructing meaningful communication.

2.9.5. Pronouns

Pronouns are groups of words that stand in place of other words, such as nouns or noun phrases. They are used as a way for the speaker to avoid repeating the exact words over and over. Multiple types of pronouns exist; these include personal, possessive, reflexive, demonstrative, relative, indefinite, reciprocal, and interrogative (see, e.g., Collins, 1990, p.28). Pronouns play an important role in political speeches, and the analysis of pronouns is a crucial part of my data analysis.

2.9.5.1 Types of Pronouns

Personal pronouns are used to refer to people or things that the speaker is talking to or about. They can also be used as a way for the speaker to refer to himself. Two kinds of personal pronouns exist, they are the subjective personal pronouns and the objective personal pronouns. The subjective personal pronouns denote a subject of a clause or a subject complement. These pronouns include "I", "you", "we", "he", "she", "it", and "they". Objective personal pronouns denote the same people or things as the corresponding subject pronouns (Collins, 1990, p.29). Object pronouns are employed as the object complement or prepositional complement of a clause (Quirk et al., 1972, p.208). The objective personal pronouns are "me", "you", "us", "him", "her", "it", and "them" (Collins, 1990, p.29).

The reflexive pronouns consist of "myself", "yourself", "yourselves", "ourselves", "himself", "herself", "itself", and "themselves". These are employed when the speaker intends to show that the subject of a verb is the same as the object of a verb. Reflexive pronouns are also used to emphasise that the object and the subject of a sentence co-refer to the same entity (Collins, 1990, p.33), such as in the sentence, "He forced himself to eat breakfast."

The possessive pronouns consist of the words "my", "mine", "your(s)", "our(s)", "his", "hers", "its", and "their(s)". These words are used to talk about how things are related to other things. Possessive pronouns indicate that something is associated with something else. Examples of the use of possessive pronouns are, "This is my handbag", "Where are your car keys?" and "She is his mother".

Possessive pronouns can also be employed to show contrast, such as in the sentence, "Your dress is prettier than mine". Possessive pronouns are also used in prepositional phrases beginning with the preposition "of" (Collins, 1990, p.32). Such an example is, "He is a neighbour of mine". Indefinite pronouns are used when a speaker wants to reference things or people. This type of pronoun specifies whether one is talking about people or something; they consist of the words, "anything", "anyone", "anybody", "everyone", "everybody", "everything",

"no one", "nobody", "nothing", "someone" "somebody", and "something". Indefinite pronouns are used to refer to people, such as in the sentence, "What is everyone doing here?" and used with singular verbs, such as in the sentence, "Something is in there" (Collins, 1990, p.35).

"This", "that", "these", and "those" are demonstrative pronouns which can be employed as subjects in a clause, or as the object of a preposition. According to Collins (1990, p.35), demonstrative pronouns can either be used to refer to people or things, but they are most often used to refer to things.

The words "each other" and "one another" are reciprocal pronouns which are used to imply that people feel the same way, have the same relationships, or do the same activities (Collins, 1990, p. 38). They are used as objects of verbs or indirect objects (ibid.).

Relative pronouns are conjunctions. "That", "which", "who", and "whom" are relative pronouns which are used when a phrase includes a main clause followed by a relative clause. There are two functions of relative pronouns. "Who" and "whom" always refer to people, "that" can refer to both people and things, "which" always refers to something and can be used as the object of a preposition, in addition to the subject or object of a relative clause (Collins, 1990, p.39). "Who", "whom", "whose", and "which" can further be used as interrogative pronouns and can be used as subjects or objects of a clause, or objects of a preposition. Interrogative pronouns are used when a speaker is asking for specific information (Collins, 1990, p.40).

2.9.5.2. Pronouns as indicators of interpersonal relationships

The relationship between the speaker and the hearer influences the choice of pronouns that are used (Brown and Gilman, 1960). Beard (2000, p.46) states that pronominal choices differ depending on whether the speaker who makes the utterance wants to share the responsibility with his listeners or not. Pronominal options can also vary depending on the confidence level of the speaker and whether or not others will share their views and opinions.

In addition, when one addresses someone in the same way that someone would address one, this shows solidarity and equality. A greeting between two university professors can be used to depict this example:

- (1) Professor George Black: *Good morning, Professor Bronx.*
- (2) Professor John Bronx: *Good morning, Professor Black.*

When one addresses someone of a high social status in a way that differs from how that person would address one, it shows inequality and social distance. A greeting between a university professor and his student can be used as an example:

- (3) Miss Beksy White: *Good morning, Professor Black.*

(4) Professor George Black: *Good morning, Beksy.*

In this example, the student, Miss Beksy White, greets her professor, who has a higher social status than her, by addressing him using his title and surname, whereas the professor responds by addressing the student only by her first name, as she is lower in social ranking than the professor is.

Brown and Gilman (1960, p.1) state that power and solidarity are relationships that exist between at least two people, and that differences in power can be found in all societies. One's social status can be determined by different variables, such as age, sex, wealth, role in the community, etc. The choice of form that is used when addressing one is, therefore, controlled by the relationships of power or solidarity between the speaker and the listener (ibid.).

2.9.5.3. Pronouns in political speeches

Political speeches have many vital functions, one of which is negotiating the relationship between a political leader and their audience, their allies and their adversaries.

Against this background, one needs to acknowledge that the manipulation of pronouns by political leaders can present social meanings related to their social identities. According to Wilson (1990, p.76), pronouns are used by political leaders to accept, deny or distance themselves from the responsibility of certain political actions, to show ideological bias, to inspire solidarity, and to identify supporters of the political party. The choice of pronouns used can, therefore, indicate the speaker's individual or collective identity (Bramley, 2001, p.263).

There is a separation between "us" and "them" in political speeches, which are associated with "we" and "they" of the same pronouns. "Us" and "we" are used by political speakers to highlight the good qualities of the person who is delivering the speech. Whereas "they" and "them" are used in a negative context and as a means of making the opposition seem less suitable to be in the position of leadership than the person who is speaking.

According to Proctor and I-Wen Su, political speeches are more often than not delivered in a formal style (2011, p.2). The manner in which political leaders speak and present themselves is part and parcel of their personality and how they present themselves as individuals; this is, therefore, a pronominal choice (Karapetjana (2011, p.43). Karapetjana (2011) found that the pronoun "I" implies a personal level and allows the speaker to show his authority, commitment, responsibility, and involvement. The personal pronoun "we", when used inclusively, can be used by the speaker if he wishes to share responsibility with his audience, and to create involvement with them (Karapetjana, 2011, p.43) Karapetjana (ibid.) also mentions that the inclusive "we" may be used to give a sense of collectivity and sharing responsibility and is used when decisions are controversial. Inclusive "we" is also used to

invoke a collective identity and create distance between “us” and “them” (Bramley, 2001, p.260).

De Fina (1995, p.24) asserts that the employment of the exclusive pronoun "we" can serve as a means for the speaker to include themselves and indicate that they are speaking on behalf of a collective rather than as an individual. The exclusive usage of "we" juxtaposes the speaker's group with the audience, whereas the pronoun "I" enables the speaker to convey a sense of commitment to the audience. Notably, political speakers may refrain from employing the first-person personal pronoun due to its potential to create a sense of distance (Karapetjana, 2011, p. 43).

Bramley (2001, p. 263) suggests that a political leader’s choice of pronoun usage depicts his various identities. De Fina (1995, p. 24) claims that there is an absence of second-person pronouns in political speeches; she states that this shows that there is no clear appeal to specific groups as addressees. The pronoun “you” is used to address either parts of an audience or the entire audience. “They” is used in political discourse to create an image of *others* and to divide individuals into groups (Bramley, 2001, p. 262).

Political speeches serve as crucial platforms for negotiating the dynamic relationship between political leaders and their audience, allies, and adversaries. Pronouns play a significant role in shaping social meanings associated with the identity of political leaders. Wilson (1990) highlights how pronouns are strategically used by political figures to accept, deny, or distance themselves from political actions, express ideological biases, foster solidarity, and identify supporters. The pronouns "us" and "we" are employed by speakers to underscore positive attributes and qualities, positioning themselves favourably. Conversely, "they" and "them" are utilised to cast the opposition in a negative light, portraying them as unfit for leadership. Proctor and Su (2011) note that political speeches are typically delivered in a formal style, reflecting the speaker's personality and pronominal choices. Karapetjana (2011) emphasises the significance of pronouns like "I" and "we" in conveying authority, responsibility, and inclusivity. Inclusive "we" fosters a sense of collectivity and shared responsibility, particularly in controversial decisions. De Fina (1995) discusses the use of the exclusive pronoun "we" to signify collective representation, while Bramley (2001) suggests that pronoun choices reflect various facets of a political leader's identity. Additionally, the absence of second-person pronouns in political discourse, as noted by De Fina (1995) and Bramley (2001), underscores the generalised appeal to audiences and the division of individuals into distinct groups using "they." Overall, pronouns in political speeches serve as potent tools for shaping perceptions, identities, and alliances within the political arena.

2.9.5.4. The function of pronouns and modal verbs

Cao and Liu (2020) analysed President Xi's speech at the Extraordinary G20 Leaders' Summit. The study is based on interpersonal function and explores the appeal and persuasiveness of the discourse through mood, modality and personal pronouns. The researchers found that the speech mainly made use of declarative sentences to explain facts and express affirmation and used median modal value verbs to express China's desire, ability, determination and expectation to join forces with other countries to defeat Covid-19. President Xi mainly used the first-person plural "we" to narrow the distance with the listeners and create a cooperative relationship with other countries. The researchers suggest that President Xi uses these language strategies to establish China's image as a responsible country.

Addai and Jabbar Gurji (2021) wrote a paper titled "Hedging in Trump speeches about Covid-19", which examines the linguistic items acting as hedges in the speeches of Trump about Covid-19, along with the functions of these devices. The researchers used Salager-Meyer's (1994) taxonomy to explore the data. The most frequently used hedging devices are modal auxiliaries, and the most often used hedging device subcategory are the phrases that were commonly used in his speeches, especially "I think". Martin-Martin (2008, as cited in Addai and Jabbar Gurji, 2021), said that the approach in which first personal pronouns (I/we) are followed by verbs of cognition (think, believe) is called the "subjectivization" strategy. The researchers suggested that the findings of the study propose that the hedging devices used by Trump about Covid-19 justify various pragmatic functions. Trump attempted to promise the public that the pandemic would end quickly, but the researchers suggest that there are many hedges in his speeches that prove the opposite. The study determines that political discourse, as a non-scientific genre, uses hedging devices to convey uncertainty, indirectness, lack of commitment and probability.

Modal verbs refer to words such as "can", "must", "may", "will", and "have to" (Zakalashvili and Avagyan, 2016, p.102). According to Zakalashvili and Avagyan (2016, p.81), the usage of modal verbs in political speeches strengthens the impact of the discourse on its listeners, as they emphasise what the listener must, should and ought to do. Zakalashvili and Avagyan (2016, p.102) state that the inquiry into modal verbs requires the study of the positive enablement to act due to the removal of a barrier (can); compulsion under forces beyond one's control (must); choosing due to the absence of a barrier (may); responsibility and a completed path to an action (will); and the obligation to do something being imposed or out of moral duty (have to).

Using modal verbs encodes the speaker’s beliefs, opinions, attitudes and points of view (Jannatussholihah and Triyono, 2020, p.240). The speaker’s choice of modal verb shows their judgment and perspective towards the event expressed by the clause (Amalia, Subandowo, Faliyanti and Thresia, 2018, p.23). Modal verbs represent the space between “yes” and “no”, namely “positive” and “negative”, and show the speaker’s judgments of the probabilities or the obligations involved in what they are saying. Modal verbs have degrees and scales which signal a higher or lower degree of certainty regarding the validity of a proposition (Thompson, 2014, p.67). These modal values are divided into three ranges on a continuum: high, median, and low (ibid.).

High-modal verbs can be used when one intends to persuade or convince another by eliminating uncertainty. In comparison, low modal verbs show a lack of certainty and confidence in the truth of the propositions which are being made by the speaker (Hinkel, 2009, p.669). For example, the modal verb “can” marks possibility, likelihood and politeness in discourse (Kondowe, 2014, p. 220). Halliday (as cited in Wang, 2010, p.259) summarises the modal commitments in the following table.

Table 2.1: Modal Values

POLARITY	MODALITY		
	Low	Median	High
Positive	can, may, could, might, dare	will, would, shall	must, ought to, need, has/had to
Negative	needn’t, doesn’t/didn’t	won’t, wouldn’t, shouldn’t, isn’t/wasn’t to	mustn’t, oughtn’t, couldn’t, hasn’t/hadn’t

Pionery and Arina (2017) analysed Melania and Ivanka Trump’s speeches and found that there were four types of modalities employed in Melania Trump’s speech: inclination, obligation, potentiality and ability, and probability; while there were five types of modalities found in Ivanka Trump’s speeches: inclination, usuality, potentiality and ability, probability, and obligation. The two ideologies found in both speeches were commitment and self-promotion.

According to Wodak and Meyer (2009, p.3), in critical discourse analysis, modality is an instrument used to express power and control. It exposes what the speaker had experienced in the past and what his outlook on the future is. Modality is also used to express the speaker’s attitudes toward his audience and speech topic. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014,

p.139), modality validates the speaker's statement, offering, questioning, commandment or predication.

Through using modality, the speaker's confidence or lack thereof and proposals can be observed (Coates, 1983, p.18). According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, p.190), modality also articulates prediction and willingness. The word "can" is used to express polite informal request, ability, permission and possibility, and its negative form expresses impossibility (Azar and Hagen, 2009, p. 204). The modal verb "could", on the other hand, is used to express polite requests, suggestions, degree of certainty, past ability and impossibility when it is used in the negative form (ibid.). Azar and Hagen state that certainty and great necessity can be articulated by using the word "must" and, in its negative form, "mustn't", to convey a prohibition. According to Collins (2009, p.35), the modal "must" can be used to give advice, encourage, make requests, and articulate power. The modal "have to" is used to denote impersonal obligation and behaves as an external power (Westney, 1995, p.151). The inevitability of future events and advisability can be conveyed using the modal "should" (Azar, 2002, p.199).

Quirk et al. (1985, p.219) define modality as the way in which the meaning of a sentence is qualified to echo the speaker's judgment of the possibility that the proposition it conveys is true. Biberiber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad and Finegan (2006, p.73) add that the modal verbs are used to build complex verb phrases and cannot stand alone unless a lexical verb is recoverable from the context.

The word "modality" consists of modal auxiliary verbs, modal verbs, modal adjectives and modal adverbs (Rodríguez-Puente, Fanego and Gandón-Chapela, 2014, p. 58). Modal auxiliary verbs can further be classified into three categories of ability-possibility-permission, necessity-obligation and volition-prediction (ibid.).

The strength of modal verbs can be delineated as follows: "will" represents the highest intensity among all modal verbs; "should" signifies a high intensity; "may" indicates a low intensity; while "could" and "might" denote the lowest intensity (Winiharti, 2012, p.536). Expressing a high degree of certainty, "must", "shall", "will", and "can" are utilised, whereas "may", "should", and "would" express median values of certainty, and "might" and "could" convey a low level of certainty (Jordan, 1999, p.8-77).

"Will", "would", "shall", and "should" are employed for making predictions and expressing volition (Greenbaum, 1996, p.260), while "must" is used for expressing certainty and obligation (ibid., p.262). Modal verbs such as "can" and "could" are employed for communicating ability, seeking or granting permission, and conveying possibility (Greenbaum,

1996, p.260-261). "May" and "might" express permission, possibility, and ability (Greenbaum, 1996).

Kastrone (2008) contends that the modality of obligation is expressed through the modals "must" and "should". Swan (2002, p.351) posits that the modal auxiliary "must" is appropriate for indicating strong obligation, while "should" expresses a weaker obligation. Collins (2005, p.251) elucidates that "must" conveys obligations, duties, directives, recommendations, and the like. The modal verb "can" articulates possibility in terms of innate ability (ibid., p.257).

“Could” serves as a substitute for the past tense or provisional form of “can”, expressing possible circumstances (ibid., p.253). Both "can" and "could" are employed to discuss ability, to ask for and grant permission, and to make requests and offers (Swan, 2005, p. 97). “Could” is utilised as the past tense of the verb “can”, encompassing present and future meanings (Murphy, 1985, p. 54). When employed as the past verb of “can”, “could” delineates the power, ability, or capacity of “can” in the present (Zandvoort, 1969, p. 66).

Both "can" and "could" serve as modal verbs used to make requests (ibid.) By employing the modal verb “can”, the speaker conveys a message to the audience, signifying their ability to effect change and endeavour to eradicate Covid-19 from the country. “Will” has dual interpretations. It can discuss future happenings and relay a strong desire for something, indicating willingness or determination. "Will" can express strong probability and be used to issue indirect orders. It also serves as a wish along with a future indicator. The speakers envisage their countries to be safe and healthy; hence, they employ the word “will” to indicate hopefulness that a safe country, free from Covid-19, will soon become a reality.

Personal pronouns help to establish a relationship between the listener and the speaker. Statements made by political leaders using personal pronouns impose the leader’s will on their listeners. Political leaders use the first-person pronouns to adjust the distance from the audience so as to make the speech more convincing and achieve the goal of controlling the audience.

2.9.5.5. The Function of Pronouns and Modal Verbs in Political Speeches

Brown and Gilman (1960) found that the relationship between speaker and listener affects the choice of pronouns. When a person addresses someone in the same way that someone would address the person, it demonstrates solidarity and equality. If one addresses someone with ‘high status’ in a different way than they would address you, it illustrates inequality and social distance. According to Brown and Gilman (1960, p.100), power and solidarity exist between at least two people and variances of power exist in all societies.

The way political leaders speak and present themselves is part of their personality (Karapetjana, 2011, p.430). A political leader's use of personal pronouns can create an image of them in the ears of the listener; the image can either be positive or negative. De Fina (1995) shows that consistency or uncertainty might have varied effects on how the speaker self-presents. De Fina (1995) finds that the pronouns used in a speech reflect choices and serve different purposes, such as involvement with the audience. However, she also shows that pronouns must be considered in their context, i.e., in the speech in its entirety, to find a pattern of pronoun usage and the meanings to be conveyed (De Fina, 1995, p.240).

2.9.5.6. *Will* used as a modal verb

This study focuses on the modal verb *will* as one of the most frequently used verbs used by the world leaders under investigation. The multifaceted nature of *will* permit it an array of potential meanings, which will be examined in this dissertation. *Will* is associated with the future tense, and has a logical-experiential meaning, as can be seen in “The programme will resume at 12 pm”, and with interpersonal meaning. The modal verb *will* has great multifunctional meaning potential, therefore, the meaning is not essentially clear, as the following sentences propose (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014, p. 693):

1. He'll be at home now. (probably);
2. He'll be at home on Thursdays (usually);
3. I'll go home now. (I'm keen to);
4. I'll go home now (I'm willing to);
5. I will go home now. (I must/ I'm determined to).
6. I will call you (future).

Having six probable meanings for the modal verb *will*, it should be exciting to see which of the meanings can be found in the data under investigation in this dissertation. The monologue manner in which the speeches are delivered speeches and the disproportion of power amongst political leaders and their citizens presumes that the functions of the speech found at the semantic level ought to be “statements” that deliver information rather than “commands,” “questions,” or “offers”.

2.9.5.7. Personal pronouns that precede the modal verb *will*

Personal pronouns being used as subjects of statements focuses one's attention on the clauses that involve the speaker, an audience or both speaker and audience; it also shows how function and meaning differ amongst the groups as the political speaker builds relations with the listeners through “self- and other-referentiality” (Bull and Fetzer, 2006).

Studies on the use of *we* pronouns, which were conducted on political speeches made in the United States of America prior to Covid-19 have focused on the shift of their identification with different groups and how this shift was influenced by the speech production context (Proctor and Su, 2011). Similarly, the use of the Russian equivalent of the English *we* ('МЫ') can be seen as varying between recognising an individual speaker, the collective as a national community and the collective as a politic party – dependant on the person speaking and when they speak (Pyykkö, 2002).

Fetzer and Bull (2008, p. 276) studied politic broadcasts which were aired on television in the United Kingdom between the years of 1997 and 2003. The word *you* being used as an ambiguous term is seen as referring to the addressee, the people physically present, the television audience watching at home or to a generic reference mentioning “somebody” or “someone” (Fetzer and Bull, 2008, p. 276).

The use of pronouns in political discourse in relation to Covid-19 since the start of the outbreak has been studied. Hunt (2021) found the “inclusive” *we* in the addresses delivered by Cyril Ramphosa. Hunt (2021) states that the use of *we* is important for the building of a metaphorical concept of citizens of the country as a “family” to promote unity during crisis.

Williams and Wright (2022) researched the political briefings from Downing Street in the United Kingdom. They found different responsibility levels on the political leaders and the general public through an analysis of processes existing with inclusive *we* and exclusive *we*; which is, the pronoun *we* which expands to include the listeners, and the *we* which refers only to the speaker. These authors came to the conclusion that using the inclusive *we* put the responsibility of protecting the health of the country on all the people in the public as a whole, and lesser responsibility was put on political leaders through the “exclusive *we*”.

Angela Merkel’s press briefings were studied by Jaworska (2021). She has detailed the linguistic strategies used and recognises the meaning of the German equivalent of *we* – “wir” – being applied to three groups: the ordinary citizens of Germany, the Federal German government, and the European Union.

2.10. Summary

2.10.1. Summary on Speech Acts

Previous research (Akinkuolere, 2012; Antony, 2015; Novitasari, 2015; Bashir and Sameer, 2017; Virginia and Olanrewaju, 2017; Nurkhamidah, 2020) have found assertive speech acts to be the most frequently used speech acts by political leaders to present the speaker’s thoughts, views and agenda and to convey the speaker’s messages to their audience. The speeches under

investigation by these authors were inaugural speeches, speeches made during presidential election campaigns and a Covid-19 breakout address. Two researchers (Hashim, 2015 and Dylgjeri, 2017) found commissive speech acts to be used more frequently than assertives by the speakers whose speeches they were studying. These speeches were an inaugural address and an election victory speech, respectively. The commissive speech act was used to make promises, convince listeners and give hope to people.

Basiru (2015) studied the military and civilian speeches of the Nigerian President and found commissives in combination with directives to be the most frequently used speech acts. He found commissives used for the purpose of imparting public morality, promoting education, expressing a determination to serve the country and improve the welfare of the military and police, instilling confidence in the governance and eliminating corruption in the country, to be used more frequently than directives.

Koutchadé (2017) and Mufiah and Rahman (2018), found representatives and directives to be the most commonly used speech acts. Representatives were used to convey thoughts, voice opinions, and report facts, and directives were used to give suggestions to the audience and order officials to protect the country and secure its borders.

A study conducted by Cao and Liu (2020), which analysed a speech given during the Extraordinary G20 Leaders' Summit, was the only research to have found declaratives as the most frequently used speech act. This speech act was used to explain facts and express affirmation.

2.10.1 Table reflecting Summary of Speech Acts

Table 2.2: Summary of speech acts found by researchers and their purposes.

Researcher	Speech Act	Purpose
Akinkuolere (2012)	Assertives	To present the speaker's thoughts, views and agenda
Novitasari (2015)	Assertive	To express thoughts and convey messages to an audience
Bashir and Sameer (2017)		
Bush's speech	Assertive	To convey programme
Obama's speech	Commissive	To make promises and present an agenda
Virginia and Olanrewaju (2017).	Assertive	To convey their messages of facts and thoughts
	Commissive	To convey promises
Nurkhamidah (2020)	Assertive	To claim, boast, inform, describe, and state
	Commissive	To plan and promise
	Directive	To command and advise
	Expressives	To thank
	Declaratives	To bless
Hashim (2015)	Commissive	To give promises and convince listeners to adopt their programme
	Assertive	Relay beliefs and agenda
Dylgjeri (2017)	Commissive	To give hope to people
	Assertive	To state opinions and report facts
Basiru (2015)		
Military speech	Commissive	To impart public morality and promote education
Civilian speech	Commissive	To express determination to serve the country, strengthen diplomacy, improve the welfare of the military and police, instil confidence in governance and eliminate corruption in the country

Koutchadé (2017)	Representative	To convey thoughts
	Directive	To give suggestions to the audience
Mufiah and Rahman (2018)	Representative	To voice opinions and report facts
	Directive	To order officials to protect the country and secure its borders.
Cao and Liu (2020)	Declarative	To explain facts and express affirmation

2.10.3. Summary on Lexical Choices

Political leaders make linguistic choices at different levels of discourse so that they may represent events in a way that best fits their ideology. Metaphors are commonly used by world leaders to help their audiences understand complex ideas by relating them to everyday ideas. A common metaphor used during Covid-19 speeches was the “war” metaphor. Several research papers emphasised this metaphor’s good influence in imparting a sense of urgency in healthcare departments which respond to Covid-19.

Schnepf and Christmann (2021) studied how the war metaphor influenced behaviour. Participants who came across the “struggle” metaphor experienced the virus spreading at a faster rate than those who came across the “battle” metaphor. Republicans observed the spread to be lower when faced with the “battle” than with the “struggle” frame. The authors concluded that the war metaphor influenced Republicans at a lower rate.

Schnepf and Christmann (2021) presented two further studies in November and December 2020. The results established that individual responsibility and individual measures displayed a strong link to the struggle concept, while government responsibility and national measures had a stronger link to the war concept.

Repetition is also commonly used by political leaders. Tannen (2007, p. 62), recognises that repetition is a vital part of discourse that gives discourse a character of familiarity and makes it sound correct. Repetition can be used to increase the audience’s understanding by adding more excitement and pleasure to the discourse, in this manner, it can be seen as necessary in discourse. However, Johnstone (1987, p. 206) found that educated people mock this style of speech by saying that the speaker is “redundant”, that he “repeats himself”, or that he “keeps saying the same thing over and over”.

Political leaders also manipulate pronouns so that they may present social meanings related to their social identities. De Fina (1995, p. 24) states that the use of the exclusive

pronoun “we” may be a way for the speaker to mention himself and signifies that he is speaking as a representative of a group rather than as an individual. The exclusive “we” juxtaposes the group that the speaker belongs to with the audience, while the pronoun “I” helps the speaker express a commitment to the audience. Political speakers sometimes avoid using “I” because of its distancing effect (Karapetjana, 2011, p. 43).

2.10.4. Summary on modal verbs in conjunction with personal pronouns

Modal verbs are an instrument used to express power and control. They are used to express the attitude of the speaker towards the listeners and speech topic. *Will* as one of the most frequently used modal verb by political leaders. *Will* is often used before the pronoun *we*.

Hunt (2021) found the use of “inclusive” *we* in the speeches delivered by Cyril Ramphosa. This author states that the use of *we* is important for the building of the nation as a “family” in order to promote unity during crisis.

Williams and Wright (2022) found that the inclusive *we* put responsibility on protecting the health of the country on the public as a whole, while lesser responsibility was put on political leaders by using the “exclusive” *we*.

3. Methodology

This chapter has two main functions: First, it describes the data that has been used for this dissertation. Second, it introduces the different methods that have been used to retrieve and analyse the data; the latter includes both qualitative and quantitative methods.

3.1 The data

The data used for this dissertation consists of six transcripts of speeches delivered by the Prime Minister of New Zealand – Jacinda Ardern, President Cyril Ramaphosa of South Africa and former president of the United States of America – Donald Trump. The speeches under analysis were delivered when the entire world was threatened by the Covid-19 pandemic. As previously stated in my introduction, in this study, I select two presidential speeches from each of the world leaders, i.e., Prime Minister Ardern, President Ramaphosa, and former President Trump. The selected speeches address similar issues concerning the Covid-19 pandemic, at a comparable stage of the pandemic, in each of the respective countries, i.e., New Zealand, the Republic of South Africa, and the United States of America. The first three speeches to be analysed are the initial speeches made by each political leader in reaction to the respective national outbreak of the pandemic, the second set of speeches to be analysed were delivered by the political leaders after the “first wave” peak of Covid-19 in each country.

The transcripts were downloaded in March 2021. After the speeches had been retrieved from the internet, they were organised into six documents, each containing one speech.

The sources for the speeches are as follows:

- <https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts?s=Covid+trump>
- <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/speeches-remarks/>
- <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/minister/rt-hon-jacinda-ardern>
- <https://www.gov.za/speech-subjects/corona-virus>

3.2 The data analysis

The methods that have been applied in this research paper include a quantitative study of frequency rates and a qualitative discourse analysis of the material. The material was studied to determine which linguistic means the three world leaders employ and how the speeches of the political leaders differ.

3.2.1 The quantitative data analysis

Quantitative research is the collection and analysis of quantitative data. Quantitative data is data in the form of counts or numbers, where each set of data has a unique numerical value associated with it (Singh and Dubey, 2021, p. 25). This data is quantifiable information that can be used for mathematical calculations and statistical analyses. Quantitative data is used to answer questions such as “How many?”, “How often?”, “How much?” (ibid). This data can be verified and can also be evaluated using mathematical techniques.

Quantitative analyses can hence be used to find patterns and averages, make predictions, test causal relationships, and generalize results to wider populations (Beins and McCarthy, 2018, p. 338).

Quantitative research has advantages and disadvantages. Often a convincing generalisation of findings obtained from a quantitative data analysis is possible due to the use of larger amounts of data (Hammersley, 1992, p. 51). Handling data using quantitative research is efficient and analysing the data is systematic. However, quantitative research also has weaknesses, such as the disregard for context and a lack of in-depth analysis. Quantitative research is, therefore, mainly descriptive (Hardman, 2008, p. 45). Quantitative research in my study refers to the quantitative calculations of the distributions and frequencies of the usage of speech acts, the lexical choices that stand out, and the use of different personal pronouns in conjunction with modal verbs and then conduct a comparison of those frequencies.

For the speech acts aspect of the study, I use a distributional analysis. I look at the types of speech acts that each political leader uses. The frequency of the usage of the speech acts will be determined. I find out which of the speech acts are used by all the speakers and which speaker uses a type of speech act that none of the other speakers use.

For the quantitative analysis of lexical choices and pronoun (plus modal verb) usage, I make use of the publicly available internet software “Textinspector” (see *textinspector.com*). After copying the downloaded speeches into individual documents, each speech is uploaded onto *textinspector.com*. This website is a corpus analysis tool which can be used for analysing texts. It makes the quantitative investigation of the data efficient, as the number of occurrences of the various search words can easily be rendered in frequency tables. All the occurrences are manually checked to make sure that only the necessary parts of speech categories become a part of the final data. Once I obtain the frequencies, a table with comparisons is drawn up for the lexical choices. By this measure, I determine whether the speakers use the same keywords or different keywords.

Regarding the pronoun usage in conjunction with modal verbs, I look at the combinations of pronoun usage with modal verbs and determine what sort of combinations exist in each of the speeches and compare the combinations across the speakers.

3.3 The qualitative data analysis

The speeches in this study are analysed using the methods of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is qualitative as it is fundamentally interpretive (Davies and Elder, 2008, p. 141). Qualitative research is research based on understanding social problems and developing a holistic picture using words that describe the details of the opinion of the data source (Setiadi, 2010, as cited in Attamimy et al., 2020). Qualitative research originates from communication analysis and has recently gained wide usage across disciplines. Leavy (2017, p.121) elaborates that in communication analysis, "the [c]ontent analysis or document analysis is a method for systematically investigating texts".

Qualitative research has been used by many researchers in discourse studies (see Techno, 2016) and has many advantages over quantitative research. Firstly, there are fewer restrictions involving the form or amount of data in qualitative research (SAGE, 2000, p. 1). Secondly, qualitative research enables us to study the context of the data, and thirdly, qualitative research allows us to study differences in data. However, qualitative research deals with a smaller amount of data than quantitative research. This introduces a problem of generating generalisations or replicating the findings (Brannen, 1992, p. 20)

The qualitative part of this study is a discourse analysis wherein textual features have been studied. This part of the study was undertaken by interpreting the findings from the quantitative analysis within the specific textual and political context within which they occur. In some instances, I report further observations on rhetorical techniques that are relevant for this study, which include: the use of repetition, informal register, hyperbole and others.

3.4 The mixed methods approach

It is possible to mix quantitative research with qualitative research (see Techo, 2016; McEnery and Hardie, 2012, p. 249). I use such a mixed methods approach for this research, with quantitative analysis facilitating my qualitative analysis. I base my data analysis for the quantitative aspect of my study following the methods and analyses conducted by Olimat (2020) and the qualitative aspect of my study by adopting the methods and data analyses by Akinkurolere (2019) for illocutionary acts and Jeftići (2020) for the use of personal pronouns in conjunction with modal verbs.

The quantitative analysis is based on frequencies and statistics, and the qualitative analysis does not depend on numeric data but involves the study of speech acts and words and their usage in a discourse (McEnery and Hardie 2012, p. 249). Frequency rates provide information about the occurrences of a word; however, they will not provide information about what kind of contexts the words have been used in. A qualitative analysis which interprets the usage of speech acts and words provides information about the context of the speeches under investigation.

Hence, the two methods cover different aspects of language use, and both can be applied to this study. Quantitative analysis is my “valuable starting point”, providing “a sound empirical basis” (Koller, 2004, p. 43) to support the qualitative analysis of the functions of speech acts, the lexical choices, and the choice of personal pronouns in conjunction with modal verbs.

3.5 Validity, reliability and trustworthiness

When analysing political speeches, a researcher can never take for granted that the speech has been written by the speaker himself (or herself) or a speech writer. However, if a speaker uses speechwriters, these professionals must choose words that reflect the speaker's image. The speaker's personality, stance, and political identity must be reflected in the 'voice' the audience hears in their speeches (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 6). Hence, I shall analyse the speeches as they are presented by the speakers as reflections of their personalities and opinion.

To enhance the trustworthiness of this study, I explicitly document and clearly communicate the analysis process. I transparently convey the processes and decisions involved in moving from data analysis through to results and interpretations. I also follow methods that have been used in previous studies, namely: Olimat (2020) Akinkurolere (2019) and Jeftići (2020) as previously mentioned. Transparency will enable readers to evaluate the study's rigour and the trustworthiness of its results.

The reliability of the methodology and conclusion requires a great level of clarity throughout the research process, i.e., when collecting the data, coding the data, analysing the data, and interpreting the data. Therefore, I constantly check my findings against the aim and research questions indicated in the introduction. This allows me to detect and correct any possible inaccuracies during the research.

Validity in qualitative research refers to the "appropriateness" of the tools, processes, and data (Leung, 2015). It refers to whether the research question is valid for the desired outcome, whether the choice of methodology is appropriate for answering the research question, whether the design, sampling and data analysis is suitable for the methodology, and

finally, whether the results and conclusions are valid for the sample and context (Leung, 2015). These points have been vetted via my dissertation proposal defence, wherein a panel of five academics from different disciplines within the University of KwaZulu-Natal assessed my methodology. Against this background, the data analysis may lead to accurate data, as the researcher selects comparable speeches that were delivered at approximately the same stages of the pandemic, in each of the specified countries. The utterances of each speech are further chosen and analysed with the same set of tools for comparison.

3.6 Summary of Methodology

This chapter of the dissertation serves two main purposes: describing the data used and introducing the methodologies employed for data retrieval and analysis. The data consists of six transcripts of speeches delivered by Jacinda Ardern, Cyril Ramaphosa, and Donald Trump during the Covid-19 pandemic. The speeches were selected based on their relevance to the pandemic's stages in New Zealand, South Africa, and the United States. The data were gathered from reliable sources such as government websites and online platforms.

The analysis methods include both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Quantitative analysis involves examining frequency rates and distributions of speech acts, lexical choices, and pronoun usage. This analysis utilizes tools like Textinspector for efficient data processing. Qualitative analysis employs discourse analysis to interpret textual features within the speeches' political context. It focuses on understanding speech acts, words, and rhetorical techniques such as repetition and hyperbole.

The study employs a mixed methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative analyses to gain a comprehensive understanding of the speeches. The quantitative analysis provides a foundational basis for the qualitative examination, enabling deeper insights into language use. To ensure validity, reliability, and trustworthiness, the research process is transparently documented, and methodologies are benchmarked against previous studies. Additionally, the research design underwent scrutiny during the dissertation proposal defense to ensure appropriateness and accuracy in data collection and analysis.

4. Research Findings and Discussion

In this chapter, I present my analysis of the six selected speeches, which were delivered along the timeline depicted in figure 4.1.



Figure 4.1: Timeline depicting the temporal relationship between the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic in each country and the date on which each of the speeches was delivered

The data presentation is structured according to the research questions, repeated here:

Q1 Which types of speech acts are employed by the three world leaders?

Q2 Which lexical choices stand out in the selected speeches?

Q3 Which personal pronouns, in conjunction with which modal verbs, do the world leaders use in the selected speeches under investigation?

4.1. Research Question One: Speech Acts

In the quantitative analysis of this section, I analyse the first 50 utterances of each of the speeches. I decipher which illocutionary act each utterance entails and tabulate the results. I further analyse the sentences, evaluate the function of each sentence and tabulate this alongside the illocutionary act column. The frequency of each function of the illocutionary act is then calculated, followed by the total frequency of each illocutionary act.

4.1.1 Quantitative Findings

4.1.1.1 Jacinda Ardern

Table 4.1: Frequency percentages of illocutionary acts used by Ardern

Illocutionary Act	Function of Sentence	Frequency	Total Percentage (%)

Assertive	Stating	54	85
	Informing	28	
	Affirming	3	
Directive	Advising	4	9
	Asking	5	
Expressive	Thanking	-	1
	Welcoming	1	
	Mourning	-	
Declarative	Determining	1	2
	Announcing	1	
Commissive	Committing	3	3
			100

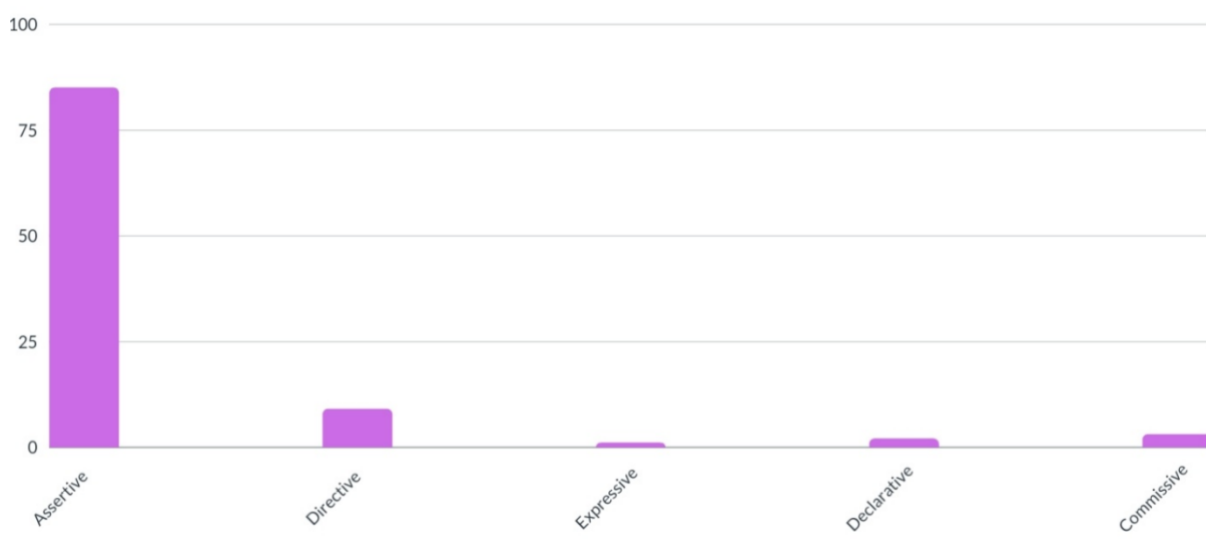


Figure 4.2: Graph depicting speech acts used by Ardern

The illocutionary acts used by Ardern in her speeches are assertives, directives commissives, declaratives and expressives. Ardern uses assertive acts many times (85 out of 100 of all the speech acts used) since she intends to tell the truth to her people. 54 out of the 85 times that Ardern used assertive acts, she used it to state information. 24 times out of 85 times,

Ardern used assertive acts to inform her audience about Covid-19 and about the methods used to control Covid-19 in New Zealand. When Ardern used directive speech acts, she gave straightforward orders to her citizens encompassing the Covid-19 protocols. She asked her listeners to follow protocols 5 out of 9 times and gave them advise the other 4 times. Ardern used commissive speech acts to let her people know that she is committed to solving the Covid-19 crisis in her country. An interesting note on Ardern’s speeches is that when delivering her orders, she uses indirect command words such as the word “asking” in “I am asking you to.”

4.1.1.2 Cyril Ramaphosa

Table 4.2: Frequency percentages of illocutionary acts used by Ramaphosa

Illocutionary Act	Function of Sentence	Frequency	Total Percentage (%)
Assertive	Stating	48	81
	Informing	32	
	Affirming	1	
Directive	Advising	12	13
	Asking	1	
Expressive	Thanking	1	3
	Welcoming	-	
	Mourning	2	
Declarative	Determining		
	Announcing		1
Commissive	Committing	2	2
			100

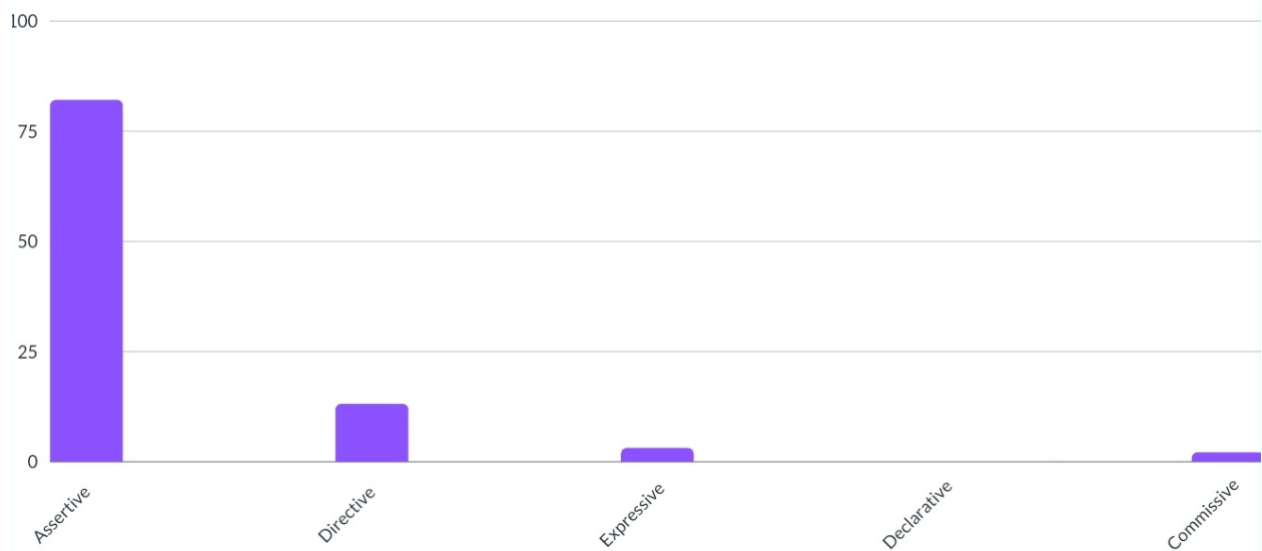


Figure 4.3: Graph depicting speech acts used by Ramaphosa

The illocutionary acts used by Ramaphosa in his speeches are assertives, directives expressives. and commissives. Ramaphosa uses assertive acts many times (81 out of 100 of all the speech acts used) since he intends to tell the truth to his people. 48 out of the 82 times that Ramaphosa used assertive acts, he used it to state information. 32 times out of 82 times, Ramaphosa used assertive acts to inform his audience about Covid-19 and about the methods used to control Covid-19 in South Africa. These values are similar to those of Ardern’s. When Ramaphosa used directive speech acts, he advised his citizens about how best to protect themselves from Covid-19. He asked his listeners to follow protocols 1 out of 13 times. Ramaphosa used commissive speech acts to let his people know that he is committed to solving the Covid-19 crisis in his country. Ramaphosa used a declarative once, when he made the announcement, “We have now declared a national state of disaster in terms of the Disaster Management Act”

4.1.1.3. Donald Trump

Table 4.3: Frequency percentages of illocutionary acts used by Trump

Illocutionary Act	Function of Sentence	Frequency	Total Percentage (%)
Assertive	Stating	58	84
	Informing	26	
	Affirming	-	2
Directive	Advising	-	

	Asking	2	
Expressive	Thanking	5	7
	Welcoming		
	Mourning	1	
	Praising	1	
Declarative	Determining		
	Announcing		1
Commissive	Committing	6	6
			100

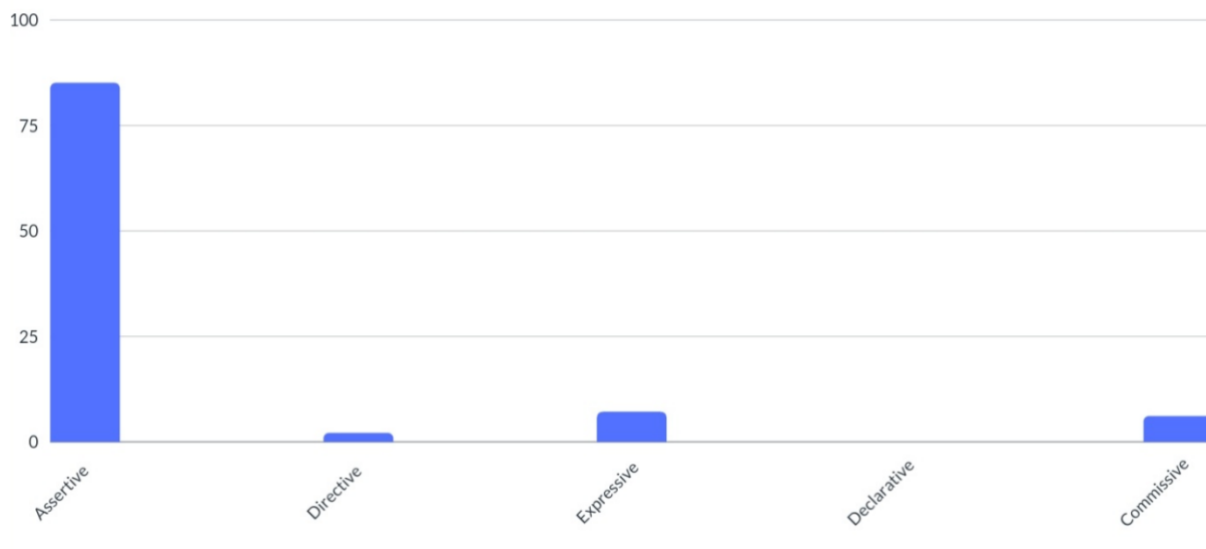


Figure 4.4: Graph depicting speech acts used by Trump

The illocutionary acts used by Trump in his speeches are assertives, expressives, commissives, directives and declaratives. Trump used assertive acts many times (84 out of 100 of all the speech acts used) since he intends to give information to his listeners. 58 out of the 84 times that Trump used assertive acts, he used it to state information. 26 times out of 84 times, Trump used assertive acts to inform his audience about Covid-19 and about the methods used to control Covid-19 in the United States of America. These values are similar to those of Ardern and Ramaphosa. Trump's second most frequently used illocutionary act is expressives. He used expressives 7 times. 5 out of the 7 times were to thank all the role players involved in

riding America of Covid-19. Commissives are used by Trump to make commitments to his citizens. Trump used a declarative once, when he made the announcement, “ To unleash the full power of the federal government in this effort today, I am officially declaring a National Emergency.”

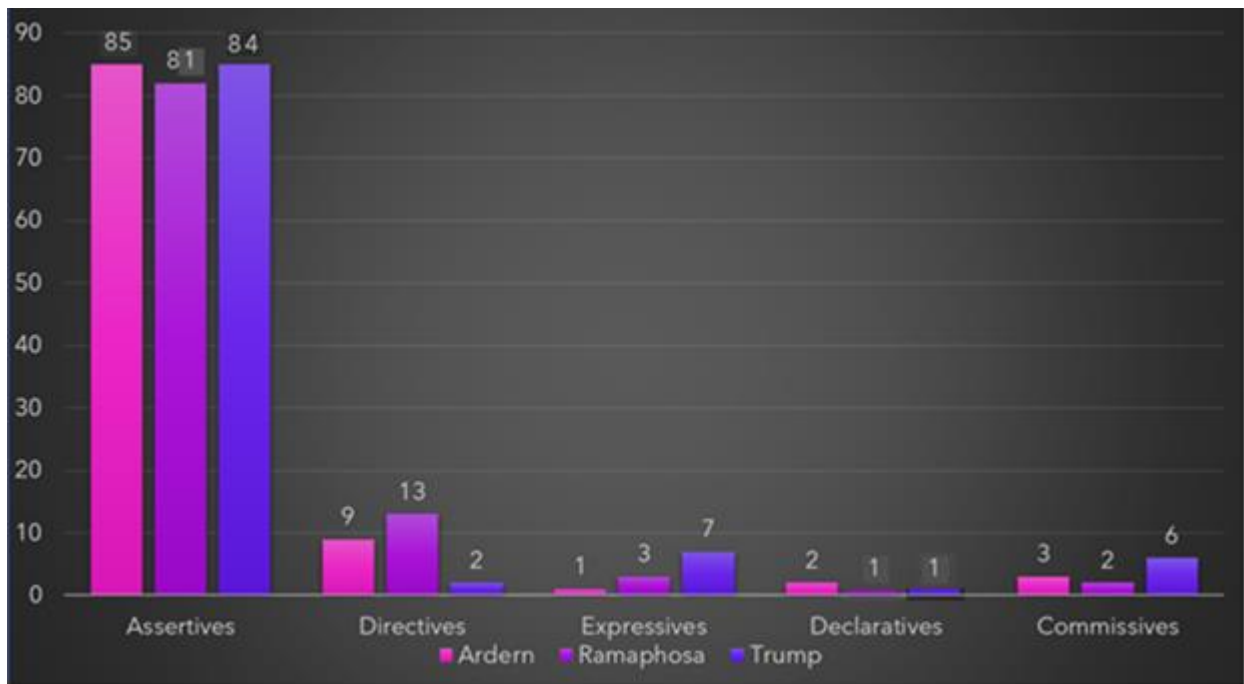


Figure 4.5: Graph depicting speech acts used by all three world leaders

The most noteworthy difference in the use of speech acts by the three world leaders can be seen in the expressives. Trump uses expressives a total of 7 times. This is higher than the 3 times that Ramaphosa uses it and the one time that Ardern uses it. This shows that Trump expresses his emotions in his speeches. Trump conveys his attitude towards situations rather than speaking from a neutral point.

Former president Trump also uses commissives more than President Ramaphosa and Former Prime Minister Ardern. This shows that Trump makes promises often. It is relevant to note that promises are something that can be broken and commissives may therefore not be honoured by Trump.

4.1.2 Qualitative Findings

The most obvious measurement standing out on figure 4.5 is the large percentage of assertives used by each political leader. That makes sense as their speeches are addresses to their countries meant to report and announce important information regarding Covid-19. Most of their utterances are statements that assert the authority of the speakers.

Speeches addressing Covid-19 are intended to describe, state, inform, predict and clarify all the unknown matters to help relieve the anxiety that people may be feeling. In this way, the speeches deliver assertive illocutionary speech acts. The largest amount of speech acts used by Ardern are assertives as she uses 85 assertive speech acts, accounting for the highest percentage. The most utilised assertive speech act is used to “state” accounting for ... of the overall percentage of 85 assertive speech acts. The other two categories of assertives are to “inform” and “affirm”, which make up 28 and 3 out of 85 and account for 28 % and 3 %, respectively.

The following category that stands out is declaratives. Ardern uses declaratives twice the amount of times of Ramaphosa and Trump. The declarative speech act makes immediate changes in the state of affairs. By using declaratives and placing her country under certain lockdown alert levels, Ardern exercises her power, authority and leadership.

Ramaphosa and Ardern both use high percentages of directives. This shows their ability to take control of the situation and guide their countries, telling them what they need to do in order to eliminate Covid-19 from their respective countries.

Trump uses a large percentage of expressives, which reflect his psychological state when addressing his country. Trump uses expressives more than Ramaphosa and Ardern. Ardern uses the least expressives. These speech acts convey the speaker's feelings. It is not the intention of a leader to express her feelings in such vital speeches, but rather to declare the health issue and to suggest recommendations on how to overcome it.

Trump tries to make his listeners aware of and understand the changes that Covid-19 has brought to the world. He uses declarative illocutionary acts to announce healthcare issues and to inform his people about the consequences of Covid-19. The directive speech acts used by Trump are a form of request to convince people to take action for the sake of their country and their health. Trump uses his authority to instruct people to follow through with the actions intended to lessen human loses.

Due to the assertive, declarative nature of the speeches being investigated, assertive acts represented by “informing” have the highest percentage of occurrence, followed by directive acts. This is apt as the speeches were made to give the listeners direction by telling

them what sort of actions need to be done to protect themselves and their country from Covid-19.

As previously stated, the speeches under investigation announce the outbreak of Covid-19 and the progress of the eradication of the virus from the country. In his speeches, Trump declared the most critical healthcare issues along with some instructions and plans that were put into motion to overcome the Covid-19 situation. A few orders are given to the public in order to deal with the severity of Covid-19.

There is a high frequency of commissive speech acts being used in Trump's speeches; this could be due to the purpose of the speeches. Promises being made to citizens within the state capacity are essential as they give relief to the people; however, declaring facts and sharing advice on how to deal with the Covid-19 threat is a more significant message that needs to be delivered.

Ramaphosa used the smallest amount of commissives. As commissives express promises, it does not seem as if the president intended to make his speech full of promises which he may or may not have been able to fulfil. Delivering a speech in such a matter would weaken his image as a leader.

Ardern uses declaratives more than the other two leaders. This establishes a reasonable correspondence, considering that declarative speech acts are used to announce something that might change the world and Covid-19 along with lockdown regulations certainly did change the world.

4.1.3 Summary

The Speech Act Theory helps us explore the language use of each of the respective political leaders. In this way, we may be able to learn about their personalities and styles of speaking.

The 5 basic illocutionary speech acts are used by all three world leaders. These are: assertives, directives, expressives, declaratives and commissives. All three political leaders use assertive speech acts the most. Their frequencies of use are similar to that of the others. No distinctions can be made.

Of all the three leaders, Ardern uses directives the most and Trump uses them the least. A conclusion can be drawn that Ardern uses directives to give orders to the citizens of her country thereby causing them to take action to control the spread of Covid-19.

Trump uses the most expressives and Ardern uses the least. Trump expresses his emotions and Ardern stays neutral whilst delivering an address.

Trump uses commissives the most. This shows that Trump makes promises often. Actions hold more value than promises. If Trump were to make promises and not fulfil them, he would lose the trust of his citizens.

4.2 Research Question Two: Lexical Choice Analysis

In the quantitative analysis of this subchapter, I combine the two chosen speeches of each leader and tally the number of times each word is used in each respected world leader's speeches. I then pick ten words that stand out from each list and put them into word clouds in order to show the differences in the messages that each speaker delivers with their speeches. The differences are then discussed in qualitative analysis.

4.2.1 Quantitative Analysis

A table illustrating the number of times specific content words were used by each respective political leader can be found in the appendices section of this dissertation.

- The most frequently used word in Ardern and Ramaphosa's speeches is "will". Ardern uses "will" 50 times, and Ramaphosa uses "will" 62 times. Trump uses the word "will" 20 times; it is his fourth most frequently used word.
- Ardern's second most frequently used word is "can". She uses this word 46 times, which is almost as much as she uses her most commonly used word.
- Ramaphosa's second most frequently used word is "people", which is used 29 times. This is less than half the number of times that he uses "will".
- The word "going" is Trump's most frequently used word. Trump uses the word "going" 27 times.
- "Health" is Ramaphosa's fourth most frequently used word. He uses this word 24 times.
- The word "people" is within the top 5 most frequently used words across the speeches of all three world leaders.

4.2.2 Qualitative Analysis

Rebecca Finger Bou (2020) used the virtual application *Voyant Tools* in her research to display a visual picture of her results; I used wordart.com, similar to *Voyant Tools*. After uploading the different speeches produced by the respective political leaders, a word cloud that visualises the top-frequency words is generated. The word cloud places the words in such a manner that the terms that occur the most frequently are central to the image and are the largest. The application automatically disregards function words and does not place them within the word clouds.

In this subsection, word clouds are used to represent the ten most frequently used content words that stood out in the speeches of each world leader. The words that appear the largest in the word clouds, such as “great” in Trump’s word cloud, are mentioned a maximum of 17 times in his speeches, and the words that appear smaller in the word clouds, such as “amazing” in Trump’s word cloud, are used a minimum of four times in his speeches.



Figure 4.6: Word clouds reflecting the ten most noteworthy words spoken by each world leader.

4.2.2.1 Ardern's word choices

The main aim in Ardern’s speeches, looking at her word cloud, is to give her country direction. This can be seen in her choice of using the words “rules”, “guidance”, and “principles”. She also delivers messages of encouragement; we see this in her choice of using the words “support” and “fight”. Ardern makes it known that she realises that Covid-19 affects everyone, including children; she emphasizes protecting the children and thereby safeguarding their families. We see this in her usage of the words “school” and “parents”. Ardern also places emphasis on “tracing” contacts, and the word “border”, that is, closing the New Zealand border, is mentioned often. This speaks for her leadership and competence in removing Covid-19 from her country.

One of Arden’s frequently used words is the *word* “fight”. The word “fight” is used as a metaphor in Ardern’s speeches. The meaning of “fight” is “to compete in physical combat or a battle, to attempt to overthrow a person by blows or weapons.” But Ardern does not actually mean that every citizen in New Zealand is now physically throwing punches and kicks at the coronavirus. She implies that the citizens have begun joining forces to overcome the virus.

Metaphor involves thinking and talking about one thing in relation to another, where the two things are different, but some similarities or correspondences can be perceived between them. Ardern uses the word “fight” to refer to the attempts made to reduce infection, illness, and death from the coronavirus, in terms of a violent physical confrontation with an opponent.

The two things are obviously different, but we can perceive similarities between them. For example, both are difficult and dangerous, require effort and concentration, and both involve harm to people and, in some cases – death.

In the concluding sentences of Ardern’s statement to the nation, Ardern says,

(1) *“We may not have experienced anything like this in our lifetimes, but we know how to rally and we know how to look after one another and right now what could be more important than that. So thank you for all that you’re about to do. Please be strong, be kind and unite against Covid-19.”* (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentences 58-60)

Here, Ardern uses the words “be strong” to support and encourage her audience. She also uses words such as “look after” and “unite” to bring the country together to defeat Covid-19.

The essence of the speech content delivered by Ardern points to facts that have occurred and the steps taken by the government. Ardern also appeals to her people to follow her directions, and she gives advice to the public. There were no words in Ardern’s speeches that boast her government’s performance, and it is clear that she considers the Covid-19 policy as a very significant issue. New Zealanders appreciate the hard work of their government. Furthermore, the education level in New Zealand is high; therefore, many of its people have a good education. Due to this, New Zealanders can quickly grasp the Covid-19 situation so that even when Ardern delivers unpleasant facts, New Zealanders can understand them, accept them well and do their best to try and overcome the crisis.

Ardern’s utterances make use of vocabulary that is straightforward, concise, and easy to understand. Prime Minister Ardern does not use figurative language that could obscure the real meaning of the situation at hand. Her vocabulary is descriptive and exposes the details of Covid-19 whilst providing ample context for its potential implications. Ardern also chooses the right words to express her empathy and sympathy to minimize the worries people may have about Covid-19.

Ardern connects with her audience in multiple ways. She presents her government as a guardian of the people and empowers the people through her words. She further employs tactics aimed at influencing her people and gaining harmony within the nation.

Ardern presents her government as playing an essential role as a guardian to her people. This observation is based on two discursive behaviours: she prioritises her people and their interests and shows empathy in emotional closeness. Ardern prioritises her people and their interests by using words that carry a caring message, such as by implying that she is doing everything she can for her people (see examples 2 and 3 below).

(2) ***“This will help us track and contain any spread of Covid-19.”*** (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 46)

(3) ***“So a quick reminder again of the framework we have been using to help us on this journey.”*** (Ardern, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 21)

In Ardern’s first speech, she frequently talks about protection as the government’s concern. The government’s job is described as revolving around the well-being of the people. This involves focusing on the health and economic security of the country.

(4) ***“That means we reduce the impact on health, on jobs and on our economy.”*** (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Line 11)

Ardern presents the social and economic sides of the crisis together as aspects that need to be dealt with following the same measures. In this way, she shows that she does not just care for the well-being of the people or the well-functioning of the economy, but for both as a team.

Ardern emphasises the social element of financial protection since helping the economy connects with securing jobs and assisting small businesses.

(5) ***“Those businesses reopened their doors, and we have begun reopening our economy.”*** (Ardern, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 8)

Ardern’s forms of protection also address the vulnerable people of the population, especially older people.

(6) ***“We are asking people over seventy years of age or people who have compromised immunity or underlying respiratory conditions, to stay at home as much as they can.”*** (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 36)

(7) ***“That means we need friends, family and neighbors to support our older New Zealanders and people who may be in this group by doing simple things like keeping in contact and dropping off food or other supplies.”*** (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 37)

Ardern depicts emotional closeness to her people; therefore, her government appears as a protective entity.

(8) ***“As a mum, I can assure you this is my key consideration”.*** (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 51)

(9) ***“Till then, I know this current situation is causing huge disruption and uncertainty.”*** (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 54)

Ardern shows mindfulness and understanding of what her people are going through; she acknowledges their sacrifices for the good of the larger community, for example, by not having gatherings, and the unsettling psychological repercussions caused by the lockdown. Ardern’s

words depict emotional closeness and support by communicating that she pays attention to how people feel.

Ardern uses language in different ways to empower her people. She does this by reducing the hierarchical distance between herself and her country's people. Ardern makes people feel considered, respected, and appreciated for what they do for the country. This generates positive feelings by making her people feel like important players in the politics of the country. In this way, they are motivated to participate in communal efforts. Ardern consistently praises her people; she shows her trust in them and expresses her gratitude towards them.

(10) *“So **thank you** for all that you're about to do.”* (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 59)

(11) *“We can be **proud** of what we achieved.”* (Ardern, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 3)

Ardern's words sound motivating and inspirational when she shows trust in her people.

(12) *“Amongst the health response, we have seen the **ingenuity of Kiwis** who have understood what was needed to operate at Level 3 safely, and have made it work”.*
(Ardern, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 6)

(13) *“Even more **pleasing** is how well these owners and operators have been supported, with Kiwis being mindful of the people and livelihoods that sit behind a meal, a parcel, a takeaway lunch.”* (Ardern, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 7)

A job well done by essential workers and the entire New Zealand population is appreciated by its government. The prime minister's trust and confidence in her people seem to be based on tangible demonstrations of their action against Covid-19. Ardern expresses her gratitude by recognising the value of people's actions and the importance of their contribution in containing the spread of Covid-19. Her acknowledgements come across as genuine and authentic as she is clear and precise about what she appreciates. Ardern makes people feel proud of their actions, and thereby, they are willing to work even harder and do more to protect themselves and each other from the virus.

The prime minister uses rational arguments and explains that the decisions taken by the government are grounded in science, facts and evidence.

(14) *“Let me give you the rationale behind that, if you are sick, then you will sometimes have symptoms that will make you spread your illness – things like coughing.”* (Ardern, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 48)

The knowledge of experts and reliable sources informs Ardern's approach. She also calls upon the credibility of proven facts and the reliability of statistical projections. The people of New Zealand are assured that all decisions made by the government have been taken with consideration of scientific knowledge. They, therefore, should follow the recommendations

provided by their government. If the people of New Zealand believe in science, facts and evidence, their prime minister's words will make them compliant with the government's regulations.

In uncertain times of crisis, people need reassurance from leaders who transmit strength and decisiveness, send clear messages, act with a plan and demonstrate readiness in making decisions. Ardern's clear messages and planning can be seen when she discusses the alert systems in speech 2. This can be found in sentences 18 to 32 (see appendix 3.2). People are more ready to follow the regulations coming from a ruling power who has the qualities to lead the country out of the crisis.

One can see that Ardern believes that to get out of the disaster, people should consider themselves part of a larger community in which their actions are not motivated by their own needs. In Ardern's speeches, New Zealand is portrayed as a place where people care for each other, where teamwork is encouraged and where there is a sense of collective needs. Ardern's words represent a code of moral behaviour that consists of working together, sharing efforts and acting for the common good. Embracing this behaviour is a means of containing the spread of Covid-19 and saving lives while also guaranteeing long-term economic recovery.

(15) *“That's why today I'm going to set out for you as clearly as possible **what you can expect, as we continue to fight the virus together.**”* (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 7)

(16) *“We may not have experienced anything like this in our lifetimes, but **we know how to rally and we know how to look after one another** and right now what could be more important than that.”* (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 58)

Ardern's leadership is depicted as protective and caring; her primary concerns revolve around the well-being of her people and their needs. She prioritises her people as the recipients of practical support and emotional caring in a time of distress. Ardern furthermore gives her people power as she highlights their strengths, achievements, and abilities. She sends out positive messages that can make people feel better, happier, confident in what they have been doing and in control of the situation. The New Zealand government is, therefore, a role model for motivating and inspiring collective action. The government prioritises public health and being empathetic; this justifies them asking their citizens to look after older people, protect and support others and be kind and compassionate towards each other. The communicative strategy of empowering the people by praising them, recognising their efforts, showing trust in them and expressing gratitude towards them, can stimulate further action and cooperation in line with the government's requests for a collaborative effort.

When analysing the official discourse of Prime Minister Ardern, one notices that the way of speaking of the prime minister of New Zealand is quite official and follows the rules of political discourse.

Ardern also makes repetitions in her speeches. She does this to emphasise the most significant words in the sentences:

(17) “... **I can assure you** we are constantly monitoring these settings to keep schools and children safe.”

(18) “As a mum, **I can assure you** this is my key consideration.” (Ardern, 2020, sentences 50-51, speech 1)

The repetition of the words, “I can assure you,” shows that Ardern is making it her duty to reassure her people that she and her administrators have the Covid-19 situation under control. She tries to gain the audience’s trust by showing them that she is taking control of the problem.

(19) “**We will continue** to keep our borders closed except to Kiwis.”

(20) “**We will continue** to isolate Kiwis who come in from overseas in managed hotels away from others.” (Ardern, 2020, sentences 40-41, speech 2).

Repetition of the words, “We will continue”, gives the audience motivation and provides them with the hope that everything will soon be okay as the government is continuously putting efforts into eradicating Covid-19 from New Zealand.

In Ardern’s first speech, the first-person plural pronoun “we” was mentioned 49 times. This could be attributed to the inclusiveness that Ardern tries to make a prominent feature in her addresses. The word “we” has a broad scope of reference as it refers to an entire nation.

In the introductory sentence of Ardern’s first speech, she says:

(21) “I’m speaking directly to all New Zealanders today to give you as much certainty and clarity as **we** can, as **we** fight covid19.” (Ardern, year, speech 1; line 1)

Using the pronoun “we” twice in a sentence such as that seen above, brings the audience into Ardern’s vision and establishes a collective identity and shared responsibility with her audience.

By use of the pronoun, Ardern speaks on behalf of her government.

Ardern repeats the inclusive “we” throughout her speech, which reminds her listeners that she is one with her audience and just like any other citizen of the country.

(22) “This is because **we** are experiencing an unprecedented event, a global pandemic.” (Ardern, 2020, speech 1, sentence 4)

The pronoun is used here as a “patriotic *we*” (Wales, 1996, p.125) and a unification strategy to create solidarity with the listeners. Using “we” in this context tells the listeners that they are in one social group with Prime Minister Ardern, even though they are of differing social classes, positions of power, race, gender and religion. This is a solid approach to creating and enforcing solidarity and is a successful tool used by Ardern to bring her nation together.

Political leaders also use the pronoun “we” to instil a sense of collectivity and to create involvement and shared responsibility with the audience (Karapetjana, 2011, p.43). This is clearly reflected in the repetition of the pronoun “we”, demonstrated in example (23) below:

(23) *“In February it would have seemed unimaginable to close New Zealand's borders to the world and now it has been an obvious step as **we** fight covid19.”* (Ardern, 2020, speech 1, sentence 3)

The pronoun appears as a discourse strategy used to persuade the audiences to join forces and defeat Covid-19.

(24) *“Some countries and places have successfully managed to do this, but it does mean **we** have to be ready to step up **our** action when **we** need to.”* (Ardern, 2020, speech 1, sentence 12)

The possessive pronoun “our” in example the above example, links back to the preceding sentence. “Our” is used to highlight and reinforce the inclusiveness created by the use of the pronoun “we”. The possessive pronoun “our” is used throughout Ardern's speeches to emphasize involvement, reinforce her argument of working together to bring a stop to the spread of Covid-19 and to make her motive stronger.

Ardern repeats the use of the pronoun “our” to express a message of unity. “Our”, like “we”, is widely used to create a collective membership and shared responsibility through the audience with the whole of New Zealand.

The repetition of the word “our” three times in the sentence emphasises that the whole nation should be unified to face challenges and achieve success.

Ardern also uses the pronouns “you” and “your” to support her desire for collectivity and shared responsibility within her nation.

(25) *“That's why today I'm going to set out for **you** as clearly as possible what **you** can expect, as **we** continue to fight the virus together.”* (Ardern, 2020, speech 1, sentence 7)

The words “you” and “your” are pronouns used to address Ardern’s audience, which is the entire New Zealand nation. Using the words “you” and “your” is a call for unification and an

attempt to rally the country behind Ardern and her vision. Another example of the usage of these pronouns is found in (26) below:

(26) *“We will use this alert system every time we update **our** cases, so **you** know if the status in **your** area has gone up or down or stayed the same and what **you**’ll need to do.” (Ardern, 2020, speech 1, sentence 32)*

According to Karapetjana (2011, p.43), political speakers generally avoid using the pronoun "I" as it has a distancing effect. The use of the first-person singular pronoun “I”, as below, allows Ardern the ability to show commitment and responsibility.

(27) *“Today **I** am confirming that New Zealand is at alert level two - that means the risk of community transmission is growing and so to stay ahead and reduce the chances of the wave growing, we need to step things up now.” (Ardern, 2020, speech 1, sentence 22)*

In comparison to the pronoun “we”, Ardern only repeats the first-person singular pronoun “I” six times. In all instances, Ardern does not talk about herself, but rather, she uses the pronoun to introduce herself as the loyal leader who will fight for New Zealand and her citizens. Ardern uses the pronoun to express her commitment and responsibility to her nation as the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

4.2.2.1.1 The bubble metaphor

The general message behind Ardern’s use of the word “bubble” was that whoever shared a home represented a single bubble and should abstain from physical contact with other households. The only exceptions were made for: essential services workers who would have a single bubble at work and another bubble at home; children who were shared with parents through custody arrangements, who could move from one parent’s bubble to the other’s; and friends who lived alone who were allowed to “buddy” up in one of the friends’ homes. The bubble policy, hence, provided a small amount of flexibility in relations of care and responsibility that extended beyond a single household.

The vast majority of people, however, were restricted to interacting with other members of their immediate household. The “bubble” metaphor did not allow for care that extended across multiple households (i.e., grandparents’ homes, homes of babysitters, etc.). Specific important facts were also not considered, the facts of living together not equating to love, care, reciprocal responsibility, or even economic interdependence. Living in a “bubble” may have, therefore, added to the stress and confusion of those who lived together but who did not function as households.

Instead of each individual being separated (by social distancing) from others, the “bubble” was a bounded unit one could share. The bubble metaphor, therefore, carried a set of characteristics that counterpoised some of the negative connotations of “barriers,” “lockdown,” and “distancing.”

“Bubbles” are thought of as small, transparent and light objects that float through the air. Their connotations of being gentle, soft, and playful (children blowing bubbles) contrasted not only with the anxiety-provoking nature of Covid-19, but also with the language of “lockdown”, which conveys a feeling of immobility and being pinned, forced or fixed to a particular place. By being placed under “lockdown”, people could feel “walled in,” or “boxed in,” or subject to respecting “boundaries” or “borders”. It is hard to imagine something as light and beautiful as a bubble as being dangerous or frightening. Bubbles travel and, therefore, relay a sense of lightweight mobility, even if the lockdown restricted it.

The bubble metaphor has been used since the 1960s to describe “a transparent plastic covering or enclosure that protects a patient from infection by keeping him or her in a sterile environment” (Michael Ryan, 2020, p. 172). The metaphor had already been used in public health and medicine, representing isolation in order to prevent the spread of contagion.

Given these positive associations, the users of this metaphor in relation to isolating during the Covid-19 pandemic may have forgotten that bubbles burst and that the “bubble” metaphor is used to describe “a person who is or may be easily cheated or hoodwinked; a dupe”; “an insubstantial, delusive, or fraudulent project or enterprise, esp. of a commercial or financial nature”; or “anything fragile, insubstantial, empty, or worthless; a deceptive show” (OED, 2020). Bubbles, furthermore, do not only exist in nature, but moreover, they can be products of human creation. Blowing bubbles might seem like a game for a child, but creating a lockdown bubble is anything but a game.

After the initial notice was given to create one’s bubble, New Zealanders had 48 hours to do so. Much of their attention was placed on relocating to a residence where they hoped to feel most secure during the crisis. Students left their university residences (most of which had been closed), and couples who were in the midst of a divorce or who had recently gotten into new relationships, had to make decisions involving living arrangements rather quickly. Families with members who were immunocompromised, elderly, or had tested positive for Covid-19 had to make choices about how to keep one another safe. Domestic airports were filled, often with young people and older people seeking to return to more physically, affectively, or economically hospitable living situations. Certain people could not escape difficult circumstances. Those who lived with family members with histories of domestic

violence or substance abuse, found themselves in stressful and often dangerous situations 24 hours a day.

“Bubbles” fell short in overlooking care relations, including economic obligations and support. Julie Spray’s (2020) ethnography of South Auckland primary school reveals the ways that children in economically marginalised families move, or could be moved (by family members or social services), from one household to another depending on financial opportunity as well as the ability to provide care, sometimes changing residences several times a year. “Bubble” regulations, therefore, put pressure on families among whom movement between households might be common.

The ruling also forgot about the care relations between multi-person households whose residents might live separately but be dependent on others; for example, older people who may live apart from younger family members but who rely on said family members to provide for their physical, economic, or social needs. Significant care relations may further lie beyond the household and the bonds of kinship. Kinship may not necessarily be constituted along lines of blood or marriage, but rather through acts of obligation and care. Care relations cannot always be confined to one household, which raised the issue of how to manage in households wherein relations were lacking care.

“Bubbles” were seen as united economic units. One member of each bubble was given the responsibility of doing the grocery shopping. Certain grocery shops were strict and made sure that individuals were only shopping for a single household. Being “bubble mates” due to sharing a residence does not automatically mean that a group of people are economically interdependent. Students and coworkers who rent residences together are not necessarily accustomed to pooling financial resources in order to buy essential living supplies.

Affective relationships may have occurred outside of one’s bubble for many people whose residential bubble was devoid of ones to love. People may have lived alone, or due to force of circumstances, they may have lived with others with whom they had minimal engagement. These people still had to cope with who would do the household shopping and who would take care of them in the event that they had fallen sick. These situations would have been stressful for low-income workers, students, and migrant workers who may have had to live with people who might have been strangers.

During lockdown, in New Zealand and many other countries across the world, people expressed interest in domestic activities, such as baking, cooking and gardening; these were considered activities which demonstrated “Kiwi spirits.” But for many, the lockdown may not have been dedicated to increased efforts to make a better home, as their sense of belonging may

have not necessarily been linked to a place of residence, or even to multiple areas of residence. One single residence may not be where one feels most “at home,” as homes may be materially as well as effectively dispersed. The word “home” may refer to being around a particular person rather than being within a physical structure. In contrast, the word “house” may be seen as sites of conflict and tension, and ultimately “unhomely”. Families go between residences, and “home” may be founded within activity on many sites. State ideologies may not be aware of to recognise or may not pay attention to these arrangements. But when one’s prime minister calls you to “love your bubble”, it is crucial that more thought be given to what the boundaries of the bubble not only contain but also exclude.

The Covid-19 pandemic and the way we respond to it, reframe how we pay attention to our movement as well as the way we communicate. Lockdown measures and social distancing may be taking place across the world. Still, they are playing out in different ways, encouraging different social orderings and material artefacts – from being asked to use face masks to the adverse impact of HIV care. The use of the term “bubble” may be among the phenomena most remembered by New Zealanders.

We can learn from the bubble metaphor and where it worked and did not work, to get a sense of how far our maps of care, kinship, and responsibility extend. Going into lockdown with others inside of a “bubble” for extended periods has proven to be a novel exercise. While studying the situation in New Zealand, we notice that “bubbles” are not something we merely get into, but in many cases, which need to be constructed, holding in memory that co-habitation does not necessarily indicate a unitary household, people who live together are not necessarily family, and relations of responsibility, care, and economic survival cross paths and go further than the residents of a single abode.

It is not a new claim that residences and households are much more complex than we might first imagine; neither is it novel that with the “bubble” phenomenon, there exists a disjuncture between practice and policy. However, the use of the term “bubble” in such a manner is new, and if epidemics and pandemics become more familiar features of medical, social and governmental landscapes, then our current situation is an opportunity to tweak the notion of “bubbles” to mirror the diversified ways of showing care, responsibility, and “being at home.”

4.2.2.2. Ramaphosa’s word choices

When analysing President Ramaphosa’s speeches, the first noteworthy observation is his formal tone that follows that of a traditional political speech. Mr Ramaphosa’s speeches are

structured and follow development rules. Firstly, unlike Trump, Ramaphosa starts his speeches by formally addressing his listeners. This can be seen in his introductory sentences:

(28) *Fellow South Africans, I am addressing you this evening on a matter of great national importance.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 1)

(29) *My fellow South Africans, it has been five months since we declared a national state of disaster to combat the coronavirus pandemic.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 1)

Such an introduction to an official speech is considered a standard practice that most politicians follow. It shows that Mr Ramaphosa positions himself as a traditional politician who follows protocol rules.

Ramaphosa's word cloud is revealing a measured “response” to Covid-19. He speaks about “restrictions”, “control”, placing “travel” bans and “protecting” the “lives” of his people. Ramaphosa shows that he is grateful to his country for the sacrifices that they make to keep the country safe from Covid-19. We see this in his frequent usage of the word “thank”. South Africa is known as the rainbow nation due to its diversity of people following different cultures and different religions. Ramaphosa frequently uses the term “religious”. This shows that Ramaphosa involves people’s beliefs and faith in his decisions. Religion is a vital part of people's lives, and Ramaphosa acknowledges this. Religion, in African societies, supports morality and creates a sense of security and order in the community.

In the last few sentences of Ramaphosa’s initial statement to the nation, he says,

(30) *This epidemic will pass. But it is up to us to determine how long it will last, how damaging it will be, and how long it will take our economy and our country to recover. It is true that we are facing a grave emergency. But if we act together, if we act now, and if we act decisively, we will overcome it. I thank you.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 100)

Ramaphosa, just like Ardern here, is trying to get his country to join forces against a common threat. We see this with his use of “together”. He also uses the word “now”, showing the urgency of dealing with the situation before it gets too late.

Words such as “together” and “unite” identify democracy, community, cooperation and collaboration as the central values of both the New Zealand and South African nations. Believing and trusting in these values is the only way to survive this difficult moment and overcome common hurdles.

Ramaphosa constantly uses the words “if we act”, this positions himself not as an autocratic leader of the country, who takes all the credit for solving the problem, but rather as

a leader who believes in the nation and tries to encourage the people to work as a team. We believe that this reflects an ubuntu ethic in the country, which emphasises mutual interdependence and solidarity, especially in times of crisis and need.

As I have mentioned in the theoretical part of this dissertation, one of the most essential grammatical tools is the specific usage of pronouns and verbs. The most common pronoun used by Trump is the word “I”. With this pronoun, the former president of the United States of America aims to demonstrate his input and effort in resolving the critical situation as he takes on the role of the leader of the nation.

When we analyse how many pronouns President Ramaphosa uses, the first thing we notice is that his lexical style of using pronouns is very different from Trump’s. The most common pronoun used by Ramaphosa is “we”. This can be seen in the following sentence wherein “we” was mentioned four times in just a single sentence.

(31) *It is now clear that had **we** not acted as swiftly and decisively as **we** did – and had **we** not taken the threat as seriously as **we** did – far more lives would have been lost.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 2, line 20)

By using the pronoun “we”, Ramaphosa does not focus on himself as the leader of the country, but instead tries to emphasise the importance of the effort made by the entire nation to overcome the challenges posed by Covid-19. Therefore, it could be said that Ramaphosa sees encouragement for the country as his main aim.

Ramaphosa’s political discourse is more directed towards the South African nation and country. The usage of the pronoun “our” is very characteristic in his speeches.

(32) *Never before in the history of **our** democracy has **our** country been confronted with such a severe situation.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 6)

(33) *We have decided to take urgent and drastic measures to manage the disease, protect the people of **our** country and reduce the impact of the virus on **our** society and on **our** economy.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 14)

(34) *My fellow South Africans, in addition to the impact that this pandemic will have on health and wellbeing of **our** people, and the impact it will have on the day-to-day life of **our** society, Covid-19 will also have a significant and potentially lasting impact on **our** economy.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 65)

The above examples illustrate the struggle of the South African country as a whole. Ramaphosa uses the words “our democracy,” “our country,” “our society,” “our people”, and “our economy” frequently in his speeches. This shows us that the president sees the road to overcoming the challenges faced by Covid-19 as a shared achievement; the people of South

Africa maintain the functioning of the system, and they are an integral part of the solution to the crisis. Hence, president Ramaphosa recognises the input of every one of the citizens of the country in solving the problem.

The president uses the word “we” to both identify with the audience and to create an in-group consisting of himself and his audience and to increase the feeling of solidarity with the listeners. In number (35) above, Ramaphosa presents a scenario where the restrictions and living according to them is an act of solidarity towards everyone in the society – thus making the restrictions seem reasonable.

Much in line with these positive reinforcements, there are instances where the emotion appealed to in order to justify the restrictions is hope.

(35) *But if we act together, if we act now, and if we act decisively, **we will overcome it.***

(Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 103)

(36) *It remains our foremost concern in the weeks and months that lie ahead to continue to **save lives.*** (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 20)

(37) *It is you who have readily adapted to the restrictions around mask wearing, social distancing and good hygiene and in the process helped to **save lives.*** (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 30)

Hope is produced in the above sentences through the expressions, “we will overcome it” and “save lives”. The usage of both fear and hope is clearly visible in both of Ramaphosa’s speeches. However, Ramaphosa also evokes emotions of fear in his audience. Fear is a strong human emotion that can affect the way people behave; using an element of fear in his speeches is an effective tool in helping to acknowledge the measures taken to cope with the pandemic. Ramaphosa achieves the effect of fear through *war speech* by using expressions that are used in discourses of war, as in the following examples (38, 39, 40):

(38) *This will have a potentially **severe impact** on production, the viability of businesses, job retention and job creation.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 68)

(39) *We must appreciate the extent of the **threat that this disease** presents, we must accept the anxiety that it causes.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 74)

(41) *We have the knowledge, the means and the resources to **fight this disease.*** (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 77)

Using words such as “impact”, “threat”, and “fight”, Ramaphosa justifies the restrictions placed on the country by creating an image of an enemy that must be fought. The expression “severe impact” can be interpreted as related to a war, such as when saying, “the bomb went off on impact”. In addition to a war discourse, the expression can also be interpreted

as a contagious disease speech as well. Using expressions that generate a sense of threat of a potentially lethal illness works as a tool for prompting fear in the listener, which then can be used as a basis for justifying the stringent Covid-19 restrictions.

There are no occurrences of the words “war” and “enemy” in Ramaphosa’s speeches. This indicates that Ramaphosa did not use the conceptual metaphor “Covid-19 pandemic is war” as the primary metaphor. Instead, he opted for the conceptual metaphor “Covid-19 pandemic is a crisis”, see example (42):

(42) *Ministers who are at the frontline of coordinating our response to this **crisis** will be briefing the nation tomorrow...* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 95)

Ramaphosa’s educational background could explain his focus on the medical aspects of the crisis much more than on the political part. However, despite avoidance of the explicit use of the word “war”, metaphorical expressions related to the “Covid-19 pandemic is war” conceptual metaphor do exist in Ramaphosa’s speeches. This is seen in the use of the word “fight” in the sentences below.

(43) *We have the knowledge, the means and the resources to **fight** this disease.*
(Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 77)

(44) *We have made progress in our **fight** against Covid-19.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 7)

For Ramaphosa, the motivation for the Covid-19 lockdown is not about an enemy who is attacking the country, but about the conceptual metaphor “Covid-19 pandemic is a crisis”, more specifically, a health crisis which evokes the prominent semantic field related to disease (infection; treatment).

(45) *As we have said before, the current circumstances require extraordinary measures to curb the spread of **infections**.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 35)

(46) *Our priority must be to safeguard the health and well-being of all South Africans, to minimise the number of **infections** and to ensure all those infected get proper **treatment**.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 72)

Ramaphosa’s description of the health situation is that South Africa needs to take decisive action to manage the crisis. The Covid-19 lockdown is seen as a management strategy. The President of South Africa framed his speeches on rationality and the avoidance of negative consequences. Placing emphasis on actions to be taken constructs Ramaphosa as a strategic and competent manager rather than as the general of an army.

4.2.2.3. Trump's word choices

4.2.2.3.1 Language and Vocabulary

Whilst analysing the former President of The United States of America – Mr Trump's speeches – the first noteworthy observation is that his speeches have a very informal tone. Trump repeats himself, his vocabulary is limited, and his grammar is less complex than that of other political leaders. The former president's speeches sound as if they were not scripted and prepared in advance. One can applaud him, however, for his manner of speaking shows an attempt to communicate his thoughts to his audience, irrespective of their educational background or age. He speaks in a manner that is simple, understandable and relatable.

Trump's informal tone starts right at the beginning of his speeches. He does not address his audience, but rather, dives directly into his speech. This can be seen in the following two introductory sentences of his first and second speeches:

(47) *"To unleash the full power of the federal government in this effort today, I am officially declaring a National Emergency."* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 1)

(48) *"A big day today in the White House, all of American society is engaged and mobilized in the war against the invisible enemy."* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 1)

The usage of an informal tone is uncommon among political leaders. Analysing the above sentences gives one a sense that Trump was not reading a speech that had been prewritten, but instead has come to address the nation and inform them about the situation at hand. Trump's manner of speaking to his people is similar to how people talk to their friends and family in their everyday environment. Trump uses simplicity and fosters informal relationships with his audience whilst delivering his speeches.

Trump uses many adjectives in the speeches under analysis. Some examples of the adjectives are:

(49) *"... and we will continue to make **great** progress."* (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 8)

(50) *"... especially when you come out of what was the **greatest** economy in the history of the world."* (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 13)

It may be surprising to find a positive word such as "great" in a speech discussing something as gruesome as the coronavirus; however, Trump used the word "great" and its derivations "greater" and "greatest" a combined ten times in his speeches.

The use of exaggerated adjectives is commonly noticed when analysing the words in Trump's speeches. Some of the adjectives used by Trump are presented in the table below.

Table 4.4: The frequency of adjectives in Donald Trump's speeches

Adjective	Frequency
New	11
Great/ Greater/ Greatest	10
Millions	10
Critical	5
Incredible	5
Developed	4
Tremendous	4
Additional	3
Big	3
Large	3
Similar	3
Various	3
Good	2
Total	

4.2.2.3.2. Lexical choices

As previously discussed, Trump repeats keywords to highlight his ideas and make his message more understandable to the public. For example, he frequently used the verb “working” in his speeches:

(51) *While we must remain vigilant, it is clear that our aggressive strategy is **working**, and very strongly **working** I might add.* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 2)

The usage and the repetition of the verb “working” can be understood as a means of assuring and encouraging the listeners. Trump attempted to reflect that the situation is being handled, everyone is making efforts towards achieving the common goal, and whatever needs to be done, is being done. Repetition is also common with the use of adverbs. Trump also repeats the adverb “very”.

(52) *But we cover **very, very** strongly our country.* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 55)

The repetition of the word validates that Trump improvises when delivering a speech. The term “very” is an intensifying adverb; it illustrates that Trump intends to emphasise the work that he and the nation are doing to get the desired results. This demonstrates that Trump wants to remind the public of his ability to resolve issues efficiently and quickly. The word “very” has been used a combined 23 times in Trump’s speeches.

Trump uses the personal pronoun “I” a combined 34 times across both speeches, whereas “we” (both inclusive and exclusive) is used 89 times across both speeches. Evidently, Trump uses the pronoun “we” more often than the personal pronoun “I” in the two speeches. He does this to express the institutional identity of America and to relay the meaning of one team in which each member has a shared responsibility and serves the country.

(53) *“There’s never been an economy like what **we** had produced,”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Line 20)

The pronoun “I” was often used in both speeches. This could suggest importance, particularly when used in specific situations such as:

(54) *“To unleash the full power of the federal government in this effort today, **I** am officially declaring a National Emergency.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 1)

(55) *“The action **I** am taking will open up access to up to 50 billion dollars of very important and a large amount of money for states and territories and localities in our shared fight against this disease.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 3)

(56) *“10 days ago, **I** brought together the CEOs of commercial labs at the White House and directed them to immediately begin working on the solution to dramatically increase the availability of tests.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 30)

These sentences show leadership, which could be helpful when good news is given. Trump attempts to coax his audience to follow his decisions made about Covid -19 by showing them his achievements.

“My” is the possessive state of the pronoun “I”. Trump did not make use of the pronoun “my” in his first speech, but he did use “my” 5 times in his second speech. He furthermore used the possessive pronoun “our” a combined 30 times across his speeches. Strikingly, using the possessive pronoun “our” is more frequent by Trump than using the pronoun “my”.

(57) *“The action I am taking will open up access to up to 50 billion dollars of very important and a large amount of money for states and territories and localities in **our** shared fight against this disease.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 3)

(58) *“We’ll remove or eliminate every obstacle necessary to deliver **our** people the care that they need and that they’re entitled to.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 27)

The modal verb “will” was used in Trump’s speeches. The findings reveal that Trump uses the modal "will" often as he wants to give off the impression that he is a powerful leader who has experience in being a leader, which enables him to achieve whatever he intends to.

(59) *And this **will** pass.* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 62)

(60) ... and we **will** continue to make great progress. (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Line 10)

In quotation (59) the former president promises his people that the pandemic will end. However, shortly afterwards, the pandemic worsened, more people got sick, and more people died. In the following example, Trump demonstrates a solid belief in himself, his administration and his people.

The findings show that Trump made use of the modal verb "can" very often. This modal mainly refers to ability. With the use of the modal “can,” Trump thus emphasises the United States' alleged ability to take control of the pandemic.

(61) *“... so that doctors from other states **can** provide services in states with the greatest need.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 17)

(62) *“Ensuring that the emergency capacity **can** be quickly established.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 26)

Trump believes in the abilities of the American specialists. Trump wants to show that he could achieve his goals. The modal “could” can also be found in Trump's speeches.

(63) *The company says these tests **could** be available to screen up to 20 million people in a matter of weeks.* (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Line 31)

Another modal used by Trump is “have to”, which overlaps with “must” significantly, both expressing necessity.

(64) *We **have to** remember during the surge...* (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Line 62)

(65) *We **have to** do it, and we **have to** do whatever we **have to** do.* (Trump, 2020, Speech 2)

Trump uses this modal to suggest that working as a team is beneficial in defeating Covid-19. Both examples of “have to” are mentioned with the subject “we”, which denotes the speaker and his listeners.

National unity is an essential concept in political speeches as it underpins the speaker's ideas. Trump emphasizes national unity by using the words “world” and “country” in the speeches that are being studied. The term “world” is used seven times in the speeches, and the word “country” is mentioned 14 times.

(66) *“We cover this **country** and large parts of the **world**, by the way.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 53)

In the example above, Trump confirms the idea of superiority of Americans. Trump further pacifies the American people by comparing the state in the United States of America with that in other countries. By repeatedly using the word “country”, Trump shows that he cares about his entire country and not just any specific state or segment of the population.

(67) *My Administration is also distributing vast amounts of medical supplies to states across the **country** through Project Airbridge, which has been an amazing success.* (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Line 32)

Trump combines the notion of caring and unity for his nation.

(68) *“I’m also asking every hospital in this country to activate its emergency preparedness plan so that they can meet the needs of **Americans** everywhere.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 7)

(69) *“Our overriding goal is to stop the spread of the virus and to help all **Americans** who have been impacted by this”.* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 59)

Trump thinks of Americans as one country’s people and one nation with one enemy – Covid-19. He also expresses a sense of sorrow that should be experienced with other citizens of the nation, being a singular unit.

Equality includes rights, opportunity and status. Having no differences between Americans along the lines of race, background, and religion. Trump expresses this idea to reinforce his leadership. Citizens are the determinant of any nation. Every decision made should be in their interest. Trump uses the idea of "togetherness" to get Americans involved in national affairs, thus sharing the responsibility of ridding the country of Covid-19. The concept of citizen involvement is implicitly stated in Trump’s speeches.

(70) “A big day today in the White House, **all of American society** is engaged and mobilized in the war against the invisible enemy.” (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Line 1)

Trump emphasises nationwide importance. He mentions that he has a duty to be of service to all American citizens and that their health is his main priority.

The results show that Trump uses the word "think" 12 times in his second speech but did not use the word "believe" at all. This may portray uncertainty or a absence of commitment to his words, as the word “believe” is used when saying something based on fact and accepted as the truth but without certainty (such as when one uses the word “know”), whereas “think” is used to state an opinion.

(71) “... and I **think** we’ll produce it again very fast.” (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Line 22)

(72) “... and I **think** they said that there’s a brief clip that we have of General Motors sent to us by General Motors, and I **think** they might be wanting to play that for your benefit.” (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Line 48)

(73) “... I **think** over the next week or two.” (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Line 76)

The rate of recurrence of "think" seems to indicate that Trump is not confident about what he says and would rather not be held liable for saying something that does not pan out.

The overall most frequent word used by Trump in both his speeches is the word “great” (combined with the derivatives “greater” and “greatest”).

(74) “You’re going to be hearing from some of the largest companies and **greatest** retailers and medical companies in the world.” (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 5)

(75) “...so that doctors from other states can provide services in states with the **greatest** need.” (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 17)

(76) “I want to thank Roche, **great** company for their incredible work.” (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Line 40)

(77) “... especially when you come out of what was the **greatest** economy in the history of the world. The **greatest**.” (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Line 19)

In Trump’s utterance below, he uses the conceptual metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1981) of “Covid-19 pandemic is war”, which is reflected in the use of the critical words “enemy” and “mobilised”. Overall, the conceptual metaphor is instantiated in the speech by metaphorical actions, i.e., the former president uses lexical items from the semantic field associated with war and warfare.

(78) A big day today in the White House, all of American society is engaged and mobilized in the war against the invisible enemy. (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 1)

This utterance carries conceptualisations of Covid-19 virus as the villain, i.e., an “enemy”, within the metaphorical space of the conflict between man and virus that is to be fought. The Covid-19 enemy is further described as “invisible” and, hence, unpredictable. These lexical choices strengthen the perception of the risk associated with the disease.

The lexical choice of “mobilised” is also an interesting choice as the associated concept that arises from the lexical item “mobilised” is the presence of soldiers and armies that would struggle against the virus as if it were an opposing army. The use of “war” metaphors is a discursive tool in the framing process, which holds a dual function: Firstly, it provides the citizens of America with a transparent mental model for thinking about the Covid-19 issue that has no solution and outcome in sight, just as one would not know the result of a war without it first happening. Secondly, the metaphorical choice carries emotional valency, which amplifies the citizens’ perception of the virus, as well as their fear of the unknown.

By using the word “war” explicitly, Trump emphasises the analogy of the fight against Covid-19 to an actual war; the former president attempts to create a sense of urgency and to unite Americans against the common threat. Trump uses the words “war” and “enemy” to compare Covid-19 to a common adversary of humankind; using such personification makes Covid-19 more tangible and malicious in the minds of Trump’s listeners. By labelling Covid-19 as the enemy, Trump is accusing it of causing a global war and social unrest in the world. This forms part of a wartime rhetoric.

The “invisible enemy” phrase also strengthens the conceptual metaphor of “Covid-19 pandemic is war”. The word “invisible” evokes the conceptual metaphor “knowing is seeing”. Within this context, the coronavirus is conceptualized as an enemy that, despite being present in our lives, is not decoded – we do not know exactly how it spread to the whole world, how to cure it or even which long-term effects it has on our health. In the time of the Covid-19 pandemic, a vital goal is the promotion of values and attitudes that promote the construction of a sense of community and solidarity among the population. Labelling Covid-19 as the common enemy could give one something to aim at, just as a missile target would be aimed at when one is at war. By doing this, Trump creates a sense of oneness for humankind, which would subsequently lead to collectivism and humanitarianism.

In the context of the “Covid-19 pandemic is war” metaphor, the use of the personification “Covid-19 is the enemy” also creates an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ contrast with the in-group being represented as good forces and the out-group depicted as evil forces. By categorising the in-group as members of a community with a shared future, Trump helps to transcend borders and boundaries between people and integrate them into a shared geographical and social space

where they must stand together in battle against the invisible enemy of the Covid-19 virus. This is alluded to by the compound “shared fight” in example 79.

(79) *“The action I am taking will open up access to up to 50 billion dollars of very important and a large amount of money for states and territories and localities in our shared **fight** against this disease.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 3)

The use of the word “need” in example (80) below similarly emphasises the urgent necessity for decisive action that is conceptualised as military action within the “Covid-19 pandemic is war” metaphor.

(80) *“We’ll remove or eliminate every obstacle necessary to deliver our people the care that they **need** and that they’re entitled to.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 12)

In the face of a novel virus that poses a global threat to human lives, the most urgent task is to overthrow it through decisive actions. By Trump highlighting the fact that a common enemy of humankind is Covid-19, he advocates collective efforts to fight against the virus for a shared future. Intensifying the danger of the pandemic by using the “Covid-19 is the enemy” metaphor could bring about strong emotions of fear in Trump’s audience, with his intention possibly being to persuade them to compromise their self-interest and unite in fighting against the common enemy of humankind for a shared future.

4.2.2.3.3. Pronouns

Table 4.5.: Frequency of pronoun usage in Donald Trump’s speeches

Pronoun	Frequency
We/us/our	34
I/my	18
They	18
You/your	7

From the above table, it is evident that the most common pronouns used by Trump are “we/us/our”. The following sentences are examples containing the words “we” and “our”:

(81) *“**We**’ll remove or eliminate every obstacle necessary to deliver **our** people the care that they need and that they’re entitled to.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 27)

(82) *“Today **we** are announcing a new partnership with private sector to vastly increase and accelerate our capacity to test for the Coronavirus. **We** want to make sure that those who need a test can get a test very safely, quickly and conveniently, but **we** don’t want people to take a test if **we** feel that they shouldn’t be doing it and **we** don’t want everyone running out and taking it.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentences 33-35)

In the short fragment above (82), Trump uses the pronoun “we” five times. He makes use of the exclusive “we” and demonstrates his authority. By using the exclusive “we” multiple times, Trump gives his audience a sense of hope that he has the matter under control.

4.2.2.3.4. Vagueness

Vague words, such as “thing” or “things”, have also been found in Trump’s speeches.

(83) *“Other countries have called us and worked with us and they’re doing similar **things** or will be doing similar **things** as a result of that action.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentences 31-32).

(84) *... because nobody’s able to do **things** like we can do.* (Trump, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 66).

Table 4.6: Verbs and verbal tenses

Verb	Frequency
Working	9
Come	5
Think	4
Engaged	3
Talking	3

Trump frequently uses the present continuous tense. It is a way to reflect that he and his administration are constantly trying to solve the problem. The verb “think” is usually avoided in formal speech as it lacks argumentation, however, Trump uses it four times. As mentioned above, using "think" seems to indicate that Trump is not confident about what he says and does not want to be liable if he says something that does not happen.

4.2.2.3.5. Repetition and redundancy

Another feature of Trump’s speeches is his usage of repetitions that seem abstract for a presidential address. This repetition can be seen in the following sentences:

(85) ***They can** do as they want. **They can** do what **they have to do**. They know what **they have to do**.* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentences 21-23)

(86) *It’ll go **very quickly**. It’s going **very quickly**.* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentences 43-44)

The following sentences are examples of Trump's redundancy:

(87) ***No** resource will be spared. **Nothing** whatsoever.* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentences 28-29)

(88) *“And this **will pass**. This **will pass** through and we’re going to be even stronger for it.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentences 62-63)

(89) *“We’ve **learned** a lot, a tremendous amount has been **learned**.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 64)

The above quotes illustrate the rhetoric used by Trump as a political speaker: he uses simple words (such as “a lot”), short sentences, repetition of words or phrases and sequential utterances with related or similar meanings. This rhetoric style could be seen as a symptom of a small vocabulary, but it is also a sign of message consistency.

4.2.2.4. Sentence Structure

Trump uses short sentences. This may be because he is intentionally keeping his message simple for all his people to understand. He uses the words “and” and “but” to increase sentence length; however, this does not introduce multi-layered sentences.

(90) *“It’s going to be very quickly done, unlike websites of the past, to determine whether a test is warranted **and** to facilitate testing at a nearby convenient location. **And** we have many, many locations behind us, by the way. We cover this country and large parts of the world, by the way. We’re not going to be talking about the world right now. **But** we cover very, very strongly our country.”* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentences 51-55)

4.2.2.5. Word Classes

Trump uses many adjectives and simplistic words that anyone in his audience would understand, no matter their age or educational background. Trump also uses awe-inspiring words such as “great” and “amazing”. Using words such as these clearly shows that Trump likes to brag and believes that he has everything under control. One would not expect positive words such as “great”, “incredible”, and “amazing” to be mentioned so often when speaking about something as destructive as Covid-19. Trump also uses the adjective “tremendous” and the adverb “quickly” very often, making adjectives and adverbs take up 50% of his most used words. Neither of the other two leaders use adjectives and adverbs to such a great extent, which makes us feel that Trump overpopulates his speeches with extra words, providing additional information on words already stated. These extra words, if removed from his speech, would still deliver the same information. This comes at a time when his country needs valuable, specific information and leadership. He does, however, inform his audience that they can get tested for Covid-19. The word “test” is one of his most spoken words. However, it is evident

that he does not give his people direction and does not speak much about the methods he and his administration will use to safeguard the country's people from Covid-19.

In Trump's concluding sentences of his initial Covid-19 address, he states,

(91) *Again, we don't want everybody taking this test. It's totally unnecessary. And this will pass. This will pass through and we're going to be even stronger for it. We've learned a lot, a tremendous amount has been learned.* (Trump, 2020, Speech 1, Sentences 60-64)

None of his utterances encourage any unity, nor do they motivate his people. Trump basically tells his listeners to trust that they will get over the problem without giving them any direction on how they can help achieve this. It is almost as if he expects the issue to disappear with his government's assistance and without any involvement from the public.

(92) *"It's been a horrible time to see such death and destruction, especially when you come out of what was the **greatest** economy in the history of the world. The **greatest**."* (Trump, speech 2, Sentences 18 & 19)

(93) *"Following our use of the Defense Production Act, GM announced that its first ventilators come off the assembly line in Kokomo, Indiana. **Great** place."* (Ardern, speech 2, sentence 43)

In these examples, Trump implies that the American people are the best in the world. He may have wanted to illustrate the concept of the American people's superiority over others.

4.2.3 Summary

Ardern's utterances make use of vocabulary that is straightforward, concise, and easy to understand. The main aim in Ardern's speeches is to give her country direction. This can be seen in her choice of using the words "rules", "guidance", and "principles". Ardern delivers messages of encouragement using the words "support" and "fight". She acknowledges that Covid-19 affects everyone, including children. Ardern also places emphasis on "tracing" contacts, and the word "border", that is, closing the New Zealand border, is mentioned often.

Ardern's leadership is depicted as protective and caring; her primary concerns revolve around the well-being of her people and their needs. In Ardern's first speech, she frequently talks about protection as the government's concern. This includes focusing on the health and economic security of the country.

Ardern repeats the words "I can assure you," this shows that she is making it her duty to reassure her people that she and her administrators have the Covid-19 situation under control. Ardern also repeats the words, "We will continue", this gives the audience motivation and

provides them with the hope that everything will be okay as the government is continuously working towards ridding New Zealand of Covid-19.

In Ardern's first speech, the first-person plural pronoun "we" was mentioned 49 times, this reminds her listeners that she is one with her audience and just like any other citizen of the country. The possessive pronoun "our" is also used throughout Ardern's speeches. This pronoun emphasizes involvement in working together to bring a stop to the spread of Covid-19.

A unique word that Ardern uses in her speeches is "bubble", the general message behind this was that whoever shared a home represented a single "bubble" and should abstain from physical contact with other households. The use of the term "bubble" may be among the phenomena most remembered by New Zealanders.

Ramaphosa makes frequent use of the words "restrictions", "control", placing "travel" bans and "protecting" the "lives" of his people. He also uses the word "thank" frequently. This shows that he is grateful to his country for the sacrifices that they make to keep the country safe from Covid-19.

The words "together" and "unite" are also present in Ramaphosa's speeches. These words represent democracy, community, cooperation and collaboration as the central values of both the New Zealand and South African nations. Ramaphosa constantly uses the words "if we act", this positions himself as a leader who believes in the nation and tries to encourage the people to work as a team. Ramaphosa tries to emphasise the importance of the effort made by the entire nation to overcome the challenges posed by Covid-19.

Ramaphosa achieves the effect of fear through *war speech* by using expressions that are used in discourses of war, using words such as "impact", "threat", and "fight". Ramaphosa justifies the restrictions placed on the country by creating an image of an enemy that must be fought.

Ramaphosa, Ardern and Trump all use the metaphor "fight" in their speeches. In Trump's speeches, he uses a compounded "shared fight".

Trump and Ardern both use the word "war" explicitly. This emphasises the analogy of the fight against Covid-19 to an actual war. Trump also uses the word "enemy" to compare Covid-19 to a common adversary of humankind; using such personification makes Covid-19 more tangible and malicious in the minds of his listeners.

Trump repeats himself, his vocabulary is limited, and his grammar is less complex than that of other political leaders. He speaks in a manner that is simple, understandable and

relatable. His manner of speaking shows an attempt to communicate his thoughts to his audience.

Trump repeats the word “working”. The usage and the repetition of the verb “working” can be understood as a means of assuring and encouraging the listeners. He also repeats the adverb “very” and the pronoun "I".

The linguistic modal “will” was used in Trump’s speeches, we can assume that this is because he wants to show that he is a powerful president who has experience as being a leader.

Trump uses the word "think", but does not use the word "believe". This may show uncertainty or failure to commit to what he says. The rate of recurrence of "think" seems to indicate that Trump is not confident about his expectations and would prefer not to be committed to things that he says. in the event that things do not go as planned.

The overall most frequent word used by Trump in both his speeches is the word “great”. One would not expect positive words such as “great”, “incredible”, and “amazing” to be mentioned when speaking about Covid-19, however, Trump uses these words often. He also uses the adjective “tremendous” and the adverb “quickly” very often. Neither of the other two leaders use adjectives and adverbs to such a great extent, which makes us feel that Trump overpopulates his speeches with extra words, providing additional information on words already stated. These extra words, if removed from his speech, would still deliver the same information.

4.3 Research Question Three: Pronouns and Modal Verbs

In the quantitative analysis of this subsection, all the combinations of pronouns in conjunction with modal verbs made within the speeches are tabulated. A count of the frequencies of each occurrence is then conducted and tabulated. Graphs contrasting the usage of each combination of pronoun and modal verbs are thereafter drawn. A comparison of the bars within each respective graph is then made in the qualitative analysis.

4.3.1 Quantitative Analysis for Ardern

I have added a table (Table 2: Pronouns in conjunction with modal verbs, page: 145) into the appendix of this dissertation. This table illustrates the number of times that pronouns were mentioned in conjunction with modal verbs. From Table 2, it is clear that “can” and “will” are the most frequently used modal verbs in Ardern’s speeches. Modal verbs can show attitudes concerning the propositional content of the speech and regulates interpersonal relationships.

The findings depict that Ardern uses "we" more often than she does the pronoun "I". Using the pronoun “we” expresses the official identity of New Zealand. This is used to relay

the meaning of a squad in which every member divides responsibilities and assists the country. The following example helps illustrate this concept:

(91) *“I’m speaking directly to all New Zealanders today to give you as much certainty and clarity as **we can**, as **we** fight Covid-19.”* (Ardern, speech 1, sentence 1)

This sentence demonstrates that Ardern attempts to get her audience involved in the choices that she makes. Unity is emphasized again by Ardern’s use of “*as we fight*” following her use of the pronoun “we” in conjunction with the modal verb “can”.

(92) *“That’s why **we** have to focus on one simple goal to slow down Covid-19. Slowing it down means not having one big tidal wave of cases but instead smaller wave groups of cases that **we can** manage properly as they arise.”* (Ardern, Speech 1, Sentence 9 &10)

Ardern uses impressive language with the use of metaphors in her utterance above. This influences the emotions of her audiences to side with her and her decisions as it will benefit the entire country.

Ardern also unites herself with New Zealanders, making herself apart of them. The former prime minister’s addresses also stress fairness, like in the following example:

(93) *“That’s why today I’m going to set out for you as clearly as possible what you can expect, as **we** continue to fight the virus **together**.”* (Ardern, speech 1, sentence 7)

The pronoun “I” in conjunction with the modal verb “can” was used often in both speeches. This could suggest superiority of the speaker, specifically when used as in the following sentences :

(94) *“That may change if we move into higher alert levels but sending children home at this stage doesn’t necessarily reduce transmission in the community but **I can** assure you we are constantly monitoring these settings to keep schools and children safe.*

(95) *As a mum, **I can** assure you this is my key consideration.”* (Ardern, Speech 1, Sentence 50 & 51)

Ardern intends to persuade her audiences with her accomplishments regarding controlling the virus. These utterances depict personal participation, which could be helpful when good news is given.

Ardern’s use of “can” in her addresses express ability, as she tries to emphasise New Zealand’s ability to overcome the virus. This is evident in the following sentence:

(96) *“If we adopt a safer way of operating as part of our new normal, **we can** keep it in check and remain on our path of elimination.”* (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 30)

Ardern believes in the capabilities of New Zealanders and the experts in the country. Her intention may be to prove that she can follow through with her goal successfully.

The modal verb “will” was also frequently used in Ardern’s speeches. Ardern may have intended to show that she is a powerful leader with practise, which can allow her to attain the goals she set for her country. The following quotations illustrate this assumption.

(97) “ **We will** do that with the best evidence and advice we can, with all of the data we have from almost one more full cycle of the virus.

We need every number from every single day to get the full set of data and we need of course the view of the Director General of Health.

We will make a balanced decision.” (Ardern, 2020, Speech 2, Sentences 11-13)

(98) “**We will** continue to keep our borders closed except to Kiwis.

We will continue to isolate Kiwis who come in from overseas in managed hotels away from others.” (Ardern, 2020, Speech 2, Sentences 40-41)

The use of “will” implies determination. In the above examples, Ardern demonstrates a solid confidence in herself as she believes that what she does is correct.

Another modal used by Ardern is “have to”, which expresses necessity and emphasizes an outside obligation that can be seen autonomously of the speaker (Westney, 1995, p. 151).

Ardern uses this modal verb to imply the idea that working in a team is necessary to defeat Covid-19.

The examples below are uttered with the personal pronoun “we”, which denotes the speaker and her listeners.

(98) “*If stray cases start new chains of transmission we might not find them for a month. So **we all have to** stay on guard.*” (Ardern, speech 2, sentence 26)

(99) “*That’s why **we have to** focus on one simple goal to slow down Covid-19.*” (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 9)

(100) “*Some countries and places have successfully managed to do this, but it does mean **we have to** be ready to step up our action when we need to.*” (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 12)

As seen in examples 98-100 above, Ardern uses the word “Kiwi” to address her audience. She uses the term a combined five times in her speeches. “Kiwi” is a nickname that is viewed as a symbol of pride and affection for New Zealanders. Ardern is the only world leader who uses such an informal term to refer to the people of her country. This shows us that Ardern is trying

to stand in solitude with her people, gain their attention and give them a strong feeling of inclusion in her decisions.

4.3.2 Qualitative Analysis

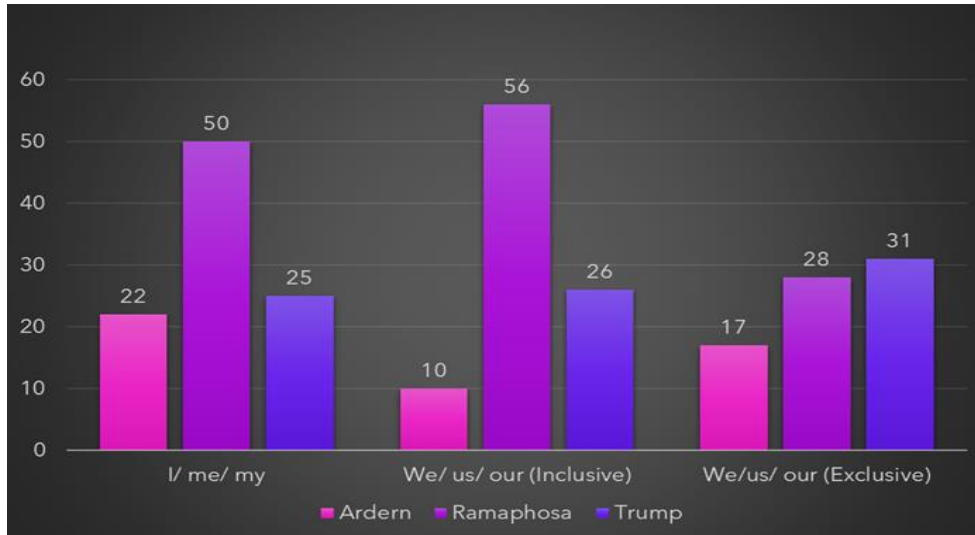


Figure 4.7: Graph depicting pronoun usage by all three world leaders

The use of pronouns in conjunction with modal verbs can build and maintain social relations. It displays people’s identity and position, which reflects authority. Modality and personal pronouns can be used to express one’s desire, which reflects their faith and determination.

The most noticeable representation on the graph above (Figure 4.6) is Ramaphosa’s use of “I” and “we (inclusive)”. The pronouns “I” and “we” have lexical meanings for Mr Ramaphosa’s speeches; they are used to position himself as the leader of the nation. “I” and “my” refer to Ramaphosa as the protector of the country and the nation’s security in this challenging situation. He positions himself as a strong leader who is responsible for the well-being of the country.

Ramaphosa’s choice of “I/ me/ my” can be understood as his desire to portray himself as a capable president and a hero leading his government. The usage of the pronoun “I” projects him as a man who can stand up and take impressive steps against Covid-19.

The usage of the inclusive “we” is a method Ramaphosa uses to include himself with the rest of the country. By using the pronoun “we”, Ramaphosa does not only focus on himself as the leader of the nation, but also tries to emphasise the importance of the joint effort received from all of the nation in order to overcome obstacles.

Ramaphosa made extensive use of the personal pronoun "we" as a subject to produce a friendly atmosphere that reduced his distance from his listeners and made the content of his speech relatable.

Ramaphosa uses the personal pronoun "our" to highlight a shared feeling that the country belongs to each one of its citizens, and it therefore requires each one of its citizens to work together to eliminate Covid-19 from its lands.

The personal pronoun "our" makes the listeners feel the will and determination of the president as he expresses himself as if he is in a face-to-face dialogue with the audience, making everyone feel more cordial and close to the president.

"We", "us", and "our" appear a combined 56 times in Ramaphosa's speeches, as he wants to shorten the distance between himself and his audiences. He emphasises that they have a common aim, interest and stance. By using "we/us/our", the audience's ideology is changed and controlled by Ramaphosa. Ramaphosa uses the inclusive pronoun "we" to hold his nation together and to remind us that we are all South Africans and that everyone should have a sense of patriotism.

The use of these words is representative of a strong *Ubuntu* or African brotherhood within South Africa. Ramaphosa's choice of personal pronouns not only reflects his standing in the same position with the audience, but also reflects his grandeur as president.

Trump makes use of the pronouns "we/us/our (exclusive)" the most. The use of these pronouns creates distance between him and his citizens. It implies a sense of authority, making Trump feel that he and his administration are a strong team to initiate and implement any developments related to Covid-19.

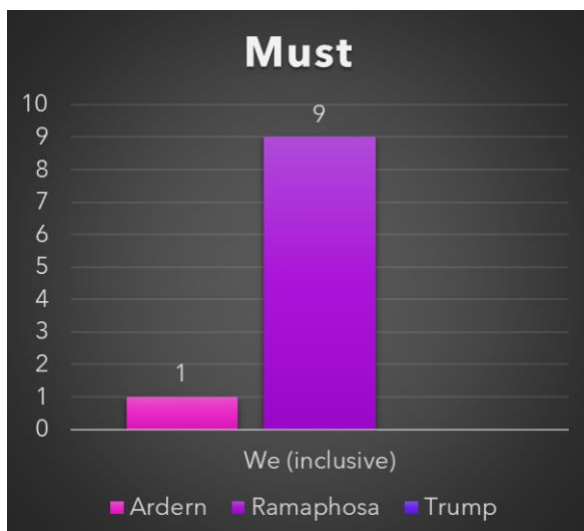


Figure 4.8: Graph depicting the usage of pronoun "we" in conjunction with modal verb "must"

The modal verb “*must*” expresses obligation, necessity or a conclusion reached by indirect evidence. “Must” is used when there is a duty to fulfil a command. The speaker is showing his strong intentions and demanding the listeners answer his call with determination.

Ramaphosa makes use of the words “we must” the most, whereas Trump does not use this combination of pronoun and modal verb. The use of the high-value modal verb “must” demonstrates that Ramaphosa holds authority and expresses a mandatory attitude. Ramaphosa's use of “must” in this speeches show his subjective orientation, stressing the need to rid our country of Covid-19 and bring the country back to health.

(101) We must minimise physical contact with other people, and, encourage the elbow greeting rather than shaking hands. (Ramaphosa, 2020, speech 1, sentence 59)

(102) I must also make mention, in particular, of the contribution of traditional leaders and religious leaders of all faiths who have provided guidance on how religious and cultural observances can be adjusted during the time of coronavirus. (Ramaphosa, 2020, speech 1, sentence 82)

In the above examples (101 and 102), the use of “must” depicts the authority (world leader) as a source of obligation. “Must” is used for the subjective obligation which comes from the speaker, whereas “have to” expresses a commitment that comes from outside and lacks the implication that the speaker is in authority (Foley and Hall, 2003). “Have to”, according to Foley and Hall (2003), is used to express an obligation we see as outside our control, e.g. rules imposed by an authority.

“Must” is a high-modal verb. Using “must” incites the audience’s will and strengthens their courage. Ramaphosa sees encouragement for the nation as his main aim. This is visible in his common usage of the words “we must”. By using the inclusive “we must”, Ramaphosa emphasises and appeals to the common goal of both the government and its people. He uses these words in order to create a sense of community and to encourage the people of South Africa to stay strong in order to overcome the pandemic, not to give up and to keep working to solve and survive the critical situation.

High-scale modal verbs such as “must” represent a total commitment; therefore, they may not be a good choice in presidential addresses as they make the speaker sound too determined. His avoidance of such high commitment modal verbs might also be intentionally used to avoid personal accountability and create a margin of freedom if he fails to live by his promises.

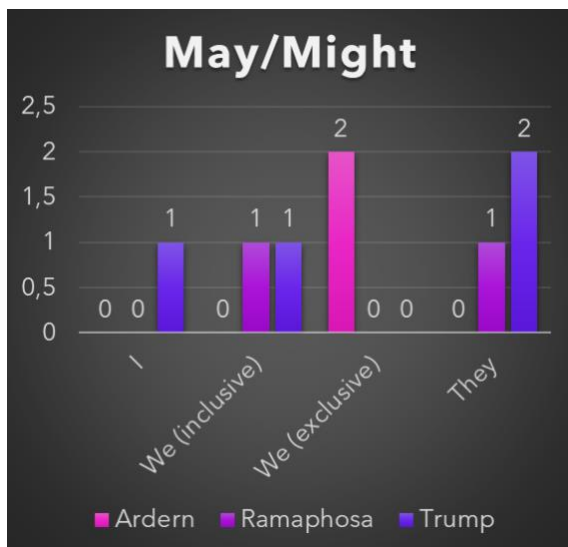


Figure 4.9: Graph depicting the usage of pronouns I, we and they in conjunction with modal verbs may or might

The modal verb “may” articulates possibility in terms of circumstance or permissibility. When articulating possible circumstances, “may” can have either a future or a present reference “Might” is used as a synonym for “may” as is “could”; both “might” and “could” convey a greater degree of doubt than does “may”. “May” can be used to give permission for present or future actions: It is better to use the modal verbs “could”, “may”, or “might” when delivering speeches and expressing possible circumstances rather than the modal verb “can” in certain situations.

“May” and “might” are low-modal verbs. One of the bars that stand out in this graph is Trump’s use of “I may”. Neither of the other speakers use this combination. “I may” assumes uncertainty. As a leader, one should be confident about the promises he is making to his audience. The absence of the use of “I may/might” in Ardern and Ramaphosa’s speeches, show their reliability.

Ardern uses the exclusive “we may”. The “we” includes herself and her cabinet. She is not entirely in control of what her cabinet is capable of doing.

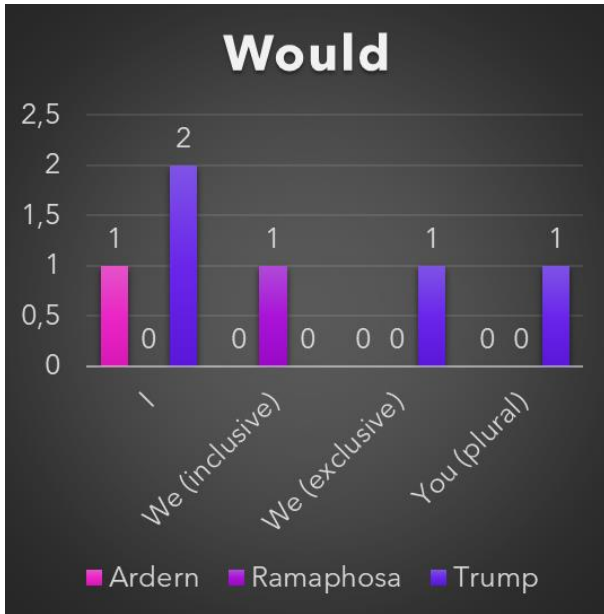


Figure 4.10: Graph depicting the usage of pronouns I, we and you in conjunction with modal verb would

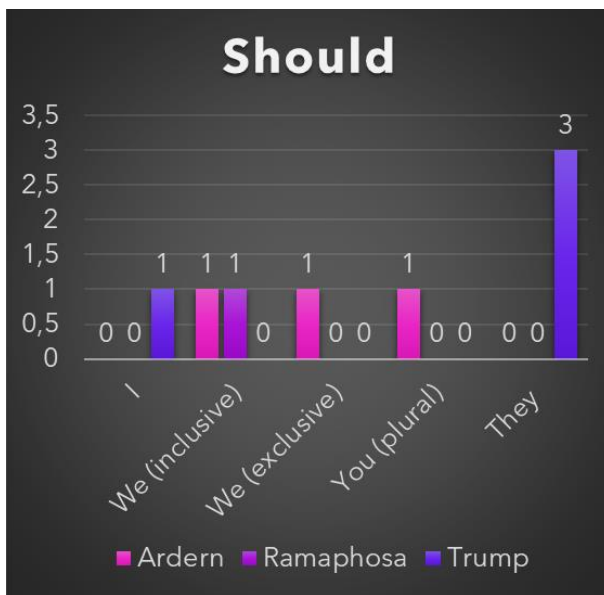


Figure 4.11: Graph depicting the usage of pronouns I, we you and they in conjunction with modal verb should

“Should” is sometimes used as the first-person equivalent of “would”. “Should” is also used to form a substitute for the present subjunctive in some varieties of English and some conditional sentences with a hypothetical future reference.

“Should” is also used to describe an anticipated or recommended circumstance or behaviour. The modal verb can be used to give advice or to describe normative behaviour without strong obligatory force as the modal verbs “must” or “have to”. The word “should” can also express what will happen according to a theory or expectation.

Each of the three political leaders use the modal verb “should” at least once. Trump uses “should” a combined four times, three of those times, he uses it in conjunction with “they”. Trump uses this combination as a means to give advice rather than direction.

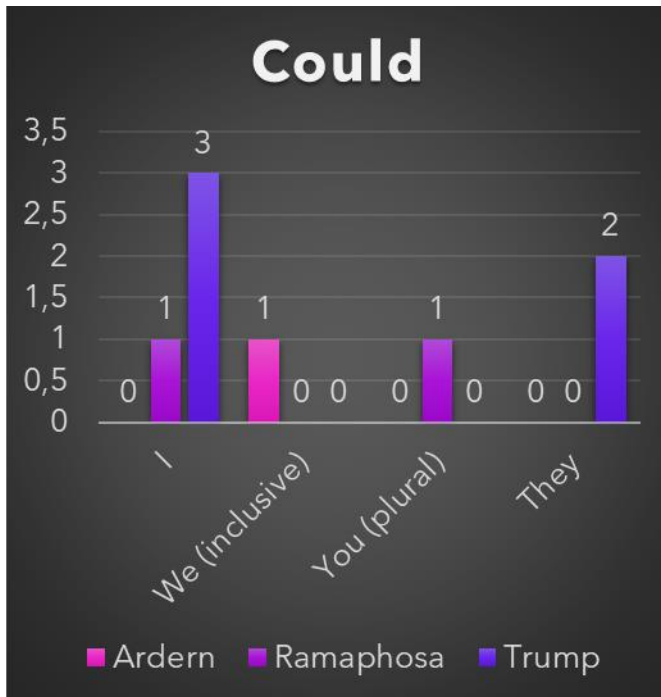


Figure 4.12: Graph depicting the usage of pronoun I, we, you and they in conjunction with modal verb could

“Would” and “should” are middle modal verbs, whereas “could” is a low modal verb. There are no vast differences within the "would" graph. In the other two graphs, Trump uses "I could" and "they should"; where "they" is the political opposition. He means that yes, there is a possibility that he *could* do certain things, but he almost instructs his opposition to do tasks by stating that “they *should*” do certain things. This speaks for his authoritative leadership style.

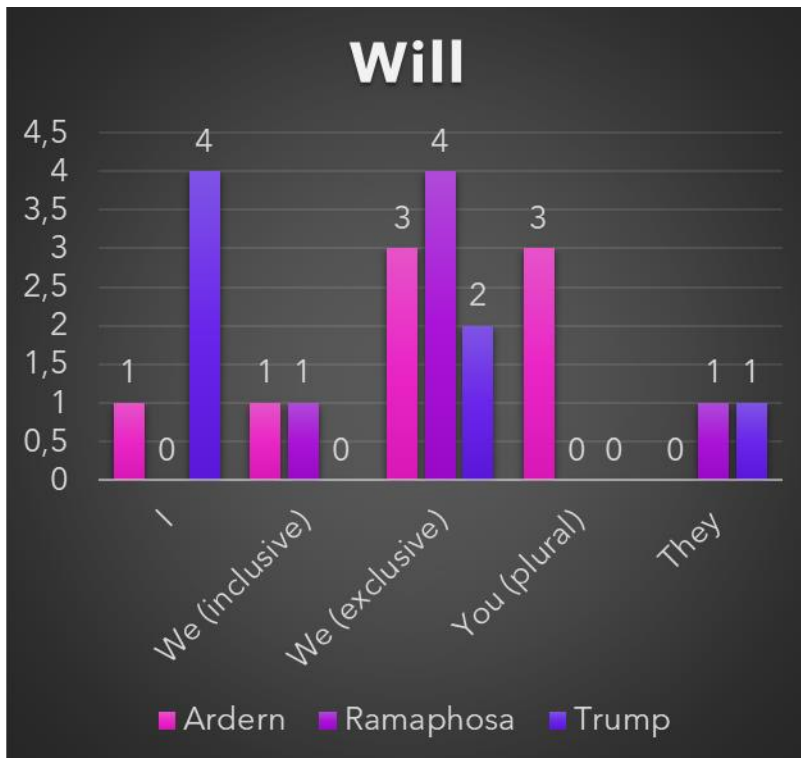


Figure 4.13: Graph depicting the usage of pronoun I, we, you and they in conjunction with modal verb will

Among the moderate verbs, "will" is most frequently used by Ramaphosa and Trump. Ramaphosa uses the modal verb "will" with the personal pronoun "we (exclusive)", whereas Trump uses the modal verb "will" in conjunction with the personal pronoun "I". This shows us that Ramaphosa acknowledges the work of his entire administration, whereas Trump recognises himself as the leader of The United States of America and acknowledges that he makes all of the rules.

In the speech mentioned earlier, Ardern states:

(103) *"We will use this alert system every time we update our cases, so you know if the status in your area has gone up or down or stayed the same, and what you'll need to do."*

(Ardern, 2020, speech 1, sentence 32)

The word "we" can be inclusive or exclusive, as a pronoun of solidarity or of rejection. It also excludes and assumes a parallel "other" exists. "We" in the context of this sentence is exclusive and refers to the New Zealand government, and the "others" refer to the citizens of the country.

"Will" refers to an intention, is used for expressions of predictability and has a sense of certainty. The source of the certainty in the speech lies in the authority of the political leader. Which – in this sentence – coerces the listener to accept the message as the truth. "We will"

speaks for the New Zealand government's leadership during the Covid-19 crisis and gives the citizens of their nation faith in the government's ability to take control of the situation.

Ardern mostly used median modal verbs to show inclination. Inclination is the willingness to complete an action. In Ardern's speeches, the inclination demonstrates her ability and determination.

*(104) We **will** use this alert system every time we update our cases, so you know if the status in your area has gone up or down or stayed the same and what you'll need to do.*

(Ardern, Speech 1, Sentence 32)

The utterance (104) above made use of a median-level modal verb to show the willingness of Ardern to inform her people of any increases in the number of cases that arise in the country. The use of "we" refers to Ardern, her governmental staff and the health service providers. Using the word "we" further showed the firm determination of Ardern to reach her goal.

She offers her service to help her people, and she will not let anything stop her from her endeavour. Ardern further reinforces her statement in the example below:

*(105) This alert system is designed to help us through that so please do stay tuned and we **will** share daily updates especially as alert levels can move from one level to the next in a short space of time as we have seen elsewhere in the world. (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 55)*

The modal operator "will" signals a high degree of certainty about the validity of the proposition and is successful in showing Ardern's strong desire and determination to update her country on changes in the Covid-19 situation continuously.

Trump uses modality to express his views and feelings. For instance, he uses the combination "I will" more than any of the other leaders. This modality shows Trump's charisma and authority. He tends to use a middle modality that can envisage the future and offer a resolution; in this way, he builds confidence within his audience. Trump promises that he will devote himself to America and to eradicating Covid-19 from the country.

The other bar that stands out is Ardern's use of "you will". This shows her ability to guide and direct her people. She is telling them what they can, or instead, **will** expect in the future, rather than leaving them to feel lost in the course. Neither of the other leaders uses the words "you will".

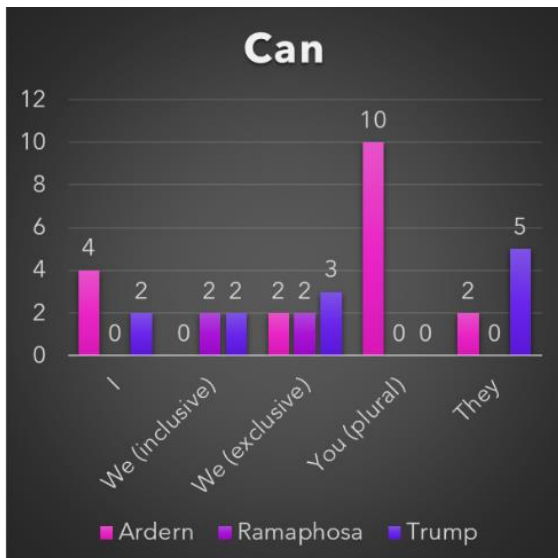


Figure 4.14: Graph depicting the usage of pronoun I, we you and they in conjunction with modal verb can

“Will” is a middle modal verb, whereas “can” is a low modal verb. Ardern appeals to the population the most of the three leaders by using the "you can" combination. This is a form of encouragement and gives the listeners faith in their ability to help the country overcome the virus. Neither of the other two leaders use the words “you can”, proving that Ardern is the only leader who reassures and guides her listeners with forms of motivation. Trump is the only leader whose use of the pronoun "we" is often in contrast to an opposing "they" – his opposition. The aim is to draw a clear distinction between them and maintain his stand.

The use of the low-value modal verb "can" makes the tone of speech soft; the distance between Ardern and her people is narrowed by using this modal verb, so much so that her people feel an affinity with the prime minister.

4.3.2.1. Comparing the modal verb usage between Ardern and Ramaphosa

When describing restrictions which needed to be put in place to curb the spread of Covid19, Ardern and Ramaphosa frame their requests and commands as statements of substantial certainty, while Trump gives direct commands to his audience. Ardern’s language is stronger and more direct than Ramaphosa’s, as she uses “will” and omits modal verbs in favour of statements using present tense or imperatives. The former Prime Minister of New Zealand uses “will” epistemically, in order to make declarative statements about the future. For example:

(106) *We will* share daily updates; especially as alert levels can move from one level to the next in a short space of time. (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 55)

Ardern also uses “will” as an obligation and to give permissions related to restrictions on the community, for example:

*(107) At alert level two, schools **will** be closed if there is a case that affects a school as we have been doing to date. (Ardern, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 48)*

In the following line, an imperative is used to command the listeners as follows:

(108) If you are even slightly sick, stay home. (Ardern, 2020, Speech 2, Sentence 34)

Thereafter, rules are stated similarly to bullet points, using no modal verbs:

(109) If you have symptoms, even if it's just a runny nose, a sore throat, get a test.

And now more than ever, wash your hands, often and properly, all of the time.

Wash all high-touch surfaces regularly, like your keys and door handles.

And don't pass other people your phone. (Ardern, 2020, Speech 2, Sentences 35-38)

Ramaphosa also speaks about rules. He uses the word “must” to urge the listeners to take direct action. For example:

(110) We must all continue to wear a cloth mask that covers our nose and mouth every time we leave home.

We must protect the elderly and those with underlying conditions from exposure to the virus.

We must continue to practice social distancing and ensure proper ventilation indoors.

We must continue to limit our travel to only that which is absolutely necessary, to avoid social gatherings and to remember to regularly wash or sanitise our hands. (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 2, Sentences 39-42)

The word “must” is used with the word “we” above, to create a sense of unity and equality. Although Ramaphosa uses direct language, his statements are framed as pleas for cooperation and not as top-down commands from the government.

Ardern uses the word “must” once in the data under analysis. She uses the word when speaking about attitude, rather than performing any direct actions. For example:

(111) Domestic cleaners, hairdressers, retail stores, cafes, restaurants, hospitality – at Level 2, when we get there, these operations can reopen.

But they all must play it safe, and means doing things differently. (Ardern, 2020, Speech 2, Sentences 65-66)

Ramaphosa repeatedly uses “will” to list specific examples of the actions that would be undertaken to safeguard the country. For example:

*(112) Government **will** continue to regularly issue travel alerts referring to specific cities, countries or regions as the situation evolves based on the risk level.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentences 24)

*(113) Travellers from medium-risk countries – such as Portugal, Hong Kong and Singapore – **will** be required to undergo high intensity screening.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentences 27)

(114) All travellers who have entered South Africa from high-risk countries since mid-February will be required to present themselves for testing. (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentences 28)

These and similar sentences are definitive and do not leave any space for negotiation.

Using the words “[there] will be” frames the circumstance as a change triggered by uncontrollable external forces, than by a restriction simply imposed by the government.

At this stage, there was uncertainty surrounding how Covid-19 may have already impacted the citizens of the country. This is reflected in Ramaphosa’s use of weaker modal phrases such as “may”:

*(115) We thank those people who suspected they *may* have been exposed to the virus for coming forward to be tested and for taking measures - such as self-isolation - to prevent further transmission.* (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentence 85)

Ramaphosa gives advice using gerunds rather than making direct requests or commands; he eludes making use of modals or imperatives. For example,

(116) *Therefore, we are calling on everyone to:*

Wash their hands frequently with soap and water or hand sanitisers for at least 20 seconds;

Cover their nose and mouth when coughing and sneezing with tissue or flexed elbow;

Avoid close contact with anyone with cold or flu-like symptoms. (Ramaphosa, 2020, Speech 1, Sentences 54-57)

Other restrictions framed in the same way included the limitations on the size of gatherings, social distancing for gatherings and avoiding non-essential travel.

4.3.3 Summary

The use of pronouns in conjunction with modal verbs can build and maintain social relations. The combination displays people's identity and position, which reflects their authority. The modal verb "must" in conjunction with the personal pronoun "we" has been found in the speeches under investigation. Ramaphosa makes use of combination "we must" the most; in contrast, Trump does not use this combination of pronoun and modal verb in his speeches under investigation. The use of the high-value modal verb "must" demonstrates that Ramaphosa holds authority and expresses a mandatory attitude. Ramaphosa's use of "must" in his speeches show his subjective orientation, stressing the need to rid our country of Covid-19. The word "must" is used with the word "we" to create a sense of unity and equality. Although Ramaphosa uses direct language, his statements are framed as pleas for cooperation and not as top-down commands from the government.

The modal verbs may and might are also found in the speeches under investigation. The combination "I may/might" has only been used by Trump. Neither of the other speakers use this combination. "I may" assumes uncertainty. The absence of the use of "I may/might" in Ardern and Ramaphosa's speeches, show their reliability.

Ardern uses the exclusive "we may". The "we" includes herself and her cabinet. She is not entirely in control of what her cabinet is capable of doing.

Each of the three political leaders use the modal verb "should" at least once. Trump uses "should" a combined four times, three of those times, he uses it in conjunction with "they". Trump uses this combination as a means to give advice rather than direction.

Trump uses "I could" and "they should"; where "they" is the political opposition. He means that yes, there is a possibility that he *could* do certain things, but he almost instructs his

opposition to do tasks by stating that “they *should*” do certain things. This speaks for his authoritative leadership style.

"Will" is most frequently used by Ramaphosa and Trump. Ramaphosa uses the modal verb “will” with the personal pronoun “we (exclusive)”, whereas Trump uses the modal verb “will” in conjunction with the personal pronoun “I”. This shows us that Ramaphosa acknowledges the work of his entire administration, whereas Trump recognises himself as the leader of The United States of America and acknowledges that he makes all of the rules.

Ardern is the only political leader who uses “will” in conjunction with the personal pronoun “you”. This shows her ability to guide and direct her people. She is telling them what they can, or rather, undeniably **will** expect in the future. Neither of the other leaders uses the words “you will” in their speeches under investigation.

The words “you can” is highly motivational. Ardern appeals to the population the most of the three leaders by using the "you can" combination. This is a form of encouragement and gives the listeners faith in their ability to help the country overcome the virus. Neither of the other two leaders use the words “you can”, proving that Ardern is the only leader who reassures and guides her listeners with forms of motivation. Trump is the only leader whose use of the pronoun "we" is often in contrast to an opposing "they" – his opposition. The aim is to draw a clear distinction between them and maintain his stand.

5 Conclusions

5.1 Summary of the Findings

This dissertation set out to assess whether there are similarities and differences on a linguistic level within the selected speeches of the three world leaders – Jacinda Ardern, Ramaphosa and Trump. The first aim was to find which types of speech acts are employed by the three world leaders and to analyse and describe the types.

Five basic speech acts are found across the speeches under investigation. These are the assertive, directive, expressive, declarative and commissive speech acts. The most frequently used speech act is assertives. This speech act was used by each world leader more frequently than the other speech acts.

Assertives were used in the speeches to state, inform and announce. The finding was expected as the speeches were conducted during the early stages of the Covid-19 outbreak, when citizen's did not know what to expect from the virus. The directive speech act was the second most frequently used speech act.

The directive speech act is employed when the speaker wants the audience to do something. Ardern uses directives the most and Trump uses them the least. A conclusion can be drawn that Ardern uses directives to give orders to the citizens of her country thereby causing them to take action to control the spread of Covid-19, whereas Trump had plans in motion, which he believed would stop the virus from spreading throughout the country. One of his plans was to make Covid-19 tests widely available.

The third most frequently used speech act is expressives. Trump uses the most expressives and Ardern uses the least. Trump uses expressives to thank the role-player's involved in ensuring new Covid-19 tests were made available within a short time. Trump is expressive of his gratitude, whereas Ardern stays neutral whilst delivering her addresses.

All three political leaders use commissives. This speech act followed as the fourth most commonly used speech act by the respective political leaders. Trump uses commissives the most. This shows that Trump makes promises often. However, in a time of great uncertainty, citizens need actions rather than promises.

The second research aim was to analyse and describe specific lexical choices that stand out within the speeches. The lexical choices that stand out the most is how the respective speakers address their audience. Ardern uses the word "Kiwi" to refer to the citizens of New Zealand. "Kiwi" is a nickname that is viewed as a symbol of pride and affection for them. Ardern is the only world leader who uses such an informal and affectionate term to refer to the

people of her country. Ramaphosa addresses his listeners using the words, “My fellow South Africans.” This suggests that Ramaphosa attempts to stand in solitude with his people, gain their attention and give them a strong feeling of inclusion in his decisions. When addressing his citizens, Trump simply calls them “Americans”.

Trump uses simple words, short sentences, repetition of words or phrases and sequential utterances with related or similar meanings. This rhetoric style could be seen as a symptom of a small vocabulary, but it is also a sign of message consistency. Along with simple words, Trump also uses unusual words which you would not think to find in a speech about Covid-19.

An unusual term used by Trump in both his speeches is the word “great”. One would not expect positive words such as “great”, “incredible”, and “amazing” to be mentioned when speaking about something as grim as Covid-19. He also uses the adjective “tremendous” and the adverb “quickly” very often. Neither of the other two leaders use adjectives and adverbs to such a great extent, which makes us feel that Trump overpopulates his speeches with extra words, providing additional information on words already stated. These extra words, if removed from his speech, would still deliver the same information. Apart from unusual adjectives and adverbs, Trump also uses an unusual verb – “think”.

The word “think” is not a word you would find often in political speeches. Trump is the only speaker who uses the word “think”. This could show uncertainty or a refusal to commit to his words. The regularity of using “think” seems to indicate that Trump does not have high hopes about what he is saying and therefore, does not want to be committed to this in the event that things do not go as planned. This is unlike Ardern who intentionally uses words that give her audience direction.

Ardern makes use of the words “rules”, “guidance”, and “principles”, such words give her country direction. Ardern further delivers messages of encouragement using the words “support” and “fight”. All three political leaders use the metaphor “fight” in their speeches.

The word “fight” has been identified as a “war” metaphor. Covid-19 has felt as close to fighting a war without actually physically fighting in a war. Trump and Ardern both explicitly use the word “war”. This emphasises the analogy of the fight against Covid-19 to an actual war. Ramaphosa does not use the word “war”, but he uses expressions that are used in discourses of war, such as “impact”, “threat”, and “fight”. These words are expected when speaking about an illness. A word that is unusual when speaking about sickness is the word “bubble”.

Ardern uses the word “bubble” in her speeches, the general message behind the term is that whoever shares a home represents a single “bubble” and should abstain from physical

contact with other households. The use of the term “bubble” may be among the phenomena most remembered by New Zealanders.

The final aim of this dissertation was to find which personal pronouns in conjunction with which modal verbs the world leaders use in the selected speeches, and determine whether there are any similarities or differences in that regard.

The use of pronouns in conjunction with modal verbs displays people’s identity and position, which reflects their authority. The modal verb “must” in conjunction with the personal pronoun “we” has been found in the speeches under investigation.

Ramaphosa makes use of combination “we must” the most; in contrast, Trump does not use this combination of pronoun and modal verb in his speeches. The use of the high-value modal verb “must” demonstrates that Ramaphosa holds authority and expresses a mandatory attitude. Ramaphosa's use of “must” in his speeches show his subjective orientation, stressing the need to rid our country of Covid-19. The word “must” is used with the word “we” to create a sense of unity and equality.

The modal verbs may and might are also found in the speeches under investigation. The combination “I may/might” has only been used by Trump. Neither of the other speakers use this combination. “I may” assumes uncertainty. The absence of the use of “I may/might” in Ardern and Ramaphosa’s speeches, show their reliability. Both Ardern and Rramaphosa do use the modal verb “may” though.

Ardern uses the modal verb “may” with the exclusive “we ”. The “we” includes herself and her cabinet. She is not entirely in control of what her cabinet is capable of doing, therefore, she may hesitate to make declarations for them.

Each of the three political leaders use the modal verb “should” at least once. Trump uses “should” a combined four times, three of those times, he uses it in conjunction with “they”. Trump uses this combination as a means to give advice rather than direction. In addition to “they should”, Trump uses the combination “I could”.

Trump uses "I could" and "they should"; where "they" is the political opposition. He means that yes, there is a possibility that he *could* do certain things, but he almost instructs his opposition to do tasks by stating that “they *should*” do certain things. This speaks for his authoritative leadership style. Using the terms “could” and “should” does not make the statement certain, unlike when using the modal verb “will”.

Trump uses “will” in conjunction with the personal pronoun “I”. The speaker who uses the modal verb "will" the most, however, is Ramaphosa. He uses the modal verb “will” with the personal pronoun “we (exclusive)”. The difference shows that Ramaphosa acknowledges

the work of his entire administration, whereas Trump recognises himself as the leader of The United States of America and acknowledges that he makes all of the rules.

Ardern is the only political leader who uses “will” in conjunction with the personal pronoun “you”. This shows her ability to guide and direct her people. She is telling them what they can, or rather, undeniably **will** expect in the future. Neither of the other leaders uses the words “you will” in their speeches under investigation. Ardern also uses the combination “you can”.

The words “you can” is highly motivational. Ardern appeals to the population the most of the three leaders by using this combination. The words “you can” is a form of encouragement and gives the listeners faith in their ability to help the country overcome the virus. Neither of the other two leaders use the words “you can”, proving that Ardern is the only leader who reassures and guides her listeners with forms of motivation.

In conclusion Trump predominantly self-represents as a powerful and competent protector who is in control of the situation. He consistently accentuates his administration’s authority in his speeches which can be characterised as coercive monologues about the “greatness” of his administration’s actions as revealed in his lexical choices and the use of personal pronouns.

Furthermore, he uses a unique way of public speaking. He positions himself as a strong leader who solves issues and takes on all the responsibly. His way of speaking is very unofficial, down to earth and simplistic. His uniqueness derives also from his informality, he tries to appeal and to be understandable to the general public. However, his speeches lack clear directives, which the country needs in order to overcome Covid-19.

Prime Minister Ardern and President Ramaphosa focus on the encouragement of solidarity, and emphasise knowledge-based joint actions and behaviour, by promoting the observance of guidelines issued. They allow their nations to conceptualise the Covid-19 reality as one of enablement, and encourage audiences to act out of moral duty and concern for others.

Prime Minister Ardern spurs her population on with the consistent use of "you can". She does not position herself, that much, as a leader of the nation, she tries to position herself more as a politician who is similar to the rest of the people and who understands their feelings and struggles.

President Ramaphosa stands out in emphasising shared feelings and knowledge to a greater extent than either of the other world leaders. His speech is more of a dialogue as he alternates between the use of "I" and the use of inclusive "we". Most notably he focusses on the need of shared commitment by using the inclusive "we must".

To end, it is important to note that each respected political leader has their own style of speaking. No two are the same, neither are they vastly different from each other.

5.2 Conclusions drawn from the findings

The findings of this dissertation shed light on the distinctive communication styles and leadership approaches of Jacinda Ardern, Ramaphosa, and Trump.

Firstly, the analysis of speech acts reveals that assertiveness is the most common across all three leaders' speeches. This suggests a shared tendency to state and inform, reflecting the urgency and uncertainty of the early stages of the Covid-19 outbreak. However, Ardern stands out for her frequent use of directive speech acts, indicating a proactive approach in guiding her citizens to take action. In contrast, Trump relies more on pre-existing plans and less on giving direct orders.

Secondly, lexical choices provide insights into how each leader addresses their audience. Ardern's use of the informal term "Kiwi" demonstrates her affinity and connection with the citizens of New Zealand, fostering a sense of pride and affection. Ramaphosa's inclusive address as "My fellow South Africans" aims to create solidarity and inclusion among his people. Meanwhile, Trump's use of simple language and unusual positive terms like "great" and "tremendous" reflects his informal and down-to-earth communication style, albeit lacking in clarity and direction.

Thirdly, the analysis of modal verbs and personal pronouns reveals distinct patterns in leadership authority and communication strategies. Ramaphosa's frequent use of "we must" emphasises shared commitment and authority, promoting unity and equality. Trump's sparing use of high-value modal verbs like "must" suggests less certainty and commitment, while Ardern's use of "will" with the personal pronoun "you" demonstrates her ability to guide and motivate her people directly.

In conclusion, each leader's speech patterns reflect their unique leadership styles and communication strategies. Trump portrays himself as a powerful protector in control of the situation, emphasising his administration's authority but lacking in clear directives. Ardern and Ramaphosa, on the other hand, focus on promoting solidarity, knowledge-based actions, and encouragement, positioning themselves as empathetic leaders who prioritise shared commitment and inclusivity.

5.3 Overall Conclusion

The findings presented in the dissertation provide valuable insights into the communication styles and leadership approaches of political leaders, which can contribute to our understanding of leadership dynamics in general.

1. Diversity of Communication Styles: The analysis demonstrates that leaders employ diverse communication styles, ranging from assertive and directive to expressive and commissive speech acts. This diversity reflects the complexity of leadership communication and suggests that effective leaders tailor their communication strategies to suit different contexts and audiences.

2. Impact of Language Choices: The study highlights the significance of language choices in shaping leaders' perceptions and relationships with their constituents. For example, Ardern's use of informal terms like "Kiwi" fosters a sense of affinity and connection, while Ramaphosa's inclusive address strengthens solidarity and inclusivity. Conversely, Trump's use of simple language and positive terms may appeal to certain audiences but may lack clarity and direction.

3. Leadership Authority and Communication Strategies: The analysis of modal verbs and personal pronouns reveals patterns in leadership authority and communication strategies. Leaders who frequently use high-value modal verbs like "must" may project a sense of certainty and authority, while those who use more inclusive pronouns like "we" may emphasise shared commitment and equality.

4. Implications for Crisis Communication: The findings have implications for crisis communication, particularly during events like the Covid-19 pandemic. Effective leaders, such as Ardern and Ramaphosa, prioritise solidarity, knowledge-based actions, and encouragement, positioning themselves as empathetic and inclusive leaders who inspire collective action. In contrast, leaders like Trump, while projecting confidence and authority, may struggle to provide clear directives and foster unity among their constituents.

Overall, this research contributes to previous studies on leadership communication by providing empirical evidence of the diverse communication styles and strategies employed by political leaders during crises. It underscores the importance of effective communication in shaping perceptions, fostering solidarity, and mobilising collective action, thereby enriching our understanding of leadership dynamics in various contexts.

The findings of the dissertation enrich our knowledge of how language is employed by political leaders to achieve rhetorical goals, navigate power dynamics, and engage with their audience. By building upon insights from previous research on speech act theory within the

realm of political discourse, the dissertation provides valuable contributions to the field of linguistic pragmatics and Critical Discourse Analysis.

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7. Appendices

7.1. Appendix 1

Table 1: Number of times content words were used by each respected leader

Ardern		Ramaphosa		Trump	
Number of times used	Word	Number of times used	Word	Number of times used	Word
50	will	62	will	27	going
46	can	29	people	25	want
29	people	28	South	23	people
26	Level	24	health	20	will
22	contact	20	measures	16	we're
21	know	19	country	15	It's
21	one	19	virus	15	time
20	need	15	continue	14	can
17	alert	14	now	14	country
17	means	13	must	14	we'll
15	level	13	response	13	get
15	time	12	Africa	13	it's
14	home	12	also	13	now
13	get	12	contact	12	great
13	New	11	coronavirus	12	lot
13	now	11	national	12	they're
12	also	11	place	12	think
12	safe	11	restrictions	12	working
12	things	10	disease	11	also
11	health	10	infected	11	also
11	keep	10	social	11	incredible
11	make	9	Africans	11	many

11	many	9	countries	11	million
11	move	9	pandemic	11	states
11	work	9	protect	10	done
10	covid19	9	take	10	don't
10	place	9	taken	10	two
10	risk	9	time	10	years
10	schools	8	economy	9	approved
9	back	8	impact	9	one
9	every	8	infections	9	we've
9	levels	8	months	8	come
9	like	8	thank	8	days
9	must	8	travel	8	every
9	public	7	can	8	I'm
9	stay	7	difficult	8	test
9	want	7	economic	8	tests
9	Zealand	7	government	8	things
8	advice	7	management	7	even
8	distance	6	days	7	know
8	going	6	emergency	7	like
8	good	6	every	7	need
8	learning	6	far	7	new
8	may	6	know	7	quickly
8	measures	6	last	7	see
8	much	6	lives	7	talking
8	possible	6	nation	7	therapies
8	sick	6	necessary	7	they've
8	still	6	need	7	today
8	venue	6	number	7	virus
7	Alert	6	remain	7	We'll

7	apply	6	risk	7	world
7	cases	6	spread	6	able
7	close	6	system	6	American
7	continue	5	around	6	authority
7	distancing	5	businesses	6	companies
7	early	5	Cabinet	6	critical
7	hygiene	5	control	6	didn't
7	mean	5	COVID-19	6	economy
7	practices	5	decided	6	federal
7	services	5	distancing	6	hours
7	virus	5	facilities	6	immediately
6	another	5	five	6	important
6	around	5	Health	6	make
6	decision	5	high-risk	6	positions
6	even	5	hygiene	6	take
6	events	5	many	6	tremendous
6	gatherings	5	may	6	waive
6	important	5	others	6	We're
6	made	5	outbreak	5	ability
6	physical	5	permitted	5	action
6	reduce	5	quarantine	5	announcing
6	spread	5	rate	5	care
6	system	5	religious	5	cases
6	take	5	required	5	day
6	working	5	severe	5	Democrats
5	able	5	weeks	5	government
5	ask	5	work	5	greatest
5	big	4	across	5	half
5	businesses			5	hospital

5	case			5	judges
5	children			5	knew
5	control			5	left
5	country			5	long
5	COVID			5	New
5	COVID-19			5	progress
5	different			5	put
5	education			5	say
5	fight			5	Secretary
5	find			5	small
5	hospitality			5	They're
5	including			5	tomorrow
5	just			5	waiting
5	Kiwis			5	what's
5	large			4	available
5	lot			4	back
5	Now			4	big
5	open			4	billion
5	places			4	coming
5	right			4	coronavirus
5	risks			4	crisis
5	rules			4	developed
5	safely			4	emergency
5	see			4	flights
5	support			4	full
5	today			4	goal
5	trace			4	goes
5	tracing			4	good
4	already			4	guidelines

4	available			4	happened
4	brings			4	happening
4	business			4	health
4	community			4	hospitals
4	customers				
4	differently				
4	doesn't				
4	economy				
4	enough				
4	everyone				
4	give				
4	given				
4	guidance				
4	industry				
4	it's				

7.2. Appendix 2:

Table 2: Pronouns in conjunction with modal verbs

Speech 1				Speech 2		
	Ardern	Ramaphosa	Trump	Ardern	Ramaphosa	Trump
I should	0	0	0	0	0	0
we (i) should	0	0	0	0	0	0
we (e) should	0	0	0	0	0	0
you (p) should	0	0	0	0	0	0
they should	0	0	1	0	0	1
I can	2	0	0	2	0	0
we (i) can	0	0	0	0	2	0
we (e) can	2	0	0	0	1	0
you (p) can	1	0	0	0	0	0
they can	2	0	2	0	0	2
I could	0	0	0	0	1	0
we (i) could	0	0	0	1	0	0
we (e) could	0	0	0	0	0	0
you (P) could	0	0	0	0	0	0
they could	0	0	0	0	0	0
I will	0	0	0	0	0	0
we (i) will	1	1	0	0	0	0
we (e) will	2	0	0	1	0	1
You (p)will	1	0	0	0	0	0
they will	0	0	1	0	0	1
I would	0	0	0	0	0	0
we (i) would	0	0	0	0	1	0
we (e) would	0	0	0	0	0	0
you (p) would	0	0	0	0	0	0
they would	0	0	0	0	0	0
I must	0	0	0	0	0	0
we (i) must	0	1	0	0	5	0
we (e) must	0	0	0	0	0	0
you (p)must	0	0	0	0	0	0
they must	0	0	0	0	0	0
I may/might	0	0	0	0	0	0
we (i) may/might	0	0	0	0	1	1
we (e) may/might	0	0	0	0	0	0

you (p) may/ might	0	0	0	0	0	0
they may/might	0	0	0	0	0	0

7.3. Appendix 3: Speech Act Analysis for Jacinda Ardern

1. Locution: I'm speaking directly to all New Zealanders today to give you as much certainty and clarity as we can, as we fight covid19.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

(The speaker commits to provide clarity and to fight covid19)

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful and expects to be informed of plans to fight covid19.

Sentence theme/topic: Provision of clarity about the situation

2. Locution: Over the past few weeks, the world has changed, and it has changed very quickly.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer's attention is attracted. The hearer knows that the speaker understands the state-of-affairs.

Sentence theme: rapidly changing world

3. Locution: In February it would have seemed unimaginable to close New Zealand's borders to the world and now it has been an obvious step as we fight covid19.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: verdictive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer reflects on the state of the country two months ago.

Sentence theme: closing boarders

4. Locution: This is because we are experiencing an unprecedented event, a global pandemic.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer realises that there's cause for worry.

Sentence theme: Pandemic

5. Locution: In New Zealand, we have moved to fight by going hard and going early.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer has faith and feels hopeful.

Sentence theme: Fighting the pandemic

6. Locution: I understand that all of this rapid change creates anxiety and uncertainty especially when it means changing how we live.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: expressive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer understands that the speaker relates to him.

Sentence theme: Peoples' emotions

7. Locution: That's why today I'm going to set out for you as clearly as possible what you can expect, as we continue to fight the virus together.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is interested and listens attentively for the following statements.

Sentence theme: Fighting the pandemic

8. Locution: The first really important thing to remember is that the vast majority of people who will ever have covid19 will only experience mild to moderate symptoms but there will be some who will need more care.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer feels a sense of relief

Sentence theme: Symptoms

9. Locution: That's why we have to focus on one simple goal to slow down covid19.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Fighting the pandemic

10. Locution: Slowing it down means not having one big tidal wave of cases but instead smaller wave groups of cases that we can manage properly as they arise.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer wants to help slow the spread of the virus.

Sentence theme: Cases of Covid-19 infections

11. Locution: That means we reduce the impact on health, on jobs and on our economy.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer wants to help slow the spread of the virus.

Sentence theme: Fighting the Pandemic

12. Locution: Some countries and places have successfully managed to do this, but it does mean we have to be ready to step up our action when we need to.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive; commissive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is prepared to take a stand and do whatever is needed to slow the virus.

Sentence theme: Fighting the pandemic

13. Locution: Here's how we will know what to do and win.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: commissive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Fighting the pandemic

14. Locution: Already in New Zealand, we have warning systems to try and get ahead of problems and hazards.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remembers the warning system.

Sentence theme: Warning system

15. Locution: We all know and recognize signs that tell us when we have fire risk or when to reduce our water use.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remembers the warning system.

Sentence theme: Warning system

16. Locution: Today I'm announcing an alert for covid19.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: declarative
- (b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Warning system

17. Locution: That alert system can apply to the whole country, but sometimes it may only apply to certain towns or cities.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Warning system

18. Locution: There are four levels to the alert system.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: declarative
- (b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Warning system

19. Locution: At each level, there are things we need you to do to keep you safe and there are things the government will do too.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Warning system

20. Locution: Alert level one: As we know, covid19 is here but contained.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Alert level 1

21. Locution: In this phase we prepare the basics like border measures, contact tracing and cancelling mass gatherings are all activated.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is conscious of the measures taken in alert level 1.

Sentence theme: Alert level 1

22. Locution: You'll see that this is where we have been when covid first arrived in New Zealand.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Alert level 1

23. Locution: Alert level 2 is where the disease is contained but the risks are growing because we have more cases.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Alert level 2

24. Locution: This is when we move to reduce our contact with one another, we increase our border measures and we cancel events.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is conscious of the measures taken in alert level 2.

Sentence theme: Alert level 2

25. Locution: This is also the level where we ask people to work differently if they can and cancel unnecessary travel.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is conscious of the measures taken in alert level 2.

Sentence theme: Alert level 2

26. Locution: Alert level 3 is where the disease is increasingly difficult to contain this is where we restrict our contact by stepping things up again.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Alert level 3

27. Locution: We close public venues and ask non-essential businesses to close at alert level 4.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is conscious of the measures taken in alert level 4.

Sentence theme: Alert level 4

28. This is where we have sustained transmission.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive; directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is conscious of the measures taken in alert level 4.

Sentence theme: Alert level 4

29. Locution: This is where we eliminate contact with each other altogether.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive; directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is conscious of the measures taken in alert level 4.

Sentence theme: Alert level 4

30. Locution: We keep essential services going but we ask everyone to stay at home until covid19 is back under control.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is conscious of the measures taken in alert level 4.

Sentence theme: Alert level 4

31. Locution: It's important to note that with every level, supermarkets and essential services, like access to pharmaceuticals, will continue.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer experiences a sense of relief.

Sentence theme: Warning system

32. Locution: Shop normally, if we do that our supermarkets will have time to restock their shelves.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: directive: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer puts into memory that he should shop normally.

Sentence theme: Shopping

33. Locution: We will use this alert system every time we update our cases, so you know if the status in your area has gone up or down or stayed the same and what you'll need to do.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Warning system

34. Locution: Today I am confirming that New Zealand is at alert level two - that means the risk of community transmission is growing and so to stay ahead and reduce the chances of the wave growing, we need to step things up now.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Alert level 2

35. Locution: We already have many of the measures for level two in place but there are some that are new.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer recalls measures taken to slow the virus in alert level two.

Sentence theme: Alert level 2

36. Locution: Here are the things that we need from you today.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Alert level 2

37. Locution: We are asking people over seventy years of age or people who have compromised immunity or underlying respiratory conditions, to stay at home as much as they can.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: directive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer thinks about how old he is and if his immune system is compromised, then thinks of the people he knows who are over seventy years old and people with compromised immune systems.

Sentence theme: Stay at home

38. Locution: That means we need friends, family and neighbors to support our older New Zealanders and people who may be in this group by doing simple things like keeping in contact and dropping off food or other supplies.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer thinks of the people he knows who are over seventy years old and people with compromised immune systems and is conscious of supporting them.

Sentence theme: Stay at home

39. Locution: When you do, make sure you are not sick, that you are using good hand-washing practices and you're keeping your distance.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: directive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer puts into consciousness the safety checklist before visiting the elderly and ill, and intends on abiding by the rules to protect the elderly and ill.

Sentence theme: Safety

40. Locution: We also need everyone to start working differently.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Work/jobs

41. Locution: Many offices have plans for workers to work from home, others have staggered meal breaks or shift based working.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer learns of the plans taken by companies to protect employees.

Sentence theme: Work/jobs

42. Locution: We are now asking you to implement these plans.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Work/jobs

43. Locution: Now we know not everyone can do this.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Work/jobs

44. Locution: We need and will continue to have health and emergency professionals, transport and delivery staff, supermarket and food production workers and other essential people, continuing on at their place of work and there are some sectors where work from home is impossible.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer experiences a sense of relief.

Sentence theme: Essential workers

45. Locution: There are still steps these workplaces should take at the same time, like additional cleaning and physical distancing, as much as possible.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Safety

46. Locution: Finally, we are asking that you limit your movement around the country.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is conscious of limiting his movement.

Sentence theme: Stay at home

47. Locution: This will help us track and contain any spread of covid19.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Containing virus

48. Locution: That means cutting non-essential domestic travel, every unnecessary movement gives covid 19 a chance to spread.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is conscious of limiting his movement.

Sentence theme: Containing virus

49. Locution: Now for those of you who are parents or caregivers, you will have questions about schools and education facilities.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer thinks about what he might want to know regarding the operation of schools during the alert levels.

Sentence theme: School

50. Locution: At alert level two, schools will be closed if there is a case that affects a school as we have been doing to date.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer puts into memory that schools will be closed if there is an infected person in the school during alert level 2.

Sentence theme: Schools

51. Locution: That may change if we move into higher alert levels but sending children home at this stage doesn't necessarily reduce transmission in the community, but I can assure you we are constantly monitoring these settings to keep schools and children safe.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer experiences a sense of relief.

Sentence theme: School

Appendix 4: Speech Act Analysis for President Cyril Ramaphosa

1. Locution: Fellow South Africans, I am addressing you this evening on a matter of great national importance.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer's attention is drawn.

Sentence theme: Introduction

2. Locution: The world is facing a medical emergency far graver than what we have experienced in over a century.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Introduction

3. Locution: The World Health Organisation has declared the coronavirus outbreak as a global pandemic.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: verdictive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is worried.

Sentence theme: Global pandemic

4. Locution: There are now more than 162 000 people who have tested positive for the coronavirus across the globe.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is conscious of being cautious to avoid infection.

Sentence theme: Global positive cases

5. Locution: Given the scale and the speed at which the virus is spreading, it is now clear that no country is immune from the disease or will be spared its severe impact.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is worried.

Sentence theme: Spreading of virus

6. Locution: Never before in the history of our democracy has our country been confronted with such a severe situation.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is worried.

Sentence theme: Unprecedented Covid-19

7. Locution: From the start of the outbreak in China earlier this year, the South African government has put in place measures to screen visitors entering the country, to contain its spread and to treat those infected.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer feels slight relief.

Sentence theme: Screening visitors, preventing spread, treatment

8. Locution: As of now, South Africa has 61 confirmed cases of people infected with the virus, and this number is expected to rise in the coming days and weeks.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: verdictive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is conscious of being cautious to avoid infection.

Sentence theme: Confirmed cases in SA

9. Locution: Initially, it was people who had travelled out of the country, especially from Italy, who had positively tested for the virus.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Confirmed cases in SA

10. Locution: It is concerning that we are now dealing with internal transmission of the virus.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is worried.

Sentence theme: Spreading of virus

11. This situation calls for an extraordinary response; there can be no half measures.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer anticipates the following sentences.

Sentence theme: Response to virus

12. Cabinet held a special meeting earlier today.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Response to virus

13. After which, due to the serious measures we are going to announce, I have consulted the premiers.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Response to virus

14. We have decided to take urgent and drastic measures to manage the disease, protect the people of our country and reduce the impact of the virus on our society and on our economy.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful.

Sentence theme: Response to virus

15. We have now declared a national state of disaster in terms of the Disaster Management Act.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: declarative
- (b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful.

Sentence theme: response to virus

16. This will enable us to have an integrated and coordinated disaster management mechanism that will focus on preventing and reducing the outbreak of this virus.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful.

Sentence theme: Response to virus

17. We will also be able to set up emergency, rapid and effective response systems to mitigate the severity of its impact.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful.

Sentence theme: Response to virus

18. Following an extensive analysis of the progression of the disease worldwide and in South Africa, Cabinet has decided on the following measures:

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Response to virus

19. Firstly, to limit contact between persons who may be infected and South African citizens.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Limiting contact

20. We are imposing a travel ban on foreign nationals from high-risk countries such as Italy, Iran, South Korea, Spain, Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom and China as from 18 March 2020.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: commissive; directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is relieved.

Sentence theme: Travel ban

21. We have cancelled visas to visitors from those countries from today and previously granted visas are hereby revoked.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is relieved.

Sentence theme: Travel ban

22. South African citizens are advised to refrain from all forms of travel to or through the European Union, United States, United Kingdom and other identified high-risk countries such as China, Iran and South Korea.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is cautious about travelling.

Sentence theme: Travel ban

23. This is effective immediately.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Travel ban

24. Government will continue to regularly issue travel alerts referring to specific cities, countries or regions as the situation evolves based on the risk level.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is relieved.

Sentence theme: Travel ban

25. Any foreign national who has visited high-risk countries in the past 20 days will be denied a visa.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is relieved.

Sentence theme: Travel ban

26. South African citizens returning from high-risk countries will be subjected to testing and self-isolation or quarantine on return to South Africa.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is relieved.

Sentence theme: Traveller quarantine

27. Travellers from medium-risk countries – such as Portugal, Hong Kong and Singapore – will be required to undergo high intensity screening.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is relieved.

Sentence theme: Traveller screening

28. All travellers who have entered South Africa from high-risk countries since mid-February will be required to present themselves for testing.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful.

Sentence theme: Testing

29. We will strengthen surveillance, screening and testing measures at OR Tambo, Cape Town and King Shaka International Airports.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: commissive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful.

Sentence theme: Screening

30. South Africa has 72 ports of entry in the country which are land, sea and air ports; of the 53 land ports, 35 will be shut down with effect from Monday 16 March.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer puts into memory that ports of entry will be closed.

Sentence theme: Shutting down ports of entry

31. Two of the 8 sea ports will be closed for passengers and crew changes.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: commissive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer puts into memory that ports of entry will be closed.

Sentence theme: Shutting down ports of entry

32. Effective immediately, all non-essential travel for all spheres of government outside of the Republic is prohibited; we further discourage all non-essential domestic travel, particularly by air, rail, taxis and bus.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Travel ban

33. Secondly, it is essential therefore that we minimise the risk of the spread of this virus by limiting contact amongst groups of people.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Limiting contact

34. While we appreciate the economic, religious, and cultural significance of social and community gatherings, the coronavirus is spread through contact between persons.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect:

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Spread of virus

35. As we have said before, the current circumstances require extraordinary measures to curb the spread of infections.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Preventing spread of virus

36. Countries that have heeded the call to implement these radical measures, have fared much better than those than do not.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is glad and hopeful.

Sentence theme: preventing spread of virus

36. Therefore to encourage social distancing Cabinet has decided on these additional measures:

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Preventing spread of virus

37. Gatherings of more than 100 people will be prohibited.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer puts the new safety measure into memory.

Sentence theme: Limiting contact

38. Mass celebrations of upcoming national days such as Human Rights Day and other large government events will be cancelled.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer puts the new safety measure into memory.

Sentence theme: Limiting contact

39. Where small gatherings are unavoidable, organisers will need to put in place stringent measures of prevention and control.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer puts the new safety measure into memory.

Sentence theme: Limiting contact

40. Schools will be closed from Wednesday, 18 March, and will remain closed until after the Easter Weekend.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer puts the new safety measure into memory.

Sentence theme: limiting contact

41. To compensate, the mid-year school holidays will be shortened by a week.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer puts the new safety measure into memory.

Sentence theme: School term

42. Government is working closely with colleges, universities and other public facilities such as Parliament, prisons, police stations and military installations to intensify hygiene control.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful.

Sentence theme: Hygiene control

43. Visits to all correctional centres are suspended for 30 days with immediate effect.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer puts the new safety measure into memory.

Sentence theme: Limiting contact

44. Government is aware of the confirmed case of a student who has tested positive for the coronavirus at Wits University.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Confirmed cases

45. Those who have been in contact with the student will be quarantined.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is glad and hopeful.

Sentence theme: Quarantine

46. The Minister of Higher Education, Science and Innovation is consulting with Vice Chancellors of universities and colleges across the country and will soon be announcing measures in this regard.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer anticipates the coming information.

Sentence theme: Universities and colleges

47. We call on all businesses including mining, retail, banking, farming to ensure that they take all necessary measures to intensify hygiene control.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer hopes businesses will comply.

Sentence theme: Hygiene control

48. We also call on the management of malls, entertainment centres and other places frequented by large numbers of people to bolster their hygiene control.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer hopes businesses will comply.

Sentence theme: Hygiene control

49. Thirdly, to further strengthen our health response: Government is strengthening its surveillance and testing systems.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is glad and hopeful.

Sentence theme: Testing

50. We are in process of identifying isolation and quarantine sites in each district and metro.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is glad and hopeful.

Sentence theme: Quarantine

7.5. Appendix 5: Speech Act Analysis for Donald Trump

1. Locution: To unleash the full power of the federal government in this effort today, I am officially declaring a National Emergency.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: declarative

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer's attention is drawn

Sentence theme: Introduction

2. Locution: Two very big words.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer's attention is drawn

Sentence theme: Introduction

3. Locution: The action I am taking will open up access to up to 50 billion dollars of very important and a large amount of money for states and territories and localities in our shared fight against this disease.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful

Sentence theme: Money

4. Locution: In furtherance of the order, I'm urging every state to set up emergency operation centers effective immediately.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: directive
- (b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is optimistic

Sentence theme: emergency operation centers

5. Locution: You're going to be hearing from some of the largest companies and greatest retailers and medical companies in the world.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is anticipating the following speakers.

Sentence theme: Emergency operation centers

6. Locution: They're standing right behind me and the side of me.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer's attention is drawn to the people standing beside the speaker.

Sentence theme: Emergency operation centers

7. Locution: I'm also asking every hospital in this country to activate its emergency preparedness plan so that they can meet the needs of Americans everywhere.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is grateful that the president has asked this and the hearer knows that if he is in need, he will get the treatment that he requires..

Sentence theme: Hospital emergency plan

8. Locution: The hospitals are very engaged.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is grateful.

Sentence theme: Hospitals

9. Locution: New York and various other places are also various engaged.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is grateful.

Sentence theme: Engagement of cities

10. Locution: I just spoke with governor Cuomo.

Illocutionary Act:

- (a) Direct: assertive
- (b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Governor Cuomo

11. Locution: We had a very good conversation and we're working very strongly with the many states including New York.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer wonders what the speaker is working on, but is hopeful that it will benefit the country.

Sentence theme: Governor Cuomo

12. Locution: The urgency orders I'm issuing today will also confer broad new authority to the Secretary of Health and Human Services.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive and awaiting the president's announcement of said orders.

Sentence theme: Secretary of Health and Human Services

13. Locution: The Secretary of HHS will be able to immediately wave revisions of applicable laws and regulations to give doctors, hospital all hospitals and healthcare providers, maximum flexibility to respond to the virus and care for patients.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Secretary of Health and Human Services

14. Locution: This includes the following critical authorities, the ability to waive laws to enable telehealth, a fairly new and incredible thing that's happened in the not so distant past.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is interested in learning more about telehealth.

Sentence theme: Telehealth

15. Locution: I tell you what they've done with telehealth is incredible.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is intrigued.

Sentence theme: Telehealth

16. Locution: It gives remote doctors visits and hospital check-ins the power to waive certain federal license requirements so that doctors from other states can provide services in states with the greatest need.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is fascinated.

Sentence theme: Telehealth

17. Locution: Number two, the ability to waive requirements that critical access hospitals limit the number of beds to 25 and the length of stay to 96 hours.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is intrigued but wonders if the restrictions will aid in overcoming the virus or deter it.

Sentence theme: Hospital patient restrictions

18. Locution: The ability to waive the requirements of a three day hospital stay prior to admission to a nursing home: big thing.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is intrigued.

Sentence theme: Hospital patient restrictions

19. Locution: The authority to waive rules to hinder hospital's ability to bring additional physicians on board or obtain needed office space.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Hospitals

20. Locution: They can do as they want.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Secretary of Health and Human Services

21. Locution: They can do what they have to do.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Secretary of Health and Human Services

22. Locution: They know what they have to do.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer remains attentive.

Sentence theme: Secretary of Health and Human Services

23. Locution: Now they don't have any problem getting it done.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is attentive.

Sentence theme: Secretary of Health and Human Services

24. Locution: The authority to waive rules that severely restrict where hospitals can care for patients within the hospital itself.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer wonders if this would cause chaos.

Sentence theme: Secretary of Health and Human Services

25. Locution: Ensuring that the emergency capacity can be quickly established.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful.

Sentence theme: Secretary of Health and Human Services

26. Locution: We'll remove or eliminate every obstacle necessary to deliver our people the care that they need and that they're entitled to.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is grateful that such measures will be taken for the citizens of the country.

Sentence theme: Ensuring care to the people

27. Locution: No resource will be spared.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is grateful.

Sentence theme: Ensuring care to the people

28. Locution: Nothing whatsoever.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is grateful.

Sentence theme: Ensuring care to the people

29. Locution: 10 days ago, I brought together the CEOs of commercial labs at the White House and directed them to immediately begin working on the solution to dramatically increase the availability of tests.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is grateful that more tests will soon be available.

Sentence theme: availability of tests

30. Locution: Other countries have called us and worked with us and they're doing similar things or will be doing similar things as a result of that action.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer wonder's what the speaker is referring to when he says "things" but is still is hopeful that whatever it is, will benefit the nation.

Sentence theme: Availability of tests

31. Locution: Today we are announcing a new partnership with private sector to vastly increase and accelerate our capacity to test for the Coronavirus.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is grateful that more tests will be analysed I a shorter time.

Sentence theme: Availability of tests

32. Locution: We want to make sure that those who need a test can get a test very safely, quickly and conveniently but we don't want people to take a test if we feel that they shouldn't be doing it and we don't want everyone running out and taking; only if you have certain symptoms.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is grateful that tests will be readily available.

Sentence theme: Availability of tests

33. Locution: Using federal emergency authorities, the FDA approved a new test for the virus.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful that the new test will achieve accurate results.

Sentence theme: New test

34. Locution: We did this within hours after receiving the application from Roche, a process that would normally take weeks.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is impressed and realises that if this can be done, it is possible for other time restrictive to also be conducted faster.

Sentence theme: New test

35. Locution: We therefore expect up to a half a million additional tests will be available early next week.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is impressed at the quantity of tests that will be available and is hopeful that this will be sufficient.

Sentence theme: New test

36. Locution: We'll be announcing locations probably on Sunday night. à doesn't say what locations

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is grateful that plans are underway.

Sentence theme: New test

37. Locution: I want to thank Roche, great company for their incredible work.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: acknowledgement

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is appreciative as well.

Sentence theme: Thanking

38. Locution: I'd also like to thank Thermo Fisher.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect:

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is appreciative to Thermo Fisher.

Sentence theme: Thanking

39. Locution: The FDA's goal is to hopefully authorize your application within 24 hours. à he speaks as though EVERYONE knows what application he's referring to.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful that application authorisation does not take longer than 24 hours.

Sentence theme: Test application

40. Locution: It'll go very quickly.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful that all operations will go smoothly.

Sentence theme: Test application

41. Locution: It's going very quickly.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: verdictive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is grateful that operations have been moving swiftly thus far.

Sentence theme: Test application

42. Locution: Which will bring additionally 1.4 million tests on board next week and five million within a month.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is grateful that such large amounts of tests will be available.

Sentence theme: New tests

43. Locution: I doubt we'll need anywhere near that.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is hopeful that those many tests will not be needed as well.

Sentence theme: New tests

44. Locution: At the same time, we've been in discussions with pharmacies and retailers to make drive-through tests available in the critical locations identified by public health professionals.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: directive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is interested in the drive-through plans and is grateful that critical locations will receive the attention that they need.

Sentence theme: Drive-through tests

45. Locution: The goal is for individuals to be able to drive up and be swabbed without having to leave your car.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is grateful that testing will be this convenient.

Sentence theme: Drive-through tests

46. Locution: I want to thank Google.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is appreciative to Google as well.

Sentence theme: Thanking

47. Locution: Google is helping to develop a website.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: assertive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is curious about said website.

Sentence theme: Google's website

48. Locution: It's going to be very quickly done, unlike websites of the past, to determine whether a test is warranted and to facilitate testing at a nearby convenient location.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: commissive

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is excited about the new website.

Sentence theme: Google's website

49. And we have many, many locations behind us, by the way.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect:

Sentence theme: Google's website

50. Locution: We cover this country and large parts of the world, by the way.

Illocutionary Act:

(a) Direct: assertive

(b) Indirect: declarative

Expected Perlocutionary Effect: The hearer is appreciative and impressed.

Sentence theme: Google's website

7.6. Appendix 6: Jacinda Ardern Speech One

1. I'm speaking directly to all New Zealanders today to give you as much certainty and clarity as we can, as we fight covid19.
2. Over the past few weeks, the world has changed, and it has changed very quickly.
3. In February it would have seemed unimaginable to close New Zealand's borders to the world and now it has been an obvious step as we fight covid19.
4. This is because we are experiencing an unprecedented event, a global pandemic.
5. In New Zealand, we have moved to fight by going hard and going early.
6. I understand that all of this rapid change creates anxiety and uncertainty especially when it means changing how we live.
7. That's why today I'm going to set out for you as clearly as possible what you can expect, as we continue to fight the virus together.
8. The first really important thing to remember is that the vast majority of people who will ever have covid19 will only experience mild to moderate symptoms but there will be some who will need more care.
9. That's why we have to focus on one simple goal to slow down covid19.
10. Slowing it down means not having one big tidal wave of cases but instead smaller wave groups of cases that we can manage properly as they arise.
11. That means we reduce the impact on health, on jobs and on our economy.
12. Some countries and places have successfully managed to do this, but it does mean we have to be ready to step up our action when we need to.
13. Here's how we will know what to do and win.
14. Already in New Zealand, we have warning systems to try and get ahead of problems and hazards.
15. We all know and recognize signs that tell us when we have fire risk or when to reduce our water use.
16. Today I'm announcing an alert system for covid19.
17. That alert system can apply to the whole country, but sometimes it may only apply to certain towns or cities.
18. There are four levels to the alert system.
19. At each level, there are things we need you to do to keep you safe and there are things the government will do too.
20. Alert level one: As we know, covid19 is here but contained.

21. In this phase we prepare the basics like border measures, contact tracing and cancelling mass gatherings are all activated.
22. You'll see that this is where we have been when covid first arrived in New Zealand.
23. Alert level 2 is where the disease is contained but the risks are growing because we have more cases.
24. This is when we move to reduce our contact with one another, we increase our border measures and we cancel events.
25. This is also the level where we ask people to work differently if they can and cancel unnecessary travel.
26. Alert level 3 is where the disease is increasingly difficult to contain this is where we restrict our contact by stepping things up again.
27. We close public venues and ask non-essential businesses to close and alert level 4. This is where we have sustained transmission. I will
28. This is where we eliminate contact with each other altogether.
29. We keep essential services going but we ask everyone to stay at home until covid19 is back under control.
30. It's important to note that with every level, supermarkets and essential services, like access to pharmaceuticals, will continue.
31. Shop normally, if we do that our supermarkets will have time to restock their shelves.
32. We will use this alert system every time we update our cases, so you know if the status in your area has gone up or down or stayed the same and what you'll need to do.
33. Today I am confirming that New Zealand is at alert level two - that means the risk of community transmission is growing and so to stay ahead and reduce the chances of the wave growing, we need to step things up now.
34. We already have many of the measures for level two in place but there are some that are new.
35. Here are the things that we need from you today.
36. We are asking people over seventy years of age or people who have compromised immunity or underlying respiratory conditions, to stay at home as much as they can.
37. That means we need friends, family and neighbors to support our older New Zealanders and people who may be in this group by doing simple things like keeping in contact and dropping off food or other supplies.
38. When you do, make sure you are not sick, that you are using good hand-washing practices and you're keeping your distance.

39. We also need everyone to start working differently.
40. Many offices have plans for workers to work from home, others have staggered meal breaks or shift based working.
41. We are now asking you to implement these plans.
42. Now we know not everyone can do this.
43. We need and will continue to have health and emergency professionals, transport and delivery staff, supermarket and food production workers and other essential people, continuing on at their place of work and there are some sectors where work from home is impossible.
44. There are still steps these workplaces should take at the same time, like additional cleaning and physical distancing, as much as possible.
45. Finally we are asking that you limit your movement around the country.
46. This will help us track and contain any spread of covid19.
47. That means cutting non-essential domestic travel, every unnecessary movement gives covid 19 a chance to spread.
48. Now for those of you who are parents or caregivers, you will have questions about schools and education facilities.
49. At alert level two, schools will be closed if there is a case that affects a school as we have been doing to date.
50. That may change if we move into higher alert levels but sending children home at this stage doesn't necessarily reduce transmission in the community but I can assure you we are constantly monitoring these settings to keep schools and children safe.
51. As a mum, I can assure you this is my key consideration.
52. Finally, this is a time when I know people will want as much information as possible, it's also a time when there is plenty of misinformation.
53. All of the advice from the government about covid19 and how it affects you is available at covid 19 govt T&Z including more detailed guidance on this announcement.
54. Till then, I know this current situation is causing huge disruption and uncertainty and right now I cannot tell you when that will end.
55. This alert system is designed to help us through that so please do stay tuned and we will share daily updates especially as alert levels can move from one level to the next in a short space of time as we have seen elsewhere in the world.
56. For now I ask that New Zealand does what we do so well.
57. We are a country that is creative, practical and community minded.

58. We may not have experienced anything like this in our lifetimes, but we know how to rally and we know how to look after one another and right now what could be more important than that.
59. So thank you for all that you're about to do.
60. Please be strong, be kind and unite against covid19.

7.7. Appendix 7: Jacinda Ardern Speech Two

1. For six weeks now, our lives have been quite different.
2. We have gone from a lockdown, into Level 3 and the reopening of parts of our economy, as our team of 5 million has stuck to our strategy of going hard and going early to win the battle against COVID-19.
3. We can be proud of what we achieved.
4. Low numbers of new cases, and 2 days where we were without any.
5. Increases in testing, including actively testing those who might be at risk of COVID-19 as we hunt to find any burning embers of the virus.
6. Amongst the health response, we have seen the ingenuity of Kiwis who have understood what was needed to operate at Level 3 safely, and have made it work.
7. Even more pleasing, is how well these owners and operators have been supported, with Kiwis being mindful of the people and livelihoods that sit behind a meal, a parcel, a takeaway lunch.
8. Those businesses reopened their doors, and we have begun reopening our economy.
9. Now we find ourselves in a unique position again.
10. On Monday Cabinet will consider the next stage of our response.
11. We will do that with the best evidence and advice we can, with all of the data we have from almost one more full cycle of the virus.
12. We need every number from every single day to get the full set of data and we need of course the view of the Director General of Health.
13. We will make a balanced decision.
14. One that recognises the impact of restrictions, and the huge impact of restrictions on people's livelihoods but doesn't risk all of the gains that we have made today.
15. After-all, no one wants a second wave. No one.
16. As restrictions have been relaxed in other countries around the world, the virus has had the opportunity to bounce back.
17. And in some places it has.

18. Ultimately we need to stay in control
19. So, the key for us has always been to understand where we are at, at any given time in our battle with COVID, and then make sure we are at the right alert level to put us in the best position to continue beating it.
20. Every alert level therefore has its own battle. And even when you win one, it doesn't mean that the war is over.
21. So a quick reminder again of the framework we have been using to help us on this journey.
22. As the Alert Level system makes clear, different levels allow different amounts of contact with one another, depending on how bad the spread of COVID-19 is.
23. At Alert Level 4 the aim is to 'eliminate' contact with each other, and that is what a full lockdown achieves.
24. At Level 3 – Restrict – there is still a high risk the virus can get out of control and bounce back, so the goal remains to restrict contact with one another as much as possible.
25. At Level 2 – The aim is still to reduce close contact with strangers. It acknowledges that the virus is probably still with us, so we do need to behave differently to prevent it taking off again. It is very unlikely that we have hunted down every single case of COVID-19.
26. If stray cases start new chains of transmission we might not find them for a month. So we all have to stay on guard.
27. Level 2 has been designed to get as many people back to work as possible and the economy back up and running but in the safest way possible.
28. In a nutshell, the principle behind Level 2, is play it safe.
29. We will only move there if things are under control, but it won't mean the fight is over.
30. If we adopt a safer way of operating as part of our new normal, we can keep it in check and remain on our path of elimination.
31. So, now for the principles of playing it safe.
32. First, we have our constants.
33. Public health measures remain unchanged.
34. If you are even slightly sick, stay home. I know this is against New Zealander's stoic intuition, but I cannot reiterate this enough, if you are sick, please stay at home.
35. If you have symptoms, even if it's just a runny nose, a sore throat, get a test.
36. And now more than ever, wash your hands, often and properly, all of the time.
37. Wash all high-touch surfaces regularly, like your keys and door handles.
38. And don't pass other people your phone.
39. The border remains unchanged.

40. We will continue to keep our borders closed except to Kiwis.
41. We will continue to isolate Kiwis who come in from overseas in managed hotels away from others.
42. And our elimination strategy remains in place.
43. Test. Contact trace. Isolate.
44. This is our COVID business as usual.
45. There are a few other things we want you to keep the same.
46. And that includes your distance.
47. You'll hear people talk a lot about how far you should stay apart from others.
48. Let me give you the rationale behind that. If you are sick, then you will sometimes have symptoms that will make you spread your illness – things like coughing.
49. If that's the case, the safest place for you is at home.
50. But, if someone doesn't follow those rules, or doesn't know they are sick, and leaves the house, the safest distance between you and that sick person is 2 metres.
51. So that's why we use that guideline.

7.8. Appendix 8: Cyril Ramaphosa Speech One

1. Fellow South Africans, I am addressing you this evening on a matter of great national importance.
2. The world is facing a medical emergency far graver than what we have experienced in over a century.
3. The World Health Organisation has declared the coronavirus outbreak as a global pandemic.
4. There are now more than 162 000 people who have tested positive for the coronavirus across the globe.
5. Given the scale and the speed at which the virus is spreading, it is now clear that no country is immune from the disease or will be spared its severe impact.
6. Never before in the history of our democracy has our country been confronted with such a severe situation.
7. From the start of the outbreak in China earlier this year, the South African government has put in place measures to screen visitors entering the country, to contain its spread and to treat those infected.
8. As of now, South Africa has 61 confirmed cases of people infected with the virus, and this number is expected to rise in the coming days and weeks.

9. Initially, it was people who had travelled out of the country, especially from Italy, who had positively tested for the virus.
10. It is concerning that we are now dealing with internal transmission of the virus.
11. This situation calls for an extraordinary response; there can be no half measures.
12. Cabinet held a special meeting earlier today.
13. After which, due to the serious measures we are going to announce, I have consulted the premiers.
14. We have decided to take urgent and drastic measures to manage the disease, protect the people of our country and reduce the impact of the virus on our society and on our economy.
15. We have now declared a national state of disaster in terms of the Disaster Management Act.
16. This will enable us to have an integrated and coordinated disaster management mechanism that will focus on preventing and reducing the outbreak of this virus.
17. We will also be able to set up emergency, rapid and effective response systems to mitigate the severity of its impact.
18. Following an extensive analysis of the progression of the disease worldwide and in South Africa, Cabinet has decided on the following measures:
19. Firstly, to limit contact between persons who may be infected and South African citizens.
20. We are imposing a travel ban on foreign nationals from high-risk countries such as Italy, Iran, South Korea, Spain, Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom and China as from 18 March 2020.
21. We have cancelled visas to visitors from those countries from today and previously granted visas are hereby revoked.
22. South African citizens are advised to refrain from all forms of travel to or through the European Union, United States, United Kingdom and other identified high-risk countries such as China, Iran and South Korea.
23. This is effective immediately.
24. Government will continue to regularly issue travel alerts referring to specific cities, countries or regions as the situation evolves based on the risk level.
25. Any foreign national who has visited high-risk countries in the past 20 days will be denied a visa.
26. South African citizens returning from high-risk countries will be subjected to testing and self-isolation or quarantine on return to South Africa.

27. Travellers from medium-risk countries – such as Portugal, Hong Kong and Singapore – will be required to undergo high intensity screening.
28. All travellers who have entered South Africa from high-risk countries since mid-February will be required to present themselves for testing.
29. We will strengthen surveillance, screening and testing measures at OR Tambo, Cape Town and King Shaka International Airports South Africa has 72 ports of entry in the country which are land, sea and air ports.
30. Of the 53 land ports, 35 will be shut down with effect from Monday 16 March.
31. Two of the 8 sea ports will be closed for passengers and crew changes.
32. Effective immediately, all non-essential travel for all spheres of government outside of the Republic is prohibited We further discourage all non-essential domestic travel, particularly by air, rail, taxis and bus.
33. Secondly, it is essential therefore that we minimise the risk of the spread of this virus by limiting contact amongst groups of people.
34. While we appreciate the economic, religious, and cultural significance of social and community gatherings, the coronavirus is spread through contact between persons.
35. As we have said before, the current circumstances require extraordinary measures to curb the spread of infections. Countries that have heeded the call to implement these radical measures, have fared much better than those than do not.
36. Therefore to encourage social distancing Cabinet has decided on these additional measures:
37. Gatherings of more than 100 people will be prohibited.
38. Mass celebrations of upcoming national days such as Human Rights Day and other large government events will be cancelled.
39. Where small gatherings are unavoidable, organisers will need to put in place stringent measures of prevention and control.
40. Schools will be closed from Wednesday, 18 March, and will remain closed until after the Easter Weekend.
41. To compensate, the mid-year school holidays will be shortened by a week.
42. Government is working closely with colleges, universities and other public facilities such as Parliament, prisons, police stations and military installations to intensify hygiene control.
43. Visits to all correctional centres are suspend for 30 days with immediate effect.
44. Government is aware of the confirmed case of a student who has tested positive for the coronavirus at Wits University.
45. Those who have been in contact with the student will be quarantined.

46. The Minister of Higher Education, Science and Innovation is consulting with Vice Chancellors of universities and colleges across the country and will soon be announcing measures in this regard.
47. We call on all businesses including mining, retail, banking, farming to ensure that they take all necessary measures to intensify hygiene control.
48. We also call on the management of malls, entertainment centres and other places frequented by large numbers of people to bolster their hygiene control.
49. Thirdly, to further strengthen our health response: Government is strengthening its surveillance and testing systems.
50. We are in process of identifying isolation and quarantine sites in each district and metro.
51. Capacity is being increased at designated hospitals in all provinces.
52. We are also increasing the capacity of existing contact tracing processes.
53. We are partnering with the private sector to set up a national tracking, tracing and monitoring system of all people infected with the coronavirus and those they have been in contact with We are undertaking a mass communication campaign on good hygiene and effective prevention behaviour.
54. Therefore, we are calling on everyone to:
55. Wash their hands frequently with soap and water or hand sanitisers for at least 20 seconds;
56. Cover their nose and mouth when coughing and sneezing with tissue or flexed elbow;
57. Avoid close contact with anyone with cold or flu-like symptoms.
58. In essence, we are calling for a change of behaviour amongst all South Africans.
59. We must minimise physical contact with other people, and, encourage the elbow greeting rather than shaking hands.
60. Because of the severity of this virus and its rapid spreading, government will make funding available to capacitate the sectors dealing with the national response to the Coronavirus outbreak.
61. Since the outbreak of this pandemic, our government's response has been led by an Inter-Ministerial Committee, chaired by the Minister of Health, Dr Zweli Mkhize.
62. We congratulate them on the outstanding work they have done - together with their able support teams - to steer our country through this challenging and un-certain period.
63. As part of the intensification of this effort, we have decided to establish a National Command Council chaired by the President.

64. This Command Council will include, amongst others, members of the Inter- Ministerial Committee and will meet three times a week, to coordinate all aspects of our extraordinary emergency response.
65. My fellow South Africans, In addition to the impact that this pandemic will have on health and wellbeing of our people, and the impact it will have on the day-to-day life of our society, COVID-19 will also have a significant and potentially lasting impact on our economy.
66. In the last few weeks, we have seen a dramatic decline in economic activity in our major trading partners, a sudden drop in international tourism and severe instability across all global markets.
67. The anticipated effects of the decline in exports and tourist arrivals will be ex-acerbated by both an increase in infections and the measures we are required to take to contain the spread of the disease.
68. This will have a potentially severe impact on production, the viability of businesses, job retention and job creation.
69. Cabinet is therefore in the process of finalising a comprehensive package of interventions to mitigate the expected impact of COVID-19 on our economy.
70. This package, which will consist of various fiscal and other measures, will be concluded following consultation with business, labour and other relevant institutions.
71. It is clear that this disease will be extremely disruptive.
72. Our priority must be to safeguard the health and well-being of all South Africans, to minimise the number of infections and to ensure all those infected get proper treatment.
73. While we are battling a contagious virus, perhaps the greatest dangers to our country at this time are fear and ignorance.
74. We must appreciate the extent of the threat that this disease presents, we must accept the anxiety that it causes, but we cannot allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by fear and panic.
75. We should stop spreading fake and unverified news and create further apprehension and alarm.
76. While we are facing a medical emergency far graver than we have experienced in recent times, we are not helpless.
77. We have the knowledge, the means and the resources to fight this disease.
78. If we act swiftly, with purpose and collectively we can limit the effects of the coronavirus on our people and our country.

79. Although we may be limiting physical contact, this epidemic has the potential to bring us closer together.
80. We are responding as a united nation to a common threat.
81. This national emergency demands cooperation, collaboration and common action.
82. More than that, it requires solidarity, understanding and compassion.
83. Those who have resources, those who are healthy, need to assist those who are in need and who are vulnerable.
84. All the institutions of the state will be mobilised to lead this effort, but, if we are to succeed, every company, trade union, NGO, university, college, school, religious group and taxi association will need to play its part.
85. We thank those people who suspected they may have been exposed to the virus for coming forward to be tested and for taking measures - such as self-isolation - to prevent further transmission.
86. We thank the medical teams around the country who are leading our response and are putting the well-being of others ahead of the risks they face themselves.
87. On Saturday we welcomed 104 of our compatriots who were in Wuhan City, China.
88. We thank the repatriation team for the task they performed with pride and efficiency to return them to the country and ultimately to their families.
89. The repatriation has been successful and those who have returned have settled in the quarantine area.
90. We thank the military health officials, pilots, cabin crew and all those who participated in this exercise.
91. We thank the leadership and the people of Polokwane and Limpopo for warmly welcoming our fellow South Africans.
92. We also extend our gratitude to the staff and management of the Ranch Hotel who have accommodated our compatriots and also subjected themselves to quarantine.
93. We extend our appreciation too to the companies, organisations and individuals who have taken it upon themselves to disseminate information about this virus and to raise awareness.
94. We thank those businesses that have taken steps to protect their employees, and those unions that have taken steps to protect their members.
95. Ministers who are at the frontline of coordinating our response to this crisis will be briefing the nation tomorrow, where they will unpack details in relation to the measures we announced tonight.
96. Fellow South Africans,

97. This is the most definitive Thuma Mina moment for our country.
98. I have great trust that our people will respond positively to this call to common action.
99. Fellow South Africans,
100. This epidemic will pass.
101. But it is up to us to determine how long it will last, how damaging it will be, and how long it will take our economy and our country to recover.
102. It is true that we are facing a grave emergency.
103. But if we act together, if we act now, and if we act decisively, we will overcome it.
104. I thank you.

7.9. Appendix 9: Cyril Ramaphosa Speech Two

1. My fellow South Africans,
2. It has been five months since we declared a national state of disaster to combat to the coronavirus pandemic.
3. As I said then, and as I repeat now, never before in the history of our democracy has our country been confronted with such a severe threat – a situation that has demanded an extraordinary response and much sacrifice.
4. It has been an immensely difficult five months, and the pandemic has taken a heavy toll – on the health of our people, on families and communities, on the public health system, on the economy and on people’s everyday lives.
5. During this difficult period what all of us have longed for as South Africans most of all is to be healthy, restore our livelihoods and rebuild our economy.
6. I address you this evening amid signs of hope.
7. We have made progress in our fight against COVID-19.
8. Over the last three weeks, the number of new confirmed cases has dropped from a peak of over 12,000 a day to an average over the past week of around 5,000 a day.
9. The recovery rate from coronavirus has risen from 48% at the time of my last address and now stands at 80%.
10. The cumulative number of cases in our country remains extremely high at 583,653.
11. However, the number of active cases is declining every day, and now stands at around 105,000.
12. The virus appears to have peaked in several provinces, including the Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Gauteng and possibly in KwaZulu-Natal.
13. Fewer people are presenting with symptoms at our health facilities.

14. We are also finding that fewer people are requiring admission in our hospitals and the demand for coronavirus tests has dropped.
15. The number of patients hospitalised has decreased from 10,000 at the beginning of the month to around 4,000.
16. This is significantly reducing the pressure on our health facilities.
17. As of today, 11,667 people are confirmed to have died from COVID-19 in South Africa.

We mourn each and every one who has passed away and the many more that we may not yet know about.

18. The deaths of so many people in such a short space of time due to a virus such as this is a human tragedy of proportions that we would not have expected to befall our nation at a time of peace and democracy.
19. It is now clear that had we not acted as swiftly and decisively as we did – and had we not taken the threat as seriously as we did – far more lives would have been lost.
20. It remains our foremost concern in the weeks and months that lie ahead to continue to save lives.
21. When I announced the nation-wide lockdown on the 23th of March it was to prevent a sudden and uncontrolled surge of infections and to prepare our health system adequately.
22. As we look back at the past five months, all indications are that South Africa has reached the peak and moved beyond the inflection point of the curve.
23. Most of our health facilities have proven resilient, capable and able to withstand and deal with the surge.
24. The modelled projections of infections, hospitalisation and deaths have had to be adjusted downwards as we have recorded better progress in the management of the disease.
25. The progress we are recording in our management of COVID 19 would not be possible without the dedication and professionalism of our doctors, nurses and other health personnel, who have had to confront this unprecedented disease often under extremely difficult conditions.
26. We pay tribute to them, many of whom have been infected and some who have lost their lives taking care of others.
27. None of this would have been possible without all the other frontline workers, police women and men, soldiers, traffic officials and volunteers who have been at the forefront of our national response.

28. We also pay tribute to our medical experts in various health institutions, such as the National Health Laboratory Service, National Institute for Communicable Diseases, Medical Research Council and the Ministerial Advisory Committee who continue to play an invaluable role in our management of COVID-19.
29. Ultimately, the progress we have made would not have been possible without the sacrifices made by you, the people of South Africa.
30. It is you who have readily adapted to the restrictions around mask wearing, social distancing and good hygiene and in the process helped to save lives.
31. But while there are indeed signs of hope, we cannot and must not let our guard down.
32. As we continue to ease restrictions, the risk of infection does not diminish.
33. In fact, the risk of infection becomes greater as more people return to work, as they move about more and as there are more opportunities to interact.
34. We therefore cannot become complacent or abandon the health precautions that we know we need to take.
35. Even the slightest lapse in our alertness at this moment could lead to a resurgence in infections at a rate and on a scale far greater than what we have seen so far.
36. We have seen this happen in other countries, where stringent restrictions have had to be reimposed at short notice as the rate of infection rises after relaxation.
37. We have concluded that the lower rate of infections we are experiencing should lead to the relaxation of the restrictions we have had thus far.
38. However, now is the time for even greater vigilance and even greater care.
39. We must all continue to wear a cloth mask that covers our nose and mouth every time we leave home.
40. We must protect the elderly and those with underlying conditions from exposure to the virus.
41. We must continue to practice social distancing and ensure proper ventilation indoors.
42. We must continue to limit our travel to only that which is absolutely necessary, to avoid social gatherings and to remember to regularly wash or sanitise our hands.
43. We now know that a large proportion of people who are infected with the virus do not show symptoms and may not even know that they are infected.
44. I could be infected. As could you.
45. With this in mind, each one of us should consider ourselves as potentially infected with the virus and continue to behave responsibly so that we do not pass it on to others.

46. I know that the last five months have been extraordinarily difficult for our nation and for each one of us.
47. For everyone, this disease has meant the disruption of daily life.
48. But for millions of people, it has also meant hardship and hunger.
49. It has caused pain, anxiety and despair that no person should have to endure.
50. It has required a careful balance between saving lives and protecting livelihoods, between a devastating epidemic and a deep recession.
51. It has required difficult choices with far-reaching consequences.
52. While the measures we have taken have resulted in great hardship, we know that the alternative – of an uncontrolled surge of infections and a health system unable to cope – would have been even more devastating.
53. Now, amid the signs of hope, we are ready to enter a new phase in our response to the pandemic.
54. Due to the actions that we have taken, collectively and individually, over the last few months, we have reduced the rate of transmission.
55. We have relieved much of the pressure on our health system.
56. Guided by the advice of our health experts and after consultation with provincial and local government, Cabinet has decided to place the entire country on alert level 2, with effect from midnight on Monday, the 17th of August 2020.
57. Alert Level 2 in terms of our risk adjusted strategy in dealing with the pandemic means that there is a moderate Covid-19 spread of the virus with a relatively high health system readiness.
58. The move to level 2 means that we can remove nearly all of the restrictions on the resumption of economic activity across most industries.
59. Economic activity will be allowed with the necessary and appropriate stringent health protocols and safety precautions in place.
60. Therefore, the following changes will take effect under level 2:
61. All restrictions on inter-provincial travel will be lifted.
62. Accommodation, hospitality venues and tours will be permitted according to approved protocols to ensure social distancing.
63. Restaurants, bars and taverns will be permitted to operate according to approved protocols as to times of operation and numbers of people.
64. Restrictions on the sale of tobacco will be lifted.
65. The suspension of the sale of alcohol will be lifted subject to certain restrictions.

66. Alcohol will be permitted for on-site consumption in licensed establishments only up until 10pm.
67. Liquor outlets will be allowed to sell alcohol for off-site consumption from Monday to Thursday during the hours of 9am to 5pm only.
68. Restrictions on family and social visits will also be lifted, although everyone is urged to exercise extreme caution and undertake such visits only if necessary.
69. Infections have been known to take place during family visits, endangering family members and sometimes leading to the deaths of some family members.
70. Social distancing should be observed, masks should be continue to be worn and special care should be taken to protect the elderly and people with underlying conditions.
71. Familiarity with each other should not allow us to forget these precautions.
72. As we ease restrictions, it is necessary that some measures remain in place to limit transmission and protect our health capacity.
73. Therefore,
74. Current restrictions on international travel will remain in place.
75. No gatherings of more than 50 people will be permitted. Among others, this includes funerals and religious events.
76. Spectators will not be permitted at sporting events.
77. The curfew will remain in place between the hours of 10pm and 4am.
78. We continue to encourage people to stay at home if they can and, if possible, to work from home, especially if they are over the age of 60 or have underlying conditions.
79. In order to keep the remaining restrictions in place and to maintain some of the essential elements of our health response, it is necessary that we extend the national state of disaster once again until 15 September 2020.
80. With this new phase of our response, we need to put in place the practices and forms of behaviour that we must continue to adopt for some time to come.
81. This virus will remain with us for many months and I must applaud the many South Africans who have changed their way of life to meet that reality.
82. I must also make mention, in particular, of the contribution of traditional leaders and religious leaders of all faiths who have provided guidance on how religious and cultural observances can be adjusted during the time of coronavirus.
83. Alongside basic precautions that all of us can take, we are improving public health capacity so that we can better identify, isolate, test and treat every positive case and trace and quarantine every contact.

84. In the coming days, we will announce a powerful new tool to support our digital contact tracing efforts.
85. In addition to manual contact tracing and the national WhatsApp channel, a mobile application will be used to notify contacts more quickly while preserving their privacy and anonymity.
86. The Minister of Health, acting on behalf of our government, requested the Director-General of the World Health Organisation, Dr Tedros Ghebreyesus, to send experts to South Africa to bolster our efforts against the coronavirus.
87. We deeply welcome the support from the WHO, which has brought 43 experts to South Africa to assist our hard working health professionals to help us fight this epidemic.
88. They are already providing help with regard to epidemiological analysis, infection control, incident management and community engagement.
89. We must continue to minimise the risk of outbreaks in high-vulnerability settings, particularly in homes for older people, mental health facilities and other institutions.
90. We will also strengthen our efforts to enforce health and safety measures in the workplace, in retail stores and public transport, to protect workers and commuters and create a safe environment for businesses to operate.
91. Following the measures we have put in place as part of the R500 billion social and economic relief package, we continue to engage with our social partners in business and labour on how to sustain and improve the support being provided to companies, employees and households.
92. The further easing of restrictions presents us with the greatest opportunity since the start of the pandemic to breathe life into our struggling economy.
93. Even as we open up economic activity, it will take a long time for industries and businesses to recover, and there is much work still to be done.
94. On Thursday, I convened all the social partners in NEDLAC, namely government, labour, business and community.
95. We are now working together on an urgent economic recovery programme that places the protection and creation of employment at its centre.
96. We will be making announcements on the outcome of this work in the next few weeks.
97. We will use this moment not only to return South Africa to where it was before, but to transform our country to a more equal, more just and more dynamic economy.
98. Fellow Citizens, difficult days indeed lie ahead.
99. However, we have proven our resilience as a nation over the past five months.

100. The task before us now is to apply the same energies with which we have battled this pandemic to the economic recovery effort.
101. We have weathered a long and difficult storm.
102. We have endured great hardship and suffered unbearable losses.
103. But we have stood firm against this onslaught.
104. We have taken action to protect ourselves, our communities and our country.
105. A ray of light is visible on the horizon.
106. Let us continue to exercise the greatest caution and care, and remain ever-vigilant. Let us continue to stand united in our determination to defeat this virus.
107. Let us press forward – one nation, resolute, hopeful and courageous.
108. Morena boloka setjhaba sa heso, Setjhaba sa South Afrika.
109. May God Bless South Africa and protect her people.
110. I thank you.

7.10. Appendix 10: Donald Trump Speech One

1. To unleash the full power of the federal government in this effort today, I am officially declaring a National Emergency.
2. Two very big words.
3. The action I am taking will open up access to up to 50 billion dollars of very important and a large amount of money for states and territories and localities in our shared fight against this disease.
4. In furtherance of the order, I'm urging every state to set up emergency operation centers effective immediately.
5. You're going to be hearing from some of the largest companies and greatest retailers and medical companies in the world.
6. They're standing right behind me and the side of me.
7. I'm also asking every hospital in this country to activate its emergency preparedness plan
8. so that they can meet the needs of Americans everywhere.
9. The hospitals are very engaged.
10. New York and various other places are also various engaged.
11. I just spoke with governor Cuomo.
12. We had a very good conversation
13. and we're working very strongly with the many states including New York.

12. The urgency orders I'm issuing today will also confer broad new authority to the Secretary of Health and Human Services.
13. The Secretary of HHS will be able to immediately waive revisions of applicable laws and regulations to give doctors, hospital all hospitals and healthcare providers, maximum flexibility to respond to the virus and care for patients.
14. This includes the following critical authorities, the ability to waive laws to enable telehealth, a fairly new and incredible thing that's happened in the not so distant past.
15. I tell you what they've done with telehealth has incredible.
16. It gives remote doctors visits and hospital check-ins the power to waive certain federal license requirements
17. so that doctors from other states can provide services in states with the greatest need.
18. Number two, the ability to waive requirements that critical access hospitals limit the number of beds to 25 and the length of stay to 96 hours.
19. The ability to waive the requirements of a three day hospital stay prior to admission to a nursing home; big thing.
20. The authority to waive rules to hinder hospital's ability to bring additional physicians on board or obtain needed office space.
21. They can do as they want.
22. They can do what they have to do.
23. They know what they have to do.
24. Now they don't have any problem getting it done.
25. The authority to waive rules that severely restrict where hospitals can care for patients within the hospital itself.
26. Ensuring that the emergency capacity can be quickly established.
27. We'll remove or eliminate every obstacle necessary to deliver our people the care that they need and that they're entitled to.
28. No resource will be spared.
29. Nothing whatsoever.
30. 10 days ago, I brought together the CEOs of commercial labs at the White House and directed them to immediately begin working on the solution to dramatically increase the availability of tests.
31. Other countries have called us and worked with us
32. and they're doing similar things or will be doing similar things as a result of that action.

33. Today we are announcing a new partnership with private sector to vastly increase and accelerate our capacity to test for the Coronavirus.
34. We want to make sure that those who need a test can get a test very safely, quickly and conveniently
35. but we don't want people to take a test if we feel that they shouldn't be doing it and we don't want everyone running out and taking; only if you have certain symptoms.
36. Using federal emergency authorities, the FDA approved a new test for the virus.
37. We did this within hours after receiving the application from Roche, a process that would normally take weeks.
38. We therefore expect up to a half a million additional tests will be available early next week.
39. We'll be announcing locations probably on Sunday night.
40. I want to thank Roche, great company for their incredible work.
41. I'd also like to thank Thermo Fisher.
42. The FDA's goal is to hopefully authorize your application within 24 hours.
43. It'll go very quickly.
44. It's going very quickly.
45. Which will bring additionally 1.4 million tests on board next week and five million within a month.
46. I doubt we'll need anywhere near that.
47. At the same time, we've been in discussions with pharmacies and retailers to make drive-through tests available in the critical locations identified by public health professionals.
48. The goal is for individuals to be able to drive up and be swabbed without having to leave your car.
49. I want to thank Google.
50. Google is helping to develop a website.
51. It's going to be very quickly done, unlike websites of the past, to determine whether a test is warranted and to facilitate testing at a nearby convenient location.
52. And we have many, many locations behind us, by the way.
53. We cover this country and large parts of the world, by the way.
54. We're not going to be talking about the world right now.
55. But we cover very, very strongly our country.
56. Stores in virtually every location.

57. Google has 1,700 engineers working on this right now.
58. They've made tremendous progress.
59. Our overriding goal is to stop the spread of the virus and to help all Americans who have been impacted by this.
60. Again, we don't want everybody taking this test.
61. It's totally unnecessary.
62. And this will pass.
63. This will pass through and we're going to be even stronger for it.
64. We've learned a lot, a tremendous amount has been learned.
65. I want to thank Deborah Birx and I want to ask her maybe to come up and say a few words as to what's happening.

7.11. Appendix 11: Donald Trump Speech Two

1. A big day today in the White House, all of American society is engaged and mobilized in the war against the invisible enemy.
2. While we must remain vigilant, it is clear that our aggressive strategy is working, and very strongly working I might add.
3. New cases are declining throughout the New York metropolitan area.
4. Cases in the Detroit and Denver Metro areas are flat.
5. Washington DC, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and St. Louis are showing great signs of progress,
6. and new cases in Houston and New Orleans are declining.
7. The battle continues,
8. but the data suggests that nationwide we have passed the peak on new cases.
9. Hopefully that will continue,
10. and we will continue to make great progress.
11. These encouraging developments have put us in a very strong position to finalize guidelines for states on reopening the country,
12. which we'll be announcing.
13. We're going to be talking about that tomorrow.
14. We'll be having a news conference tomorrow.
15. Sometime during the afternoon we're going to be announcing a guidelines,
16. and we'll be talking about various states,
17. and it's very exciting.

18. It's been a horrible time to see such death and destruction,
19. especially when you come out of what was the greatest economy in the history of the world. The greatest.
20. There's never been an economy like what we had produced,
21. but we'll produce it again,
22. and I think we'll produce it again very fast.
23. The medical and healthcare advances we've made are critical to our continued progress.
24. We've rapidly developed the most expansive and accurate testing system anywhere in the world
25. and have completed more than 3.3 million tests.
26. To date we have authorized 48 separate coronavirus tests,
27. and the FDA is working with 300 companies and labs to widen our capacity still further.
28. Today, Abbott Labs announced that it is developed an antibody tests
29. that will determine if someone has been previously infected with the coronavirus and potentially developed immunity.
30. It's a great test.
31. The company says these tests could be available to screen up to 20 million people in a matter of weeks.
32. My Administration is also distributing vast amounts of medical supplies to states across the country through Project Airbridge, which has been an amazing success.
33. We have completed 44 flights,
34. and these are flights of very, very large airplanes, massive cargo planes, 44 flights of critical supplies as of today,
35. and an additional 56 flights scheduled in the near future.
36. We have some very brilliant people working on this.
37. It's logistically incredible what they've done,
38. and we've also been working on this with the military,
39. and the genius of all of them together has been incredible to watch.
40. In total, through all channels, the federal government has developed and delivered 39,400,095 masks, 431 million gloves, 57 million surgical masks and 10.2 million gowns.
41. We ordered 500 million masks, and they'll be coming shortly,
42. and we've distributed 100 million masks.

43. Following our use of the Defense Production Act, GM announced that its first ventilators come off the assembly line in Kokomo, Indiana. Great place.

44. They did it in 11 days from start to finish.

45. A remarkable testament to the ingenuity of the American worker.

46. GM will ship over 600 ventilators this month alone, with thousands more to come.

47. And we have other companies doing something similar,

48. and I think they said that there's a brief clip that we have of General Motors sent to us by General Motors,

49. and I think they might be wanting to play that for your benefit.

50. Please. I know you got a little bit nervous when you saw there was a clip about ready to be played,

51. but that was sent to us by General Motors,

52. and we thought it would be a good one to play.

53. It's amazing.

54. You know what they've done in a very, very short period of time.

55. They're now making thousands of ventilators,

56. and they're coming out of the factory very rapidly at a clip

57. that nobody can even believe.

58. But we have others also doing it,

59. and these are very high grade ventilators.

60. So we're helping a lot of people,

61. and at this moment nobody needs them.

62. We have to remember during the surge,

63. nobody's needed them for weeks now,

64. but we'll have them for stockpiles,

65. and very importantly, we're going to have them for other countries

66. because nobody's able to do things like we can do,

67. and we're going to be able to help other countries that are having tremendous problems, to put it mildly.

68. My Administration is using every available authority to accelerate the development, study, and delivery of therapies, so important therapies.

69. Treatments, and, ultimately, what we want to come up with is a safe vaccine.

70. But, frankly, the therapies, to me, are the most important because it takes care of people.

71. Right now the vaccines have to be tested,
72. so it takes a longer period of time,
73. but we have some great potential therapies already,
74. and we'll see how they're working.
75. We'll be able to report on that,
76. I think over the next week or two.
77. Tremendous progress has been made.