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**POLITENESS STRATEGY IN THE SECOND PRESIDENTIAL
DEBATE CAMPAIGN OF UNITED STATES 2008: BARRACK
OBAMA AND JOHN McCAIN**

THESIS



**FEMILA SARI
05 185 058**

**JURUSAN SASTRA INGGRIS
FAKULTAS ILMU BUDAYA
UNIVERSITAS ANDALAS
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ABSTRAK

Skripsi ini menguraikan tentang penggunaan strategi kesantunan (*Politeness Strategy*) yang ditemukan dalam debat kampanye kepresidenan Amerika kedua, antara Barrack Obama dan John McCain. Debat kampanye ini menyajikan isu-isu seputar pengembangan sistem perekonomian Amerika. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menelaah jenis-jenis strategi kesantunan yang digunakan oleh kedua ahli debat selama debat berlangsung dan fungsi dari penggunaan strategi tersebut. Data dikumpulkan dengan mengunggah video debat kampanye kepresidenan Amerika kedua dari internet yang dipakai sebagai sumber data. Dari tiga seri rekaman video yang ada, ditemukan tiga sampai lima ujaran di setiap seri yang mengikut prinsip strategi kesantunan Brown and Levinson. Data dianalisis dengan menggunakan metode padan pragmatik dan metode distributional oleh Sudaryanto (1993). Sebagai acuan dalam proses penganalisaan data digunakan Teori kesantunan oleh Brown dan Levinson (1987) dan teori konteks oleh Strentorm (1994).

Temuan penelitian menggambarkan bahwa, pertama, terdapat empat strategi kesantunan yang sering digunakan oleh kedua ahli debat selama debat berlangsung yaitu strategi *Positive politeness*, *Negative Politeness*, *Bald on Record* dan *Off Record*. Kedua, tujuan utama penggunaan strategi kesantunan oleh kedua ahli debat adalah untuk menjaga perasaan lawan bicara dan menghindari tindakan yang dapat merusak harga diri sendiri. Selain dari tujuan utama di atas kedua ahli debat menggunakan strategi kesantunan untuk memperkuat dan mempertahankan kebenaran argumen dan fakta, serta mengkritik argumen lawan.



LIST OF ABBRIVATIONS

D	:	Datum
Ds	:	Social Distance
FN	:	First Name
FTA	:	Face Threatening Act
H	:	Hearer
P1	:	Participant one
P2	:	Participant two
S	:	Speaker
TLN	:	Title and Last Name



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Politeness is an interesting subject concerning on how people express their feeling or thought. The subject brings some concepts in delivering communication among people. Similarly, politeness as a communication strategy where people consider several choices of different kinds like what they want to say, how they say it and with whom they are speaking to make a good communication. This strategy is very essential for people to be applied in a conversation since it contributes for a great effect to build social relationship. It has been stated by Goffman (in Renkenma; 1993:12) that every participant in social process needs to be appreciated by others. One of the examples can be found in daily conversation as the following example:

“Would you mind giving me a cup of tea?”

Whether we realize it or not, there are certain communication rules that must be followed in certain context of situation to preserve social relationship. The example above, the speaker uses the positive politeness in order to ask someone whether he is provided or not. The speaker shows his want by requesting. From the request above, the utterance implies that speaker does not want impose hearer's face to do what the speaker's want. Speaker does not mean this utterance as command.

Through this concept, application of politeness strategies which is fascinating to be researched is politeness strategy in Presidential Campaign

Debate. Hornby (2005, p.222) defines debate as “a formal discussion to show skill and ability in arguing”. The essence of the debate is to convince the opponent and the audience regarding of one of debater’s arguments. Usually, a debate campaign is illustrated as a hot and full tension situation from debater. Each debater or nominees of campaign tries to kill, struggle or even maintain their strong arguments to attract appreciation from audience. Consequently, by having full of tension, they will use politeness strategy in order to win the election session elegantly and get the greatest appreciation from voters. In other words, the debate can be considered not only as session of they are having a debate but also how they express their opinions, ideas, and feeling through some strategies they use.

The second presidential campaign debate 2008; Barack Obama and John McCain is a kind of a debate or formal discussion which concern about important issues around society especially in economic issues including all missions and visions of the nominees as a essential part of their campaign process to win the president election day. In this presidential debate, the topic is related to the financial rescue and economic development. There are some problems in National Economics System of USA where many Americans lost their job, burdened with high taxes, and lack of healthy facilities. Therefore, this debate is a media for candidates to distribute and deliver their ideas in term of how to solve this problem, for whom the rescue conducts. Considering these term, each candidate has their own way or plans to solve this problem. In spite of the debate is containing of very sensitive issue of economics development, there are some controversy behind each candidates’ purposes.

Moreover, there is one datum to illustrate the use of politeness strategy by Ahmad Deedat and Jimmy Swaggart in Religious Debate; *Dialogue Islam and Christian: Is the Bible God's Word?* as follows:

Mr. Swaggart: I have learnt to respect the Koran. I have learnt to respect the Moslem. I do not believe that Koran is the word of God. I do not believe that Muhammad was God's prophet, but I do respect your belief, I do respect your faith, I do respect your sincerity.
(Cited from Firman Hidayat; 2007: p, 43)

The utterance above shows how Mr. Swaggart, as the representative of Christian, uses politeness strategy in conveying his belief about Moslem. Here, although Mr. Swaggart wants to declare that he does not believe in Islam, but he does not say it in imposing way that can make Moslem feel offended.

Therefore, this research is aimed at investigating the employment of the politeness strategy in *Presidential Campaign Debate in USA 2008: Barack Obama and John McCain*. The data are very necessary to be conducted. From the data, people know and observe of how the candidates of president speak up among people as their method to show their ability and consistency through politeness strategy phenomena. Moreover, without a great speaking strategy by both debaters, this debate has possibility to develop a conflict between the two sides of supporters which can make confrontation or war. Importantly, this debate is the essential context of communication; people need to keep the standard norm in communication especially the standard of politeness.

1.2. Research Questions

There are some data about the application of politeness strategies found from the video. Hence, through this research, the writer identifies:

- 1) What are the type of politeness strategy used by Barack Obama and John McCain in Presidential Debate Campaign 2008?
- 2) What is the function of politeness strategy used by Barack Obama and John McCain in Presidential Debate Campaign 2008?

1.3. Objective of the Study

This research can describe some purposes in studying the politeness strategy. The types of politeness strategy that used by candidates in *Presidential Debate Campaign 2008: Barack Obama and John McCain* and the hidden reason which lead the participants apply of certain strategy of politeness Moreover, the research has some purposes in studying this politeness strategy:

- To identify the types of politeness strategies used by candidates of president in *Second Presidential Debate Campaign 2008: Barack Obama and John McCain*
- To identify the functions of politeness used by candidates in *Second Presidential Debate Campaign 2008: Barack Obama and John McCain*.

1.4. Scope of the Study

This research relates the politeness strategy in *Presidential Debate Campaign 2008: Barack Obama and John McCain*. It is possible to develop in many kinds of politeness strategy approach such as analyzing from social point of view by regarding the existence of power, distance and other social variable.

In this case, the analysis focuses on verbal communication, particularly dealing with conversational analysis of politeness by using the theory of politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). They proposed five types of politeness strategies. They are Bald on record, Positive Politeness,

Negative Politeness, Off Record and FTA. Furthermore, the analysis focuses on Pragmatic Identity Method. This method is an approach to see politeness strategy from the context of language through these following terms:

- 1) The type of politeness strategies used by candidates of president in *Presidential Debate Campaign 2008: Barack Obama and John McCain*
- 2) The function of politeness strategy used by the candidates in *Presidential Debate Campaign 2008: Barack Obama and John McCain*

1.5. Method of the Study

1.5.1. Data Collection

1.5.1.1 Source of Data

The data are downloaded. By searching <http://www.youtube.com> on July 23 2009 at 01.00 pm, the videos of Second Presidential Campaign Debate 2008 are selected. There are nine videos. These videos are the second journey of Presidential Campaign Debate 2008 between Barack Obama and John Mc Cain held in CBS News (National Television Channel). However, only three videos are selected to be analyzed in this research. It is due of videos has more interaction in running the debate.

1.5.1.2 Procedures

In this research, the non-participatory observation is applied in the process of collecting data. Spraedly (1980) in Stainback (1988, p.50) defines non-participatory observation as the lowest degree of involvement in observation. In other words, in taking data, the researcher does not involve in that situation. Through in this method, the data are observed through the situation on videos recording, the videos are taken from internet by

browsing in web, in searching for the key term in search engine and downloading the videos.

Actually, there are three editions videos of campaign debate. These numbers of videos are selected from the whole content of videos which consist of significant utterances of politeness strategy. These videos are also sequences of debate campaign in the second part of campaign trips which still have fresh issues and an attractive communication between the candidates. These videos "*Campaign debate 2008: Barack Obama and John McCain*" are observed by watching the videos. After watching the videos, then the data are transcribed into orthographical transcription. From each videos transcription, there are 3-5 utterances or statements which selected randomly as representative of politeness strategy. Therefore; there are fifteen linguistic data of politeness strategy analyzed in this research. The transcription is identified and classified into 5 types of politeness strategy purposed by Brown and Levinson. However, in determining whether the utterances are required as politeness, the process is supported by the distributional Method (Haugen, 1951: *Direction in Modern Linguistic* in Sudaryanto, 1993: 15). Distributional method determines the data whether include as the research object. In addition, in collecting data, the analysis is continued by taking note of some information dealing with the research such as the context of utterances and other relevant information.

1.5.2. Analyzing the data

In analyzing data, some technical terms are needed in the process of analyzing. Therefore, Stainback (1988, p 5-66) states there are three prominent

levels in analyzing the data. First, the data is classified. The data are taken from videos transcription. There are many statements and utterances that provide in the debates. However, from each video, there are 3- 5 possible utterances or statements as representative of politeness strategy based on Brown and Levinson's theory. The utterance is determined by distributing the statement considered as politeness. As application, the statements between Barack Obama and John McCain are analyzed and classified into five categories of politeness strategy which is proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), they are: bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness, off record, and don't do FTA. The utterances often occur on significant session such as in delivering a greeting, in offering problems, defending arguments, and offending the statements.

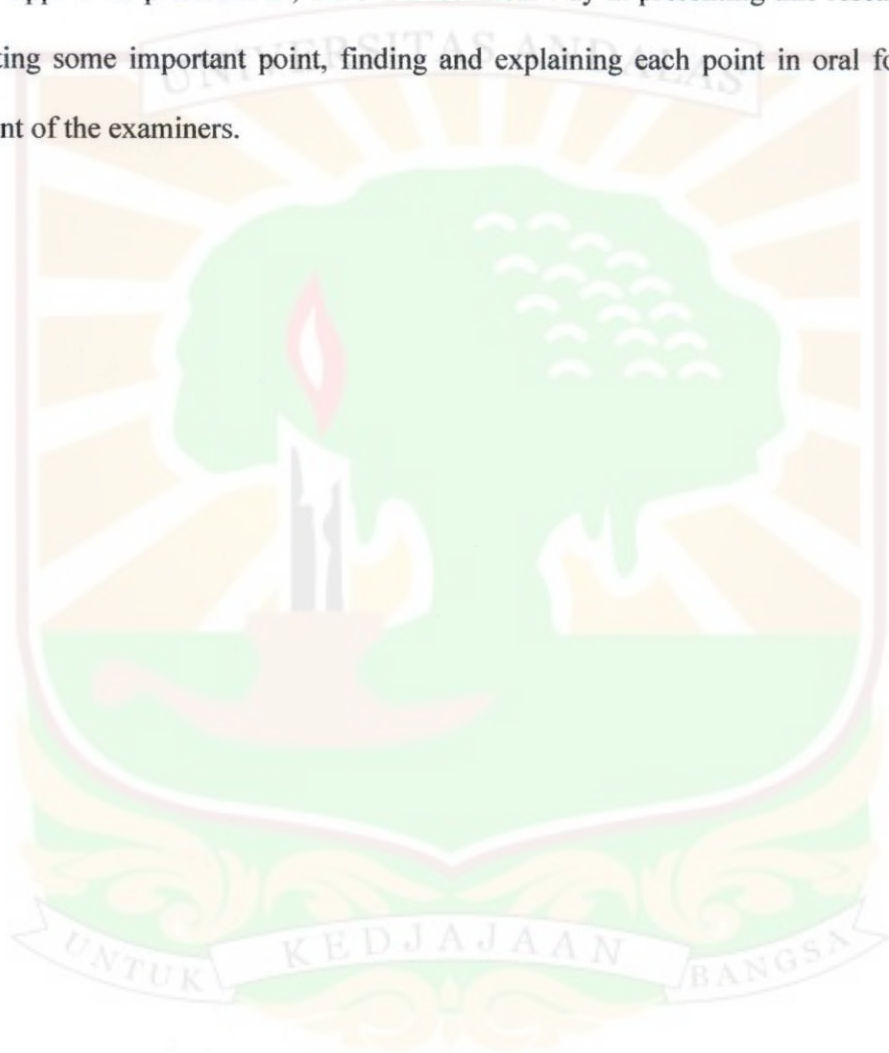
The next step is comprehended the data and the theory. It means that the data is supported by important element of the conversation analysis, especially pragmatic conversational analysis. The element is context.

In the process of analyzing context, the theory of Strentorm (1994) is used. Strentorm differentiates context in communication into two categories; *immediate context* and *wider context*. Immediate context is related to the language or utterance used by previous speaker while the *wider context* explains that it is related to four main elements (speech situation, the topic of conversation, speaker relation, and shared knowledge).

1.5.3. Presenting the Result of Analysis

The data are not only presented on verbal form but also in non verbal form. Moreover, non verbal communication is referring to analyses that use sign and symbol (Sudaryanto: 1993: p. 144). The data are described in natural

language of analysis. The analysis is described by listing all sequences of the utterances during the debate, the analysis of politeness strategy by Barack Obama and John McCain. Moreover, to support and complete the analysis, there is a table form to draw the result of classification for each strategy used by the candidate. The table form is aimed at seeing the significant strategy they used. Furthermore, to support the presentation, there is a technical way in presenting this research by listing some important point, finding and explaining each point in oral form in front of the examiners.



CHAPTER 2

THE REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Review of Previous Studies

Many researchers have done the politeness study. They try to relate this study in some happening phenomena to analysis some arguments and extend the study in order to develop the scope of the acknowledgement. In this chance, this research investigates some examples found in some study journal which take the politeness strategies as main subject.

The first journal is conducted by Scott E. Caplan and Wendy Samter (1993). Scott is an assistant Professor and Wendy is associate professor in the same Department of Communication, University of Delaware. Their study entitled "*The Role of Facework in Younger and Older Adults' Evaluation of Social Support Messages*" (1999). In this case, they investigated about individuals' perception of social support messages between younger and older adults. Moreover, the study is also consisted of multiple politeness strategies including the face threats and types of supportive speech acts.

In their study, Scott and Samter found the differences and similarities of how older and younger threat politeness strategy and viewed the support messages. As he stated, "Positive politeness strategies were more influential on the ratings by younger participants than they were on the evaluation by older. Moreover, they used the theory of **Goldsmith** in order to develop their purposes in recognizing the effective support messages between younger and older adults'. Goldsmith (1994) defines supportive communication as "speech acts and events

that are culturally recognized as intending to convey assistance" (p. 35), and asserts that "there is some predictive utility in predicting perceptions and outcomes consistent with culturally shared definitions, rules, and criteria for supportive communication" (Goldsmith, 1994, p. 43). It is indicated that theory lead them to begin focusing on identifying the shared cultural knowledge about what types of communicative behaviors are considered supportive, and what features of messages are generally considered helpful. In spite of shared cultural knowledge, the current studies represent a move in this direction by examining the effects of different types of features of supportive messages on older and younger adults' evaluations of message quality. Specifically, the current studies assessed the influence of face work strategies, different types of supportive speech acts, and different types of support (instrumental or emotional) on perceived message quality.

They found about 40% of the variation positive politeness strategies accounted among the younger adult and only 4% of positive politeness strategies variation found in older sample. For the important similarities between the younger and older adults, speech-act type is influential message feature in term of perception of helpfulness and face sensitivity. They found that both ages have different quality of supportive speech act in the same situation.

Therefore, Scott and Samter realize the concept of politeness strategies as the way to involve communication between younger and older adult whether both of these could be different and similar in some supportive messages. However, the research has some weaknesses in term of elaborating the types of supporting messages. This research does not have an obvious and complete (detail)

description of types supporting messages. In addition, this research found about 40% of the variation positive politeness strategies accounted among the younger adult and only 4% of positive politeness strategies variation found in older sample. In spite of the variation of strategy but there is observation or description about the 60 % of younger and 96 % of older who does not use any kind variation of Politeness strategy. It is possible to develop and investigate the reason why they do not use any kind of it variation.

There is another example of politeness study. The study is introduced by Edward A. Hinck and Sherly S. Hinck is associate Professors in the Department of Speech Communication at Central Michigan State University. In their book "Argument and Advocacy", this is one journal article discussing the politeness strategies involving of "President and Vice President Debates 1992". In this case, Hinck and Hinck extend politeness theory to political debates arguing that an important element of political leadership resides in a candidate's ability to manage political image through politeness strategies in a debate. For analysis the term, they Utilize Brown and Levinson's politeness theory as a theoretical base, the 1992 vice presidential and presidential debates were examined to determine if candidates used different politeness strategies.

Obviously, Hincks develops an approach to political debates based on the idea that politeness is an important dimension of political leadership and contributes to an audience's understanding of political image, a central concern in the evaluation of a political candidate. For completely, Hincks also has tried to determine if candidates utilized different politeness and how they examine

positive face in debates, they extend Brown and Levinson's theory beyond interpersonal contexts and politeness strategies.

Furthermore, Hincks regards the politeness theory enables researchers to identify, describe, and measure where and when candidates display such leadership skills as diplomatic disagreement as well as more aggressive, bald, on record disagreement.

The third example of politeness study is conducted by Mimi Oktaviani Mimi is study politeness strategy used by Australians and Afghans (2006). In analysis study, Mimi finds the socially prescribed in using politeness strategies between Australians and Afghans as two countries that have different cultures in movie "Marking Time". She finds that most Australians use Bald On record and positive politeness as a type of politeness strategy in their communication, meanwhile the Afghans more often use off record strategy and apply indirectness in communication.

Then, Mimi answers the research questions by concerning on Brown and Levinson theory about politeness strategy. The type of her research is the descriptive study of language in term of how she describes the language phenomenon between Australian and Afghans. By writing transcription data of conversation in the movie, she has classified the types of politeness strategies of utterances from the movie.

Therefore, the research has some weaknesses. Unconsciously, the data from the movie are not reliable in order to find out the effective communication of using the politeness strategy. It is due to the movie is just kind of the "a play or

unnatural” that has been some set up before. Although this statement cannot be prove, a movie is considered as kind of representation of human lives.

In conclusion, it can be seen that Mimi sees the politeness strategy as an essential instrument in preserving the communication in the society. Politeness is used to maintaining a good relationship whether among different cultures and countries that have different standard norm of politeness strategy.

Finally, like three studies above have a strong relationship with this research that is giving emphases on politeness strategy. This research tries to observe another phenomenon in different context of communication involves of the using the politeness strategy occurrences. The study prefers to observe in political domain of Presidential Campaign Debate. This debate is appropriate to be investigated as an essential context of communication. It gives emphasis on the role and function of politeness strategy in revealing ideas, defending argument and offending argument between debaters. It also indicates that the politeness strategy is possible to occur in many social contexts and also as tools to evaluate some linguistics phenomena in certain social context.

2.2 Definition of Key Terms

Politeness

Politeness is a concept and system of polite social behavior and etiquette which concern with two participants or interpersonal relationship in order to minimize conflict and confrontation to achieve the variety of goal and maintaining the relationship. (Gorge Yule: 1996: p. 62)

Politeness strategy

Politeness strategy is a strategy or system in communicate between participant which concern on how people maintaining the relationship. By having some polite way in order to minimize the conflict and respect each other. By having this concept, people communicate in certain way by avoid FTA and keep the hearer's face from imposition. (George Yule: 1996: p. 62)

Debate

Debate is a formal discussion or oral confrontation between two individuals, teams, or groups who present arguments to support opposing sides of a question, generally according to a set form or procedure. (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English: 2005: p. 60)

2.3. Theoretical Framework

In this study, two main theories are applied in analyzing politeness strategies employed by candidates of president in debate campaign. The theory comes from Brown and Levinson with the five types of politeness strategy and the theory of context by Strentorm. These theories give contribution to support analysis.

2.3.1. The concept of face

Face mean as the image of a person in their social context with others. The face concept is a part of politeness which offer its difference form that appropriate in context and situation of an utterance. Similarly with Brown and Levinson (1987: p.61) define, "Face is the public of self-image that every member wants to

claim for himself". While Yule (1996: p.60) defines face as emotional and social sense of self that everyone has and expects everyone else to recognize.

Actually, the concept of face is tend to keep the good relation with the participants. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), there are two ways in implementation of face They are negative face and positive face. Positive face means as personality and desire that person's self – image need to be accepted, respected, liked and appreciated by others. While negative face is the needed to be independent, to have rights to non-distraction, freedom of action and freedom from imposition by others. (1987: p. 61)

In short, it can be concluded that "face" is the image that a person possesses which should not be violated by others in interaction. Thus, the concept of face is needed in order to keep the human's face and to threaten others face.

2.3.2. Face Threatening Act

Face threatening act is a certain utterances that intrinsically represent a threat to face wants of the hearer and the speaker (Brown and Levinson: 1987: p. 65). This statement assume that all speakers are rational and they all have face which they want to maintain, as well as maintaining the hearer's face. Therefore, in performing an FTA, the speakers will try to minimize the face threat.

The strength of an FTA is universal and involves three social variables in all cultures that are social distance between speaker and hearer, relative power of hearer over speaker and the last is the degree to which the FTA is ranked as an imposition in the particular culture. The more an act threatens speaker's face or hearer's face, the more speakers chose strategy in the case FTA.

2.3.3 Politeness strategy

In social life, when people interact in some conversation, the politeness often occurs through the utterances and the sense of face image of participant. In that interaction, the important of using politeness becomes real. It can be seen from the politeness itself as a tool or media of communication in order to maintain the relationship. Through politely communication and right strategy in interaction, people can respect and appreciate each other. A failure in using the politeness strategy can generate a social disharmony.

Similarly, Brown and Levinson (1987, p.61) say that “every polite behavior is based on assumption of cooperation because all social groups need to minimize conflict any co-members”. From this idea, it can be assumed that politeness strategy as a strategy in communication involves the participant who aims at minimizing the confrontation and conflict and tries to serve the respect and appreciation even through the utterance or speech act.

Moreover, this research focuses on the theory of politeness by Brown and Levinson with their five categories of politeness strategy in doing FTA: Bald on Record, Positive politeness, Negative Politeness, Off Record and don't do FTA. The application of these strategies has consideration based on the context of the conversation

2.3.3.1 Bald on Record

In the Bald record strategy, the speaker nothing to minimize threats to the hearer's face. The prime reason for its usage is that whenever speaker (s) wants to do FTA with maximum efficiency more than he wants to satisfy the hearer's face, even to any degree, he will choose bald on record strategy.

For example: there is a small part dialogue between Mia (the Princess of Genovia) and Nicholas (a Lord of Genovia). Here, they are involved in a problem. Previously, Mia rides her horse. Nicholas' uncle asks someone to make the horse frightened. As the result, Mia was fall. Mia is ashamed because everybody knows that she uses imitated legs to make her easy to ride the horse. Nicholas tries to express apology for what has been done by his uncle.

Mia : What do you want?

Nicholas : I just think one more leg make you easily to run the horse

Mia : **I don't need it right now!!**

Nicholas : I'm sorry Mia

Mia : **You're not, you just think of yourself!!**

(In Movie *Princes Diary II*: 2003)

The bold utterance can be spotlighted as maximizing dispraise of other. The speaker satisfies her want to exert the pressure. It is caused by urgency and desperation that has been explored. The speaker tends to ignore the redress face of hearer. It is a kind of exception of the speaker toward the hearer's want. The want is to get apology. In direct sentence, the speaker is straightforward even the redressing and imposing the face of the hearer.

2.3.3.2 Positive Politeness

Positive politeness is redressed directed to the hearer's positive face (Brown and Levinson: 1987). It is usually seen in groups of friends, or where people in given social situation know each other fairly well. It usually tries to minimize distance between them by expressing friendliness and solid interest

also means that positive politeness as personality and desires the hearer's need to be respected (minimizing FTA). These are some example of positive politeness strategies:

1. Notice, attend to Hearer (his interests, wants, needs, goods)

The speaker notices to the hearer's condition, He/ she should respect the hearer's want and desire. The strategy influences to the attitudes of hearer becomes feels respected, appreciated because speaker put the hearer in the good position and condition.

For example: "you must be hungry; it's a long time since breakfast. How about some lunch?"

Based on the utterance above, the speaker tries to notice the hearer's condition by offering to have a lunch. This positively polite to speaker to do this or try to make Hearer comfort. It is an appropriate used by Speaker because Speaker realizes the condition Hearer without confirming hearer directly. By presenting his statement, Speaker makes the hearer become more respected and loyal

(Cited in Brown and Levinson: 1987: p, 103)

2. Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with hearer)

The speakers try to say something exaggeratedly and shoe his interest, sympathy and etc. It is often done with exaggeratedly intonation, stress, and other aspects of prosodic. (Brown and Levinson: 1987: p, 104)

For example: "mmmmm...your cake is very delicious"

The utterance above is considered as something amazing and surprising. Feeling of sympathy sometimes covers with the kind of intonation or stress

of interest. This intonation and stress are aimed at serving the speaker's sympathy for special moment that make the hearer respects and presents the harmony.

3. Intensify interest to hearer

Leech (1983:212) said that politeness can be done by avoiding the utterance that makes others feel uncomfortable, especially the counterpart. In application, the speakers try to see the hearer's interest toward his/her utterance.

For example: "Won't you like a drink?" (Want to have a drink)

The example above is a kind of utterance that speaker offers. From this utterance the speaker tries to see the hearer's interest of his utterance. In politeness strategy, this utterance uses indirect sentence which speaker minimizes the face of hearer. The speaker implies offer or something what the hearer's want to have. Trough the utterance, the interest of hearer to have a drink will be a real.

4. Use in-group identity markers

Brown and Levinson (1987: p.107) said that the strategy uses of any innumerable ways to convey in-group membership. Speaker can implicitly claim the common ground with H that is carried by that definition of the group. This strategy is also use "in-group usage" like addressee term, jargon, slang etc.

arguing against the others, the speaker shows agreement with opponents' opinion and shows his understanding

6. Avoid disagreement

The strategy is always born a token agreement in order to minimize a threat. A strategy is used to speak to the unknown people and the hearer who has higher status than speaker.

For example: A : Does she look pretty with her shoes?

(Refers to other girl)

B : She looks quite slim if she wears black dresses.

(Cited from Brown and Levinson, 1987.p.126)

This example show the strategy of politeness in conversation that this strategy used to avoid disagreement. By offering this question (A), it is kind a question in order to see the same opinion with B about someone performance, however, B is more refer to use another strategy to answer the question by saying something difference with the A. The utterance of B is relevance to avoid disagreement because B is presented the vague answers which can interpreted as her agreement for A statement. In other sides, B is prefer to this strategy because she should keep her face of being of a woman who has higher status.

7. Joke

Joking is a basic of positive politeness technique in which the speaker put hearer at ease. Leech (1983) said that in order to get the effect the participants tend to collide the politeness principle, but it will make the harmonic and close relationship.

For example:

This is an utterance in the middle of debate session, especially in the session of delivering a question. This debate is entitled "Is the Bible God's Word". This debate is talking about cross religion debate between Moslem and Christians. The issue rose up in this debate concerns with Christianity in which Ahmeed Deedate as a Moeslem tries to assert his argument by giving the valid data and logic to Christians that Bible (Holly book for the Christians) is not the word of God. However, Jimmy Swaggart as the representative of Christian takes all effort to prove that Bible. This following statement is one of Swaggart strategy in defending himself.

Mr. Swaggart : ...before I answer the question, if you won't let me come to Mekah, let me go on television over there (laughing)

(A dialogue of Religious debate: *Is The Bible God's Word* in Firman

This utterance describes that Swaggart wants to counter Deedate's previous statement indirectiv. Before, it is described that Deedate implicitly states to the audiences that it is possible for him to invite Sawggart to make a debate in Mekah since the condition to enter Mekah is hard to be fulfilled by Swaggart. To answer this sensitive statement, Swaggart cleverly uses *Joke* to counter Deedate's Statement. It is indicated, if Deedate really wants to hold a debate with him and makes the people in Mekah know about the debate, they can broadcast the debate through television. Swaggart knows that this idea is possible to realize.

8. Be optimistic

Based on Brown and Levinson 1987, *be optimistic* is associated with the cooperative strategy. It is used by speaker to assume the hearer's wants to speaker. Actually, this "want" refers for the speaker's wants. This is a way to encourage hearer's desire for speaker.

For example:

You'll lend me your lawnmower for the weekend (I hope)

(Cited from Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 120)

In saying something, the speaker tends to use indirectness: it means that the meaning of speaker's utterance is different from its literary meaning.

From the example, the speaker hopes that his wants will be same with the hearer's want. The speaker expects that the hearer will lend him a lawnmower. It is due to the speaker and the hearer have the same want.

9. Include both speaker and hearer in the activity

This is another way to perform positive politeness by using an inclusive "we" form, when speaker really means "you" or "me".

For example:

This is one utterance between two people in their conversation. The conversation is held in the garden. Speaker expresses his desire and a gripe in achieving something as seen as in the following example.

"If I was lucky, we (inclusive) can see butterfly in the garden now."

(Cited in Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 121)

It is positive politeness: the speaker performs herself in inclusive "we". He does not only put himself in that activity but also puts his friend as a part

of himself. It is aimed at maintaining the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. The speaker does not want to impose the hearer as unimportant person or foreign one.

III. Use repetition

Usually, this strategy is included in seeking for agreement. An agreement may also be stressed by repeating part or all of what the preceding speaker has said in conversation. Repeating is also used to stress emotional agreement with the utterance (interest or surprise).

For example:

This conversation is held in the cafe at school. That day is the second meeting for them. As a new student in that school, Randa (An afghan girl) is hunted by Hall (an Australian boy). Both of them have the same good condition at the time.

Randa : It is flawless to see you again.

Hall : Flawless is good: would you like a cup of coffee?

(in *Marking Time* movie: 2004)

Hall is waiting for Randa and makes the meeting as natural as possible.

Randa thinks the meeting is amazing. Since she thinks they would not meet anymore. She says: "*It is Flawless to see you again*" and Hall replies it by

repeating her utterance by saying *flawless is good...* It means he agrees

with Randa's utterance. Here, he applies positive politeness strategy

indicates the functions of utterance to show an agreement to the speaker.

Hall uses this strategy to show his closeness to her.

2.3.3.3. Negative Politeness

NEGATIVE POLITENESS IS THE HEART OF RESPECT BEHAVIOR (BROWN & Levinson, 1987: 129). Furthermore, Brown and Levinson (1987: p.70) also said that negative politeness is mainly focused toward satisfying the hearer's negative face, the want to be independent and free from imposition. These are some examples of negative politeness strategies:

1. Question, hedge

Hedge is defined as a particle, word, or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or noun phrase in a set. The using of hedge is used to soften the effect of an utterance to the hearer. The speakers put the hearer in good condition by using the special words "quite" to make the sense of the utterance more acceptable to the hearer. (Brown and Levinson: 1987: p. 145)

For example:

Robert and Billy are discussed about Robert's experience of being teacher in the first day at elementary school. They were in the city park after school finished. Robert was enthusiastic talking to Billy.

ROBERT : I was very happy at the class. I can teach many students to be more discipline and smart. I have given them so many exercises during in the class and ask them to make some homework to sharpen their ability. I think it will be no more time for them to enjoy this weekend. But it is good for them...yeah!! What do you think??

Billy : “You are *quite* right”, but don’t push them more than that.

(Dialogue: Cited in CnS magazine: 2008, p 28)

This utterance is included as negative politeness, it shows how the speaker says something that praise the hearer by using a word and give the soften effect to the hearer. The speaker put the hearer in good condition by using the special words “quite” to make the sense of the utterance more acceptable to the hearer. The use of hedge is used to soften the effect of an utterance to the hearer. There are numbers of hedge like *quite, sort regular, true, rather, think, pretty, etc.*

2. Be pessimistic

This strategy is a part of negative face in which create polite attitude in order to keep the relationship. The strategy is performs by explicitly and expressing doubt or giving full of authority toward hearer whether he is able to grant what the speaker wants or not.

For example: “is there cigarette on you?”

Through the utterance above, it can be seen strategy of speaker in offering a kind of question to the hearer. This kind of question explicitly shows how the speaker does not know or doubt about that cigarette. By delivering this utterance, the speaker investigates the hearer and gives full authority to the hearer to assure the speaker. This full authority is aimed at keeping the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. The hearer puts on the good condition and higher position by free authority in giving answer or response.

3. Minimize the imposition, Rx

Minimizing the imposition means that a speaker gives freedom to the hearer to decide what he chooses.

For example: now is your turn, which one do you take, please?

This utterance can be interpreted as full authorities for the hearer to decide something. The speaker puts the hearer in higher respects, tries to minimize the imposition and gives full freedom whether the hearer wants to take it or not. The speaker does not impose the hearer to do something that the hearer does not want.

4. Give deference

In order to employ this strategy, the speaker usually use such word *Madam, Sir, Lord, Mr. President, etc*

For example:

The day is Monday morning. Monday is popular with busy working day. There are two women meet in basement at their office. Obviously, they are employee in that company but they have different room. Kathy has the same age with Gracia and Kathy greets Gracia and feels surprise with her friend's performance than says:

Kathy Morning Side : Miss Hart, I mean, free Bush you look absolutely beautiful

Gracia Hart : Thank you

(In a *Walk to Remember* Movie: 2002)

Based on the example, the speaker compliments the appearance of the addressee. It is used as a way to express approval of addressee's performance. Besides, it functions to open the conversation. The honorific title *Miss*, and the last name *Hart* are the indicators of the way speaker address someone. She uses negative politeness since she does not really know the hearer. Hypothetically, she is able to compliment her without using title and the last name because the hearer is younger than her. However, she does not do it since the addressee may insult. Therefore, she uses title and last name in order to show her respect to the hearer. Dealing with American culture, the use of title and last name is aimed at expressing deference.

5. Apologize

By doing this technique, a speaker shows his regret toward the utterance that make hearer hurt.

Two days ago, Hall was asked Randa to come with him to Hall friend's birthday party. Randa was accepted and promised to join with Hall. However, at the party day, Hall was waiting Randa in that party. In Fact, Hall was disappointed because Randa did not come. Than, in the morning at school, Randa met Hall at school and tried to say her apology. Randa also shows her regret face to Hall.

For example:

Randa: Sorry, I did not come last night”.

This strategy is showing how the speaker delivers his regret for some actions that may hurt the hearer. In this example, the speaker expresses his

apology by his confession to avoid the confrontation or disharmony by saying truth. The hearer puts in the nice situation and feels more respected with the confession of the speaker.

6. The using of impersonal

The strategy is a variety ways of avoiding the pronouns 'I' and 'you'

For example: I ask you do this for me → do this for me

"Move the car"!! → the car should be moved

This example, the speaker minimizes of imposition the hearer by not saying the pronouns "I" and "you" for the expressing command of sentence above. This sentence is like "I want you to move the car". If this sentence is uttered it will be irrelevance. It means that the use pronoun of "I" and "you" make utterance is harsh to the hearer.

2.3.3.4. Off Record

In this strategy speaker wants to employ an FTA, but wants to avoid the responsibility for doing it, he can perform it off record and let the hearer decide how to interpret it (Brown and Levin son, 1987: p. 211)

Off record utterances are usually apply in the indirectness of language, to construct an off record utterance, one say something is actually different with it really means. These are some examples:

1. Give hints

The speaker has more than one communicative attention and the explicit meaning of utterance.

For Example: "what a hot day "(how about a drink)

(Cited in Brown and Levinson, 1987. p 215)

In utterance, the speaker expects that the hearer can interpret or understand of that statement. The speaker does not convey his want directly that he want a drink. In other words, the speaker has more than one communicative intention and the explicit meaning of the utterance

2. Overstate

This strategy applies by exaggerating or choosing point on a scale which is higher than the actual conditions.

For example: "I have called him hundred times, but there was no answer"

(Cited from Brown and Levinson, 1987.p.219)

This utterance is used to make the hearer uncomfortable. It is also expressing of getting disappointed toward the hearer for did not answer the speaker's calling for hundred times. It is just hoped that can make impinge the hearer's face.

3. Be ironic

In this strategy a speaker says something opposite of what he means. By doing this technique, the speaker can directly convey his intended meaning.

For example: "a beautiful weather isn't it?" (In rainstorm)

(Cited from Brown and Levinson, 1987.p.222)

This utterance just gives describing of bad weather. It shows the speaker's feeling is disappointed of that situation. In this strategy the speaker says something opposite of what he means. In short, speaker can indirectly convey his intended meaning that the weather is very scary.

4. Use metaphors

The use of metaphor is usually in the form of on record, but there is a possibility of the connotation of the metaphor of speaker in off record.

For Example: "Jane is a real horse" (she runs fast like horse)

The utterance above indicates that speaker use metaphors strategy to describe Jane. By saying "Jane is a real horse", the speaker implicitly tells to the others that Jane runs very fast like a horse. Here, the use of "horse" is to give imitate of how fast Jane runs. The "horse" gives more sense to the hearer even the sense is very impossible to be accepted and imagined. In other side, the speaker tries to tell the hearer even he doesn't believe that Jane is unable to run like a horse (the fact).

5. Displace hearers.

The strategy, a speaker pretends to address the FTA to someone else who will not be threaten with the FTA but hope that the target will know that FTA is aimed at addressing him.

For example: A talk to B: "hey B, you look busy with you new phone!!"

(In fact, A and B are doing homework together while C plays her new phone).

This point, a speaker pretends to address the FTA to someone else who will not be threatened with that FTA but hope that the target will know that the FTA is aimed at him.

2.3.3.5 Don't Do FTA

In this strategy a speaker wants to avoid an FTA, so he avoids perform anything of politeness strategy

2.3.4 Context

In analyzing the conversational especially in pragmatic sociolinguistic the concept of context is very essential thing. However, many experts of linguists have defined the definition and concept about context. In practicing and studying the language pragmatically, we have to consider about the context that involve in the utterances.

Moreover, Mey (2001) defines context as “a dynamic...concept...as the continually changing surrounding... that enable to participant in the communication process to interact, and in which the linguistic expressions of their interaction become the intelligible”. It is same with Leech. He considers context as “any background language assumed to be share by s and h and with contributes to hearers in interpretation of what s means by a given utterance (1983, p.13). Based on these statements, comprehends that the context is not just a matter of knowledge, but context is also circumstances, environment and component which creates the share understanding in interpreting and utterances which has the aim to make the understandable conversation.

Furthermore, in this writing the theory of context is conducted by theory of Strenstrom.

Strenstrom also gives an idea about the definition of context (1994), p.26) stated that:

Utterances in conversation are not isolated phenomenon but depend on the entire context for their interpretation. Exactly, what the speaker means by saying something must be interpreted not only in relation to what the previous speaker just said (immediate context) but also in the relation to the wider context.

Based on this statement above, it can be assume that she tries to differentiate context in communication into two categories; immediate context and wider context. This immediate context is related to the language or to the utterance used by previous speaker. While for the wider context, Strenstrom (1994, p.26) describes in to four main element

1. Speech situation (physical context)

It is related to the condition, where and when the conversation takes place, is the conversation held in formal or informal manner, and other specific circumstances. In this research, the campaign debates were held and broad castes live in the studio of television station. It was watched by American's society, press and journalists. It indicates debate is a kind of formal discussion which provides some tensions from any party or audiences.

2. The Topic of Conversation

Different type of topic in a conversation can generate different meaning of utterances. Topic means what a main idea of both addresser and addressee are talking about. The debate focuses on the economical issues. The issues are possible to develop into some cases offered by debaters. How the debaters provide and express their ideas, thought and feeling in scope of topic which creates a union of agreement.

3. Speaker relation (social context)

The relationship between participants also gives a big contribution to the meaning and to the way of each participant says something or gives response in a communication. A young person will usually talk differently when he is talking among his friends compared if he is talking to old

person. A close friend will talk differently if it is compared to someone who makes a conversation formally or to foreigner. However, in this debate provides McCain and Obama as participant of debate. They are representatives of each party which McCain is proposed by Congress District Arizona while Obama is proposed by Democratic Party. As representatives of Congress, McCain and Obama have a good relationship each other. However, this time they oppose in argument. Within their good relationship, this point will describe how they're arguing in domain of political.

4. Shared knowledge (epistemic context)

This is an essential part, shared knowledge between addresser and addressee. This aspect usually cannot be separated from those others aspects above. In other words, a close friend habitually will have a better shared knowledge. In debate, every statements or utterance offers by McCain and Obama provides information dealing with the topic. Moreover, as the member or senate indicates that they have same ability in understanding of every statement. In simply, they're easier to share knowledge concerning on their topics.

Broadly speaking, politeness relates to the feeling of other or participants. As Holmes (1992: p.297) states that "a polite person makes others feel comfortable". Moreover, she elaborates that being linguistically polite involves speaking to the people appropriately based on their relationship with the speaker. Inappropriate choice of the term of addressee may be considered rude. The speaker has to consider whether it is formal or informal. In a formal situation, the

appropriate way of talking to one who is known well, such as a neighborhood, will depend on the context. If he is acting as one of lecturer in your college, then calling him John (his First name) will be considered disrespectful, while at the class will appropriate to calling him as Mr. Stedward.

Moreover, term of addressee and politeness are influenced by the cultural background. Therefore Holmes (1992, p.297) proposes terms of addressee based on two types of politeness:

1. Positive politeness

The use of first name (FN) is found in the positive politeness. It expressed solidarity and minimizes the social distance. It is usually directed to the person who is known well. For example: *Come in Jane!* This utterance shows that speaker wants to minimize the social distance between them and show the solidarity by using her first name.

2. Negative politeness

The speaker uses little and Last name (TLN) in negative politeness. It is aimed at increasing the social distance and respect the addressee. For example calling Mr. Scott, show that there is social distance between the participants since they are not known well.

Based on the explanation above, it show that the speaker uses title and last name (TLN) in negative politeness to increase the social distance and respect the addressee. While the speaker who uses the First name (FN) is belong to positive politeness which shows his/her intimate to the hearer by calling her first name.

CHAPTER 3
ANALYSIS OF POLITENESS STRATEGY
IN THE SECOND PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE CAMPAIGN OF THE USA 2008:
BARRACK OBAMA AND JOHN McCAIN

Politeness strategy is applied by Barack Obama and John McCain at the Campaign debate. The politeness strategy is related to the main issue on economic development in America. The issue is dominant covering the debate. The issue is elaborated by participant to reflect their national program on the president election. If it is observed from the background of each participant; Barack Obama and John McCain are different. McCain comes from The National Military and Obama is known as a young senate of Democratic Party and graduated from faculty of Law in Harvard University. Therefore, the politeness strategy can be described of how they are interact each other in term of delivering an argument, defending of argument, and offending against the opponent.

However, there are three sessions in this debate for the debaters to elaborate their arguments and to convince the audiences concerning on their objectives. The first session is for host. Host tries to elaborate, retells some economics plan proposed by both participants. As a host, John begins this session by elaborating some points of candidates' programs. The second session is a chance for Mc Cain and Obama. In this session, they are taking turn randomly to elaborate all the facts, mentioning the basic problem and providing the arguments that they have as the solution or policy on economic problem. The last session is the final session where debaters can convince

the opponent's arguments from one debater. If there is any imposition statement from debater, it will be a chance to say a truth

Within the debate, there are abundant of data uttered by Barack Obama and John McCain related to politeness strategy. The uses of politeness strategy in each utterance are various. The utterance may contain more than one strategy or even more.

Politeness Strategy by Barack Obama and John McCain

As mentioned before, this is an analysis of politeness strategy applied by Barack Obama and John McCain. Consciously or not, Obama used some strategy of politeness as seen in his utterances during the debate. This analysis notices various kinds of politeness strategies application for various purposes and motives, especially when he (Obama) wants to defend his arguments toward McCain's statement defines about Obama's affair. How Obama defends his arguments attracts McCain and Audiences' intention in attacking McCain Arguments without threatening the hearer's face (positive or negative). Moreover, there is a technical terms to mark/initial the participants by using the symbol P1 for Barack Obama and P2 for John McCain.

The first example of the usage of politeness strategy as follow:

Datum 1

- P2 : How are you??
P1 : *Thank you, John. It's good to see you*

From the statement above, it is discovered the use of politeness in **Positive Politeness**. In this chance, Obama gives "*sympathy*" to John McCain by saying thanks for John. Sympathy is one strategy in positive politeness to respect of hearer's

want and desire. This is referring to John McCain as affirmative in the debate and candidate, John has desire to be respected by other. As result, Obama has responsibility to fill it. The utterance above is expressed by Barrack Obama in the beginning of debate session. This utterance includes in greeting. Host opened the debate and asked for Obama's condition. Obama replays by delivering this kind of utterance to give the good appreciation to John as participant and audiences in debate. This strategy is influenced to trigger the positive face of Obama. This positive face could be considered as wants to be more respected from people. Considering the issues of debate is very important, the aim of the utterance is to melt the tension of all people. This utterance implies that Obama shows his expression of respect for John McCain as his opponent in that debate. In the same words; Obama shows his pleasantness and readiness to rung the debate without doubtfulness. the analysis above, it is seen how positive politeness bridges the relationship between debaters and all audiences by serving a nice greeting to show his Sympathy toward the people.

After Obama finishing his greeting in the first session, McCain gets his turn to elaborate his arguments or his plans toward the financial crisis. However, McCain also says greeting to Obama. The greeting is a quite same with Obama's statement in the beginning of debate:

Datum 2

P2 : *It's good to see you again (to Obama).*

From the first utterance, McCain tries to present the sense of the spirit inside him. As seen in Brown and Levinson (1987), the utterance above is categorized in **Positive Politeness**, especially to show his *sympathy and interest*. McCain expresses

his greeting to Obama as his main opponent in that debate. This utterance can be observed that McCain and Obama had met before in the same occasion. However, by delivering this statement, McCain shows his exciting to run the debate well.

Implicitly, McCain respects Obama and replays the same greeting to begin the debate session. This is aimed to lift the positive image or additional mark of him in order to get more sympathies from audiences.

After delivering the greeting, McCain continues to the real session in debate. In the first chance of delivering his argument about the financial problem, he starts with the following utterance:

Datum 3

P2 : *Americans are hurting right now and they are angry. In hurting and angry, they're innocent victims of greed and excess on Wall Street, and as well as Washington Dc.*

In National Economic System, it is possible to provide some economic problems. The problem tends to skip people from the Welfare National Program. The system is inflated for several priorities in several majors even for several people in that country. From the McCain's statement, it can be shown how McCain points out and illustrates the condition of Americans facing the system of National Financial.

In elaborating his statement, McCain uses "*metaphor*", one of **Off Record** strategies. By stating "They're innocent victims of greed and excess on Wall street." McCain implicitly tells to the audiences about the worst condition of Americans. He tries to reflect the Americans as "innocent victims" and interprets "Wall street" as a reflection of Americans' Government.

It influences the audience to believe and to be open for every forms of national stabilization program. This strategy is also included as a good communication skill by McCain in formulating statement which has indication of sensitive issue and threatening act to audience's face. It threatens the negative face of audiences, especially for American Government. By stating this statement, all people (Americans) are imposed with the bad system of government. This kind of statement creates a bad image of America for all countries in the world. In the same thing, American government is treated as a loser for unsuccessful in running the system.

Moreover, McCain tries to give a sense that he understands more about the American condition than Obama. This sense is imposing the negative face of Obama which treats as incredible person for this country.

Furthermore, Brown and Levinson proposed the strategy of Politeness not only positive politeness but also Negative Politeness as found in this kind of Obama's utterance below:

Datum 4

P1 : ...*It's Wonderful to join Senator McCain again.*

After McCain delivers his strategy above and elaborate his knowledge on economic rescue, the chance is going to Obama. Obama sends greeting to McCain nicely. As has been noted by Brown and Levinson, it is included of **positive politeness** which utterance shows the feeling Obama's "*sympathy*" to McCain. As seen as in the utterance above, this sentence is a greeting for people who have met before (by saying "again"). Obama delivers his greeting in the first session before he get turn to elaborate his argument. Briefly, the greeting is aimed to McCain as the

competitor. Besides expressing his glad, Obama tries to built his confidence and convince the people that they have a good relationship even in this second chance meeting for them. This strategy is required to save the Negative face of McCain as his competitor.

However, this research spotlights the use of “addressee term”. It refers to how Obama addresses McCain by saying “Senator McCain”. It addressee includes in “*give deference*” of **Negative Politeness**. The addressee is aimed to show McCain as his opponent or participant of president campaign debate. As a candidate of president and a member of senate, this addressee “senator” is commonly used. Moreover, by using the addressee, it shows the debate as a formal discussion among people and provides some distances and power between debaters. In other case, it will creating some tension and imposes the negative face of McCain while Obama does not use this addressee term. The tension is referring to how Obama not respect to McCain as a real Senator.

Nevertheless, after analyzing the utterance above, another strategy is found. In his first chance delivers his argument and the session of elaborating his plan, Obama used one strategy of positive politeness. As Obama stated in this utterance:

Datum 5

P1 : *I think everybody understand this point that we are experiencing the worst financial crisis since the great depression and the financial rescue plan that senator McCain and I supported is an important first step.*

From utterance, it can be seen how Obama tries to elaborate the most important problems in America. As known, America has a great financial crisis for years until this next election of president comes. In this chance, Barack Obama

mentions his plan in financial rescue in front of all audiences gently. He conveys not only his program but also McCain's program as shown at part "and the financial rescue plans that Senator McCain and I supported, is an important step".

In analyzing of politeness strategy, Obama's utterance is categorized as **Positive Politeness** including "**Both Speaker and Hearer in the Activity**". Saying the statement above, Obama tries to involve McCain as his union. Previously, McCain has delivered his point of view on economic. Obama has aimed to save McCain's face in order not to impose McCain's position. Thus he would like to show in debate how he can respect to McCain as Senator who has acknowledged about governmental and economical issues. Moreover, Obama also respects for the position of McCain in political development in this country. Actually, this strategy is suitable to be used by Obama. Obviously, Obama elegantly shows his credibility without threatening McCain as his opponent. However, this strategy is possible to impose positive face of McCain which includes his as an expert.

At the same session, Obama expresses another strategy of politeness for instance as follows:

Datum 6

P1 : *and now, Senator McCain, I agree with your idea that we gotta help home loner. That's why we included in the financial package.... a proposal to get home loners in position where they can renegotiate their mortgages.*

Previously, McCain has explained about his plain on financial crisis especially the program for home loner. McCain stresses his plans on how the government allocates the 300 billion dollars from 750 billion dollars for the

mortgage. Therefore Obama responds and continues the McCain's plan by stating the f argument above.

In this session, Obama elaborates his plan in rescues package about financial crisis, especially focus on Middle class. He proposes four mainly issues about job, tax, energy policy and health care system. Nevertheless, he adopts some ideas from McCain about Home loner and its mortgages.

In the utterance Obama shows his agreement about McCain's idea and indicates that Obama express his **positive politeness** in "*seek agreement*". Even though Obama against one another, he shows his understanding to McCain's plan. Obama tends to keep his relationship with Mc Cain by making a good bridge of appreciation between them.

Unconsciously, the strategy used by Obama is possible to give a negative sense for him. The sense is how Obama being calm and avoid the offensive against McCain. This is benefit for McCain (threat the positive face for McCain) to catch the sense that Obama is a weak person (less attractive person).

Obama continues his arguments toward of McCain's plans on economic development. Straightforward, another interesting politeness strategy used by Barack Obama in this debate is "Contradiction "strategy as can be observed in the utterance below:

Datum 7

P1 : *I disagree with senator McCain is designing his plan it could be...for buying full prices of mortgage that now a worth los less and we don't wanna waste the tax spare money.*

Previously, McCain has explained about his plan on financial crisis as mentioned before and Obama also delivers the arguments toward his plans. As stated above, there are some ideas that Obama and McCain proposed. However, Obama also expresses his unpleasantness as seen at the utterance above.

The statement above is indicated the use of *“contradiction”* in refusal and disagreement between Obama and McCain. McCain has the same ideas with Obama about financial package for home owners and the mortgage. In this case, McCain disagrees with Obama in the way how to get the mortgage, while this country does not want to intensify to spend the tax spare money.

From the utterance, it can be observed of how Obama tries directly and gently in expressing his disagreement toward McCain's method. By stating this utterance, Obama threatens McCain's positive face which established before by him (which stated them as a union). This influences to impose negative face of McCain in the debate. The face is for not being underestimated by Obama. However, this statement is possible to pull a trigger McCain to argue against Obama.

In general, this statement is appropriate to provide a sense of battle as a tool in maintaining and defense arguments. Through this way, implicitly, Obama wants to show how deep he understands toward economic problem and benefit for him to convince and make audiences believe.

Now, the session of delivering question comes, this session is a chance for McCain sends a question to Obama. Host offers McCain to ask Obama about something which relates to the economic issues. This situation is noticed as a hot condition. The condition is possible to trigger a tension of all people. However, Mc

Cain prefers to apply another strategy to replay Obama's unpleasantness and reveals something about Obama. This following datum is another reflection of applying politeness strategy by McCain

Datum 8

P2 : *I would like to mention that couple days ago, Obama was at Ohio, he and encountered with the guy who's a Plummer names Joe Plummer. Joe wants to buy the business that he is spinning for all this year. Work 10-12 hours a day and he wanted to buy the business. But he looked at your tax plan, and he saw that he was gonna pay much higher taxes, you gonna put him in a higher taxes bracket which is gonna increase taxes, which is going to cause him not to be full employed people. Which Joe trying to realize his American dream, and Senator Obama talks about a very very rich Joe. (Obama cuts directly the conversation)*

Obviously, the strategy applied by McCain categories in **Bald on Record** strategy. Nevertheless, the strategy focuses on how the speaker, McCain has straightforward communicative. From these statements, McCain does not give a question to Obama. He presents a kind of controversy case which Obama involved as a falsehood. The conspiracy tells about Obama meeting of one guy. In this case, McCain conveys the wishing of Joe toward Obamas' taxes cut program, while Obama does not have the solution program for the low taxes cut. Obama tends to keep the higher taxes. Moreover, this statement gives a sense directly for Obama as incredible person in running the program. Obama is blame as a person (candidate) who does not care to realize the people dreams.

By observing this case, being direct, McCain tries to say something more than or something different from what Obama actually intends to convey. Implicitly McCain threatens the Obama positive face and Obama gets burden by McCain's

statement. The positive face Of Obama is as a loyal person and responsibility to be a good chairman. However, this is a kind of an attack that put Obama in the difficult position in the debate and all the audience. By saying this utterance, McCain expect the audiences to have another or more interpretation. This condition requires to create the bad image for Obama.

On the other hand, this strategy could lead the audience to think of negative to McCain. However, this threatens the face (negative face) of McCain. McCain is possible to be suspicious as a spy toward Obama activities.

Spontaneously, Obama continues his statement to prove that an issue between him and Joe was not true. This following datum is another example that can show how Obama provides the politeness strategy in refusing the McCain's sensitive argument in the debate.

Datum 9

P1 : *That's quite not I wanna do*

This utterance dealing with McCain provides the information about one of controversy. The controversy is about Obamas' plan to trap a businessman in the higher taxes. The simple utterance above shows how aboma responds toward that an issue.

In this utterance above, Obama tries to prove that an issue is not true. This simple refusal is suitable to make statement acceptable and comfortable for McCain and audiences without giving a large threatening act to their face.in this chance, Obama tries to use and appropriate strategy in order to reduce the threatening act to

hearer's face. Obama utilizes "*Hedge*" in Brown and Levinson **Negative Politeness**. By saying the word "quite" is probably give soften effect to the hearer.

In spite of Obama try to reduce the threatening act toward McCain, Obama also try to save his negative face. The face is for not being underestimated by the issue. However, this strategy could be interpreted as another speculation. By stating a simple answer (without more explanation), Obama is possible to tell a lie. This indicates the negative face of Obama is imposed.

Similarly, McCain tries to use another strategy to express his contradict arguments toward obama confession about his plan on Joe's issue. This following statement is illustrated of McCain's believe:

Datum 10

- P1 : That's not I wanna do
P2 : *That's what Joe believes*

Actually, this utterance is expressed by Mc Cain to show his "**contradiction**" on Obama's statement. Obama said that he does not have a plan to cheat Joe's Business by give him the higher taxes. While McCain stress his argument by saying this statement. Indirectly, McCain's statement indicates that Obama tries to say a lie and McCain prefers to oppose him. McCain involves Joe as an object of this Affair in his utterance in order to make sure the audiences about Joe. In this utterance, implicitly shows that Joe believes that he is as a victim of Obamas' financial rescue Program. The effect is triggering the imposition of Obama's negative face.

However, on the other side, this strategy also has a function to minimize the imposition of Hearer face (Obama's negative face) by including Joe in the utterance and not refers to Obama directly. Vice versa for McCain, by stating this sentence Obama shows his offensive toward the issue. He tends to save his face. He leads the hearers to keep divert and focus on Obama issue continually. Therefore, this strategy classify as "**contradiction**" in Off Record.

Moreover, in the middle of the conversation, Obama provides some utterances which containing several of politeness strategy to prove the statement against McCain. As shown in these statements below:

Datum 11

P2 : That's what Joe believes

P1 : *But, senator McCain, let me tell you what actually I gonna do. I think tax policy had made different between Senator McCain and myself. We both wanna cut taxes, the differences is who we wanna cut taxes for, and Senator McCain the set piece of his economic proposal is to provide 200 billion dollars in additional taxes break to some wealthy corporation in America.*

These utterances are stated by Obama after McCain confirms about Joe's issue by saying "That's What Joe Believes". Thus, Obama gets his turn to elaborate his argument in which the core point is to show and to prove his opponent and audience that the conspiracy with Joe is not true. If McCain plays offensive in the debate, Obama as the opponent side plays more defensively to prove his argument.

By stating "*Let me tell you what actually I gonna do*", Obama tries to provide the use of Positive Politeness. He applies '*notice, attend to Hearer*'. This statement delivers to convince McCain about Obama's plan in taxes target. Obviously, Obama shows how his respect about McCain's statement and all issues of taxes. Obama

concerns of McCain's desire. In addition, this statement helps McCain to save his positive face. The positive face of McCain is trying to say the scandal while Obama just explaining about his system without give more information about Joe and the issue.

However, another strategy is utilized as **Positive Politeness**. Obama uses *"Include both speaker and Hearer in the activity"* which employed in this utterance, *"we both wanna cut taxes"*. By using "we", Obama wants to say that not only him who plan for tax break, but also McCain who also have same idea with him. This is one strategy of Barack Obama to show his appreciate to his opponent. In other words, it can say, Obama present an appropriate want to lessen the imposing act of utterance above to reduce the threatening face of McCain.

The last part of the data above, Obama States *"...and McCain the set piece of his economic proposal is to provide 200 billion dollars in additional taxes break to some wealthy corporation in America"*

As mentioned before, McCain tries to reveal one sensitive issue of Barack Obama's issue. McCain states about Obama's conspiracy with a Plummer Joe. Obama is issued about his promise to Joe for the low tax break, while Obama have planned to design a big tax for small business. However, in this chance, Obama points out McCain inconsistency on his tax break plan. Indirectly Obama reveals McCain's plan on tax break which McCain will get that benefit in increasing his business income for additional tax break. The data above are another example of how Obama tends to speak indirect in order to give meaning of what he said is different

with the literary meaning; it is that include in **negative politeness** “*Be conventionally indirect*”.

Moreover, it can be categorized on “*give hints*” of **Off Record** strategy in which Obama has another communication intension (audience) and offers another interpretation in his utterance. Implicitly, those strategies are aimed to reduce the effect of statement to McCain even this statement contains an imposing act which could threat McCain’s Negative face. Hence, Obama prefers to use indirect which look appropriate to lessen the imposing act of the utterances.

In the end of his argument, Obama deepen and stress of his statement by stating this following utterance.

Datum 12

P1 : ...*what I’ve said is I wanna provide a tax cut for 95 percent of working Americans.*

Based on this statement, Obama states that he has been planning to design a tax cut for working Americans. It can be observed that Obama applies more than one strategy **Off Record**. The first one is “*overstate*”. He employs this strategy to convince all audiences. The word “*what I’ve said is...*” It is illustrating that Obama has mentioned before and efforts hardly to point on again.

In other side, this utterance also includes in “*contradiction*” in order to mark the utterances as an opposite statement of McCain’s about Obama involvement on Joe’s issue. These are indicating how obama does not impose McCain’s face and defense his arguments.

Continuously, Obama delivers his appreciate toward the McCain statement about a cross board spending free, he states as seen in the following data:

Datum 13

P1 : Well... look... *I think that we do every agreement about a cross board spending free. It sound good, it does propose periodically*, it's doesn't happen and in fact a cross boars spending free is a hatchet. And we do need a scalpel because there are some programs don't work at all.

In this case, the word "its sound good" indicates another appraising utterance to illustrate how Obama tries to say something *exaggeratedly* of **positive politeness** and show his interest, sympathy especially for McCain. This strategy is used to minimize distance between them and considers to desire of McCain as the candidate of president. The desire is to be respected by Barrack Obama and all audiences. Moreover, Obama implicitly delivers his motivation and cooperative which occurred in this statement. This strategy is appropriate to strengthen his position as a candidate for president without threatening McCain. He tries to attract the attention of people to be a good leader.

Moreover, McCain continues his argument to prove and strengthen that his marketing system program is more acceptable to adopt. This following datum is another example that can show how McCain combines several politeness strategies in delivering his sensitive statement toward Obama in the debate.

Datum 14

P2 : *I oppose subside because I thought that the storage of the market created inflation. Senator Obama support this subside.*

In the utterance above, McCain tries to prove that his marketing system is an appropriate to use as basic financial rescue. By stating his refusal of subsidy system, McCain strives for *“give reason”* why he want to do for. This strategy looks acceptable to minimize the imposing act of the statement toward Obama’s system. The strategy is called **“Give Reason”** of **Positive Politeness strategy**.

However, the following statement which entails the previous statement above discovers the using of another strategy of politeness. By uttering “Senator Obama support this subsidy”. It is clearly, McCain considers Obama as his opponent in the debate. He also uses the **“contradictive”** argument about their different system. The different is McCain has planned save the tax payer by fighting the D.O meanwhile Obama prefers to subsidy the storage of market. As the result, this strategy has a big possibility to imposing act and McCain does not want to avoid minimize of Obama’s threatening face.

Within the debate, the situation in arguing against each argument becomes more attractive. Previously, Obama tells about one case of financial policies run by President Bush. Obama indicates what McCain plans in financial policy are quite same with Bush’s policy. Bush has a budget surplus; while the National debt was lower about 5 trillion dollars. It has doubled year to year. As the result, it is recognized as the national deficit over half of trillion dollars. Indirect, Obama wants to show to all audiences about McCain system (policy) is kind of screw up (an error). This statement obviously explores the negative face of McCain. By stating this utterance, Obama threatening McCain’s negative face, Obama assume that McCain is not appropriate to used.

As the reaction toward Obama's statement, McCain spontaneous replays that statement and defense himself as illustrated in these following utterances:

Datum 15

- Host : Do either of you think you can balance the budget in 4 years, you said previously you thought well, Senator Mc Cain.
- P2 : ***Sure I do. Senator Obama (Raise up the hand to Obama), I am not President Bush. If want a round against President Bush, you should around 4 years ago***

Based on the statement, it is discerned that McCain directly deny the Obama's assumption. In this case, Obama describes McCain's policy same as President Bush. Not only deny the statement, McCain also tries to replay and attack Obama by stating the offensive statement as seen in this line "*If want a round against President Bush, you should around 4 years ago*". Consciously, this utterance provides in increase imposing act of Obama's face. Moreover, the strategy will influence to threaten the hearer's positive face even the face of President Bush. Here, Bush is displaced as "a sucker" in running his jobs. McCain uses "**Bald on Record**" in order to assault Obama. McCain provides the statement which different from the expectation of Obama about the system. In this occasion, McCain shows his negative face to satisfy Obama wants. This is influenced to increase tension and impose the face threatening act among them. However, the tension is not really occurs because Obama intends to keep his positive face.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

Having analyzed politeness strategy in the debate by referring to Brown and Levinson politeness strategy and the theory of context, this research obtains several interesting finding from this data. First, the research discovers both debaters apply well various kind of politeness strategy during the debate session. This research found that there are four dominant Politeness Strategies applied by Barack Obama and John McCain in the debate: Positive Politeness, Negative Politeness, Off Record and Bald on Record.

Second, the research finds that there are differences and similarities between both debaters in expressing politeness strategy along the debate session. First is about differences. The research discovers that either Obama or McCain are applying different model in using Politeness strategy in the forum, as their objective in this debate are different. Obama as the person who gets much attack and prove the fact defensively. He does not attack much directly McCain with his argument along the debate session in order to create a good relationship for both of them; in this case positive politeness plays an important role. While, as the one who senior than Barack Obama in Parliament, Mc Cain plays more offensive in the debate by attacking Obama with some controversy arguments to prove the weaknesses of Obama. Regarding to his objective in convincing the people about the financial crisis and Obama's plans, of course there are big possibilities that every McCain's statement

will attach unavoidable threatening acts in it. Therefore, McCain smartly combines several types of Politeness strategy to reduce the threatening effect of his utterance to the hearer's face. Moreover, this research found that the dominant Politeness strategy combination used by McCain in this debate is Positive politeness combined with Off Record strategy. These strategies are very important to deal with any imposing statement in an utterance. Furthermore, McCain realizes that he has the mission to crack out Obama's mission on financial program and reveal out all the fact to the audience to verify that Obama's plans are inappropriate. The use of combination is very benefit for Mc Cain to reduce the responsibility in expressing an offensive statement.

Next, in spite of many differences between Barrack Obama and John McCain in utilizing Politeness strategy during the debate forum, the research notices some similarities between them. One of Obvious similarity discovers is both debaters are not to use Don't do FTA strategy in the debate. Therefore, both debaters are aware that this debate carries a sensitive issue, they're maximalist every chance to confirm all the issue through the appropriate strategy, not to keep silent. It would be a dangerous and risky utterance if there is no explanation. This fact becomes another prove that shows both debaters are great speaker.

Finally, this research also finds that there are two main purposes of Politeness strategy in the debate. The first is to satisfy hearer's Positive Face and the second is to safe hearer's negative face. However, the research also notices another purposes of using Politeness strategy attached by the speaker in an utterance. Politeness strategy in addition can be used to bridge the relationship between speaker and hearer or vice

versa. Politeness strategy can be used to stress an argument, to give criticism and to convince the hearer about any statements. The use of politeness strategy accommodates the speaker's objective in expressing an argument without threatening hearer's face.



TABLE

Types of Politeness Strategy in Second Presidential Debate Campaign of the USA 2008:

Barrack Obama and John McCain

No	Linguistics Expression	Source	Type of Politeness Strategy	Function of using Politeness Strategy
1	<i>Thank you, John. It's good to see you</i>	D1,P1	Notice, attend to Hearer interest, sympathy, need and good	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To give the good appreciation to McCain. • To trigger the positive face and more respected by others. • To show pleasantness and readiness of Obama.
2	<i>It's good to see you again, Senator Obama.</i>	D2,P1	Give Sympathy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To present the sense of spirit of McCain. • To lift the positive image and sympathy from the audiences.
3	<i>Americans are hurting right now and they are angry. In hurting and angry, they're innocent victims of greed and excess on Wall Street, and as well as Washington Dc.</i>	D3,P2	Metaphor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To convince the audience about American's Government. • To threats negative face of audience toward American system. • To impose the negative face of Obama as incredible person for the country.
4	<i>It's Wonderful to join Senator McCain again.</i>	D4,P2	Give Sympathy, Give deference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To express obama's glad to McCain. • To bridge a good relationship to McCain. • To save the negative face of McCain. • To respect McCain as senator in parliament.
5	<i>I think everybody understand this point that we are experiencing the worst financial crisis since the great depression and the financial rescue plan that senator McCain and I supported is an important first step.</i>	D5,P1	Both Speaker and Hearer in the Activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To involve the McCain as his union. • To save McCain face and not impose the position of McCain as one expert in politician.

6	<i>...and now, Senator McCain, I agree with your idea that we gotta help home loner. That's why we included in the financial package.... a proposal to get home loners in position where they can renegotiate their mortgages.</i>	D6,P1	Seek Agreement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To show that Obama understanding to McCain's plan. • To avoid the offensive against McCain
7	<i>I disagree with senator Mc Cain is designing his plan it could be...for buying full prices of mortgage that now a worth los less and we don't wanna waste the tax spare money.</i>	D7,P1	Contradiction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To impose negative face of McCain in the debate. • To pull trigger McCain argue against Obama's statements.
8	<i>... But he looked at your tax plan, and he saw that he was gonna pay much higher taxes, you gonna put him in a higher taxes bracket which is gonna increase taxes, which is going to cause him not to be full employed people. Which Joe trying to realize his American dream, and Senator Obama talks about a very very rich Joe.</i>	D8,P2	Understate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To convey something different from Obama intends to convey. • To threat Obama positive face.
9	<i>That's quite not I wanna do</i>	D9,P1	Hedge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To refuse smoothly McCain statement about Obama's plan. • To minimize the face threatening act for Obama.
10	<i>That's what Joe believes</i>	D10,P2	Contradiction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To defense and convince his statement toward Obama's issues. • To show that McCain offensive to Obama. • To minimize the imposition Obama's negative face.
11	<i>But, senator McCain, let me tell you what actually I gonna do. I think tax policy had made different between Senator McCain and myself. We both wanna cut taxes, the differences is who we wanna</i>	D11,P1	Notice, attend to Hearer interest, sympathy, need and good, Include Both speaker and hearer in activity, Be conventionally	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To show that Obama respects about McCain's statement and issues of taxes • To help McCain in saving his positive face

	<i>cut taxes for, and Senator McCain the set piece of his economic proposal is to provide 200 billion dollars in additional taxes break to some wealthy corporation in America. For example EXXON Mobile would get an additional 40 billion dollar tax break. What I've said is I wanna provide a tax cut for 95 % of working America.</i>		indirect, Give Hints	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To reduce the FTA to McCain and appreciate McCain as opponent and union.
12	<i>What I've said is I wanna provide a tax cut for 95 percent of working Americans</i>	D12,P1	Overstate, Contradiction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To defence Obama's argument about the issues. • To not impose McCain's face.
13	<i>... I think that we do every agreement about a cross board spending free. It sound good, it does propose periodically</i>	D13,P1	Exaggeratedly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To show Obama's interest and sympathy to McCain. • To prove and strengthen Obama's position in debate without doing FTA.
14	<i>.... I oppose subsidy because I thought that the storage of the market created inflation. Senator Obama support this subsidy.</i>	D14,P2	Give Reason, Contradiction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To refuse and prove about McCain's plan on economic system. • To minimize the imposing act of the statement toward Obama's plan.
15	<i>Senator Obama (Raise up the hand to Obama), I am not President Bush. If want a round against President Bush, you should around 4 years ago</i>	D15,P2	Bald on record	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To attack and offend directly the Obama's statements before. • To increase the tension and impose the FTA of Obama.



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Transcription Data of the Second Presidential Debate Campaign of the USA 2008: Barack Obama and McCain

Barrack vs Mc Cain 1

- Host : The audience behind me is promise to be quiet except that this moment when we welcome Barrack Obama and John McCain.
- Mc Cain : How are you?
- Obama : **Thank You, John, Its good to see u.**
- Host : Gentlemen, Welcome. But now we've heard this talking point, let's try to tell the people tonight something that they haven't heard. Let's get to it. Another bad day in Wall Street as both of you know. Both of you propose new plans since we address the economic crisis under Mc Cain, you (*to Mc Cain*) propose 52 billion dollars plans and include new tax cuts on couple gaining, tax break for seniors, right of first stock loss among the other things. (*Than host instructing the conversation to Obama*) "You propose 60 billion dollars in tax cut for middle and lower income to create job, new spending for public work project to create job. I will ask both of you, why is your plan better than him, senator mc Cain, You go first,
- Mc Cain : Well, let me say, bob, thank you, and thanks to Hapstrine (*name of someone*). By the way, our beloved Nancy Reagan is in hospital tonight and I thought some priority should going with you. **It's good to see u gain (*to Obama*)**. Senator Obama, mmm...
Americans are hurting right now and they're angry. In hurting and angry, they're innocent victims of greed and excess on Wall Street, and as well as Washington DC. And they're angry. They have every reason to be angry. And they want to start going to new direction. And they are elements of my proposal that you just taught line which I won't repeat. But we have also to have a short term fix and ideal and long term fixes. Let me just talk to you about one of the short term fix. A catalyst of this housing crisis was the fancy and Freddy may, the cause some prime landing situation that now cause the housing market in America to collapse. I convince that until we reverse this continue decline and whole manner ship and put up the floor under it. So the people have not only hoped and believe than they can stay in their homes and realize the American dream, but that bay you would come up. Now we have allocated 750 billion dollars. Let's take 300 of that money. And goin and buy that those home lone mortgage of this and negotiated with those people in their homes. So

that they can afford to pay the mortgage and stay in their homes. And I know the criticism, but what about the citizen that stays in their homes that they pay their mortgage payment, it doesn't help that person in their homes if the next door neighbor house is abandon and so we've got to reverse this, we gotta put the home lone first and I am disappointed. That secretary policy and other have not made that their first priority.

Host : All right. Senator Obama...

Obama : Oh...well. First of all, I wanna thanks Auctorial University and people of New York for hosting us tonight and **it's wonderful to join. Senator Mc Cain, again, thanks you Bob. I think everybody understand at this point that we are experiencing the worst financial crisis since the great depression...and the financial rescue plan that Senator Mc Cain and I supported, is an important first step.** And I push for some corporealness, making show the tax so they get their money back, if they're putting the money up, making sure that CEOs are not riching themselves through the process, and I think its gonna takes some times to work itself fast. What we haven't yet seen, is a rescue package for the middle class. Because the fundamental of the economy were weak even before, this latest crisis. I propose four specific things that I think it help. Number 1, let's focus on Job. I wanna end the tax which company is shipping their job, overseas, and provide a tax credit for every company that creating job right here in America. Number 2, let's help family right away by providing a tax cut, a middle class tax cut for people making less 200.000 dollars, and let's allow them to access their area account without penalty, if they are experiencing the crisis. **And now, Senator McCain, I agree with your idea that we gotta help home loner. That's why we included in the financial package...a proposal to get home loners in position where they can renegotiated their mortgages, and I disagree with senator McCain, how they do it?? Because the way senator Mc Cain is designing his plan it could be (not clear) for buying full prices of mortgage that now a worth lot less and we don't wanna waste the tax spare money.** And we gotta get the financial package working much quicker than has been working. Last point I wanna make clear, we got a long term challenges that have to be doubt with. We gotta fix our energy policy that giving our wealth away, we gotta fix our health care system and we gotta invest our educational system for every young person to be able to learn.

Barrack vs Mc Cain 2

Host : (to Mc Cain) all right, would you like to ask him (Obama) a question?

Mc Cain : I know. I would like to mention that couple days ago, Obama was at Ohio, he and encountered with the guy whose a Plummer, Names Joe Plummer. Joe wants to buy the business that he is spinning for all this year. Work 10-12 hours a day and he wanted to buy the business. **But he looked at your tax plan, and he saw that he was gonna pay much higher taxes, you gonna put him in a higher taxes bracket which is gonna increase taxes, which is going to cause him not to be full employed people. Which Joe trying to realize his American dream, and Senator Obama talks about a very very rich Joe, I wanna tell yeah, I am not only help that you buy that business, that you worked your whole life for, and be able and I'll keep your taxes low, and I will provide available double health care for you and your employees, and I will not have, I will not stand for at taxes increase, the small business income, 5 % of small business income, taxed are paid by small business, that 60 million job in America, and what you wanna do to Joe The Plummer is have their taxes increase, and not be able to realize American dream along of his business (Obama cuts directly the conversation)**

Obama : **That's not I wanna do**

Mc Cain : **That's what Joe believes. (Mc Cain laughed)**

Obama : He (*means Joe*) has been waiting some answers. **But, Senator Mc Cain, Let me tell you what actually I gonna do, I think tax policy had made different between Senator Mc Cain and myself. We both wanna cut taxes, the differences is who we wanna cut taxes for, and Senator Mc Cain the set piece of his economic proposal is to provide 200 billion dollars in additional taxes break, to some wealthy corporation in America. For example, EXXON MOBILE would get an additional 40 billion dollar tax break. What I've said is I wanna provide a tax cut for 95 percent of working Americans. 95 % if you make more if you make a less than a quarter million dollars a year, then you will not see your income tax corp., your capital gins corp, your farewell tax corp, not wouldn't I, and 95 % of working families, I need 5 % of the other will get a tax cut.** In fact, independent studies of look out of our perspective plans, and have included that I have provided three times the amount of tax relief to the middle class families than Senator Mc Cain does. And the conversation that I had with Joe

Plummer, what I actually said to him was 5 years ago “when you were in the position to buy your business, you need the tax cut them, and that I wanna do is to make sure that the Plummer, the Nurses, The fire fighters, the teachers, the youngster who doesn’t have money, I wanna give them a tax cut break now¹ and that requires us to make some important choices. Last point I tell about small business not only due 98 % of small business make less than 250 thousand dollars but I also wanna give them an additional taxes break because the they are the driver of the economy, they produce the most job.

Barrack Obama Vs Mc Cain 3

Host : This question goes to you first, Senator Obama. We found that yesterday, this year deficit will reach a stain big record high 444 billion dollars some experts say it could go trillion dollars next year. Both of you have said that you want reduce the deficit but the non-partisan committee foreign responsible federal budget ran the numbers both of your proposal and they say the cost your proposal even with the saving you can’t be made each will add more than 200 billion dollar the deficit. Aren’t you both ignoring reality won’t some of the program you proposing have to be trimmed, postponed even eliminated? Give us some specifics on what you gonna cut back, Senator Obama.

Obama : Well, first of all, I think it’s important for the American tender standard that 750 billion dollars rescue package if the structures properly and as president I would make sure structure properly means that ultimately taxes get their money back. And that is important to understand, but there is no doubt that we have been living the homeownership. And we gonna have to make some adjustments. Now what I’ve done to rub this campaign is to propose a net spending cut. I haven’t made promise about (*cut off by host*) absolutely so let me get to that. What I wanna emphasize that I have been strong opponent as far as you go, every dollars that I propose, I propose an additional cut. So that it matches. And some of the cuts just to give an example, we spent 15 billion dollar a year on subsidizing insurance companies, it doesn’t under the medical plan, it doesn’t help the help the senior get any better, it’s not improving our health care system, it’s just to give away. We need to eliminate the whole programs that don’t work. I want to go through federal budget line by line, page by page, programs that don’t work we should cut. Programs that we need we should make them work better. Now what it’s true is that senator Mc Cain and I have different in terms of the need to invest in America and the American people. I mention health care earlier. If we make investment

now so the people have coverage that we are preventing the diseases that will save on medical care in the future. If we invest in serious energy policy that will save money that we borrow money from china and Saudi Arabia. If we invest now, our young people will be able to go to college. That will allow them to drive the economy to the 21st century. But what absolutely true is once we get through to this economy crisis and some of the specific proposal to get us out from this slump. They were not able to get back to...a...or properly get wasted. And we gonna embrace culture and an ethic of responsibility all of us, corporation, the federal government, and the individuals out there who may be living beyond the myth.

Mc Cain : Well thank you bob, I just wanna get back to the homeownership, during the.... we have to thank the homeownership, long corporation, and they would have bought up this mortgages and people are able to stand in their home and eventually the values of those homes would actually make money. And by the way, this proposal was made by Senator Clinton, not to long ago. So obviously if we can start increasing home values then there will be creation as well (*cut off by host*)

Host : But the question, are you gonna cut.... (*Cut off by Mc Cain*)

Mc Cain : Energy, well first...eh...Second, energy and the panic, we have our nuclear power; we have to stop 77 billion dollars a year that the country don't like as very much. Solar,(mentioning the chemical materials), natural gas, nuclear, which Senator Obama has opposed and the point is that we become energy independent and we would create millions of job, millions of job in America. Okay, what I cut, I would have first able cross broad spending freeze. Okay, that some people say that a hatched and as a hatched, then I would get out the scalpel. Okay, because we've got, we have presided all the largest increase, we gotta have a new direction for this country, we have presided over the largest increase government since great society. Government spending completely out of control, 10 trillion dollars debt given to our kids, a half of trillion dollar we owe China. I know how to save billions of dollars in spending. I know how to eliminate programs, I have fought (*cut off by host*) well what I want from marketing system program would be a number of subsid.... **I oppose subsid because I thought that the storage of the market created inflation. Senator Obama support this subsid.** I would eliminate (not clear) imported...a...several....from Brazil. I know how to save billions. I saved the tax payer 6.8 billion dollar by fighting the D.O for couple of years since you might call, and it was sweetheart deal between an aircraft manufacture and D.O and people ended up in jail. But I would fight (*mentioning the Brazilian's name*) and I will search Vito in every port market bills. Senator Obama has asked for nearly one billion dollar in port bill project including three millions dollar for projector

planetarium in his hometown. And that's not the way we cut off. We'll cut off all the port.

Host : Time is up, Senator Mc Cain

Obama : Well... look... **I think that we do every agreement about a cross board spending free. It sound good, it does propose periodically,** it's doesn't happen and in fact a cross boars spending free is a hatchet. And we do need a scalpel because there are some programs don't work at all. There are some programs under funded. And I wanna make sure that we are focus on that program that works. Now senator mc Cain talks lot about year mark, that what the senator's piece of campaign. You mark account for one half and one percent of the total federal budget. There is no doubt that the system needs perform and there are lots of screwed things that we ended spending money on, and they need to be eliminated. But it's gonna solve the problem. Now,, the last thing I think we have to focus on is little bit of history, just to understand what we gonna do going forward. And when president bush came in office, we have a budget surplus and the national debt was lower about 5 trillion dollars. It has doubled year to year. And we are now looking at the deficit of well over half of trillion dollars. So one of the things that we have to recognize is pursuing the same kind of policies that we pursued for the last eight years, it's not gonna bring down the deficit, and frankly senator mc Cain bought it for 4 to 5 of president bush's budget. We gotta take the new direction that's what I proposed

Host : Do either of you think you can balance the budget in 4 years, you said previously you thought well, Senator Mc Cain.

Mc Cain : **Sure I do (). Senator Obama (Raise up the hand to Obama), I am not President Bush. If want a round against President Bush, you should around 4 years ago.** I am gonna give the new direction to this economy, to this country. Senator Obama talks about voiding for budget. He void twice for budget resolution that increases the taxes on individual making 42 thousand dollars a year. Of course we can take a hatchet and scalpel to this budget. It's completely out of control. The mayor of New York, Mayor Blumberg just post across a broad spending free on New York City. They're doin it in all over America, cause the have to, because they have to balance their budget. I would balance our budget, and I would get 'em, we can do it, with this kind of job creation of energy independent. Now look, American is hurting and they're angry. And I understand that. And they want a new direction. I can bring them into that direction by eliminating spending. Senator Obama talks about the budget I bought for. He bought it for the last two budgets that had 24 billion dollars, more in spending (motions his hands), and the budget of Bush administration proposed. He bought 4 energy bills that was full of goody for oil companies that I opposed. So, the fact is, let's look our record, Senator Obama, let's

look (not clear) and citizen against government ways (*Senator Obama is smiling*) the other watch thug organization. I have fought against spending, I have fought against special interest, I have fought for reform. (*Refers to Obama*) you have to tell me one time when you stood up the leader of your party one single mayor issue.

Obama : Well, alright,

