Quality Of Arguments Used In The First-Round Presidential Debate: Critical Pragmatics And Stephen Toulmin’s Perspective

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Abstract: It is important for politicians to have a good argumentative skill. For state leaders, the ability to think logically, to use rhetoric, and to argue systematically, scientifically, sharply, and eloquently is very crucial. The year 2019 is the political year for Indonesia. Political campaigns leading to the presidential and the legislative election, both in national and regional levels, will happen in 2019. The focus of this research is to investigate the depth and breadth of the arguments stated by the presidential candidates and how those arguments are presented. The research substantial data source is in the form of speech transcript of the recorded video of the first-round presidential debate by two pairs of president and vice-president candidates. The research data were the debate arguments found in the video transcript and the contexts surrounding them. The data gathering method used observation by employing recording and note-taking techniques. After the data were gathered, they were selected and classified based on their types for further analysis. The analysis method was distributional method and content analysis. Both data analysis methods were applied to yield significant results of the study. The results showed that there are simple patterns of argument containing claim, subclaim, data, and warrant. The orders of elements of arguments might be varied. The research results also showed that there were various pragmatic meanings found in the arguments used by the president and vice-president candidates. The results of the study which was analyzed using the critical pragmatic perspective reflect how far the candidates were concerned with the marginalized, the underprivileged, and the subjugated people.

Index Terms: Critical pragmatics, political argumentation, presidential debate

I. INTRODUCTION

The linguistic and non-linguistic studies of speeches delivered by political leaders in advanced countries have been widely conducted (1). This study is important because studies on the substance and language of the speeches will be beneficial for educational and research purposes. Such academic studies should be separated from political dimensions because the study is purely intended for academic purposes, as in education and research (2).

In Indonesia, a study on the discourses has not been widely conducted. As a matter a fact, political views put forth by the politicians contained in the discourses are very beneficial for learners and scientists. For this purpose, this article is written so that it can be read by a wider audience. Like the writers in the advanced countries, this article is free from political bias and alignments with the politicians featured in the discourses being analyzed.

Specifically, this article only focuses on the spoken argumentative discourses presented by the presidential candidates in the debate in 2019. Due to some limitations, the argumentative discourses used as the source of research substantive data are limited to the first-round of the presidential debate. The debate’s argumentative discourse in other rounds are treated as being outside of the scope of this article writing.

The purpose of the research is to find out the extent to which these Toulmin’s model of argument (3) is applied by the presidential candidates to build arguments in the first round of the presidential debate. Furthermore, this research is also intended to determine the extent to which the presidential candidates and their running mates take sides with the marginalized people in the broadest sense through the first round of presidential debate.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretically, two main theories are used in this research. The first theory is the pragmatics in relation with contexts. The second theory is the model of argument proposed by Toulmin (4). The two theories are used as the frame of reference and as the analytical tool to carry out this research. It needs to be clarified that pragmatics is the study of language with the objects in question being outside the language (5). Experts argue that pragmatics is the study of speaker’s intention. The instruments used to conduct a pragmatic analysis is context, especially situational contexts. Context is understood as the background knowledge shared by the interlocutors (6), (7).

Understanding of the right and correct contexts will allow one to draw meaning from the right context. On the contrary, insufficient understanding of the substance of context results in imperfect interpretation of the utterance. Even worse, it can stray from its intended meaning. Therefore, the argumentative discourses spoken by the presidential candidates in the debate must be interpreted correctly and profoundly.
Critical pragmatics is slightly different from pragmatics in general (8), (9). Furthermore, it should be conveyed that in addition to being the most recent branch of linguistics, pragmatics is understood as the study of external linguistic units. Parker asserts that ‘pragmatics is the study of how language is used to communicate. Pragmatics is distinct from grammar, which is the study of internal structure of language.’(10) What is meant by the study of the external linguistic units is that a language must be interpreted based on the non-linguistic factors outside the language (11).

Therefore, the external linguistic factors are also called extra-linguistic factors. The meaning inferred from the pragmatics study is the contextual meaning or the pragmatic meaning, or commonly referred to as intent. Thus, intent is actually the pragmatic meaning, instead of semantic or linguistic meaning (12). What determines the pragmatic meaning or intent, commonly referred to as speaker’s meaning, is contexts, especially the situational contexts (13). In different situation, two identical statements can result in two different meanings. Therefore, pragmatic meaning or intent is always contextual and situational. Different situations result in different speaker’s intent. In a nutshell, the linguistic intention is the main focus of pragmatic study (14).

In the studies, pragmatics cannot be separated from the from context, especially the situational contexts. To interpret the pragmatic meaning or intent, the situational context is absolute and binding. Therefore, pragmatics is a context-bound study, and the context refers to the situational context as discussed earlier (15). Assumptions as the main substance of the pragmatic context are not always revealed clearly by the experts. The assumptions are interpreted in a relatively different manner by different pragmatists. Several other prominent pragmatics theorists do not place assumptions as the main contextual substance in the pragmatic study. Moreover, if pragmatics is interpreted as the study of speaker’s intent, the critical pragmatics focuses on the dimensions of alignments with the marginalized parties and the marginalizing party (6).

The review of the tracing of contexts in the pragmatic study in this research begins with the description proposed by Yan Huang, a Chinese pragmatist, who firmly believes that pragmatic contexts can be interpreted by referring to the things related to the dynamic setting and environment in which the linguistic entity is used systematically. Huang states that ‘context can be seen as composed of three different sources—a view known as the ‘geographic’ division of context. In the first place, there is the physical context, which refers to the physical setting of the utterance. The second type is the linguistic context, which refers to the surrounding utterances in the same discourse. Thirdly and finally, we have the general knowledge context.’ (16)

In Stalnaker’s view, the terms refer to ‘common ground’ or ‘shared background knowledge’. Stalnaker’s view that a pragmatic context is understood as the ‘common ground’ is explained in detail by Clark, who further divides it into two categories, namely communal common ground, and personal common ground. Therefore, from the previous views, the nature of the pragmatic context is not the physical context and linguistic context, but the general knowledge context, which is further interpreted as the set of background assumptions shared by the the speaker and the hearer (17).

The theoretical review of the second theory starts by presenting the view from a well-known anthropologist, Edward T. Hall, who asserts in relation to context that ‘information taken out of context is meaningless and cannot reliably interpreted’. Hall suggests that in an utterance, three entities must always exist together, namely information, context, and meaning. When the three entities cannot be separated from one another, each has a very dynamic relationship. It is asserted that any information will never have a non-conceptual meaning, especially pragmatic meaning, unless the identity of the context is clear. Thus, context will appear only when the three requirements are met, namely the setting, which includes the dimensions of time, place, and the surrounding material elements, the activities, which involve either verbal or non-verbal actions, the relationship between the speaker and the hearer which is influenced by factors such as gender, age, status, role, achievement, prestige, familial relationship, professional relationship, education, etc. (18)

The next theoretical review of the context is stated by Keith Allan. This expert firmly distinguishes context into three categories, namely the physical context or setting of the utterance, the word spoken in an utterance, and the textual environment. For the purpose of this short article, Allan’s ideas on the second category of contexts are in line and relevant, namely “the world spoken of” which can be interpreted as “the subject matter being discussed.” (19) More specifically, Allan stated that the nature of contexts was actually not just “the world spoken of” but “the real world spoken of”. Thus, personal and communal assumptions are not abstract assumptions, which are still vaguely understood by the speaker and the hearer, but they must be concrete assumptions as suggested by Allan (20).

Regarding this, Ron Scollon and Wong Scollon distinguish the fundamental difference between ‘sentence meaning’ and ‘speaker’s meaning’. The first concept is understood based on the ‘knowledge of grammar’, while the second concept depends on the ‘knowledge of context’. In a similar vein, they assert that ‘Understanding both sentence meaning and the speaker’s meaning requires two kinds of knowledge. Sentence meaning depends on knowledge of grammar, speaker’s meaning depends on knowledge of context.’ Further, Scollon & Scollon assert that knowledge of context requires two kinds of shared knowledge, namely shared knowledge of actions and situations, and shared knowledge of relationship and identities (21).

Furthermore, the second theory used as the framework of the research was the theory of argumentation (22). There are a number of theories to be applied in researching argumentative discourses such as debates. However, in this research, the theory of argumentation in Stephen Toulmin’s perspective was used. In his perspective, he asserts that an argumentation consists of a number of elements which build the structure of an argument. The first element is claim or positional statement. The element of positional statement is
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Terrorism.
of topics such as Law, Human Rights, Corruption, and
round presidential debate dated January 17, 2019. The
round debate is descriptive qualitative. The substantive data
presidential candidates and their
structure of arguments being presented.
Both t
elements, namely backing, rebuttal, and modal qualifier.
and valid argument must be equipped with three additional
quality.
The three elements previously mentioned are the major
parts of an argument. The parameter of strong argument can
be seen from the existence of those three elements. If all
three element are missing, the argument is not of a good
quality.
Besides the three major parts presented earlier, a good
and valid argument must be equipped with three additional
elements, namely backing, rebuttal, and modal qualifier.
Both theories are used as the frame of reference and the
analytical tool to see the depth and wholeness of the
structure of arguments being presented.

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
The research on the argumentative discourses of the
presidential candidates and their running mates in the first-
round debate is descriptive qualitative. The substantive data
sources of this research is the recorded video of the first-
round presidential debate dated January 17, 2019. The
recorded video consists of six segments discussing a range of
topics such as Law, Human Rights, Corruption, and Terrorism.

From the substantive data source, a research data is
gathered to write this article. The research data is the
excerpts of utterances containing argumentative elements
proposed by Toulmin. The data was gathered using the
observation method by employing recording and note-taking
techniques as the basic and advanced techniques (25). The
research data will be further analyzed using Toulmin’s
theory of argument and the critical pragmatic theory and contexts.

Therefore, the analysis method to be used to analyse the
research data was the the distributional and contextual
analysis methods (26). The distributional analysis method
was applied to obtain the idea of argumentative structure
and elements, while the contextual analysis was used to
interpret data from the perspective of critical pragmatics.

IV. RESULT AND FINDINGS
The data being analysed covers the topics of the first-
round presidential debate, namely, Law, Human Rights,
Corruption, and Terrorism. The data shown in the following
excerpt is not the raw data of the research, but it is a ready-
made data to be subject to analytical methods and
techniques discussed earlier. The ready-made research data
was analysed and interpreted by implementing theories used
as the theoretical framework and analytical tool (24). The
following excerpt illustrates the point.

Excerpt 1
M: “Pemberantasan terhadap terorisme sering kali
berbenturan dengan isu hak asasi manusia. Bagaimana
strategi Anda agar pemberantasan terorisme bisa benar-
benar dijalankan tanpa ada persepsi dari masyarakat tentang
terjadinya pelanggaran HAM. …

Translation:
M: The efforts to eradicate terrorism often clashes with
human rights issues. What is your strategy so that terrorism
can be eradicated without leaving public perception that
human rights are violated?
P1: Terorisme adalah merupakan kejahatan. Oleh karena itu, terorisme harus diberantas sampai ke akar-akarnya. Ulama Indonesia telah mengeluarkan fatwah bahwa terorisme bukan jihadi. Oleh karena itu, haram dilakukan, bahkan terorisme dianggap melakukan kerusakan. Ikhzad dalam Alqur’an dinyatakan bahwa orang yang melakukan
kerusakan di bumi harus dihukum dengan keras, dengan
berat. Oleh karena itu, upaya-upaya menangkal terorisme harus dilakukan dengan dua cara mensinergikan antara pencegahan dan penindakan. Ke depan kami lebih
mengutamakan pencegahan melalui kontra radikalisme untuk
menghilangkan mereka yang sudah terpapar. Untuk itu, di dalam
melakukan tindakan, kami juga lebih melakukan
denda pada yang manusi, yang manusia, dengan tidak
melanggar HAM atau hak asasi manusia. Untuk itu, dalam
menangkal terorisme di masa yang akan datang, kami
akan mengajak ormas-ormas (organisasi masyarakat) khussunya organisasi keagamaan.

Translation:
P1: Terrorism is a crime. Therefore, terrorism must be
eradicated to its roots. Indonesian ulamas have issued an edict that terrorism is not jihad (holy war). Thus, it is forbidden, because terrorism is considered as causing harm to others. The verse in the Holy Qur’an states that any party who causes damage to the earth must be punished severely and heavily. Therefore, the efforts to eradicate terrorism must synergize two different ways, namely prevention and prosecution. In the future, we will prioritize prevention through counter-radicalism to eliminate or suppress radical and intolerant ideologies and through de-radicalization to rehabilitate those who have been exposed to radicalism. For this measure, to execute the action, we prefer to use a humanistic approach, in order not to violate any human rights. To combat terrorism in the future, the government calls for the community organizations, especially religious organizations, to work hand in hand.

P2: Saya melihat bahwa aparat harus diberi ilmu pengetahuan mengenai HAM.

Translation:

P2: I see that the officials must be given the knowledge of Human Rights.

The argumentative construction in the excerpt is relatively complete. It can be seen that claim, subclaim, data, and warrant are present in the argument. There are three claims identified from the excerpt, namely ‘Terrorism is a crime,’ ‘Thus, the efforts to eradicate terrorism must synergize two different ways, namely prevention and prosecution,’ and ‘I see that the officials must be given the knowledge of Human Rights.’ The argument constructed by three inter-connecting claims shows that the speaker’s argument is very strong. The claim is even stronger when it is supported by the sub-claims which elaborate the same topic.

There are 2 subclaims in the above excerpt. The data element as the supports of the claim and subclaim can be shown in the argumentation even though the quantity is still limited. The link between data and claim appears in the warrant statement ‘The verse in the Holy Qur’an states that any party who causes damage to the earth must be punished severely and heavily.’

The substance of argument in the previous excerpt is interesting to observe from the critical pragmatic perspective. To interpret the utterances spoken by the statesmen above, we cannot neglect the context of the utterances, which manifest in the reality of the utterances. The critical pragmatic perspective that links the context and takes sides with the human dimensions, such as ‘humanistic approach’, ‘not violate human rights,’ ‘counter-radicalism’ and ‘de-radicalism’ can be seen in the excerpt. Thus, the data contain dimensions of critical pragmatics (27).

Attention and alignment with the socially, politically, economically disadvantaged parties can be identified from the excerpt. Pragmatically, this refers to the essence of solidarity, namely the solidarity for whose cause they fight for. The aspiring leaders who understand the true meaning of solidarity are true leaders, because essentially being leaders mean striving to save the marginalized and underprivileged community to guarantee people’s social welfare as a result of good leadership.

Further, the following chart illustrates the relationship between elements in the argumentative construction.

![Chart 1a. The structure of argument with C-Sc-D-W elements](image)

![Chart 1b. The structure of argument with C-Sc-D-Sc elements](image)
with de-radicalisation. I support humanistic efforts.’ The structure of argument consists of the support and the claim as a simple pattern of argument according to Toulmin. Without the warrant element in the excerpt, it can be said that the argument lacks astuteness (3).

In the excerpt of the data above, the critical pragmatic perspective is quite obvious, as in the struggle of the presidential candidate to provide social welfare for the people that he will presumably lead if elected. The candidate’s statement that he will take side with the humanity in leading the country, supporting de-radicalism in combating terrorism, as such, is intended pragmatically to assert that none of the citizen will lose his/her life due to the lack of humanity. Likewise, the candidate’s statement that he will support de-radicalism to eradicate terrorism signals his intention to ennoble humanity (28).

The positional statement (claim) in the beginning of the text is supported by two data presented consecutively. This makes the positional statement stronger (24). The speaker still emphasizes that the argument lacks astuteness (3). The positional statement (the claim) is not left alone, but reinforced by the supporting data. The two supporting data solidifies the claim because of the warrant. The speaker feels that he has not finished elaborating his arguments in the argument constructed with three major parts, so that at the end of the text, he adds one more element, namely backing, which says ‘It means that you gave your approval signature. Can you explain this?’ Therefore, it can be confirmed that the excerpt of the argumentative text above is considered excellent seen from the perspective of argument construction.

Pragmatically, the above text has an extremely strong degree of transparency. The claim, the support, and the warrant are presented clearly and prove that they have a high degree of directness. The high degree of directness is actually not ideal to convey certain intentions which contain facts. However, seen from the speaker’s intention, the presidential candidate tries to convince that the leader of the country must be a person with good reputation. His supporters must also be clean, without criminal records, corruption allegations, etc. In other words, the presidential candidates must strive for the best interest of their country and the people. Thus, the country must be managed cleanly and honestly by well-reputed people, instead of by ex-convicts of corruption charges (29).

Furthermore, the following diagram illustrates the relationship between elements in the argument construction of Data 3.

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**Chart 2. The structure of argument with D-D-D-D-C elements**

**Excerpt 3:**

P: Kita tahu korupsi adalah kejahatan yang luar biasa. Bahkan pak P pernah mengatakan bahwa korupsi di Indonesia sudah stadium empat. Meskipun ini saya gak setuju, saya gak setuju. Tapi menurut ICW, ini menurut ICW partai yang bapak pimpin termasuk yang paling banyak mencalonkan mantan koruptor atau mantan napi korupsi yang saya tahu caleg itu yang tanda tangan adalah ketua umumnya. Berarti Pak P yang tanda tangan, bagaimana bapak menjelaskan mengenai ini?

**Translation:**

P: We know that corruption is an extraordinary crime. Mr. P mentioned that corruption in Indonesia is in the last stadium. I do not entirely agree. I disagree. But according to Indonesian Corruption Watch, well..this is according to ICW, the party that you lead is included in the party which gives tickets to ex-convicts with corruption charges to run for legislative election. To run for the election, they would require the party leader’s approval signature. Can you explain this?

The excerpt of the argumentative text above contains the major parts of argument according to Toulmin. Despite its short paragraph structure, the three major parts are present. The positional statement (claim) in the beginning of the text says ‘We know that corruption is an extraordinary crime.’ The positional statement (the claim) is not left alone, but supported by two data presented consecutively. This makes the positional statement stronger (24). The speaker still supports the positional statement with the warrant, which says ‘But according to Indonesian Corruption Watch, well this is according to ICW, the party that you lead is included in the party which gives tickets to ex-convicts with corruption charges to run for legislative election. To run for the election, they would require the party leader’s approval signature.’

The two supporting data solidifies the claim because of the warrant. The speaker feels that he has not finished elaborating his arguments in the argument constructed with three major parts, so that at the end of the text, he adds one more element, namely backing, which says ‘It means that you gave your approval signature. Can you explain this?’ Therefore, it can be confirmed that the excerpt of the argumentative text above is considered excellent seen from the perspective of argument construction.

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Furthermore, the following diagram illustrates the relationship between elements in the argument construction of Data 3.

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**Chart 3. The structure of argument with C-D-D-W-B elements**

**Excerpt 4:**

Translation:

Mt: Fine. Maybe it was ICW. But I haven’t received the report. Yes, I really think that is very subjective. Yes… I don’t agree. I don’t agree with that. I selected the legislative candidates, and if you find proofs, please let us know. You see, sir. Some corruption allegations are directed to us, which actually… well… the recipients of the holiday benefits are all the members of the House of Representatives, everyone from many different parties. If we check in the attorney office we can compare how many people waiting in line to get to the Commission of Corruption Eradication or KPK and how many people already in jail. We can check. I think we should not turn against each other’s party. I guarantee that the G party will fight corruption to its roots. Should a G party member commits corruption, I will send him myself to prison. Enough, the bottom line is, we are against corruption.

Compared to the excerpt 3, the construction of argument in excerpt 4 is less sharp. From the number of utterances, the text is longer and more elaborative than excerpt 3. However, the text above only contains two main components, namely the claim and the support. The warrant element cannot be found in the text, but the claim is elaborated into several subclauses. There are four subclauses in the above excerpt. However, the subclauses cannot replace the warrant which is necessary to link the claim and the support presented by the speaker.

From the pragmatic dimension, the utterance in the above excerpt contains a high degree of transparency. However, the transparent intention does not refer to the real data. Alignment to the marginalized people is quite visible (30). The structure of arguments described above can be seen in the following scheme.

Excerpt 5:

P: Mohon maaf Pak P, jadi yang saya maksud tadi adalah mantan koruptor atau mantan napi korupsi yang bapak calonkan sebagai caleg itu ada. ICW memberikan data itu jelas sekali, ada enam yang bapak calonkan dan yang tanda tangan dalam pencalonan itu adalah ketua umumnya dan seken. Artinya bapak tanda tangan. Jadi, jadi mohon maaf Pak P saya tidak menuduh partai korupsi, ndak bukan. Ini mantan koruptor, mantan napi korupsi, yang sudah dihukum.

Translation:

P: Excuse me, Sir. So, did you mean that there are ex-corruptors or ex-convicts among your legislative candidates? ICW released the data clearly and publicly that there are six legislative candidates who obtain approval signatures to run for legislative election from the party leader and the general secretary. It means that you signed. So, I beg your pardon, Sir. I did not accuse your party for corruption. No, do not misunderstand. I was referring to the former graft convicts, who were charged and convicted.

The argumentative text in Excerpt 5 has a structure of argument whose degree of astuteness is low according to Toulmin’s Model of Argument. It was said so because the structure of argument in the data has two elements, the claim and the support (4). The claim is supported by two data consecutively, namely ‘ICW released the data clearly and publicly that there are six legislative candidates who obtain approval signatures to run for legislative election from the party leader and the general secretary,’ and ‘It means that you signed.’ Furthermore, the speaker gives two subclauses consecutively, saying ‘So, I beg your pardon. Sir. I did not accuse your party for corruption. No, do not misunderstand,’ and ‘I was referring to the former graft convicts, who were charged and convicted.’

Pragmatically, the speaker conveys his intention in a high degree of directness, by presenting the fact clearly and transparently, when he mentions: ‘ICW released the data clearly and publicly that there are six legislative candidates who obtain approval signatures to run for legislative election; ‘the authority who granted approval for legislative candidacy was the party leader and the general secretary;’ I was referring to the former graft convicts, who were charged and convicted.’ The high degree of directness, as shown in the above examples, is actually good in terms of the quality of the argument. However, pragmatically speaking, the interpersonal rhetoric must pay attention to the maxims of communication and the principles of pragmatics (13). In other words, such utterances do not clearly show the dimensions of pragmatics and critical pragmatics.

Chart 5. The structure of argument with C-D-D-Sc-Sc elements

Excerpt 6:


Translation:

Mt: So, former corruption convicts. I think we learn this and this is democracy. Sir, we will announce to the people
that the people who do not want to vote for them, so be it. They should not give them votes to the former corruption convicts. What’s important, Sir, is that the corruption case has been through the legal process. The convicts have served their time or when the law permits them to run for legislative election, it means that they are seen as capable and the people want them because of their other strengths, maybe the amount of money they corrupted was not much, maybe they got eh..., maybe they..., well, let’s see if the petty criminals, you know, it’s true that they are wrong for stealing chickens, but as long as they corrupted billions of money from the people, let’s annihilate them from Indonesia.

The degree of astuteness of the argument is determined by the elements of the argument, such as the claim, the support, and the warrant. The application of those three elements to build a strong and astute argument must be supported with the sufficient data, both quantitatively and qualitatively (31). In the argumentative text in Excerpt 6, it is identified that the data of the argumentative structure consists only of two elements, namely the support and the claim. When compared in terms of quantity, Excerpt 6 only has one support and a more dominant claim, elaborated in subclaims. The claim ‘So, former corruption convicts’ is only supported by one data, namely ‘I think we learn this and this is democracy, Sir.’

Furthermore, the claim is elaborated in the first subclaim, namely ‘We will announce to the people that the people who do not want to vote for them, so be it. They should not give them votes to the former corruption convicts. What’s important, Sir, is that the corruption case has been through the legal process. The convicts have served their time or when the law permits them to run for legislative election, it means that they are seen as capable and the people want them because of their other strengths, maybe the amount of money they corrupted was not much, maybe they got eh..., maybe they..., well, let’s see if the petty criminals, you know, it’s true that they are wrong for stealing chickens, but as long as they corrupted billions of money from the people, let’s annihilate them from Indonesia.’ Therefore, seen from the structure of the argument, Excerpt 6 is dominated by claim and subclaim.

Pragmatically, it can be said that the text above has a high degree of directness (32). This can be seen from the statements: ‘the petty criminals’; ‘let’s annihilate them from Indonesia.’ The relationship between the elements in Excerpt 6 can be illustrated as follows.

![Chart 6. The structure of argument with C-D-Sc-Sc elements](image)

**Excerpt 7:**


**Translation:**

P: We do not want to say too much. We have understood the problems of the country and we know what we must do. We do not have a knack for being dictators or authoritarians. We do not have track records for human rights violation. We do not have track records for violence. We do not have track records for corruption. J-A will lay our titles and reputation and we will exercise our authority for the betterment of our country.

The argumentative text in Excerpt 7 has two elements, namely the claim and the support. Compared to Excerpt 6, the argument in Excerpt 7 provides a rich data. The claim of the above argument lies in the first sentence, which says ‘We do not want to say too much.’ The second sentence says ‘We have understood the problems of the country and we know what we must do.’ The sixth sentence says ‘We do not have track records for corruption.’ The seventh sentence ‘J-A will lay our titles and reputation and we will exercise our authority for the betterment of our country,’ is the subclaim, which confirms the claim at the beginning of the text. Despite the rich data, the argument in the excerpt lacks astuteness because it is not supported by the warrant as the link between the claim and the support.

The pragmatic analysis suggests that the argument in the above excerpt is firm and straightforward to convey the message. The firmness and straightforwardness show a high degree of directness in the communication context (6). The speaker’s firmness appears in the use of the word ‘kami’ or the ‘exclusive we’ used repeatedly and consistently in each sentence in the text. The straightforwardness appears in the use of the expression: ‘We do not have a knack for being dictators or authoritarians,’; ‘We do not have track records for human rights violation,’; ‘We do not have track records for violence,’; ‘We do not have track records for corruption.’

The real intention to convey by the presidential candidate is that he feels that he is suitable and more capable to run the country. He wants to convince the people that he is the candidate who is worthy to receive the mandate to lead the country because he does not have bad track records in the past (33).

The relationship between elements of the argument from Excerpt 7 is illustrated in the following pattern.

![Chart 7. The structure of argument with C-D-D-D-D-Sc elements](image)
Excerpt 8:

Translation:
Mt: Ladies and gentlemen, legal certainty, law enforcement, law institutions, especially judges, prosecutors, and police force are the requirements of a country to succeed. For this purpose, if we were given mandate from the people, we will strengthen this. We will fix this, especially we will speak realistically for people to be strong, in order not to be corrupt; this is the solution we want to build. So, what we want is to speak of the solution to the root causes of the problems. We don’t want to search for small errors, or saying ‘this is wrong’, ‘that is wrong’, ‘who is at fault’?, No! We want to see it as the country’s problem, we want to solve the problems because we have vowed, we vow to increase the tax ratio. We are certain that this country is very rich, but there are leaks of the nation’s wealth. The riches of the country flow outside the country, and it’s not anyone’s faults. It is the fault of the whole country. And this is the fault of the elite who have let this happen for decades.’ The other sentences in this excerpt are subclams. Therefore, it can be said that the argument in Excerpt 8 has a low degree of astuteness because it does not have the warrant which is the third major part to build a strong argument.

The substantial data presented in the previous excerpts show that the payer pays attention to the marginalized people. The choice of words supports this and it can be seen in the following excerpt ‘We want to find the way out. We will fix it. We will double the salary of the judges, prosecutors, and policemen so that we can hope for the institutions of judges, police, and prosecutors who are not corrupt.’ The obvious intention to be seen and captured pragmatically from the statements spoken by the presidential candidates is that together we must seek solutions to the country’s problems to find the way out of them. It is expected that in the future the society and the nation will prosper, the lawa supremacy is maintained, so that the dream to have a harmonious, peaceful, secure, and prosperous society will come true (34). The argument pattern from Excerpt 8 is illustrated in the following chart.

Chart 8. The structure of argument with C:Sc:Sc:Sc:Sc:Sc:Sc:D:Sc:Sc elements

V. CONCLUSION
Based on the above analysis, it can be concluded that the structure of an argument presented by the presidential candidates and their running mates in the first-round presidential debate is clear and simple. Data shows that most of the arguments start from the positional statement (the claim) which is followed by supports and warrant. Some analyzed data also shows that the presidential candidates start their arguments by presenting data first before following it with positional statement (the claim) and the warrant. The sub-claim also appears in some data.

The sub-claim is raised by the presidential candidates in the debate when they feel that the claim they have made needs more elaboration to gain stronger effect. Most of the data shows that the major parts of Toulmin’s argument, i.e. the claim, the support, and the warrant, are fulfilled in the presidential candidates’ arguments.

Furthermore, from the critical pragmatic perspective, it can be confirmed that the presidential candidates and their running mates have great concern and care for the marginalized, disadavantaged, and neglected people in the society and nationhood. The great concern is evident in the choice of words in their speech. Their dicions indicate that
each of the president candidates take sides with the economically, socially, politically disadvantaged people.

A conclusion section is not required. Although a conclusion might elaborate on the importance of the work or suggest applications and extensions.

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