CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of The Research

This research is a CDA-based discourse analysis on antagonism in Trump's political discourses. The object of this study is discourse structures of the antagonisms against prominent figures of the Democratic Party in Trump's speeches. The main theory used in this research is Howarth's and Stravakakis' political frontier of antagonism in discourse supported by other theories of discourse, ideology, and power from CDA prominent figures such as Fairclough and Wodak.

According to Hart (2010: 23), CDA investigates how ideology is encoded in language use and explains the process of discourse production and consumption involving the cognitive approach on meaning construction in its ends (purpose) and discourse process. Hart defines this cognition aspect as the cognitive approach as the basis of CDA since the critical analysis of discourse focuses on the effects of discourse on human cognition affected by power, control, and ideology.

Furthermore, Wodak (2001: 1) states that CDA takes a particular interest in the relation between language and power. This is the foundation of CDA stated by one of the founders of CDA herself. Ruth Wodak is the original CDA prominent figure along with Fairclough and Van Dijk. The aspects of antagonism in discourse are one of the phenomena of language-related use of power.

The relationship of language and power has been explained by Foucault twelve years before CDA was founded. According to Foucault (1978: 101) discourse is a tactical element operating in the field of force relation; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses. Foucault's key theory wields a strong influence on CDA development in the next decade.

In short, CDA and Foucault share theories on discourse functioning as the instrument of power, including political power. Foucault views discourse of power can exist contradictorily in conflicts. This phenomenon occurs in Trump's discourse of antagonism. However, those antagonistic discourses are not analyzed yet. This point is the significance of this research.

Thus, the next focus of this research is the relationship between language and power in the process of antagonism in Trump's political discourses. Trump's personality is not the object of this research since CDA has nothing to do with someone's personality traits. This study is not biased writing on hidden agendas either. CDA is not a presumptuous field of quasi-social science for unmasking so-called conspiracy theories or hidden agendas.

Then, here is the short biography of Trump: Donald J. Trump is the 45th and current president of the United States. He was born in Queens, New York City. He received a bachelor's degree in economics from the Wharton School. Trump took charge of his family's real-estate business in 1971, renamed it The Trump Organization, and expanded its operations from Queens and Brooklyn into Manhattan. Trump entered the 2016 US presidential race as a Republican and

defeated 16 other candidates. His political positions have been described as protectionist, and nationalist. He was elected over Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton.

Donald Trump's political speeches have many antagonistic discourses against those who he considers as "unfriendly people" like his opponents and rivals from the Democratic Party. Some examples are Elizabeth Warren, Joe Biden, Hillary Clinton, radical Islam, and immigrants from Mexico. Trump has enough discourses and vocabularies to set up antagonism against them.

The definition of antagonism in discourse according to Howarth and Stavrakakis is the construction of antagonism and the drawing of political frontiers between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' (Howarth and Stavrakakis in Howarth et al, 2000). The aspects of antagonism are the boundaries formed in discourse or language in use involving political interests. For example, Trump and Warren are on the collision course politically, both of them stand against each other. They walk the path of rivalries in an unfriendly manner or an antagonist fashion. Meaning, Trump and Warren are divided, there is a political frontier between them politically. This frontier or border happens in an antagonistic way because each of them uses the discourse of antagonism to attack the other. Trump shows these aspects in his political speeches about his rivals including Warren during many events such as the US presidential campaign and after the latest impeachment in US history.

The structure of antagonism operated in the discourse, Trump uses such an antagonist discourse in his political speeches during the US presidential race and
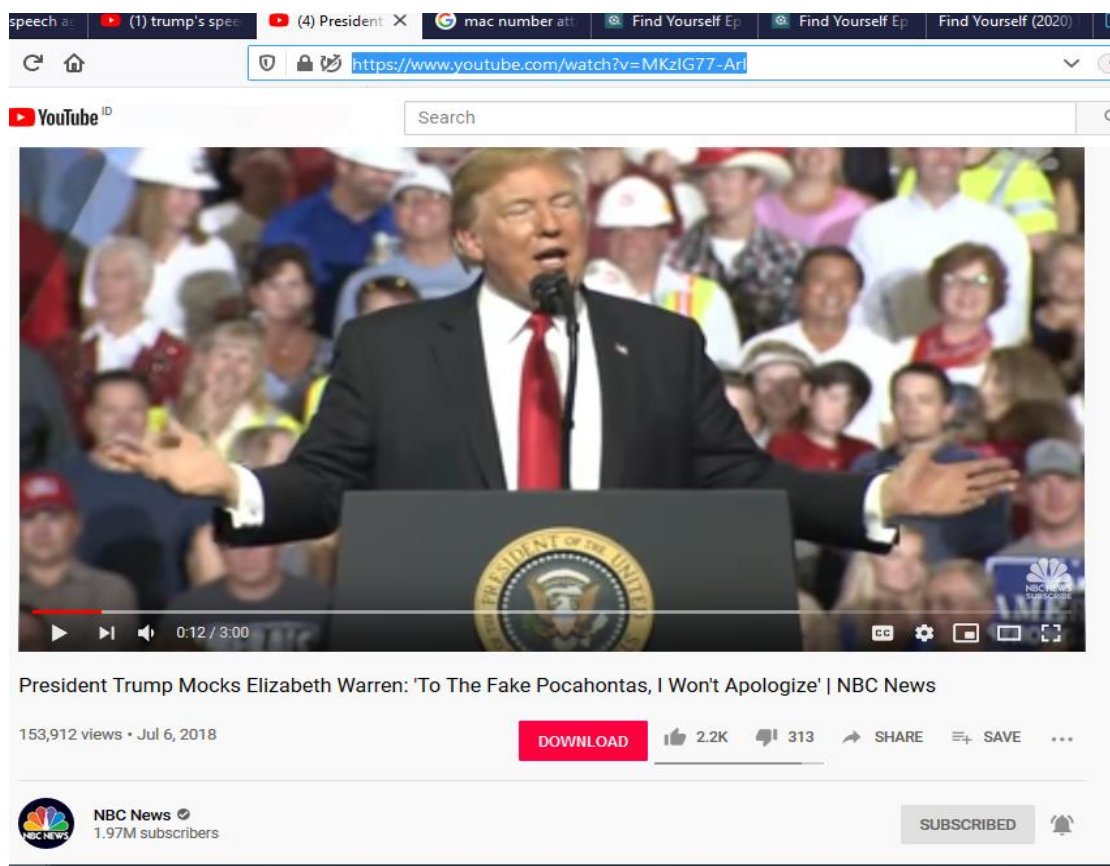
campaign. This process meets Blommaert's definition of discourse as language in action (2005: 2). The action of antagonizing political rivals needs the antagonism in language use or discourse as well. This is what Trump does in his speeches.

Furthermore, Trump has political power as the president of the United States, so if he uses the antagonistic discourse directed at his rivals, that discourse will have the power to discriminate against those rivals and hurt their political image during the presidential race. This is a fact found during the observation of the data. The design of this study is not intended to judge whether Trump is right or wrong. This research is not about judging or assessing one's deed. Trump's political speeches are treated as discourse-analytical materials and free from any bias against a leader from a foreign country.

The following discourse is a data example of Trump's political speech, broadcasted by NBC NEWS and uploaded on YouTube.com. In this discourse, Trump spoke about Sleepy Joe Biden and Fake Pocahontas. These two noun phrases are the nicknames used by Trump to refer to Joe Biden and Elizabeth Warren. However, both noun phrases are not just a nickname, because they are two core structures of antagonisms in this discourse.

Trump used these two noun phrases to construct the antagonistic meaning construction on Joe Biden and Elizabeth Warren to control American peoples' understanding so they will see Biden and Warren are the antagonists. The result is the 5 political frontier of antagonism against Biden and Warren occurs. The further political implication of this antagonism is destructive to Biden's and Warren's

political image and influence. Meaning, both noun phrases as the main structure of antagonism in this discourse function as a direct political attack on Biden and Warren. That is the example of antagonism in discourse and the political frontier of antagonism as the impact.

When I announce they are going to endorse me because if I lose should I lose or if I don't run there are at a business who's going to cover they are going to cover Bernie hey they're gonna cover like **sleepy Joe Biden** they're gonna cover **Pocahontas** who is think of it, think of it she of the great tribal heritage what tribe is it ahh let me think about that one, meantime she's based her life on being a minority. **Pocahontas** they always want me to apologize for saying it and I hereby oh no I want to apologize I'll use tonight **Pocahontas** I apologize to you, I apologize to you I apologize, to **the fake Pocahontas** I won't

Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MKzIG77-ArI.

This footage shows Trump's utterances in one of his political speeches about him never going to apologize to Elizabeth Warren for calling or labeling her Fake Pocahontas. Warren has stated that the blood of Native Americans or Indians runs through her veins and that she is a descendant of the Native American people. Trump in a previous speech responded to that claim and called Warren Fake Pocahontas or fake Indian.

The data in this research is like this one taken from Trump's original speech materials. The noun phrase sleepy Joe Biden shows the political antagonism of mocking Joe Biden to be sleepy. The context of this datum is Trump's political interest to land a heavy blow to Joe Biden's political image because his son is involved in a corruption case in Ukraine.

Biden is a Trump rival for the next presidential race. The adjective sleepy modifying the noun Joe Biden is an antagonist mockery because its meaning as an adjective has some components of humor. Trump wants the public to laugh at Biden and to see him as the political antagonist. This noun phrase draws a clear line of the political frontier of antagonism between Trump and Biden. This is one of the examples of key analysis for this discourse datum.

The discourse structures of political antagonism analyzed on the data are bias-free. Antagonism or political frontier according to Malmberg (1967: 158) relates to the political and ideological substance in language use. So, it is not about right or wrong, but it is about the political substance and Trump's position against his rivals. The uses of content words such as nouns and adjectives and their phrases

in Trump's political discourses are potentially the main parts of antagonism and will be tested in this research.

Trump's political frontier of antagonism occurs in the form of a specific structure of discourse during his speech sessions for the US presidential race and after the latest impeachment. The clear boundaries of antagonism are created by Trump's political reason to secure his American voters in the next presidential race, so he (Trump) has to attack his opponents' political image. Trump needs to undermine the opponents' influence. For this reason, making his political rivals look like the antagonist and drawing a political barrier between him and those opponents are the common form of discourse.

This research is significant for discourse studies in the Linguistic Department of Graduate Program, Andalas University Padang because the study of the language used for the antagonism in political practices is still rare on this campus. It is a fact that the research on antagonism in discourse is not the main topic for linguistic research in the Linguistic Department of Andalas University. This research is expected to enrich the development of discourse analysis on this campus. Moreover, the cases of antagonism regularly happen in Indonesia during the presidential election. This research will be a reference for further studies on antagonism in discourse.

1.2 Identification of the Problem

The problems studied in this research are formulated as the following research questions:

1. What are the discourse structures of antagonisms used by Trump in his political speeches?

2. What are the political functions of the discourse of antagonism used by Trump in his political speeches?

3. What are the political meanings of the discourse of antagonisms used by Trump in his political speeches?

1.3 Objectives of the Research

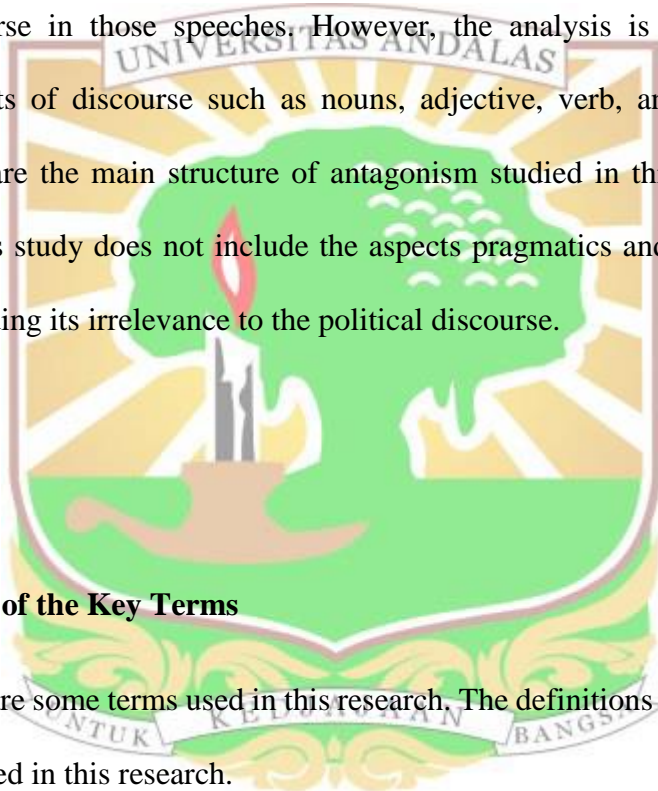Based on the research questions, the objectives of this research are as follow:

1. To explain the discourse structures of antagonisms used by Trump in his political speeches.

2. To explain the political functions of Trump's discourses of antagonism in his political speeches.

3. To describe the political meanings of discourses of antagonism used by Trump in his political speeches.

1.4 Scope of the Research

The scope of discourse analysis includes all aspects of language in use for any purposes such as communication, politics, indoctrination, conflicts, social order, and control, teaching, social practices, and interaction. Therefore, discourse analysis is all about the function of language for certain purposes. This is the key conceptual difference of discourse analysis from formal linguistics. Formal linguistics puts more emphasis on language forms or formal structures of language

whereas discourse analysis focuses more on the function of language in use. The use of language always involves purposes.

Moreover, the aspects of purposes of language use in the context of Trump's political campaign and his speeches against his rivals include the discourse structures of antagonism. This research focuses on antagonism in Trump's political speeches. The scope of this study encompasses the political function of language in use or discourse in those speeches. However, the analysis is only about the antagonist parts of discourse such as nouns, adjective, verb, and their phrases because they are the main structure of antagonism studied in this research. The analysis in this study does not include the aspects pragmatics and conversational analysis regarding its irrelevance to the political discourse.

1.5 Definition of the Key Terms

There are some terms used in this research. The definitions will be based on the theories used in this research.

a. **Political Frontier of Antagonism:** the construction of antagonism and the drawing of political frontiers between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'(Howarth and Stavrakakis in Howarth et al, 2000: 4). This definition also translates as the opposing struggles between two sides standing against each other in politics, and viewing the opponent or rival as the antagonist.

b. Discourse: Language in action or language in use (Blommaert, 2005: 2).