# Construction of the Indonesian Presidents' Speeches at the UN: Historical Discourse Analysis

## (Kontruksi Pidato Presiden Indonesia di PBB: Analisis Wacana Historis)

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**Abstract:** The construction of the speeches of the four presidents lies at the complex intersection of sociohistorical practices, where the disciplines of psychology, political science, history, sociology, and anthropology were formed. The aim of this study was to analyze the corpus-based construction of the Indonesian Presidents' speech at the UN. This research method used a descriptive approach. This type of qualitative research was oriented towards historical discourse analysis. This research data consisted of words, phrases, and sentences obtained from speeches by four Indonesian presidents at the UN. The data corpus of the four Indonesian presidents' speeches was obtained from the YouTube channel. The collection of corpus data in this research was carried out through observation to find out whether the videos of the four presidents' speeches were sound and complete. The available data corpus was analyzed based on Wodak's analysis of historical discourse (HDA). The research results indicated that the construction of the four Indonesian presidents' speeches at the UN included the use of discursive strategies, namely argumentation and nomination. The findings of this research also showed that the argumentation strategy used topics that were divided into the past, present, and future. This topic refers to intrinsic topics in the form of reality, economy, justice, health and urgency, while extrinsic topics include reality, history, economics, threats, justice, health, and urgency. The nomination strategy found the use of personal deixis in the form of I, we, and us as identity markers in the Indonesian presidents' speeches at the UN. The conclusion of this research indicated that the topic analysis and identity markers used by the four Indonesian presidents were different. This can be seen from the use of the number of words that appear in the four speech data corpus, which showed how the four presidents opened their talks and how they identified themselves, defined their countries, and described their attitudes.

| Keywords | historical discourse analysis, Indonesian president, argumentation strategy, nomination strategy |

**Abstrak:** Konstruksi pidato keempat presiden terletak pada persimpangan kompleks praktik sosiohistoris di mana disiplin ilmu psikologi, ilmu politik, historis, sosiologi, dan antropologi dibentuk . Tujuan penelitian ini menganalisis kontruksi pidato presiden Indonesia di PBB berbasis korpus. Metode penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan deskriptif. Jenis penelitian kualitatif yang berorientasi analisis wacana historis. Data penelitian ini berupa kata, frasa, dan kalimat yang diperoleh dari pidato keempat presiden Indonesia di PBB. Korpus data pidato keempat presiden Indonesia diperoleh pada kanal youtube. Pengambilan korpus data dalam penelitian ini dilakukan melalui observasi untuk menentukan apakah video pidato keempat presiden tersebut mengeluarkan suara dan utuh. Korpus data yang sudah tersedia dianalsisis berdasarkan analisis wacana historis (AWH) Wodak. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa konstruksi pidato keempat presiden Indonesia di PBB terdapat penggunaan strategi diskursif, yakni argumentasi dan nominasi. Temuan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa strategi argumentasi terdapat penggunana topik yang terbagi atas masa lalu, masa sekarang, dan masa depan. Topik ini mengacu kepada topik intrinsik berupa topik realitas, ekonomi, keadilan, kesehatan, dan urgensi, sedangkan topik ekstrinsik berupa topik realitas, sejarah, ekonomi, ancaman, keadilan, ksehatan, dan urgensi. Strategi nominasi ditemukan adanya penggunaan deiksis persona berupa saya, kami, dan kita sebagai penanda identitas dalam pidato presiden Indonesia di PBB. Simpulan penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa analisis topik dan penanda identitas yang digunakan oleh keempat presiden Indonesia memiliki perbedaan. Hal ini dapat dilihat dari penggunaan jumlah kata yang muncul pada keempat korpus data dari pidato menunjukkan bagaimana keempat presiden membuka pembicaraan mereka dan bagaimana mereka mengidentifikasi diri mereka sendiri, mendefinisikan negara mereka, dan menggambarkan sikap mereka.

| Kata Kunci | analisis wacana historis, presiden Indonesia, strategi argumentasi, strategi nominasi |

## INTRODUCTION

The structure of the four presidential speeches is at the complex intersection of the socio-historical practices that make up the disciplines of psychology, political science, history, sociology, and anthropology. Identity is an analytical tool in psychology, which focuses mostly on individual behavior and characteristics. It is often far from identity as an analytical tool in political science, which focuses on power and contestation within or between societies (Gumperz, 1982). Two main assumptions are made in the conceptualization of identity in this study. Identities, both individual and collective, are always changing. However, these assumptions about identity are not widely held by scholars, who trend to ignore internal inconsistencies, tensions, and the possibility of national identity transformation (Wodak, 2009; Wodak et al., 1999). The second assumption is based on Jenkins (1996) about definition of social identity, according to which minimal expressions of identity refer to the way in which individuals and collectives differ in their social relations with or from other individuals and collectives.

Construction is about the arrangement and relationship of words in sentences or groups of words used to form spoken texts. The task of discourse construction is to construct meaning in the form of words, sentences, paragraphs, or an article or book on a larger scale. News contains writing that is combined with words and images that have implicit and direct meaning and contain certain main themes. From an analytical perspective, discourse is constructed and limited by social structures in the broadest sense and at all levels: class and social interactions at the social level, unique relationships with certain institutions such as law or education, classification systems that have different norms and practices that are discursive and non-discursive and so on (Fairclough, 1992). The structure of the Indonesian presidents' speeches at the United Nations, consists of three parts, which are opening, body and closing. Each speech frame is linked to each other, so they cannot be separated.

Discovering the structure of the speeches of the four Indonesian presidents at the United Nations requires an examination of language as a primary means of identity construction in social and political discourse. As Fairclough (1992) says, a speaker's identity is expressed in the linguistic forms and meanings he chooses. In addition, critical discourse analysis considers both written and spoken discourse forms of social practice in which language users engage in various activities, including identity construction (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1996). Wodak (2006) uses one of the CDA data analysis methods that can be used to study the manipulativeness of political speeches and the identities reflected in those speeches according to the assumptions or themes that form the backbone of political speech arguments. This is because there is no research that uses historical discourse analysis (HDA) to analyze political discourse in the Indonesian context. This gives reason to use HDA to investigate whether differences in political ideological identity can be observed among the four Indonesian presidents of the UN.

Historical discourse analysis (HDA) as a paradigm for the study of political discourse was developed in Vienna in several manuscripts (Wodak, 1994; Wodak et al., 1990). One of the main goals of this analysis is to collect as many genres and discourses as possible regarding the given topic, as well as the historical dimensions of the problem. Historical discourse analysis (HDA) considers Wodak (2006) three types of criticism, namely (1) immanent criticism of a text or discourse, which seeks to discover the internal or relational structure of discourse; (2) sociodiagnostic criticism that seeks to expose the persuasive and manipulative nature of certain discursive practices; and (3) predictive criticism that promotes communication. As Wodak (2006) said, to avoid bias in discourse analysis, the analysis should follow the principle of triangulation. Therefore, one of the main features of historical discourse analysis (HDA) is the flexibility to work with different multi-method approaches and to use different empirical data and background information.

A key concept in historical discourse analysis (HDA) is topos (plural: topoi). In the literature related to logic and reasoning, especially argumentation theory, there are several definitions and conceptual notions of this subject. The concept used by Wodak (2006) in HDA is narrow and adapted. To apply the principle of triangulation, HDA researchers use argumentative theory, or more precisely thematic theory. In argumentation theory, Wodak (2006) suggests that a topic or premise is either a direct or implicit condition contained in an argument. Wodak added that topics relate to content through sequences or rules of reasoning that connect arguments or arguments to conclusions and propositions. The first is that the HDA theme type is the parent theme. As argued by Bruxelles et al., (1995), a given vocabulary or lexical group can give rise to several topics. In one paper, Baker et al., (2008) used keywords to identify topics using computational linguistic methods. They also use the word subject interchangeably. Internal subjects separated from subjects raised during the argument (external subjects, dynamic subjects). Internal themes are dynamically linked to pave the way for the use of external themes used in arguments.

This argumentative strategy has two main weaknesses in relation to the aims of this study. First, arguments can take different forms. It can also be argued that arguments can have more than one actor and can be studied on a macro scale. This view of argumentation is very useful in developing analytical models of public political speeches, where the speaker and the audience (public) share most of the information. In every political speech, the audience tries to create an impression of the speech being made, such as moderate, humble, dictatorial or radical. On the other hand, political speakers try to identify or distance themselves from certain political parties and trends with the help of topics. In speech politics, then, there is deliberate dynamic argumentation. The speaker tries to achieve or evoke a certain impression using themes (internal and external); on the other hand, the audience uses themes to complete the argument. This is a model of interactive argumentation theory that is not assumed by the old argumentation theory. In light of the topic overview above, a topic definition can be proposed that fits each statement. Based on this new definition, topics in a speech can be linked by a single word or a group of vocabulary to several other topics that together form a topical area. Thus, topics can be related to other topics in the speech according to the requirements of the argument.

Historical discourse analysis (HDA) is applied to the phenomenon of linguistic problems from various aspects. Several aspects of the HDA field of study start from immigrant problems in discursive practices in the past and try to clarify the tasks of immigrants today and build margins and boundaries of discourse (van Leeuwen & Ruth, 1999; Yoosun, 2006; Khosravinik, 2010; Yoosun & Rupaleem, 2012). Apart from that, historical discourse analysis is also applied in the context of academic discourse (Watss, 2007; Bondi, 2009; Thomas et al., 2013). In political issues, historical discourse analysis is used to reveal the content of speeches which are linked to past, present and future history (Lu & Ahrens, 2008; Boyd, 2009; Ingólfur, 2010; Oddo, 2011; Wodak, 2015; Wodak & Salomi, 2015).

Studies related to identity construction, argumentation, and especially the use of discourse topics have been conducted by some previous researchers Subuki et al., (2023) entitled "Gunung Sitol District Court Decision No.07/Pid.B/2013/PN-GS: Construction of forensic Argument". The results of this study show that if we use the evaluation questions proposed by Douglas Walton to test the quality of arguments based on one's knowledge (argument from knowledge), it can be argued that the justified and persuasive claims contained in the word are probably bad. A further study was conducted by Lemba et al., (2023) entitled "Ecofeminist Identity of Lamaholot Women in the Besi Pare Tonu Wujo Myth". The findings of study show that the ecofeminist identity of Lamaholot women in Tonu Wujo was constructed through her collaboration with Lera Wula Tana Ekan and the male and patriarchal cultural system as the right strategy to renew the nature and culture of Lamaholot. The study of Risaldi et al., (2021) entitled "Modality as a lingual feature of power practices in the pedophile community" explains that in discourse analysis CDA focuses mainly on power CDA and ideology. Critical discourse analysis focuses its analysis on power and ideology, in other words, discourse analysis becomes critical when the analysis focuses on how power relations and ideology shape discourse and the constructive effect of discourse on social

identity, social relations and knowledge, and as belief systems; they are not things that are usually visible to the participants in the discussion (Fairclough, 1995).

From previous research, it can be seen that this research is new in four ways. First, this research reveals the identity of the speeches of the four Indonesian presidents at the UN. Second, this research was conducted on YouTube social media using Wodak's historical discourse analysis (HDA) which views discourse as discursive action. Third, previous research in revealing identity has used an ecofeminist approach and CDA Fairclough's theory, whereas this research is novel in the theory used by HDA Wodak which focuses on discursive strategies, namely argumentation strategies and nomination strategies. In the previous research, it can also be seen that the method used was descriptive qualitative, whereas in this research a qualitative descriptive approach is oriented towards corpus-based historical discourse analysis. Fourth, this research compares the four speeches of Indonesian presidents to find argumentation strategies that are illustrated through the use of topics through intrinsic topics and extrinsic topics, while nomination strategies are illustrated through the use of persona deixis as a marker of identity through the number of words that appear in the data corpus and the use of persona deixis.

Regarding to previous literature and research, it shows that there are many studies that use HDA from all aspects of the problem. However, it is still difficult to find studies on the Indonesian presidents' speeches at the UN, especially using HDA theory. From this, research into the construction of the Indonesian presidents' speeches at the UN is a worthy subject for research. Thus, research on the identity construction of the four Indonesian presidents' speeches at the UN complements historical discourse analysis research and can be used as a tool to identify the ideological attitudes of the four presidents in a political context. This is in line with the opinion of Nursalam et al., (2021), that the discourse text has a certain ideology, so it can be analyzed in depth by paying attention to the linguistic elements in order to uncover the ideology of the text contained in it. Therefore, the aim of this research concerns the construction of speeches as represented in the use of topics and identity markers used by the four Indonesian presidents at the UN through language studies from the perspective of historical discourse analysis based on corpus linguistics. This research contributes as a reference for Indonesian language learning, especially in speech and argumentation text material as well as linguistics, especially critical discourse analysis.

## METHOD

This research method used a descriptive approach. This type of qualitative research is oriented towards corpus-based historical discourse analysis. This research corpus consisted of the speeches of the four Indonesian presidents, namely Sukarno, Suharto, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo in the general assembly which took place at the UN Headquarters in New York. This research data consisted of words, phrases and sentences obtained from the speeches of the four Indonesian presidents at the UN. The criteria for selecting the four speeches as research data were based on the absence of discourse studies that examined the topics and identity construction of the Indonesian president at the UN through speeches delivered in Indonesian and English. The data corpus of the four Indonesian presidents' speeches was obtained on the YouTube channel which is detailed as follows.

**Table 1**
**Data Source of Indonesian Presidents' speeches at the UN**

| No | President | Speech | Youtube account | Link |
|----|-----------|--------|-----------------|------|
| 1. | Soekarno | English | Motivation Spot | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ofGyhyVVO0 |
| 2. | Soeharto | Bahasa Indonesia | Soeharto Channel | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KLqdRGMH0iQ |
| 3. | Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono | English | VOAIndonesia | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bhUrcBrqkfc |
| 4. | Joko Widodo | Bahasa Indonesia | KOMPASTV | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aPQ-oieaNNw |

The researchers only found the speeches of the four Indonesian presidents, namely Sukarno, Suharto, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo, while no videos of speeches were found for other presidents. The collection of data corpus in this research was undertaken through observation to determine whether the videos of the four presidents' speeches had sound and were intact. The next step was downloading the video transcription of the presidents' speeches from YouTube by utilizing the transcript feature on YouTube and copying the transcript into Microsoft Word. Next, changing the file in the form of a word document into TXT form via the Zamzar online file conversion application was conducted. Files in the form of TXT were entered into a data corpus (corpora) using the AntConc 3.5.9 (Windows) 2020 application to determine the word types and word tokens that appeared in the four presidential speeches.

**Table 2**
**Data Corpus of Indonesian Presidents' speeches at the UN**

|  | Soekarno | Soeharto | Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono | Joko Widodo |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word Types | 224 | 223 | 901 | 1134 |
| Word Tokens | 480 | 409 | 2199 | 2789 |

The available data corpus was analyzed based on Wodak's historical discourse analysis (HDA) by paying attention to three important dimensions in the historical discourse method: the content of the data, the discursive strategies used, and the linguistic realization of these contents and strategies. The research data that has been collected is analyzed using discursive strategies, namely argumentation strategies and historical discourse analysis (HDA) nominations. The steps used in carrying out the investigation are as follows. First, the researcher conducted an examination of the argumentation strategies used by the four presidents in using topics related to the historical dimension of discursive action. This topic relates to an issue also explored in a number of previous investigations. After that, we compared the results of the use of topics used by the four prominent presidents regarding the past, present and future. Second, we identified the nomination strategies used by the four Indonesian presidents in pronouncing their names through linguistic devices in the form of persona deixis. The use of the nomination strategy as a marker of the identity of the four Indonesian presidents at the UN uses persona deixis which reflects identification and involvement with the audience. The next step was comparing what persona deixis appears in speeches at the UN. This research aims to see whether there are changes in the argumentation and nomination strategies used by the four Indonesian presidents in representing themselves as president of Indonesia, society and the Indonesian nation.

**RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

This research produced two major findings, namely the use of argumentation strategies and nomination strategies. The argumentation strategy consists of using topics, namely intrinsic and extrinsic topics that refer to the past, present and future which appear in the speeches of the four presidents of the Republic of Indonesia at the UN as a tool to identify the speaker's ideological stance in a political context. The nomination strategy in the form of using personal deixis is illustrated by the percentage frequency of personal deixis that appears in the data corpus and as a marker of identity for the four Indonesian presidents.

**Argumentation Strategy**

General statistical information from the study of the four corpora reveals some interesting initial findings about the topics used in the Indonesian presidency at the UN which are divided into past, present and future. Look at Figure 1 below.
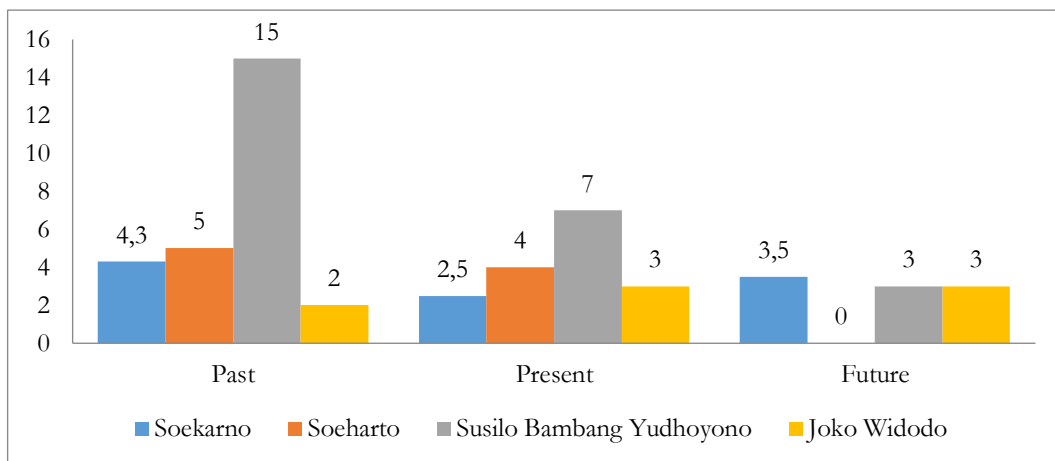
**Figure 1**
**Frequency of Topic in Speech**

Based on Figure 1 above, it can be seen that the use of topics used by the four presidents provides a certain orientation to their speeches. Soekarno in his speech used striking topics related to the past, such as the issue of peace which was represented by five years ago, 29 Asian and African countries sent representatives to the city of Bandung to discuss world security. The same thing also happened to Suharto who used past topics, such as the 50 year history of the UN and the 50 proclamation of Indonesian independence as a form of representation of the issue of world peace and conflict prevention through UN diplomacy.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono used general terminology to refer to world issues in the past, such as the use of the terms two decades since the fall of the Berlin Wall, cold war in 1990, 1990 in Southeast Asia, old cold war, Southeast Asian Nations in 1960- poverty, and the 30-year conflict in the US, while the present can be seen from the striking topics of the suffering of the Palestinian people in Gaza, the Ukrainian conflict, relations between Russia and the West, and the ongoing conflicts in Syria and Iraq. The striking topic of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's speech contains global issues that must be resolved by all countries, especially the United Nations (UN). This can be considered a strategy in incident naming.

Topics were analyzed from a chronological perspective classified into three subcategories of past, present, and future time (Figure 1). The analysis was carried out by considering the nature of the problems and incidents referred to by each topic raised. As shown in the figure above, Soekarno used various topics ranging from the past, present and future, while Suharto did not use the topic of the future in his speech at the UN. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo also showed the same thing, differing in the frequency of other topics related to the past and present. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono referred to past events and problems, even those in the historical remote, twice as much as Joko Widodo. Considering the number of topics related to the present, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono used them more often. The topics that emerge can be described as parts of the argument that include mandatory premises, either explicit or inferential.

One perspective that can be used as an argumentative strategy for the four Indonesian presidents is historical discourse analysis (HDA) as one of the most influential CDA schools with their respective basic science models: the historical model (Wodak, 2006), model of social cognition (van Dijk, 2008), and the dialectical social model (Fairclough, 1995; 2000; 2001; 2003), or multimodal (van Leeuwen, 2004; 2008), Kress & Van Leeuwen (2006) which did not use the topic at all. In the analysis, the list of topics used by the four presidents was extracted as in Table 1, which shows the intrinsic topics used in the PBB speeches of Soekarno, Suharto, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo. The topics presented here were all intrinsic because for all of them a particular lexicon can be found in speech and appears in the order in which it was found in speech to give a better picture of its development.

**Table 3**
**Intrinsic Topics Used in Speeches at the UN**

| No | President | Intrinsic Topics | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | | Reality Topic | Economic Topic | Justice Topic | Health Topic | Urgency Topic |
| 1. | Soekarno | The struggle and sacrifice of the Indonesian people | - | - | - | Indonesia as a facilitator of countries in Asia and Africa that need assistance |
| 2. | Soeharto | 50th anniversary of independence proclamation | - | - | The UN has played an important role in Indonesia's struggle to maintain independence. | - |
| 3. | Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono | - | Poverty and public health issues in Indonesia | - | - | Transformative development |
| | | - | - | - | - | Smart government |
| | | - | - | - | - | Innovative leadership |
| 4. | Joko Widodo | - | Indonesian economy will soon recover and grow inclusively | Rights of women and minority groups | Covid Pandemic will be handled quickly and evenly | - |
| | | - | - | Issues of violence and marginalization of women in Afghanistan | - | - |
| | | - | - | - | - | Palestine Independence |
| | | - | - | - | - | The political crisis in Myanmar |
| | | - | - | - | - | The G20 Issue in Indonesia |

Table 3 shows that the intrinsic topics used in speeches at the UN produced by the four Indonesian presidents were domestic issues, such as political, humanitarian, religious and social issues. Soekarno in his speech raised the issue of the struggle and sacrifice of the people as well as Indonesia's role as a facilitator for countries in Asia and Africa which reflects this, while Soeharto raised the issue of the struggle of the Indonesian people which occurred on the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of independence and emphasized how Indonesia maintained this independence. Different things were expressed by Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono who raised the issue of development to overcome poverty and public health through an intelligent government, while Jakowi's speech raised the issue of economic recovery, handling Covid-19, as well as the issue of violence that occurred in Afghanistan and Palestinian independence for Israel, and G20 issues.

**Table 4**
**Extrinsic Topics Used in Speeches at the UN**

| No | President | Extrinsic Topics | | | | | | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | | Reality Topic | History Topic | Economic Topic | Threat Topic | Justice Topic | Health Topic | Urgency Topic |
| 1. | Soekarno | - | The issue of state building on the ruins of an empire | - | - | World peace | - | Hopeful contributions to the leaders of newly |

| No | President | Extrinsic Topics | | | | | | |
|----|-----------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| | | Reality Topic | History Topic | Economic Topic | Threat Topic | Justice Topic | Health Topic | Urgency Topic |
| | | | | | | | | independent countries |
| | | - | - | - | - | Coloniaslime is related to global security | - | Asian, African, American, European, Australian expectations of the UN |
| 2. | Soeharto | Elimination of colonialism domination, poverty and world injustice | - | Financial crisis | - | Diplomacy | - | Peace issues |
| | | - | - | - | - | - | - | The international development strategy |
| | | - | - | - | - | - | - | The new international order |
| 3. | Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono | Global issues | - | Economic opportunities in global trade | UN powers and authority | Peace, prosperity and justice | - | - |
| | | The UN's failure to address development | - | - | Interstate and intrastate conflicts | - | - | - |
| | | Poverty and environmental destruction | - | - | Theorism in Islamic countries | - | - | - |
| 4. | Joko Widodo | G20 Issues | - | Global economic recovery | - | Terrorism conflicts and wars of peace | Globalized health | Low resilience of development climate |
| | | - | - | Green and sustainable economy | - | - | Strategic value and climate change issues | Vulnerable groups for whom inclusivity is a top priority |

Table 4 shows the extrinsic topics used and created by Soekarno, Suharto, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo in talks at the UN. Intrinsic topics together with the lexicon in the data corpus were used to extract extrinsic topics raised by the four presidents, as shown in Table 2. Extrinsic topics were "peace, security, health, economics, poverty and environmental issues raised by the four presidents in a speech at the United Nations. Based on this, it can be seen that Sukarno emphasized more on security and peace issues, while Suharto also used security, peace and economic issues. There were four presidents who displayed more extrinsic topics and there were also those who display them less, for two reasons. First, topics were generally created, blended, reshaped, and integrated historically. Second, the topic appeared in the speeches of all four presidents as self-evident, commonly known and widely used.

**Nomination Strategy**

The corpus was analyzed to compare the discourses of the four presidents regarding two types of identity, personal and national. When examining the use of identity markers, the focus was on the narrative that the speaker uses to convey his meaning and the group with which the speaker identifies (Wodak, 2009). The three most important personal deixes were I, we and us. Some arguments about the use of "I" and whether it can be used to refer to the self in an institutional context. Although the exact role of "we" and "us" in personal deixis was debatable an plays an important role in identity formation (Hutchby, 1996; Ten Have, 1991; Tracy & Haspel, 2004). Taylor & Cooren (1997) argue that in institutional and organizational speech in general, first person deixis can represent the entire institution of which the speaker is a competent member. Although the speech was originally delivered in English, the official translation of the speech into Indonesian and vice versa is analyzed because it was presented in English to an international audience. After translating the speech and cross-checking the original text, it was assumed that the content of the speech remains unchanged throughout the translation. The frequency of identity symbols in the speech of the President of Indonesia at the United Nations were presented in the figure below.
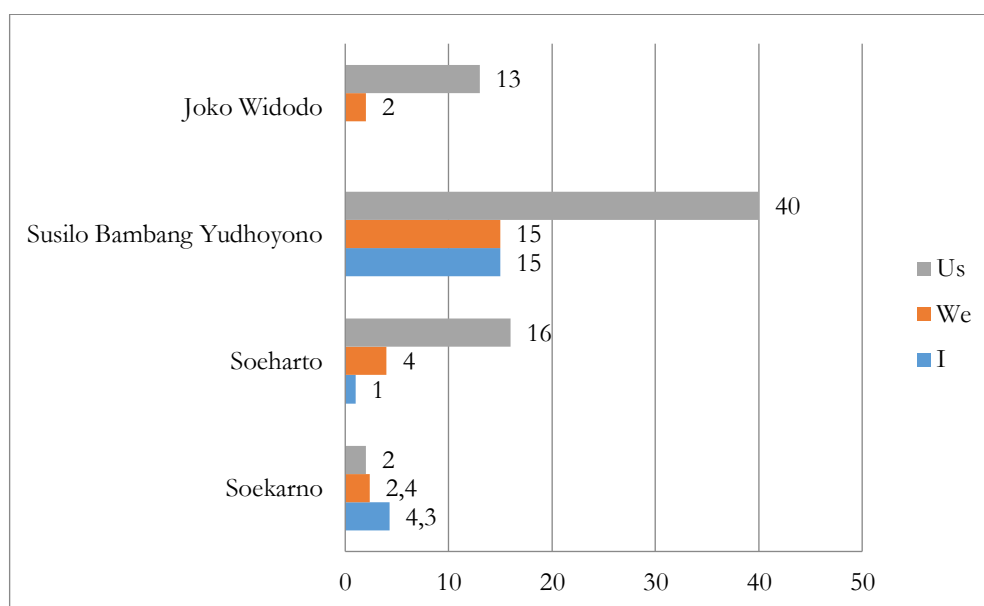


**Figure 2**
**Frequency of Identity Markers in the Indonesian Presidents' Speeches at the UN**

The figure above shows the number of words that appear in the four data corpus from the speeches of Soekarno, Suharto, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo. We used the AntConc 3.5.9 (Windows) 2020 application to find out the frequency of occurrence. Figure 2 showed that Soekarno's identity markers were in the form of persona deixis 2 times, we 2.4 times, and I 4.3 times out of 224 word types. Soeharto's identity markers were in the form of persona deixis "us" 16 times, "us" 4 times, and "me" 1 time out of 223 word types. Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's identity marker was in the form of persona deixis 40 times, we and I 15 times from 901 word types. Joko Widodo's identity marker was in the form of persona deixis "us" 13 times and "us" 2 times.

The use of persona deixis as a marker of the identity of the four Indonesian presidents at the UN used first person deixis which reflects identification and involvement with the audience. The use of persona deixis is a form of manifestation of a person's integrity and firmness. Furthermore, in terms of the use of personal deixis, Chilton & Schaffner (1997) argued that it can be adopted both inclusively and exclusively. They were inclusively adopted as a strategy to express solidarity. Meanwhile, they were exclusively used to share responsibilities, so that every action and policy decided and agreed upon was not solely imposed on the individual. This can be seen in the following quote:

(1) Today, **I am** President Soekarno who is greeting (Speech /Soekarno)
*Hari ini, **saya** seorang presiden Soekarno yang tengah menyapa (Pidato/Soekarno)*

(2) It is an honor for **me** to participate on behalf of the government and people of Indonesia (Speech /Soeharto)
*Suatu kehormatan bagi **saya** untuk ikut serta atas nama pemerintah dan rakyat Indonesia (Pidato/Soeharto)*

(3) **I** observe that today the international community is worried about the danger of the old Cold War returning to our full main power relations are getting worse (Speech /Susilo)
***Saya** mengamati bahwa hari ini internasional masyarakat khawatir akan bahaya tersebut dari Perang Dingin lama kembali ke kekuatan utama penuh kami hubungan semakin memburuk (Pidato/Susilo)*

(4) **I** have to admit that there are still many challenges facing Indonesia (Speech /Jokowi)
***Saya** harus mengakui bahwa masih banyak tantangan yang dihadapi Indonesia (Pidato/Jokowi)*

In data (1) and (2), personal deixis used by Soekarno and Soeharto was in the form of the word I to indicate his identity as the president of Indonesia. This is reinforced by the statement sentence after the word I in data (1) in the form of President Soekarno who is greeting, while the word I in data (2) is also used to greet the audience at the UN. In the context of sentences (1) and (2), I can be used to refer to the Indonesian nation led by Soekarno and Suharto so that the audience believes that he was indeed the president of Indonesia. In contrast to the use of personal deixis in data (3) and (4), Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Joko Widodo's speeches were used to express personal opinions and convey that issues occurring in Indonesia and abroad were the topic of discussion. In the context of sentences (3) and (4), they did not represent themselves, but a collectivity on behalf of the Indonesian nation and people.

The four Indonesian presidents also used the persona deixis we and we as a representation of self-identity. Our personal deixis was subjective personal deixis used to refer to the subject complement or subject clause. Objective person deixis referred to the same person or thing as the equivalent subject person deixis. This can be seen in the following quote:

(5) If **we** succeed in solving one problem, then solutions to various other problems will open (Speech/Soekarno)
*Jika **kami** berhasil menyelesaikan satu masalah, maka solusi dari berbagai masalah yang lain akan terbuka (Pidato/Soekarno)*

(6) Governments and all the people of the world turn to the UN for the continuation of **our** hopes (Speech/Soeharto)
*Para pemerintah dan seluruh rakyat dunia berpaling pada PBB demi kelanjutan harapan-harapan **kami** (Pidato/Soeharto)*

(7) What **we** need to end the suffering of the Palestinian people (Speech /Susilo)
*Yang **kami** butuhkan untuk mengakhiri penderitaan rakyat Palestina (Pidato/Susilo)*

(8) **We** continue to work to fulfill our commitments in 2020 Indonesia (Speech/Jokowi)
***Kami** terus bekerja memenuhi komitmen kami pada tahun 2020 Indonesia (Pidato/Jokowi)*

Our use of persona deixis in data (5), (6), (7), and (8) of the four speeches of the Indonesian presidents was used to refer to the speaker and listener. The word "we" was also sometimes used by the four Indonesian presidents to avoid talking about themselves as individuals and instead suggest that others get involved. Our use of persona deixis made the self smaller by making it part of the collective. The most important thing was when "we" was used in the Indonesian presidents' speeches which serves to create a nation or state where many people as a society are involved and not referring to one particular individual. By using "our "persona deixis as a marker of identity, the four Indonesian presidents refered to certain issues that depend on the context in which the speech occurs. Our identity markers wre used by speakers to include others in their speech to create a group with a clear identity and make others also responsible for the problems that occur. This can be seen in the following data excerpt.

(9) If **we** succeed in resolving, for example, the issue of disarmament (Speech/Soekarno)
*Jika **kita** berhasil menyelesaikan, misalnya masalah perlucutan senjata (Pidato/Soekarno)*

(10) Let **us** make this 50th anniversary of our concentration a good momentum for all of us (Speech/Soeharto)
*Marilah **kita** jadikan peringatan 50 tahun konsentrasi kita ini sebagai momentum yang baik bagi kita semua (Pidato/Soeharto)*

(11) The elusive two-state solution what **we** need to resolve the conflict in Ukraine is now shaking relations between Russia and the West and we need to find an effective and durable solution (Speech /Susilo)

*Solusi dua negara yang sulit dipahami yang **kita** butuhkan menyelesaikan konflik di Ukraina itu sekarang mengguncang hubungan antara Rusia dan Barat dan kita perlu menemukan solusi yang efektif dan tahan lama (Pidato/Susilo)*

(12) **We** must give hope that the pandemic of 19 will be handled (Speech /Jokowi)

***Kita** harus memberikan harapan bahwa pandemik of 19 akan bisa tertangani (Pidato/Jokowi)*

The use of personal deixis in (9), (10), (11) and (12) first identifed the good qualities of the speaker. The four presidents of Indonesi use our practice to apply for UN membership as a collective identity. Our personadeix in the speeches of the four Indonesian presidents at the United Nations aimed to express an institutional identity, namely that the four Indonesian presidents spoke as representatives of the nation. On the other hand, the word between us conveyed the image of the nation as a jointly responsible nation. So our use was intentional to make the public feel a duty to help each other between countries within the UN as a form of social identity.

Regarding the use of personal deix, van Dijk (2002) argued that our person and our deix can be embraced both inclusively and exclusively. They were widely recognized as an expression of solidarity. At the same time, they were exclusively used to share responsibility, so that every action and policy decided and agreed upon is not the responsibility of just one person (Dahnilsyah, 2017). On the other hand, personal deix was often used as a strategy to gain support and develop trust. Personal deix was used to refer to the person or thing the speaker is talking about, and can be used to refer to oneself. Collins (1990) states that there are two types of personal pronouns, namely subjective and objective personal pronouns. Subjective personal pronouns are used to refer to subject complements or subject clauses, such as they, I, we, you, he and they. An objective personal pronoun refers to the same person or thing as the corresponding subject pronoun. Confirming this, research by Risaldi (2023) showed that the use of personal pronouns shows the power of a person.

The analysis of the four data corpora below showed how the four presidents opened their debates and how they identified themselves, defined countries and describe positions. To this end, the open speech was important because it tended to strengthen identity (Levine, 1983; MacCannell, 1984; Koller, 2012; Zundel et al., 2016). The way the four presidents of Indonesia started discussions and their presentations cannot be put in the same category. The introductions of the four presidents varied greatly in length and wording. This can be seen in the following speech extract.

(13) Today I speak to the leaders and founders of the nation. But indirectly. I also speak to those you represent, to those who have sent you here, to those who have entrusted their future to your hands. I really want my words to penetrate my mind and heart. In the depths of the human heart, in the heart of the great soul, from whom so many cheers are heard. Today I am President Sukarno who greets you (Speech/Soekarno)

*Hari ini saya berbicara kepada para pemimpin dan pendiri bangsa. Tetapi, secara tidak langsung, Saya juga berbicara kepada yang Anda wakili, kepada mereka yang telah mengirim anda ke sini, kepada mereka yang telah mempercayakan masa depan mereka ke tangan anda. Saya sangat menginginkan bahwa kata-kata saya dapat meresap di pikiran dan hati. Di lubuk hati manusia yang terdalam, di dalam hati yang berjiwa besar, yang darinya telah terdengar begitu banyak sorak sorai. Hari ini, saya seorang presiden Soekarno yang tengah menyapa anda (Pidato/Soekarno)*

Soekarno started his speech by greeting the leaders and founders of the nation who were present and jumped in to talk about domestic affairs which voiced the aspirations of the Indonesian people. However, this was not the case with Suharto, who used a shorter introduction (approx. words) than Soekarno's speech (approx. words) where he took the opportunity to establish the position of leader of the Indonesian nation by using sentences on behalf of the Indonesian government and people, as seen in the quote below:

(14) Bismillahirrahmanirrahim. Mr. President and Mr. Secretary General, it is an honor for me to participate on behalf of the government and people of Indonesia (Speech/Soeharto)
Bismillahirrohmannirrohim. Tuan Presiden dan Tuan Sekertaris Jenderal merupakan suatu kehormatan bagi saya untuk ikut serta atas nama pemerintah dan rakyat Indonesia (Pidato/Soeharto)

If Soeharto started his speech by saying basmallah, this was different from Joko Widodo's speech, who started his speech by using the excellency to address the UN leaders and state leaders. What Suharto did by saying Basmallah was similar to the speech of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who started his speech with Basmallah. This can be seen in the quote below:

(15) The Excellency the President of the UN General Assembly. His Excellency the Secretary General of the United Nations. Excellencies, leaders of UN member states. The results of the UN General Assembly session are awaited by the world community to answer the world's main anxiety about when society will be free from flooding and when the economy will soon recover and grow inclusively (Speech/Jokowi)
*Yang mulia presiden majelis umum PBB. Yang mulia Sekretaris Jenderal PBB. Yang mulia para pemimpin negara anggota PBB. Hai hasil sidang Majelis umum PBB ini ditunggu oleh masyarakat dunia untuk menjawab kegelisahan utama dunia kapan masyarakat akan terbebas dari banjir demi Kapan perekonomian akan segera pulih dan tumbuh inklusif (Pidato/Jokowi)*

Joko Widodo gave a speech in Indonesian by greeting the president of the UN general assembly using the greeting "Your Excellency" as a form of respect. After starting the opening speech with a form of greeting, he continued his speech by discussing economic issues which can be seen from the expressions "the world's main anxiety" and "when will the economy recover and grow inclusively" to show the same feelings as when Joko Widodo felt what he felt by the world community. However, this was not the case with Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who used a shorter foreword (around 42 words) in which he took the opportunity to speak about his disagreement with the theme used in the UN general assembly. This can be seen from the following speech excerpt.

(16) Bismillah rahmani raheem madam. president, ladies and gentlemen it is a great honor for me to spend once again before this august body the last time that I did during my two terms as president of Indonesia, I rather disagree with the chosen theme (Speech/Susilo )
*Bismillah rahmani raheem nyonya presiden, tuan dan nyonya sekalian itu kehormatan besar bagi saya untuk menghabiskan sekali lagi sebelum tubuh agung ini terakhir kali bahwa saya melakukannya selama dua istilah saya sebagai presiden Indonesia saya lebih tidak setuju dengan tema yang dipilih (Pidato/Susilo)*

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono delivered a speech in English by addressing the chairman of the UN general assembly as "Madam president", "sir and madam" accompanied by expressions of respect. In the speech excerpt there was the expression "disagree with the theme chosen" by the UN. It seemed that Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was targeting the UN general assembly more directly, which of course could threaten his face. Historical discourse analysis cannot be separated from the analysis of the speaker's ideological attitudes as reflected in vocabulary and grammatical choices. Hart (2014) illustrated the role that grammar can play as a model of language (and images) in revealing ideology in texts and discourse in social and political contexts. Based on speeches delivered by the four Indonesian presidents using examples taken from various discourses related to global issues, including discourses on climate, war, peace, and so on. From this example, the main argument put forward was that the cognitive processes required to understand language are based on visual experience. This was in line with studies conducted by Crilly et al., (2016) and Stockwell (2019) the use of a cognitive linguistic perspective in discourse can be used as evidence to analyze grammatical structures in order to dismantle hegemonic and ideological practices.

The use of argumentative strategies in the form of topics that the President of Indonesia discussed at the United Nations, both domestic and foreign, related to the past, present and future. The subject of critical discourse analysis was one of the classical argumentation concepts originating from Aristotle and Cicero (Žagar, 2010). The topic concept has received much attention in argumentation studies,

both in argumentation and discourse studies, although its use and meaning are still unclear. It emphasized the historical discourse (HDA) approach to the subject, the context is limited, and it exposes the argumentative strategy of HAD to criticism. To overcome possibile shortcomings and to better understand the topos, a classical approach to the concept was recommended, which originates from Aristotle's rhetoric and dialectic. Thus, the focus on political discourse aimed to illustrate the synthesis of HDA argumentation strategies and themes in the speeches of the four Indonesian presidents as a useful analytical and theoretical tool.

The use of perona deixis in the speech of the Indonesian president at the UN was singular and plural, as in quotes (1), (2), (3) and (4) and (9), (10), (11) and (12) as a strategy of self-presence in relation to power and with the relationship between solidarity. To show his power, the President of Indonesia used certain personal deixes, especially me, me and us. On the other hand, those four presidents used very common ways to show power and solidarity, choosing the right words for their interlocutors and also using specific words. The Indonesian president used the subjective personal deixis to refer to subject complements or subject phrases such as me, us and us. The difference was that all four Indonesian presidents used objective pronouns to refer to the same people or things comparative subject pronouns. In the speech of the Indonesian president, the use of personal deixis was divided into two categories: first person and second person deixis. The four presidents of Indonesia also used second person deix, as in quotes (5), (6), (7) and (8), while first person deix, as in quotes (1), (2), (3.) and (4) and (9), (10), (11) and (12).

Thematic analysis and identity markers used by the four Indonesian presidents were different. This can be seen in the word count usage of the four Indonesian presidents in the four data corpora, which showed how the four presidents opened their discourse and how they identified themselves, defined their country, and described their attitudes. Bamman et al., (2014) explained that a person's gender identity can be seen in the relationship between language style and social networks. In general, gender emerges as individuals position themselves in relation to audience, subject, and gender norms. This was consistent with Muyassaroh (2021) that gender development in society was important between gender and gender. Although these two terms have opposite meanings, the auhe concept of gender refers to the biologically determined division of two human sexes that are not interchangeable by nature (male or female). A person's identity can also be seen from the use of the first, second and third forms of personal deixis. This is in line with Miltersen (2016) and Lotte (2015), identity is the general view that communities and the identities connected to them are not given by nature, but are socially constructed between humans through actions and speech. Through deictic choices the persona contributes to the construction of community and inherent identity.

## CONCLUSION

Regarding the explanation above, three conclusions are expressed. First, use of discursive strategies were identified, namely the nomination arguments used by the four Indonesian presidents in their speeches at the UN. Second, related to argumentation strategies, the use of topics in historical discourse analysis (HDA) can provide a certain orientation to their speeches under the umbrella of critical discourse analysis (CDA.) The study of the four corpora revealed several interesting initial findings regarding the topics used in the Indonesian president at the UN which is divided into past, present and future. Second, the topics in the historical discourse analysis found in the six speeches of the Indonesian president were two intrinsic topics (reality topics, economic topics, justice topics, health topics, and urgent topics), and extrinsic topics (reality topics, historical topics, threat topics, justice, health topics, and urgent topics) which can be studied through the perspective of historical discourse analysis.

Third, related to the nomination strategy, the personal deixis was used as a marker of identity in the speeches of the four Indonesian presidents at the UN, dominated by the first personal deixis which was represented through me to signify his identity as an Indonesian president. The four Indonesian presidents also used the persona deixis we and we as a representation of self-identity. Our personal deixis was subjective personal deixis used to refer to the subject complement or subject

clause. Objective person deixis referred to the same person or thing as the equivalent subject person deixis. This research also has suggestions for researcher in the field of discourse studies to develop historical discourse in an academic context. HDA can also be used to analyze the arguments of the political elite ahead of the 2024 political year. For readers, it is hoped that it can provide an overview of the topics and identity markers used by the four Indonesian presidents through historical discourse in order to use words that represent themselves and their nation in the context of political discourse. For discourse experts, it is expected that it can provide insight into historical discourse methods based on the use of topics that can assist in critical discourse analysis.

## DECLARATIONS

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|---|---|---|
| **Author contribution** | : | Antok Risaldi leads and is responsible for all research projects on construction of the indonesian presidents' speeches at the UN. He also collaborated with Anang Santoso who is a Professor of Critical Discourse Analysis on the concept of understanding critical discourse analysis theory with their respective basic science models, there are Wodak's historical model, Van Dijk's social cognition model, and Fairclough's dialectical social model. From the discussion with the second author, it was obtained that the understanding used in historical discourse analysis has many words with unique meanings and needs further explanation from us as the authors of the article. Both authors also revised the manuscript and approved the final manuscript. |
| **Funding statement** | : | This research didn't receive funding. |
| **Conflict of interest** | : | Both authors declare that they have no competing interests. |
| **Ethics Approval** | : | The authors agrees to have this article be published in KEMBARA since 2024. |
| **Additional information** | : | No additional information is available for this paper. |

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