

**CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF DONALD J TRUMP'S
SPEECHES**

THESIS

**Submitted as Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Sarjana Degree of English
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DECLARATION

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Declares that this thesis which under the title *Critical Discourse Analysis of Donald J Trump's speeches* is my original scientific work that has been conducted as the Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Sarjana Degree of English Department, Faculty of Arts and Humanities of State Islamic University of Sunan Ampel. This work does not contain any materials of the other work or previous studies except the theory and the quotation that include in this work. If this thesis later is found as a plagiarism work, the writer truthfully responsible with any kind of suitable consequences.

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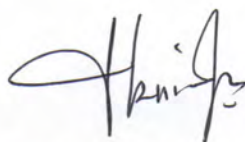
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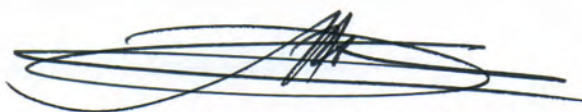
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EXAMINER SHEET

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complex paradigms and fashions. Similar idea also stated by Fairclough (1995; 56) Critical Discourse Analysis includes the larger sociopolitical and socio-cultural contexts within which discourse is embedded, in this case in macro-level of analysis that we are able to reveal the ideological bases of discourse. The most underlined thing here is political discourse focuses on the abuse of such power especially on dominance, that is on the ways one person or one community control people's beliefs and actions in the interest of dominant groups. Political Discourse also as the field of the dominant group to persuade another group in society. In another hand, within political discourse, some social contexts are included which are showed inequality and power. More specifically CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce or challenge relations of power and dominance in society.

There are some features of CDA such notion as power, dominance, hegemony, ideology, class, gender, race, discrimination, 'social structure or social order (Van Dijk 1998; 71). So the basic notion in CDA is differentiation or inequality. Each social context that deals with inequality is possible to cause discrimination. Indeed, discrimination appears because of inequality of social construction that treated by the dominant group to a person or a group of people. In Donald J Trump's speeches, there are some inequalities implied in some policies that he announced. Even more in each political interaction, there will always include discrimination that will affect a person or certain group of people in their social interaction. Go along with it, hegemony and ideology could be explored trough inequality and power of the dominant group toward the minority.

Often times, the effect of hegemony toward minority group could be a social judgment or social discrimination. However, people that accepted unconscious condition such discrimination are protected by the Equality and Human right Commission called The Equality Act. The Equality Act Commission is a Human right commission that builds in 2010 is an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom. The Equality Act also specifies several situations where people are protected from discrimination such as put a person at an unfair disadvantage in educational settings or workplace, social harassment, victimization or another conscious discrimination. The Equality Act also has its own definition and characteristics of an act that regarded as the discrimination.

Deal with it, the researches about Critical Discourse Analysis are mostly used inequality of social context as the main issue to be explored. The discussion about it mostly focused on racial discrimination such as Arief (2009) that explore the racial discrimination of black and white people and correlated it with the Hancock movie character as the main discussion. He found Hancock characters in dual nature. There are positive and negative. From the Hancock characters, the author implied that Hancock seems refers to Barack Obama who was being a candidate for presidential election at that time and from the relationship between Hancock and Marry, it against the interracial marriage. The first is the research that was done by Nazish Memon (2014) entitled Critical Analysis of Political Discourse: A Study of Benazir Bhutto's Last Speech. This study aimed to critically analyzing the underlying ideologies in the political speech of Benazir Bhutto (The former prime minister of Pakistan from 1988-1990 and 1993-1996)

in the election campaign on 27 December 2007. The study assumed discourse as a product of social practice which had started earlier during the inception Pakistan People's Party (PPP). The study focuses on the content of the discourse to analyze how linguistic features are used to propagate the ideologies. In order to analyze the discourse critically and to evaluate the ideological bases of Benazir Bhutto's speech Socio-cognitive approach to CDA has been adopted. The underlying assumption in the present study is that the political discourses are used in the public to control the minds of the people.

The next researcher was Dessy Safitri (2015) about racism ideology research in NBS news online mass media of Michael Brown case. She examined the linguistic features that use by news report to establish the Racism toward black people. The linguistics features that included are; semantic structure, syntactic structure, stylistic structure and rhetoric style. She found the ideological construction of racism in news report by using Van Dijk's theory. The result was the semantic structure indicated the physical confrontation that was the cause of Michael Brown shooting, from the background, details and presupposition. Syntactic structure showed that the journalist of news report tends to use nominalization and passive sentences in the action of the police. The direct sentence and indirect sentence use to express their opinion through the actor. Stylist focused to image African American as bad people. Rhetoric style used to persuade readers by using hyperbole, alliteration, metaphor, parallelism and rhyme.

Avissa Suseno (2016) entitled *Islamofobia Dalam Kampanye Donald Trump (Analisis Wacana Berita Pernyataan Donald Trump Terhadap Islam Pada Media OnlineMerdeka.Com)*. This research uses the theory of Hegemony by Van Dijk to investigate the effect of social context and social cognition toward Islam. This research also explores the tendencies of media online toward Islam believer. Another supporting theory that is used in this research is Critical Discourse Analysis by Van Dijk. The result showed that Merdeka.com did not tend to any political party side or be the judge of each news article that they publicized. Merdeka.com has clarified that each news article that has been released is important news to publish.

Furthermore, several researches have been done by some scholars which mostly focused on the persuasive strategies used by the speaker in conveying their speech (Junling Wang, 2010; Alelign, 2013; Elsa, 2014; Fawwaz Al-Abed, 2015; Jensen, 2016). Some tries to widen the scope by enlarging the aim of the research such as the use of the features of linguistic to emerged the speaker ideologies including their inclusive perception (Juraj, 2011; Nova, 2013) and Souzandehfar (2010) developed the object of the study in case of the speaker in the politic debate and as the aim he justify the idea of each debaters.

The research about political discourse mostly targeted to reveal the ideas of the speakers through the use of linguistic features includes semantic structure, syntactic structure, stylistic style and rhetoric style (Nazish, 2014; Arief, 2014; Dessy, 2015). The results mentioned that semantic and syntaxes style are implicated the ideology of authorized community, while stylistic and rhetoric tend

to use for persuasive strategies and They used text media to maintain their racist Ideology. The bigger communities take control of any decision in every case of society. Different approach is applied by Juraj Horvath (2011), he analyzed Barack Obama's ideology by using Fairclough theory. He found that the key ideological components of Obama's speech are: pragmatism, liberalism, inclusiveness, acceptance of religious and ethnic diversity and unity.

Most of the previous studies are focused to analyze the meaning of the text without combining it with another approach to support the main theory. This present study aims at filling the gap by analyzing the Critical Discourse Analysis and support this theory by using Socio Cognitive Approach by Van Dijk (1997). The researcher going to explore more about the element of Critical Discourse Analysis by using Van Dijk Theory and combine it with Socio Cognitive Approach to reveal the order of the speech. The researcher going to explore the words and sentences that uttered by Donald J Trump. Donald J Trump is the 45th President of the United States, in office from 20 January 2017 until now. He is controversial and each policy that he announces mostly became social conflict and social inequality. After all, each policy of the United States became public attention because this country as an influential country so each policy and ordinance give the big effect to another developed country. Go along with it, the minorities in the United States become the victim of new policy and law.

The researcher tries to find the real judgment of Donald J Trump that he delivers in his Speeches. This research aims to explore the Critical Discourse Analysis in Donald J Trump's utterances in his Speeches. Go along with it, the

most important information that transferred by the speakers. The theme shows the aim, the dominant concept and the speaker intention within the discourse. Thus, to find the theme of the text, the researcher needs to understand the whole text. Each discourse/text has its own theme to represent what the speaker going to deliver to the addresses in public discourse. In order to get the correct understanding of the text, the researcher also obliged to know the social context that emerge the speeches.

2.1.2.1.2. Microstructure of the text

2.1.2.1.2.1. Syntaxes style

According to the result of several researches (Safitri; 2015, Suseno; 2016) that used Van Dijk theory. Syntaxes styles are used in politic manipulation by using sentence form through the use of active and passive sentence, coherence and pronoun. The use of coherence used by the speaker to give understanding to the audience about the idea that conveyed within the discourse. For example the use of conjunction ‘therefore, the government persuaded employers to hire more minorities’ can be implied that Immigrant have less job opportunities. Another element is a pronoun that used to manipulate language by creating imaginative community. Another example that oftentimes found as the result of Critical Discourse Analysis research is the pronoun ‘us’. The speaker uses the pronoun ‘us’ to show where the position of the object is belongs to the community. There are some kinds of syntaxes style that need to be analyzed and explored by Critical Discourse Analysis researcher which are sentence form, cohesion and pronoun.

negative other presentation. It influences the meaning of lexical choice that used by the author. Stylistic style has relation with the rhetoric that uses by the speaker particular style (metaphor, alliteration). The example of stylistic style can be seen through the use of word 'thug' that used rather than 'demonstrator' to express the author opinion, also the use of words 'black', 'West Indian', 'Asian' to refer people from their ancestors.

2.1.2.1.2.4. Rhetoric Style

Rhetoric is a way to persuade and strengthen the particular information that wants to be shown to the reader or hearer by using language style. The use of rhetoric is signed by hyperbole, alliteration, metaphor, repetition, irony and metonymies. In textual analysis, the author expresses the things that would be stressed to the public, usually in form of graphic, pictures, raster or table to support or hidden another part to be shown. The author is not merely conveying the main information, but it shows the metaphor to ornate the text. It used as the main thought to support the particular idea to the public (Alex Sobur, 2006: 119).

2.1.2.1.3. Super structure of the text

2.1.2.1.3.1 Schemata

Schema or superstructures of the text is similar to the outline of the text. Most of the previous studies are analyzed the schema used the structure of headline, main topic, and then explain the event since most of them analyzed the news report. Whereas this research adopts the theory of Socio Cognitive Approach by Van Dijk to explore more the scheme of the speech. Although the

totally 64 expressions that noticed as linguistics features from three chosen speeches of Donald J Trump speeches. From all those results, the syntaxes structures are frequently uttered by Donald J Trump which found 41 expression that includes 3 expressions of persuasion, 11 expressions of Attribution, 11 expressions of Impression management, 14 expressions of pronoun that represent power and unity. Meanwhile, rhetoric structures are found in 14 utterances which are 5 hyperbole utterances, 0 finding for alliteration utterance and 4 repetitions sentence structures. The last element of linguistics structure is stylistic structure that has 13 chosen lexical choice utterances, while figure of speech as the last element that occurs in stylistic structure did not found in the three chosen speeches. Moreover, there is another result that has an uncountable specification which is macrostructure of the text because each element has its own explanation and description based on the topic and theme of the speech.

4.1.1.1. Macrostructures of the text

Macrostructure element of the text is the fundamental element that needed to analyze the text. The basic concept of macrostructure is that this structure cannot be determined by each sentence but need to be explored in a whole understanding of the text in order to get the exact point that delivers by the speaker. In the analysis of macrostructure, there is main point that should be elaborated which is thematic structure of the text.

The topic that supported the theme is the notoriety of Israel in Jerusalem. Those sentences can be recognized as the first sentence and the topic that going to deliver by the speaker because this uttered after the speaker's greeting. The speaker began the topic by recalling the past act toward Israel that done by the United States over 70 years ago before his administration. The speaker recognizes the legitimacy of the occupation of Israeli citizen in Jerusalem over 70 years by ignoring the fact that Jerusalem is legal dispute region. Then as the background and details, the speaker adds more information about Israel population and glorification in Jerusalem that has to be recognized.

Afterwards, the speaker continues to talk about the three religions that cannot be separated from Jerusalem and Israeli citizens that lived in. The speaker demonstrates his view by changing the political issue into religion issue. Such as the quotation of the speech below:

Jerusalem is today and must remain a place where Jews pray at the Western Wall, where Christians walk the stations of the cross, and where Muslims worship at Al Aqsa Mosque. However, through all of these years, presidents representing the United States have declined to officially recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital. In fact, we have declined to acknowledge any Israeli capital at all.

Then going to the second speech, this speech has different issue which is about national defense and security of the United States. The topic of this speech is rebuilding the confidence and trustworthiness of American citizen. It shown that the speaker oftenly uses the linguistic feature that represents unity, such as

Table 1.5**Schema of second speech : National Security & Defense**

The schema of the second speech similar with the first speech since it also began with the emotional attachment toward the addressee. The emotional attachments began with the greeting. The greeting in this speech is longer than the previous speech. Then the issue that chooses to attract the emotional attachment of the addressee is the expression of the sympathies for the victims of the train derailment in Washington State. Then the mind control that expressed by Donald Trump began with the persuasive sentence by recalled the past and elaborated his argument on it. Such as the evidence below:

But to seize the opportunities of the future, we must first understand the failures of the past. For many years, our citizens watched as Washington politicians presided over one disappointment after another. To many of our leaders — so many who forgot whose voices they were to respect and whose interests they were supposed to defend

Then the next stage is mitigating evidence. Similar to the previous speech, after recognizing the past event that unresolved, trump tries to giving new hopes and put himself into it.

Upon my inauguration, I announced that the United States would return to a simple principle.

We are rebuilding our nation, our confidence, and our(a/PRO) standing in the world. We have moved swiftly to confront our challenges, and we have confronted them head-on

In the emotional attachment stage, Trump began by talking about the terrorism issue and the victim of the bombing. Then to add the emotional involvement Trump uttered the sympathies toward the family of the victim. Then he mentioned the origin country of the terrorist that the most people have not known. After talked about the doer of the bombing, trump started to talk about Hillary's judgment that regards as the wrong decision for America. Donald Trump tries to deliver the addressee that there are a lot of enemies and they need to be careful of. In the schema of the speech, Donald trump defines the enemies as the killer, radical Islam, the male shooter. Trump also uttered the negative self representation of Hillary Clinton that wants America to keep the unity with the Muslim and Islam. The last stage in the schemata is glorification of America. As the last part of the the schemata the glorification of America stated after Trump created the enemy images. The part of the glorification of America mostly talked about the fact that need to be realized by citizen America. Trump uses a lot of positive word such as '*strong*', '*great*' and '*power*' to represent the positive representation of America.

4.2. Discussion

After the two results of the findings that elaborated by the researcher, this is the stage where the result of the study are examined and discussed. There are two main findings which are the element of macrostructure and microstructure of Critical Discourse Analysis in three speeches and the elements of Socio Cognitive Approach that emerge in Donald J Trump's speeches. Firstly to answer the first research question, the researcher need to find the macrostructure of the text or the

researcher also noticed that after the use of impression management, Trump uses the mitigating evidence to support his idea. Then the use of the rhetoric art of speaking only used in the last speech to show his sympathies and impress the audience.

Then the final result showed that each topic has a different way to convey. For each speech, it can be concluded that in the first speech Trump frequently uses repetition to glorify the Israel civilization in Jerusalem. Then in the second speech, the use of the pronoun 'us', 'we' and 'our' symbolize the unity became the dominant result that indicates the topic. Then the last result that discovered in the third speech is the use of lexical choice. It represents the bad images of certain people or group. Syntactically, each linguistics feature used by Trump to manipulate his language to enhance his persuasive strategies and his political perspective.

In this case, the writer found something interesting to be discussed which deals with humanity and unity based on Islam perceptions. In Islam, all of the men that lived in this world need to respect each other. Prophet Muhammad lead Muslim to keep the humanity in each heart of the believer. Say a harsh thing to another people is a bad manner because by doing that, each person became disrespect each other and ignored the humanity. The God (Alloh) has been command to all of men in this world for loving each other. In the sight of Alloh, there is no nobleman instead of his taqwa (faithful) that he had. It mentioned in Koran, surah AL-Hujurat 13th, He said:

Based on the first result Trump use the linguistics features to manipulate his language that aimed to persuade and provoke the addressee. This can be shown by each topic delivered by Donald J Trump. The first topic conveyed is the notoriety of Israel in Jerusalem, the second topic is rebuilding the confidence and trustworthiness of American Citizen. Furthermore, the topic of the last speech is make Americans became aware of the enemies.

The result of microstructure showed that Donald J Trump consistently uses irony to involve the emotional attachment of the addressee. While the use of repetition is mostly conveyed about the past failure of United States, this strategies aimed to attack addressee attention and persuade them to be in accord with his argument by using the logical facts and emotional attachment. The positive self description also occurred in each argument that he delivered, but the researcher also found that Trump tends to make a negative representation of another group or people to get his positive representation. Furthermore, the use of the pronoun is mostly aimed to show the unity that represents by pronoun 'us' and 'our', but Trump also expresses the power by using pronoun 'I'. Whereas, in the use of lexical choice Trump also uttered the negative self representation of other people by choosing bad word.

Furthermore, The second result that occurs in Donald Trump's speeches is the Socio Cognitive Approach. It is shown that the first speech consists of emotional attachment, mind control, mitigating evidence, glorification, creating enemy images and rhetoric art of speaking. In this speech, the indication of topic showed by the strategies of creating enemy images use by Trump to provoke

