A STUDY OF POLITENESS STRATEGIES USED
BY HILLARY CLINTON AND DONALD TRUMP
ON THE SECOND PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE

A SARJANA PENDIDIKAN THESIS

Presented as Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
to Obtain the Sarjana Pendidikan Degree
in English Language Education

By
Tania Maharani
Student Number: 131214012

ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION STUDY PROGRAM
DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE AND ARTS EDUCATION
FACULTY OF TEACHERS TRAINING AND EDUCATION
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Accepted by

Advisor

Date
6 August 2018
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By
TANIA MAHARANI
Student Number: 131214012

Defended before the Board of Examiners
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and Declared Acceptable

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Chairperson: Yohana Venranda, M.Hum., M.A., Ph.D.
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Faculty of Teachers Training and Education
Sanata Dharma University
Dean,

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Yogyakarta, 10 September 2018

The Writer

Tania Maharani
131214012
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ABSTRACT


Language is not only used in daily conversation but also in formal setting for example in the debate. The speakers must be able to use the language wisely and politely. This is important because flaunting language values and rules may lead to smearing the speaker’s image. The speakers can avoid miscommunication when they can understand the language they use. The ability to use language wisely and correctly is related to decency.

This study analyzes the video of the debate conversation in the second round of the US Presidential election. The host gives the audience an opportunity to ask the presidential candidate. The researcher analyzes the interactions between two presidential candidates, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, in the debate. The interaction between the candidates shows the use of a politeness strategy in the context of the debate. There were two research questions in this study: (1) Which politeness strategies are used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the second presidential debate (2016)? (2) What are the factors influencing the choice of politeness strategies made by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump?

The researcher analyzes the utterances that were produced by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump using a transcript from The Second Presidential Debate video: Hillary Clinton vs. Donald Trump (2016). The researcher employed Brown and Levinson’s theory (1987) to classify the use of the politeness strategies by the candidates. Factors influencing the selection of appropriate propriety strategies were also analyzed by using Brown and Levinson’s theory (1987).

The study revealed that two candidates used almost all of the politeness strategies but the dominant of the strategy used by Donald Trump is bald on record as much as seventeen and Hillary Clinton uses sixteen positive politeness. The factors that influence the choice of the strategies were the payoffs and sociological variables which consisted of social distance and rank imposition. The researcher expected that the results of this study will be helpful for all who read this research.

Keywords: debate, politeness strategies, payoffs, sociological variables
ABSTRAK


Studi ini menganalisa video percakapan debat di babak kedua pemilihan presiden Amerika. Pemandu acara memberikan kesempatan kepada penonton untuk bertanya kepada kandidat presiden. Penulis menganalisis interaksi antara dua kandidat debat presiden, Hillary Clinton dan Donald Trump. Menanggapi yang terjadi di antara mereka menunjukkan penggunaan strategi kesopanan dalam konteks debat. Terdapat dua rumusan masalah dalam studi ini: (1) Strategi kesepuhan apa saja yang di gunakan Hillary Clinton dan Donald Trump di the second presidential debate (2016)? (2) Faktor-faktor apa saja yang mempengaruhi Hillary Clinton dan Donald Trump dalam menggunakan kesopanan dalam debat tersebut?


Studi ini menyimpulkan hampir semua strategi kesopanan di gunakan tetapi yang dominan digunakan oleh Donald Trump adalah bald on record sebanyak tujuh belas dan Hillary Clinton memakai positive politeness sebanyak enam belas. Faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi pemilihan strategi kesopanan adalah keuntungan untuk penutur dan variabel sosio logis yang mencakup jarak sosial dan tingkat pembebanan. Penulis berharap supaya hasil dari studi ini berguna bagi semua yang membacanya.

Kata kunci: debate, politeness strategies, payoffs, presidential debate
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Tania Maharani
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents four sections, namely background of the study, problem formulation, objectives of the study, and definition of terms. Background of the study consists of the background related to the research. The problem formulation is the part where questions are formulated. The objective of the study is to answer the questions formulated in the problem formulation. The definition of terms defines the keywords that are used by the researcher in the study to avoid misinterpretation.

A. Background of the Study

People use a language to communicate with other people. Every human being needs to communicate with each other and communication plays an important role in a society. According to Holtgraves (2002), “Language is a system that allows people to communicate or transfer propositions among themselves. People use language to accomplish various things—request and compliment and criticize, and so on” (p. 1). Therefore, in the debate people have to control their language in interpersonal communication.

According to Holtgraves (2002), “The use of language is not about doing an action for one self, but also a social action that involves other people”. Therefore, in presidential debate the candidate must choose proper words and ways to incite the listeners’ interest and respect. People express their thought
especially in the debate, so they have to show their politeness. Dealing with people is not easy, particularly with people that will choose one of the presidential candidates to be their president. According to Van Herk (2012), politeness is an act of behaving properly in any social interaction and treating the interlocutor. Politeness is more than just following the custom or protocol. Politeness can help people communicate better. It makes the participants interested with using politeness strategy especially to speak up on the debate. For that reason, understanding the concept of politeness is important to fulfill human needs and convey their messages or/and feelings.

The researcher believes that this study can be beneficial for English language learners to understand more about the use of English language in the society according to the context. This study will help EFL learners to use English expressions more politely and avoid misunderstanding because of inappropriate English expressions. However, the students need to understand how to use the language in various social conditions. The student can use language in casual speech and formal speech. Moreover, English learners will be able in choosing the right way to communicate properly and politely by using politeness strategy. It can lead them into proper use of the language itself especially in their communication.

The focus of this study is to observe and analyze the use of politeness strategies as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), namely Bald-on Record, Positive Politeness, Negative Politeness, and Off Record in the video of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump’s second presidential debate. The researcher chooses a
transcript of the video on second presidential debate as an object of the research to conduct the research because the transcript provides dialogue which show interpersonal communication. There are two different notions that are proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), namely positive face and negative face. Brown and Levinson state (1987) said that Face Threatening Act is an act that inherently threatens hearers’ or speakers’ face. FTA is an expression that treats the positive face or negative face of both speaker and hearer within the interpersonal communication. In this research, FTA is used analyze a study of politeness strategies used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump on the second presidential debate.

The president candidate has his/her own style in making his/her speech interesting and professional. The video of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump on the second presidential debate is the one of the examples of presidential debates. In that video, they have different assumptions about using politeness strategies. Trump focuses more on his act to build better America in the future while on the other hand Clinton tries to stay close with American people. Trump gives the example of issues in America and he tried to persuade the audience. Clinton used her feeling to catch the audience’s attention. This video is chosen for its interesting debate. This kind of video represents a debate situation that displays the interaction between Clinton and Trump in a presidential debate. This interaction will likely provide a big area of politeness strategies investigations. The researcher as a researcher is interested in conducting this study on the second presidential debate video of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump.
This study is different from other politeness studies is the object of the study. The areas of this study are linguistic, sociolinguistic, pragmatic and politeness as the main of the research. Many politeness studies are concerned with how politeness strategies are used in several novels or movies. Meanwhile, the researcher of this study is interested in how politeness strategies are used in the debate as presented in a presidential debate. Besides, the selected video of the debate in this study is one of the debate videos between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump as candidates of U.S. President.

B. Research Questions

Based on the background of the study, the researcher formulates the research questions as follows:

1. Which politeness strategies are used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the second presidential debate (2016)?

2. What are the factors influencing the choice of politeness strategies used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump?

C. Research Significance

The aims of this study are; first, to identify the politeness strategies used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. The answer will help the readers and listeners to understand kinds of politeness strategies used by both candidates. It will also help the readers and the listeners to understand how they apply the politeness strategies into their speech.
Second, it aims to find out the factors influencing the choice of politeness strategies. It will help the readers and listeners to understand factors influencing the choice of politeness strategies in the presidential debate. It will also help the readers and the listeners to understand what factors are most influential into their speech.

D. Definition of Terms

The researcher provides the definition of terms in this research. The researcher believed that it is necessary to define the following terms.

1. Hillary Clinton vs Donald Trump Selected Video

The unofficial script of The Second Presidential Debate (2016) video was downloaded from NBC News and had been double-checked by the researcher. The second presidential debate is a debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump as the candidates. The debate published on October 9\textsuperscript{th}, 2016 at Washington University. This debate shows the quality of the candidates as the President in the future. This debate also becomes a trending topic because of its attractive presidential candidates. The presidential candidates are Hillary Clinton as the first woman to become presidential candidates and the second candidate, Donald Trump with all his controversy especially in treating women. Afterwards, the researcher analyzed the use of politeness strategies used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in The Second Presidential Debate (2016) video and wrote up the report.
2. Politeness Strategies

According to Brown Levinson (1987), “politeness strategy is a strategy that concerns saving hearer’s face by formulating an expression that is less threatening for the hearer’s face” (p. 61). In this study, politeness strategy is a process with the way their statement makes the hearer interested. Brown and Levinson classify four kinds of strategies in politeness strategies, namely bald on-record, negative politeness, positive politeness, and off-record. Therefore, the fulfillment of politeness strategy will be the concern of this study.

3. Politeness

Politeness is a strategy that contains saving hearer’s face by formulating an expression that is less impendent for the hearer (Brown and Levinson, 1987). According to Holmes (1996), politeness is a behavior that shows positive concerns for others. The theory accounts for the redressing of the affronts to face posed by face threatening acts to addressees. Mills (2003) states that politeness is the speaker’s expression to reduce the face threats that carried by assertive face threatening acts to the hearer. The utterances in which the politeness were produced by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump will be the focus of this study.

4. Face Threatening Act

Brown and Levinson (1987), in their extension analysis of face, propose two notions which are positive and negative face. FTA as described by Brown and Levinson (1987) is an act that inherently threats hearer’s or speaker’s face. That means any act that opposes or threatens the want of the hearer or speaker. In this study, FTA is used to analyze the positive or negative face of Clinton and Trump.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The chapter includes two parts. Those parts are theoretical description and theoretical framework. Theoretical description provides theories to be discussed in this study. Theoretical framework summarizes and synthesizes all major relevant theories which will help the researcher analyzes the study to answer the research questions.

A. Theoretical Description

This part discusses four major theories of this study, namely relationship between language and society, the study of language, politeness strategies, and discourse analysis. This study deals with the utterances which are produced by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the second presidential debate, it is necessary to include the pragmatic theory because it is related to the meaning within the context. Relationship between language and society is presented in order to make diverse understanding of the topic discussed. The other theories are politeness strategies that became the main theories of this study. The last theory is discourse analysis. The theory is presented because the study deals with how people produce the language within the context.

1. Relationship Between Language and Society

Relationship between language and society are related to each other and
how language is used. Chamber (2002, p. 3) states about “Sociolinguistics is the study of the social uses of language”. Holmes (2013, p.1) also mentions that sociolinguistics studies the relationship between language and society. They are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social contexts, and they are concerned with identifying the social functions of language and the way it is used to convey social meaning. It means that language and society may influence each other.

Bram (1955, p. 19) give the description about the relationship between language and society in the process of socialization of a child. He states that language is related to this process in a number of ways. In producing a speech, one needs skills to influence the audiences. Social beliefs and attitude also can influence the participant to accept the speaker.

2. The Study of Language

According to Van Dijk (2009) describes that the study of language usage or pragmatics is one of the fields of linguistics and discourse studies that has most systematically studied the relation between context and language. Yule (1996) state that pragmatics is concerned with the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker (or researcher) and interpreted by a listener (or reader)” (p. 3). It means that this subject is related to human being and context situation. Learning pragmatics might ease people in communication because people are able to know the intended meaning of somebody else’s utterances including the context. Pragmatics is related to human interaction. In their interaction with the others, people have to pay attention to the social and cultural background. Sometimes,
they have to respect each other in order to make a good interaction. To respect other people, everyone has to consider politeness. Therefore, politeness becomes one of the units studied in pragmatics.

Brown and Levinson (1983) describe “the study of those relations between language and context that are grammaticalized or encoded in the structure of a language” (p. 9). It is about how a context contributes to the meaning. The context that contributes to the meaning means the way people understand the meaning of a language that is used in a particular context. It is not about how the meaning lays within the language itself.

According to Leech (1992) “pragmatics is the study on how language is used to communicate. Pragmatics’ concerns itself by how people use language within context and why they use language in particular ways” (p.19). It means that pragmatics is a study that analyses the meaning in connection with speech situations. Meaning of pragmatics is defined in connection with the speaker or user of the language.

3. Discourse Analysis

According to Nunan (1993), “discourse analysis involves the study of language in use” (p. 7). Discourse analysis present what the language is, how the speakers produce the language, and how the context within which the language is used proposed by Nunan (1993). In other words, discourse refers to the interpretation of the communicative event in context. Avdi and Georgaca (2007) said that discourse is defined as systems of meaning that is related to the interactional in sociocultural context and operate regardless of the speakers’
intentions. Therefore, people use language to achieve certain interpersonal goals in specific interactional contexts proposed by Nunan (1993).

4. **Politeness Strategies**

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness strategy is a strategy that concerns on saving hearer’s face by formulating an expression that is less threatening for the hearer’s face. Brown and Levinson (1987) classify four main strategies of politeness strategy, namely bald on record is the strategy where the face threatening act is state explicitly without any redress, off-record is the strategy where is the face threatening act implicitly stated, and the last are negative politeness and positive politeness are also on-record but they are not baldly done since the redress inhabit in them. The following points show deeper explanation that will be clarified with the sub strategy of each politeness strategy.

a. **Bald On-Record**

Brown and Levinson (1987, p.95) state that bald on-record is used in different situations since speakers can have different motives in doing the face threatening acts. This strategy can be applied when speakers attempt not to minimize the threat to the addressees’ face. It is usually employed to show urgency. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), bald on record is the form of maximally efficient communication. The primary reason why the speaker uses this strategy is because the speaker wants to do the FTA with efficiency more than he/she wants to satisfy hearer face.

However, there are two classes that constitute the use of this strategy due to different motives and circumstances speakers have. Brown and Levinson
(1987) state that these two classes are the class where the FTA is ignored and not minimized and the class where the face threat is minimized by implication.

1) **Non-Minimization of the Face Threat**

The first class where the face threatening act is ignored includes the case of great urgency, the case where the speaker’s desire to minimize the threat is small and the case where doing the face threatening act is for the sake of hearer’s interests. The case of great urgency is exemplified by the utterance “Help me!” The case where the speaker’s desire to minimize the threat is small is shown in the situation where the speaker is more powerful, does not fear retaliation from the hearer, or the speaker just simply wants to be rude. This is exemplified by “Hey, John. Bring me these books,” as said to a younger sibling. The case where doing the FTA is for the sake of the hearer’s interest is shown in the situation where the speaker concerns the hearer interest as in the utterance “Be careful! The weather is so rainy.” This warning can be performed using baldly on record.

2) **FTA Oriented Bald on Record Usage**

The other one is the class where the threat is minimized by the implication. The threat inherently carries by the FTA is minimized by saving hearer’s particular face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). For example, the utterance a speaker makes is a FTA but the utterance implicitly saves the face of the hearer. Saving the face implicitly requires a mutual orientation which includes the attempt of each social interaction participant to foresee what the other participant attempts to foresee (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

This type of bald on-record includes welcoming, farewells, and the state
where the speaker insists the hearer to impose on speaker’s face. The example of welcoming is an utterance that is produced by a host and said to a person who comes into his house as in, “Oh you come. Come in.” The example of farewells is “Take a good care of you. Good bye!” The example of the state where the speaker lets the hearer impose on his face is “Don’t worry about it. Leave it to me” as said to a guest who wants to wash the glass he has just used.

b. Positive Politeness

Positive politeness confirms that the relationship of both the speakers and the addressees is friendly and expresses group reciprocity to minimize the distance among them. Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 103) underline that this strategy attempts to attend the addressees’ interests, needs, wants, and goods. The mechanisms of positive politeness strategy are claiming common ground, conveying that speaker and hearer are cooperators and fulfilling hearer’s want.

1) Claiming Common Ground

Claiming common ground includes the act of indicating that the speaker and hearer belong to a particular group. The particular group here is considered as a group of people who share the same desire that includes goals and values. However, Brown and Levinson (1987) narrate this mechanism into eight sub-strategies that are exemplified in the following paragraphs.

Sub-strategy 1 is noticing the hearer’s goods, wants, needs, etc. Brown and Levinson (1987) explained that this act is the speaker’s attempt to notice what the hearer has. It can be in the form of sympathy, care or even compliment. The example of this sub-strategy is the utterance “What a beautiful question this is!”
Nice.”

Sub-strategy 2 is the state where the speaker exaggerates interest, sympathy and approval with the hearer. This strategy can be done by saying something in a higher way than its actual status using exaggerating adjectives. The example is the utterance, “What a fantastic home you have!”

Sub-strategy 3 is intensifying interest to the hearer. Based on Brown and Levinson (1987), it is another way for the speaker to intensify the interest of his own contributions to conversation. The example of this sub-strategy is the utterance, “I come down the stairs, and what do you think I see? A huge mess all over the place, the phone’s off the hook and clothes are scattered all over…” (Brown and Levinson, 1987)

Sub-strategy 4 is using any of the inordinate way to convey in-group membership. It indicates that both the speaker and hearer belong to a group of people who share specific needs. Brown and Levinson state that the elements of in-group identity markers are address form, jargon, language dialect, slang and ellipsis. This is the example by the utterance, “Here we are!”

Sub-strategy 5 is seeking agreement. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that seeking agreement means to seek for the hearer’s agreement. It is done by raising safe topics that the audiences agree with. This sub-strategy with the utterance “Isn’t you new bag a beautiful color!” as said comment on neighbor’s hideously huge new bag. Instead of starting the unsafe topic, the speaker raises another safer topic.

Sub-strategy 6 is avoiding disagreement. There are four parts of avoiding
disagreement which can be done by stating false agreement, indirect agreement, white lies and hedging. This sub-strategy is exemplified with the dialogue.

A: That’s where you live, London?

B: That’s where I was born. (Instead of claiming what A say as a mistake, A states the fact that B was born there)

Sub-strategy 7 is presupposing to raise and assert a common ground. Brown and Levinson (1987) explain that presupposing is the act of believing something is true before it is proven. The example is in the utterance “I really had a hard time learning this country, you know.”

Sub-strategy 8 is using joke. Brown and Levinson state that joking can share mutual knowledge. Therefore, it is the form of claiming common ground. The example of sub-strategy is the utterance, “OK if I tackle those cookies now?” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 124).

2) Conveying that Hearer and Speaker are Cooperators

Conveying that hearer and speaker are cooperators is the second mechanism of politeness strategy. It refers to the speaker and hearers’ same wants in a particular way. There are six sub-strategies to be explained in the following paragraphs based on Brown and Levinson (1987).

Sub-strategy 1 is asserting speaker’s knowledge of and concern for the hearer’s want. This sub-strategy aims for what the hearer’s need according to the speaker’s knowledge toward hearer’s need. Brown and Levinson (1987) exemplify this sub-strategy with the utterance, “I know you love roses but the
florist didn’t have any more, so I brought you geranium instead.”

Sub-strategy 2 is promising. Based on Brown and Levinson (1987) when the speaker makes a promise to the hearer, the speaker has the intention to fulfill the hearer’s need. The intention of fulfilling the hearer’s need shows that the speaker will obtain whatever the hearer’s need. This sub-strategy is exemplified with the utterance “I’ll see you next week.”

Sub-strategy 3 is being optimistic. Brown and Levinson state that this sub-strategy is about how the speaker becomes optimistic regarding the willingness of the hearer to fulfill them. This sub-strategy is exemplified with the utterance “Look, I’m sure you don’t mind if I borrow your typewriter” based on Brown and Levinson (1987).

Sub-strategy 4 is including the speaker and hearer in a particular activity. This sub-strategy aims to involve the speaker and hearer in the activity and eventually become cooperators. The example is in the utterance, “Let’s get on the beach, yeah?”

Sub-strategy 5 is asking and giving for reasons. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that asking and giving for reasons shows that speaker and hearer are cooperators in a way they are cooperating through the act of asking and giving the reason. The example is in the utterance, “Why don’t we go to the campus!”

Sub-strategy 6 is asserting or assuming reciprocity. Based on Brown and Levinson (1987), it can be done by creating mutual advantages among the speaker and hearer. The example of this sub-strategy is exemplified with the utterance, “I’ll give you money if you get good score.”
3) Fulfilling Hearer’s Want

The last mechanism of positive politeness is fulfilling hearer’s want. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that satisfying hearer’s wants is done by the act of gift giving. It means that the speaker wants hearer’s want for hearer. The speaker can satisfy hearer’s positive face by actually satisfying hearer’s positive face want. Giving gift to hearer such as goods, sympathy, understanding and cooperation as in “I just know that your grandmother passed away yesterday. I’m sorry to hear that.”

c. Negative Politeness

According to Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 129), negative politeness is “the heart of respect behavior” and that it is “more specific and focused.” The function of this strategy is to minimize the imposition on the addressees. Brown and Levinson (1987) explain that negative politeness is a redress addressed to the negative face. It means that the redress concerns the hearer’s freedom of action and autonomy. There are five sub-strategies in the mechanism of negative politeness strategy that are classified by Brown & Levinson (1987) such as being conventionally indirect, not presuming or assuming, avoiding coercion, communicating speaker’s want not to impinge on hearer and go on record of incurring debt.

1) Being Conventionally Indirect

Brown and Levinson (1987) state that conventional indirect forms can be seen by asking questions or asserting the felicity conditions underlying the act. Being conventionally indirect is the sub-strategy of this mechanism. This sub-
strategy is exemplified in “Can you close the window?” It means that the speaker’s on record utterance is conveyed indirectly.

2) **Not Presuming or Assuming**

This mechanism is the form of avoiding performing a particular action regarding the hearer’s belief is through the use of hedges. Brown and Levinson state that avoiding presuming or assuming anything towards the hearer’s belief includes avoiding presumption about the hearer, his want, and what is the relevant of his attention (p.144). The example is “Won’t you open the door?” made by Brown and Levinson (1987).

3) **Avoiding Coercion**

Avoiding Coercion means that the speaker does not persuade hearer to do something forcefully. This sub-strategy has done by stating an option for the hearer not to do the act. In addition, the other sub-strategies to lessen coercion include attempting to minimize the imposition, giving difference and humbling.

4) **Communicating a Speaker’s Wants Not Impinge on Hearer**

Conveying that speaker does not want to impinge on hearer is one of the ways to show that the speaker cares for the hearer’s negative face. Speaker will communicate that the impingement on hearer’s negative face is not executed lightly. This mechanism is exemplified by the following sub-strategies, such as apologizing, impersonalizing the speaker and hearer in a conversation and nominalizing.

5) **Going on Record of Incurring Debt**
The last mechanism is going on record of incurring debt or by disclaiming any indebtedness on the part of the hearer by Brown and Levinson (1987). The example of this sub-strategy is the utterance “I’d be eternally grateful if you would help me”.

d. Off-Record

Off-record or indirect strategy is done to let the speakers attribute unclear communicative intention (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 211). It indicates that if the speakers want to avoid their responsibility for doing FTA, they can employ the strategy and let the addressees interpret the intended message. Brown and Levinson (1987) explain that off-record is a communicative act which contains not only one particular intention. It means that the utterance that the speaker makes contains more than one clear particular intention. The hearer has to interpret the utterance in order to understand the real meaning. Holtgraves (2002) states that off-record strategy is an indirect communication. The two mechanisms are inviting conversational implicature and being vague or ambiguous proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987).

1) Inviting Conversational Implicature

When the speaker wants to do an FTA and choose to do it indirectly, the speaker must give the hearer some hints. This is done by inviting conversational implicature and to think of an interpretation that makes the utterance understandable. There mechanisms are divided into ten sub-strategies that will be explained in the following paragraphs.

Sub-strategy 1 is by giving hints. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that
giving hints is an act of saying something which is not relevant and inviting the hearer to search for an interpretation. Brown and Levinson (1987) exemplify this sub-strategy with utterance “My house isn’t very far away”. From the utterance, the speaker asked the hearer to come over.

Sub-strategy 2 is by presupposing prior event. Based on Brown and Levinson (1987) this is done by forcing the hearer to search for the relevance of a prior event. The example of the strategy is in the utterance “I washed the car again today.” It means that the use of “again” has done by the speaker to force the hearer to find the relevance of the presupposed prior event.

Sub-strategy 3 is by giving association clues. Brown and Levinson state that it is provided by mentioning something associated with the act required of a hearer by mutual knowledge irrespective of their interactional experiences. This sub-strategy is exemplified by the utterance “Are you going to market tomorrow? There’s a market tomorrow, I supposed.” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 216). It means that the speaker conveys a request to the hearer to give a ride there.

Sub-strategy 4 is by understanding what the speaker said. According to Brown and Levinson (1987) this is the act of saying less than what is required. It means that the speaker invites the hearer to search for an interpretation.

Sub-strategy 5 is overstating. Brown and Levinson (1987) explain that overstating is saying more than what is required. It is the opposite of understating. The example of this sub-strategy is the utterance “There were a million people in the Co-op tonight!” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 219).

Sub-strategy 6 is the use of tautologies. Brown and Levinson (1987) state
that the use of tautologies encourages the hearer to look for an interpretation from non-informative utterance.

Sub-strategy 7 is the use of contradiction. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that the use of contradiction aims to force the hearer to look up for an interpretation that resides in the contradictive utterance. The example of this sub-strategy is the utterance “I am sad and I am not sad about that.” It means that the speaker gets a better job but he has to move from the city.

Sub-strategy 8 is being ironic. Brown and Levinson (1987) explain that being ironic is to state the opposite of what the speaker means. By doing that, the speaker lets the hearer interprets what he really means. The example of this sub-strategy is the “John’s a real genius.” It is said after the third person has just done something stupid.

Sub-strategy 9 is the use of metaphors. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that by using a metaphor the speaker hedges the utterance and he invites the hearer to interpret the meaning of the utterance. The example of this sub-strategy with the utterance, “John is a real bird”, which is said to convey that John runs like a bird or runs well.

Sub-strategy 10 is using a rhetorical question. Brown and Levinson (1987) state that by using this sub-strategy the speaker ask a question with no intention of getting the answer. It means that the speaker also invites the hearer to interpret what he really means.

2) Being Vague or Ambiguous

This sub-strategy explains that the speaker can also be vague or ambiguous
in applying off-record strategy. There are five sub-strategies of being vague or ambiguous that are explained in the following paragraphs.

Sub-strategy 1 is being ambiguous. Based on Brown and Levinson (1987), purposeful ambiguity can be achieved through metaphor. The example of this sub-strategy is the utterance, “John’s pretty (sharp, smooth) cookie. It could be either a compliment or an insult, depending on which of the connotations of sharp or smooth are latched on to.

Sub-strategy 2 is being vague. Brown and Levinson (1987) explain that being vague about who the object of the FTA is or what the offence. This sub-strategy is exemplified with the utterance “Looks like someone may have had too much to eat.”

Sub-strategy 3 is over-generalizing. Brown and Levinson state that this sub-strategy is about conveying general rule that hearer then has to choose whether the general rule applies to him. This sub-strategy exemplified with the utterance “Mature people sometimes help to clean the dishes”.

Sub-strategy 4 is displacing the hearer. Brown and Levinson (1987) proposed that the speaker pretends to address the FTA to someone whom it would not threaten. This is exemplified in the following case. One student in the class asks another student in negative politeness to pass the eraser in the situation where the teacher is much nearer than the other student. The face of the teacher is not threatened and the teacher can choose to help as a bonus for the student.

Sub-strategy 5 is being incomplete. Brown and Levinson explain that being incomplete deals with the use of unfinished utterance to give the implicature
too the hearer. The example of this sub-strategy is the utterance “Oh Mom, a stomachache…” which is said give her the option of telling her to take a rest rather than dispensing a pill.

5. Factors of Politeness Strategies

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), there are two factors that influence the application of the politeness strategies. The factors are payoffs and sociological variables. Those will be explained below.

a. Payoffs

Based on Brown and Levinson (1987) payoff is the expected results of the politeness strategies. The speaker is concerned with this payoff when the speaker applies politeness strategies there will be this expected result underlying in the strategies. By applying the strategies, the speaker also expects the result to be advantageous for the speaker. Every politeness strategy has its own advantages for the speaker. This strategy is classified into four payoffs based on each politeness strategy, such as bald on record payoff, positive politeness payoff, negative politeness payoff, and off record payoff. Those advantages of the strategies are explained in the next discussion.

1) Bald On Record Payoff

By applying this strategy, the speaker can get several advantages. These are the advantages for the speaker. They enlist public pressure against the hearer, build a support for his self-image, avoid the chance to be seen as manipulator, to be misunderstood and also have the chance to give a compensation for the face that has been threatened by the FTA proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987).
2) **Off Record Payoff**

Based on Brown and Levinson (1987), this strategy is used by the speaker to satisfy the hearer’s negative face and minimize the treat which the speaker makes towards the hearer in a greater degree. The speaker also can get several advantages in this way: the speaker can get acknowledgement for being sympathetic and non-coerciveness, avoid being gossiped and taking the responsibility for the FTA the speaker makes and the last advantages is give the hearer an opportunity to be seen to care for speaker so that he can test hearer’s feeling towards the speaker.

3) **Negative Politeness Payoff**

Brown and Levinson (1987) state that by applying this strategy, the speaker can get several benefits. For example, the speaker shows the respect and difference toward the hearer for the FTA, maintains the social distance, avoids the threat that speaker gives to the hearer, and shows respects and cares about the hearer’s negative face.

4) **Positive Politeness Payoff**

By applying this strategy, the speaker minimizes the treat of an FTA by assuring the addressee that he is ‘the same kind’ as the hearer. It means the speaker can avoid the debt implication of doing the FTA by referring to the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. This is accomplished by inviting the hearer in the activity.

b. **Sociological Variables**

Sociological variables consist of social distance, relative power, and the
rank of imposition proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Sociological variables are another factor that influences the speaker in using politeness strategies. These factors are major for the measurement of the seriousness of an FTA. The quantification affects the way the speakers use the politeness strategies and affect the choice of strategies. Furthermore, each of the quantification has its own values that the hearer knows.

1) Social Distance

Brown and Levinson (1987) state that social distance is “symmetrical social dimension of similarity or difference” (p. 76). Furthermore, Holmes (2001) explained that the dimension deals with the judgment of the relationship between the speaker and the hearer. Thus, intimacy between the speaker and hearer affects the choice of the strategy.

Social distance is a variable that concerns frequency assessment of the interaction and also the kinds of materials or non-material goods exchanged between the speaker and hearer. It means if the speaker and hearer are distant, the speaker will choose the least polite strategies as in positive politeness and bald on record strategies. Meanwhile, if the speaker has less intimate the speaker and hearer are, the more the speaker will choose the least polite strategies as in off record strategies and negative politeness.

2) Relative Power

Relative power is the degree to which hearer can impose his own ant and desire or face over the speaker’s want proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987).
Moreover, Holmes (2001) uses the term but it is called relative status. It explains about the status of the hearer over the speaker who basically also concerns the power of the hearer and the speaker. It means that the speaker will use more polite strategy when the speaker has lower power that the hearer. On the contrary, if the hearer possesses low power, the speaker will use less polite strategies.

3) Rank of Imposition

Brown and Levinson (1987) explain that the rank is the degree of a matter that is considered as the interference to the face of the hearer. The interference of doing this strategy is the FTA that the speaker made. In other words, the degree of the FTA defines the rank of imposition. A speaker who wants to impose the hearer’s positive face will choose less polite strategies as in positive politeness and bald on record strategies. On the other hand, a speaker who wants to impose the hearer’s negative face will choose more polite strategies as in negative politeness and off record strategies.

B. Theoretical Framework

This study aims at analyzing the use of politeness strategies found in Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump’s speech in second presidential debate. There are two research questions, namely the kinds of politeness strategies implemented by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the second presidential debate and the factors that influence the choice of politeness strategies in the debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory is used to underlie the researcher in analyzing the study to answer the research questions.
In order to answer the first research questions “Which politeness strategies are used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the second presidential debate (2016)?”, the researcher applies the theories of politeness strategy proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) to analyze the utterances that are produced by the candidates. Brown and Levinson (1987) elaborate the politeness strategies theory into four strategies, namely positive politeness, negative politeness, bald on record, and off record strategy. The researcher applies the four strategies to analyze the utterances which are produced by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the second presidential debate and classify the types of strategies that are used by them.

In order to find out the factors affecting the choice of the strategy, Brown and Levinson’s theories (1987) will also be used in solving the second research problem which is “What are the factors influencing the choice of politeness strategies done by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump?”. Brown and Levinson (1987) elaborate the factors influence the application of the politeness strategies into two factors. These two factors are the payoffs of the politeness strategies and the sociological variables. The researcher analyzes the utterances found in Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in second presidential debate accordance with the two factors to see whether the factors actually influence the choice of the strategies.
CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology used in this study. It presents four parts namely the research method, type and source of data, instruments and data gathering technique and data analysis technique.

A. Research Method

The researcher’s focus in this study was on the politeness strategies used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the second presidential debate. More specifically, the two research problems in this study were (1) “Which politeness strategies are used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump?” (2) “What are the factors influencing the choice of politeness strategies made by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump?” This study is concerned about the way the two candidates (Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump) implement the politeness strategies in their conversations in the Second Presidential Debate’s Video. Thus, this study is a study about how language is used in a social context as conceived in the video.

Since it is concerned with how a language is used, this is a descriptive qualitative study. It describes the politeness strategies made by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. It is considered as a qualitative study, according to Denzin and Lincoln (2005), since it aims at understanding human’s behavior and the reasons that give such behaviors. The goal of this qualitative research was a holistic picture and depth of understanding, rather than a numeric analysis of the
data stated by Ary, Jacobs & Razavieh (2002). Similarly, the objectives of this study were to analyze and to understand the politeness strategies employed by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump and the factors affecting the choice of the strategy.

As stated by Ary, Jacobs, Sorensen, and Razavieh (2010), “a qualitative research focuses on understanding social phenomena from the perspective of the human participant in natural settings” (p.22). It is the same as the objective of the study, which is to analyze the politeness strategies made by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump and to find the factors that influence the choice of the strategy.

In this study, the utterances of the subjects that lead to politeness strategies are discussed. There are two strategies and instruments for data collection that the researcher used, namely the document analysis (the script of video Donald Trump vs Hillary Clinton) and discourse analysis method was considered as the most appropriate method for this study since it deals with language used in social interactions.

B. Type and Source of Data

The researcher started to analyze the data on January 11th, 2017. Specifically, the researcher watched the videos of the second debate in order to know which politeness strategies were used by Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump in The Second Presidential Debate Videos. The debate was on YouTube as one of the trending topics. The videos and the transcripts of the dialogue between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump were provided in the videos uploaded by NBC News.
YouT

ube channel.

The utterances analyzed in this study are produced mainly by two speakers in the video. The first speaker was Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton as the first President candidate of the United States. Based on Biography.com she was born on October 26, 1947 in Chicago. She is an American politician who was the 67th United States Secretary of State from 2009 until 2013, the U.S. Senator from New York from 2001 to 2009 and the first lady for President of the United States in the 2016 election. Clinton made a second presidential run in 2016. She received the most votes and primary delegates in the 2016 Democratic primaries and formally accepted her party’s nomination for President of the United States on July 28, 2016. She became the first female candidate to be nominated for a president by a major U.S. political party.

The second President candidate of the United States of America is Donald John Trump. He was born on June 14, 1946 in New York City. Before entering politics, he was a businessman and television personality. Trump’s business career primarily focused on building or renovating office towers, hotel, casinos, and golf courses. He also started several side ventures and branded various products with his name. He has written or co-written several books (most notably The Art of The Deal), and produced and hosted The Apprentice television series for 12 years. As of 2017, he was the 544th richest person in the world with an estimated net worth of $3.5 billion and now he is try to join politics as a President candidate of the United States. This biography is taken from Wikipedia.
C. **Data Gathering Technique**

In gathering the data, the researcher observed the selected videos of the Second Presidential Debate. The researcher analyzed the utterances that are produced by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump with the help of the transcripts of the selected video. In selecting the videos, the researcher accessed https://www.youtube.com/TheSecondPresidentialDebate;HillaryClintonAndDonaldTrump(FullDebate)\|NBCNews. The clip with the transcripts was taken from NBC News YouTube channel. The selected utterances were used to find out the factors that influence the choice of politeness strategies.

Meanwhile, in gathering the data, the researcher used more than one instrument. According to Bogdan and Biklen (2003), “many sources are better in a study than a single source because multiple sources lead to a fuller understanding of the phenomena which the researcher is studying” (p. 78). The instrument used in this research was checklist table.

D. **Data Analysis Technique**

The researcher gathered all of the candidates’ conversation from the script. The researcher analyzed the utterances in order to know how the speakers conveyed the message and intentions. There are three steps used by the researcher to answer the research questions.

First, the researcher made a checklist table in the form of a table that contained the politeness strategies used by the president candidates. There are four types of politeness strategies written in the table, namely bald on record (BoR),
positive politeness (PP), negative politeness (NP), and off record (OR) by using Brown & Levinson’s theory. The goal of the checklist is to classify which politeness strategies were used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump on second presidential debate.

Second, the analysis was done by observing the utterances of each politeness strategy used by each candidate and validating the data to the theory. Then, the researcher expressed the strategies that were used based on the written categorization in the table. The categorization is shown in Table 3.1. The researcher, furthermore, classified certain expressions into four politeness strategies proposed by Brown & Levinson (1987).

Table 3.1 The Politeness Strategies Produced by Donald Trump Vs Hillary Clinton found in the video and script. The scripts are follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Candidates</th>
<th>Utterances</th>
<th>Politeness Strategies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donald Trump</td>
<td>I apologize to my family. I apologize to the American people. Certainly I’m not proud of it.</td>
<td>NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillary Clinton</td>
<td>Well, thank you. Are you a teacher? Yes, I think that’s a very good question, because I’ve heard from lots of teachers and parents about some of their concerns about some of the things that are being said and done in this campaign.</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last step was the researcher identifying the utterances loaded with politeness strategies that are described in the research questions’ discussion to find out what factors influenced the candidates in using certain politeness strategy. The researcher used Brown and Levinson (1987) theory.
CHAPTER IV
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the research finding and discussions in order to answer the research questions that have been formulated in the first chapter. The first research question is the politeness strategies are used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the Second Presidential Debate. The second research problem is the factors influencing the application of politeness strategy done by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the Second Presidential Debate.

A. The Politeness Strategies Used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump on the Second Presidential Debate

This section describes the result of the analysis of the utterances of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump on the Second Presidential Debate. From the utterances, the researcher identified the politeness strategies used by them. They employed the strategies in accordance with the theory proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Bald on Record, Positive Politeness, Negative Politeness and Off Record were applied by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the Second Presidential Debate. Hillary as a speaker one only applied three of the politeness strategies. Donald Trump did not execute Off Record in his utterances. The politeness strategies used by the candidates were listed in Table 4.1.
Table 4.1 Politeness Strategies Found on Second Presidential Debate (2016)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Speaker</th>
<th>Positive Politeness</th>
<th>Negative Politeness</th>
<th>Bald on Record</th>
<th>Off Record</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hillary Clinton</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald Trump</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis of the politeness strategies used by the three speakers was elaborated in the following discussion based on the most frequent strategy to the infrequent one.


Positive politeness is one of politeness strategies functioning as a redress directed to the addressee’s positive face. However, it is not necessarily a redressive act of a particular face want threatened by FTA. The essence of positive politeness is to fulfill one’s positive face. In other words, it is to claim a particular degree of familiarity with the addressee. It is associated with the usage of intimate language. It refers to the action of minimizing the distance between the speaker and hearer and also making the hearer feels accepted, wanted and good about himself.

Positive politeness was applied by all of the president candidates. It was applied by the candidates whenever they were in a conversation with people they put interest in. The application of the strategy was shown by the use of three positive politeness mechanisms namely claiming common ground, conveying that speaker and hearer are cooperators and fulfilling hearer’s want. The most apparent
sub-strategies of those mechanisms were the use of in-group identity marker, the use of joke, slang, white lies, promise and offer, and giving gift to hearer.

Claiming common grounds is one of the positive politeness mechanisms. It is about how the speaker indicates himself and the hearer as a group of individuals that share specific wants, goals and values. Some instruments of claiming common ground demonstrated in the movie were the use of in-group identity marker, the use of joke, slang, white lies, and the intensification to the hearer’s interest. The researcher analyzed the instruments starting from the use of in-group identity marker. Dialogue 1 shows the debate conversation between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump that consists of group identity marker. The group identity marker or the positive politeness is labeled with the code ‘PP’.

Dialogue 1
Time : 01:18-01:50
Participants : Hillary Clinton and The Audience (Patrice Brock)

Patrice Brock (Audience) : Thank you, and good evening. The last debate could have been rated as MA, mature audiences, per TV parental guidelines. Knowing that educators assign viewing the presidential debates as students’ homework, do you feel you’re modeling appropriate and positive behavior for today’s youth?

Hillary Clinton : Well, thank you. Are you a teacher? Yes, I think that’s a very good question, (PP) because I’ve heard from lots of teachers and parents about some of their concerns about some of the things that are being said and done in this campaign.
The audience gave her questions about children's learning through the presidential debate and the parental limits of keeping her son through the social media, which is certainly related to Clinton's opinion or feelings. It would be a good idea to watch debates as homework for children or what positive things can be taken if children watch this debate. In this situation, Clinton wants to show closeness to her audience to make them feel interested. As in the example Clinton replied "well thank you ..." it means she gives respect to the audience because she wants to ask Hillary and approach as if she can guess that the audience is a teacher. Hillary also praised to the audience that it was a good question so that the audience also interested in listening the answers that will be conveyed to Clinton.

This dialogue explained that Clinton uses PP because Clinton does not make a distance between her and the audience. In this dialogue, Clinton also jokes with the audience like in the example "Are you a teacher?" It can be seen from the question that trying to get closer to the audience. Claiming common ground is a mechanism that is used in this dialogue because Clinton invites the audience to achieve goals together. The sub strategy that is used is sub strategy 8 about using jokes in because here Clinton tries to crack jokes to get closer to the audience. Clinton felt she had the same mission and vision as audience about education.

Dialogue 2
Time : 01:52 - 02:01
Participants : Hillary Clinton

Hillary Clinton : I think is very important for us to make clear to our children that our country really is great because we’re good. (PP) And we
are going to respect one another, lift each other up. We are going to be looking for ways to celebrate our diversity, and we are going to try to reach out to every boy and girl, as well as every adult, to bring them in to working on behalf of our country.

In this statement, Hillary Clinton is still discussing about the previous question, related to this debate, is it possible or not for children's learning. The speaker said "I think is very important for us to make clear that our country is really great because we're good". It means the speaker wants to praise and get sympathy from listeners by saying "we're good ". By saying “we” it means that she feel can work together and close with citizen of United States. The sentence delivered by the speaker will attract sympathetic attention from the speaker to the listener. The choice of words used by the speaker proves that the speaker makes the audiences interested in what she says.

In the dialogue, the speaker uses positive politeness strategy because it uses the claiming common ground indicated by sub-strategies 2 and 3. It explains that the sub strategy 2 comes up when the speaker tries to make the listener interested in what she says by making it sympathetic to the listener. In this dialogue, sub strategy 3 also exists because in this context the speaker attracts the listener to contribute as if the listener participated to think that "that our country really is great".

Dialogue 3

Time : 02:22 - 02:41
Participants : Hillary Clinton
Hillary Clinton: That’s why the slogan of my campaign is “Stronger Together”, because I think if we work together, if we overcome the divisiveness that sometimes sets Americans against one another, and instead we make some big goals (PP) and I’ve set forth some big goals, getting the economy to work for everyone, not just those at the top, making sure that we have the best education system from preschool through college and making it affordable, and so much else.

Dialogue 3 explains that the speaker wants to get support by creating a slogan to show her slogan is cohesive. As the speaker said "That's why the slogan of my campaign is" Stronger Together ". In this dialogue the speaker says that she has a slogan which means we are strong if we are together, explaining that there is a group that has a common purpose and desire. As stated in positive politeness this dialogue explains the mechanism of claiming common ground because it is stated for a group of people who have the same desire. This dialogue is also made clear by the slogan or jargon created by the speaker for the listener.

This dialog also describes the mechanism of positive politeness that is conveying that hearer and speaker are cooperators which is explained by the sub strategy 2 about promising. The dialogue that explains about promising when the speaker says "I think if we work together, if we overcome the divisiveness that sometimes sets Americans against one another, and instead we make some big goals” it means the speaker promises to the listener, if they are together they will achieve a common goal.

Dialogue 4
Time: 05:18 – 05:25
Participants: Donald Trump
Donald Trump: We have to bring back respect to law enforcement. At the same time, we have to take care of people on all sides. We need justice. (PP)

This dialogue means that the speaker wants to invite the listener to achieve common goals. The word "we" in the sentence shows a mutual agreement indicating that they have a common purpose. In this dialogue, Donald Trump explains what happened earlier in this country due to terrorism. The incident got many people killed and it happened continuously. When Donald Trump said "we have to bring back respect to law enforcement. At the same time, we have to take care of people on all sides." It means that we as citizens should keep each other in all situation and the State's honor should return. Another sentence said by Donald Trump is "we need justice" which indicates that the speaker has high confidence that he can combat the terrorism in his country. It means the speaker insists that we need wisdom, so that we will not be underestimated by terrorists.

This dialogue explains about PP concerning the mechanism of conveying that hearer and speaker are cooperators. In this dialogue explained that the speaker and the listener have the same desire and will carry out the desire together as well. The speaker raises the issues that occur in the community and explains that he knows what the listener desires. This dialogue uses sub-strategy 3 that describes being optimistic and explains how the speaker becomes optimistic about the willingness of the listener to fulfill it. So this dialogue is identified as PP, conveying that hearer and speaker are cooperators using sub strategy 3.
Dialogue 5

Time : 06:14 – 06:19
Participants : Donald Trump and Cooper

Cooper : Thank you, Mr. Trump. The question from Patrice was about are you both modeling positive and appropriate behavior for today's youth? We received a lot of questions online, Mr. Trump, about the tape that was released on Friday, as you can imagine. You called what you said locker room banter. You described kissing women without consent, grabbing their genitals. That is sexual assault. You bragged that you have sexually assaulted women. Do you understand that?

Donald Trump : No, I didn’t say that at all. I don’t think you understood what was — this was locker room talk. I’m not proud of it. I apologize to my family. I apologize to the American people. Certainly, I’m not proud of it. (PP)

This dialogue between the host and Donald Trump regarding the questions from an audience named Patrice, whether these two candidates must have a positive attitude that could be in the example of young people. So, many of the online questions for Trump are negative because Trump has sexually assaulted women and has underestimated women indirectly.

Donald Trump tries to convince the listener not to see the negative side of him but he also does not answer explicitly because according to Trump this is not the place to talk about it. Trump tried to apologize and he is not proud of what had happened so he did not want to talk about it. This dialogue speaks of the PP because here the speaker feels close to the listener and minimizes the distance between the listener and the speaker. Trump said "I apologize to the American
people. Certainly, I'm not proud of it. "That means Trump feels close to the listener and immediately admits that he's wrong and he is not proud of it without explaining why. The mechanism used in PP is to fulfill the hearer's want that the speaker can sympathy to himself by apologizing to the listener. Seen with the words "apologize" from the speaker that indicates that the speaker tried to make the listener think positive about himself.

Dialogue 6
Time : 07:42 – 07:45
Participants : Donald Trump and Cooper

Cooper : Have you ever done those things?

Donald Trump : And women have respect for me. And I will tell you: No, I have not and I will tell you that I’m going to make our country safe.

In this dialogue, the host still talks about how Trump respects women. Cooper asks if Trump had ever done anything to disrespect women. In this dialogue, Trump does not want to talk about his weakness but instead he discusses about building a better America. So Trump will not talk about how he treats women. He will focus to tell about his promised to build America safe and more focused on what America needs.

This dialogue explains how Trump promised to further convince the audience to elect him because he will keep America safe from terrorism. As he says "I will tell you that I'm going to make our country safe." That means Trump promises to keep his country safe. This dialogue is categorized as PP because the
distance between the audiences is maintained like friendship and Trump also tries to reassure the audience that they remain the sole purpose of wanting their country to be safe. The mechanism in use is conveying that hearer and speaker are cooperators because here in explain the speaker and listeners have the same way to reach the goal. The mechanism is explained by the use of sub strategy 2 which contains about promising because here Trump speaks "I will ..." and "I'm going to .." he shows that he will realize the desire of the listener to keep America safe.


Negative Politeness is a strategy that is addressed to hearer’s negative face by the speaker. It focused of the study on redressing an action that contains threat to hearer’s negative face. The examples of this strategy usage were ordering and asking something from a hearer by a speaker. This strategy is the way a speaker minimizes the imposition addressed to that desire. This strategy also the way to maximize the social distance and it is generally used to put a social brake in the interaction. The examples of this strategy usage were asking and ordering something from the hearer by the speaker. Negative politeness was used by all of the speakers to collect the data. There were five mechanism of this strategy, namely being conventionally indirect, nor presuming or assuming, avoiding coercion, communicating a speaker’s wants not impinge on hearer, and going on record of incurring debt.

Question and hedge were two of the sub-strategies that are included in avoiding assumption and presumption mechanism. If the speaker used negative
politeness strategy, he had to avoid assuming and presuming the wants of the hearer. Dialogue 7 shared the example of question or negative politeness was labeled as ‘NP’.

Dialogue 7
Time : 07:42 – 07:45
Participants : Donald Trump

Donald Trump : You say who’s making these deals? We’re going the make great deals. We’re going to have a strong border. We’re going to bring back law and order.

This dialogue talks about who will be responsible for all the accidents that have happened. Mr. Trump talked of terrorism and the disadvantages of the State that has been appearing in this country. Mr. Trump tells his opinion by saying, “You say who’s making these deals?” The utterance was said by Trump was considered as avoiding presumption by using question. In this occasion, Trump was aware that his utterance might threaten Hillary’s negative face. Thus, Trump used the question first before stating his opinions to Clinton’s choice whether she would be responsible or not.

3. Off Record Strategies Found on Second Presidential Debate (2016)

Off record is doing a communicative act which is done in such way that is somehow unclear and makes the act has more than on clear interaction. It means using language in indirect way. By making the communicative intention in such a way, the speaker lets the hearer decide how to interpret his intention. The application of this strategy is classified into two mechanisms. The first mechanism
is inviting conversational implicature that can be done by giving hints and the second mechanism is by being vague or ambiguous.

Based on the data, the researcher found out that Donald Trump and Clinton used the off-record strategy. The conversation containing the off-record strategy used by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton was shown in dialogues 8 and 9. The dialogue showed the application of inviting conversational implicature mechanism that could be done by giving hints. Off record strategy was labeled as ‘OR’.

Dialogue 8
Time : 07:50-07:56
Participants : Donald Trump and Cooper

Cooper : Have you ever done those things?
Donald Trump : We’re going to make America safe again. We’re going to make America great again, but we’re going to make America safe again.

In this dialogue, Cooper asks Trump "have you ever done those things?" and here Trump does not answer once or not but he presupposes that if he were elected he would make America safe again. In this dialogue Trump repeatedly assumes by using the word "again" continuously. Since he was one of the president candidates in U.S., he used those opportunities to do the campaign. He showed his promises to the audience. He used the off-record strategy by using mechanism of inviting conversational implicature in sub strategy 2. This dialogue used the word “again” continuously, which means that the used of “again” is done
by the speaker to force the hearer to find the relevance of the presupposed prior event. The actual fact was that he wanted the audience to elect him as the next president of US.

Dialogue 9

Time: 08:10-08:39
Participants: Hillary Clinton and Cooper

Cooper: Secretary Clinton, do you want to respond?

Hillary Clinton: Well, like everyone else, I’ve spent a lot of time thinking over the last 48 hours about what we heard and saw. You know, with prior Republican nominees for president, I disagreed with them on politics, policies, principles, but I never questioned their fitness to serve. Donald Trump is different.

The president candidate namely Hillary Clinton, was interviewed by Cooper about her response from Trump’s thoughts in doing the campaign. Clinton told Cooper and the audience about her thoughts. She tells the story of what the president did and said that she does not agree with Trump’s way of thoughts. Clinton invites audience to interpret herself what makes her disagree with Trump's thoughts. By giving the hints, Clinton said “Donald Trump is different.” it means she used the off-record strategy by using mechanism of giving hints. As said to convey that Donald Trump say differently in the way of thinking that makes sense or not.


Bald on record is a direct way of conveying things. The speaker who uses this strategy wants to ignore or threat the hearer’s face. In other word, it is related
to the speaker do not have the willingness to redress hearer’s face. This strategy is
classified into two different motives, namely the motive where the face threat is
not minimized at all and motive where the face threat is minimized by
implication.

Bald on record strategy was used by all of the candidates. The case where
the speaker’s desire to minimize the threat is small is shown in the situation where
the speaker is more powerful, does not fear retaliation from the hearer. Dialogue
10 showed the application of bald on record in the mechanism non-minimization
of the face threat. It described the respond of Trump in the campaign. The bald on
record strategy was labeled as ‘BoR’.

Dialogue 10
Time : 55:59-56:01
Participants : Donald Trump

Donald Trump : Why don’t you interrupt her? You interrupt me all the
time. (BoR)

The answer given by Trump signifies the speaker’s power than the listener
and does not fear retaliation from the hearer or the speaker just simply wants to be
rude. In this dialogue Trump said " Why don’t you interrupt her? You interrupt
me all the time." It means he is disturbed by the circumstances. The answers
issued are also very clear so as not to make the listener interpret the meaning. In
this dialogue also seen the disappointment of Trump who felt uncomfortable. So,
in this dialogue he stated directly he did not like. Trump made sure after he said
that he would not interrupt anymore.
Dialogue 11
Time : 16:18-16:35
Participants : Hillary Clinton

Hillary Clinton : He never apologized (BoR) to the reporter that he mimicked and mocked on national television and our children were watching. And he never apologized (BoR) for the racist lie that President Obama was not born in the United States of America.

In this dialogue, Clinton explained the mistake out loud about Donald Trump. Hillary Clinton feels cornered by the accusations Trump had given to her and Clinton clearly avoided the mistakes Trump had made. Clinton said "he never apologized" repeatedly and full of emphasis. In this section, the audience also looks very clear with the statement issued by Clinton herself.

B. The Factors which Influences the Application of Politeness Strategies Used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the Second Presidential Debate

This part discusses the factors influencing the application of politeness strategies done by the candidates of President U.S., Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. There are two factors that could influence Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump to choose what kind of politeness strategies that would be used. The factors were the payoffs of politeness strategies and the social variables. Politeness strategies’ payoffs were divided into four payoffs based on each strategy, namely positive politeness payoffs, negative politeness payoffs, bald on record payoffs and off-record payoffs. Meanwhile, the social variables factors
were divided into three variables, namely social distance, relative power, and rank of imposition.

In addition, to simplify the discussion, the researcher would remind the readers about the example of speakers’ utterance taken from the previous discussion. Each factor was discussed in following paragraphs.

1. **Payoffs**

Payoffs were the result or the advantages from the choose politeness strategies. The deeper discussion about the payoffs found in the debate was explained in the following paragraphs.

a. **Positive Politeness Payoffs**

Positive politeness payoffs deal with satisfying hearer’s positive face in some respects. The candidate who used positive politeness could be in the form of giving compliment. It showed that the candidate valued what the other had. This payoff was explained in Utterance 1 when the audience talked about children problem to Hillary Clinton.

**Utterance 1**

Hillary Clinton: Well, thank you. Are you a teacher? Yes, I think that that’s a very good question. (PP) because I’ve heard from lots of teachers and parents about some of their concerns about some of the things that are being said and done in this campaign.

Clinton responded with the method of approach to the audience. The audience asks about the problem of the child and Clinton makes an approach by saying thank you first and then asks if the audience was a teacher or not, as if she
knew that the audience was a teacher. She also said it was a good question to get a positive respect from the audience. She used exaggerated words, such as thank you, are you a teacher? and good question to satisfy audience’s positive face. However, the focus of this payoff was not about the exaggerated words but about the compliments that Clinton gave to audience. Clinton’s compliment indicated that she valued what audience had done.

b. Negative Politeness Payoffs

Negative politeness payoff discussed the speaker’s wants to satisfy the hearer’s negative face. Negative politeness payoff was exemplified in Utterance 2 in the following paragraphs.

Utterance 2

Donald Trump: You say who’s making these deals? We’re going to make great deals. We’re going to have a strong border. We’re going to bring back law and order.

In utterance 2, Donald talked about who is responsible for America’s current accident. Donald used the negative politeness strategy as a result that he did not want to threaten the audience’s negative face. By doing this, he did not want to offend Hillary’s or the audience’s feeling. Therefore, he could manage himself to satisfy the audience’s negative face.

c. Off Record Payoffs

Off record payoffs discussed the speaker’s wants to satisfy the hearer’s negative face in a greater degree to minimize the threat towards the hearer. By doing this, the speaker gives the hearer an intention which is not stated explicitly
so that the hearer shall interpret the actual meaning of intention. This payoff was exemplified in Utterance 3 in the following paragraphs.

Utterance 3
Donald Trump: We’re going to make America safe **again**. We’re going to make America great **again**, but we’re going to make America safe **again**.

Utterance 3 was about Donald Trump who was interviewed by Cooper as a host about his campaign. At the time Cooper asked about whether he ever did that before and in responding to Cooper’s question, Donald told him about his wants by saying “We’re going to make America safe again. We’re going to make America great again, but we’re going to make America safe again.” This kind of utterance include as off-record strategy. Donald left Cooper and the audience to interpret what he really wanted. Thus, the reason to choose the strategy was to satisfy the hearer’s negative face in a degree greater than what negative politeness did.

**d. Bald on Record Payoffs**

The idea of bald on record payoffs is the speaker wanted to avoid the danger of being misunderstood and to be clear, the speaker chose the bald on record strategy. These were the essence of bald on record payoffs. The payoff was exemplified in Utterance 4.

Utterance 4
Donald Trump: Why don’t you interrupt her? You interrupt me all the time. (BoR)
In this section Trump felt he was cornered with all the accusations from Clinton and the host. In this dialogue we can also see the respond issued by Donald Trump, bald on record strategy was used by Trump by saying, “Why don’t you interrupt her? You interrupt me all the time.” Trump could not avoid the responsibility of doing FTA to the host. Furthermore, he wanted to be clear and efficient. It was related to the situation when both Cooper and Clinton cornered him. Therefore, Trump said it directly toward both of them so that he could immediately say what he wants to say.

2. Sociological Variables

Another factor which affected Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton to choose a particular politeness strategy was the sociological variables. There were three elements in sociological variables namely the social distance, relative power, and rank of imposition. The discussion of sociological variables and the findings were explained deeper in the following paragraphs.

a. Social Distance

Social distance discusses about how stable social attributes such as the age, sex and socio-cultural background. It indicates the intimacy between the speaker and hearer whether they had close or distant relationship.

If the speaker has a high intimacy with the hearer, the speaker will choose less polite strategies as in positive politeness and bald on record strategies. Meanwhile, if the speaker has less intimacy with the hearer, the speaker will choose more polite strategies as in negative politeness and off record strategies.
Utterance 1 showed Clinton’s utterance that contained positive politeness. Clinton chose to use positive politeness to lessen the social distance between her and the audience.

Utterance 1
Hillary Clinton: Well, thank you. Are you a teacher? Yes, I think that’s a very good question.

Utterance 1 showed that Clinton invited the audience to get chemistry together. Clinton invited the audience by using the positive politeness, as in utterance “Well, thank you. Are you a teacher? Yes, I think that’s a very good question.” By saying this, Clinton lessened the social distance between her and the audience. She tries to approach the audience in a way as if she understands that the audience is a teacher and praises her question. Thus, Utterance 1 showed that Clinton and the audience has a great intimacy.

b. Relative Power

Relative power discussed the status of the hearer over the speaker which basically also concerns the power of the status of the hearer over the speaker. When the hearer possesses greater power than the speaker, the speaker will use the strategy which is more polite. Furthermore, when the speaker has higher power than the hearer then the speaker will use less polite strategy.

Meanwhile, the example of the results showed that the relative power did not influence the speakers in suing the politeness strategies. Utterance 2 showed Trump’s dialogue.
Utterance 2
Donald Trump : You say who’s making these deals? We’re going the make great deals. We’re going to have a strong border. We’re going to bring back law and order.

Clinton was talking about who is responsible for the accident that have occurred in America so far. Before Trump continued to share the facts, he immediately said “You say who’s making these deals?” towards the audience. In this case, Trump was aware that his utterance can threaten the audience’s negative face. However, Trump used the negative politeness strategy instead of the other politeness strategies which had lower power. Trump ignored his status and power as president candidate to tell the fact. By using the negative politeness strategy, Trump respected Clinton as the other candidate and minimized the status distance between the audience and Clinton.

c. Rank of imposition

The rank of imposition can be identified by two variables in rank of imposition, namely imposition towards negative face and positive face. The candidate who wants to impose hearer’s negative face will choose more polite strategies as in negative politeness and off record strategies. For the positive face, the imposition is assessed by the amount of threat given to hearer positive face. For negative face, there are two scales that identify the rank of the imposition namely the imposition requiring services and goods.

Utterance 3 showed Clinton’s utterance that contained the off record strategy. In that dialogue, Clinton used the off-record strategy to make an imposition that required service and goods.
Utterance 3

Hillary Clinton: Well, like everyone else, I’ve spent a lot of time thinking over the last 48 hours about what we heard and saw. You know, with prior Republican nominees for president, I disagreed with them on politics, policies, principles, but I never questioned their fitness to serve. Donald Trump is different. (OR)

In this dialogue is not explained why Trump is different, Clinton just said "Donald Trump is different" it means to make the audience interpret what is meant by her words. She showed her intentions implicitly to the hearer by using the off-record strategy, so that the hearer should interpret what she really wanted. Clinton did not directly ask meaning of different. However, she gave the hearer freedom to interpret what meant she said. Therefore, she satisfied the audience’s negative face in a higher level.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter consists of two parts namely conclusions and recommendations. Conclusion summarizes the results of data and finding of the study. Recommendations consist of inputs for future researcher to conduct further studies on the same topic.

A. Conclusions

This study was conducted to analyze the use of politeness strategies by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton on the Second Presidential Debate. It specifically aimed at analyzing the use of four politeness strategies and the factors influencing these strategies. The president candidates were Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. This study aimed to answer two research questions. The first research question is “Which politeness strategies are used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the second presidential debate (2016)?” dealing with the use of politeness strategies. The second research question deals with the factors that influence the speakers in using the strategies.

The researcher applied the theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) to find out the politeness strategies used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump and the factors which influence the strategies. The researcher found out that Clinton and Trump used politeness strategies. There are four types of politeness strategies as stated by Brown and Levinson (1987), namely positive politeness, negative
politeness, bald on record politeness, off record politeness. Politeness strategies used by Donald Trump are positive politeness, found in ten instances; negative politeness, found in eight instances; bald on record, found in eighteen instances; and off record, found in seven instances. Politeness strategies used by Hillary Clinton are positive politeness, found in fifteen instances; negative politeness, found in five instances; bald on record, found in one instances; and off record, found in seven instances. Furthermore, the researcher found out that the most frequent strategy used in the second presidential debate was positive politeness. The data revealed that Clinton used positive politeness and Trump used bald on record strategy as well. This finding proved that Clinton and Trump used different politeness in their debate. It was basically to create respect from the audience in their own way. They wanted to maintain a close relationship through the interaction between the audiences.

The second research question is “What are the factors influencing the choice of politeness strategies used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump?” The factors influencing the use of politeness strategy by Clinton and Trump were the payoffs of the politeness strategies and sociological variables. Politeness strategies payoffs were divided into four types, namely positive politeness payoffs, negative politeness payoffs, bald on record payoffs, and off record payoffs. Positive politeness payoffs were the speakers’ wants to maintain social closeness towards the audience. Bald on record payoffs were related to the speakers’ want to be straightforward and efficient. Lastly, off record payoffs were related to the speaker’s wants to satisfy the hearer’s negative face in greater degree and
minimize the threat through the hearer.

The sociological variables are divided into three variables, namely social distance, relative power and rank of imposition. Social distance was related to how the social attributes affected the relationship between the presidential candidates and the audience. In social distance we also see how the difference in gender affect their debate. Gender difference matters in the debate. As a man, Donald Trump tends to use facts to make a point; while as a woman, Hillary Clinton uses more verbal language. Rank of imposition was related to a degree of the FTA that is considered as the face of the hearer. However, the relative power factor did not affect the speakers in using politeness strategies. It indicated that all the speakers ignored their power and social status while doing the debate.

B. Recommendations

In this part, the researcher gives recommendations regarding this research. These recommendations will help them in learning this topic or writing further research about this topic. The researcher expects that it can contribute to improve the success in English learning or teaching activities and application of English language.

1. For Future Researchers

The researcher would like to present the suggestion to the future researchers to get more references for similar study. The researcher hopes that the future researcher can conduct a research of using politeness strategies within an utterance and the factor influencing in Public Speaking. The future researcher can
use the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson (1987) as it has been applied widely. The future researcher can also apply these politeness strategies in speaking class especially in Public Speaking.

2. For English Learners

   It is important for learners of English as a Foreign Language to study politeness. Politeness is a prototype of how language is used in a social context or in a real context. By studying politeness, the language learners can get the sense of the language is used properly. The learners should practice politeness in order to be able to use the language properly in social context and to avoid placing the local context in English utterances. Studying politeness strategies will also help English learners to apply a better strategy and avoid misinterpreting and misunderstanding while communicating in English.
REFERENCES


APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

The list of Politeness Strategies Produces Used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump on Second Presidential Debate

Data 1

Clip Title: The Second Presidential Debate: Hillary Clinton And Donald Trump (Full Debate) | NBC News

Published on: October 9, 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>The Speaker</th>
<th>The Utterance</th>
<th>Politeness Strategy (Bor,PP,NP,OR)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton CL1/HAL1/PP</td>
<td>Well, thank you. Are you a teacher? Yes, I think that’s a very good question, …</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton CL1/HAL1/PP</td>
<td>And I think it is very important for us to make clear to our children that our country.</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton CL1/HAL1/PP</td>
<td>That’s why the slogan of my campaign is “Stronger Together because I think if we work together, if we overcome the divisiveness that sometimes sets Americans against one another, and instead we make some big goals …</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton CL1/HAL1/PP</td>
<td>If we set those goals and we go together to try to achieve them, …</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT1/HAL2/BoR</td>
<td>Well, I actually agree with that. I agree with everything she said.</td>
<td>BoR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT1/HAL3/BoR</td>
<td>When I look at all of the things that I see and all of the potential that our country has, we have such tremendous potential, whether it’s in business and trade, where we’re doing so badly.</td>
<td>Bor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT1/HAL3/NP</td>
<td>You say who’s making these deals? We’re going the make great deals. We’re going to</td>
<td>NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Donald Trump DT1/HAL3/BoR</td>
<td>have a strong border.</td>
<td>BoR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Just today, policeman was shot, two killed. And this is happening on a weekly basis.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT1/HAL3/PP</td>
<td>We have to bring back respect to law enforcement. At the same time, we have to take care of people on all sides. We need justice</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT1/HAL3/PP</td>
<td>But I want to do things that haven’t been done, including fixing and making our inner cities better for the African-American citizens that are so great, and for the Latinos, Hispanics, and I look forward to doing it. It's called make America great again.</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT2/HAL4/PP</td>
<td>I apologize to my family. I apologize to the American people. Certainly I'm not proud of it.</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT2/HAL4/BoR</td>
<td>You know, when we have a world where you have ISIS chopping off heads, where you have — and, frankly, drowning people in steel cages, where you have wars and horrible, horrible sights all over, where you have so many bad things happening, this is like medieval times. We haven’t seen anything like this, the carnage all over the world.</td>
<td>BoR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT2/HAL4/OR</td>
<td>Can you imagine the people that are, frankly, doing so well against us with ISIS? And they look at our country and they see what’s going on.</td>
<td>OR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT2/HAL4/BoR</td>
<td>I will knock the hell out of ISIS. We’re going to defeat ISIS.</td>
<td>BoR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT4/HAL5/PP</td>
<td>I have great respect for women. Nobody has more respect for women than I do.</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT6/HAL5/PP</td>
<td>And I will tell you that I’m going to make our country</td>
<td>PP</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Donald Trump</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>DT6/HAL5/OR</td>
<td>DT6/HAL6/OR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>HC2/HAL6/OR</td>
<td>HC2/HAL6/OR</td>
<td></td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>HC2/HAL6/OR</td>
<td>HC2/HAL6/OR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>HC2/HAL7/PP</td>
<td>HC2/HAL7/PP</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>HC2/HAL7/NP</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>HC3/HLM7/NP</td>
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<td>23.</td>
<td>DT9/HLM7/PP</td>
<td>DT9/HLM7/PP</td>
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<td>24.</td>
<td>DT10/HLM7/PP</td>
<td>DT10/HLM7/PP</td>
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<td>25.</td>
<td>DT10/HLM8/BoR</td>
<td>DT10/HLM8/BoR</td>
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<td>26.</td>
<td>DT10/HLM8/BoR</td>
<td>DT10/HLM8/BoR</td>
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<td>27.</td>
<td>DT13/HLM9/PP</td>
<td>DT13/HLM9/PP</td>
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<td>28.</td>
<td>HC4/HLM10/PP</td>
<td>HC4/HLM10/PP</td>
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<td>29.</td>
<td>HC4/HLM10/PP</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>We’re going to make America great again, but we’re going to make America safe again.</td>
<td>OR</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Donald Trump is different</td>
<td>OR</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>We’ve seen him rate women on their appearance, ranking them from one to ten.</td>
<td>OR</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>… but we are great because we are good, and we will respect one another, and we will work with one another, and we will celebrate our diversity.</td>
<td>PP</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>We all should — to every boy and girl and, indeed, to the entire world that America already is great, …</td>
<td>NP</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>I will serve if I’m so fortunate enough to become your president.</td>
<td>NP</td>
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<td>23.</td>
<td>Am I allowed to respond to that? I assume I am</td>
<td>PP</td>
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<td>24.</td>
<td>It’s just words, folks. It’s just words. Those words, I’ve been hearing them for many years. I heard them when they were running for the Senate in New York, where Hillary was going to bring back jobs to upstate New York and she failed.</td>
<td>BoR</td>
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<td>25.</td>
<td>I’m going to help the African-Americans. I’m going to help the Latinos, Hispanics. I am going to help the inner cities.</td>
<td>BoR</td>
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<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>She wants their vote, and she does nothing, and then she comes back four years later</td>
<td>BoR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>I am absolutely – I apologize for those words.</td>
<td>PP</td>
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<td>28.</td>
<td>When I hear something like that, I am reminded of what my friend, Michele Obama, advised us all: When they go low, you go high.</td>
<td>PP</td>
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<td>29.</td>
<td>He never apologized to the</td>
<td>BoR</td>
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<td>HC5/HLM10/BoR</td>
<td>reporter that he mimicked and mocked on national television and our children were watching.</td>
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<td>30. Donald Trump DT14/HLM11/BoR</td>
<td>I think the one that you should really be apologizing for and the thing that you should be apologizing for are the 33,000 e-mails that you deleted, and that you acid washed, and then the two boxes of e-mails and other things last week that were taken from an office and are now missing.</td>
<td>BoR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Donald Trump DT14/HLM12/PP</td>
<td>But if I win, I am going to instruct my attorney general to get a special prosecutor to look into your situation, because there has never been so many lies, so much deception.</td>
<td>PP</td>
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<td>32. Hillary Clinton HC6/HLM12/OR</td>
<td>because everything he just said is absolutely false, but I’m not surprised.</td>
<td>OR</td>
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<td>33. Donald Trump DT15/HLM13/NP</td>
<td>Because you’d be in jail.</td>
<td>NP</td>
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<td>34. Hillary Clinton HC10/HLM15/OR</td>
<td>Look, it’s just not true. And so please, go to…</td>
<td>OR</td>
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<td>35. Donald Trump DT27/HLM16/PP</td>
<td>No, I’m a gentlemen, Hillary. Go ahead.</td>
<td>PP</td>
</tr>
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<td>36. Donald Trump DT27/HLM18/PP</td>
<td>It is such a great question and it’s maybe the question I get almost more than anything else, outside of defense.</td>
<td>PP</td>
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<td>37. Donald Trump DT31/HLM21/BoR</td>
<td>Well, I’ll tell you what it means. You’re going to have plans that are so good, because we’re going to have so much competition in the insurance industry.</td>
<td>BoR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Donald Trump DT35/HLM24/BoR</td>
<td>Why don’t you interrupt her? You interrupt me all the time.</td>
<td>BoR</td>
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<td>39. Donald Trump DT40/HLM26/OR</td>
<td>I was against — I was against the war in Iraq.</td>
<td>OR</td>
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<td>40. Donald Trump DT42/HLM27/NP</td>
<td>Could I just respond to this, please?</td>
<td>NP</td>
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<td>41. Hillary Clinton HC27/HLM29/NP</td>
<td>Now, maybe because he has praised Putin, maybe because he says he agrees with a lot</td>
<td>NP</td>
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of what Putin wants to do, maybe because he wants to do business in Moscow, I don’t know the reasons.

| 42. | Donald Trump | Look, now she’s blaming — she got caught in a total lie. Her papers went out to all her friends at the banks, Goldman Sachs and everybody else, and she said things — WikiLeaks that just came out. And she lied. | BoR |
| 43. | Donald Trump | I know — I know about Russia, but I know nothing about the inner workings of Russia. | NP |
| 44. | Donald Trump | Well, why didn’t she change it? Why didn’t you change it when you were a senator? The reason you didn’t is that all your friends take the same advantage that I do. | NP |
| 45. | Hillary Clinton | Well, everything you’ve heard just now from Donald is not true. | BoR |
| 46. | Hillary Clinton | I’m sorry I have to keep saying this, but he lives in an alternative reality. | OR |
| 47. | Hillary Clinton | Donald always takes care of Donald and people like Donald, and this would be a massive gift. | OR |
| 48. | Donald Trump | Of course I do. Of course I do. And so do all of her donors, or most of her donors. | OR |
| 49. | Donald Trump | But I will tell you that, number one, I pay tremendous numbers of taxes. I absolutely used it. | BoR |
| 50. | Donald Trump | Why didn’t you do it? Why didn’t you do it? | OR |
| 51. | Donald Trump | If you were an effective senator, you could have done it. But you were not an effective senator. | NP |
| 52. | Hillary Clinton | When I was secretary of state, I went around the world advocating for our country, but also advocating for | PP |
women’s rights, to make sure that women had a decent chance to have a better life and negotiated a treaty with Russia to lower nuclear weapons.

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<td>53.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT53/HLM37/OR</td>
<td>I mean, I think we should be allowed to maybe… OR</td>
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<td>54.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton DT36/HLM38/PP</td>
<td>So I, when I was secretary of state, advocated and I advocate today a no-fly zone and safe zones PP</td>
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<td>55.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton DT37/HLM39/PP</td>
<td>No, I wasn’t. I was gone. I hate to interrupt you, but at some point… PP</td>
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<td>56.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT55/HLM39/NP</td>
<td>I don’t think he would be listening to you very much anymore. NP</td>
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<td>57.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT57/HLM40/BoR</td>
<td>I don’t like Assad at all, but Assad is killing ISIS. Russia is killing ISIS. And Iran is killing ISIS. And those three have now lined up because of our weak foreign policy. BoR</td>
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<td>58.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT61/HLM41/OR</td>
<td>I think that it basically has fallen. OK? It basically has fallen OR</td>
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<td>59.</td>
<td>Donald Trump DT61/HLM41/BoR</td>
<td>The biggest problem I have with the stupidity of our foreign policy, we have Mosul. They think a lot of the ISIS leaders are in Mosul. So we have announcements coming out of Washington and coming out of Iraq, we will be attacking Mosul in three weeks or four weeks. BoR</td>
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<td>60.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton HC39/HLM43/OR</td>
<td>I think that would be a very serious mistake. OR</td>
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<td>61.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton HC43/HLM46/PP</td>
<td>If you don’t vote for me, I still want to be your president. PP</td>
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<td>62.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton HC44/HLM47/PP</td>
<td>I want to be the best president I can be for every American. PP</td>
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<td>63.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton DT45/HLM47/NP</td>
<td>Well, within hours I said that I was sorry about the way I talked about that, because my argument is not with his supporters. NP</td>
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<td>No.</td>
<td>Speaker</td>
<td>Text</td>
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<td>64.</td>
<td>Donald Trump</td>
<td>No, there wasn’t check out a sex tape. It was just take a look at the person that she built up to be this wonderful Girl Scout who was no Girl Scout.</td>
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<td>65.</td>
<td>Donald Trump</td>
<td>By the way, just so you understand, when she said 3 o’clock in the morning, take a look at Benghazi.</td>
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<td>66.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton</td>
<td>Well, it’s not only my opinion. It’s the opinion of many others, national security experts, Republicans, former Republican members of Congress</td>
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<td>67.</td>
<td>Donald Trump</td>
<td>It is — our country has the slowest growth and jobs are a disaster.</td>
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<td>68.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton</td>
<td>Thank you. Well, you’re right. This is one of the most important issues in this election.</td>
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<td>69.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton</td>
<td>I respect the Second Amendment. But I believe there should be comprehensive background checks, and we should close the gun show loophole, and close the online loophole.</td>
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<td>70.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton</td>
<td>We have to save as many lives as we possibly can.</td>
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<td>71.</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton</td>
<td>And that’s exactly what I have proposed. I hope you will go to HillaryClinton.com and look at my entire policy.</td>
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