

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Background of the Study

Discourse can be described as language beyond the sentence (Schiffrin, Tannen, and Hamilton, 2001:1) and language has a primary function as a tool that helps people to communicate with each other. Language as, the means for communication doesn't stop in the purpose to deliver ideas, but sometimes it also aims to represent any social practices in a society.

Discourse is never neutral for some reasons. This is because there are many factors which might affect the discourse. There are things which are strived in discourse, such as ideologies, values, interests, emotions, and so on. As the medium for the process of communication, discourse utilizes language elements, which are vital to construct the value, ideology, or idea that discourse wants to strive for.

Whether we realize it or not, everyday in our life we are always exposed to discourse. When we watch television, we hear sweet and convincing words of advertisement that drives us to buy the product it promotes. We read news in a newspaper, be it printed or online media. We listen to the teacher's giving the lecture. We watch and listen to our president's delivering a speech. Or the most frequent one is a dialogue we conduct everyday, the advertisement, news, lecture, and the dialogue are discourse. Every example of this discourse is dependent on the social context in which the discourse occurs. Let's say, for example, it won't be the same, a dialogue between a teacher with his or her student and a speech

delivered by a politician to public. We can see the difference in the choice of words, the power relations, and the ideology each contains. Political speech, election campaigns, and other types of political discourse are all fields of ideological battle. This is no surprise considering what van Dijk (2006) argues that it is eminently here that different and opposed groups, power, struggle and interests are at stake. In order to be able to compete, political groups need to be ideologically conscious and organized. With a discourse analysis, we are encouraged to see our language not only as an abstract structure, but rather a structure which has meaning in a particular social and political condition.

Discourse can be used to assert power, knowledge, or manipulation. On the contrary, discourse can also be used for resistance, critique, and defense against manipulation. The occasion in which discourse is used to assert, legitimate, and sustain power is a campaign speech. A campaign speech is a powerful tool utilized by politicians to express their view, ideas, and feelings to public with the sole purpose of influencing them. The electorate's mind might be "rewritten" as the political discourse containing certain ideology re-shape and re-direct them, perhaps, without their realizing. This will lead them to agree with the speaker's opinion. This is thanks to the effective language use. With his language, the politician promotes his programs and present themselves as the best candidate for people's favor. It is undeniable that politics is a struggle for power to put certain political ideas into practice. In its process, language plays a crucial role. This is because every political action is prepared, implemented, and played by language.

This campaign speech belongs to the political discourse. According to Schaffner (1996), political discourse, as a sub-category of discourse in general, can be on two criteria: functional and thematic. Political discourse is determined by history and culture and it is a result of politics. Political discourse can also fulfill different functions because of different political activities. As Wood (2006:50) mentions that political discourse is used to perform a variety of speech acts as some of its functions which are to protest, legitimize, intimidate, persuade the people or lead them to a particular view of political reality and to act in a way that is consistent with this view by voting for a particular party. Thus, political discourse is not neutral as a medium of communication. This can be comparable to the advertising discourse designed to bring the audience to certain thoughts, beliefs, and actions. Still according to Wood (2006: 50), political discourse leans heavily on devices which are usually used in advertising discourse at the level of sound, word and syntax, which are key elements in arranging political messages for maximum desired effect. These elements (and some others) are interwoven and layered to manipulate the meanings of political messages.

The researcher has a reason as to why he chose the elected US president Donald Trump 's speech as his object of the study. Currently, the United States of America is a central figure in global affairs. They have the largest economy and the strongest military. Business Insider refers the USA as the "world's most influential country" (Clark: 2017). This explains why American politics in particular draw in worldwide attention and curiosity. It is always interesting to talk about whatever happens in this big apple country. The USA presidential

elections are no exception to this. And that's why the elected president is automatically considered a phenomenal figure.

Political discourse which is in the form of campaign speech becomes the weapon for the politicians including Donald Trump to convey his ideas, messages, propaganda, and ideology. And every discourse definitely contains a certain ideology in it. This can be seen in many of his and other politician's speech. One of them as the proof can be seen in one of Donald Trump's speeches in his campaign rallies. His speech about Radical Islam Terrorism and ISIS contains an ideology of ANTI-RADICAL ISLAM. This ideology of anti-radical Islam which was asserted by Donald Trump was expressed through some types of transitivity processes which can be seen in Table 1.1

Table 1.1
Preliminary Data

No.	Preliminary Data	Types of process
1.	Nor can we (actor) let (material process) the hateful ideology of Radical Islam – its oppression of women, gays, children, and nonbelievers – be allowed to reside or spread within our own countries (goal)	Material Process
2	Anyone who (sayer) cannot name (verbal process) our enemy (verbiage),	Verbal process
3	Anyone who (sayer) cannot condemn (verbal process) the hatred, oppression and violence of Radical Islam (verbiage)	Verbal process
4	Anyone who cannot condemn the hatred, oppression and violence of Radical Islam (possessor) lacks (relational process: possession) the moral clarity to serve as our President (possessed).	Relational process

Nor can we let the hateful ideology of Radical Islam – its oppression of women, gays, children, and nonbelievers – be allowed to reside or spread within our own countries. (Excerpt 1, Donald Trump's speech on August 15, 2016).

Anyone who cannot name our enemy, is not fit to lead this country. Anyone who cannot condemn the hatred, oppression and violence of

*Radical Islam lacks the moral clarity to serve as our President.
(Excerpt 2, Donald Trump's speech on August 15, 2016).*

Donald Trump's anti-radical islam can be seen through his attribution of 'hateful' towards the phrase 'ideology of Radical Islam'. Hateful means full of hatred . He depicted Radical Islam as an ideology which can easily spread hatred towards people. And, by utilizing material process 'let', he asserted that this ideology of Radical Islam should not be allowed to reside or spread in America. Then , Donald Trump expressed that the people who embrace the ideology of radical Islam 'enemy'. Furthermore, by using the verbal process condemn, he expressed a strong criticism and reproach towards what Radical Islam conducts which are hatred, oppression, and violence. Even, by using relational process 'lack', he regarded someone who cannot condemn what radical Islam does to have little moral clarity. Giving all these these negative labels towards radical Islam confirms that Donald Trump expressed his opposition to a the concept of radical Islam ideology. Thus he possesses an ideology of anti-radical islam.

This ideology might affect his decision to ban Muslims from entering his country, America. This is his solution to prevent any terror caused by radical Islam happening in America. This ideology and decision might become one of his factors in his success of winning the vote for the US presidency. He successfully conveyed his ideology of anti-radical Islam to his audience and successfully persuaded them to be on his side. His ideology of anti-radical Islam is in resonance with his audience, thus they chose to be his supporters and voters.

www.nytimes.com reported that Donald Trump won the Electoral College with 304 votes compared to 227 votes for his rival, Hillary Clinton. While seven electors voted for someone other than their party's candidate.

Thus, considering the preliminary data above, in this thesis, the researcher find it interesting to find out more about Donald Trump's ideology on Radical Islam Terrorism, so decided to propose the controversial solution of banning Muslims from entering America which people regard as the act of racism. And, the researcher is also curious on how he used his language to convey his ideology, which influences his audience. Then, to reveal his ideology, the researcher will use Critical Discourse Analysis approach as this approach is built on the perspective of how language is used to convey ideology and maintain power and dominance.

1.2. The Problems of the Study

With reference to the background, the problems of the study are formulated as the following:

1. What are the elements of Transitivity System in Donald Trump's language found in his speech on ISIS for his political campaign rally?
2. How does Donald Trump use his language in his speech on ISIS for his political campaign rally?
3. Why does Donald Trump use the language in his speech on ISIS for his political campaign rally as the way he does, which is reflected in his ideologies on ISIS?

1.3. The Objectives of the Study

In line with the problems of the study, the objectives of the study are:

1. To reveal the elements of Transitivity System in Donald Trump's language found in his speech on ISIS for his political campaign rally.
2. To reveal how Donald Trump uses his language in his speech on ISIS for his political campaign rally.
3. To reveal why Donald Trump uses the language as the way he does in his speech on ISIS for his political campaign rally, which is reflected through his ideologies.

1.4. The Scope of the Study

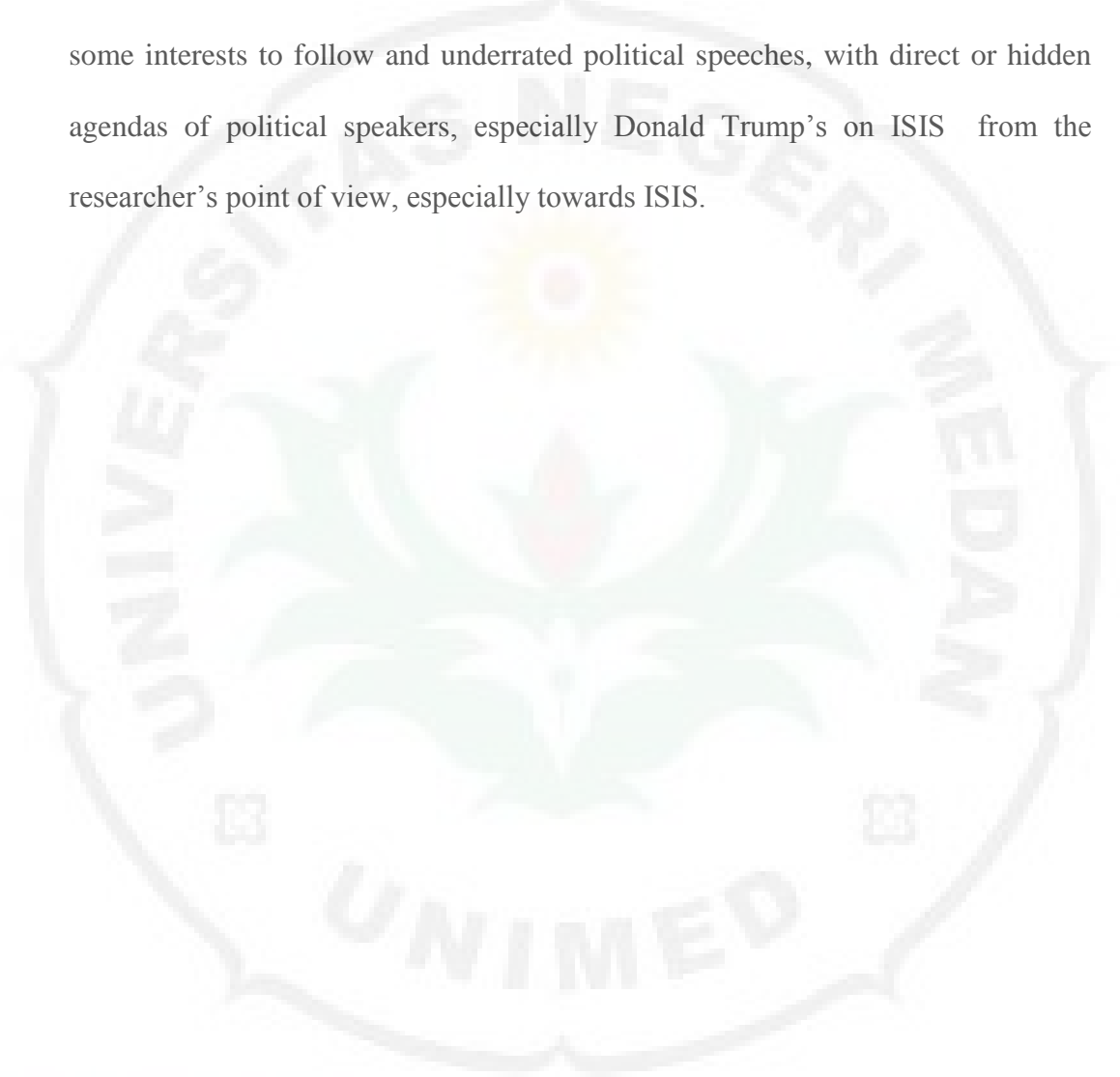
This study focuses on the study of Discourse, specifically the Critical Discourse Analysis. In this study, the researcher will apply the analysis model proposed by Norman Fairclough combined with Systemic Functional Analysis proposed by Halliday specifically Transitivity System. The analysis will be aimed at Donald Trump's speech about ISIS (Radical Islam Terrorism) which he delivered at Young State University in Ohio on August 15, 2016 when he conducted his political campaign rally.

1.5. The Significance of the Study

This study is expected to have contribution theoretically and practically.

Theoretically, this study can be used as a reference and additional knowledge to readers, especially in critical discourse analysis approach and *Systemic Functional Linguistics* (SFL) by Halliday in analyzing transitivity system. Moreover, this study is expected to add to the theory of political discourse.

Practically, it can contribute significance to politicians, sociolinguists and political analysts, as well as they may benefit the common persons, who have some interests to follow and underrated political speeches, with direct or hidden agendas of political speakers, especially Donald Trump's on ISIS from the researcher's point of view, especially towards ISIS.



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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

To conduct the data analysis, it is required for the researcher to apply main theories and some other supporting theories as references. In this chapter, the researcher will elaborate the theories needed. It includes the general concept of discourse and discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis along with the methods of critical discourse analysis as well as the concept of language and politics, power, and ideology. As the researcher will analyze a political speech, so the concept of political discourse analysis is also needed. In general, discourse is the study of the use of language and in particular it is an application of the language use (in practice) which agrees with the discussion in this research namely 'speech'. As for CDA, it is a method used to analyze the discourse (speech). In the following discussion of the theory, the researcher will look at 'who the speaker is', thus the researcher needs to talk about the theory of power. In addition, as it is also concerned with the message the speaker is going to convey, the theory of ideology is also needed here.

2.1. Islamic State of Iraq and Sham (ISIS)

ISIS, which stands for Islamic State in Iraq and Sham, is a translation from the arabic *Ad- Dawlah al-Islamiyah fi 'l- 'Iraq wa – sh-Sham* (الدولة الإسلامية في العراق والشام) or abbreviated as *Dā'ish* (داعش). Seeing it from the name, ISIS is a group which aims to establish an Islamic state in the areas around Iraq and Sham. Sham refers to the name of some areas in Middle East consisting

of Lebanon, Palestine, Syria and Jordan. ISIS is formed with project aims to establish a khalifa (caliphate) in which the all moslems around the world can settle and enforce *syaria* law – Islamic regulation and law which regulate all moslem's aspects of life.

ISIS was initially known as the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) from October 2006 to 2013, then changed to the Islamic State of Iraq and Sham (ISIS) from April 2013 to June 2014. And since 2014 the group have changed their name again into as *Ad-Daulah al-Islamiyah* (الدولة الإسلامية) or The Islamic State (IS) up to the present (Bunzel, 2015: 3). Although the group themselves prefer the latest, in this study, the researcher sticks to the first one as it is more renowned to public.

Although they have begun their activity in 2006, the group gained their stage in the world in June 29, 2014 when they declared the group as *khilafa* state (caliphate) with the *khalifa* (caliph/ the leader of the caliphate) Abu Bakr al-Bahgdadi. During that time ISIS has managed to conquer three vital cities in Iraq; they are Mosul, Tikrit, and Tal Afar within one week. The declaration was announced by ISIS spokesperson, *Abu Muhammad Al-Adnani* with a speech entitled *Hadza Wa'dullah* (This is Allah's promise) through Al-Furqan, ISIS media channel, in internet (Kholidi: 2016).

The United States of America, Saudi Arabia and some western countries label ISIS as terrorists. ISIS has been reported to conduct and be responsible to various terror attacks throughout the world. At least 143 attack in 29 countries are said ISIS' doing (Lister, et al.: 2017).

Although ISIS attaches Islam in its name and claimed to be Sunni Islam, most Islamic scholars throughout the world have made clear ISIS doesn't represent Islam at all. Indonesian Ulema Council (Majelis Ulama Indonesia-MUI), Indonesia's top Muslim clerical body, has issued official statement that ISIS is not Islamic and Muslims should reject ISIS (news.liputan6.com). The chief of MUI said that ISIS is forbidden because what they have been doing to achieve their goals through violence is against Islamic guidance. Scholars of Al-Azhar University, Egypt have also said that ISIS is a terror group and the declaration of Islamic State by ISIS is illegitimate (<https://www.al-monitor.com>). Similar view has also been issued by Syrian Islamic Council & Organisation of Syrian Muslim Scholars that the declaration of Islamic State by ISIS is not valid and ISIS is extremist and takfiri group (<https://islamsyria.com>). Syaikh Yusuf Al-Qaradhwawi and the International Union also said that the declaration of Islamic state by ISIS is a fantasy and theologically void. (<https://middleeastmonitor.com>). This list mentions only some of the Islamic scholars who reject ISIS while there are still many Islamic scholars who also reject ISIS.

2.2. Donald Trump

Donald Trump is the current President of the United States. Before entering politics, the man with the full name Donald John Trump was a successful businessman and television personality. He is a real estate mogul and a former reality TV star. Later Trump turned his attention to politics, and in 2015 he announced his candidacy for president of the United States with the ticket from the Republican. Trump succeeded in winning the majority of the primaries and

caucuses and officially stepped up to become the Republican candidate for the the United States on July 19, 2016. And in November, managed to in the election and became the 45th President of the United States, after Hillary Clinton, the candidate from Democratic was defeated.

During his time of campaign rally (and before) Trump has made many controversial remark and decision, such as degrading women, plan to ban Muslims and Mexicans from entering the US, etc. Despite these and his many other controversial remarks, Donald Trump still managed to win the majority of electoral college votes in a stunning victory on November 8, 2016 defeating Hillary Clinton. This win defied the polls and media projections which put him in the bottom with the gap almost 2.9 million votes; Trump's electoral win-306 votes to Clinton's 232 votes-put him in the seat of the 45th president of the United States.

2.3. Language and Politics

Politics is inseparable from language to the point that language has become an important tool for politics. An investigation towards the language of politics will help bring the understanding of how language is utilized by people to gain, exercise, and maintain power. This is confirmed by Opeibi (2008) in his claim that language is a vital process of setting the personality and the programme of the candidates to the public with the primary aim of gaining their support and mobilizing them to participate in the process of securing and controlling power (Opeibi, 2008: 97). Thus, politics includes in linguistics issue and vice versa language is also a political issue. Chilton (1998) states that

language is ‘the universal capacity of humans in all societies to communicate’, and politics is ‘the art of governance’. Thus, this investigation sees language as the tool for interacting with others in a variety of situations and institutions or organizations, which are conventionally recognized as political environment. When one person or a group of people try to make others do what they want to be done by using language, the strategy they use to achieve this is known linguistic strategy. To utilize it, the language is manipulatively used. Thus, as Fairclough (1989: 6) states, linguistic manipulation is the conscious use of language in a devious way to control the others.

2.4. Discourse

In a narrow definition, the term ‘discourse’ can be understood as ‘text and talk’ (van Dijk, 1997: 3). It can be understood that discourse is a form of language use both in written (text) and spoken (talk) language, such as conversation, formal speech, debate, newspapers, magazines, twitter or facebook status, etc.

In a wider definition, discourse, according to the formalist or structuralist paradigm, is ‘language above the clause’ (Stubbs, 1983: 1). This approach to discourse focuses only on the form which is clause or sentence. This views language at structural properties such as organization and cohesion, but paying little attention to the social ideas that inform the way people use and interpret language. The social aspect of language is emphasized by functionalist paradigm, which states that discourse is ‘language in use’ (Brown and Yule, 1983: 1). According to the functionalist paradigm, the analysis of language cannot be separated from the analysis of the purpose and functions of language in human

life. Discourse is therefore seen as a culturally and socially organized way of speaking. As Richardson (2007: 24) notes, researchers who adopt this definition of discourse ‘assume that language is used to *mean* something and to *do* something’ and that this ‘meaning and doing’ is linked to the context of its usage. If we want to interpret a text properly, ‘we need to work out what the speaker or writer is *doing* through discourse, and how this “doing” is linked to wider interpersonal, institutional, socio-cultural and material contexts.’ ‘Text’ refers to ‘the observable product of interaction’, whereas discourse is ‘the process of interaction itself: a cultural activity’ (Talbot, 2007: 9).

A different view of discourse is by Foucault. Foucault does not think of discourse as a piece of text, but as ‘practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak’ (Foucault, 1972: 49). By discourse, Foucault means ‘a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment’ (Hall, 1997: 44). He further argues that discourse constructs the topic. It controls the way a topic can be meaningful when talked about. In addition, discourse also influences how ideas are realized and used to regulate the other people’s conduct.

2.5. Discourse Analysis

Discourse which is studied in the academic field is called discourse analysis. The term discourse analysis was first used by a linguist named Zellig Harris in 1952 (Paltridge, 2006: 2). He defines that discourse analysis is a way to analyze speech and writing, in other words, talk and text. Yule (1996: 83) says that the scope of discourse analysis is very broad, ranging from conducting a

focused and narrow analysis of words like 'oh' and 'well' in casual conversations to dominant ideologies in a culture as illustrated, for example, in educational and political practices. In studies that are limited to linguistics, discourse analysis focuses on records (both writing or speech) of the language use in certain contexts to express thoughts, messages, or intention.

To conduct a discourse analysis study, there are many approaches that can be taken. Schrifin (1994: 5) offers six discourse analysis approaches, namely speech act theory, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnography of communication, pragmatics, conversational analysis, and variation analysis. These many approaches tend to create a different definition of discourse. This is because different approaches must use different ways so as to produce different discourse definitions. Even so, in simple terms, all of these approaches focus only on two main approaches, namely non-critical approach and critical approach. Non-critical approach focuses primarily on studying language as a 'descriptive goal' (Johnston, 2008: 27). This approach only describes the text (writing or speech) only in terms of the grammatical structure. While the critical approach goes further, that is to touch the community. Fairclough (1992: 12) states that a critical approach reveals how the power of discourse can have an impact on society and how the power of discourse is able to shape ideology, identity and trust; and in the same way how discourse is shaped by society. Users of this critical approach try to find patterns of language use in society.

At the beginning of the existence of this discourse analysis, research examining discourse tends to be non-critical. However, as time goes by, this seems to change and now the research begins to lead to a critical approach.

Researches that use a critical approach are researches, for example, that use the framework of "Critical Linguistics" and Critical Discourse Analysis (Johnstone, 2008).

2.6. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth: CDA) is another branch of Discourse Analysis. This approach combines linguistic analysis, ideological critique and cognitive psychology. CDA has now become one of the most widely used DA models in modern linguistics. Its aim is to uncover ideological and power relations and it has mainly been applied for the analysis of political discourse.

CDA is a theory and method of analyzing the way individuals and institutions use language (Richardson, 2007: 1). CDA experts focus on the relationship between discourse, power, dominance, and social inequality and how discourse produces or reproduces and maintains these dominance and social inequality (van dijk, 1993: 249). Therefore, CDA is not only limited to factors of internal language such as grammatical structure or mere word meaning, but includes broader social problems, such as ideology, dominance, power, inequality, etc. and by using philosophical and social theories trying to analyze and interpret texts both written and spoken. This definition is strengthened by Fairclough's (1995: 1) statement that CDA is a form of analytical framework used to study language with its relation to ideology and power as a source for people who struggle against oppression and dominance in linguistic form. This means that ideology is closely related to the use of language, especially in the social and

political context. Further, Wang (2010) explains that CDA serves to investigate the relationship between language, ideology and power. Thus, in general it can be defined that CDA is a linguistics analysis of language use both in written or spoken form, related to the socio-political context with the aim of revealing hidden ideologies in a discourse.

Although CDA analyzes text, research with CDA does not begin with the text, but it begins with the problems people face in social life, including problems related to sociology, political science and cultural studies (Fairclough, 2001: 26).

Critical discourse analysis draws from work carried out in the area known as critical theory, which considers 'the social, cultural, economic and political ways in which people are inequitably positioned' (Pennycook, 1997: 23) as well as 'how the production and reception of text is ideologically shaped by relations of power' (Pennycook, 1997: 28). Thus, the discourse analysis which uses critical approach explores the relationship between the use of language and the social and political context in which language use occurs. This is done critically towards the norms and expectations of certain discourse communities, raising social, economic and political issues.

According to Teun A. van Dijk (1998:1-2), CDA is a type of discourse analysis research that primarily examines how abuse of power, dominance, and inequality is enacted, reproduced, and opposed by text and talk in a socio-political context. This means that the CDA analysts position themselves clearly, and therefore want to understand, expose and ultimately oppose social inequality. This also means that the focus of CDA is on discourse and society. This CDA is a critical way to study text and talk to find out how the discourse has an impact on

society. The intended effect for example can be seen in a speech. Especially speeches delivered by someone with power or influence have the power to control the minds of listeners and create certain ideologies, thus influencing others to say or behave, in accordance with what is emphasized or de-emphasized in his or her words.

CDA aims to find the relationship between discourse (text and talk) and society. Norms and beliefs in society are usually reflected in the way they speak or communicate, in other words through discourse. However, the relationship between these two things (discourse and society) are not direct. Rather it is linked by a process called cognitive processes (van Dijk: 2009). This can be understood from the fact that people certainly use their cognitive to interpret a discourse. In the same way, cognitive processes also produce discourse in society. This means that the cognitive process link between discourse and society (Gadavani: 2002). The relationship between discourse, cognitive processes, and society can be seen in the picture below.

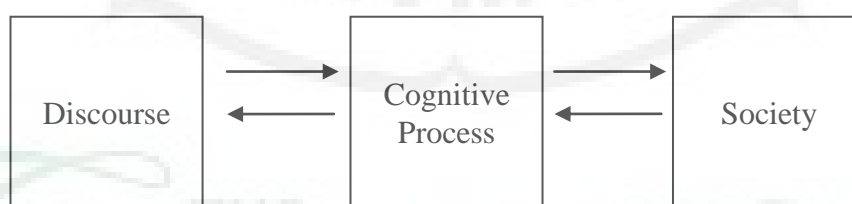


Figure 2.1. Discourse and Society Relationship (van Dijk, 2009: 64)

This figure was taken from van dijk's (2009) idea which says that the relationship between discourse and society in fact is never direct. There is something called a cognitive process between the two that connects. This process can be understood as an interpreter who helps translate a language. A person with

language A and another with language B are helped to understand each other by an interpreter. This cognitive process is like an interpreter. The cognitive process helps to understand discourse to society through people's minds and simultaneously society influences people's minds to produce discourse.

van Dijk (2001: 353) has summarized the aims of critical discourse analysis as follows:

- 1) CDA focuses on social problems and political issues.
- 2) An empirically adequate critical analysis of social problems is usually multidisciplinary.
- 3) CDA does not describe only discourse structure; it rather attempts to explain discourse in terms of social power.
- 4) CDA also focuses on the way discourse exercises its power in relation to the society.

CDA sees discourse differently from DA; that is, CDA can explain the way discourse structure has impact on society. This is why this thesis uses CDA's framework to analyze the data rather than using that of critical discourse. However, CDA does not have a clear cut framework. Therefore, the researcher decided to apply the framework of Fairclough to this study as this framework can link the analysis of language used by Donald Trump in his speech with his ideology and reveal the hidden ideology effectively. Fairclough's framework consists of 3 dimensions which he calls text, discursive practice, and sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1995). The relationship of these three dimensions can be illustrated by the figure 2.2 below.

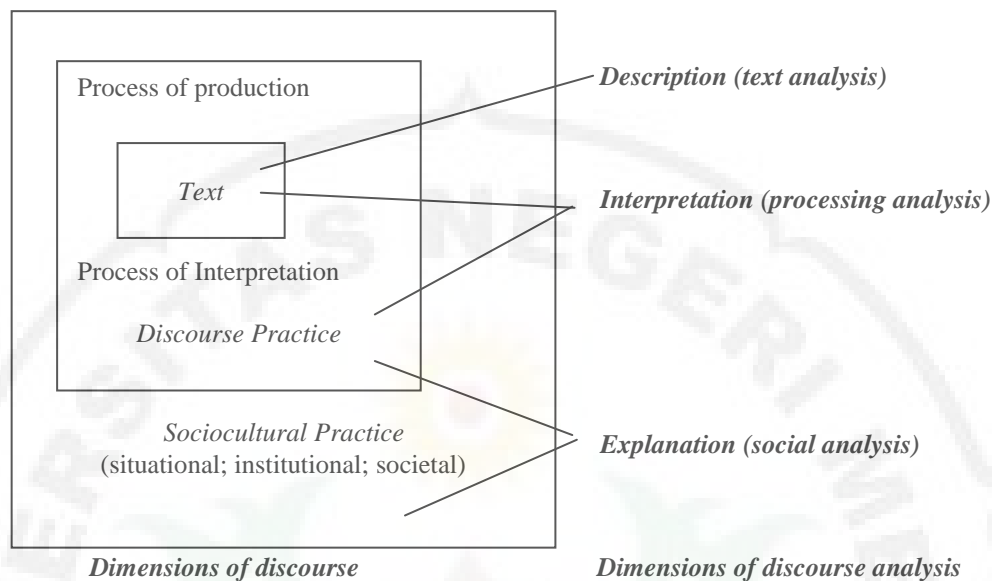


Figure 2.2. Diagrammatic representation of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995: 59)

From figure 2.2, it can be seen that these three dimensions are connected to each other. The broader dimensions shape the smaller ones, and vice versa. Sociocultural practices shape discourse practice; discursive practices shape text; and text shapes sociocultural practice. Fairclough (1995: 57) gave brief definitions of these three dimensions as follows.

- 1) Text may be written or oral, and oral texts may be only spoken, as on radio, or spoken and viewed, as on television.
- 2) Discourse practice is the process of text production and text consumption.
- 3) Sociocultural practice is the social and cultural on-going situation, of which the communicative event is a part.

To conduct the analysis, based on the three dimensions above, three stages of analysis are generated. Thus, Fairclough's theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis has three stages: description, interpretation, and explanation. Description stage analyzes the elements of linguistics. Interpretation stage focuses

on the text of the speech and its interpretation. While explanation stage focuses on the text of the speech and social structure.

As for the analysis of linguistics elements, it is stated that Fairclough has been affected by Halliday (Rodgers et al., 2005:371). This stage concerns in analyzing the use of vocabulary, grammar and structure of the text (Fairclough, 1989:110-111). So, in this research, the researcher will only apply the experiential value on grammatical feature which is based on the transitivity system. Therefore, *Systemic Functional Linguistics* (SFL) by Halliday is used to help the researcher find the transitivity system in Donald Trump's speech on ISIS. The concept of the Systemic Functional Linguistics and Transitivity System will be elaborated later on.

2.7. Political Discourse Analysis

CDA is primarily concerned with discussing the social power abuse, dominance and inequality enacted, reproduced and resisted by talk and text in the social and political context (van Dijk, 1993). One of the main types of CDA is political discourse analysis. Political critical discourse analysis has two main tenets; that is, it analyses political discourse, and it is a critical enterprise, as well. It deals especially with the emergence of political power, and how such power can be abused. It also deals with how domination occurs through political discourse. It, moreover, addresses the various forms of resistance or counter-power enacted to resist such forms of discursive dominance. Specifically, such kind of analysis deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality that result from such domination (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1993b).

In relation to politics, it is common sense that politics is connected with power. The power to take decisions, control resources and control common people behaviors and values (Bayram, 2010). Politicians employ language in a way that serves their goals. Politicians' skillful use of rhetoric contributes to their success (Jones & Peccei, 2004). They employ language to persuade their audiences about their views, perspectives and plans. Thus, politicians use language mainly to affect their audiences, and to persuade them about their political claims. Van Dijk (2006) argues that context of situation is what makes politicians speak in a certain way. De Wet (2010) claims that politician rise to power due to their use of persuasive language to address their voters. That is why Beard (2000) underscores the importance of studying the language of politics to understand how is language employed by politicians who are aim to gain, exercise or keep power. Van Dijk (1995, 2006) and de Wet (2010) argue that politically structured discourses are used, by the dominant ideology, as instruments to control mind.

Van Dijk (1995, 2006) argues that political discourses mostly aim to control mind or exercise manipulation. As mentioned earlier, politicians get their ideologies accepted through the use of persuasive language. They mostly use emotional language to arouse the interest of the audience, and to influence them. De Wet (2010) argues that the language of political persuasion is geared to guiding recipients' attitudes and orientation/or behaviour, that is, to forming, sustaining or changing their attitudes on a political issue or impelling them to act.

In relation to linguistic analysis of political discourse including political speeches, it should relate the details of linguistic behavior to political behavior. To achieve this purpose, analysis can either pursue from the linguistic micro-level, or

the macro level. At micro level, analysis aims to identify the strategic functions and specific structures (e.g. word choice, a specific syntactic structure) used to serve such a purpose. Another alternative is to start the analysis process from the macro-level, i.e. the communicative situation and the function of a text and identify the linguistic structures that were selected to achieve this function (Bayram, 2010).

Thus, the main aim of political discourse analysis is to unveil the hidden and implicit ideologies of politicians, and how they promote their authority, employing linguistic means. Thus, the political analysis is more concerned with “credibility” and legitimization of one’s deeds according to the ideology one is supporting.

2.8. Ideology and Power

Ideology refers to a body of ideas, that is belief systems, characteristic of a particular social group, class or society and ideas which help to legitimize a dominant political power (Eagleton, 1991). These belief systems are socially shared by the members of a body of social actors. Ideologies are seen by Wodak (1995: 18) as particular ways of representing and constructing society, which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation. In other words, ideologies consist of social representations that define the social identity of a group, that is, its shared beliefs about its fundamental conditions and ways of existence and reproduction.

This definition sees ideology simply as a worldview. It controls and determines how we respond to something. For example, a racist ideology may

control attitudes about immigration, a feminist ideology may control attitudes about abortion or glass ceilings on the job or knowledge about gender inequality in society, and a social ideology may favour a more important role of the state in public affairs. Hence, ideologies are foundational social beliefs of a rather general and abstract nature.

We can always see in politics, power is always involved; the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people's behaviour, and often to control their values. For Fairclough, power "is to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contribution of non-powerful participants." (1989: 38). Power is also equated with influence and control (van Dijk 1993, 1996).

Power can be shown in two forms, physical power and ideological power. Physical power is shown through physical coercion. This is usually done by law enforcers for social control. While ideological power is shown by influencing other people's consciences through persuasion or manipulation which is shaped by ideology. The people will regard what the one with power is the truth that everyone should accept.

2.9. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Systemic Functional Linguistic (henceforth SFL) is originated by Halliday (1978, 1985/ 1994), a professor of linguistics from university of Sydney, Australia. This theory is based on Firth's system structure theory. Firth developed Malinowski's concepts of context of situation and context of culture. His works were then developed by Halliday, whose theory of *language-in-context* is

generally known as systemic functional linguistics (SFL). Further, this SFL theory is developed later by other researchers within this area (Martin 1985, 1992; Matthiessen 1995; Martin and Rose 2003; etc.).

SFL is a theory about language as a resource for making meaning. This theory views language as social semiotic. It means the social interpretation of language and meaning (Halliday: 1978). Language in the perspective of social-semiotic has three principles, namely: language always occurs as a text whether it is spoken or written; language is used to express meaning; language is functional, it reflects the attitudes, opinions, and the ideology of the users (Halliday, 1985a).

This theory also takes high consideration about making choice in language. The choice in the language system is between meanings rather structures (Fawcett: 2008).

As the name suggests, SFL is about language which is systemic and functional. Seen from the 'systemic' aspect, language is composed of systemic and collaborated parts starting from the lowest one which is graphology/phonology, then lexicogrammar, semantic discourse, and finally text structure. Each part does their own role in realizing meaning. As for 'functional' aspect, language is structured to fulfill three main social functions/ meanings which Halliday calls metafunctions of language: to understand the environment (ideational meaning); to act on the others in it (interpersonal meaning); to breathe relevance into the other two (textual meaning) (Halliday: 1985a). Ideational meaning organizes our experience in the exterior and interior world. The interpersonal serves to express our interaction with others. And the textual metafunction contextualizes linguistic units and organizes them as discourse. SFL

puts emphasis on these social functions of language, i.e. its use in a community in different social contexts (Halliday 1978).

Social context and language in SFL are interrelated. As quoted from Santosa: 2016:

“The interrelation between context and language is not cause-effect but realization/ symbolization. Society is meaning resources, while the language is meaning maker or symbol. Society has values / norms, and system that determine how language is used. On the contrary, language represents the social values/ norms and systems. The complexity level of social system will also be realized in the complexity in the linguistics systems.”

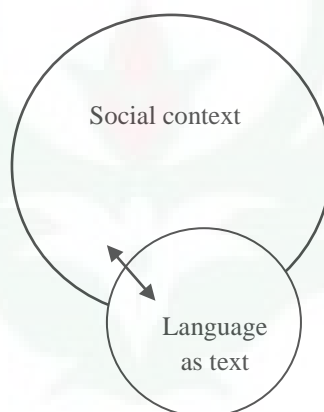


Figure 2.3. Language as the realization of Social Context. (Halliday & Martin : 1993)

The figure above shows that social context are related to language both of which are semiotic system. Language construes social context but at the same time social context also construes language and over time, language reconstrues and is reconstrued by social context (Halliday & Martin: 1993). The double headed arrow is put to represent this relation.

Social context in which language is used to express a social process function consists of three elements, which are semiotics system beyond language; they are (a) context of situation (register), (b) context of culture (genre), and (c)

ideology. (Martin: 1992). Language is realized by register, register is realized by genre, and genre is realized by ideology.

Context of situation provides specific situational values to the text. It consists of three components named “field (what social action or activity is), tenor (who is involved in the language), and mode (how language is used). The three components of the social context are construed in the discourse as ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings, respectively.

The contextual components (field, tenor and mode) work simultaneously to form conceptual configuration which then cause a functional variation in the language, i.e. register. Register is associated to the context of situation. Halliday and Hasan (1989) define register as ‘variation according to usage’; for example, the register used by doctor-patient would be different from teacher-student, the register used in discussion between politicians would be different from people in a trade.

Context of culture is connected to genre, emphasizing the idea that texts are used for some social purpose (Egins and Martin 1997:236). A combination of all of the genres make up a particular culture, thus, creates the context of culture.

Genres are the culturally evolved ways of achieving goals that involve language.

Genre is staged, goal-oriented social processes (Martin, 1992: 505) in which people engage as members of their culture. They are "social because we participate in genres with other people; goal-oriented because we use genres to get things done; staged because it usually takes us a few steps to reach our goals"

(Martin & Rose, 2003: 7-8). Each genre is therefore characterised by a distinctive

schematic structure with a clear beginning, middle and end through which the function of the genre is realised.

The routines we conduct everyday, such as buying something, booking a hotel, or particular form of social form, such as conference, attending a sermon, etc, or anything related to education or business, such as teaching and learning at school, lectures, seminars, etc including written genres such as narratives, reports, and so on are the forms of genres. These genres have their own distinctive structures (or well-established stages) because of the social purposes they fulfil in the culture in which they are used. They occur in particular situation types and it is the characteristics of this situation type that influence the forms of language that realise the genre. So the context of situation (register) is the second aspect of social context that influences the linguistic realisation of the genre.

Context of ideology refers to constructs or social concepts that define what should and should not be done by a person in a social interaction. With this limitation, ideology is the ideal concept or image desired by community members in a certain community, which consist of what is wanted and unwanted to occur (Saragih, 2003: 5). Kress and Hodge (1979) say ideology is about language relationships with society and culture because of the influence of socio-political demands. The influence of power on the political history of the systemsociety, values, literature and culture shaped the public view so as to believe in a concept as a natural truth. Sinar (2008: 84) gives an example; western people accept as a 'truth' that Middle East people are terrorists or Malay people are lazy. Thus, it can be understood that ideology affects a person in doing something including in

social interaction or producing text. This is because text is inseparable from the consideration of context of ideology.

The relation between social contexts (context of situation, context of culture, and context of ideology) and language can be seen in the figure 2.4.

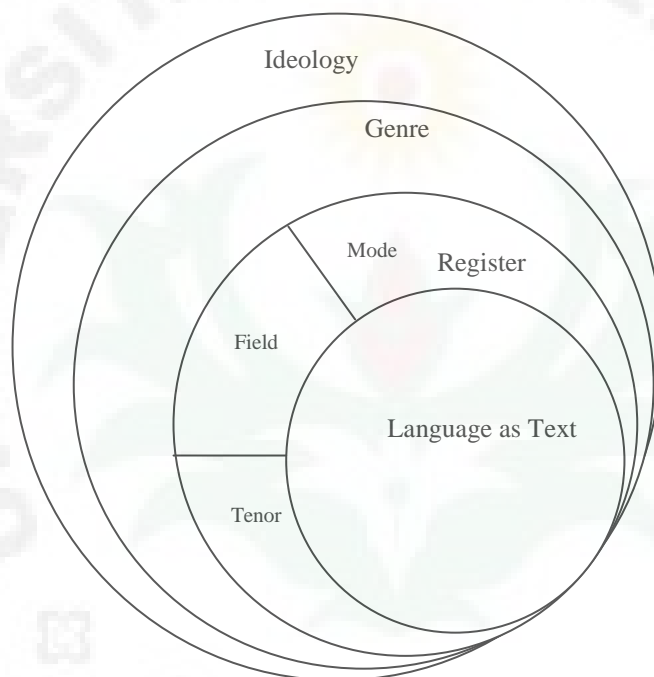


Figure 2.4. Social Context and Text (adapted from <http://www.uefap.com/grammar/intro/sfl-intro.htm>)

Language consists of two levels; content and expression. Social context, in this case, is realized in the content of the language, and the content is realized in the form of expression. Content of language consists of two levels; the first level is system of meanings (Discourse-semantics) and the second one is system of wordings or signs (Lexicogrammar). Discourse-semantic is realized in lexicogrammar. To express lexicogrammar, we make choices from systems of

sounds (phonology), gestures, or writing (graphology). Thus, social context and language can be seen as follows:

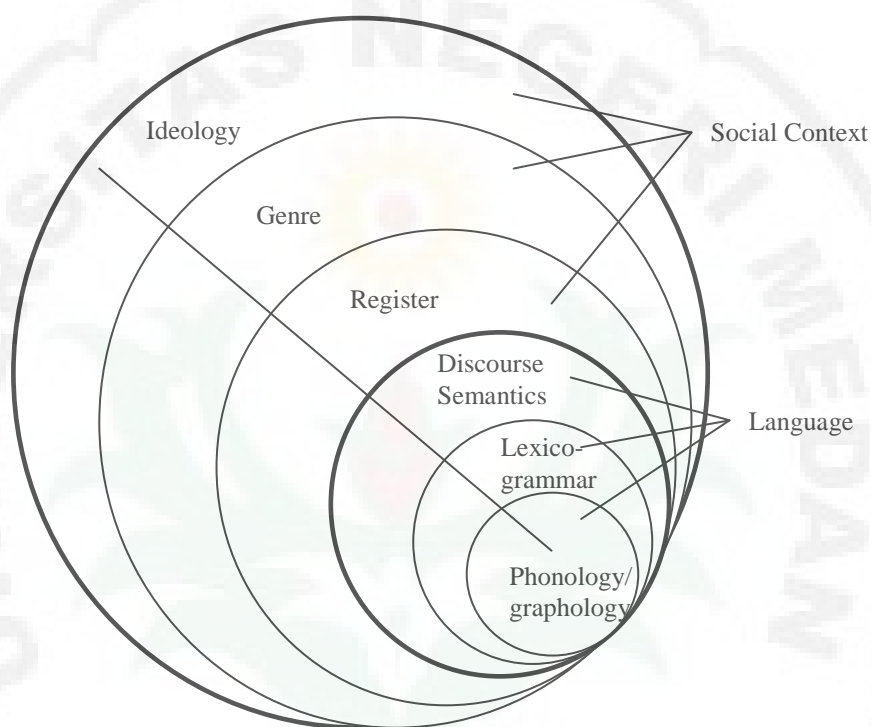


Figure 2.5. *Language and its semiotic environment*

(Martin, 1992: 496)

SFL can be used for analyzing text as a form of discourse. Halliday (1994) says, ‘The aim has been to construct a grammar for purposes of text analysis : one that would make it possible to say sensible and useful things about any text, spoken and written in modern English.’

2.9.1 Metafunctions of language

Halliday introduces a theory that language simultaneously performs three main functions of language called metafunction of language; ideational,

interpersonal and textual (Halliday, 1978: 46). These terms are the modes of meaning that are presented in every use of language in every social context.

The interpersonal metafunction expresses the role relationship between speaker and hearer or between writer and reader associated with the situation. The textual metafunction expresses the relation between language and its environment, about how speaker or writer organizes their messages in certain situation in the case of written or spoken language. The ideational metafunction expresses how a language interprets the whole of our experiences of the world. In fact, the ideational metafunction comprises two distinct subparts; logical and experiential. The logical metafunction is used to connect our experiences of the world which are represented in the linguistic system in the form of parataxis or hypotaxis. The experiential metafunction is used to encode our experiences of the world and to convey a picture of reality. Precisely, it is the content function of language in which it is language as the expression of the processes and other phenomena of the external world including the terms of things (it covers people and places as well as concrete and abstract things), events and circumstances. Transitivity reflects the experiential metafunction by using grammatical resource for interpreting goings on, that are represented as a configuration of processes, participants and circumstances, in which the choice in how to interpret the experiences is flexible (Halliday, 1978: 48).

a. The Ideational Function

The ideational function relates to the inner and outer worlds of reality, it is “language about something”. According to Halliday (1978: 112), whenever one

reflects on the external world of phenomena or the internal world of one's consciousness, the representation of that reflection would take the form of 'content'. This form of content is called the experiential meaning.

Experiential Meaning

Focusing the language on the clause level with respect to the notion of clause as representation. Clause as a representation means that one function of the clause is as representation of experience of both external realities (i.e. reality outside oneself) and internal reality (reality inside oneself). The experiential or representational function of language (clause) is realized by the transitivity system of language. The outer world of reality that is brought into the inner world of reality in one's consciousness, which is encoded in the transitivity system of language, is interpreted as a what-is-going-on process, which is related to material actions, events, states, and relations. The what-is-going-on process falls into various processes. Halliday has identified the encoding processes of the realities under discussion, and he has also linguistically (grammatically) classified the various process types : (1) material, (2) mental, (3) relational, and he classified other processes into three subsidiary process types : (1) behavioral, (2) verbal, and (3) existential (Halliday: 1985).

b. The Interpersonal Function

The interpersonal function is an interpretation of language in its function as an exchange, which is a doing function of language; it is concerned with language as an action. This meaning represents the speaker's meaning potential as an intruder that takes into account the interactive nature of relations between the

addresser (speaker/writer) and the addressee (listener/reader). This function is realized in Speech Function and Mood System (Halliday: 1985).

c. The Textual Function

The textual function of language is an interpretation of language as its function as a message, which is text forming function of language. This is interpreted as a function that is intrinsic to language itself, but is it at the same time a function that is extrinsic to language, in the sense that it is linked with the situational (contextual) domain in which language (text) is embedded. At the clause level, the textual function is concerned with how inter-clausal elements are organized to form unified whole texts that make meanings. In this, the textual function indicates the way the text is organized or structured. The textual function of language (clause) in its function as a message is realized by the theme of language (clause). The theme system of the clause is represented by the thematic structure of the clause, which comprises two major elements: (1) theme, and (2) rheme (Halliday: 1985).

2.9.2. Transitivity System

The experiential function of language (clause) is realized by the transitivity system. According to Halliday (1975 : 101), the clauses as expression of the experiential metafunction of language in transitivity system are combinations of smaller experiential groups which are patterned to signify who did what to whom under what circumstances. The constituent groups of the clause

may be expressed by one word or may have a complex structure. But, whether simple (one word) or complex (several words) they are labeled by a group.

Halliday (1975) asserted that there are three elements in transitivity to represent the real world phenomena in linguistic structure. They are:

1. The process itself
2. Participants in the process
3. Circumstance associated with the process

a. The structure of Process, Participant, and Circumstance

The Structure of Process

A process as a model of the experience of evenness, whether it is happening, acting, doing, sensing, saying or simply being, which is realized in the grammar of clause by verbal group that may consist of one word or of a group of words. The head of the verbal group which expresses the concept of eventness is a member of a word class verb, which is a word that expresses the actions, occurrences or state of being, that then are called as the event in the verbal group structure. In some way the event may stand alone or be preceded by other words in the group which are known as auxiliary verbs or auxiliaries. (Halliday, 1985: 101).

The Structure of Participant

Further, Halliday (1985) explained a participant can be expressed by the notion of thing; a place, an object, a thing, an idea or a quality, so that in the grammar of clause, participant is realized by a nominal group. The heart as well as the core of the nominal group structure is the word that generally presents the

concept of thingness; noun and pronoun. The noun is a word denoting person, place, thing, ideas or qualities. It can be the subject or object of a verb, can be modified by an adjective and can be applied with determiners (Richards and Schmidt, 2010:402). Then the pronoun is a word which usually replaces a noun or noun phrase (Richards and Schmidt, 2010:468). These (noun and pronoun) are the Thing element in the nominal group structure. In some way, the thing may stand alone or be preceded and/or followed by other words in the group which modify it called premodifier and postmodifier.

a. Premodifier. It is the group of words which modify thing in the nominal group. It can be divided into four divisions which are structured in the nominal group in the order; Deictic-Numerative- Epithet-Classifier. (Richards and Schmidt, 2010: 372)

1) Deictic. According to Richards and Schmidt (2010: 160) deictic is a term for a word or phrase which point to a time, place or person (the noun functioning as thing) including;

a) Demonstrative, words like the, this, that, those, these.

b) Possessive, words like my, her, their, mother's.

c) A few non-specific pointers, words like a, some, all.

2) Numerative. Numerative is the term of word or phrase which is used to name a number, whether it tells how many of the thing or in what order it occurs. It includes;

a) Cardinal number, words like one, two, a hundred.

b) Ordinal number, words like first, third, last.

3) Epithet. Epithet is the term of word which describes a quality of thing including;

a) Adjective, words like young, beautiful, happy.

b) Verb acting as epithet, words like bleeding nose, fallen businessman.

4) Classifier. Classifier is the term of word which shows the sub-class to the Thing. It may be;

a) Adjective, words like financial, Asian, public.

b) Noun acting as classifier, words like car pool, cedar tree.

c) Verb acting as classifier, words like written language, traveling man.

b. Postmodifier. Postmodifier is a clause or prepositional phrase which qualifies the thing in more detail and is functionally labeled as Qualifier.

(Richards and Schmidt, 2010: 372) It includes:

1. Clause acting as Qualifier.

e.g.: a book which you read yesterday

The head as well as the thing in the clause above is “book” and everything after that “which you read yesterday” is qualifying the book so that it is called the Qualifier.

2. Prepositional Phrase acting as Qualifier.

e.g.: the book on the desk

The prepositional phrase “on the desk” which is qualifying the thing “book” in the clause above called the Qualifier.

Structure of Circumstances

Circumstances have a function to clarify the Process in some way like locating the Process in time or space, explaining how the Process occurs, or providing more information about the cause of the Process. The circumstances are realized in the grammar of clause by adverbial group and prepositional phrase. The head of the adverbial group is an adverb. In some ways, the adverb may stand alone or be preceded and/or followed by other words in the group which modify it called premodifier and postmodifier (Halliday, 1985: 165).

b. The types of Process, Participant, and Circumstances

Types of Process and Participants

Processes are central to transitivity. They center on the part of the clause which are realized by the verbal group. They are also regarded as what “goings-on” and suggest many different kinds of goings-on which necessarily involve different kinds of participant in varying circumstances. While participants and circumstances are incumbent upon the doings, happenings feeling and beings (Halliday: 1985).

Processes can be subdivided into different types. There are six different process types identified by Halliday (1985), namely material, mental, relational, verbal, behavioral, and existential process.

a. Material Process

Material process is a process of doing and happening (Halliday: 1994). ‘Doing’ is represented by a ‘transitive’ material clause, while ‘happening’ is represented by ‘intransitive’ material clause. There are two participants involved

in the material process. The main participant is an Actor that is the one that does the deed or brings about the change. In addition, there may also be a Goal that is a participant impacted by a doing or in which the one done to/with. It is clearly shown in the example.

Heni	bought	a new hat
Actor	Process: material	Goal

The Goal that is most like a direct object optionally exists in the material process in the case of transitive verb. But the Goal does not exist in the material process with intransitive verb. It is clearly shown in the example below. In the example, Goal does not exist in the clause because “dance” is an intransitive verb.

The boy	is dancing.
Actor	Process: material

There are two types of material processes, such as:

1. Creative type (A bringing about); the type where the Goal is construed as being brought into existence by the process.

Amru	wrote	a poetry.
Actor	Process: material	Goal

In the example above, “poetry” is brought about by the process “wrote”. Then, the material process occurring in it belongs to creative type.

2. Dispositive type (A doing to/ happening); the type where the process reflects a ‘doing to action and happenings.

Sari	washed	her clothes.
Actor	Process: material	Goal

In example above, the goal 'her clothes is not brought about by the process 'washed, rather 'washed' is doing something to 'her clothes'.

The hut	is burning.
Actor	Process: material

In example above, the process 'is burning' reflects 'happening'.

b. Mental Process

Mental process is process of sensing: feeling (affection) , thinking (cognition) , perceiving (perception). Some processes involve not material action but phenomena described as states of mind or psychological event. People are not always talking about concrete process if doing. They very often talk not about what they are doing, but about what they think or feel (Halliday: 1994). He calls processes which encode meaning of thinking or feeling as mental processes. These processes tend to be realized through the use of verbs like think, believe, understand, know, feel, smell, hear, see, want, like, please, admire, repel, enjoy, fear, frighten.

There are three types of mental process (Halliday:1994) :

1. Affective or reactive (feeling): recognized through the use of verbs of liking, fearing, wanting. It is divided into two: desiderative (wanting), and emotive (liking, fearing)
2. Cognitive (thinking): recognized through the use of verbs of thinking, knowing, understanding.
3. Perceptive (perceiving through the fives senses) recognized through the use of verbs of seeing, hearing.

Mental process is mental, covert kinds of goings-on, and the participant involved within it, is not so much acting or acting upon in a doing sense, as sensing – having feelings, perceiving or thinking.

What makes mental process looks different from material one is that we probe them differently. That when we probe, we find we are not asking about an action or doing in a tangible, physical sense; but it's about mental reaction; related to a through, feeling or perception.

The participant role in mental process are “senser” and “phenomenon” associated with any mental process. Even if one participant is apparently absent. It will need to be retrieved from the context for the clause to make sense.

She believed → always implies she believed something or someone.

One participant in the mental process clause must be a conscious human participant. Because only a conscious human being can perform a mental process. This participant is called the senser. The senser who feels, think or perceives must either be human or an anthropomorphized non-human. It must be a conscious being. It is also important to consider what label to apply to the second participant in a mental process clause. Halliday (1985) labels the second participant as the phenomenon. The phenomenon is that which is sensed: felt, through or seen by the conscious sense. Look at these two examples:

He	understands	our situation.
<i>senser</i>	<i>mental process</i>	<i>phenomenon</i>

I	love	apples.
<i>senser</i>	<i>mental process</i>	<i>phenomenon</i>

Halliday (1994) also identifies two types of embedded phenomena : acts and facts.

1. Phenomenon : Acts

Acts occur with mental processes of perception: seeing, hearing, noticing etc. An act is realized by an imperfective non-finite clause acting as if it were a simple noun.

I	heard	someone calling your name.
<i>senser</i>	<i>mental Process</i>	<i>phenomenon: Act</i>

2. Phenomenon : Facts

A fact is an embedded clause is, usually finite and usually introduced by a “that”, functioning as if it were a simple noun.

The passengers	didn't realize	that the man was our president
<i>sense</i>	<i>mental process</i>	<i>phenomenon: Fact</i>

c. Relational Process

Relational process involves states of being and having (Halliday 1994).

Relational process is typically realized by the verb be or some verb of the same class (known as Copular verbs): for example, appear, become, seem or sometimes by verb such as have, own, possess. Relational process can be classified according to whether it is being used to identify something or to assign quality to something (Halliday: 1985).

Further he explained that process which establishes an identity is called Identifying Process while process which assign a quality is called Attributive Process. Each has its own characteristic participant roles.

1. Identifying process

An identifying clause is not about ascribing or classifying, but defining. The meaning of an indentifying intensive is that “X serves to define the identity of Y”. In this process, the participant roles are token and value.

Rini	is	the cleverest here.
<i>token</i>	<i>identifying process</i>	<i>value</i>

Rini is identified as the “holder” or “occupant” of the identity or label of the cleverest.

Grammatically, the defining involves two participants:

1. Token: the one which stands for what is being defined.
2. Value: the one which defines

All identifying clauses are reversible, they can form passives:

The cleverest one here	is	Rini
<i>value</i>	<i>identifying</i>	<i>token</i>

The reversibility of identifying clauses raises the question of determining which “side” of the clause is the token, and which one is the value. This can be determined both semantically and grammatically.

Halliday (1985:115) points out that semantically, the token will be a “sign”, name, form, holder or occupant of a value which gives the “meaning

referent, function, status or role” of the token. While, the token is the nominal group which contains the “name” which gives the classification.

2. Attributive process

In the attributive sub-type, a quality, classification or descriptive epithet (Attribute) is assigned to a participant (carrier) which is realized by a noun or nominal group. Attribute is a quality or epithet ascribed to the carrier (means that “X carries the attribute a”) while carrier (means “X is a member of the class a”).

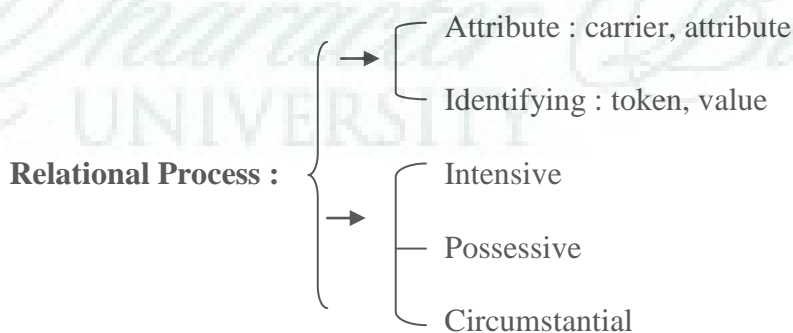
Dilla	is	very beautiful.
<i>carrier</i>	<i>attributive</i>	<i>attribute</i>

Dilla	is	a housewife.
<i>carrier</i>	<i>attributive</i>	<i>attribute</i>

Dilla	is	a nice person.
<i>carrier</i>	<i>attributive</i>	<i>attribute</i>

Relational process can be further sub-classified according to whether they are: intensive (quality), possessive and circumstantial.

The option available of relational process can be shown as the following :



When they are “combined”, we will have six possibilities:

- Attributive- intensive
- Attributive-possessive
- Attributive-circumstantial
- Identifying-intensive
- Identifying-possessive
- Identifying-circumstantial

Examples:

Derry	is	generous.
<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute : intensive</i>	<i>attribute</i>

Derry	has	a gorgeous wife.
<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute : possessive</i>	<i>attribute</i>

Derry	is	at home.
<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute : circumstantial</i>	<i>attribute</i>

The doctor	is	the man with glasses over there.
<i>Token</i>	<i>Identifying : intensive</i>	<i>value</i>

The nurse	is	my aunt.
<i>Token</i>	<i>Identifying : possessive</i>	<i>Value</i>

Friday	is	the deadline
<i>Token</i>	<i>Identifying : circumstantial</i>	<i>value</i>

It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a relational process is identifying or attribute. To distinguish between them is that relational process is not reversible while identifying is reversible. The reverse changes the order but the meaning still holds. For example:

Heru	is	the host.
<i>Token</i>	<i>Identifying: intensive</i>	<i>value</i>

The host	is	Heru
<i>Value</i>	<i>Identifying: intensive</i>	<i>Token</i>

The essential characteristic of the attributive clauses is that they are not reversible. In the other words, there is no passive form of the clause: the subject can never conflate with the role of attribute, but it will always conflate with the role of carrier.

d. Verbal Process

Verbal process is process of saying (Halliday, 1994: 140). This includes symbolic signalling. A verbal process has four inherent participants, namely: sayer, receiver, verbiage, and target. Sayer is the one responsible for the verbal process or signal source. It is typically a human, but sometimes it can be non-human which is capable of putting out signal. Receiver is the one to whom verbal process (saying) is addressed. It is typically a human. Verbiage is the message/

content of what is said. Target is the one at which the verbal process (saying) is directed. It does not have to be human. It only appears for some limited verbs which usually indicated saying good or bad things about someone or something (such as, praise, accuse, and so on).

The student	asked	his teacher	a good question.
<i>sayer</i>	<i>verbal</i>	<i>receiver</i>	<i>verbiage</i>

The sign	says	“no trespassing”	
<i>sayer</i>	<i>verbal</i>	<i>verbiage</i>	

The alarm	is screaming.
<i>sayer</i>	<i>verbal</i>

My parents	praised	my little brother.
<i>sayer</i>	<i>verbal</i>	<i>target</i>

e. Behavioral Process

Behavioral process is process of physiological and psychological behavioral, like breathing, dreaming, snoring, smiling, hiccupping, looking, listening, watching, and pondering. (Halliday: 1994)

He describes the process semantically as a “half way hour” between mental and material process. It means that the meanings they realized are midway between materials on the one hand and mentals on the other. They are in part about action that has to be experienced by conscious being.

There is one obligatory participant: the behavior, and is typically a conscious being (like a senser in the mental process clause). But, the process is one of doing, not sensing, such as:

She	is sleeping.
<i>behavior</i>	<i>behavioral Process</i>

Behavioral process may contain a second participant that is called as behavior.

Dilla	smiled	a warming smile.
<i>behavior</i>	<i>behavioral</i>	<i>behavior</i>

f. Existential Process

According to Halliday (1994), existential process is process of existence. It represents that something exists or happens. It also represents experience by positing that “there is something”.

There	is	a new student	in our class.
	<i>Existential Process</i>	<i>existent</i>	<i>Circumstance: place</i>

There	was	some water	on your table.
	<i>Existential process</i>	<i>existent</i>	<i>Circumstance : place</i>

Near the river bank	there	lived	an oldman.
<i>Circumstance: place</i>		<i>existential process</i>	<i>existent</i>

It is easy to identify a clause which contains existential process, as the structure involves the use of the word there. “There” has no representational function, it clause merely because all English clauses require a subject. The word “There” is left unanalyzed for transitivity. Existential process typically employ the verb “be” or synonyms such as exist, arise, occur the only obligatory participant in an existential process is called the existent.

This participant which usually follows the “there is/ there are” sequence, may be a phenomenon of any kind and is often in fact an event (nominalized action). Circumstantial elements (particularly of location) are common in existential process.

Oblique participants

Some processes might have other participant roles. These participant roles are different from the participants we have discussed earlier. Thompson (2013: 111) calls them ‘oblique’ participants which refer to participants which have an intermediate status in terms of their closeness to the central experiential meanings of the clause. Every process tend to have inherent oblique participants. Material process has Recipient and Client. Recipient refers to the one who receives benefit, while Client refers to the one for whom the action is done. Look at the following example:

Rudi	gave	me	some money.
Actor	Pr: Material	Recipient	Goal

My father	bought	me	a new novel.
Actor	Pr: Material	Client	Goal

Recipient and Client might come with prepositions. Look at the examples below:

Rudi	gave	some money	to me.
Actor	Pr: Material	Goal	Recipient

My father	bought	a new novel.	for me.
Actor	Pr: Material	Goal	Client

Participants in causation

Sometimes in clauses, we might encounter the expressions of causation. In expressions of causation, the first participant is represented as to cause a state or an event (Thompson, 2013: 129). Following Thompson's term, we will henceforth refer this participant as 'causer'. There are four labels for the 'causer' depending on the kind of processes which are used. They are initiator, attributor, assigner, and inducer. Attributor is used when the caused process is relational especially attributive. Assigner is also for relational process but for identifying. While inducer is used when the caused process is mental. Initiator is mostly used when the caused process is material, but sometimes we can also find in behavioral and verbal process. Let's see the examples:

My wife	made	me	a lucky man.
<i>Attributor</i>	<i>Process: Relational: Attributive</i>	<i>Carrier</i>	<i>Attribute</i>

Our class	elected	Bayu	our class president.
<i>Assigner</i>	<i>Process: Relational: Identifying</i>	<i>Token</i>	<i>Value</i>

All these problems	make	me	think	that there is something wrong with our strategy.
<i>Inducer</i>	<i>Process:-</i>	<i>Senser</i>	<i>Mental</i>	<i>[projected]</i>

The teacher	got	the students	to observe	the butterflies.
<i>Initiator</i>	<i>Process:-</i>	<i>Actor</i>	<i>-Material</i>	<i>Goal</i>

He	forced	me	to speak	about our secret.
<i>Initiator</i>	<i>Process: -</i>	<i>Sayer</i>	<i>Verbal</i>	<i>Verbiage</i>

The clown	makes	all people in the room	laugh	so hard.
<i>Initiator</i>	<i>Process: -</i>	<i>Behaver</i>	<i>Behavioral</i>	<i>Circumstance</i>

Types of Circumstances

Circumstances answer such questions as when, where, why, how, how many and as what. Halliday (1994: 151) divides circumstances into 9 types: extent, location, manner, cause, contingency, accompaniment, role, matter, and angle.

1. Extent

It tells the line of place and time. Thus, it is divided into two:

a. Distance

It tells from one place to another. It is probed by *how far*.

For example: I walked to school *for 2 kilometer.*

b. Duration

It tells from one point of time to another . It is probed by *how long, how often, how many times.*

For example: I walked to school *for 2 hours.*

2. Location

It tells the point of place and time. Thus, it is also divided into two:

a. Place

It tells one point of place. It is probed by *where.*

For example: We live *in Tanjungbalai town.*

b. Time

It tells one point of time. It is probed by *when.*

For example: I graduated from the university *last year.*

3. Manner

It tells how something is done. It is divided into three:

a. Means

It tells by what and is probed by *what with?*

For example: Debby came here *by taxi.*

b. Quality: tells how and is probed by *how?*

For example: He wrote the poem *very well.*

c. Comparison: tells like what and is probed by *what like?*

Example: Andy climbed the tree *like a monkey.*

4. Cause: tells why

a. Reason tells what causes the process and is probed by *why? Or how?*

Example: My rabbits died *of hunger*.

b. Purpose: tells the purpose and it probed by *what for?*

Example: He went to Medan *to study*.

c. Behalf: tells for whose sake and is probed by *for whom?*

Example: We made this cake *for our mother*.

5. Contingency: tells what is the condition for the process to happen and is probed by *under what condition ?*

Example: He would help you *if you told him your problem*.

6. Accompaniment: tells with (out) who or what and is probed by who or what else?

Example: I went to Medan *with my wife*.

7. Matter: tells about what or with reference to what and is probed by *what about?*

Example: We didn't talk *about you*.

8. Role: tells what as and is probed by *as what?*

Example: He acts *as our supervisor*.

9. Angle: it tells something like 'as says'. It might be expressed by *according to, in the opinion of*.

Example: *According to the weather forecast*, it might rain tonight.

2.10. Relevant Studies

CDA has been used widely by many researchers to analyze political speeches. For example, Obaid and Fahad (2012) used CDA to analyze Obama's "historical" speech in Cairo (2009). They attempted to understand how language is used as part of the Obama's attempt to draw a new position and identity for

America in the global community in general and in the Islamic community in particular. They showed how Obama used language to convey the start of a new era of peace and consent, away of the discourse of “coercion” during the eight years of the former administration.

Another researcher, Al-Faki (2014) examined and analyzed political speeches by some African Leaders from a linguistic perspective (Critical Discourse Analysis). The speeches were taken from 1981-2013. The research aims to show how linguistic tools can be manipulated to reveal speakers’ ideology and speakers’ political stance. The research found that there are five linguistics tools utilized by the African leaders: Pronouns (inclusive we + subjective I), Solidarity, Parallelism, Metaphr, and Analogy.

Skënderi (2014) analyze a political discourse of Balkan politicians. The context of the discourse fragments analyzed is related to political or economical summits or forums, where the high-profile Balkan politicians give their speeches. The aim of the research is to understand how the European Integration agenda, which resembles an ideological project, influences the way the political discourse in the Balkans is shaped. The findings and conclusions underline the fact that the European Integration agenda has eased the ethnic tones and the conflicts in the Balkans region. The politicians tend to shape a different political reality in the region, through their speeches by indexing a common Balkan Identity, by employing syntactic transformations for the sake of a „politically correct“ discourse and by expressing solidarity through the use of the same metaphoric scenarios in their discourse fragments.

Different study using Critical Discourse Analysis on political discourse especially the speech was conducted by Oktifati and Damanhuri (2014). Their study is set to analyze how the 44th United States president Barack H. Obama manipulated language in his second inaugural address to enhance his political ideologies. The study discovers that material processes mostly dominates the speech, distantly followed by mental processes, while relational processes come third. Material clauses suggest that Obama arranged his word for action. He did it to restore the people trust and confidence after left many aspects imperfect in his first tenure. He underlined equality along his speech to show the people that he stayed fighting to clean up discrimination not only for America but also for the world. He use material clause in retelling America history to firing people nationalism and patriotism. His choice of actors suggests that Obama attributes the people in the same level with him in the government body. It is a characteristic of democratic leadership style. He also uses mental verb to give psychological touch in his speech, as a support for his material clauses. Relational processes have been used as a reminder for the people that they are American and they have a big nation. The study concludes that such leadership characteristics could be possible reasons that led to his political success in his next period as his record on good governance, human rights, and political tolerance.

Next research is by Sarfo and Krampa (2013) who conducted a critical discourse analysis of speeches of Bush and Obama on Terrorism. The study reveals that Bush and Obama projected terrorism negatively while they projected anti-terrorism positively by carefully selecting emotionally charged vocabulary

and expressions. The notion of power as control, mind control and context control were common features of Bush and Obama's speeches.

Zheng (2015) also conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis research to reveal classification and ideology contained in Bush's two speeches on 9/11 attack. The study reveals the hidden ideology of Bush Administration that America is the innocent victim which is attacked just because America is the brightest beacon in the world where freedom is cherished and opportunity is given. As "the brightest beacon", America can guide and lead the world. With such an ideology, Bush started the war which, however, put the Bush Administration into both approval and opposition at home and in the international world.

Hemas & Ariyanti (2016) has conducted a research employing CDA to analyze the ideology in Emma Watson's speech for the He For She Campaign. The speech was delivered during the He ForShe Campaign as UN Women Goodwill Ambassador, in New York, September 20, 2014. The results show that among six types of transitivity processes which are mentioned by Halliday, there are only five processes that are used by Emma Watson in her speech, those are; material process, mental process, verbal process, existential process, and relational process. Relational process is mostly used by Emma Watson in order to classify and describe herself as one of feminists. It is also used to define her views toward feminism, gender equality, and unity. Emma Watson wants people to have more correct views toward feminism and feminist movements that it is not about man-hating but to fight for women's rights and as the effort to achieve gender equality. Talking about her big pretention to achieve gender equality, she also emphasizes in her speech that gender inequality is a serious problem that has to be

solved, not only by women, but men's supports are also as the key to their success, so that the idea of unity is also represented here. In order to deliver her views and to influence people to have similar thought as her, mental process is another type that is used mostly in her speech, followed by material process. Those processes are used to support the idea that she has stated through relational process so that she can convince people and get their sympathy by showing her emotion, thinking, inclination, and also any actions that have been done by her as proofs. The other types, which are verbal process and existential process are rarely used, while behavioral process is not found.

Darweesh and Abdullah (2016) analyzed Donald Trump's negative evaluation of women. It sheds light on his sexist ideology to negatively represent and underestimate women. The study found that the sexist aspects that are encoded within the language of Trump mainly resulted from the encoding of reality from a masculine point of view. Trump's evaluation of women reflects his ideology about the superiority of males on females and how such ideological beliefs are ingrained in language and are difficult to be changed Trump utilizes a variety of strategies, whether lexical or rhetorical, to underestimate women. The apparition of negative lexicalization, insults, and metaphors are the most excessively used strategies in Trump's degrading utterances concerning women.

CDA doesn't stop only for political speeches, various researches using CDA are also conducted on newspaper. For example, a research conducted by Miranti (2014). The research aims to find out the ideologies reflected in two newspapers: The New York Times and The Washington Times Editorials. The result shows that in The New York Times's editorial, undocumented immigrants

are portrayed as victim and are attributed positively. Whereas in the Washington Time's editorial, undocumented immigrants are portrayed as trouble maker and are attributed negatively. This shows that ideologically, the New York Times with its liberal bias wants its readers to support the enactment of immigration reform (pro-immigrant). Whereas The Washington Times with its conservative bias wants its readers to be against the enactment of immigration reform (anti-immigrant).

Another CDA is also conducted on different media, such as Facebook. Hamrita (2016) conducted a critical discourse analysis of the representation of Islamists on Facebook pages in post-revolution Tunisia. This research investigates an ideological discourse by Tunisian Secularist about Islamists, which is posted on Facebook . These two groups; Tunisian Secularists and Tunisian Islamists have conflicting relationship. The research seeks to explore the ways in which the Secularists represent their Islamist rivals on their Facebook pages resorting to a number of Secular intellectuals' posts on Islamists as evidence. The research has revealed that the secularist's discourse is an aggressive one that seeks to denigrate the Islamist enemies and use all linguistic and discursive structures to negatively represent them. In this political discourse, aggression can be detected if analysts observe the following checklist: word choice, selected adjectives and metaphors, and discursive strategies used.

The study which is going to be conducted by the researcher though use the same critical discourse analysis method, is different to those studies in the aspect of research subject, namely Donald Trump who is controversial figure who manages to become the number one person in charge of the most powerful

country in the world, the United States. And another aspect is the sensitivity of topic that is Islam which indirectly accuses Islam as the religion of terror which leads him to his decision to ban Muslims from entering the United States which creates a huge uproar all over the world.

2.11. Conceptual Framework

There are always certain ideologies contained in a discourse. A politician or a any political speaker , through his/her speeches by using his exclusive own use of language and power he holds always tries to persuade and convince his audience to accept his/her ideology and end up in one opinion with him about the issue he or she brings up. In this research the politician is Donald Trump, the candidate of the United States president (now he has become the president). He, as someone who is involved in politics certainly possesses an ideology which he wants to convey and wants it to be accepted and adopted by the people who listen to his speaking. This research focuses on his speech about ISIS.

This researcher was conducted in the form of case study by using Critical Discourse Analysis approach with Fairclough's model. The documents to be analyzed in this research are in the form of text which was transcribed from the video of speech on ISIS by the US elected president Donald Trump. The text to be analyzed is the transcript of the video of the speech. The data of this study are the clauses found in Donald Trump's speech at Youngstown State University, in Youngstown, Ohio, August 15th, 2016. The topic of the speech is about ISIS/ Radical Islam Terrorism. There are 652 clauses . And the source of the data is the speech about IRadical Islam Terrorrism (ISIS) delivered by Donald Trump which

was delivered at Youngstown State University, in Youngstown, Ohio, August 15th, 2016. The reasons for taking this speech as the source of data is that they contain Donald Trump's talk on ISIS.

To collect the data, the researcher acts as the instrument of data collection. The steps of collecting the data are: (1) Searching and downloading the video of Donald Trump's speeches on ISIS in internet (Youtube); (2) Searching the transcripts for each of the videos of Donald Trump's speeches on ISIS. This is done to make analysis easier; (3) Watching the video of Donald Trump's speeches on ISIS. This is done to understand his talk in the speech; (4) Comparing the transcripts and the videos. This is done to match the content of the transcripts with the videos; (5) Marking notes on all of the utterances which mention, refer, or imply ISIS in the transcripts; (6) Taking all of the utterances which mention, refer, or imply ISIS in the transcripts.

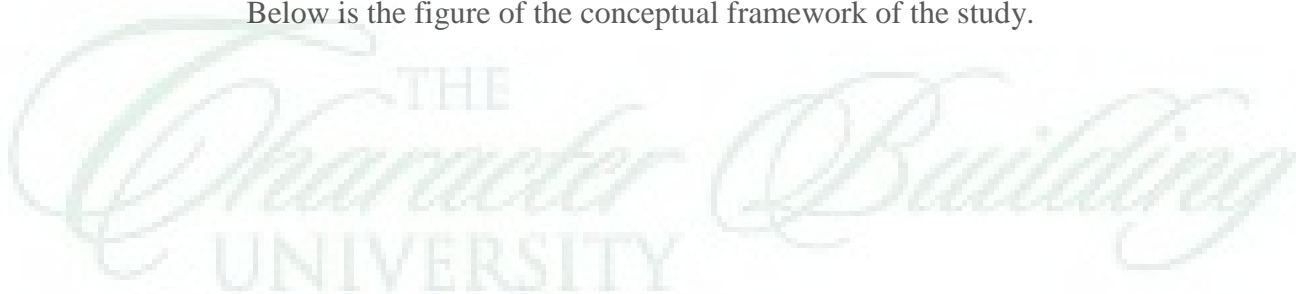
To analyze the data, the researcher used a Critical Discourse Analysis approach to reveal the ideology hidden in Donald Trump's speech on ISIS, specifically Fairclough's model of CDA, as the approach to link the analysis of language that is used by Donald Trump on his speech with his ideology. The aim of CDA is to discover the interrelation of discourse structures and ideological structures. In other words, how ideology constructs the discourse, and how discourse formulates one's ideology. Thus, this model is suitable to use for the analysis used in this thesis.

There are three stages of analysis in Fairclough's theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis, those are description, interpretation, and explanation. Description stage analyzes the elements of linguistics. This stage concerns in

analyzing the use of vocabulary, grammar and structure of the text. While, in this research, the researcher only conducted the experiential values on grammatical feature which is based on the transitivity system. Therefore, *Systemic Functional Linguistics* (SFL) by Halliday is used to help the researcher find the transitivity system in Donald Trump's speech on ISIS. Interpretation stage focuses on the text of the speech and its interpretation. While explanation stage focuses on the text of the speech and social structure.

SFL for the analysis in the stage of description will focus on Transitivity System. This system consists of three elements; process, participants, and circumstances. Process is broken down into six types; they are material, mental, relational, behavioral, verbal, and existential. Following this is participant analysis which is broken down according to the process (actor, goal, recipient, and client for material process; sener and phenomenon for mental process; token, value, carrier, and attribute for relational process; behavior for behavioral process; sayer, verbiage, and receiver for verbal process; existent for existential process). As for circumstantial elements, they are divided into nine types; they are extent, location, manner, cause, contingency, accompaniment, role, matter, and angle.

Below is the figure of the conceptual framework of the study.



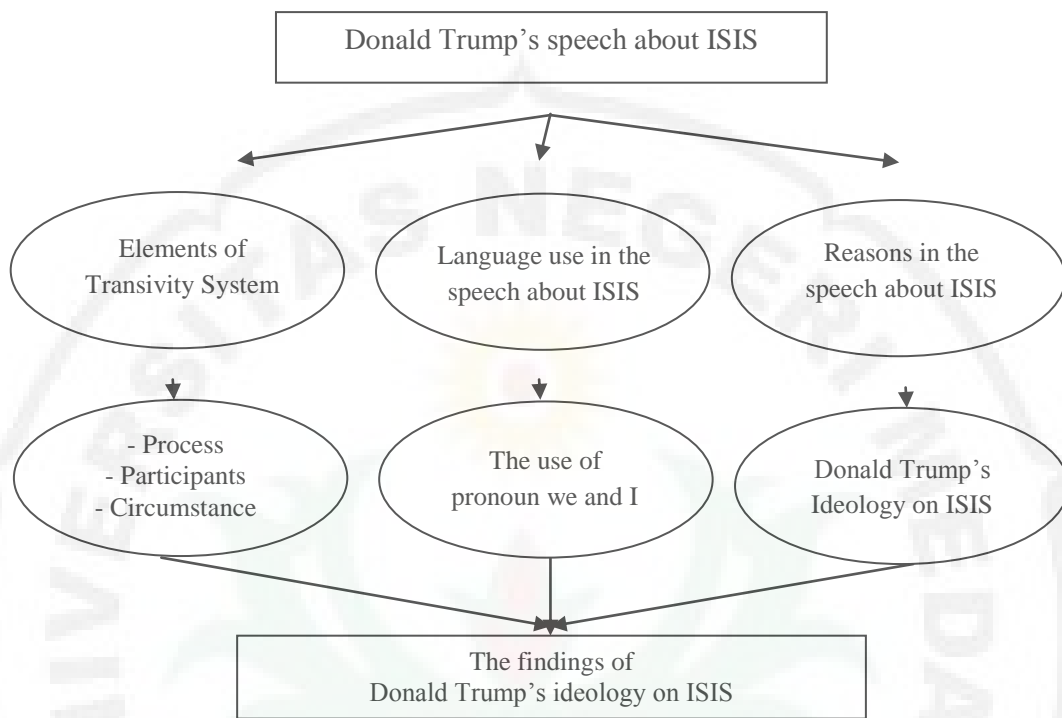


Figure 2.6. The conceptual framework of the study