

**THE POLITICAL FRONTIER OF ANTAGONISM IN TRUMP'S SPEECHES  
A STUDY OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

**A Thesis**

**Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree  
of Magister Humaniora**



**LINGUISTIC DEPARTMENT  
GRADUATE PROGRAM OF FACULTY OF HUMANITY  
ANDALAS UNIVERSITY  
PADANG  
2020**

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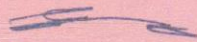
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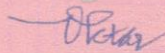
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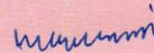
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## PERNYATAAN KEASLIAN TESIS

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Dengan ini saya menyatakan bahwa tesis yang berjudul "The Political Frontier of Antagonism in Trump's Speeches; A Study of Critical Discourse Analysis" adalah hasil kerja/karya sendiri dan bukan merupakan jiplakan dari hasil/karya orang lain, kecuali kutipan yang sumbernya telah dicantumkan. Jika dikemudian hari pernyataan ini tidak benar, status kelulusan dan gelar yang saya peroleh menjadi batal dengan sendirinya.

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*Sincerely I dedicate this thesis to my beloved parents,  
My great daddy H. ISHAK (Alm) and my beloved Mom Hj.  
SYAMSIDAR (ALM) who are looking down from up, may they  
rest in love and peace in heaven...*

*To My lovely husband, Irfan Saputra, and my clingy  
daughter, Zidney Prinxiana Zelene, for being my constantly  
support systems, yet my strength...*

*Then I dedicate this masterpiece to My big family, brothers  
and sisters, and lovely nieces and nephews for their love  
andalways having my back. Thanks for giving the colours in  
my life.*

*I am so grateful...*

*The Last but not least, I dedicate this epic works to my  
generously helpful friends, who help me through my ups and  
downs.*

*Finally those sleepless night have been paid off.  
And yes, I made it buddy!*

*"This is just another beginning step accomplished to start  
another amazing step to go in my journey..."*

*I love you all...*

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Alhamdulillahirabbil'alamin, first of all, in the name of Allah SWT, The beneficent, the merciful, I would like to thank for the one and only God Allah SWT for the guidance, and chance to accomplish this thesis, along with the Biggest Prophet of Muhammad SAW For lifting us out from the dark and leading our back to the best path we are supposed to be on.

In this occasion, the writer would like to thank the people who have contributed to the completion of this research. The writer wishes to express her biggest thanks to her thesis advisors, Dr. Sawirman M.Hum, and Dr. Rina Marnita AS., M.A. I am indebted to their valuable advice, guidance and help during this thesis completion process. The writer also thanks to the examiners, Dr. Ike Revita M.Hum, Dr. Fajri Usman, M.Hum, and Prof. Dr. Oktavianus M.Hum, for their comments and suggestions in this thesis. The writer's thank goes to all English department lecturers and for all academic staffs and librarians who helped me in finishing this thesis.

The special gratitude goes to her lovely parents who are looking down from above, may they rest in peace and love, to her husband and lovely daughter, and thanks to all her big family for their endless love, courage, praying and guidance. Her extend thanks also goes to all of her friends and all the people who help and become her support system.

The writer realizes that, this thesis still has many weaknesses and it is far from being perfect. Hence, criticisms, and suggestions would be appreciated in the purpose to make it better. Finally, the writer expects that this thesis can give advantages to all the readers.

Padang, 25 November 2020



Rini Anggraini

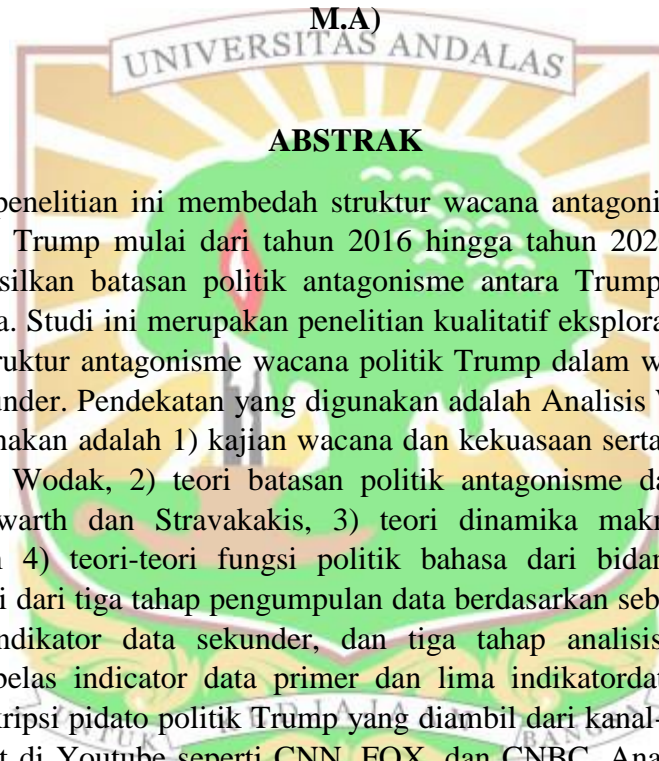
# **BATASAN POLITIK ANTAGONIS DALAM PIDATO-PIDATO TRUMP; SEBUAH KAJIAN ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS**

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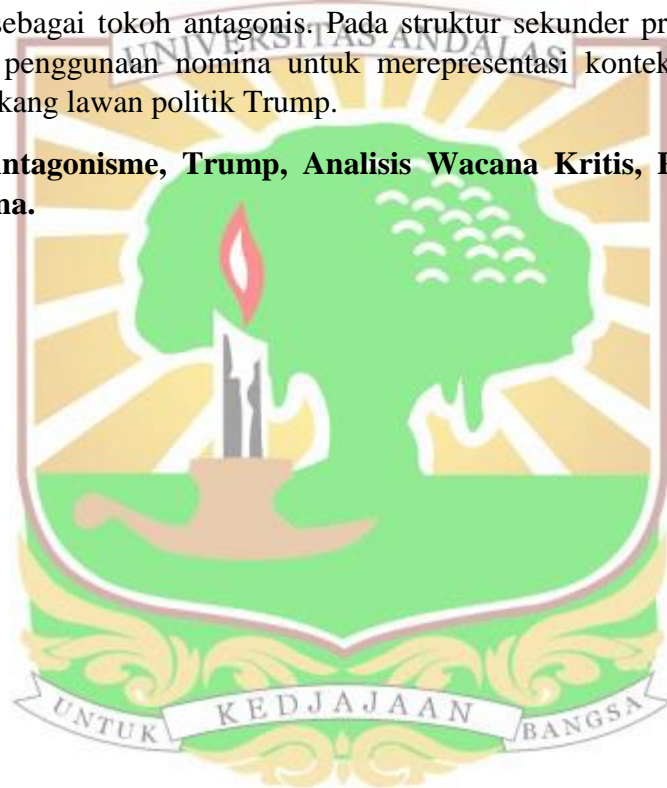
## **ABSTRAK**

Penulis dalam penelitian ini membedah struktur wacana antagonisme dalam pidato politik presiden Trump mulai dari tahun 2016 hingga tahun 2020. Wacana politik Trump menghasilkan batasan politik antagonisme antara Trump melawan lawan-lawan politiknya. Studi ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif eksploratif yang bertujuan mengungkap struktur antagonisme wacana politik Trump dalam wujud ordo wacana primer dan sekunder. Pendekatan yang digunakan adalah Analisis Wacana Kritis dan teori yang digunakan adalah 1) kajian wacana dan kekuasaan serta ordo wacana dari Fairclough dan Wodak, 2) teori batasan politik antagonisme dalam wacana dari Malmberg, Howarth dan Stravakakis, 3) teori dinamika makna destruktif dari O'Dwyer, dan 4) teori-teori fungsi politik bahasa dari bidang CDA. Metode penelitian terdiri dari tiga tahap pengumpulan data berdasarkan sebelas indikator data primer, lima indikator data sekunder, dan tiga tahap analisis data yang juga berdasarkan sebelas indikator data primer dan lima indikator data sekunder. Data berwujud transkripsi pidato politik Trump yang diambil dari kanal-kanal berita resmi Amerika Serikat di Youtube seperti CNN, FOX, dan CNBC. Analisis data meliputi bentuk struktur wacana antagonisme, fungsi politik wacana antagonisme, dan makna-makna politik dari wacana antagonisme Trump. Temuan penelitian ini adalah 18 struktur inti atau struktur primer wacana antagonisme di mana nomina menjadi *governor/anti* yang mengontrol fungsi politik dan makna politik antagonisme dalam wacana politik Trump. Delapan belas struktur inti wacana politik antagonis Trump itu terdiri dari 9 frasa nomina, 2 nomina, dan 7 klausa. Temuan berikutnya adalah 18 struktur sekunder berwujud klausa kompleks yang mendukung struktur primer. Temuan selanjutnya adalah konteks politik antagonisme dalam wacana politik Trump dikontrol oleh struktur sekunder wacana antagonisme berwujud kumpulan klausa kompleks. Pengontrolan konteks ini berfungsi untuk memperkuat implikasi politik



dari struktur primer. Struktur sekunder memberikan konteks kepada struktur primer untuk memperkuat efek politik dari wacana Trump. Pengaruh dari wacana antagonisme Trump ini adalah masuknya makna-makna politik wacana yang menempatkan lawan-lawan politik Trump sebagai antagonis ke dalam pikiran atau kognisi masyarakat Amerika. Makna-makna politik itu mengeras dalam pikiran masyarakat Amerika sehingga merusak citra lawan-lawan politik Trump. Hal ini akhirnya membentuk situasi yang disebut batasan politik antagonisme antara Trump versus lawan-lawan politiknya. Temuan terakhir adalah terjadinya proses nominalisasi pada struktur primer dan sekunder wacana. Pada struktur primer proses nominalisasi berfungsi sebagai pelabelan secara politik untuk mengklasifikasi lawan politik Trump sebagai tokoh antagonis. Pada struktur sekunder proses nominalisasi terjadi sebagai penggunaan nomina untuk merepresentasi konteks, peristiwa, dan narasi latar belakang lawan politik Trump.

**Kata kunci: Antagonisme, Trump, Analisis Wacana Kritis, Pilpres Amerika, Struktur Wacana.**



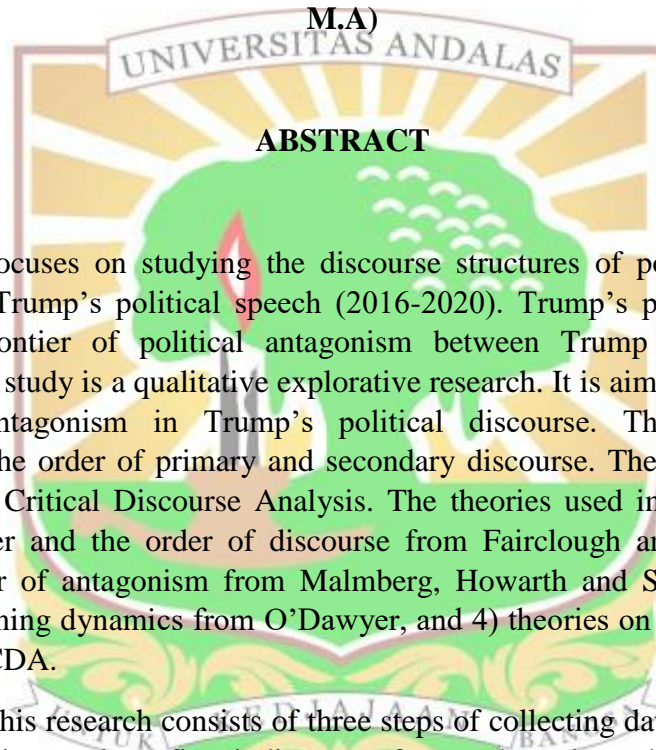
# **THE POLITICAL FRONTIER OF ANTAGONISM IN TRUMP'S SPEECHES; A STUDY OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

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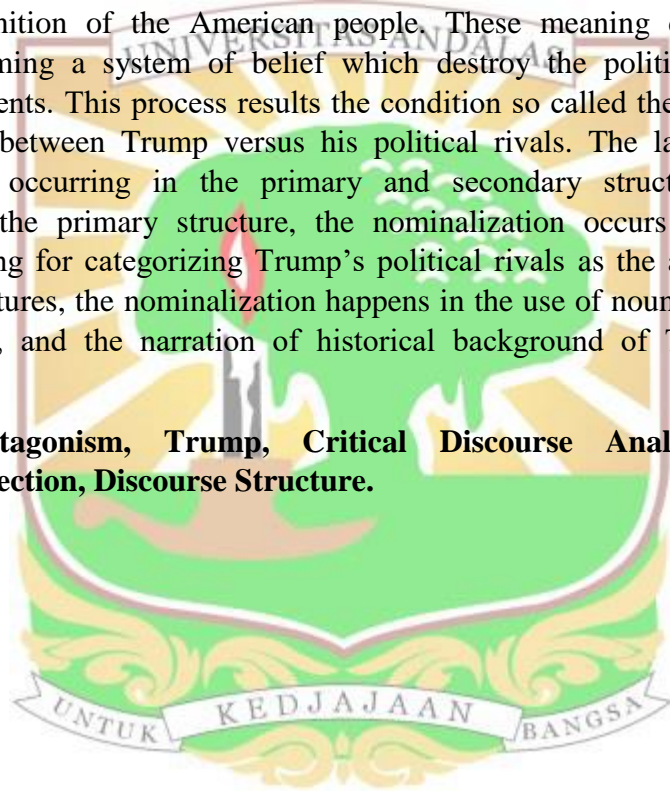
## **ABSTRACT**

This research focuses on studying the discourse structures of political frontier of antagonism in Trump's political speech (2016-2020). Trump's political discourses produce the frontier of political antagonism between Trump VS his political opponents. This study is a qualitative explorative research. It is aimed at revealing the structure of antagonism in Trump's political discourse. This structures are constructed in the order of primary and secondary discourse. The approach used in this research is Critical Discourse Analysis. The theories used in this study are 1) discourse, power and the order of discourse from Fairclough and Wodak, 2) the political frontier of antagonism from Malmberg, Howarth and Stravakakis, 3) the destructive meaning dynamics from O'Dawyer, and 4) theories on political functions of language in CDA.

The method of this research consists of three steps of collecting data based on eleven indicators of primary data, five indicators of secondary data, three steps of data analysis based on eleven indicators of primary data and five indicators of secondary data. The form of data is the transcription of Trump's political discourse retrieved from the official America's news channels on Youtube like CNN, FOX and CNBC. The analysis of the data includes the forms of antagonistic discourses, the political function of antagonistic discourse and the political meaning of Trump's discourse of antagonism. The findings of this research consist of 18 primary structure of antagonistic discourse where the nouns function as the governor controlling the political functions and the political meanings of antagonism in Trump's political discourse.

Eighteen primary structures of Trump's antagonistic discourse include nine noun phrase, 2 nouns, and seven clauses. Other findings are the eighteen secondary structures of antagonistic discourses consisting of the complex clauses which support the primary structures. The next findings are the political contexts of antagonism in Trump's political discourse are controlled by the secondary structures of antagonistic discourses in the form of complex clauses. This context controlling process functions to intensify the political implications of the primary structures of discourse. The secondary structures provide contexts for the primary structures to intensify the political effects of Trump's discourses. The effects of Trump's antagonistic discourse are the political meanings putting Trump's political rivals as the antagonists come inside the cognition of the American people. These meaning constructions are hardened becoming a system of belief which destroy the political image of all Trump's opponents. This process results the condition so called the political frontier of antagonism between Trump versus his political rivals. The last finding is the nominalization occurring in the primary and secondary structure of Trump's discourses. In the primary structure, the nominalization occurs as the negative political labelling for categorizing Trump's political rivals as the antagonist. In the secondary structures, the nominalization happens in the use of nouns to represent the context, events, and the narration of historical background of Trump's political opponents.

**Keywords: Atagonism, Trump, Critical Discourse Analysis, American Presidential Election, Discourse Structure.**



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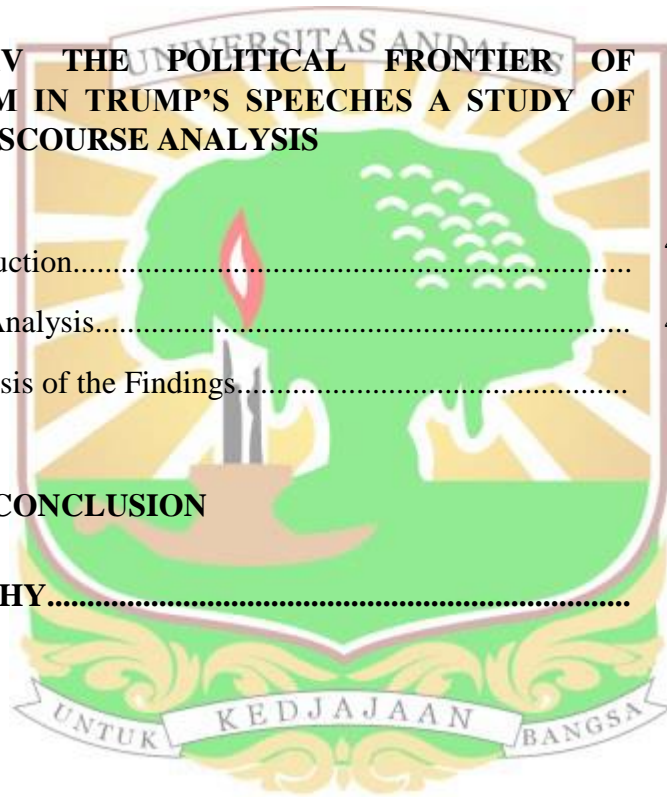
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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.4 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.

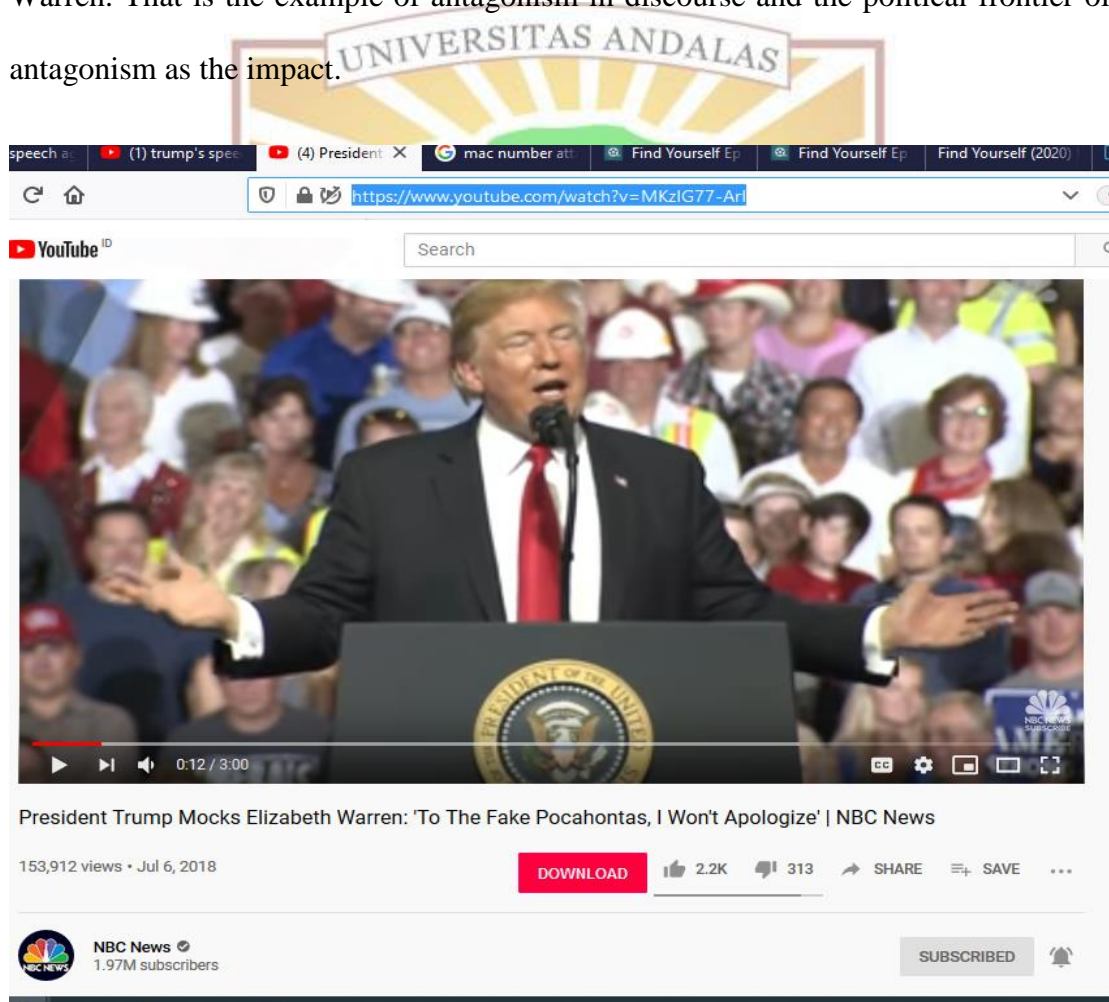
The structure of antagonism operated in the discourse, Trump uses such an antagonist discourse in his political speeches during the US presidential race and campaign. This process meets Blommaert's definition of discourse as language in action (2005: 2). The action of antagonizing political rivals needs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

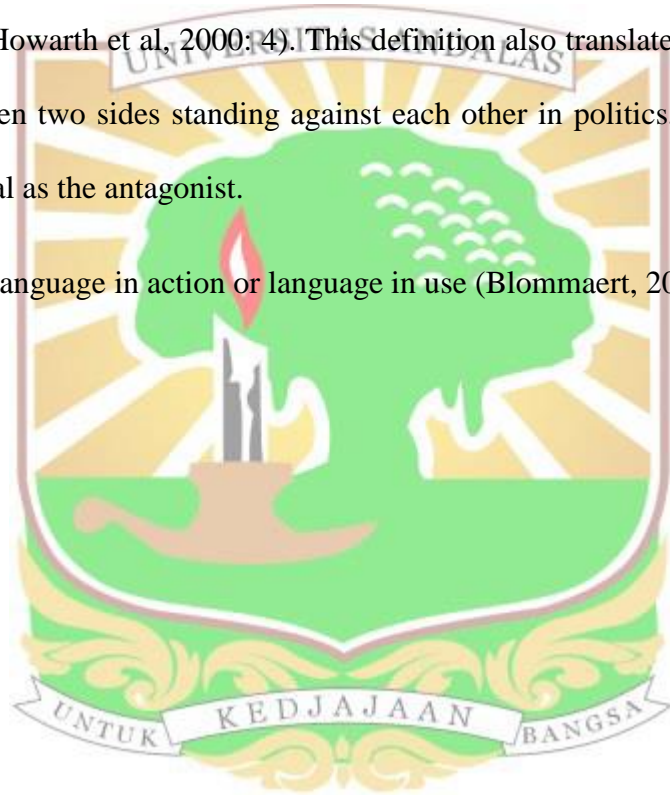
Moreover, the aspects of purposes of language use in the context of Trump's political campaign and his speeches against his rivals include the discourse structures of antagonism. This research focuses on antagonism in Trump's political speeches. The scope of this study encompasses the political function 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).





## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter provides two sub-chapters: 1) the critical reviews on some related researches about Trump's political speeches as discourses, 2) the theoretical frameworks on antagonism, discourse, and power. The review is intended to be more critical because some of these studies misunderstand CDA as being a part of conspiracy theories by claiming the hidden agenda of Trump's administration or political power. This is not true.

CDA has nothing to do with mere assumption lacking factual discourse evidence. Some other studies even apply SFL and claim CDA is based on SFL, which turns out to be wrong. CDA has a much deeper ideological analysis on discourse than SFL does, even SFL does not have any solid concept on human ideology constructed by the use of language.

#### 2.1 Review of Previous Studies

This part gives the explanation of some researchers concerning the problem of the study. Many researchers have done an analysis related to CDA. They have given the contributed to the development of CDA studies. Thus, the writer tries to explain the review of previous related studies from these researchers. The writer will explain some researchers related to this study as follow.

The first study was conducted by Chen (2018) on Trump's Inaugural speech. He applies Halliday's systemic functional linguistics and critical discourse analysis on the speech. His findings show the aspects of the material and relational process, and declarative mood in Trump's speech. He states Trump uses a declarative mood and brief sentences are understandable and favorable to win his political goals. Chen's research shows no real application of CDA, instead, he claims CDA is based on Halliday's SFL which is not true. CDA is not based on SFL, but only some aspects of SFL used by CDA theorists, that minor adaptation is not a worthy basis for CDA. His findings do not show the real ideological process or structures in Trump's political discourse. The application of CDA is quite demanding since its concepts are too complex for some people.

The next study is done by Wahyuningsih (2018). She studies personal pronouns used by Trump in his inaugural speech. Her research includes some theoretical aspects from Van Dijk on power abuse and dominance and other prominent CDA figures like Fairclough. The theories her research report encompass are the frameworks on power and ideology. However, the analysis seems to be separated and isolated from the theory. The data analysis does not include the application of the theory. The analysis shows the aspects of communicative function only. There is no analysis on ideology since ideological analysis is not about communication, but controlling people's belief.

Mohammadi and Javadi (2017) research critical discourse analysis on Donald Trump's language use in the US presidential campaign in 2016. The researchers analyze the structure of discourse and its relationship with the structure of ideology in Trump's speeches in the campaign. The main finding is the ideology of Americanism as the political priority stated by Trump.

The researchers' analysis does not explore the aspects of the ideological structure of Trump's discourse. The problem in this study is about the researchers' view on discourse structure as a separated aspect but related to the ideological structure. This view shares many points in CDA, but it is not exactly true because Malmberg (1967) disagrees with this separation and inter-relation, and comes to a conclusion that the substance of ideology happens in language, not related to language.

The next problem in Mohammadi's and Javadi's research is the application of systemic functional linguistics (SFL) which seems to have nothing to do with Trump's political discourse. This is a wrong analysis because SFL has no concept of ideology and political discourse. Both researchers have applied some aspects of CDA but they do not include the cognitive approach in the mental model of discourse. CDA is more related to cognitive linguistics than Halliday's SFL.

Mohammadi and Javadi also mention their finding is intended for English learners as a foreign language. This statement is not relevant to discourse analysis.

The finding and the critical aspects of discourse studies are not material for learning English.

The next research is done by Stobbs (2012). He studies the use and the frequency of pronouns in Obama's inaugural speech by using Fairclough's and Van Dijk's theories of Critical Discourse Analysis. Stobbs' analysis focuses on Obama's methods and lexis to foster a sense of inclusion of the American public. Stobbs found out that Obama used the pronouns to include the public in the government. This process of political discourse shows that Obama is linguistically more inclusive than his predecessors and his syntactic choices help the flow of emotion to his speech. .

Barack Obama is more inclusive and employs a more intimate style of discourse. He includes the audience in his intentions and uses social representations to form common sense constructs for many of his policies. He clearly has a different ideology to George W Bush and many of his predecessors and this can be seen in his short narratives. Assimilating other cultures and working with others to the advantage of all, irrespective of race, wealth, gender, political or religious belief is what Obama believes to be the way forward for America as well as a defining part of its' history. He places science before religious dogma while accepting the religious beliefs of others and asks for cooperation on policies that are divisive on religious grounds (Stobbs, 2012: 18).

This is Stobbs' finding after analyzing Obama's inaugural speech. This analysis proves that Obama does not use the structure of antagonism in discourse. Meaning, Obama does not use discourse to create a political frontier of antagonism. So, Obama's political discourse is different from Trump's.

On the other hand, Trump used the political discourse consists of the structure of antagonism to construct destructive meaning constructions on his political opponents. This process creates a political frontier of antagonism between Trump against his opponent. In short, Trump used political discourse to make his opponents look bad as the antagonist. Trump creates the antagonistic boundaries to attack the political influence of his opponents, whereas Obama does not do that kind of antagonism in his political discourse. That is the difference between Obama's political discourses from Trump's.

The position of my research is simply the application of CDA on discourse structures of antagonism in Trump's political speeches based on a true understanding of theories and concepts in CDA. This study explains the very process of how language in use can hurt and inflict a destructive blow to opponents. The finding is completely different from the previous studies on Trump's political discourses. Some previous researchers claim the use of CDA to unmask Trump's hidden agenda. This statement is wrong and has nothing to do with CDA. Critical Discourse analysis is not a part of biased conspiracy theories.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

The term antagonism here is the name of a theory of discourse, so there are no synonyms for the use of this theory in this research. The explanation in this sub-chapter will show the critical description of the theories used for this research. Sub-headings are not used to avoid separation. The theories used in this study are not

described in a separate position because those theories are related to each other. Thus, the following points will show the multi-theory interrelation commonly known in CDA. The analysis of CDA is always based on the use of inter-related theories and concept.

### 2.2.1 Language and Power

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 between 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 yields 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.

### 2.2.2 The Order of Discourse

Fairclough states (2003: 4) the order of discourse is the relatively durable social structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices. The political antagonism created by Trump in his speeches is an explicit form of order of discourse. The main concept of order of discourse is the system of control constructed by the use of discourses. For example, when he calls Elizabeth Warren a **"fake Pocahontas"**, it is clear that Trump is drawing a boundary of antagonism between him and Warren making her look like the real antagonist. This antagonism becomes the value in Trump's political discourse, it is done in a systematic order. Therefore, it is an order of discourse. Thus, this noun phrase becomes the component of the order of discourse used by Trump to attack Warren politically.

The properties of discourse from Trump's political speeches are regarded as ideological. Fairclough (1995: 2) has explained the potential of any properties of text or discourse such as vocabulary, metaphors, and grammar as potentially ideological.

The aspects of ideology here do not translate as a specific system of belief like nationalism, religion, and other well-known ideologies. Trump's speeches show the potential of ideology relates to the aspects of his political antagonism to stir people's belief about the antagonism of the rivals.

So, in short, the discourse structure analyzed in this research is the primary or the main structure and the secondary structure of discourse based on Fairclough's theory of the order of discourse. This theory is about the social structure of language in discourse involving social practices and social events.

The order of discourse is Fairclough's theoretical point about language being the social structure. Fairclough (2003: 25) states that an order of discourse is a network of social practices. The aspects of social structure in the language are not the formal structure of language. This social structuring in the discourse, so-called the order of discourse, is about peoples' social practice involving the use of discourse. Fairclough also states that in the order of discourse, language is not separated from social elements (2003: 25). According to Fairclough, all discourses have the order of discourse consisting of the order of social structures, socio-political practice, and peoples' social practice in discourse or involving discourse.

So, the order of discourse is the structure of human social practice in using discourse. Therefore, the order of discourse is the social structure of language in the discourse, it is not the formal structure of language in discourse. In the order of discourse, there is a part of discourse functions dominantly in ideology and politics. That dominant part of the discourse is used for social practice in people's actions.



Fairclough (2003: 129) uses the concept of main discourse to explain the composition of the order of discourse.

Then the use of concept main discourse and the main part of a discourse or the primary structure of discourse. Fairclough (2003: 133) explains the main discourse includes social elements like objects, means, times, places. These elements are nominalized, worded with nouns, not worded with the verbs. Those social elements in discourse according to Fairclough are noun entities, the process is called nominalization.

The nominalized social events in the main discourse become the nouns functioning as the main structure of discourse. The use of other parts of discourse outside the nominalized social events or practices is called secondary parts or the secondary structures of discourse. This secondary structure of discourse functions to support the main structure of discourse in the order of discourse.

In this research, the main social event in Trump's discourse is nominalized antagonism. The practice of antagonism by using nouns and noun phrases, meaning, the practice of antagonism worded with the noun. The noun here is the name of Trump's political rivals. Therefore, the main or the primary structure of discourse in this study is the noun, noun phrases, and clauses used by Trump to make his opponents look bad as the antagonist. The rest of Trump's political speech is called the secondary structure of discourse in the order of Trump's political discourse.

To support Fairclough's theory on the order of discourse, Wooffitt (2005:138) also explains that the focus of discourse analysis is to examine broader features of the

production and consumption of discourse. This is also true in the case of Trump's political speeches. His speech is a discourse production, whereas the American people as the voters for the next US presidential race are the consumers of the discourse. They consume the political frontier of antagonism produced by Trump. The next explanation, according to Wodak (2008: 1) discourse includes a historical monument, a lieu de memoire, a policy, a political strategy, narratives in a restricted or broad sense of the terms, text, talk, a speech, topic-related conversations, to language per se. Wodak's point is clear that discourse has a political implication. Discourse is not just language in use, but the language in use for some implications or purposes. In the case of Trump's political speech, the political effects or aspects in his speeches are clear and strongly oriented to the antagonism.

On the aspects of ideology in the text or discourse, Hart (2010: 23) also explains that ideology is encoded in text, meaning, the use of language in politics has a system of belief. In this research, the aspects of ideology are not about a specific ideology, but they are only about a system of belief made by Trump in his political speech on his opponents. He uses many noun phrases for making his rivals look like the antagonist and not a worthy candidate for the next US presidential race. This belief system is encoded in the main structure of discourse of antagonism composed mainly by the noun phrases. This is the result of preliminary observation, and of course, these results are to be tested in further analysis.

On the aspects of identity, Gee (2010: 2) explains that in language there are important connections among saying (informing), doing (action), and being (identity).

Trump does these three aspects of his speeches. Trump gives the speech and creates the antagonist identity for his political rivals from the Democratic Party. Another explanation on this topic is from Coulthard and Coulthard. They state discourse is a major instrument of power and control (in Coulthard and Coulthard, 2003: xi). This description truly occurs in Trump's political speeches. Trump uses discourse as an instrument to attack his rival's political image. Therefore, he can secure the votes and undermine the influence of those rivals.

Eisenhart and Johnstone also provide more explanation on this topic. They state discourse is shaped by purpose, and the discourse shapes possible purposes (in Eisenhart and Johnstone, 2008: 11). The aspects of purpose in Trump's speeches are simply to secure and gain more votes, or gain more influence among the American citizens by undermining the influence of rivals and making them the antagonist. He uses discourse for that simple reason. Those discourses have political implications on Trump's interest to win the next presidential run in the United States.

### **2.2.3 Antagonism in Discourse/Political Frontier of Antagonism**

The first theory, Howarth and Stavrakakis (in Howarth et al, 2000: 4) define discourse as systems of meaningful practices that form the identity of subjects and objects. This is the first aspect of antagonism, the binary opposition between subjects and objects. The aspects of subjects and objects here are started from language and produce effects in social relation or the external reality.

Moreover, according to Howarth and Stavrakakis, the political frontier of antagonism is the construction of antagonism and the drawing of political frontiers between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ (Howarth and Stavrakakis in Howarth et al, 2000). This point is the core aspect of antagonism in discourse encompassing the use of language to make people the outsider and to draw a political or ideological boundary between the insider and the outsider (the antagonist).

The convincing explanation as follows: Trump excludes Biden and Warren from his circle or his inner side by applying antagonism in his language use. Trump views Biden and Warren as his rivals and his opponents in his language use during many speeches. Therefore, Trump fights Biden and Warren politically through language use in his political speeches. This verbal fight is a conflict of discourse between Trump against his opponents (Biden, Warren, Hillary). This conflict of discourse utilizes the process of antagonizing opponents.

It is clear that discourse analysis studies language and its direct effect on people’s social life. This is the key difference between formal linguistics and discourse analysis. Formal linguistics studies language forms, whereas discourse analysis studies language function. It is a clear difference.

This example also meets Howarth and Stravakakis’ theory that discourses are a concrete system of social relations and practices that are intrinsically political, as their formation is an act of radical institution, which involves the construction of antagonism and the drawing of political frontiers between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ (in Howarth et al, 2000: 4). The above noun phrase (**Fake Pocahontas**) is political

because it is an attack on Warren's political image, credibility, and other contexts of politics. Trump uses this noun phrase to make the antagonism and the political frontier between him and Warren. Meaning, Trump uses the above noun phrase to make Warren look bad as the antagonist.

Thirty-three years before Howarth and Stravakakis explaining the theory of antagonism in the use of discourse, Malmberg had already stated that there is the content substance of ideological and political frontier in language use (1967: 158). This political aspect and somewhat an antagonism in political discourse has been observed for fifty-three years, more than half of a century ago, by linguists.

Then, Malmberg (1967: 158) has explained one of the most common effects of discourse or language in use for political purposes: ideological and political frontier, meaning, a socio-political barrier created by the use of language. Mostly Trump creates a political frontier of antagonism for attacking the political image of his rivals from the Democratic Party.

The theory of political frontier of antagonism from Malmberg (1967: 158), Howarth, and Stravakis in simplest definition means the theory of political barrier between figure A and figure B or others. For example: between Trump vs former vice president Joe Biden. They are political rivals for sure. Trump attacks Biden's political image by using some phrases in his political speeches. Meaning, Trump stands against Biden and vice versa.

Furthermore, the political frontier of antagonism in Trump's speech includes the aspects of propaganda for making the image of his rival to be an antagonist or

different. Laland and Brown (2002: 297) explain that propaganda is the way of leading the image of the enemy as different or evil. In this research, Trump's political antagonism is about giving or creating an antagonist image about his opponent during his political speeches in many events.

Another simple example is the political frontier of antagonism between Trump against Elizabeth Warren. Based on the earlier observation, the political barrier in the antagonist way is clear. Trump stands against Warren and vice versa. This is a simple explanation of the theory. In this study, the forms and the functions of this political frontier of antagonism in discourse will be studied and explained. The forms of a political frontier of antagonism in this study are mostly the noun phrases for labeling the political rivals as the antagonist, whereas the function of this antagonism is to hurt or destroy the image of the opponents.

#### **2.2.4 Destructive Dynamics of Meanings**

Antagonism in discourse has destructive effects. O'Dwyer (2003: 2) explains that the meaning can empower but it can also annihilate. She defines meaning as empowering and annihilating dynamics. In this research, the antagonism belongs to these annihilating dynamics. For example, Trump uses the adjective **fake** modifying the noun **Pocahontas** as a reference to Elizabeth Warren. This noun phrase shows the annihilating dynamics, destroying Warren's political image. The antagonism is categorized as the annihilating dynamics of meaning according to O'Dwyer because of its political use to destroy the image of the opponents.

O'Dwyer (2003: 2) also states that meaning involves the operation of power and control or more specifically cognitive control. For example, Trump's political speeches are a political discourse involving the operation or the function of Trump's political power to destroy the credibility of his rivals. The aspects of cognitive control are the process of controlling people's understanding and agreement with Trump's point. The structure of antagonism in discourse involves the process of cognitive control. This is the theoretical relationship between the theory of antagonism (Howarth, Stravakakis, and Malmberg) with O'Dwyer's meaning dynamics and cognitive control in discourse.

According to O'Dwyer (2003: 15), meaning can be orchestrated by the power of language and its authorial administration. This is the explanation of why the meaning of Trump's political discourse can be destructive to his rivals' image and standing. The practice of antagonism in discourse done by Trump is the process of orchestrating the meaning of discourse to attack his political opponent.

O'Dwyer (2003: 108) also explains that relating meaning to antagonism and its repetition involves the engagements of power which includes the practice of victimizing and negative association. O'Dwyer describes the aspects and the process of meaning in the antagonism as well.

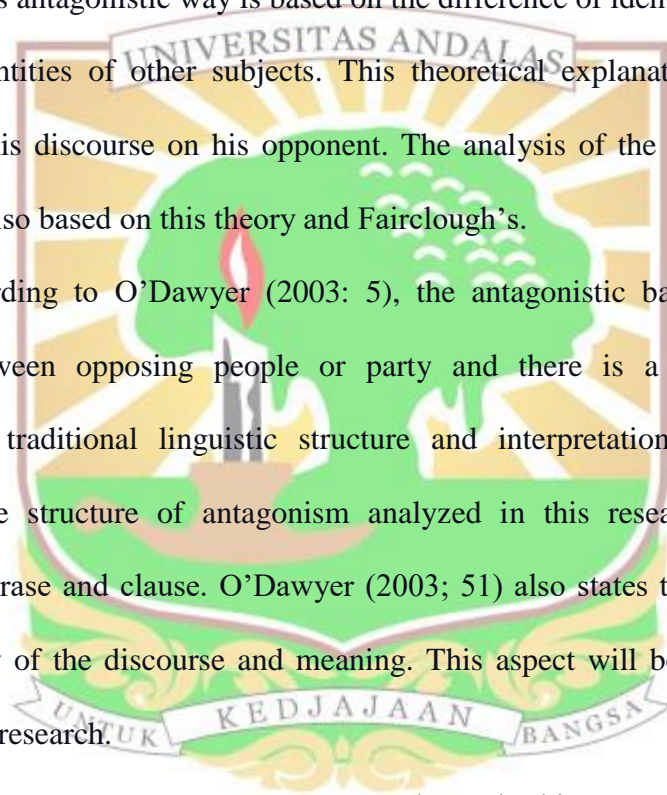
The next theoretical explanation of O'Dwyer's theory is about the subject and object of meaning is seen to be destructive (2003: 41). Trump did that by destroying the political credibility of his opponent as a subject and object in his political discourse. According to O'Dwyer (2003: 51), the meaning has a destructive capacity

as the potential annihilating force by bedeviling its path and causing the demise of the other. This explanation is a mechanism of meaning in the antagonism. The practice of antagonism in discourse is a literal attack of meaning on the other, Trump's opponent in this case.

Then O'Dawyer (2003: 3) also states the structure of language and meaning organized in this antagonistic way is based on the difference of identity and is defined against the identities of other subjects. This theoretical explanation defines what Trump did in his discourse on his opponent. The analysis of the main structure of antagonism is also based on this theory and Fairclough's.

According to O'Dawyer (2003: 5), the antagonistic basis is the binary opposition between opposing people or party and there is a characteristic of domination in traditional linguistic structure and interpretation. Based on this explanation, the structure of antagonism analyzed in this research includes the structures of phrase and clause. O'Dawyer (2003; 51) also states the nucleus of the governing party of the discourse and meaning. This aspect will be one of the core analyses in this research.

The next theory to support O'Dawyer's theory in this research is Trask (2007: 76). He also explains that discourse refers more narrowly to the interactive and communicative dimension of language, and involves conversation analysis, semiotics, and the dynamic processes of text production and understanding (consumption). The key concept of discourse from Trask's insight is the use of language involving the aspects of production and understanding. O'Dawyer's theory





is related to Trask on the aspects of production and understanding that can be controlled. The antagonism in Trump's speeches involves the process of discourse production and consumption. These theories are related conceptually.

### 2.2.5 Political Function of Language

The aspects of language function are supported by Blommaert. According to Blommaert (2005: 2) discourse is language in action. So, there is a relationship between language and action or human action. Blommaert's theory explains the use of language involving action or the use of action involving language. For example, Trump uses specific nouns or noun phrases for his rivals or opponents. He calls Elizabeth Warren as "**Fake Pocahontas**" in one of his political speeches. The use of this noun phrase involves the action of attacking Warren's credibility as the potential candidate for the next presidential race. This point meets Blommaert's theory on discourse as language in action.

Furthermore, Jones and Peccei state that the language can be used to create and reinforce certain value systems, focusing on the role of discourse in shaping the beliefs which affect people's behavior (in Thomas et al, 2004: 36). Jones and Peccei explain the effect of language on certain value systems. The antagonism in discourse has specific structures and effects on human behavior.

Agha (2007: i) explains that language is not simply a tool of social conduct but the effective means by which human beings formulate models of conduct. This aspect can be observed in Trump's political speeches. He states what kind of conduct

got violated by his rivals. So the analysis in this research focuses on what kind of antagonism was used by Trump to destroy the good political image of his rivals.

Carston (2002: 1) explains the process of understanding utterance is one kind of belief fixation. Trump uses his political speech to shape the belief of the American people about the clear line of antagonism between him and his opponents. Parker states that language is organized into discourse, context-dependent, and constructs the objects, subject position (in Willig, 2014: 341).

The concept of object and subject in discourse is not in the form of language but how language constructs human position as subject and object. The antagonism happens in this way too. Trump uses his political speech to make a clear boundary of antagonism. He uses the noun modified by an adjective for that purpose. This point is a preliminary finding in this research.

In this study, the data from Trump's political speeches are analyzed and explored to see how Trump uses the political frontier of antagonism in making the subjects and the objects and puts his rivals in antagonist position and role. The reason for this antagonism is simple: the American voters will never vote for the antagonist. Therefore, there is a frontier or boundary of antagonism.

In short, the procedures of analysis in this research explores how the boundaries of antagonism created in Trump's political discourse. The elements of language and its use contribute to this antagonism. The analysis describes those elements as the main parts of discourse structures. Unlike traditional studies in CDA, this research will not discuss the aspects of power abuse in discourse although some

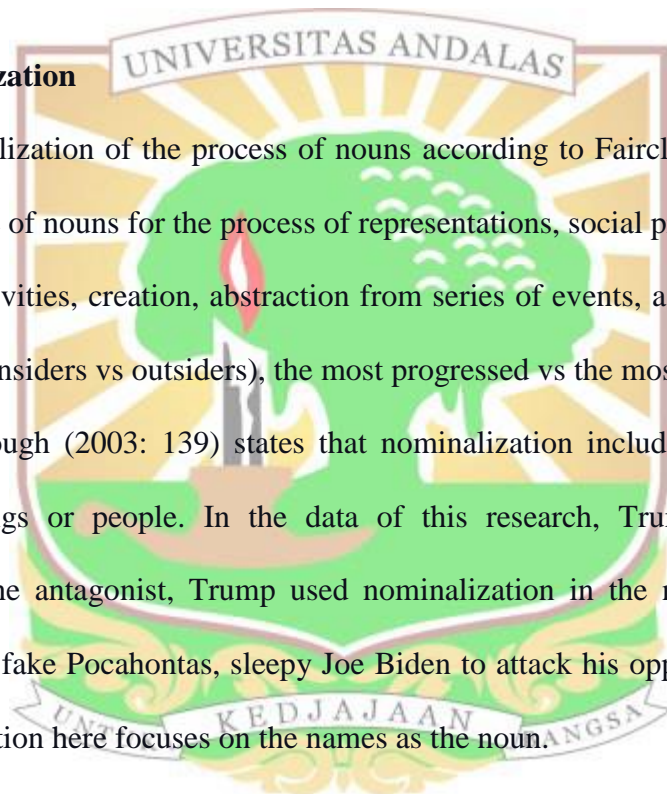
aspects in O'Dwyer's theory mention how power creates control and silences the society. The application of O'Dawyer's theory focuses only on how Trump's political discourse destroys the political image of his opponent from the Democratic Party, but of course, Trump's main purpose is to make the American voters believe in this antagonism.

### **2.2.6 Nominalization**

Nominalization of the process of nouns according to Fairclough (2003: 139) involves the use of nouns for the process of representations, social practices, progress, destruction, activities, creation, abstraction from series of events, a division between social players (insiders vs outsiders), the most progressed vs the most obsolete.

Fairclough (2003: 139) states that nominalization includes the process of classifying things or people. In the data of this research, Trump classifies his opponents as the antagonist, Trump used nominalization in the noun phrases and clauses such as fake Pocahontas, sleepy Joe Biden to attack his opponent politically. The nominalization here focuses on the names as the noun.

The process of making political rivals as the antagonist is also a process of nominalization done by Trump. He used the nouns for representing his political opponents as the antagonist, bad politician, bad decision-makers, and have a bad reputation in the past.



## CHAPTER III

### METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

This research is a qualitative study focusing on the critical discourse analytical method. Hooker states method describes a sequence of actions that constitute the most efficient strategy to achieve a given goal; methodology describes the theory of such sequences (in Butts and Hintikka, 1977:1). There are three steps of collecting the data and three steps of analyzing the data.

There are some concepts of discourse analytical methodology so different from formal linguistics. Linguistic research is often descriptive, it is a qualitative study though, formal linguistics puts a serious emphasis on the descriptive type of research. However, a discourse study is different, since the critical aspects of discourse analysis often demand a deep explanation, that is why the type of research of discourse is more explanatory and explorative, not a descriptive category.

Phakiti (2014: 3) states that research is a form of inquiry that involves questions, answers, goals to achieve, and problems to solve. This is a basic definition or concept of research. Discourse research includes these aspects too and the use of theory helps to analyze the data for solving the research questions or the problems. According to Todd (1995: 5), a linguist aims to be scientific in observing language use, that is systematically and without prejudice. It means observing language use, forming hypotheses about it, testing these hypotheses, and refining them on the basis

of evidence collected. This explanation is also the basis of any linguistic and discourse research.

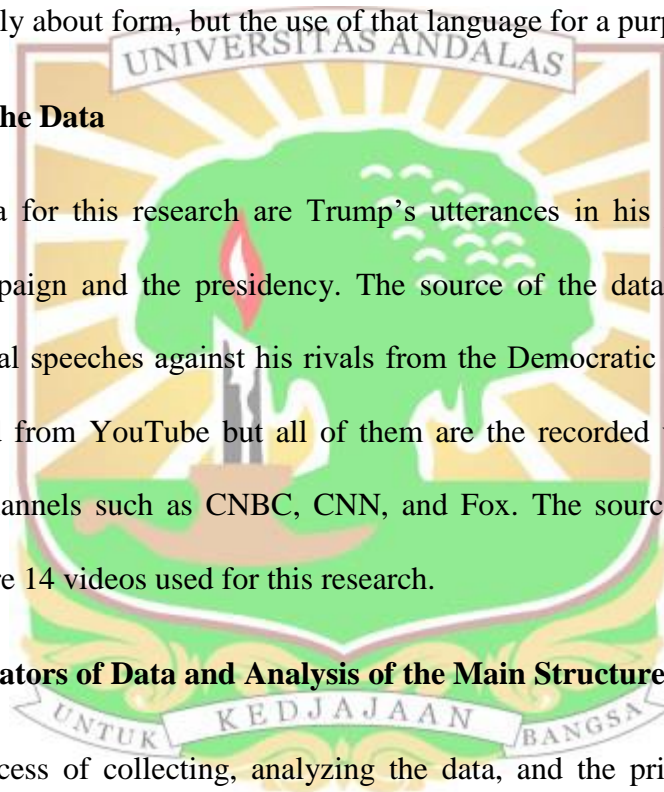
Dixon, (2010: 1) explains the task of linguistics is to explain the nature of human language. This point is the main aspect of linguistic research, however, since discourse has some different concepts on language, the nature of human language here is not mainly about form, but the use of that language for a purpose.

### **3.1 Collecting the Data**

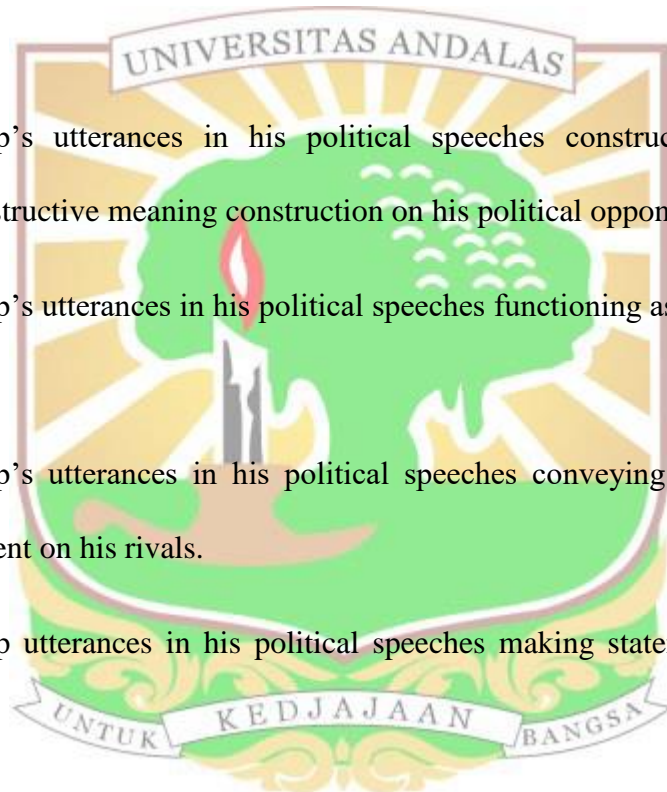
The data for this research are Trump's utterances in his political speeches during his campaign and the presidency. The source of the data is the videos on Trump's political speeches against his rivals from the Democratic Party. The videos are downloaded from YouTube but all of them are the recorded versions from US broadcasting channels such as CNBC, CNN, and Fox. The sources are no random videos. There are 14 videos used for this research.

#### **3.1.1 The Indicators of Data and Analysis of the Main Structure of Discourse**

The process of collecting, analyzing the data, and the primary structure of discourse are based on the following indicators. These indicators are the conceptual points from Fairclough (2003: 4) on the structure of social practice or action in language use; (1995: 2) on the ideological and political potential of vocabularies and grammars; (2003: 25) on the social structure of language; (2003: 133) on nominalized objects, events, purposes that are worded with nouns to classify people and events.



1. Trump's utterances in his political speeches about his political rivals.
2. Trump's parts of the utterances in his political speeches used for labeling his political rivals from the Democratic Party.
3. Trump's utterances in his political speeches consisting of nouns, verbs, adjectives, noun phrases, verb phrases, and adjective phrases used for making the antagonism.
4. Trump's utterances in his political speeches constructing annihilating dynamics or destructive meaning construction on his political opponents.
5. Trump's utterances in his political speeches functioning as a political attack on his rivals.
6. Trump's utterances in his political speeches conveying the messages of political sentiment on his rivals.
7. Trump utterances in his political speeches making statements against his rivals.
8. Trump's utterances in his political speeches making statements against the family members of his rivals.
9. Trump's utterances in his political speeches making statements against the decision of his rivals or their family in the past leadership.



10. Trump's utterances in his political speeches making statements of sentiments against his rivals' past life.

11. Trump's utterances in his political speeches making the nominalization of sentiments and antagonism on Trump's political rivals.

### **3.1.2 The Indicators of Data and Analysis of the Secondary Structures of Discourse**

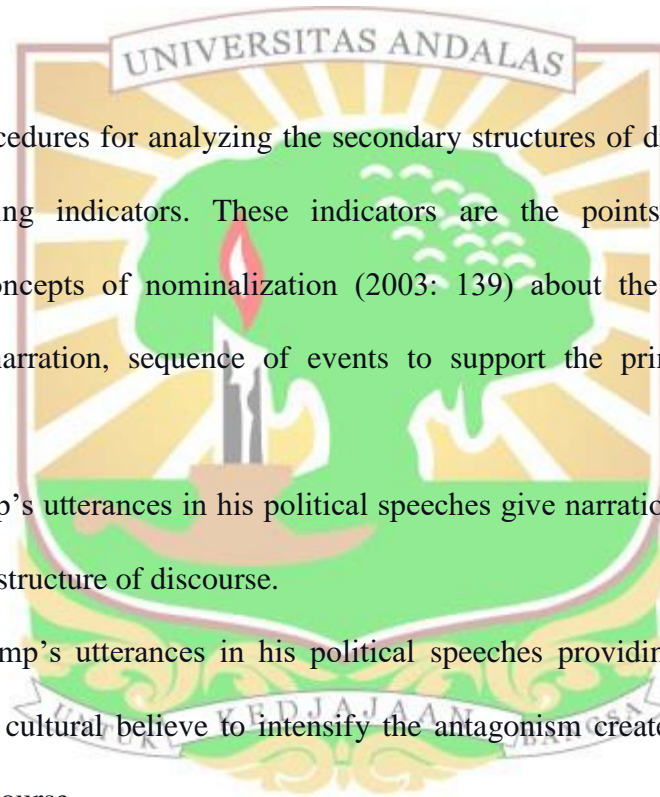
The procedures for analyzing the secondary structures of discourse are based on the following indicators. These indicators are the points abstracted from Fairclough's concepts of nominalization (2003: 139) about the use of nouns to represent the narration, sequence of events to support the primary structure of discourse.

1. Trump's utterances in his political speeches give narration and background for the primary structure of discourse.

2. Trump's utterances in his political speeches providing the contexts of events, history, cultural believe to intensify the antagonism created by the primary structure of discourse.

3. Trump's utterances in his political speeches giving the nominalization of past events to increase the political sentiments created by the primary structure of antagonism.

4. Trump's utterances in his political speeches giving the story and message which support public bad sentiments on Trump's rival.



5. Trump's utterances in his political speeches that control the context supporting the political sentiments on Trump's rival.

The aspects of antagonism happen in Trump's political speeches when he says something about his opponents or rivals from the Democratic Party. So not all parts of discourse or text will be analyzed in this research. The main part of Trump's political speeches taken as data is the label he uses to create antagonism about his rivals. Of course, that antagonism can happen in phrases or the noun alone. Most of the antagonism for labeling the opponent or the outsider are formed in names and phrases. That is why the main parts of speech such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs function as the data.

### **3.1.3 The Procedures for Collecting the Data**

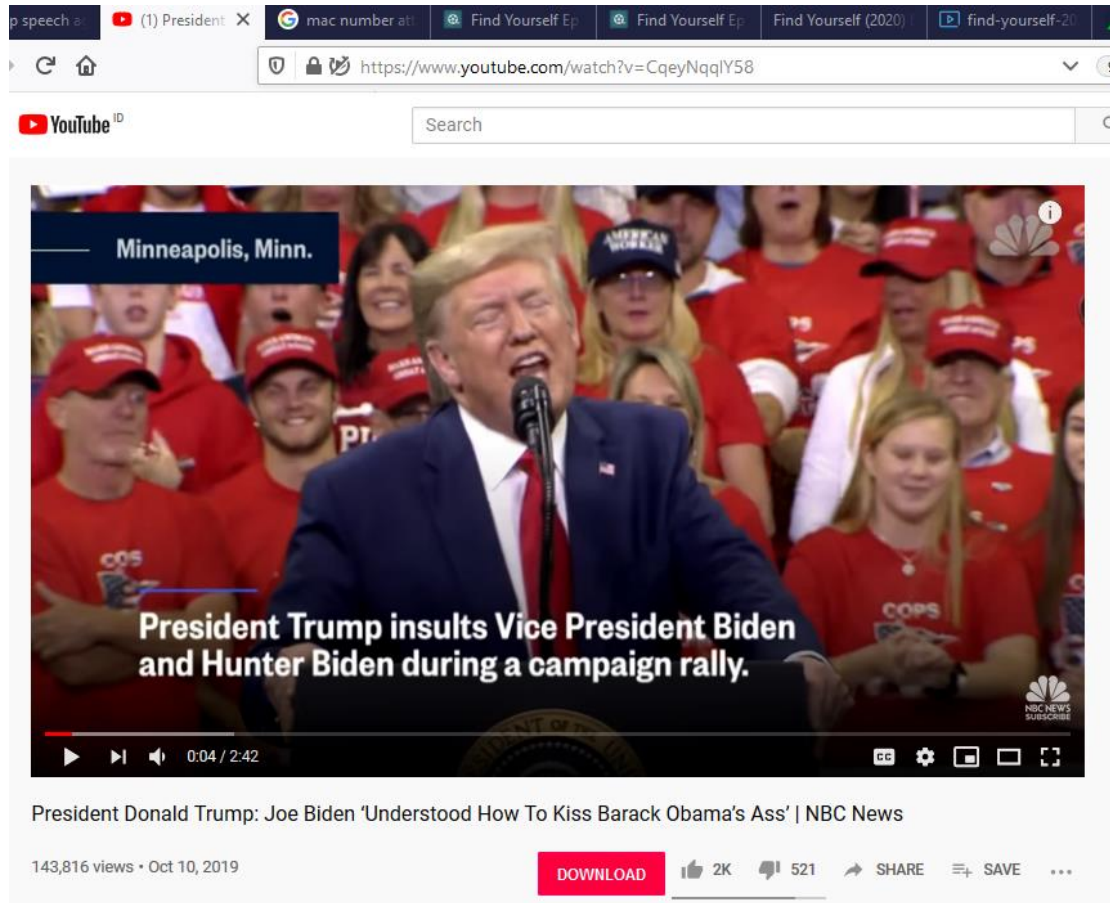
Schutze (2010: 117) explains linguistic data are divided into two dimensions: its origin i.e., the method or technique by which it was obtained, and its kind, i.e., the phenomenon from which it was drawn. The data in this research are in the second category, taken directly from the phenomena. The steps of collecting the data are as follow:

#### **1. Observing Trump's political speeches.**

Trump's political speeches are carefully observed and studied on the footage or videos. The source of the data are the original and valid utterances spoken by Trump himself. Political discourses from original speech has stronger political



implications because they are the original utterances from the political figures themselves.



The above example is the capture from Trump's speeches uploaded to YouTube.com by NBC NEWS, an international news channel from the US. The source of the videos is YouTube.com because there is a lot of recorded footages of Trump's political speeches uploaded to this online hosting site. So the original recorded videos are the primary source of the data, but other forms of data source like online articles and Trump's tweets on Twitter are categorized as the secondary source

of the data providing contexts and additional information on the antagonism in the political speeches.

The observation in the first stage of collecting the data is done qualitatively, meaning, there will be no insight on using the samples to generalize the population of discourse. This research has nothing to do with the numbers of discourse because the phenomena of antagonism in discourse are explored, not quantified. In short, quantitative insight will not be used in this research.

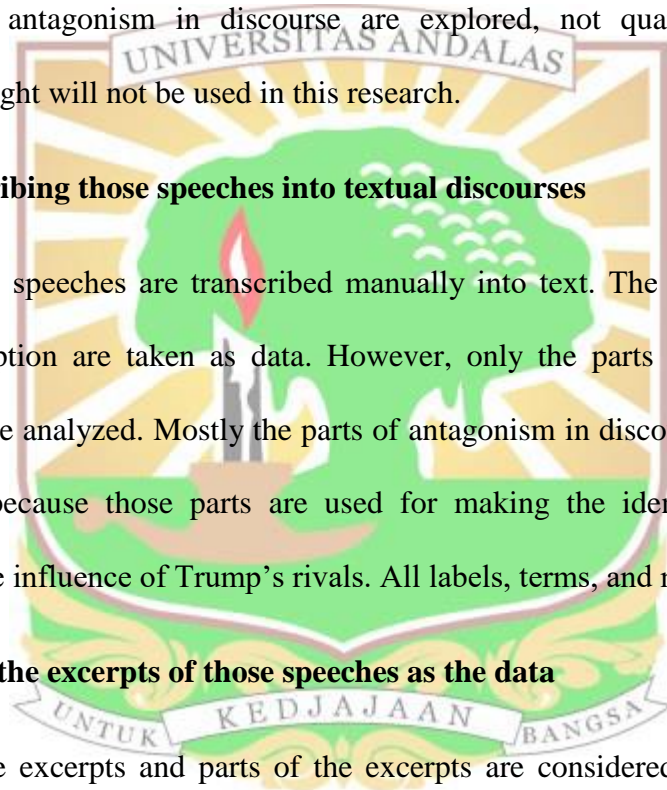
## **2. Transcribing those speeches into textual discourses**

Trump's speeches are transcribed manually into text. The excerpts of those speech transcription are taken as data. However, only the parts of antagonism in discourse will be analyzed. Mostly the parts of antagonism in discourse are noun and noun phrases because those parts are used for making the identity or label for undermining the influence of Trump's rivals. All labels, terms, and names are nouns.

## **3. Taking the excerpts of those speeches as the data**

Only the excerpts and parts of the excerpts are considered as data, not the entire transcription of the speech because the data has to meet the following indicator:

- a. The clauses have a specific label, or address terms in an antagonist way on another political figure.
- b. The phrases have a specific label, or address terms in an antagonist way on another political figure.



So only the parts of excerpts meeting these two indicators can be taken as data for this research. Other parts of discourse or texts are considered irrelevant.

### **3.2 Analyzing the Data**

Analysis on the data focuses on the aspects of antagonism in the clauses and phrases. Other clauses or phrases having no parts of antagonism are not relevant for the analysis. The process of data analysis also consists of three stages as follow:

- 1. Analyzing the words and phrases showing the antagonism in Trump's speeches.**

Based on preliminary observation, antagonism happens in the form of words and noun phrases, but of course it will be explored further.

- 2. Analyzing the context and the meaning of parts of discourses showing the antagonism in Trump's speeches.**

Secondary data and context are used to provide correct contextual aspects of Trump's political speeches. Secondary data here means the text on Trump's Twitter, interviews, and other news from American TV Channels related to the speech.

- 3. Analyzing the political functions of the antagonism in Trump's speeches**

The last stage of analysis focuses on studying the political functions of the antagonism between Trump and his rivals. The barrier or political frontier is also analyzed at this stage. Trump's stands against specific political figures or people will

be explained and what kind of discourse is showing the political frontier of antagonism.

### **The example of data and analysis**

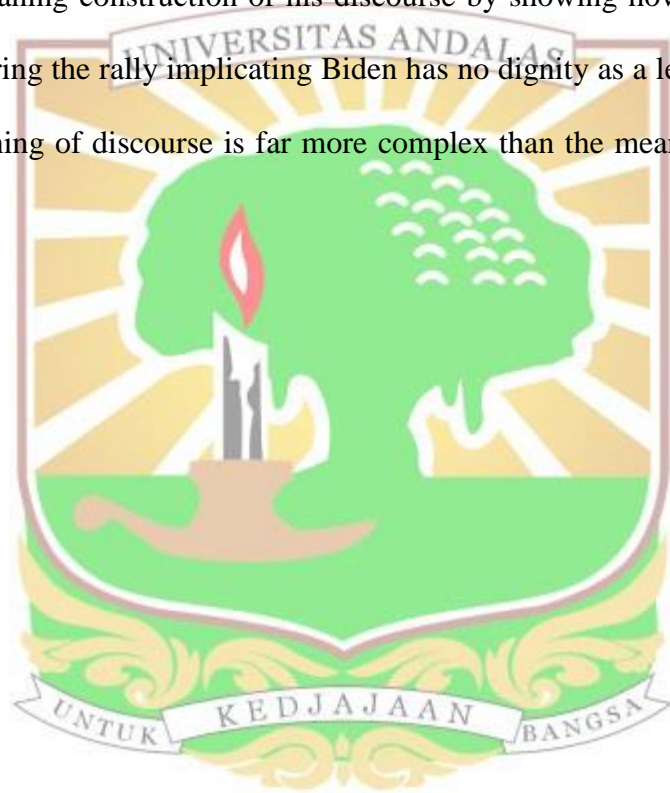
When I announce they are going to endorse me because if I lose should I lose or if I don't run there are at a business who's going to cover they are going to cover Bernie hey they're gonna cover like **sleepy Joe Biden** they're gonna cover **Pocahontas** who is think of it, think of it she of the great 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 about now it's causing her problems you know that names good because now even the liberals are saying take your test take your test you know...

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

This discourse is a Trump's political speech during a Montana rally on Thursday, May 7<sup>th</sup> 2020 for the next presidential election. The general context of this discourse is Trump's actions to increase the number of the voters. The first part of the discourse: *"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"* shows the structure of antagonism as the political frontier intended for two democrat figures Joe Biden and Elizabeth Warren. Trump shows no antagonism to Bernie Sanders.

The first antagonism is formed in the noun phrase **sleepy Joe Biden**. It is a noun phrase because the name Joe Biden is a noun, all names are noun, and the

adjective **sleepy** modifies the noun **Joe Biden**. The structural relationship of this adjective and the noun **Joe Biden** here forms the political meaning of Trump mocking Joe Biden as his rival in the next presidential run. This mockery has specific implication of hurting Biden's charism and good influence leading to a discourse meaning construction of: [Biden is unworthy to be the US next president]. Trump controls the meaning construction of his discourse by showing how easy for him to mock Biden during the rally implicating Biden has no dignity as a leader. This datum shows the meaning of discourse is far more complex than the meaning in semantics and pragmatics.



**CHAPTER IV**  
**THE POLITICAL FRONTIER OF ANTAGONISM IN TRUMP'S SPEECHES**  
**A STUDY OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

**4.1 Introduction**

The analysis of the data focuses on identifying the main and the secondary structure of antagonism in discourse. The main structure of antagonism is a noun phrase modified by adjective because it is a label given by Trump to his political opponents. So, Trump used discourses to make his political opponents look like the antagonist during the 2016 US presidential race and after the last impeachment in 2020. The study and analysis of antagonism in this research are not about Trump being the antagonist, but the use of Trump's discourses to make his political opponents become the antagonists.

These discourses have the structure of antagonisms which construct the destructive meaning to destroy the political image of those opponents. When the voters or the American people believe in Trump's political discourses, the political image of other figures from the Democratic party will get hurt or destroyed. Only the meaning of discourse can achieve that purpose. The analysis of meaning construction focuses on this destructive aspect. So, the meaning of discourse in this analysis is not about the theme, topic, value, or other forms of meaning at the semantic and

pragmatic level, but it is about meaning becomes a political component of discourse to control peoples' understanding, decision, and action.

The aspects of political function and political purposes, or function and purpose are viewed as the same aspect since CDA does not use formal discourse concepts such as anaphora and cataphora. CDA knows the only ideological and political function of discourse that includes the concept of political and ideological purpose.

## 4.2 Data Analysis

### Discourse 1

We have to make a decision, theme for the next campaign, so we've been here by that time, mmm three, three and a half years we go into a war with some socialists, it looks the only **non sort of heavy socialist** he's been taken care very well by the socialist they got to our the former vice president, he's I was gonna call him I don't know him well I was gonna say welcome to the world Joe, you have it a good time Joe, are you having a good time. My people tell me two years what do you think one week sir, I said general come here give me a kiss. I felt like Joe Biden. But I meant it, I meant it, big different, I meant it.

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SSp1C8EBIeE>

The primary or main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators of primary structure number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11. The secondary structure of this discourse meets the data indicators for the secondary structures of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. The first part of this discourse "*We have to make a decision, theme for the next campaign, so we've been here by that time, mmm three, three and a half years we go into a war with some socialists*" consists of some clauses. These

clauses function to build up the historical context of this political discourse. That context is 2016 US presidential race where Trump faced his rivals from Democrat. The clause “*we go into a war with some socialists*” constructs the meaning at the level of discourse about heavy competition and the struggles undergone by the Republicans and Trump against the figures from democrat. The meaning of this clause formed in the scale of discourse because it has the political and historical meaning components.

The phrase “**some socialists**” here, discourse wise, refers to the competitors from democrats such as Hillary Clinton, Berney Sanders, Elizabeth Warren and Joe Biden including other prominent figures from democrat. This phrase also has the political meaning of antagonism because the noun **socialist** is used to create the image of antagonist on those democrat figures. This noun does not mean socialist denotatively at semantic level. The use of this noun as the core structure of antagonism is based on the context of US long history of fighting communism for almost a half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Socialism is the precursor of communism although both have some differences, not exactly the same ideology, but socialism is not something to be accepted in the United States.

Trump uses these clauses to set up the foundation of antagonism. President Trump in this discourse shows the antagonism in the form of a noun phrase **non-sort of heavy socialist** referring to his political opponent the former US vice president Joe Biden. This noun phrase is categorized as the antagonism in political discourse



because it is used to set up a frontier between Trump and his fellow Americans against Joe Biden the socialist, meaning, Joe Biden is excluded.

This noun phrase is clearly used by Trump to set up a language-based antagonist barrier involving people's understanding or cognition that: **[Biden is a socialist and therefore he is not one of us], [Biden is an outsider], [Biden is different from us]**. This explanation of meaning at the level of discourse shows a political function to attack Biden's political image so it will hurt his number of votes in the future election. In fact, socialism is not accepted in United States because the US is a capitalist country. Trump's political discourse in this datum is based on the context capitalism versus socialism in the US. This phrase functions to hurt Biden's political image based on the US political context which puts no place for socialism. USA is a capitalist nation, socialist has no place in the US presidential race. That is the political barrier of antagonism formed in this discourse and used by Trump to attack his rivals.

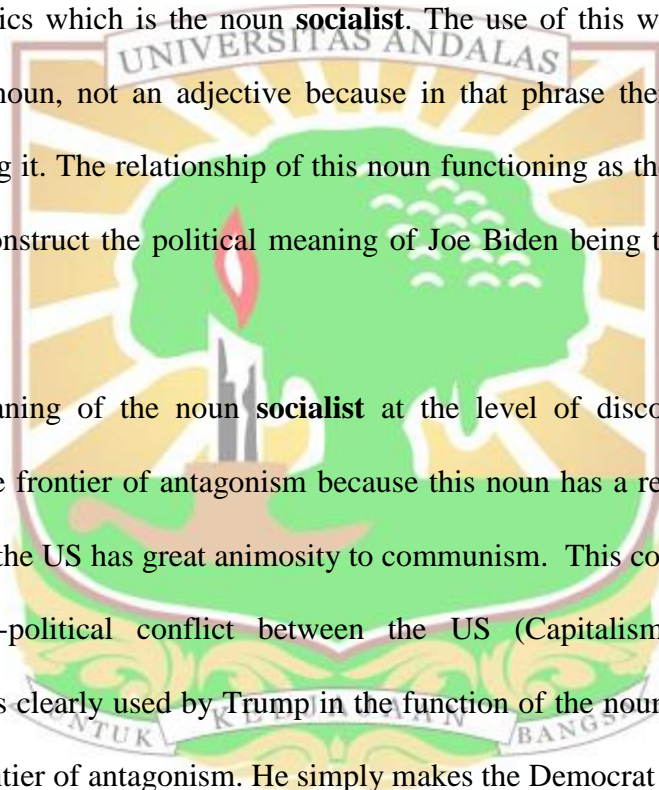
According to O'Dawyer, meaning can have destructive dynamics. The noun phrase in this discourse labelling Joe Biden as the socialist forms the meaning of Biden is the antagonist in the next US presidential race. This antagonism has a destructive meaning destroying Biden's image. The socio-political context of the United States as a country doing a long war against communism and its socialist precursor in the past puts the noun **socialist** in a difficult situation. Most Americans are anti-communist although communism and socialism are not exactly the same

thing, but they share some social concepts and approaches. That is why the US presidential candidate who is labelled and pictured as a socialist will not get many votes in the next campaign. At least that is what Trump expecting from the use of this noun phrase of antagonism.

This datum shows the core part of discourse constructing the destructive meaning dynamics which is the noun **socialist**. The use of this word in this phrase functions as a noun, not an adjective because in that phrase there is an adjective **heavy** modifying it. The relationship of this noun functioning as the head or the core of the phrase construct the political meaning of Joe Biden being the antagonist and different.

The meaning of the noun **socialist** at the level of discourse in this case encompasses the frontier of antagonism because this noun has a related history with communist and the US has great animosity to communism. This context of history of war and socio-political conflict between the US (Capitalism) against USSR (Communism) is clearly used by Trump in the function of the noun **socialist** to form the political frontier of antagonism. He simply makes the Democrat prominent figures to look like an antagonist during the presidential run.

The noun socialist and its phrases in this discourse has no semantic and pragmatic meaning since those Democrat figures and Joe Biden are not real socialists. The meaning of this noun is neither denotative nor connotative because the components of politics in its meaning construction includes the annihilating dynamics



since Trump uses this noun in his political discourse to annihilate or destroy the political image of his opponents in the next election. This kind of destructive meaning is just like what O'Dawyer explains in her theory. This is the aspect of meaning at the level discourse.

The relationship of power, discourse and ideology in this datum happens through the use of the noun socialist and its phrases for Trump's political interest. Trump's interest of power is to use this noun and its related phrases to destroy the political image of his opponent and therefore this process secures his maximum votes to be higher than the democrat presidential candidate's votes. The aspects of ideology related to the use of the noun **socialist** here is the influence of antagonism in discourse to the voters' belief, meaning, the voters see the rivals of Trump as the antagonist, so they do not vote for them, they vote only Trump.

The meaning of antagonist here at the level of discourse is not equivalent to being evil or bad people. The scale of meaning of being antagonist here does not go to that extent. Being antagonist in the context of this political speech is only about unworthy of becoming a leader of the United States. The meaning of this Trump's political discourse based on the use of the noun **socialist** focuses on controlling the voters' belief or ideology that Trump's rivals are not worthy to lead the United States. In fact, those rivals are not literally socialists since the ideology and the system of socialism are not accepted in the US, but Trump put the socialist label on to those rivals from democrat to make them look as the antagonist.

In fact, the noun **socialist** and its related phrases function as the core structure of discourse in datum 1 which constructs the meaning to damage the image of Trump's rivals and control the voters' belief. This is one of the mechanisms of discourse, power and ideology in which language is used to control human understanding and belief system, it is no longer about conveying the message for communication. Therefore, the core structure of discourse is the main aspect in the language used for constructing the discourse which has deeper effects to human ideology or belief system.

So, the process of using this noun and its related phrases in discourse 1 requires other forms of clauses to complete the political meaning. It is called political meaning because the meaning of discourse is not about communication but to give a direct influence to other people. Those other clauses are additional structure of discourse. The context of conflict between the United States against communism rooted from socialism actually intensifies the antagonism in discourse one. In order to give a better understanding on this analysis, the example can be taken from how the majority of Indonesian people view and afraid of communism, similar case to the Americans, they learn that socialism is the root of communism as a larger ideology, therefore, they share the hate and the fear of everything related to communism and socialism. Trump uses this issue and the historical context of conflict in his political discourse cemented by the use of the noun **socialist** and its phrases as the core structure of discourse in datum 1.

The use of the noun **socialist** also shows it is more cognitively accessible because the effect of historical context against communism in the past. The US as the capitalist country stands in the opposing position against socialism and its generic ideology such as communism. This context makes easier for Trump to label his political opponents as the antagonist of capitalism by using the noun socialist and its related phrases in Trump's political discourses.

The last part of this discourses is the following clauses: *"he's been taken care very well by the socialist they got to our the former vice president, he's I was gonna call him I don't know him well I was gonna say welcome to the world Joe, you have it a good time Joe, are you having a good time. My people tell me two years what do you think one week sir, I said general come here give me a kiss. I felt like Joe Biden. But I meant it, I meant it, big different, I meant it"*. These clauses are the additional structure in discourse 1 referring directly to Joe Biden. Trump implicitly uses the context of the corruption case involving Biden son in Ukraine to intensify the antagonism in his political discourse.

Thus, the structure of discourse 1 as follows:

1. The noun **socialist** and its phrases functions as the core structure of the discourse.
2. The historical context of socialism being the precursor of communism and the United States fighting a long war against communism functions to complete the meaning of antagonism in the use of the noun **socialist**.

3. The political meaning of discourse 1 is used by Trump to control the cognition and the system of belief of the voters to stand against Joe Biden the antagonist.
4. The relationship of the noun **socialist**, the context of conflict against socialism and communism, and the Trump's political interest to win the US presidential race in 2020 construct the complete antagonism and its cognitively accessible effects to the understanding and the ideology of the voters.
5. The nominalization occurs in both primary and secondary structures of discourse.

## Discourse 2

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 about now it's causing her problems you know that names good because now even the liberals are saying take your test take your test you know the I tell you I shouldn't tell you because I like not to give away secrets but this one let's say I'm debating Pocahontas right, I promise you I'll do this I will take you know all those little kits they sell on television for two dollars learn your heritage, guy says I was born in Scotland it turns out he was born in Puerto Rico and that's ok that's good you know, guy says I was born in Germany well he wasn't born in Germany he was born someplace else, I'm gonna get one of those little one of those little kids and in the middle of the debate when she proclaims she that she's of Indian heritage because her mother said she has high cheek bones that's her only evidence that her said she has had a high cheekbone we will take that little kit and say but we have to do it gently because we're in the meet two generations so we've to be very gentle and we will very gently take that kit and we will slowly toss it hoping it

doesn't hit her and injure her arm even though it only weighs probably two ounces and we will say I will give you a million dollar to your favorite charity paid for by Trump if you take the test and it shows you and idiot you know and let's see what she does right I have a feeling she will say no but we'll hold that for the debates do me a favour keep it within this room because I don't wanna give away any secret and the press is very honorable they won't please don't tell her what I just said.

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

The main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the primary structures of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 11. The secondary structures of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the secondary structures of discourse number 1, 1, 3, 4, 5.

This discourse is a Trump's political speech during a Montana rally on Thursday, May 7<sup>th</sup> 2020 for the next presidential election. The general context of this discourse is Trump's actions to increase the number of the voters. This political speech is not just a speech for a presidential race. It is a discourse designed to create a political frontier of antagonism between Trump versus Joe Biden and Elizabeth Warren.

There are two main structures of antagonism in this discourse: **1) Sleepy Joe Biden**, and, **2) Fake Pocahontas**. Both noun phrases are categorized as the main structure of antagonism in discourse because they are antagonistic labels attached on two presidential candidates from Democratic Party. The political function of both noun phrases is to destroy Biden's and Warren's political image by making them look as the antagonist. So, both noun phrases are a direct attack on the Joe Biden's and

Elizabeth's Warren political standing, this is the reason why those two noun phrases are categorized as two structures of antagonism.

These two primary structures of antagonism also control the whole structures and meaning constructions of discourse 2. That is why discourse functions as antagonistic discourse. This political function is governed by these two noun phrases. The use of two noun phrases *sleepy Joe Biden* and *Fake Pocahontas* inflicts a political damage on those two figures of Democratic Party. This effect is proven by the current survey in the USA, Trump is still a leading candidate to win the US 2020 presidential race.

The first structure of antagonism is the noun phrase **sleepy Joe Biden**. It is a noun phrase because the name Joe Biden is a noun, all names are noun, and the adjective **sleepy** modifies the noun **Joe Biden**. The structural relationship of this adjective and the noun **Joe Biden** here forms the political meaning of Trump mocking Joe Biden as his rival in the next presidential run. This mockery has specific implication of hurting Biden's charisma and good influence leading to a discourse meaning construction of: **[Biden is unworthy to be the US next president]**. Trump controls the meaning construction of his discourse by showing how easy for him to mock Biden during the rally implicating Biden has no dignity as a leader. This datum shows the meaning of discourse is far more complex than the meaning in semantics and pragmatics.



The noun phrase **sleepy Joe Biden** actually has no ideological and historical context like the first discourse. It functions only as a mockery to undo Biden's good influence and dignity as a political leader. So the context of conflict in this noun phrase as one of the core structure of antagonism in discourse 2 is focused on the rivalries and the battle of political influence between Trump against Biden.

Moreover, the structural relationship of the adjective *sleepy* modifying this noun (Joe Biden) constructs a political meaning at the level of discourse to hurt Biden's political image. This is Trump's purpose for using this phrase in his political discourse during this rally. The antagonism occurs this way, a discourse is created involving its specific core structure to form a political meaning to control the understanding and the belief system of the voters.

The adjective *sleepy* shows the political function to inflict a serious damage on Biden's image by constructing the political meaning about Biden [Biden is just a comic, not a worthy candidate for US presidential race]. This meaning construction is destructive on Biden's image because the use of adjective *sleepy* has a close association to mockery in this context. Many times, the use of this adjective is used as a joke to abuse somebody verbally. So, it is clear that this adjective has no semantic nor pragmatic meaning because its use as the modifier of the noun *Joe Biden* is an attack in the form of language to Joe Biden as one of Trump's opponents.

The use of this phrase as the mockery as one of the core structures of antagonism in this discourse actually functions to attack and reduce Biden's political

influence since the nature of mockery itself is closer to an insult. Trump uses this phrase in his political discourse to put Biden in an antagonism or to make Biden the antagonist of Trump's plan in the next presidential race. This is a clear line of political frontier of antagonism made by Trump to be understood by the voters. This is one of the key aspects of antagonism in Trump's political discourse.

Furthermore, the use of this noun phrase (sleepy Joe Biden) during the rally shows Trump is controlling the use of context of mass gathering so his discourse can access a greater number of peoples' cognition or understanding. In fact, political influence requires a large number of human societies to understand and accept the same discourse.

Trump's political discourse shows a general rule of discourse where language is used to put Biden or his political rivals as the object of antagonism and the American voters as the subject. So it is clear that this noun phrase has no semantic function nor real semantic implication because its meaning construction is formed as mockery to attack Biden's political standing.

The second core structure of antagonism in this discourse is the noun phrase **Fake Pocahontas**. This noun phrase is a verbal attack on Elizabeth Warren. This noun phrase is clearly used by Trump to draw a political boundary of antagonism which puts Warren standing as the antagonist. The noun *Pocahontas* is the core of the phrase. It controls the meaning of native American blood line as the main aspects of antagonism in discourse 2. Trump uses the context of Warren's claim about her being

the descendant of native American. She once stated that she has native American blood line. Trump then uses this story against Warren by using the noun **Pocahontas**, a name of a native American girl in one of Disney's movies.

So, the noun *Pocahontas* constructs the meaning of antagonism about Warren's blood line identity. This noun is modified by the adjective *fake* to complete the main structure of antagonism in discourse 2. This noun phrase controls or governs the whole antagonism in this discourse which construct the meaning [**Elizabeth Warren is a fake Indian or fake native Americans**]. This antagonistic meaning construction is destructive for Warren political image. The use of adjective *fake* as a modifier inflicts a serious damage on Warren political ground. This adjective shows the political function to hurt Warren's potential rise to power in the next 2020 US presidential race.

Trump knows very well that Warren is a strong candidate from Democratic Party. So he decides to attack her severely using the antagonistic discourse to undo the increase of voters on Warren's side. This is the phenomenon of annihilating dynamics of meaning, when a meaning construction of a discourse inflicts a damage in peoples' belief about Warren. The noun phrase *fake Pocahontas* as one of the main structures of antagonism in discourse 2 is clearly designed to hurt Warren's dignity as a leader. The meaning construction of this phrase can have effect on voters' understanding and decision not to vote for Warren. This point is Trump's aim.

In fact, all antagonistic discourses produced by Trump in his political speech share similar meaning construction to control voters' understanding or cognition, and their decision. There is no voter will choose to vote for a fake leader. This is a natural peoples' understanding on deciding who to vote for.

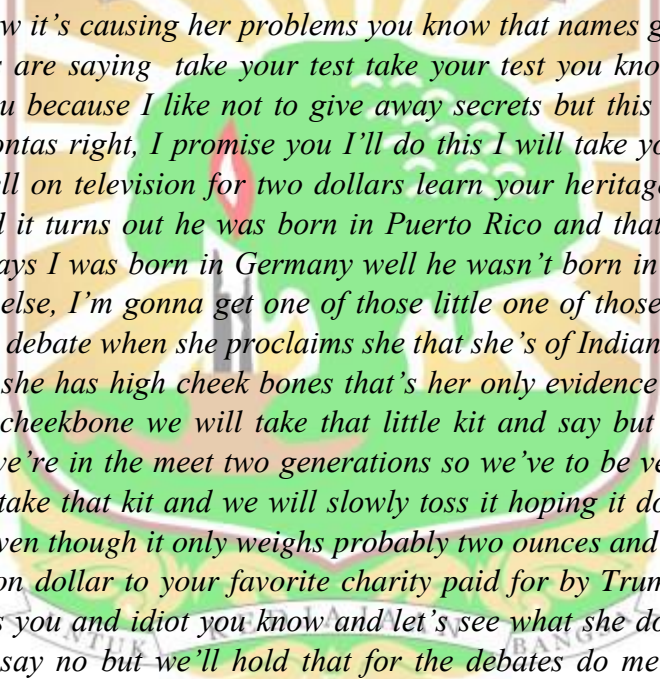
Based on this analysis, it is clear that the noun phrase *fake Pocahontas* as one of the main structures of antagonism in discourse 2 shows the offensive use of language to attack the validity of Warren's genetic traits. The adjective *fake* not only completes the main structures of antagonism but also intensifies the antagonism to create a political frontier of antagonism between Trump versus Warren the antagonist.

This intensification effect is not commonly found in this research. The other data show the process of intensifying antagonism done in secondary structures. However, this datum shows another fact, the adjective not only modifies the noun in the main structure of antagonism, but also increase the destructive effects of the noun.

Then, the secondary structures of antagonism in discourse 2 consists of the following clauses: *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..* These clauses are the secondary structures of this discourse functioning to control the context of discourse. The aspects of political context intensify the destructive meaning to produce antagonism. This supporting structure describes the support from big businessmen for the US

presidential candidates. These clauses also function as the introduction to the main structure of antagonism for the American voters. The theme, topic, and the meaning of these clauses control American voters' understanding to accept the destructive meaning construction of the primary structure of antagonism in this discourse.

The next part of this discourse is quite long consisting of many complex clauses as follow:



*I won't about now it's causing her problems you know that names good because now even the liberals are saying take your test take your test you know the I tell you I shouldn't tell you because I like not to give away secrets but this one let's say I'm debating Pocahontas right, I promise you I'll do this I will take you know all those little kits they sell on television for two dollars learn your heritage, guy says I was born in Scotland it turns out he was born in Puerto Rico and that's ok that's good you know, guy says I was born in Germany well he wasn't born in Germany he was born someplace else, I'm gonna get one of those little one of those little kids and in the middle of the debate when she proclaims she that she's of Indian heritage because her mother said she has high cheek bones that's her only evidence that her said she has had a high cheekbone we will take that little kit and say but we have to do it gently because we're in the meet two generations so we've to be very gentle and we will very gently take that kit and we will slowly toss it hoping it doesn't hit her and injure her arm even though it only weighs probably two ounces and we will say I will give you a million dollar to your favorite charity paid for by Trump if you take the test and it shows you and idiot you know and let's see what she does right I have a feeling she will say no but we'll hold that for the debates do me a favour keep it within this room because I don't wanna give away any secret and the press is very honorable they won't please don't tell her what I just said.*

This discourse consists of many clauses functioning as the secondary structures of antagonism. This supporting structure controls the context of the main structure in this discourse, the noun phrases **sleepy Joe Biden** and **Fake Pocahontas**, in order to control the understanding of American voters.

The context controlled by this discourse part is about Warren should do a test to prove her claim on being Native American descendent. Trump mocked Warren in this secondary structure to intensify the meaning construction of antagonism on Warren being a *fake Native American*. The main structure of antagonism, the noun phrase **fake Pocahontas** constructs the destructive meaning of *fake native Americans* to destroy Elizabeth Warren's political image and credibility. So we can see here that this form of meaning inflicts damage on Warren's political standing.

The secondary structure of antagonism shows the political function of increasing the antagonistic effects of the main structure of antagonism in this discourse. Both types of structure at the level of political function depicts a linear process of controlling American peoples' understanding to believe in the following meaning construction: **[Warren is antagonist, not worthy to be a US president]**. In short, both secondary and the main structure of antagonism in this discourse cooperate each other to build up a stronger version of antagonism destructive enough on Warren's image. However, the main structure of antagonism in this discourse also controls the political function of the secondary structure.

The main structure of antagonism not only creates a political frontier of antagonism between Trump versus Warren which makes Warren becoming the antagonist, but also functions as a serious political attack on Warren. The antagonism of discourse and its destructive meaning construction are finalized by the main structure: the noun phrase, *fake Pocahontas*.

Then, this analysis shows that the main structure of antagonism is the governor for all secondary structures in the discourse. The meaning, topic, or theme of the supporting structures described in those many clauses cannot deviate from the political meaning of the primary structure; the noun phrase or the label of antagonist. So the clauses of the secondary structure of antagonism always support the meaning of the main structure of antagonism.

The binding force or the process of control between the main structure over the secondary one is clear because the supporting structure has to follow the meaning of the primary structure. This phenomenon happens because the antagonistic discourse puts peoples' understanding as a target to control, which is why the political boundary between two different figures have to be drawn in clear cut so people can understand the meaning of the discourse. This is also the reason why the secondary structure has to be linear in meaning constructions and context to the main structure of antagonism This is the real explanation of language and political power.

So if the secondary structures are not linear in topic, theme, and context to the primary structure of antagonism, the political implications of antagonistic discourse will be reduced. The main structure of antagonism in this discourse is the noun phrases **sleepy Joe Biden** and **Fake Pocahontas**. Both noun phrases control different form of antagonism because they are antagonistic labels attached to two different democratic leaders: Joe Biden and Elizabeth Warren. Discourse 2 proves that different kind of political frontier of antagonism can happen in one discourse.

The meaning constructions of both primary structures of antagonism are not meshed up. So the political effects of discourse attack two different democratic figures without undoing one another meaning constructions.

Discourse 2 also shows the process of two antagonisms in discourse involving two main structures and two secondary structures of antagonism as well. The supporting structures of antagonism provides the context for its main structure as the governor. So there is no overlapped structures and context between those two antagonisms. The main and secondary structures of antagonism for Elizabeth Warren does not mesh up with the secondary structures of antagonism for Joe Biden.

Similar process also happens in two main structures of antagonism in this discourse, the noun phrases **sleepy Joe Biden** and **Fake Pocahontas**. These two antagonistic primary structures control two different secondary structures and antagonistic meaning. Two different nouns used in both main structures of antagonism control the meaning constructions to be destructive on two different political figures from Democratic Party. This mechanism of controlling different destructive meaning and different political frontier of antagonism in one similar discourse is governed by these two noun phrases.

The use of other parts of speech in the rest of the clauses in discourse 2 like the verbs, the adjective, the adverbs, conjunction so on is controlled by the two noun phrases. The aspects of control here is about the meaning and political function. So the meaning of every clause in the secondary structure is bound by the meaning of the



main structure of antagonism, otherwise the antagonism can be less destructive because the secondary structures functions to provide the contexts for the main structure to intensify the political implication of the main structure.

One of the finding in this discourse is two main structures of antagonism: **Sleepy Joe Biden** and **Fake Pocahontas** does not relate each other whatsoever. It is quite interesting because these noun phrases operate in the same discourse. Their secondary structures also function in the same discourse, but because of the governing process of the main structure, each of the secondary structures does not have any effect to one another. The reason for this different antagonism is the core of the two noun phrases, the nouns **Joe Biden** and **Pocahontas** control the reference of this noun politically to former vice president of the United States Joe Biden and the senator from Democratic Party Elizabeth Warren. Both nouns govern the structure and the process of antagonism in this datum of discourse.

Trump used both noun phrases as the main structure of antagonism because he knows the majority of Americans understand the two nouns refer to. They comprehend both noun phrases in Trump's political discourse. Their understanding to see both Biden and Warren as the antagonist of Trump is intensified by the use of clauses in secondary structures. Understanding or cognitive process is the key for discourse of antagonism to have a political implication. Trump will not say a name people know nothing about.

The analysis proves the key process of political frontier of antagonism created by discourse involves the process of controlling peoples' understanding. In the case of political antagonism, the noun phrase which functions as an antagonistic label on the opponent governs the process of building up the destructive meaning and controlling voters' decision not to vote for the antagonist. At this point meaning from discourse has influence on voters' decision-making practice. This is exactly what trump does with his political discourse against his rivals from Democratic Party.

This discourse 2 also proves that language is the instrument of political power.

Moreover, the core structure of antagonism in this second Trump's political discourse is as follows:

1. Both noun phrases **sleepy Joe Biden** and **Fake Pocahontas** are two different main structures of antagonism controlling different secondary structures of antagonism in discourse 2.
2. Trump uses the noun phrase **sleepy Joe Biden** to draw a clear boundary of antagonism between Trump against Biden in the political discourse during Montana rally.
3. Trump also uses the noun phrases **sleepy Joe Biden** to hurt, reduce, and inflict a political damage on Joe Biden's political influence because this mockery lands a blow to Biden's dignity as a leader.
4. Trump uses the noun phrase **Fake Pocahontas** to destroy Elizabeth Warren's political image and credibility.

5. The nominalization occurs in both main dan secondary structures of discourses.

### Discourse 3

Jun 18, 2016

One thing about Bernie, he doesn't give up, this guy doesn't give up, right? **Crazy Bernie** he doesn't give up, you know, **crazy Bernie**, he is crazy as a bad bug, you know, he doesn't quit, he doesn't quit, got a hand to.. and I think Bernie should continue to go forward folk, he should continue to go forward, he should fight to the last end. Well he's waiting for really..

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LfPfirzwSQE>

The main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the primary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 11. The secondary structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the secondary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

The context of discourse is US presidential race in 2016. The political speech happened on June 18, 2016. The topic of the speech is Trump suggested Bernie Sanders to stay in the democratic race because of an FBI convention that would lead to prosecution of Hillary Clinton over her private email case. The core structure of antagonism occurs in the form of noun phrase **Crazy Bernie**. Trump used this to make Bernie Sanders look as the antagonist in 2016 US presidential race. The noun **Bernie** is modified by the adjective **crazy** to construct the core structure of discourse of antagonism in this datum.

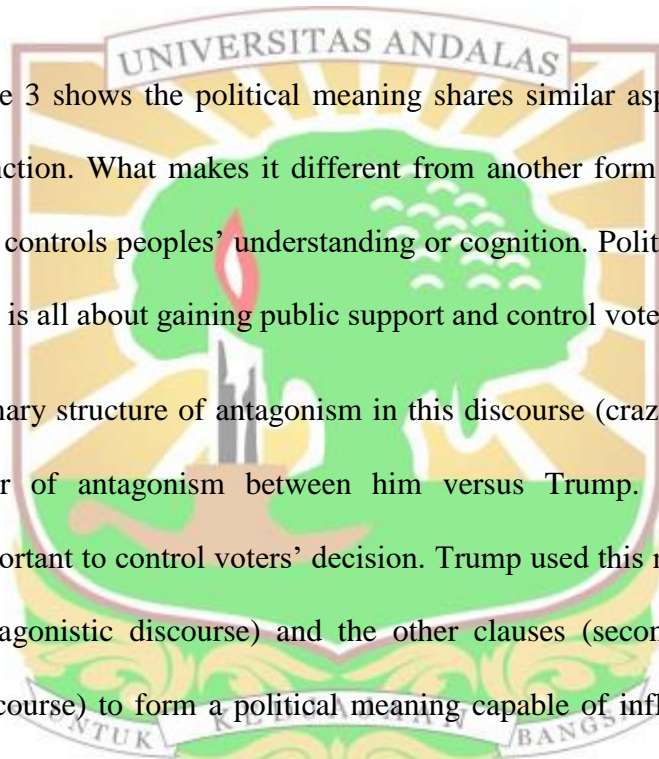
The meaning of this phrase as the core structure of discourse 3 is constructed by Trump to control voters' cognition not to vote Bernie in the US presidential race. This meaning is destructive to Bernie's political image. However, topic of the discourse based on the context of this speech is about Trump suggesting Bernie to continue fighting Hillary in Democratic race. This topic does not undo the destructive political meaning constructed by Trump in the phrase **Crazy Bernie**. Moreover, this phrase does not have semantic function, meaning, Bernie is not really a crazy person. Trump used the adjective *crazy* to modify the noun **Bernie**, the core of this phrase, to complete the destructive meaning dynamics to destroy Bernie Sander's political image.

The political function of this noun phrase as the core structure of antagonism is to control Americans' cognition to believe in Trump's discourse and therefore decide not to vote for Bernie. The other clauses in this discourse like *One thing about Bernie, he doesn't give up, this guy doesn't give up, right?* functions as secondary structure of the discourse to build up the topic or the narration of discourse because a discourse cannot function properly without the secondary structure. So although the political meaning of this discourse is controlled by the use of noun phrase **Crazy Bernie** but people need the secondary structure of antagonistic discourse to fully understand the destructive meaning of this phrase which views Bernie as the antagonist in the US presidential race.

The construction of meaning of antagonism remains: [**do not vote for Bernie**] and this is a form of cognitive control. This meaning does not have semantic components of the adjective **crazy** because the meaning of this phrase operates in discourse as Trump's political component. So the topic of discourse is about supporting Bernie to continue, but the political meaning remains to stop people vote for Bernie.

Discourse 3 shows the political meaning shares similar aspect with political purpose and function. What makes it different from another form of meaning is its influence which controls peoples' understanding or cognition. Political discourse in a presidential race is all about gaining public support and control voters' decision.

The primary structure of antagonism in this discourse (crazy Bernie) draws a political frontier of antagonism between him versus Trump. This antagonistic boundary is important to control voters' decision. Trump used this noun phrase (main structure of antagonistic discourse) and the other clauses (secondary structure of antagonistic discourse) to form a political meaning capable of inflicting damage on Bernie's political image. Even though the adjective **crazy** modifying the noun **Bernie** here does not really mean insane literally, nor crazy in a bad way, but the construction of meaning is clear: [**do not vote for Bernie**]. This meaning construction alone is enough to inflict damage on Bernie's political gain because the American people understand this meaning from this phrase and the clauses in this discourse.



So, discourse 3 shows Trump with his political power used language or discourse as the instrument of power to gain public support, belief, and of course votes, and to hurt the opponent's votes. These function and purpose happen because people understand the meaning construction controlled by the main structure of antagonism in this discourse. This is actually the main point of using this discourse, to control peoples' understanding and voting decision.

Then, to answer the question, why antagonism exist in this kind of political discourse. Based on the analysis so far, it is clear the reason of antagonistic boundary between Trump versus his opponent is all about controlling peoples' understanding and action about who is to vote for. The boundary has to be clear, voting for Trump or voting for his opponent. People cannot choose similar thing, this is natural in human decision and action. We choose because there is a difference. The Americans vote for different candidates. Voting happens because of that difference. The structure of antagonism in discourse intensifies this difference.

Trump used the phrase **crazy Bernie** as the main structure of antagonism in his political discourse because he intensifies the difference between him (Trump) and Bernie. The main structure of antagonism (crazy Bernie) is supported by the secondary structure of antagonism to complete the destructive and antagonistic meaning constructions. This process completes the political frontier of antagonism between Trum and Bernie. The boundary is clear then peoples' understanding or cognition will decide. The main meaning construction [**do not vote for Bernie**] and

[**Bernie is crazy, not worthy to be a president**] is understandable and cognitively accessible, or people can understand this meaning and Trump's will in the discourse.

So, based on this analysis, the meaning constructions constructed by both primary and secondary structure of antagonism in discourse shows political function to hurt Bernie's political influence. This can happen if people understand the meaning constructions. Their cognition has to be accessible for meaning constructions of discourse.

The supporting structures of antagonism in this discourse consist of these clauses: *he is crazy as a bad bug, you know, he doesn't quit, he doesn't quit, got a hand to.. and I think Bernie should continue to go forward folk, he should continue to go forward, he should fight to the last end. Well he's waiting for really.* These clauses control the context of antagonism to intensify the political effects of the main structure of antagonism in this discourse (**Crazy Bernie**).

The topic of these clauses is Trump suggesting Bernie to continue to fight for presidential candidate from Democratic Party. However, the noun phrase (crazy Bernie) as the primary structure of antagonism is not about semantic and pragmatic meaning construction on how good politician Bernie is. None of that exactly. At the level of critical discourse analysis, this phrase shows political function to influence peoples' understanding and decision not to vote for Bernie if he becomes the candidate from the Democratic Party.

Trump shows the process of language to control peoples' cognition and decision regarding politics and power. He does not communicate, but he uses discourse, meaning, he is controlling peoples' cognition, not conveying the message as the common practice in communication. Therefore, he does not communicate but he uses discourse, although he uses the discourse through the political speech. In communication, people communicate and transfer the message, but in using the discourse, people control other people regarding political aims or ideological goals. That is the difference.

Trump sets up a clear line of antagonism directly. There is no ambiguity in the whole structures of discourse. Both primary and secondary structures. The political boundary of antagonism is clear and sharp. This is a requirement needed by the people to understand the meaning construction of antagonism and get affected by that. The analysis on the secondary structures also shows that the process of controlling the context. It happens because of the effect of theme or topic in the clauses. There is a converging point between context and theme in this discourse which functions to support the Americans to understand and accept the meaning constructions created by the use of main structure of antagonism (**crazy Bernie**).

So, based on the analysis, it is clear that the use of discourse for political function and aims is all about language manipulation to control human cognition or understanding and their decision. The frontier of antagonism in discourse constructed



by the structure of antagonism shows this process of manipulation and control. The data in this research show this function of control consistently.

This process of control cannot be explained by describing the meaning. The meaning constructions have to be explored regarding the cognitive effects required by political purpose. In this discourse, it is clear that Trump wants the Americans to vote for him only. That is why he has to describe the meaning of his opponents as the opposition. Trump uses the discourse consisting the structure of antagonism to describe the reality about him and his opponent on the coalition course, a conflicted path of political fight. Trump's political discourse show the Americans this coalition course and the boundary of antagonism.

This condition will naturally make the people decide, vote and choose. The final political function of this discourse of antagonism is to put Trump's opponent in antagonistic role, making the people decide not choose them, but vote for Trump instead. Of course, there are people unaffected by discourse.

Furthermore, the primary structure of antagonism in discourse 3, the noun phrase **crazy Bernie**, consists of two words. The noun *Bernie* is the core, or head, the adjective *crazy* functions as the modifier. This noun phrase does not have semantic and pragmatic function and meaning because its meaning operates in political antagonism between Trump versus Bernie Sanders.

The noun **Bernie** is the core structure of antagonism in this discourse and functions as the governor. The adjective **crazy** completes the function of governing the whole structure of antagonism and its destructive meaning dynamics. So this phrase governs all other parts of discourse 3 so called the secondary structures. The secondary structure consists of clauses actually function to control the context of antagonism. This process intensifies the political implications of this discourse.

This noun phrase also controls all destructive meaning constructions of discourse 3. Moreover, this finding proves the structure of discourse generally can be categorized as the main structure and the secondary structure. There are no other forms of structure can be used to explain the phenomenon of antagonism at this point.

There are many aspects why the noun phrase **crazy Bernie** in this discourse is categorized as the primary structure of antagonism in discourse. The noun *Bernie* represents the democratic figure Bernie Sanders. He is the central figure of antagonist in discourse 3. That is why the noun representing Bernie Sanders modified by the adjective *crazy* functions as the core structure of antagonism because this noun phrase is a label attached on Bernie Sanders, the antagonist.

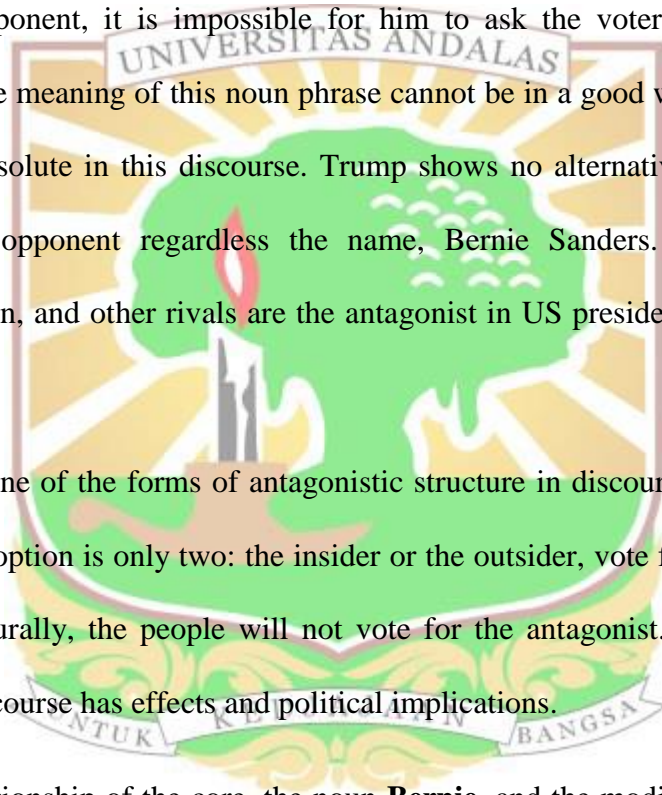
The process of creating political frontier of antagonism is clearly drawing a line between two figures in conflict or in a struggle opposing each other. Therefore, the expression or the label used to attack on the opponent will become the main structure of antagonism in discourse which control the whole meaning construction.

The adjective **crazy** not only modifies the head, the noun **Bernie**, but also complete the form of the main structure of antagonism in discourse. Trump's political aims to undo Bernie's influence requires this form of structure of antagonism. So the political boundary can be constructed in antagonistic ways.

The logic of discourse is also one point to highlight. When Trump talks about his political opponent, it is impossible for him to ask the voters to vote for the opponent. So the meaning of this noun phrase cannot be in a good way. Bernie as the antagonist is absolute in this discourse. Trump shows no alternative in his political discourse. His opponent regardless the name, Bernie Sanders. Hillary Clinton, Elizabeth Warren, and other rivals are the antagonist in US presidential race. End of story.

This is one of the forms of antagonistic structure in discourse. The boundary is absolute, the option is only two: the insider or the outsider, vote for Trump or vote for Bernie. Naturally, the people will not vote for the antagonist. This is why the antagonistic discourse has effects and political implications.

The relationship of the core, the noun **Bernie**, and the modifier, the adjective **crazy** also shows the natural process fits for the making of the structure of antagonism. The noun refers to things, people and any material aspects regardless concrete or abstract. The American people understand this process, they know the noun *Bernie* refers to Bernie Sanders from Democratic Party. The political frontier of antagonism will fail to create if the people, the target consumers of the antagonistic



discourse do not understand the main structure of antagonism. Meaning, the primary structure of antagonism is not cognitively accessible. In short, this discourse 3 will utterly fail if the Americans have no idea who is Bernie, what is the noun Bernie.

In fact, all Americans understand to whom the noun *Bernie* refers to. This is first requirement for this structure of antagonism to work properly and to have meaning destructive enough on Trump's opponent. This structure of antagonism is not complete because its lack of antagonistic component. The adjective *crazy* suits the political function for this antagonism. The adjective describes the condition. The combination of the noun Bernie and the adjective crazy in the form of a noun phrase completes the main structure of antagonism in discourse 3.

So the adjective *crazy* here completes the political antagonism of the noun Bernie. This relationship governs the whole structure of discourse 3 consisting of some clauses as the secondary structures. Moreover, the political function of primary structure of antagonism (*crazy Bernie*) is to destroy Bernie Sanders' political image and making him the antagonist. The secondary structure consists of many clauses show the political function of controlling the context of antagonism required for the primary structure to produce destructive meanings.

#### **Discourse 4**

Jun 18, 2019

You remember during one of the debates when **crooked Hillary** said if I win are you gonna support me, but I must be honest, I didn't give her a great answer, that might

have been my hardest question during the debates, it's did amazing that it worked the other way around right. if you want to know how the system is rigged just compare how they came after us for three years with everything they have versus the free pass they gave to Hillary and her aides after they set up an illegal server destroyed evidence deleted an acid wash 33 thousand emails exposed classified information and turned the state department enjoy play for play cash fishing.

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dj7cCutQw4Y>

The main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the primary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10 and 11. The secondary structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the secondary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

In this political discourse Trump used the noun phrase **crooked Hillary** as the main structure of antagonism in discourse. This phrase controls the whole political meaning of this discourse putting Hillary's political image under a serious attack. The adjective **crooked** modifies the noun **Hillary** at the level of discourse, because it functions as the governor for whole discourse structures consisting of many clauses. So, this phrase does not function at semantic nor pragmatic level.

The forms of destructive and political meaning of this phrase encompassing the meaning of this political discourse are as follow: [**do not vote for Hillary**], [**she is crooked and not worthy to be US president**]. These are the forms of meaning constructions that are different from the topic. Meaning in discourse converges in the relationship of political function and political purposes. Therefore, in CDA, function and purpose are not different.

The use of adjective **crooked** also shows the intensified conflict of discourse between Trump and Hillary during 2016 US presidential race because this adjective has more antagonism of meaning than other core noun phrases in other antagonistic discourses produced by Trump. It shows Trump focusing his discourse attack on Hillary as the strongest opponent in the presidential race. The impact of this discourse beats down Hillary's political image because Trump also uses other clauses in this discourse to set up antagonistic context.

This process of discourses, the combination of the noun phrase functioning as the core structure of discourse, supporting by the secondary structures consisting the clauses complete the political frontier of antagonism in this datum. The following clauses in discourse 4 functions as the secondary structures or supporting structures: *said if I win are you gonna support me, but I must be honest, I didn't give her a great answer, that might have been my hardest question during the debates, it's did amazing that it worked the other way around right. if you want to know how the system is rigged just compare how they came after us for three years with everything they have versus the free pass they gave to Hillary and her aides after they set up an illegal server destroyed evidence deleted an acid wash 33 thousand emails exposed classified information and turned the state department enjoy play for play cash fishing.*

The above clauses are used by Trump to construct the topic and to control the context of antagonism on Hillary. They are governed by the noun phrase **crooked**

**Hillary** because this noun phrase is the main structure of antagonism on Hillary Clinton. The aspects of governing in this case include the meaning of antagonism and the political function to create the political frontier of antagonism between Trump versus Hillary the antagonist.

The use of main structure and secondary structure of antagonism shows Trump is creating the process of discourse to control the narration, the context of antagonism, and the cognition of the American voters. The main structure of antagonism (**crooked Hillary**) shows this process because this noun phrase is a label directly attached on Hillary. The dynamics of meaning becomes destructive because of this process.

This noun phrase as the main structure involves the context of Hillary's illegal email case under investigation of the FBI and it intensifies the damage on Hillary's political image. This context is controlled by the use of secondary structures: the other clauses and phrases in this discourse. This datum shows the meaning of discourse is not based on the context, but the context is controlled in the discourse, and the meaning is produced to control people's understanding.

Trump shows one of his maximum attacks of discourse on Hillary that he considers as the strongest opponent in 2016 US presidential run. In fact, Hillary Clinton does not have any possible discourse to counter this political strike. The meaning of this discourse is controlled by noun phrase (crooked Hillary) as the main structure of antagonism. This control of meaning is supported by other clauses on

illegal email case as the secondary structure. That is why the meaning of this discourse is destructive enough to hurt Hillary's votes in the race. The damage on the number of votes for Hillary is obvious. One of the causal factors is this discourse of antagonism.

The clauses of secondary structure of antagonism in this discourse put an emphasis on the case of Hillary's illegal email. This is the context controlled in discourse which intensifies the antagonism of meaning from the core structure (**crooked Hillary**). This finding proves that the meaning of Trump's political discourse is not based on context but controls the context.

Making Hillary look as the antagonist in 2016 US presidential race is the key factor to inflict a serious damage on her public image. This is the key purpose of Trump's political discourse on Hillary, meaning, this is also the political function of the discourse of antagonism. So the aspects of political purpose and political function are the just the same in this phenomenon.

I can say the secondary structures are not only a bunch of clauses with certain topic. The political meaning of the topic of those clauses is a context controlling the American voters' understanding to believe in Hillary's antagonism. So these clauses show the topic of illegal email encompassing the meaning capable of controlling the context of antagonism to support and intensify the political frontier of antagonism controlled by the noun phrase **crooked Hillary** as the main structure of antagonism. Even the meaning of a topic can have a political meaning.



So, this finding proves that the topic or theme of the secondary structure of antagonism in discourse can function to provide the context for the main structure (noun phrase). The result is people's understanding and belief about Hillary being the antagonist, so the American people draws the political frontier between Hillary and them. This political barrier of antagonism undoes the voters' decision to vote for Hillary. That is what Trump expects from the use of this discourse of antagonism in his political speech.

This datum shows that political function and political purpose of language are no different. This phenomenon cannot be seen in formal discourse analysis. The political aspects of language in use makes the concept of function and purpose converges.

Moreover, it is clear that the noun phrase **crooked Hillary** is the main structure of antagonism in this discourse because without the noun *Hillary* this discourse will fail to function politically. However, without the secondary structures (all clauses), the noun phrase *crooked Hillary* remains produce the antagonism. This is the reason why this noun phrase becomes the main structure or the primary structure of antagonism of this discourse.

This discourse 4 also shows the damage inflicted by its destructive meaning construction on Hillary political image. The meaning construction of the case of Hillary's illegal email possible puts an end to Hillary opportunity to join next US presidential race in 2020. This is a solid fact how discourse or language is a crucial

instrument of power and politics. Trump used this discourse to beat Hillary severely in politics.

Faucault, O'Dawyer, Fairclough, Wodak, and Van Dijk have seen the phenomena of language and power for decades. They are correct, but Malmberg, Howarth, and Stravakakis explains the process why that phenomena happen. The reason why language and power, and ideology are related is because the process of power and ideology exercised by language involves political frontier of antagonism.

### Discourse 5

Feb 20, 2020

**Sleepy Joe Biden** the other day had 68 people and now they have a new member of the crew mini mike , mini mike, no boxes, we call him no boxes, and I hear he's getting pounded tonight, you know he is in a debate, I hear they are pounding him, he spent five hundred million dollars so far and I think he has 15 points it just came out hey fake news how many points does he have right now 15, they won't tell you the truth. They just came out with a poll a little while ago **Mini Mike** was at 15 and **Crazy Bernie** was at 31, that's a lot and mini mike just spent five hundred million but but the DNC, the DNC is going to take it away from Bernie again and that's ok because we don't care who the hell it is we're gonna win. We're gonna win. We have to.

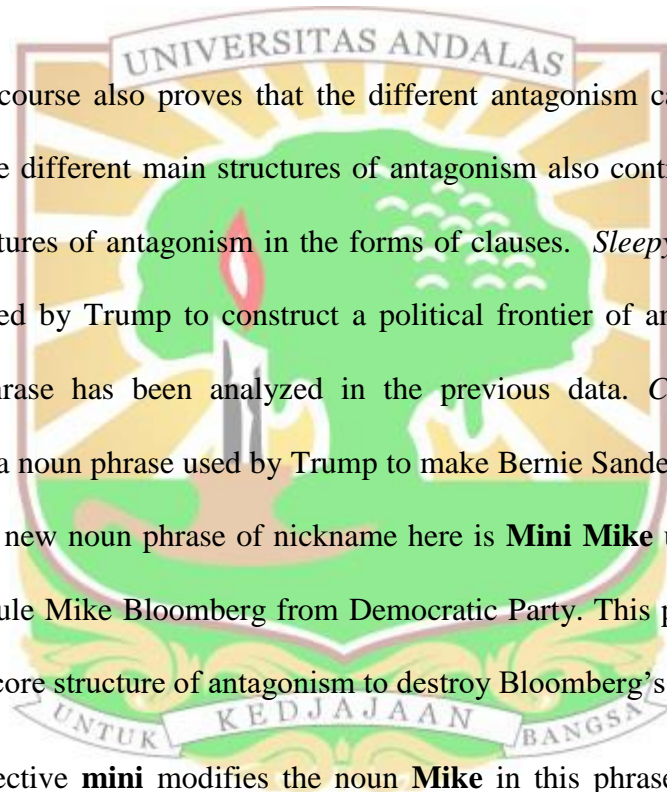
Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v4eHQ6wkTPA>

The main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the primary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 11. The secondary structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the secondary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Discourse 5 shows three noun phrases: **Sleepy Joe Biden**, **Mini Mike**, **Crazy Bernie** that function as the core structure of antagonisms of discourse. These three phrases control different form of antagonism because they are nicknames for three different figures from Democratic Party. So there are three different structures of antagonism in this discourse to make three different political frontier of antagonism as well.

This discourse also proves that the different antagonism can happen in one discourse. These different main structures of antagonism also control three different secondary structures of antagonism in the forms of clauses. *Sleepy Joe Biden* is the noun phrase used by Trump to construct a political frontier of antagonism against Biden. This phrase has been analyzed in the previous data. *Crazy Bernie* is a nickname, also a noun phrase used by Trump to make Bernie Sanders look bad as the antagonist. The new noun phrase of nickname here is **Mini Mike** used by Trump to attack and ridicule Mike Bloomberg from Democratic Party. This phrase also shares function as the core structure of antagonism to destroy Bloomberg's political image.

The adjective **mini** modifies the noun **Mike** in this phrase to complete the antagonistic meaning of underestimating Mike Bloomberg. This phrase constructs the political meaning: [**Mike Bloomberg is not a great people**], [**Mike Bloomberg is not worthy to be a president of the US**]. So this noun phrase does not function semantically nor has any semantic meaning. It is true that Mike Bloomberg is shorter than Trump is, but this phrase is not about physical appearance but it is more about



creating the political boundary of antagonism of Trump versus Bloomberg to make Bloomberg look as the antagonist in 2020 US presidential race.

Based on the analysis so far, we know that all noun phrases that function as the core structure of antagonism in Trump's political speech do not have semantic and pragmatic function. All of their functions are political at the level of antagonistic discourse to destroy and undermine the political image of Trump's opponent. The phrase *mini Mike* is no exception. So the adjective *mini* is not a reference to Bloomberg's height whatsoever, it functions as Trump's antagonistic discourse instead, to control voters decision not to vote for Bloomberg because he is not worthy to be a US president. This process creates a destructive meaning on Bloomberg's image.

This is also a finding in this research, the noun functions as the governor of antagonism in Trump's political discourse. The adjective still modifies the noun in the form of noun phrase, but the modifying process does not happen semantically and pragmatically, it happens for political reason in the war of discourse between Trump versus his opponents, the antagonist in the US presidential run.

The adjective **sleepy** also shows the same process of modifying the noun **Joe Biden** politically, not semantically nor pragmatically. The noun phrase *sleepy Joe Biden* is not a reference of Joe Biden is still sleepy because of lack of sleeping, but it is a core structure of antagonism which creates the meaning [**Joe Biden is not worthy to be US president**]. This form of political and antagonistic meaning

construction is shared among different core structures of antagonisms in Trump's political discourse. Trump shows the process of cognitive control in his antagonistic discourse, all of these noun phrases or antagonistic nicknames for his opponents actually exert a control of understanding not vote for those Democratic figures.

The process of controlling peoples' understanding not to vote by using discourse happens because peoples understand the political meaning naturally. That is why Trump uses a clear phrase of antagonism in his political discourse, so the antagonistic meaning construction can be understood by the voters. The American voters understand the context and meaning. The antagonism in discourse intensifies this process. Trump has to use the noun phrase or the nicknames in order to make peoples or American voters understand not to vote for those Democratic figures.

The noun phrase *Mini Mike* also shares this process of creating political frontier of antagonism. The noun *Mike* as the core of the phrase and the adjective *Mini* as the modifier do not show any semantic function, both words operate only at the level of political discourse which is destructive on Mike Bloomberg's political credibility. So the noun *Mike* and the adjective *mini* have lost their semantic function and operate purely as a core structure of political antagonism. This political function diminishes semantic function. This phenomenon only happens in the core structure of antagonism, whereas the secondary structures of antagonism still have their semantic and pragmatic function.

The noun *Mike* also shows the governing process over other words, phrases, and clauses. This is quite similar to the other nouns in the core structure of antagonism in this research. The noun functions as the core binding other words. This finding proves that the political frontier of antagonism cannot happen without people's name. all names are nouns. This is the key process why antagonistic discourse can have political implication because all political figures have their names.

Trump's attack of discourse on Mike Bloomberg shows similar patterns he used on other democratic figures. Trump used a clear noun phrase *Mini Mike*. All American voters can understand this phrase easily. This clear-cut phrase creates a political frontier of antagonism because peoples understand it and decide to put Mike Bloomberg outside the circle as the antagonist. Of course not all Americans will accept Trump's political discourse of antagonism, but at least the people choose to vote for Trump more frequently.

In fact, the political frontier of antagonism cannot happen if the main structure of antagonism cannot be easily understood by the people or the voters. Trump knows this aspect very well, so he used a clear nickname in the form of noun phrase to attack his political opponents in his speech. Without the name of those opponents this antagonism will fail and Trump's political discourse will not have any effect whatsoever. So it is clear that the annihilating dynamics of meaning operates in this political antagonism can only function under the controlling process of the noun of the names of Trump's political rivals.

The logics of discourse also applies here. It is impossible for Trump to support his political opponents from Democratic party nor he will ask the voters to choose them. So Trump's discourse of antagonism is natural in the battle of politics. It is just a common sense for Trump to destroy the political image of his opponents. The use of noun phrase as nicknames and the core structure of antagonism proves to be effective to create a clear antagonistic political boundary between Trump versus his rival including Mike Bloomberg.

Finally the political function and political purpose of discourse intertwined. This is a reason why there is no difference function and purpose in CDA. These two aspects always converge at the end of the course. Then the political implication of the noun phrase *Mini Mike* as the antagonist and that is why he is not a proper candidate for presidential race is also intensified by the secondary structures of antagonism in this discourse. The noun phrase *Mini Mike* controls these clauses as the secondary structures of antagonism in this political discourse: *no boxes, we call him no boxes, and I hear he's getting pounded tonight, you know he is in a debate, I hear they are pounding him, he spent five hundred million dollars so far and I think he has 15 points it just came out hey fake news how many points does he have right now 15, they won't tell you the truth. They just came out with a poll a little while ago.* These clauses are bound to the antagonistic meaning constructions created by the noun phrase *mini Mike* as one of the core structures of antagonism in this discourse.

These clauses provide the context of antagonism and controls it to intensify the political implications of the main structure of antagonism, the noun phrase *mini Mike*. So the annihilating dynamics of meaning in this discourse are constructed in the form of destructive meaning constructions on the political image of Mike Bloomberg: [**Mini Mike is not worthy to be US president**]. All Trump's antagonism in his political discourse show the same orientation to destroy the political image of his opponents.

The structural relationship of this secondary structure of antagonism in the form of many complex compound clauses with the noun phrase as the main structure of antagonism proves language is a political instrument to control peoples' understanding, belief system, decision, and action. This point is the key language phenomenon studied in CDA. This analysis also provides more insight on the relationships and dynamics of main structure of antagonism with the secondary one in political discourse.

Trump also used some repetition when he spoke that night. The noun phrase *Mini Mike* is repeated to intensify the destructive and antagonistic meaning construction in peoples' understanding about Mike Bloomberg. So even the repetition of this phrase has political function. Then, the political frontier of antagonism between Trump versus Mike Bloomberg happens by putting Mike Bloomberg in the antagonistic position. When the American people understand this antagonistic



political frontier, the political implication on their decision who to vote for will kick in.

The noun phrase **sleepy Joe Biden** controls the secondary structure of antagonism in the form of the following clause *the other day had 68 people and now they have a new member of the crew*. This clause has semantic and pragmatic function unlike the core structure of antagonism which has pure political function of discourse. This supporting structure of antagonism intensifies the political implication of the core structure of antagonism. This secondary structure helps providing more context for peoples' cognition to understand and accept the belief of Joe Biden being the antagonist.

Actually, the clauses of secondary structure of antagonism not only provide the context for the primary structure but also control the context for people to understand the core structure of antagonism more deeply. This understanding is also controlled by the process of core structure of antagonism and the secondary one in Trump's political discourse. When people or the American voters believe in Trump's political discourse, they will not vote for Mike Bloomberg, Joe Biden, and Bernie Sanders. This is what Trump wants to achieve by using his political speech in the context of 2020 US presidential race.

So it is clear that Trump's political discourse is not about the structure of information it provides, but it is all about what political functions it exercises. This political function includes the aspects of political purpose because both aspects seem

to converge in the data so far. Trump's political discourse functions to control peoples' understanding and belief system on the antagonistic Democratic leaders like Bernie, Warren, Biden, Trump's political purpose is that control of understanding. So the aspects of functions and purpose seems quite similar here.

The next core structure of antagonism in this discourse is the noun phrase **crazy Bernie**. This main structure of antagonism functions to construct the political frontier of antagonism between Trump versus Bernie Sanders. The adjective **crazy** in this phrase modifies the noun **Bernie**. This modifying process is pure political at the level of discourse, it has no semantic and pragmatic function and meaning. This noun phrase creates is used by Trump to destroy the political image of Bernie Sanders. So its function is not for communication but to destroy Bernie's credibility. This noun phrase also shows the destructive meaning construction [**Bernie Sanders is not worthy to be a president of the US**].

Three different noun phrases in this discourse *sleepy Joe Biden*, *Mini Mike* and *Crazy Bernie* share similar function as the core structures of antagonism in this discourse. However, each of them controls different form of antagonism including different secondary structures. Meaning they share the political function of antagonism but they are not reducible to each other.

So the political function of the noun phrase *crazy Bernie* as the main structure of antagonism is to attack Bernie' Sanders' political standing as one of the presidential candidates from Democratic party. This noun phrase is supported by the

other clauses in this discourse as the secondary structures providing and controlling the context of Trump's political discourse. The similar finding is also found in the previous data.

## Discourse 6

February 21, 2020

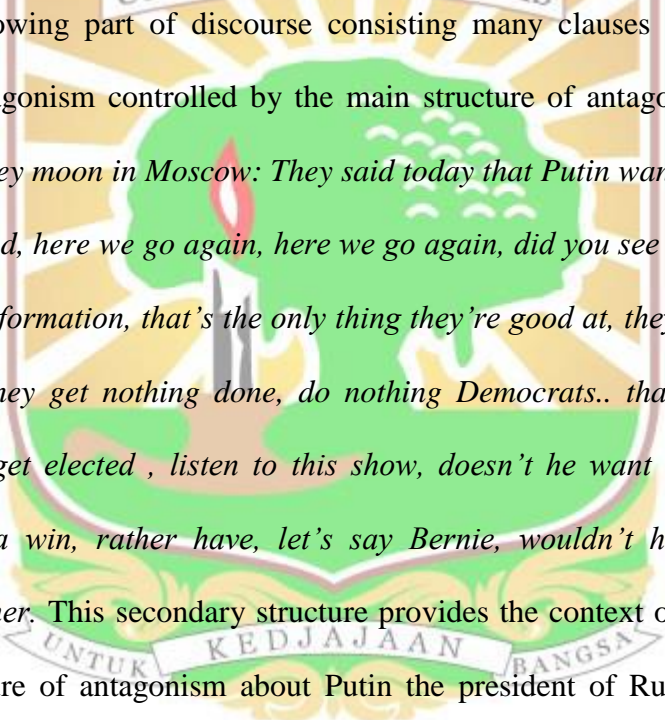
They said today that Putin wants to be sure that Trump get elected, here we go again, here we go again, did you see it? Aren't people bored? It's disinformation, that's the only thing they're good at, they are not good at anything else, they get nothing done, do nothing Democrats.. that Putin wants to make sure I'm get elected , listen to this show, doesn't he want to see who's the Democrat gonna win, rather have, let's say Bernie, wouldn't he rather Bernie, wouldn't he rather **Bernie, who honey moon in Moscow**.. these people are crazy, we got a new one, Mini Mike, can he doin the debate the other day, he is a box pmmmmm.. mini mike, he is a beauty, what happened huuuuuuuh he couldn't breath, what happened how about that **Pocahontas** screamin out of him.. she forgot that she lied about her own heritage..

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZsyCQTX0UfE>

The main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the primary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10 and 11. The secondary structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the secondary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Discourse 6 shows the core structure of antagonism in the form of clause: **Bernie, who honey moon in Moscow**. The noun Bernie is still the governor controlling the form of this main structure of antagonism, but it is a proof that the core structure of antagonism is not only a noun phrase. This clause of antagonism creates the political frontier of antagonism to make Bernie Sanders the antagonist.

The meaning construction produced by the use of this main structure of antagonism in this political discourse is: [Bernie Sanders is not worthy to be the US president because he is friendly with Russia, the arch-enemy of the US]. This meaning construction of antagonism control peoples' understanding to believe in it and that is why this main structure of antagonism destroys Bernie Sanders' political image.



The following part of discourse consisting many clauses is the secondary structure of antagonism controlled by the main structure of antagonism, the clause *Bernie, who honey moon in Moscow: They said today that Putin wants to be sure that Trump get elected, here we go again, here we go again, did you see it? Aren't people bored? It's disinformation, that's the only thing they're good at, they are not good at anything else, they get nothing done, do nothing Democrats.. that Putin wants to make sure I'm get elected , listen to this show, doesn't he want to see who's the Democrat gonna win, rather have, let's say Bernie, wouldn't he rather Bernie, wouldn't he rather.* This secondary structure provides the context of antagonism for the main structure of antagonism about Putin the president of Russia is expecting Trump to win, and Trump denies that rumor.

The main structure of antagonism in this discourse is used by Trump to undo the context and narration described in the secondary structures of antagonism. So the linearity between the main and the secondary structure of antagonism exists in undoing the political discourse from Democratic figures about Trump being

supported by the Russia's president. Trump then used the main structure of antagonism, the clause *Bernie who honey moon in Moscow* to counter attack the antagonistic discourse from Democratic Party.

The use of this main structure of antagonism supported by its secondary structure shows the process of controlling peoples' understanding not to believe in the discourse from Democratic Party. Trump used the noun *misinformation* to intensify the political implication of his discourse in counter-attacking the Democratic candidate like Bernie Sanders.

Then the next core structure of antagonism in discourse 6 is the noun phrase **mini Mike**. So Trump used many repetition of this noun phrase to attack Mike Bloomberg's political standing and image. The previous data also show this noun phrase functions consistently as a political attack on Bloomberg.

Next, the secondary structures of antagonism controlled by the noun phrase *mini Mike* is the following clauses: *these people are crazy, we got a new one, Mini Mike, can he doin the debate the other day, he is a box pmmmmmm.. mini mike, he is a beauty, what happened huuuuuuuh he couldn't breath..* These clauses show similar function like that of in the previous data: providing the context and controlling the context for its main structure of antagonism the noun phrase *mini Mike*. This fact proves that the context of the discourse is encoded inside the part of the discourse as narrations constructed by clauses. This finding is quite complicated to explain exactly.

Both main structures of antagonism in this discourse show a consistent mechanism of controlling different political frontier of antagonism and different clauses of secondary structures of antagonism. However, these differences do not cause real different political function because both main structures of antagonism in this discourse obviously function to make Bernie Sanders and Mike Bloomberg look bad as the antagonist in 2020 US presidential race, resulting two political frontier of antagonism on two different figures from Democratic party.

### Discourse 7

Apr 8, 2019

More than one hundred democrats in congress are promoting the biggest government power grab in U.S history, the 100 trillion dollar Green New Deal proposed by **a wonderful young bartender**, 29 years old, twenty nine, no I like her, she is 29 years old.

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SVovQVhgG0c>

The main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the primary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10 and 11. The secondary structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the secondary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Trump used the noun phrase **a wonderful young bartender** as the core structure of antagonism in discourse 7. This noun phrase refers to the representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. She is a politician from Democratic Party. The core of this main structure of antagonism is the noun **bartender** which functions as a direct

attack to Alexandria Cortez's political image. So the adjective **young** and **wonderful** here do not undo the political function of the antagonism produced by this main structure because it is the noun that functions as the governor inside this primary structure of antagonism. Adjective functions only as the modifier.

The logics of discourse applies here, why this noun phrase constructs the antagonism in this discourse, because Alexandria Cortez is not a bartender, she is the Representative and a political figure from Democratic Party. Trump's political discourse stating that she is a bartender is the use of noun as the core of antagonism to attack her political image and credibility as a politician. At this point, two adjectives which modify this noun do not change the destructive meaning constructions from the noun *bartender*.

So the antagonism in this discourse controlled by the noun phrase *a young and wonderful bartender* happens because Trump contradicts the fact that Alexandria Cortez is a politician from Democrat. She is not a bartender. Meaning, Trump used this political discourse constructed by both primary and secondary structures of antagonism to undo Alexandria Cortez's political role and standing. The meaning of this discourse is [**Alexandria Cortez is not a politician, not worthy to be a representative**]. This meaning construction is destructive to Cortez's political image.

Actually, this political discourse is based on the context of Alexandria Cortez's story in past. She was a bartender and waitress before becoming a politician in Democratic Party. This historical context becomes the political basis of this

discourse. However, this context is not controlled by the secondary structure of antagonism but it is controlled directly by the noun bartender as the governor in the main structure of antagonism.

The secondary structures of antagonism in this discourse consists of the following clauses: *More than one hundred democrats in congress are promoting the biggest government power grab in U.S history, the 100 trillion dollar Green New Deal.* This supporting structure of antagonism provides and control the context of Green New Deal which is opposed by Trump blatantly in the public. The theme and topic of narration described in the secondary structures of antagonism become a part of this political discourse providing the context for the main structure of antagonism. This process of using this political discourse put Alexandria Cortez in antagonistic position, the outsider of political frontier of antagonism.

The political implication of this discourse expected by Trump through antagonizing Cortez is the lack of public support on the Green New Deal she proposed. So the secondary structure of antagonism in this discourse controls the context for the main structure of antagonism on this Green New Deal, not 2020 US presidential run.

This analysis proves that socio-historical and even personal history of a person or a figure can be used in a political discourse to destroy her or his political image later on. Discourse 7 shows the use of Alexandria Cortez's past information against her own political standing. So this finding also proves that the information is



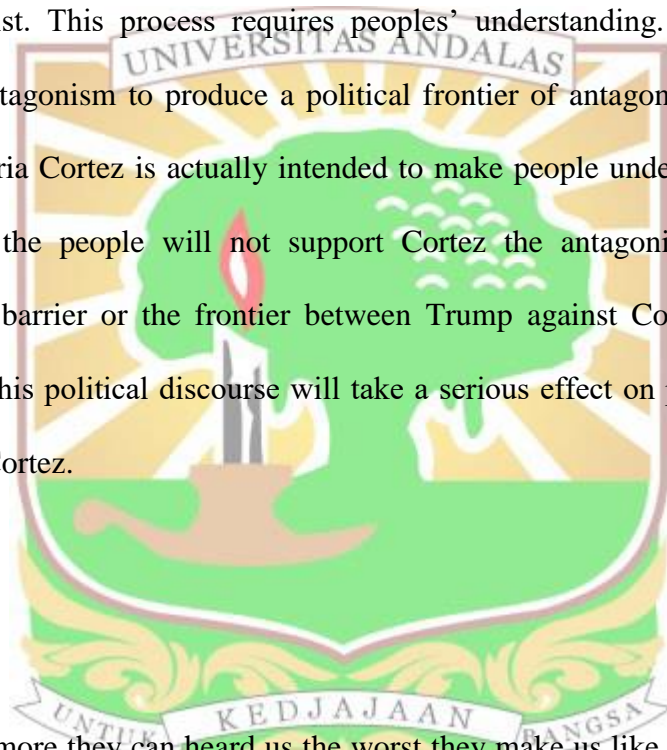
constructed in a political discourse not to inform, but to destroy. The meaning of that information encoded in both main structure and secondary structures of antagonism are made to be destructive.

This finding also becomes the evidence that confirms the structures of antagonism control the information of one's personal history making him or her look as the antagonist. This process requires peoples' understanding. Trump used the structures of antagonism to produce a political frontier of antagonism between him versus Alexandria Cortez is actually intended to make people understand who is the antagonist. So the people will not support Cortez the antagonist. When people understand the barrier or the frontier between Trump against Cortez, the political implication of this political discourse will take a serious effect on peoples' behavior not to support Cortez.

### Discourse 8

May 9, 2019

They think the more they can heard us the worst they make us like I think they make us look better personally, I really do, I really do, I mean they wanna do investigation instead of investment, they wanna do what they're doing look so foolish, and maybe I read wrong, but I think it drives us right on to victory in 2020, just people get it, people get it, in fact one of the democrats today said that he, it's a he, **sleepy person**, he said that he heard from a lot of foreign leaders, and they want him to be president, of course they do, so they can continue to rip off the United States, of course they do, of course, I think if I heard that I never vote for, and then you have Bernie, Bernie, and you got Bernie, he has some real beauties, **crazy Bernie**, he had a choice between **sleepy Joe** and **crazy Bernie**, and thaaaa I'll take any, let's pick somebody please let's start this thing, let's start it, pick somebody, **Buttigieg, butt edge edge**, they say edge edge, he's got a great chance, he will be great representing us against



president Xi of China, that will be great, that will be great, I wanna be in that room I wanna watch that one

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9BWBVoiE-bU>

The main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the primary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10 and 11. The secondary structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the secondary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

This political discourse is Trump's speech at a rally for 2020 US presidential run in Panama City Florida. Trump used the noun phrase **sleepy person** as one of the main structure of antagonisms in this discourse referring to Joe Biden. The adjective **sleepy** is used consistently by Trump when referring to Joe Biden, whereas the noun for this core structure of antagonism can be **Biden, Joe,** and now **person.** The repetition of this structure of antagonism on Biden in many Trumps' political discourses shown in the previous data as well, prove that Trump attacked Biden's political standing in maximum efforts. There are heavy repetitions of use of this main structure of antagonism on Biden found anywhere Trump doing his political speech.

Maximum repetition of antagonistic discourse means maximum attack of discourse because all antagonism in discourse is a direct attack on people's image. Trump used this process on Joe Biden. The repetition of his antagonistic discourse on Biden is massive in any occasion of doing political speech.

Then, the noun functions as the core or governor in this noun phrase is **person**. Although Trump used some variations of noun on Biden, but its function to create a political frontier of antagonism on Biden remains intact. The variations of noun do not affect the political implication of this main structure of antagonism whatsoever. The adjective *sleepy* still functions as the modifier which intensifying the antagonistic political implication of the main structure of antagonism in this discourse.

This main structure of antagonism controls the following secondary structure:  
*They think the more they can heard us the worst they make us like I think they make us look better personally, I really do, I really do, I mean they wanna do investigation instead of investment, they wanna do what they're doing look so foolish, and maybe I read wrong, but I think it drives us right on to victory in 2020, just people get it, people get it, in fact one of the democrats today said that he.*

The process of control over the secondary structure of antagonism remains the same as the previous data, meaning the secondary structure follows the meaning and the political function and purpose of the main structure of antagonism. However, the function of the secondary structure remains providing and controlling the context for the main structure of antagonism. Trump used the theme and narration in the secondary structures constructed by these clauses to control peoples' understanding to believe in the antagonistic meaning constructions created by the mains structure of antagonism as follow: [Joe Biden is not worthy to be the president of the US]. So the

destructive meaning construction is repeated during the speech in this moment of rally.

Next, another main-structure of antagonism is the noun phrase **crazy Bernie** which is also repeated by Trump in many moments of his political speech. This repetition of the main structure of antagonism in discourse shows Trump's maximum political attack on Bernie Sanders' political image.

So the meaning of this noun phrase is no longer has semantic and pragmatic functions. The adjective **crazy** as the modifier is not a reference to any state of insanity whatsoever. Meaning, this adjective has no semantic aspect as a modifier for the noun **Bernie**. Then, it has no any pragmatic function either because the meaning of this adjective is not about being polite or impolite, and it is not about a positive remark as well. We know that the adjective crazy as a modifier sometime functions as a good remark on a friendly manner, but that is not the case in this discourse. The use of this adjective is totally to intensify the political antagonism controlled by the noun Bernie. The use of this adjective includes only political function.

Next, the third core structure of antagonism in this discourse is **Buttigieg**, **butt edge edge** referring to South Bend Mayor Pete Buttigieg. Trump messed up the noun *Buttigieg* and alter its form into *Butt Edge Edge* it is still a noun, not a phrase. It functions to construct an antagonism against Buttigieg by ridiculing his name into another form of noun.

This process of altering the form of the noun constructs the meaning construction which creates the political frontier of antagonism on Pete Buttigieg. This altering process of **Pete Buttigieg's** name into another form **Butt Edge Edge** shows the process of political disfiguration. It is a direct political attack by using discourse because this altered noun controls the antagonism in the discourse 8. Political disfiguration in this discourse involves the use noun and disfiguring that noun constructing the political meaning that [**Pete Buttigieg is not a fine man worthy to be the US president**].

The meaning constructions of all Trump's political discourse on his political rivals share similar political function of controlling the American voters' understanding that Trump's opponent from Democratic party are not worthy to be the US president. This point about meaning is destructive politically because when the voters choose to vote for Trump instead of his political opponent, that means those rivals' political image and standing have been destroyed by Trump. The process of political frontier of antagonism is that simple. Meaning this antagonistic boundary happens in peoples' understanding or cognition. This is why Trump used discourse of antagonism against his rivals from Democratic party, because the voters will not vote for the antagonist. So Trump used discourse to create the political frontier of antagonism in peoples' mind. The antagonistic boundary exists in voters' thought.

So, based on this finding, it is clear that the main structure of antagonism remains the noun as the core or the governor. The primary structure of antagonism can be a noun phrase, a clause, and even noun alone. Since the political implication of the antagonistic meaning of the main structure is controlled by the noun so the modifying process by other parts of speech is just to intensify the political implication of the core.

The noun as the governor in core structure of antagonism shows the process of controlling the modifier and event the grammatical aspects in the form of clauses. All those secondary structures and grammatical relationship follow the use of noun for political antagonism. This process ultimately controls the understanding of the American voters.

### Discourse 9

Sep 16, 2015

First of all **Rand Paul shouldn't even be on this stage**, he is number eleven, he got one percent in the poll and how he got up here there is far too many people any way as far as his temperament and we know that, as far as his temperament I think I have a great temperament I build a phenomenal business with incredible iconic assets, one of the truly great real estate business and I may be an entertainer because I have had a tremendous success with number one best seller all over the place, with the apprentice and everything else I have done, but I will tell you this, what I am far and away greater than an entertainer..

The main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the primary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 11. The secondary

structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the secondary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

This discourse is Trump's political argument during the Republican candidates' debate. Trump used the clause **Rand Paul shouldn't even be on this stage** as the core structure of antagonism in this discourse. The noun *Rand Paul* functions as the governor in the core structure of antagonism which controls the grammatical aspects and the antagonistic meaning construction of the clause.

So, Trump used the core structure of antagonism in the form of clause *Rand Paul shouldn't even be on this stage* to construct the political frontier of antagonism against Rand Paul, one of Trump's opponent in 2016 US presidential race. This clause is a direct political attack on Paul's political image because the antagonism in this discourse create the meaning construction [**Rand Paul is not worthy to be the US president**]. This construction of meaning is destructive on Rans Paul's political standing because the American voters will see him unworthy to be a candidate in 2016 US presidential race.

The political implication works when the consumers of discourse consume the meaning construction of discourse and get affected by that meaning. The political frontier of antagonism creates a clear boundary in peoples' understanding. Trump used it to give the American voters influence that his political opponent is the antagonist.

## Discourse 10

Feb 13, 2016

First of all I have to say as a businessman I get along with everybody, I business all over the world, I know some of the people in the audience, by the way I'm a self-funder, I don't have, I have my wife and I have my son, that's all I have, I don't have debt, so let me just tell you, I get along with every body, which is my obligation to my company, to my self etc, obviously the war in Iraq is a big fat mistake, alright, now you can take it anyway you want, and it took Jeb Bush if you remember, the beginning of his announcement, when he announced the press, took him five days he went back it was a mistake it was a mistake, took him five days before his people told him what to say, and he ultimately said it was a mistake, the war in Iraq we spent two trillions dollars, thousands of lives , we don't even have it, Iran is taken over Irak with the second largest oil reserve in the world, obviously it was a mistake, **George Bush made a mistake**, we can make a mistake, but that one was a beauty, we should have never been in Iraq, we have destabilized the Middle east.

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H4ThZcq1oJQ>

The main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the primary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11. The secondary structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the secondary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

This discourse is Trump's argument against former US president George W. Bush during Republican debate for presidential candidates on Feb 13, 2016. Trump's opponent in this debate is Jeb Bush George W Bush's little brother. Trump used the clause **George Bush made a mistake** as the core structure of antagonism in his political argument to create the political frontier of antagonism against Bush's policy and Jeb Bush's political influence.



The antagonism in this political discourse is a direct attack on Jeb Bush's political standing during the debate session of the Republican candidate because Jeb Bush takes George W. Bush's war policy in Iraq as a political ground for 2016 US presidential race. Then Trump attack that Jeb Bush's political ground to destroy Jeb Bush's political influence.

In this discourse, the noun **George Bush** controls the phrase **made a mistake** to complete the antagonistic meaning construction which is destructive on Jeb Bush's political image. This finding proves that the core structure of antagonism can function in the form of clause, but the noun remains the governor which produces the primary political implication of the antagonism of this discourse.

Trump, then, used the secondary structures of antagonism to provide and control the context of war in Iraq to intensify the antagonistic political implication of the core structure of antagonism and its destructive meaning construction [**Jeb Bush is not worthy to be 2016 US presidential candidate**]. This is the main political meaning constructed by the core structure of antagonism *George Bush made a mistake* and intensified by the context controlled by the secondary structures of antagonism: *First of all I have to say as a businessman I get along with everybody, I business all over the world, I know some of the people in the audience, by the way I'm a self-funder, I don't have, I have my wife and I have my son, that's all I have, I don't have debt, so let me just tell you, I get along with every body, which is my obligation to my company, to my self etc, obviously the war in Iraq is a big fat*

*mistake, alright, now you can take it anyway you want, and it took Jeb Bush if you remember, the beginning of his announcement, when he announced the press, took him five days he went back it was a mistake it was a mistake, took him five days before his people told him what to say, and he ultimately said it was a mistake, the war in Iraq we spent two trillions dollars, thousands of lives , we don't even have it, Iran is taken over Irak with the second largest oil reserve in the world, obviously it was a mistake.* These long and many clauses construct the secondary structures of antagonism in discourse 10.

These supporting structures control peoples' understanding on war in Iraq as a political mistake made by George W. Bush, Jeb Bush's older brother. Both main dan secondary structure of antagonism in this discourse control the antagonistic meaning construction on George W. Bush as the antagonist in the context of war in Iraq, but that meaning construction is destructive to Jeb Bush's political image because he used the image of leadership of George W. Bush to strengthen his political image.

So Trump used the main structure of antagonism which binds and controls the secondary structure of antagonism in this discourse to bend the destructive effects of political meaning from George W. Bush to Jeb Bush. Even though Trump talked about George W Bush but the political attack of antagonism in this discourse remains on Jeb Bush.

This finding is quite unique because mostly the main structure of antagonisms in the previous data are constructed by using the noun referring directly to Trump's

political opponents like Elizabeth Warren, Bernie Sanders, Joe Biden etc. However, in discourse 10, the political frontier of antagonism is clearly created to make Jeb Bush look as the antagonist, but the noun which functions as the governor in the core structure of antagonism refers to George W. Bush. So Trump used the noun **George W Bush** to make Jeb Bush look bad as the antagonist. This noun does not refer directly to Jeb Bush.

This form of antagonism happens before when Trump used the noun *Pocahontas* to refer to Elizabeth Warren. Actually, the noun *Pocahontas* originally refers to a Disney's cartoon character, a Native American girl. The political meaning in the previous data shows that the noun *Pocahontas* and the noun phrase *Fake Pocahontas* are used by Trump to destroy Elizabeth Warren's image.

The secondary structures of antagonism on Elizabeth Warren provides and control the context about her lying to have Native American heritage. Similar case happens in this discourse, the noun **George W. Bush** is used by Trump as the main structure of antagonism to destroy Jeb Bush's political image and standing. The secondarily structure of antagonism in this discourse provides and controls the context of George W. Bush made a big fat mistake about war in Iraq. So the structure of antagonism in discourse does not function semantically, but it functions politically instead.

The context of family member becomes the key factor for this fact to happen. Jeb Bush is George W. Bush's brother, so this relationship constructs Jeb Bush's

political influence. His father and brother before him were the presidents of the United States. The voters understand the political meaning of this family's influence. That is the reason why Trump used the antagonistic discourse based on historical context of George W. Bush war policy in the past in the secondary structure of antagonism in his argument to intensify the political attack from the main structure of antagonism.

So, based on this finding, it is clear that the noun functions as the core of the main structure of antagonism can appear differently from the noun of the name of the real political figures. However, the political narration about the relationship between those different nouns is described in the secondary structures.

### **Discourse 11**

Dec 18, 2019

There you have Dingell, Dingell, you know Dingell from Michigan, you know Dingell, you have here around Michigan, Debbie Dingell, that's a real beauty, so she calls me up like eight months ago, her husband were here long time, but I didn't give him a B treatment, I didn't give him the C the D, I could have, nobody would does you know, I give the A+ treatment, take down the flags, why you takin it down, for ex-congressman Dingell , ooh ok, do this, do that, do that, return it to everything, that's okay, I gave him to everything, I don't wanna anything for, I don't need anything for anything, she calls me up, it's the nicest thing that ever happen, thank you so much, John will be so thrilled, he's looking down he will be so thrilled, thank you so much sir, I said that's ok don't worry about it, **maybe he's looking up** I don't know, well I don't know, maybe, maybe

Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ilT\\_pQuJVMM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ilT_pQuJVMM)

The main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the primary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 11. The secondary structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the secondary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

The clause **maybe he's looking up** refers to Debbie Dingell's late husband functions as the core structure of antagonism. It is used against Debbi Dingell by Trump. This clause has an ellipsis, a phrase **from hell**. So, the clause should be **maybe he's looking up from hell**. The phrase *from hell* is omitted because all native English speakers always know the meaning of looking down refers to *from heaven* and looking up implies *from hell*. So Trump used ellipsis in the core structure of antagonism during his speech because the meaning is understandable. Therefore, the structure of antagonism remains complete producing destructive political implication on Debbie Dingell political standing.

So the fact of using another noun of different name to create a political frontier of antagonism happens again in this discourse. Some of the previous data also show it. In the core structure of antagonism in this discourse, the pronoun **he** refers to Dingell's late husband. Trump used the pronoun of Dingell's husband to create an antagonistic meaning as an attack on Debbi Dingell's political ground.

Basically, the clause *maybe he's looking up* constructs the meaning of antagonism of placing Dingell's husband in antagonistic position. However, the political implication of this clause is destructive on Debbie Dingell's political image.

This core structure of antagonism functions on political stage so the orientation of the political attack not on Debbie's late husband, but on Debbie herself. She is a politician from Democratic Party. Trump's political discourse has the tendency to attack any figures from democratic party regardless the political aspects of 2020 US presidential race.

The pronoun **he** controls the core structure of antagonism in this discourse. The clause controls the dynamics of destructive meaning of antagonism in the secondary structures. The following many and long clauses are part of discourse which function as the secondary structure of antagonism in this discourse: *There you have Dingell, Dingell, you know Dingell from Michigan, you know Dingell, you have here around Michigan, Debbie Dingell, that's a real beauty, so she calls me up like eight months ago, her husband were here long time, but I didn't give him a B treatment, I didn't give him the C the D, I could have, nobody would does you know, I give the A+ treatment, take down the flags, why you takin it down, for ex-congressman Dingell , ooh ok, do this, do that, do that, return it to everything, that's okay, I gave him to everything, I don't wanna anything for, I don't need anything for anything, she calls me up, it's the nicest thing that ever happen, thank you so much, John will be so thrilled, he's looking down he will be so thrilled, thank you so much sir, I said that's ok don't worry about it.*

These bunch of clauses show the process of controlling the context for the main structure of antagonism in this discourse. So the secondary structures provides

the narration and topic as the context for the main structure of antagonism. That is why the political implication of the main structure is intensified. The antagonistic meaning construction so destructive on Debbie Dingell's political image is [**Debbie Dingell is a bad politician from Democrat**].

## Discourse 12

May 24, 2019

Excuse me, this is how fake you and the news are, when you say when you say personal attack, did you hear what she said about me long before I went after her, did you hear, she made a horrible statement, she knows it's not true, she made, she said terrible thing, so I just responded in kind, look, you think Nancy is the same as she was, she is not, may be we can all say that, but I think I think frankly I think right now we are, I only speak for myself, I wanna do what's good for the country, I think **Nancy Pelosi is not helping this country**, I think **the Democrats are obstructionist**, they're hurting our country very very badly, we can pass so many different bills right now, but all they wanna do is investigate because they failed what Robert Malory report, they're gonna do over.

The main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the primary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 and 11. The secondary structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the secondary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

This discourse has some core structure of antagonisms. The first one is the clause attacking Nancy Pelosi's political image directly: **Nancy Pelosi is not helping this country**. This clause consists of the noun *Nancy Pelosi* as the governor to control the process of antagonism. It shows the political function to create a political frontier of antagonism against Nancy Pelosi, a politician from Democratic

party. This core structure of antagonism shows the relationship of noun and verb. It is quite rare because most of the data in this research shows the relationship of the noun and the adjective to complete the political meaning of the core structure of antagonism.

Nancy Pelosi is not a presidential candidate from Democratic party, however she has a big role in Trump's latest impeachment. The political context of this discourse is not about Trump attacking other presidential candidate for 2020 US presidential race. The destructive meaning of this clause is [**Nancy Pelosi is not a good politician for the United States**]. This meaning construction is enough placing Nancy Pelosi in an antagonistic position, meaning, this core structure of antagonism makes her look bad as the antagonist. Trump used the clause *Nancy Pelosi is not helping this country* to control peoples' belief system and understanding to see Nancy Pelosi as the antagonist. So, this political implication has destructive impacts on Pelosi's political image. This finding proves that the core structure of antagonism in the form of clause shows the political relationship of the noun with the verb. This fact is unlikely to happen in the form phrase which is the noun functions as the core and modified by the adjective to complete the antagonistic meaning construction.

The grammatical aspects of the noun and the verb in the clause of the main structure of antagonism do not operate syntactically, nor semantically, but its grammatical relationship happens politically where the noun Nancy Pelosi becomes the governor. The function of governor in the main structure of antagonism is all



about controlling the antagonistic or destructive meaning construction, the political narration in the secondary structure of antagonism, and finally it is about controlling peoples' understanding. So the aspects of governor here has nothing to do with the concept of governor in Syntax and other fields of formal linguistics.

Why the noun becomes the governor in the main structure of antagonism? The answer is simple, because peoples' cognition understands the name of people before reading their actions. So, the political frontier of antagonism happens on the nouns of names of Trump's political opponents, not on their actions. This why noun governs the core structure of antagonism and mostly the antagonism occurs in noun phrase. Some exception it happens in a simple clause, but the noun remains the governor, not the verb.

The following part of discourse consisting of long and complex clauses is the secondary structure of antagonism for the first core structure of antagonism *Nancy Pelosi is not helping this country: Excuse me, this is how fake you and the news are, when you say when you say personal attack, did you hear what she said about me long before I went after her, did you hear, she made a horrible statement, she knows it's not true, she made, she said terrible thing, so I just responded in kind, look, you think Nancy is the same as she was, she is not, may be we can all say that, but I think I think frankly I think right now we are, I only speak for myself, I wanna do what's good for the country.* This secondary structure provides and controls the political context for the main structure of antagonism. It also functions to intensify peoples'

understanding to believe in the antagonism of Nancy Pelosi. This process destroys Pelosi's political image.

This finding proves that the secondary structure of antagonism in Trump's speech is always linear with its main structure of antagonism. The process of discourse remains the same. The secondary structure of antagonism provides and controls the political context for the main structure of antagonism. They are not bound by political context, but they control the political context to produce destructive meaning construction and political implication in the form of political frontier of antagonism against Trump's political opponents.

The main structure of antagonism is controlled by the noun as the governor. This process remains the same in the majority of the data. Only some exceptions happen when the pronoun is used to refer to another political figure whose name is a noun basically. A pronoun is in fact still a noun. So that few result does not change the finding in this research. The noun also shows the governing process in the clause as long as that clause functions as the main structure of antagonism which is quite a few, because most of the primary structure of antagonism takes the form of noun phrase.

The second main structure of antagonism is the clause **the Democrats are obstructionist**. The noun *Democrats* becomes the core of this main structure of antagonism which control the meaning of antagonism created by the use of this

clause. The adjective *obstructionist* completes the antagonistic meaning and the political implication of this clause as the core structure of antagonism.

This finding proves that the noun as the core of the main structure of antagonism and the adjective has a political construction in the whole process of antagonism in discourse. The adjective often functions to complete the meaning of the main structure. This noun and adjective political relationship occur absolutely in the noun phrase. However, when core structure of antagonism in the form of clause some changes happen. The noun can have political relationship with the verb, but the governor remains the noun.

The clause *the Democrats are obstructionist* as one of the main structures of antagonism shows the noun *Democrats* as the core which controls the antagonistic meaning construction in this clause. The adjective *obstructionist* completes and intensifies the political meaning construction of this core structure of antagonism: **[Democrats obstruct the policy for the US]**. This analysis also proves that adjective always intensifies the political implication of antagonism in discourse. Then, this meaning is destructive on Democratic Party's political image and the political standing of its figures.

So, this clause is used by Trump to create the political frontier of antagonism against Democratic Party and its political figures. In short, Trump used discourse to make them look bad as the antagonist. The use of this main structure of antagonism supported by its secondary structure in this discourse gives a blow on Trump's

opponents from Democratic Party because the antagonistic meaning construction is cognitively accessible. Meaning, the American voters can understand the antagonistic meaning of this discourse controlled by the main structure of antagonism.

The next secondary structure of antagonism is the following part of discourse: *they're hurting our country very very badly, we can pass so many different bills right now, but all they wanna do is investigate because they failed what Robert Malory report, they're gonna do over.* These clauses function to provide and control the political context for the main structure of antagonism. So the context of antagonism in this discourse is not about the very moment during Trump's speech, but it is about the sequence of events narrated in the secondary structures in the form of clauses. This context is controlled. It intensifies the political implication of the main structure of antagonism to create the antagonistic political boundary between Trump against his opponent.

This process of using antagonism in discourse ultimately also controls the American peoples' understanding and system of belief to see Trump's political opponents as the antagonist and the voters decide not to vote for them. So, they will support Trump and stand against his rivals. This is final result of political frontier of antagonism created by Trump in his political discourse.

### **Discourse 13**

May 19, 2020

I don't respond to her I think she is a waste of time... the Russian think was a made of fabricated story, just like they went to congress woman Kelsy Gabreth, I don't know her at all and they said you are a Russian agent, I don't know but I know she is not a Russian agent then they went to doctor Gilstine of the green party, they said she is a Russian agent, I don't know her at all but I know she is not a Russian agent, these people are sick, **Pelosity is a sick woman**, she got a lot of problem a lot of mental problems with dealing with people that have to get their act together for the good of the country...

**Source:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X7VqU2DvUjU>

The main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the primary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 11. The secondary structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the secondary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

In this discourse Trump attacked Nancy Pelosi again. The main structure of antagonism in this discourse, the clause: **Pelosity is a sick woman**. This primary structure of antagonism constructs the destructive meaning construction on Pelosi's political image [**Nancy Pelosi is a bad politician for the US**]. This form of meaning of antagonism has a certain political influence to control peoples' understanding about Pelosi. The political implication of this main structure of antagonism hurts Pelosi's political standing.

The noun **Pelosity** in this clause refers directly to Nancy Pelosi. The noun phrase **sick woman** in this clause completes the construction of the main structure of antagonism in this discourse and its antagonistic meaning. In this core structure of antagonism, the noun still the governor which controls the dynamics of meaning

construction to be antagonistic on a political figure, in this case, Nancy Pelosi. This rule seems to be consistent throughout the data in this research.

So, Trump used this main structure of antagonism in his political speech to make Nancy Pelosi look bad as the antagonist. This is the political impact of a political frontier of antagonism against Nancy Pelosi constructed by the use of Trump's political discourse. The boundaries of antagonism hurts Nancy Pelosi's good influence. People see her under Trumps' control of discourse.

The political function of noun in the case of antagonism in Trump's political discourse and its impact to create the political frontier of antagonism on a rival individual and groups from Democratic Party is consistent as a rule of discourse. The reason for this rule is the inherent function of noun as a reference of people. The natural process of political antagonism is antagonizing people. This point is the explanation on this political phenomenon in language use.

The next part of this discourse consists of complex clauses and functions as the secondary structure of antagonism in this discourse: *I don't respond to her I think she is a waste of time... the Russian think was a made of fabricated story, just like they went to congress woman Kelsy Gabreth, I don't know her at all and they said you are a Russian agent, I don't know but I know she is not a Russian agent then they went to doctor Gilstine of the green party, they said she is a Russian agent, I don't know her at all but I know she is not a Russian agent, these people are sick.* This supporting structure of antagonism functions to provide and control the context for the main structure of antagonism.

So, these clauses also show similar functions with the secondary structures of antagonism in the previous data. The process of providing and controlling the context intensifies the political implication of the main structure of antagonism. Peoples' cognition accepts the antagonism on Pelosy if they understand the antagonistic meaning construction of the main structure of antagonism and this understanding is intensified by the context provided and the theme narrated in the secondary structures. The process of discourse in this case seems to be consistent.

Moreover, the clause *Pelosy is a sick woman* as the core structure of antagonism in discourse 13 is clearly a direct political attack on Nancy Pelosy showing the political conflict between the two. The context of antagonism in this discourse is not about a presidential run. Pelosy is not a candidate from the Democratic Party. The context of this antagonism is all about Trump being impeached and Pelosy had a big role in that. So to counter the political attack from the Democratic Party and Pelosy, Trump used the antagonism in discourse to control public opinion about Pelosy being the antagonist.

The antagonistic meaning construction of discourse 13 is destructive on Pelosy's political influence. This is exactly what Trump expected in the use of antagonism in the discourse, to undermine Pelosy's political influence. The people cannot trust a sick politician. Trump used the main structure of antagonism in this discourse to make the people understand about Pelosy being an antagonist and a sick politician from the Democratic party. So, the American people cannot put their trust in her. This political implication destroys Pelosy's influence.

Then, the clause: *she got a lot of problems a lot of mental problems with dealing with people that have to get their act together for the good of the country*. This clause also functions as the secondary structure of antagonism which provides and controls more context and information to intensify the political implication of the main structure of antagonism.

This finding also proves that not only some core structure of antagonisms possible in one political discourse but also more than one secondary structure of antagonism as well. The function of this secondary structure depends on the main structure of antagonism. So this analysis also proves that before a political discourse controls peoples' understanding of cognition, there is the main structure of discourse which also controls other secondary parts of the discourse. This fact happens because of the dynamics of meaning and context required by the political function of the discourse itself. In this case, that political function is about creating the political frontier of antagonism on Trump's political opponents from the Democratic party.

#### **Discourse 14**

Charlotte, North Carolina, March 3, 2020

Fox they wanna you know be politically correct they wanna interview, they end up interviewing more Democrats than Republics, I don't know what's going on with fox, but they interviewing this guy the night before **Mini Mike**, ahh yey yey what's a mess he is, the worst debate performance in the history of presidential debates do we agree. So mayor **Pete boot edge edge Buttiege**, mayor Pete he quit up last night and that I hear then I hear a senator from his state we're gonna win we're gonna win that state but she dropped out, sounds they've made a deal you know they both supported **sleepy Joe** they you know why? They made a deal, you know why quid pro quo that's why, okay., quid pro quo quid pro quo, they made a deal, impeach them, they



should be impeached, they should be impeached for sleepy Joe he doesn't even know where he is what's he doing or what office he's running for, actually I honestly don't think he knows what office he's running for, and it doesn't matter you know maybe he gets in because he is a little more moderate so maybe he gets in, but he's not gonna be running it other people are going to they're gonna put him into a home and other people are gonna be running the country, and they 're gonna be super left radical crazy, they're gonna be super left radical crazy, Joe's gonna be in a home, he'll be watching television everything will be just fine, the insanity of Washington Democrats is why millions of registered democrats voters are joining our movement they are joining our great Republican Party

Source: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hmOzt3U\\_pM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hmOzt3U_pM)

The main structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the primary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 11. The secondary structure of discourse in this datum meets the data indicators for the secondary structure of discourse number 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

In discourse 14, Trump uses the noun phrase, **Mini Mike**, again as one of the core structures of antagonism against Mike Bloomberg. The use of this noun phrase is repetitive in Trump's political speech during many rallies. This repetition shows the process of intensifying and increasing the antagonism on Mike Bloomberg.

The repetition of an antagonistic structure of discourse, in this case, shows Trump's maximum attack on Mike Bloomberg's political standing and influence. So, the repetition of antagonism in discourse is not a coincidence. Since this main structure of antagonism is a repetition, its destructive meaning construction remains the same as that of the previous data: [**Mile Bloomberg is not worthy to be the president of the United States**].

This meaning construction is surely destructive on Mike Bloomberg's political image, but its repetition in many political rallies intensifies the political implication even more. The reason for this fact is all about peoples' cognition requires repetition to remember an antagonism against a political figure. The more the antagonism in discourse repeated, the more its political implication influences peoples' understanding. That is why repetition of discourse will create a stronger meaning construction.

However, this main structure of antagonism does not have any secondary structures in this discourse. The parts of this discourse consisting of many clauses do not function as the secondary structures for the noun phrase *Mini Mike*, but they function as the supporting structures of antagonism for the noun **Pete boot edge edge Buttiege**. This noun is also the main structure of antagonism in this discourse, it is a noun because it is still a name, not a phrase.

This noun is repeated by Trump in another political speech during a different rally. Trump messed up with the construction of Pete Buttiege's name. Trump altered the noun Buttiege into Boot Edge Edge to ridicule Pete Buttiege's political standing and image. The political frontier of antagonism happens because of this altered noun or name.

This main structure of antagonism is a repetition of previous political discourse. This repetition also shows Trump used a maximum attack of the political discourse of antagonism against Pete Buttiege. This core structure of antagonism is

supported by many complex clauses as parts of this discourse: *Fox they wanna you know be politically correct they wanna interview, they end up interviewing more Democrats than Republics, I don't know what's going on with fox, but they interviewing this guy the night before **Mini Mike**, ahh yey yey what's a mess he is, the worst debate performance in the history of presidential debates do we agree.* The conjunction *before* proves that this secondary structure of antagonism is not for the noun phrase *Mini Mike* but the noun Pete Buttigge instead.

Then, is the noun phrase *mini mike* still a main structure of antagonism in this discourse? The answer is yes, it is still. However, the focus of the context of antagonism in this discourse is not on Mike Bloomberg, but on Pete Buttigge and Joe Biden. The noun phrase *Mini Mike* in this case controls different political frontier of antagonism.

The next secondary structure of antagonism for the noun **Pete boot edge edge Buttigge** is *mayor Pete he quit up last night and that I hear then I hear a senator from his state we're gonna win we're gonna win that state but she dropped out, sounds they've made a deal you know.* This supporting structure of antagonism provides and controls the context of antagonism to intensify the antagonistic political implication on Pete Buttigge.

The next core structure of antagonism is the noun phrase, **Sleepy Joe**. It is also a repetition from Trump's previous political speech in different rallies, but it is a repetition in more contraction form because Trump said *Sleepy Joe Biden* before, and now just he said only *Sleepy Joe*. The noun Biden is omitted. However, the structure

of the antagonism of this noun phrase remains similar to the previous ones. It seems that the omission of one part of a name does not change the political implication of the main structure of antagonism in this discourse.

The antagonistic meaning construction of this noun phrase (*sleepy Joe*) remains similar to that of previous data: [**Joe Biden is not worthy to be the US president**]. The political frontier of antagonism is created by Trump when he used this noun phrase repetitively in many political speeches during different rallies. The repetition of this main structure of antagonism intensifies Trump's political attack on Joe Biden because this antagonism makes Joe Biden look bad as the antagonist.

So, this repetition of antagonism in discourse shows Trump's maximum political attack to undermine Joe Biden's influence and opportunity to win the next 2020 US presidential race. This finding also proves that the use of antagonistic discourse has only political functions where the aspects of functions and purpose merge as one so-called political function. There is no formal linguistic function found in the data.

#### 4.3 Analysis of the Findings

Analysis of 14 data of Trump's political discourse shows that the noun phrase functions as the main structure of antagonism dominantly, with only some exceptions when the clause function as the core structure of antagonism, but the noun remains the core in those clauses. The noun shows the political function as the governor of the antagonism in Trump's antagonistic discourse.

The process of nominalization occurs in both types of structures of discourse. In the main or primary structure of discourse, the nominalization occurs as the use of nouns to classify Trump's political opponents as the antagonist and the bad politician. In the secondary structure of antagonism, the nominalization occurs as the use of nouns to represent the background and narration to support the primary structure of Trump's political discourse.

Even in the form of a clause, the core in the main structure of antagonism remains the noun, not the verb, because only the noun has the antagonistic political implication on Trump's opponent. The noun also controls the other parts of Trump's political discourse consisting of many clauses as the secondary structure of antagonism in the discourse.

The adjective consistently shows the political function as the modifier of the noun to complete the antagonistic meaning construction of the core structure of antagonism. The relationship of the adjective as the modifier and the noun as the core in the main structure of antagonism constructs the antagonism in Trump's political discourse which controls the American peoples' understanding and their decision to vote for.

The core structure of antagonism is the main part of Trump's political discourse controlling the other parts of the discourse to produce a political frontier of antagonism against Trump's political opponents and rivals. The analysis also proves that Trump makes his political rivals and opponents to become the antagonist in US political movement and the US presidential race. The finding also proves that the

relevant function in these discourses of antagonism is an only political function. Other functions from a formal linguistic study like anaphora and cataphora are not found and not relevant either.

Then, the findings are the following Trump's order of discourse:

<b>Main Structure of Antagonism in Trump's political discourse</b>	<b>The Antagonist</b>	<b>Political/Destructive Meaning</b>	<b>Political Function</b>
<p><b>1. Non sort of heavy socialist (NP)</b></p> <p>Discourse 1.</p>	<p><b>Joe Biden</b></p> <p><b>(Democratic Party)</b></p>	<p>[Biden is a socialist and therefore he is not one of us],</p> <p>[Biden is an outsider],</p> <p>[Biden is different from us].</p> <p>[Biden is not worthy to be a US president]</p>	<p>Trump's political attack on Joe Biden to destroy Joe Biden's political image and influence.</p>
<p><b>2. Sleepy Joe Biden (NP)</b></p> <p>Discourse 2, discourse 5,</p>	<p><b>Joe Biden</b></p> <p><b>(Democratic Party)</b></p>	<p>[Biden is unworthy to be the US next president]</p>	<p>Trump's political mockery and attack on Joe Biden to ridicule and destroy Joe Biden's political image and influence</p>
<p><b>3. Sleepy Joe (NP)</b></p> <p>Discourse 8, discourse 14</p>	<p><b>Joe Biden</b></p> <p><b>(Democratic Party)</b></p>	<p>[Biden is unworthy to be the US next president]</p>	<p>Trump's political mockery and attack on Joe Biden to ridicule and destroy Joe</p>

			Biden's political image and influence
<p><b>4. Sleepy person (NP)</b></p> <p>Discourse 8</p>	<p><b>Joe Biden</b></p> <p><b>(Democratic Party)</b></p>	<p>[Biden is unworthy to be the US next president]</p>	<p>Trump's political mockery and attack on Joe Biden to ridicule and destroy Joe Biden's political image and influence</p>
<p><b>5. The fake Pocahontas (NP)</b></p> <p>Discourse 2</p>	<p><b>Elizabeth Warren</b></p> <p><b>(Democratic Party)</b></p>	<p>[Elizabeth Warren is a fake Indian or fake native Americans]</p> <p>[Warren is an antagonist, not worthy to be a US president].</p> <p>[Elizabeth Warren is not worthy to be a US president]</p>	<p>Trump's political attack on Elizabeth Warren to destroy Warren's political image and influence</p>
<p><b>6. crazy Bernie (NP)</b></p> <p>Discourse 3, discourse 5, discourse 8,</p>	<p><b>Bernie Sanders</b></p> <p><b>(Democratic party)</b></p>	<p>[do not vote for Bernie]</p> <p>[Bernie is crazy, not worthy to be a president]</p> <p>[Bernie Sanders is not worthy to be a president of the US].</p>	<p>Trump's political attack on Bernie Sanders to destroy Sanders' political image and influence</p>
<p><b>7. Bernie, who honey moon in Moscow (Clause)</b></p>	<p><b>Bernie Sanders</b></p> <p><b>(Democratic</b></p>	<p>[Bernie Sanders is not worthy to be the US president because</p>	<p>Trump's political attack on Bernie Sanders to destroy</p>

Discourse 6	<b>Party)</b>	he is friendly with Russia, the arch-enemy of the US].	Sanders' political image and influence
<b>8. Crooked Hillary</b> (NP)  Discourse 4.	<b>Hillary Clinton</b>  <b>(Democratic Party)</b>	[do not vote for Hillary],  [she is crooked/criminal and not worthy to be US president].	Trump's political attack on Hillary Clinton to destroy Clinton's political image and influence
<b>9. Mini Mike</b> (NP)  Discourse 5, discourse 14	<b>Mike Bloomberg</b>  <b>(Democratic party)</b>	[Mike Bloomberg is not a great people],  [Mike Bloomberg is not worthy to be a president of the US].	Trump's political attack on Mike Bloomberg to destroy Bloomberg's political image and influence
<b>10. A wonderful young bartender</b> (NP)  Discourse 7	<b>Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez</b>  <b>(Democratic Party)</b>	[Alexandria Cortez is not a politician, not worthy to be a representative].	Trump's political attack on Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez to destroy Cortez's political image and influence
<b>11. Buttigieg, butt edge edge</b> (N)  Discourse 8	<b>Pete Buttigieg</b>  <b>(Democratic party)</b>	[Pete Buttigieg is not a fine man worthy to be the US president].	Trump's political attack on Pete Buttigieg to destroy Buttigieg's political image and influence



<p><b>12. Rand Paul shouldn't even be on this stage</b> (Clause)</p> <p>Discourse 9</p>	<p><b>Rand Paul</b> <b>(Republican Party)</b></p>	<p>[Rand Paul is not worthy to be the US president].</p>	<p>Trump's political attack on Rand Paul to destroy Paul's political image and influence</p>
<p><b>13. George Bush made a mistake</b> (Clause)</p> <p>Discourse 10</p>	<p><b>Jeb Bush</b> <b>(Republican party)</b></p>	<p>[Jeb Bush is not worthy to be 2016 US presidential candidate].</p>	<p>Trump's political attack on Jeb Bush to destroy Jeb Bush's political image and influence</p>
<p><b>14. maybe he's looking up</b> (Clause)</p> <p>Discourse 11</p>	<p><b>Debbie Dingell</b> <b>(Democratic party)</b></p>	<p>[Debbie Dingell is a bad politician from Democrat].</p>	<p>Trump's political attack on Debbie Dingell to destroy Dingell's political image and influence</p>
<p><b>15. Nancy Pelosi is not helping this country</b> (Clause)</p> <p>Discourse 12</p>	<p><b>Nancy Pelosi</b> <b>(Democratic Party)</b></p>	<p>[Nansy Palosy is not a good politician for the United States].</p>	<p>Trump's political attack on Nancy Pelosi to destroy Pelosi's political image and influence</p>
<p><b>16. the Democrats are obstructionist</b> (Clause)</p> <p>Discourse 12</p>	<p><b>All political figures from Democratic party</b></p>	<p>[Democrats obstruct the policy for the US].</p>	<p>Trump's political attack on political figures from Democratic party to destroy their political image and influence</p>

<b>17. Pelosy is a sick woman</b> (Clause) Discourse 13	<b>Nancy Pelosy</b> <b>(Democratic Party)</b>	[Nansy Palosy is not a good politician for the United States].	Trump's political attack on Nancy Pelosy to destroy Pelosy's political image and influence
<b>18. Pete boot edge edge Buttiege (N)</b> Discourse 14	<b>Pete Buttiege</b> <b>(Democratic party)</b>	[Pete Buttigieg is not a fine man worthy to be the US president].	Trump's political attack on Pete Buttiege to destroy Buttiege's political image and influence

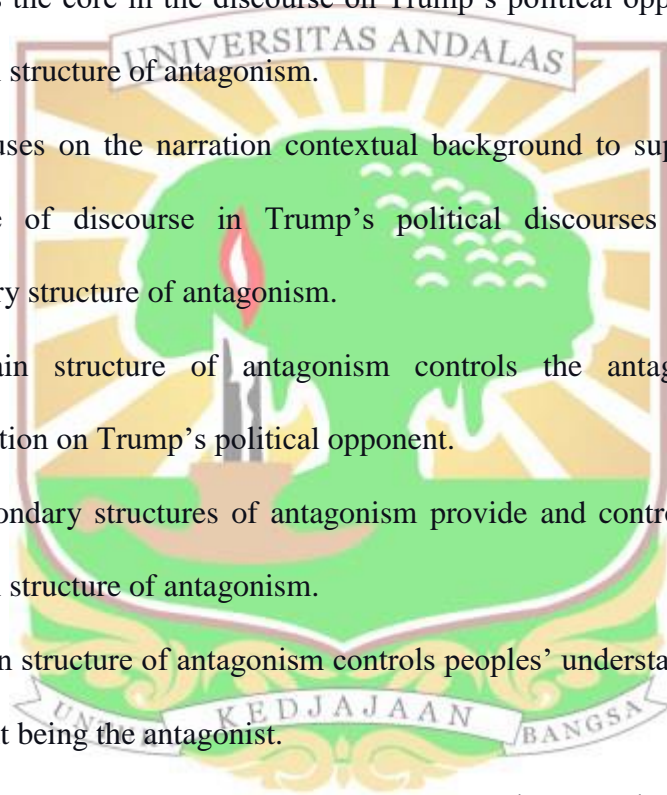
So, there are 18 main structures of antagonism found from 14 data of Trump's political discourse. These main structures consist of 9 noun phrases, 2 nouns, and 7 clauses. The nine noun phrases function as the primary structure of antagonism because they have the nouns of the names of Trump's political opponents as the target of antagonistic discourse. The two nouns are the modified names of Trump's opponent. The modifying process destroys the name and ridicules the name owner. The seven clauses still have the nouns of the names of the target for antagonism. These clauses show Trump's political attack on the names.

These findings prove that the noun and adjective have a political function to infuse the antagonistic meaning constructions into peoples' minds or cognition, and

those meaning become hardened or strengthened to be a system of belief. This is the final form of the political frontier of antagonism produced by Trump's political discourse.

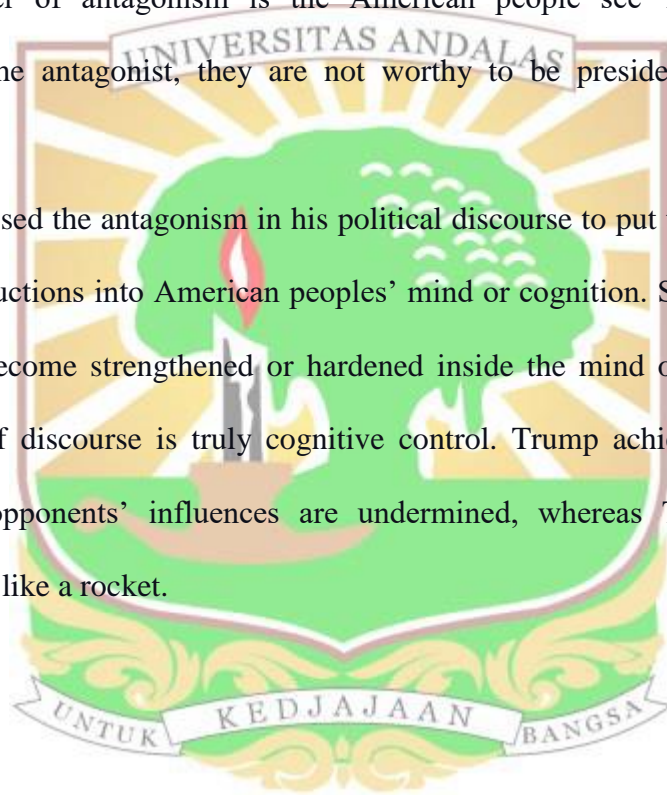
The following rules for the process of discourse in this research are as follow:

1. The nouns, noun phrases, and the nominalized clauses where the noun becomes the core in the discourse on Trump's political opponent function as the main structure of antagonism.
2. The clauses on the narration contextual background to support the primary structure of discourse in Trump's political discourses function as the secondary structure of antagonism.
3. The main structure of antagonism controls the antagonistic meaning construction on Trump's political opponent.
4. The secondary structures of antagonism provide and control the context for the main structure of antagonism.
5. The main structure of antagonism controls peoples' understanding of Trump's opponent being the antagonist.
6. The noun of the names of Trump's opponents become the core in the main structure of antagonism.
7. The destructive meaning constructions produce the political implication of the antagonistic discourse.
8. Both the primary and secondary structure of Trump's antagonistic discourse shows the process of nominalization.



These meaning constructions are destructive to those democratic figures' political image and influence. Trump used the antagonism in political discourse to control peoples' understanding to believe in those destructive meaning constructions. So, the political frontier of antagonism between Trump against his political rivals and opponents are constructed. The political implication of this political frontier of antagonism is the American people see Trump's political opponents as the antagonist, they are not worthy to be president of the United States.

Trump used the antagonism in his political discourse to put those antagonistic meaning constructions into American peoples' mind or cognition. So, those meaning constructions become strengthened or hardened inside the mind of the Americans. This practice of discourse is truly cognitive control. Trump achieved his political purpose. His opponents' influences are undermined, whereas Trump's political influence raises like a rocket.



## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

To sum up, after analyzing 14 data of political discourse, the noun phrase on the name or the nicknames of Trump's political opponents become the main structure of antagonism. The rests of the clauses composing Trump's political discourse are the secondary structure of antagonism providing and controlling the context for the main structure of antagonism.

The process of nominalization occurs in both types of structures of discourse. In the main or primary structure of discourse, the nominalization occurs as the use of nouns to classify Trump's political opponents as the antagonist and the bad politician. In the secondary structure of antagonism, the nominalization occurs as the use of nouns to represent the background and narration to support the primary structure of Trump's political discourse.

Based on the results of the analysis, Trump used nominalization to classify his political rivals as the antagonist and bad politician. The nominalization occurs in the use of nouns to represent Trump's political rivals as the obstructionist, antagonist, and bad decision-makers. Trump also used the nouns as the destruction process on his rivals' political image.

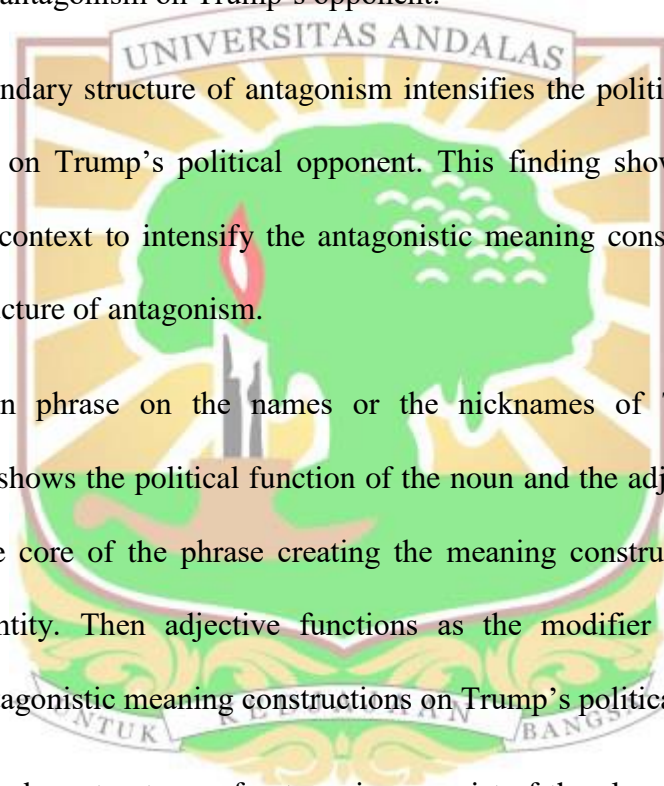
There are 18 primary structure of antagonism found in the 14 discourse data. Those 18 main structures consist of 9 noun phrases, 2 nouns, and 7 clauses. The main

structure of antagonism is used by Trump to construct antagonistic meaning constructions that are destructive to his opponent's political image and influence. Meaning, the core structure of antagonism is the core of political attack on Trump's rivals. There are few exceptions where the clause becomes the main structure of antagonism in Trump's political discourse, but the noun in that clause remains the governor of the antagonism on Trump's opponent.

The secondary structure of antagonism intensifies the political implication of the antagonism on Trump's political opponent. This finding shows the process of controlling the context to intensify the antagonistic meaning construction produced by the main structure of antagonism.

The noun phrase on the names or the nicknames of Trump's political opponents also shows the political function of the noun and the adjectives. The noun functions as the core of the phrase creating the meaning construction on Trump's opponent's identity. Then adjective functions as the modifier to complete and intensify the antagonistic meaning constructions on Trump's political rivals.

The secondary structures of antagonism consist of the clauses to intensify the antagonism and the political implication of the main structure of antagonism by providing and controlling the context and narrated theme in the political discourse. This process finally controls the understanding of the cognition of the American voters not to vote for Trump's opponent.



The antagonism in Trump's political discourse is a direct political attack on strong figures and candidates from the Democratic Party. This political function dictates the role of the noun as the governor which controls the internal grammatical relationship among clauses, phrases, words, and meaning construction. The reason for this different fact from that of the conventional and formal linguistic phenomenon is human identity. This is the part of language function the noun is responsible for. Trump attacked his opponents politically. Those opponents have names as their identity.

The main aspect of the political attack is the use of discourse to antagonize a political figure. This process requires a clear identity to attack. An identity is a name. All names are nouns. That is why the noun functions as the governor for the political function of the antagonistic structure in Trump's discourse to create the political frontier of antagonism.

One of the major findings in this research is the political function of the noun and adjective in Trump's political discourse. The phenomenon of antagonism in the political discourses orchestrated by Trump has revealed the political function of the noun to control and construct the antagonism against other political figures or Trump's opponent. However, this result is a rule of discourse. It possibly applies to other form of antagonism in discourse as well, not just in Trump's political discourse. That is why a further study on the political function of the noun in antagonistic discourse is needed.

Based on the analysis of 14 data, the 18 main structures of antagonism are governed by the noun of the names of Trump's opponent. Meaning, the antagonistic discourse requires the noun of the names to function properly. The reason for this because the antagonism requires the process of controlling peoples' understanding. Peoples' understanding also requires the name of a figure or group to understand the structure and the meaning of antagonism in discourse. This is one of the main findings in this research.

Then, the political function of the adjective. Based on the analysis of 14 data and 18 main structure of antagonism, adjective function as the modifier of the noun to complete the main structure of antagonism and its destructive meaning construction against Trump's opponents. So the adjective does not function as a modifier known in formal linguistics. The modifying process here is political and has destructive implications on Trump's political opponents.

This finding proves that the noun and adjective have a political relationship in the phenomenon of antagonism in political discourse. This process has an impact on peoples' understanding especially the voters in the next 2020 presidential run in the United States. The result of this process is the political frontier of antagonism.

This political frontier of antagonism puts Trump's opponents from the Democratic party in an antagonistic position. Therefore, all Trump's rivals look bad as the antagonist. Their political influences are undermined and trampled. Finally,



Trump has more opportunity to gain political influence to win the next 2020 presidential race in the United States.



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