

**SENTENCE FORMS AS DISCURSIVE TACTICS
IN JOHN MCCAIN'S POLITICAL SPEECHES**

THESIS

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HUMANITIES AND CULTURE FACULTY
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THESIS

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by Lathifah Hanum
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**ENGLISH LETTERS AND LANGUAGE DEPARTMENT
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2008**

STATEMENT OF THE AUTHENTICITY

The undersigned,

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Certify that the thesis I wrote to fulfil the requirement for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra (SI)* in English Language and Letters Department, Humanities and Culture Faculty, the State Islamic University of Malang entitled *Sentence Forms as Discursive Tactics in John McCain's Political Speeches* is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by another person except those indicated in quotations and bibliography. Due to this fact, I am the only person responsible for the thesis if there is any objection or claim from others.

Malang, 25th of June 2008

The Researcher

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APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that the sarjana thesis on the title *Sentence Forms as Discursive Tactics in John McCain's Political Speeches* by Latifah Hanum has been approved by the board of examiners.

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MOTTO

What if I had never tried it...

DEDICATION

This Thesis Is Dedicated To:

*My beloved mother and father who always support my dreams,
I need you.*

My young brothers whom I always miss,

My advisor, Galuh Nur Rohmah, M.Ed,

*My dearest friends of PKLI Pusat Bahasa Surabaya,
the best friends I have ever had*

*My lover who always loves me,
love you, yes. You.*

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ABSTRACT

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Key Word : Sentence forms, Discursive tactics, Political speeches, Active voice, Passive voice

It is undoubtedly valid to say that political speech is not only a series of purposeless voice. It must be purposeful. Therefore, it should be tactical. Tactic, which is usually defined as a trick that people use to optimize their purpose, becomes the main role to achieve success. In such political speech, tactic is employed in the form of discourse through the use of appropriate words to sentence, which is then I call discursive tactic. Two related sentence constructions that often appear to run the tactic are active and passive voice.

In relation to the importance of tactic within political speech, it is interesting to observe and analyze how those active and passive voice are employed by a political public figure as his or her discursive tactic to intensify his or her purposes. Since I choose to investigate one of presidential candidate's political speeches of USA; John Sidney McCain III, the specific problems goes as: What types of discursive tactic on active and passive voice that are used by John McCain in his political speeches? How does he use them to intensify his purposes?

To answer the problem, I adopt critical discourse analysis introduced by Teun A. van Dijk which concerns to discourse structure: micro structure, macro structure, supper structure. I, then, focus on micro structure. Also, I apply a various theoretical perspectives on the use of sentence forms involving active voice and passive voice. Methodologically, I apply descriptive qualitative study as research design. The data are gathered by reading process, and analyzed by applying a qualitative approach and using the technique of intensive reading.

Eight major types of discursive tactic on active and passive voice are showed in the findings section. Based on the way they are used, I developed label for each types: (1) respective active which refers to the use of active voice as discursive tactic by making a good impression in front of the audience as recognizing and appreciating them, (2) demonstrative active which refers to the use of active voice as discursive tactic by convincing others that he has capability to do or be something such as promoting or showing himself, (3) agentless active which refers to the use of active voice as discursive tactic by making others understand the causal relationship of the events, (4) provocative active which refers to the use of active voice by rising their conciousness to argue for or react against something, (5) respective passive which refers to the use of passive voice by respecting the object or the receiver of the action, (6) personal passive which refers to the use of passive voice by maintaining the topic of the discourse, (7)

agentless passive which refers to the use of passive voice by emphasizing what happens to something rather than who or what does something, and (8) provocative passive which refers to the use of passive voice by influencing others to argue for or react against what has stated.

John McCain uses all of those discursive tactics to enhance his reputation as a political public figure and especially to reach his main goal that is to be the next President of USA. As the first step, he has succeeded. It was proven by his elect to be the Republican presidential candidate which is then continued to compete with the others candidate from his opponent, the Democrats.

This study can be further continued by pertaining to the empirical aspects of analysis, as like: use different topics of text as the data, conduct such contrastive or comparative study, or investigate another aspects of language.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This chapter serves to introduce the focus of this research. It provides: (1) background of the study which contains about how important this study to be researched is, (2) problem statement; it presents what problems that are going to be answered within this research, (3) objective of the study, it clarifies the aims of conducting this research, (4) significance of the study that explains what advantage, theoretically and practically, served by this research, (5) definition of the key terms; it explains clearly the concepts used in this research, so there are sameness perspectives between the researcher and the reader.

1.1 Background of the Study

As a part of social community who produces meaning and constantly makes sense of their worlds, people always have necessary to convey the message among them. Consequently, they need to communicate to others. It could be by delivering a speech; speech is a formal talk that a person gives to an audience.¹

For people with a certain purpose, speech is not merely speech. They have to consider what, when, where, why, and how they are going to speak correctly. In accordance to *hadits* from Bukhori, as Ainur stated, Muhammad gave the greatest example of how we should speak:²

Úóäö ÇÈúäö ãóÓúÚöæúÏö ÑóÖöíó Çááãö Úóäúãö ÞóÇáó :
ßóÇäó ÇáäøÈöíøö Õóáøòì Çááãö Úáóíúãö æóÓóáøóãó
íóÊóÎóæøóáúäóÇ ÈöÇáúãöæúÚöÙóÉö Ýóíú ÇúáÃóíøóÇãö
ßóÑóÇäöíøóÉö ÇáÓøóÇãøóÉö ÚóáóíúäóÇ

¹ *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 6th ed., s.v. "speech."
² Ainur Rosyidah, *The Speech Styles Used by Multilingual Speakers in Pesantren Mahasiswa IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya*, Thesis of English Department UIN Malang (2007), p. 3

From Ibnu Mas'ud RA. said: The Prophet Muhammad chosen the right time to deliver Islamic preaches so we would not bring with it.

Thus, people, certainly, need a tactic to deliver their speech. Tactic itself means the strategy or the particular method that people use to achieve their goal. This fact is often used in political cases.

Politics is rooted in human's interest.³ In this, the tactic that people used becomes the main role to achieve success. As an example, we can see in the case of presidential election. Everyone who is trying to be elected for the presidency must use such tactic, especially in their speech, to enhance their reputation so they could have many votes to reach their goal, which is becoming the president. In the same way, Bennett remarks it seems likely that political speech is primarily a matter of a speaker's seeking either to inform a hearer of something or to enjoin some action upon him.⁴

This phenomenon happens in USA. At present, USA government holds presidential election. There are two big parties are involved, they are Republican and Democrat party. Both of those parties have their own candidates to be elected. The only way to promote the candidate is by conducting such campaign. In campaign, the way to perform their vision and mission is usually done by delivering a speech. The candidates have to package their speech as interesting as possible by using appropriate tactics. This effort has a great influence toward USA people who has right to vote in the election.

³ Sakban Rosidi, *Violence Discourse or Discursive Violence: Toward A Reciprocal Model of Relationship between Language and Violence* (2007), p. 5

⁴ J. Bennett, *Linguistic Behaviour* (Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 5

What seems to be primarily tactic at issue here, in my opinion, is the ability to use appropriate words, phrases, clauses, and sentences to accomplish the interest. As like Brown and Yule stated:

the speaker must monitor what it is that he or she has just said, and determine whether it matches his intention while he is uttering his current phrase, and simultaneously planning his next utterance and fitting that into the overall pattern of what he wants to say and monitoring not only his own performance but also its reception by the hearer.⁵

Therefore, my study explores the application of sentence forms as discursive tactics by the Republican candidate, John Sidney McCain III, appearing in his political speeches. I call discursive tactics for McCain uses discourse as an instrument of his political struggle. He was born on August 29, 1936 in Panama Canal Zone, Panama. McCain's parents (Admiral John S. McCain, Jr. and Roberta Wright McCain) were U.S. citizens, in this; he has been given American status from birth. McCain's father and grandfather were both famous U.S. Navy Admirals. Therefore, as the son and grandson of distinguished Navy Admirals, he continued the McCain tradition of service his country by attending college at the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, and serving as a naval aviator upon his graduation. He retired from the Navy in 1981.

He has a great number of horrible experiences during his career as Navy. McCain survived many near-death experiences during his combat in Vietnam, including a fiery disaster aboard the USS Forrester that killed 134 men, injured hundreds more and destroyed 20 planes. Instead of taking the option to return home after the Forrester disaster, Senator McCain volunteered for more combat

⁵ Gillian Brown and George Yule, *Discourse analysis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 4

duty - a fateful decision that stopped the clock on his life and separated him from his family, and country, for five and a half years. During his 23rd bombing mission on October 26, 1967, a missile struck McCain's plane, forcing him to eject. He was knocked unconscious and both arms and a leg were broken in the fall. John was then taken as a prisoner of war into the now infamous "Hanoi Hilton," where he was denied necessary medical treatment and often beaten by the North Vietnamese. He was finally released and able to return home years later. Then, he continued his dedication as a politician. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in Arizona's 1st District in 1982 and then to the U.S. Senate in 1986. Now, with his naval honors include the Silver Star, Bronze Star, Legion of Merit, Purple Heart, and the Distinguished Flying Cross, he is seeking the 2008 presidential nomination. If McCain were elected in 2008, he would be the oldest person, 72 years old, in history to assume the presidency, surpassing Ronald Regan, who was 69 years old at his inauguration.⁶ Consequently, based on his autobiography above, he must have such power due to his big role to determine the policy in the government within his speeches or attitudes. As van Dijk said:⁷

Social power is based on privileged access to socially valued resources, such as wealth, income, position, status, force, group membership, education or knowledge.

When generating speeches, people, including John McCain, may choose among a number of alternative sentence forms expressing the same propositional

⁶ All the biography mentioned is browsed by the researcher herself from the internet. It is taken, directly, from John McCain situs: www.john-mccain.com

⁷ Teun A. Van Dijk, *Principle of Critical Discourse Analysis*, <http://www.daneprairie.com>. (2 April 2008)

content. Here, in my study, I focus on analyzing the form of active and passive voice in his speeches.

The fundamental reason of analyzing the form of active and passive voice is that most of people do not realize that the use of active and passive in the speech is not merely as the variation of speech, but there must be hidden intention or implicit meaning behind it. Van Dijk, on his works, has agreement with this.

Somewhat closer to underlying meanings are the *syntactic structures* of sentences, for instance, word order or the use of active or passive constructions. Thus, among other things, word order may express the role and the prominence of underlying meanings. In the description of action, for instance, the responsible agent of an action is usually referred to with the expression that is a syntactic subject of the sentence, and that occurs in first position. Other roles, such as patient, experiencer, object, or location, are usually expressed later in the sentence. Thus order may signal how speakers interpret events, that is, what their mental models of such events look like.

Thus if majority speakers want to mitigate negative actions of their own group members, they may tend to make their agency less prominent, for instance, by expressing the agent role later in the sentence, as in the passive sentence “A group of black youths was harassed by police officers”, or by wholly omitting such an agent, for instance, in headlines: “Black youths harassed.” Similarly, agents may also be concealed through the use of nominalizations instead of full clauses, as in “The harassment of black youths was a major cause of the riots in Brixton.”⁸

Additionally, *Islam* teaches us to always think and learn whatever things He created are in surround. It is written in the Holy Quran (Ar-Rum, 21-24):⁹

وَرَحْمَةً مَّوَدَّةَ بَيْنِكُمْ وَجَعَلَ إِلَيْهَا لِتَسْكُنُوا أَرْوَاجًا أَنْفُسِكُمْ مِّنْ لَّكُمْ خَلْقَ أَنْ آيَاتِهِ وَمِنْ
إِنَّ
يَنْفَكِرُونَ لِقَوْمٍ لِّآيَاتٍ ذَلِكَ فِي

⁸ Teun A. Van Dijk, *Analyzing Racism Through Discourse Analysis: Some Methodological Reflections*, <http://www.daneprairie.com>. (2 April 2008)

⁹ Al-Muntada Al-Islami, *The Qur'an*, Translated by Saheeh International, (Riyadh: Abulqasim Publishing House, 1997),

لآيَاتِ ذَلِكَ فِي إِنَّ وَأَلْوَانِكُمْ أَلْسِنَتِكُمْ وَالاختلافُ والأَرْضِ السَّمَاوَاتِ خَلْقُ آيَاتِهِ وَمِنْ
لِلْعَالَمِينَ
لِقَوْمٍ لآيَاتِ ذَلِكَ فِي إِنَّ فَضْلِهِ مِّنْ وَابْتِعَاؤُكُمْ وَالنَّهَارِ بِاللَّيْلِ مَنَامُكُمْ آيَاتِهِ وَمِنْ
يَسْمَعُونَ
بَعْدَ الأَرْضِ بِهِ فَيُحْيِي مَاءَ السَّمَاءِ مِنْ وَيُنزِلُ وَطَمَعًا خَوْفًا الْبَرْقِ يُرِيكُمْ آيَاتِهِ وَمِنْ
يَعْقِلُونَ لِقَوْمٍ لآيَاتِ ذَلِكَ فِي إِنَّ مَوْتِهَا

21. And of His signs is that He created for you from yourselves mates that you may find tranquility in them; and He placed between you affection and mercy. Indeed in that are signs for a people who give thought.

22. And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the diversity of your languages and your colors. Indeed in that are signs for those of knowledge.

23. And of His signs is your sleep by night and day and your seeking of his bounty. Indeed in that are signs for a people who listen.

24. And of His signs is (that) He shows you the lightening (causing) fear and aspiration, and He sends down rain from the sky by which he brings to life the earth after its lifelessness. Indeed in that are signs for a people who use reason.

In sum, due to the powerful speaker as John McCain enacts his power in discourse, I would like to know which discursive strategies are involved in that process and how this is done exactly; if it either expresses the role of underlying meaning as like what van Dijk has argued or conveys another roles.

Two relevant studies have been done in the effort to analyze the use of active and passive voice. In 2000, Danville examined Bush and Gore as the presidential candidate. He analyzed the use of the passive voice on the transcripts of both presidential candidates' Florida remarks. More recently, Geoffrey K. Pullum, in 2003, has done a revealing study about the choice of active and passive voice in Reuter headlines.

While my study focuses on analyzing six of McCain's speeches with different topic that represent his vision and mission to be the leader of American

people. They are *John McCain on Health Care*, *The Economic Club of Memphis*, *Speech on Iraq*, *The 108th National Convention of The Veteran's Foreign Wars*, *John McCain to CPAC*, and *Service to America: Meridian*.

Overall, as a language learner, I need to be aware to some of linguistics phenomena. I need to be sensitive that those phenomena will be appearing on another form, even in the form of sentences. That is why; this study is important to be researched because it becomes the starting point to understand one of linguistics phenomena, which is what people want to convey through their speeches. Then, I give my thesis entitled "Sentence Forms as Discursive Tactics in John McCain's Political Speeches."

1.2 Problem Statements

Based on the background of the study above, I formulate my research question as follow:

1. What are discursive tactics on active and passive voice used by John McCain in his political speeches?
2. How are discursive tactics on active and passive voice used by John McCain in his political speeches?

1.3 Objective of the study

This study is set out to describe systematically what discursive tactics on active and passive voice used by John McCain in his political speeches. Also it is aimed to produce deep understanding on how discursive tactics on active and passive voice used by John McCain in his political speeches.

1.4 Significance of the Study

I believe that by conducting this research, theoretically, it is able to enrich

our linguistics knowledge in relation to discourse study within one's political speeches. Furthermore, practically my research should have the benefit for language user, help them to improve their ability to deliver some speeches especially to apply passive and active voice correctly and appropriately based on the intention they want to convey.

In addition, this study is hoped to carry us as Moslems who are able to construct our political awareness; awareness of how we are as social beings seek interest. Since Islam teaches us that knowledge is to be charity, it could bring us to be closer to the God.

1.5 Operational definition of the key terms

1. *Sentence form* refers to the form of transitive verb of sentence which influences the existence of subject and object.

2. *Active voice* is the form of transitive verb whose subject is considered as the agent, performing the action of the verb.

3. *Passive voice* is the form of transitive verb whose subject is considered as the patient, receiving the action of the verb.

4. *Political speeches* refer to six of John McCain's remarks by different topics. It covers his remarks that occurred in 2007 upon 2008.

5. *Discursive tactics* is strategy of people that uses discourse as a political instrument to realize their interests.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Researchers use the scholarly literature in a study to present results of similar studies, to relate the present study to the ongoing dialogue in the literature, and to provide a framework for comparing results of a study with other studies.¹⁰ Thus, in this chapter I continue my discussion with focusing on the theoretical review related to this study.

This study employs several theories: discourse, discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis, and active and passive sentence.

2.1 Concepts of the Discourse

Crystal introduces the originality of discourse. His statement is written below.¹¹

Originally, the word *discourse* comes from Latin *discursus* which denoted conversation, or speech. Discourse refers to widely an area of human life; it seems that only discourse is the vantage point of linguistics.

Afterwards, the meaning of discourse starts to develop. The Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics describes discourse as a general term for language that has been produced as the result of an act of communication. Whereas grammar refers to the rules of language that uses to form grammatical units such as clause, phrase and sentence, discourse refers to

¹⁰ John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (California: Sage Publication, Inc., 1994), p. 37

¹¹ David Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (Cambridge: Batic Blackwell, 1991), p. 106

larger units of language such as paragraphs, conversations and interviews.¹²

McCarthy and Carter, in *Language as Discourse: Perspectives for Language Teaching* define discourse as:¹³

A view of language which takes into account the fact linguistic patterns exist across stretches of text. These patterns of language extend beyond the words, clauses and sentences which have been the traditional concern of much language teaching. The view of language we take is one which focuses, where appropriate, on complete spoken and written texts and on the social and cultural contexts in which such language operates.

The term discourse is commonly used interchangeably with term language, and regarded merely as what is said or written on a particular topic. Also, a poststructural approach argues that language is always located in discourse.¹⁴ Therefore, discourse is conceived as a broader concept that language represents reality. Besides, the use of the term discourse and text are interchangeable. Usually, we call discourse as textual linguistics and text is a written language. Related to this description, Edmondson said that:

A text is a structure sequence of linguistics expression forming a unitary whole, and a discourse is a structured events manifest in linguistics (and other) behavior.¹⁵

Thus, the concept of discourse enables this focus on language and texts, and analysis of discourse is the primary vehicle that people utilizes to explore meaning, subjectivity, power and knowledge.

Discourse is inter-related sets of texts (including the practices of

¹² Brian Paltridge, *Making Sense of Discourse Analysis* (Australia: Gold Coast, 2000), p. 3-4

¹³ McCarthy and Carter, *Language as Discourse: Perspectives for Language Teaching* (Australia: Gold Coast, 2000), p. 15

¹⁴ Shirley Maree Grace, *(Re) Thinking Young Men's Violence: A Discursive Critique of Dominant Constructions*, Thesis to Victoria University of Wellington (2008), p. 39

¹⁵ Willis Edmondson, *Spoken Discourse Analysis: A Model for Analysis* (1981), p. 4

production, dissemination and reception) that bring an object into being.¹⁶ It can be considered that discourse is the term which covers patterns of language across texts and the way language reflects different interpretations of the world.

People use discourse for several purpose. In politics, politicians use discourse to defend, legitimize, and control their power. In an effort to address these issues, I examine discourse as one important medium through which tactic is constructed.

Tactic seems to be concerned with the approach to combat, placement of troops, use made of weapons, vehicles, ships, or aircraft, and execution of movements for attack or defense. In general, tactics deal with the problems encountered in actual fighting.¹⁷ But here tactics are typically viewed as what people use to socialize their reputation; to achieve their goals and can be differentiated according to either the content of the information that is provided to the others or the contexts in which the information is delivered.¹⁸ Basically, people achieve their goals through discursive and behavioral efforts.

From a discursive point of view, socialization tactics also refer to the ways that discourse organizes the kinds of relationships and identities individuals establish with the organization. Discourse not only structures expectations for what kinds of messages should be performed, when, and in what context, it also structures expectations for the kinds of identities and relationships individuals should form with the organization and other organizational members.

The broad area of discourse has invited linguist to investigate it through some disciplines. One of them which is also used in this study is discourse analysis.

¹⁶ Sakban Rosidi, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (2007)

¹⁷ Britannica Concise Encyclopedia, *Tactics*, (The Online Encyclopedia, 2008)

¹⁸ Barge, J. Kevin ; Schlueter, David W., *Memorable Messages and Newcomer Socialization* (Western Journal of Communication, 2004)

2.2 Discourse Analysis

According to Brown and Yule, discourse analysis is the analysis of language in use.¹⁹ Meanwhile, Robin Wooffitt in *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis* has stated that discourse analysis is one of the key methodological approaches to the study of discourse and communication which can be applied with face-to-face or telephone interaction.²⁰ Lim Kiat Boey argued that discourse analysis studies the use of language in discourse, the manner in which the content of any subject is organized and given linguistic expression. The aim is to reveal the process by which a piece of language is interpreted as discourse.²¹

On the other hand, Gilbert and Mulkey in Robin, simply, define discourse analysis as a method of analysis which focused entirely on participants' language.²² Whilst discourse analysis itself might, for example, examine paragraph structure, the organization of whole texts, and typical patterns in conversational interactions, such as, the ways speakers open, close, and take turns in a conversation. They might also look at vocabulary patterns across texts, words that link sections of texts together, and the ways items such as 'it' and 'they' point backward or forward in a text. In addition, Paltridge has explained that discourse analysis covers aspect of the way language reflects different views of the world and different understanding.²³ While Rosidi stated that discourse analysis is the systematic study of texts to ascertain the constructive effects of discourse.

¹⁹ Gillian Brown and George Yule, *Discourse analysis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p.1

²⁰ Robin Wooffitt, *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2005), p. 1

²¹ Lim kiat boey, *An Introduction to Linguistics for The Language Teacher* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1975), p. 117

²² Robin Robin Wooffitt, *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2005), p. 18

²³ Brian Paltridge, *Making Sense of Discourse Analysis* (Australia: Gold Coast, 2000), p. 4-7

Discourse analysis is not simply a set of techniques for conducting research; it also involves a set of assumptions concerning the constructive effects of language.²⁴

Discourse Analysis, in this study, is concerned with the study of written discourse which is intended to convince others that the opinion is true and influence people to give their support by changing their attitude to make such reaction.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach to discourse analysis that focuses on how social relations, knowledge and power are constructed through written and spoken texts in communities. Its aim is to focus on the role of discursive activity in constituting and sustaining unequal power relations.²⁵

Some models of CDA is associated with some researchers, they are Norman Fairclough, Teun Adrianus van Dijk, and Ruth Wodak.

Norman Fairclough defines that CDA has three stages; description of text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context. Consequently, he said, that in analyzing texts, one's focus is constantly alternating between what is there in the text, and the discourse type(s) which the text is drawing upon.²⁶

Besides, Ruth Wodak in Brett Dellinger encourages the use of multiple methods in language research while emphasizing the importance of recognizing the historical and social aspects. Therefore, she describes CDA as an approach to discourse study with critical point of view underscoring historical and social

²⁴ Sakban Rosidi, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (2007)

²⁵ Sakban Rosidi, *Critical Discourse Analsis* (2007)

²⁶ Norman Fairclough, 1989. *Language and Power* (London: Longman)

aspects.²⁷

Whereas, van Dijk takes CDA as a clearly sociopolitical stance in its investigations of the relationship among discourse, power, and social inequality. It takes the position that the relationship between language and meaning is never arbitrary in that the choice of a particular genre, rhetorical strategy, or use of vocabulary, for example, brings with it particular presuppositions and (often hidden) meanings and intentions.²⁸ According to him, the analysis of discourse covers three structures, they are super structure, is a sequence of a text such as how elements and structures of discourse are arranged in a full body of text; macro structure, is a general or global meaning of a particular text that is examined by focusing on topics of the text; and micro structure, is concerned with the meanings of discourse by investigating and analyzing propositions, words, phrases, or sentences.

More specifically, according to van Dijk, critical discourse analyst want to know what structures, strategies, or other properties of texts, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role in these modes of reproduction. Hence, CDA also needs to focus on the discursive strategies that legitimate control, or otherwise naturalize the social order, and especially relations of inequality.²⁹

From these contextual and global forms of discourse control, we may move to the more detailed, micro-level and expression forms of text and talk. Many of these are more or less automatized, less consciously controlled or not

²⁷ Dellinger, Brett. 1995, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, (online), <http://users.utu.fi/bredelli/cda.html>, (viewed February, 21st 2008)

²⁸ Brian Paltridge, *Making Sense of Discourse Analysis* (Australia: Gold Coast, 2000), p. 155

²⁹ Teun A. van Dijk, *Principle of Critical Discourse Analysis*, <http://www.daneprairie.com>. (2 April 2008)

variable at all, as is the case for many properties of syntax, morphology or phonology. That is, the influence of power will be much less direct and immediate at these levels. On the other hand, since communication is often less consciously controlled here, the more subtle and unintentional manifestations of dominance may be observed at these levels, e.g. in intonation, sentence forms or syntactic style, rhetorical figures, local semantic structures, turn-taking strategies, politeness phenomena, and so on.³⁰

Because his work is most closely related to the topic of this study, I am going to concentrate on the theory of van Dijk. This study is analyzed the discursive tactics on sentence forms, active and passive voice, used by John McCain in his political speeches. Thus, I move to the more detailed, micro level and expression of sentence forms of text.

2.4 Sentence Forms

A sentence is traditionally described as a group of words expressing a complete thought. It has subject, the person or thing being discussed, and a verb, expressing action or a state of being (and it may have other elements such as an object).³¹

There are two types of verb seen from the existence of the objects, they are intransitive and transitive verb. Intransitive verbs are often followed by something to extend their meaning but this is not called an object. Meanwhile, the person or thing that receives the action of the verb (object) is called transitive. The form of transitive verb which influences the existence of subject and object emerges two

³⁰ Teun A. van Dijk, *Principle of Critical Discourse Analysis*, <http://www.daneprairie.com>. (2 April 2008)

³¹ Wynford Hicks, *English for journalist* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 15

types of sentences. They are active and passive voice.³² Voice is a grammatical category that expresses the semantic functions attributed to the referents of a sentence, it indicates whether the subject is an actor, patient, or recipient.³³

1. Active Voice

Active voice is the form of transitive verb whose subject is considered as the agent, performing the action of the verb. The following sentence construction is in active voice. The subject *Jones* has the function of actor.

- *Jones* built the house.

In active voice, the person acting is clear: "The manager wrote the report yesterday." The person acting is the manager.

Active constructions in English also sometimes behave very much like passive by omitting altogether the agent. For example: Cotton washes well; These shirts iron easily. In those sentences, the subjects are patients, not agents, despite the normally transitive verbs. Clearly, cotton cannot wash anything, nor can shirts iron. Although those sentences do not have the verb morphology required of passives, they resemble passive sentences in some interesting ways.³⁴ To determine that such a sentence is active, we have to study the meaning of the subject and the verb. We have to ask our self if the subject does the action of the verb, so an active verb is needed.

Two changes must be made if we want to convert a sentence from active to passive. (1) we make the subject of the active sentence the object of the passive sentence; (2) the verb in the passive sentence is formed by putting the helping

³² Wynford Hicks, *English for Journalist* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 16

³³ Eugene E. Loos, *Glossary of Linguistics Terms*,
<http://www.sil.org/linguistics/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatIsVoice.htm>, (30 Mei 2008)

³⁴ Lynn M. Berk, *English Syntax: From Word to Discourse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.116

verb *be* in the same form as the verb in the active sentence and the adding the past participle of this verb.³⁵

2. Passive Voice

Passive voice is the form of transitive verb whose subject is considered as the patient, receiving the action of the verb. Passive sentences have a distinctive structure. Most passive sentences contain the auxiliary *be* followed by a verb in past participle form. Some passives contain the auxiliary *get*; *get* passive is especially common in colloquial speech. It is most often used when the subject of the sentence suffers adversely as a result of the action. The *get* passive usually suggests that the subject has been truly affected by the action. Some passives include a prepositional phrase containing the preposition *by*, but this is not required; the *by*-phrase is used in passive when it is important to know who performs an action, and there is no *by*-phrase in a passive sentence when it is not known or not important to know exactly who performs an action.³⁶

Passive voice is still appropriate for some sentences. However, for some people, they should use the passive voice very sparingly. It may make the writing or speech unclear by keeping the identity of the actor secret. Passive voice is also a poor choice for sentences because it often sounds awkward and evasive. Readers or hearers may interpret passive voice as an attempt to avoid admitting responsibility, as in the following example:

"A mistake was made that resulted in an overcharge to your account that has now been corrected and will be shown on your next statement."

Active voice is more direct and concise than passive voice. Active voice sounds

³⁵ Deborah Phillips, *Longman Preparation Course for the TOEFL Test* (Addison: Wesley Publishing Company, 1995), p.178

³⁶ Betty Schrampher Azar, *Fundamentals of English Grammar* (New Jersey: Regents/Prentice Hall, 1992)

more responsible, as in the following example:

"Our data entry clerk made a mistake and overcharged your account, but she corrected the entry. Your next statement will show the correction."

Usually, some people use passive voice when they do not know the actor, they want to hide the identity of the actor, or the actor is not important to the meaning of the sentence. To understand the assumptions of using active and passive voice, I have categorized them based on each author. It is important to understand these assumptions because they will provide direction for designing all phases of the analysis.

Author	Title of Book / Article	The Use of Active	The Use of Passive
1. Elaine Walker and Steve Elsworth ³⁷	Grammar Practice for Upper Intermediate Students	---	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is used when the receiver of the action is more important than the performer of the action or when the performer of the action is not someone specific. • To avoid placing responsibility for a particular action on any specific person or organization. • To avoid a change of subject in a sentence.

³⁷ Elaine Walker and Steve Elsworth, *Grammar Practice for Upper Intermediate Students* (Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited, 2000)

2. Teun van Dijk ³⁸	Analyzing Racism through Discourse Analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To show the responsible agent of an action that is referred to with the expression that is syntactic subject of sentence that occurs in first position. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If majority speakers want to mitigate negative actions of their own group members, they may use passive construction.
3. Deborah Phillips ³⁹	Longman Preparation Course for The TOEFL Test	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To show that the subject does the action of the verb. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To show that the subject receives the action of the verb.
4. Lynn M. Berk ⁴⁰	English Syntax: From Word to Discourse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Allows us to talk about events without specifying an agent, in cases in which the agent is unknown, unimportant, or conceptually complex. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To maintain the topic of discourse; To omit the agent which is due to: it is unknown; it is irrelevant to the speaker, indefinite or obvious from the rest of the discourse; and to avoid assigning or taking responsibility.
5. Michelle Hansard ⁴¹	Passive and Active Voice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sounds more responsible, it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As an attempt to avoid

³⁸ Teun A. Van Dijk, *Analyzing Racism Through Discourse Analysis: Some Methodological Reflections*, <http://www.daneprairie.com> (2 April 2008)

³⁹ Deborah Phillips, *Longman Preparation Course for the TOEFL Test* (Addison: Wesley Publishing Company, 1995)

⁴⁰ Lynn M. Berk, *English Syntax: From Word to Discourse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

		is more direct and concise.	<p>admitting responsibility.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seems to want to hide the identity of the actor or the actor is not important to the meaning of sentence. • To highlight the action upon rather than the agent performing the action.
6. Notestein ⁴²	On Using the Passive Voice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To make the actor or the subject clearer and stronger. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To exclude the active subject, replacing it instead with the object of the sentence's action. In this case, the person or persons making the mistakes are unnamed, as far as this sentence is concerned. • To evade a reader's active imagination.

⁴¹ Michelle Hansard, *Active and Passive Voice*, http://owl.english.purdue.edu/handouts/grammar/g_actpass.html (2 April 2008)

⁴² Notestein, *On Using the Passive Voice*, <http://web.princeton.edu/writing> (2 April 2008)

Therefore, I conclude those categorizes for my own basic in answering the research problems as follows:

The Use of Active Voice	The Use of Passive Voice
1. To show the responsible agent of an action	1. To show that the receiver is more important than the agent
2. To highlight the events	2. To omit or hide the agent
	3. To avoid responsibility towards such actions
	4. To highlight the action (emphasizing what happens to something rather than what does something)
	5. To maintain the topic
	6. To evade reader's imagination

2.3 Previous Study

The preliminary studies about passive and active voice comes from Danville who examined Bush and Gore as the presidential candidate. He announced that a linguistic analysis of transcripts of both candidates' recent Florida-based remarks noted a significantly higher percentage in the use of passive voice than was found in speeches outside the state. He conclude that communications specialists believe that passive voice is widely used to shade meaning, or in political parlance to spin particular subjects, since there is no readily identifiable doer of the action. When the candidates spoke to Florida audiences in the waning days of the campaign there was an increased reliance on passive voice, with Gore at 10% and Bush at 4%. His data showed that when delivering their vision pitches, both candidates used no passive voice constructions. However, when addressing such topics as Social Security and Medicaid, Gore relied on the passive voice some 10% of the

time, while Bush's use of the passive jumped to 6%."⁴³

The different of the present study with the previous study is that present study talks about both of active and passive voice in John McCain's speeches, while the previous study only discuss the use of passive voice in Bush and Gore's speeches.

In 2003, Geoffrey released a study of bias in Reuters news agency headlines about events in Israel and Palestine. The part of the study on verb selection claims that the choice between active and passive voice is being used to make Israeli violence more overt and apparent and Palestinian violence less so. His report says that Violent acts by Palestinians are described with active voice verbs in 33% of the headlines, while violent acts by Israelis are described with active voice verbs in 100% of the headlines.

In conclusion, he is claiming that Reuters uses active and passive verb phrases differentially in its headlines, often suppressing facts of Palestinian agency in violent acts, but literally never suppressing the fact of agency when Israelis or the Israeli state are involved. If his analysis of the data is accurate, this deserves explanation. There ought to be no gross nationality difference in the frequency with which constructions making reference to the agents in acts of violence are used -- certainly not a difference as staggeringly large as 33% versus 100% according to whether Palestinian or Israeli violence is involved. But people who have a clear grasp of basic traditional grammar would best do this sort of propaganda analysis, so that when they refer to the use of passive voice they know what they are talking about and can give examples that do indeed show passive

⁴³ Danville, Calif, *Analysis of Florida Speeces by Presidential Candidates*, <http://www.allbusiness.com/government/elections-politics-campaigns-elections/6578697-1.html>, (2008)

clauses.⁴⁴

The difference emerges in the research subject, the present study analyses the speeches' text of the powerful speaker, John McCain, while the previous one analyzed the newspaper headlines.

One more research that is much related to this study, she is Anastasia Giannakopoulou.⁴⁵ She analyzed passive voice in English translation. Referring to Ivir, she considers that "languages are differently equipped to express different real world relations, and they certainly do not express all aspects of meaning with equal ease". She seeks to examine this statement through exploring the equivalence of passive voice in translation of English into Greek. The data are texts of '9/11' by Chomsky, (2001) and its Greek translation by Michail, (2001).

She presented that there are many distortions in translating English into Greek; that the passive forms in English do not always occupy passive counterparts in its Greek translation.

Both present and recent studies have same data that is using passive voice to be analyzed. Then, they merely do not classify the sentence forms into passive voice, but also examine how they are used.

Nevertheless, both recent and present studies have some differences. While the recent study only focused on passive voice, the present study will focus on both passive and active voice. Even both studies follow the same of functional approach of the use passive voice, yet, there are differences between them. While

⁴⁴ Geoffrey K. Pullum, *Passive Voice and Bias in Reuter Headlines about Israelis and Palestinians* (2003)

⁴⁵ Anastasia Giannakopoulou, 2001. *Passive Voice in translation of English into Greek: A case study based on '9/11' by Chomsky (2001) and its Greek Translation*, (online), <http://www.rceal.cam.ac.uk/Publications/Working/Vol10/Giannakopoulou.pdf>, (viewed February, 21st 2008).

the recent study focused on the main semantics functions, the present study will focus on discourse function of passive and active voice.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter deals with the research method that will be explained more clearly by (1) clarifying research design, (2) mentioning the data and data sources, (3) describing the key instrument, (4) presenting the data collection, and (5) demonstrating data analysis and interpretation.

3.1 Research Design

Research design, as what Rosidi argued, is a general plan that helps the researcher to conduct the study in reference to the objectives, the method of data gathering, and analysis and the strategy to present the findings and conclusion.⁴⁶ The research design of this study follows the general guidelines of qualitative research, since the basic interest of my study is in understanding and interpreting the social phenomena. It is relevant to its definition that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempt to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.⁴⁷

Johnson and Christensen in Galuh stated that qualitative aims to describe, explore and discover realities that are subjective and personal, as well as socially constructed.⁴⁸ Thus, qualitative research is employed in many social science disciplines,⁴⁹ including this study which focuses on language phenomenon that analyzes the use of sentence forms in the one's speeches. This study also includes descriptive research whose purpose to describe systematically the facts and

⁴⁶ Rosidi, Sakban. 2008. *Research Method*. Research on Linguistics Lecture Notes. Malang. The State Islamic University.

⁴⁷ Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research*, Handbook of Qualitative Research (California: Sage Publication, 1994)

⁴⁸ Galuh Nur Rahmah, *Facing the Complexities of Writing: My Journey as a Learner and Teacher of EFL Writing, A Narrative Inquiry* (UIN Malang Press: 2008)

⁴⁹ Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research*, Handbook of Qualitative Research (California: Sage Publication, 1994)

characteristics of a given population or area of interest factually and accurately,⁵⁰ for it attempts to explore the application of sentence forms as discursive tactics in John McCain's speeches.

In short, the research design of this study is utilizing descriptive qualitative method.

3.2 Data and Data Sources

The data sources of my study are the texts of John McCain's speeches. I focus on two main topics of his speeches, they are the war of terrorism and American economy. We have known that the current issue of the world now is to wage war against terrorism. It was proposed by USA government and has happened in Iraq and Afghanistan. There are many critiques of this case; one opposes and another support it. John McCain is the one that does support it, which then becomes the main point of his topics when he delivers his speeches. Hence, I choose this topic as one of my data sources. Another source is talking about American economy which becomes the core of all activities, either for the American people or the government itself. I consider here that McCain must use the most appropriate sentence form as his discursive tactics in delivering his speeches.

I select the text of speeches which is delivered by McCain in 2007 up to 2008 from his website, www.john-mccain.com.

From those data sources, I investigate the active and passive sentences which are, then, classified as discursive tactics as the data.

⁵⁰ Sakban Rosidi, *Research Methodology: A Brief Reminder for the Student of English Department* (Malang: the State Islamic University, 2008)

3.3 Research Instrument

In qualitative research, the researcher is seen the key instrument: much depends on what he or she sees and hears.⁵¹ It means, too, that in my research I myself act as the key instrument. It is so for the process of collecting and analyzing the data is done by me myself as the researcher.

3.4 Data Collection

I collect the data by reading the text of John McCain's political speeches in which what we know as reading process. In reading the text, I use a relevant technique of reading process. They are skimming. It is quickly reading to get general information from the text. Therefore, through skimming, I classify the sentences into active and passive sentence.

3.5 Data Analysis and Interpretation

After collecting the data, I go on with data analysis and interpretation steps. Here, I use intensive reading as the technique of data analysis which is also relevant to the technique of data collection. As summarized by Barry, in Sakban Rosidi, the technique of intensive reading is well known as the technique of SQ3R (*Survey, Questions, Read, Recall, and Review*) which consists of five steps, as follows:⁵²

S - That is *survey* the whole chapter or section fairly rapidly, skimming though it to get a rough sense of the scope and nature of the argument. Remember that information is not evenly spread throughout a text. It tends to be concentrated in the opening and closing paragraphs (where you often get useful summaries of the whole), and the 'hinge points' of the argument are often indicated in the opening and closing sentences of paragraphs.

⁵¹ John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (California: Sage Publications, 1994)

⁵² Sakban Rosidi. *Using Technique of Intensive*, Working Paper (Malang: The State Islamic University, 2008)

Q - Having skimmed the whole, set yourself some *questions*, some things you hope to find out from what you are reading. This makes you an 'active' reader rather than a passive one, and gives your reading a purpose.

R1 - Now *read* the whole piece. Use a pencil if the copy is your own to underline key points, query difficulties, circle phrases worth remembering, and so on. Don't just sit in front of the pages. If the book is not your own jot something down on paper as you read, however minimal.

R2 - Now, close the book and *recall* what you have read. Jot down some summary points. Ask whether your starting questions have been answered, or at least clarified. Spell out some of the difficulties that remain. In this way, you record some concrete outcomes to your reading, so that your time does not simply evaporate uselessly once the book is closed.

R3 - This final stage is the *review*. It happens after an interval has elapsed since the reading. You can experiment, but initially try doing it the following day. Without opening the book again, or referring back to your notes, review what you have gained from the reading; remind yourself of the question you set yourself, the points you jotted down at the *recall* stage, and any important phrases from the essay. If this produces very little, then refer back to your notes. If they make little sense, then repeat the *survey* stage, and do an accelerated *read*, by reading the first and last paragraphs of the essay, and skim-reading the main body assisted by your pencilled markings.

While Creswell argued that data analysis requires the researcher to be comfortable with developing categories and to be open to possibilities and see contrary or alternative explanations for the findings. He suggested that data analysis should be conducted as an activity simultaneously with data collection, data interpretation, and narrative reporting writing. In qualitative analysis, he highlighted, several simultaneous activities engage the attention of the researcher: collecting information from the field, sorting the information into categories,

formatting the information into a story or picture, and actually writing the qualitative text.⁵³

In this respect, I am going to do several simultaneous activities to conduct the data analysis: first is sorting the data into categories by selecting the active and passive sentences which are considered as discursive tactic, second is analysing the categories by analysing their type and function, third is presenting the results of analysis formed based on the data that represent all research findings, and fourth is discussing the findings.

⁵³ John W. Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (California: Sage Publications, 1994), p.153

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the research findings where I sort the data into categories, analyze them, and present the result of analysis, which are all based on the research questions, and the discussion of this research where I construe towards the result of analysis.

4.1 Research Findings

4.1.1 Discursive Active on Active Voice

1. Respective Active

A speech should be opened by an expression that refers to respect to the audiences or stimulate their courage. Usually, people do not pay attention with this part, they tend to focus on the content of speech. However, this is the most important part in speech. It is required to make a good impression on the audience. Thus, people have to concern to the sentence in use.

Thank you. I know that seated in the front of this hall are VMI cadets who have served in Iraq. I am grateful for your service and mindful that I speak to an audience that can discern truth from falsehood in a politician's appraisal of the war. You know, better than most, whether our cause is just, necessary and winnable. You have risked much to make it so. **Thank you. I'd also like to salute a few old comrades of mine, Orson Swindle, Jim Berger and Paul Galanti, whose example of steadfast courage helped to sustain me in a difficult time.** On my trip, I traveled to Baghdad, Ramadi, and Tikrit, met with Iraqi cabinet officers, our top military leadership, including Generals Petraeus and Odierno, and with embassy officials, including our new ambassador, Ryan Crocker. **I also had the privilege of spending time with our soldiers, from generals to privates.** Their courage and resolve in this frustrating war is an inspiration, and serves as a reminder of our obligations to avoid the expediency of easy, but empty answers or the allure of political advantage to choose the path in Iraq that best honors their sacrifices.¹

¹ John McCain, *April 11 Speech on Iraq* (April 11, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

From the text of John McCain's speech I have quoted above, it could be seen that he knows exactly how he should respect the audiences. He does it by recognizing who they are and then appreciating what they have done. Practically, he shows his humility by saying "thank you". Then, he appreciates them by mentioning several name of them, which is considered has an important role to support him to be the next President. It is stated by "I would also like to salute a few old comrades of mine, Orson Swindle, Jim Berger, and Paul Gallanti, whose example of steadfast courage helped to sustain me in a difficult time" and "I also had the privilege of spending time with our soldiers, from generals to privates".

Those sentences show that he is thankful for all they have done to America, especially to himself. It seems to be his discursive tactic to gain their sympathy.

He also employs such tactic in other speeches that he delivers in some places with different topic.

Thank you for inviting me to talk with you about that great engine of opportunity and prosperity - the American economy. We live in a time when the success of our free market principles are the envy and model for societies whose economies had once achieved no more than the perpetuation of poverty and despair for the many and luxuries and power for a privileged few. We showed the world that power and wealth are the product of freedom and not the other way around - the freedom to pursue your aspirations, to seize your opportunities, to rise as far as your own industry and imagination will take you, to make a better life for your children than you inherited, and to build together a civilization for the ages, in which all people share in the promise and responsibilities of liberty.²

Thank you for that very generous introduction. It's an honor to appear at the Hudson Institute. Your work in promoting global security, prosperity, and freedom is well known. Your founder, Herman Kahn, virtually invented the modern field of strategic studies, and today Hudson scholars carry on his tradition of honest, original and far-sighted thinking about America's situation in the world, and the challenges and

² John McCain, *Senator John McCain Addresses the Economic Club of Memphis* (Arlington: April 16, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

opportunities we find as we continue the work of preceding American generations to make this world less threatening to our security and more hospitable to our values.³

I applaud the recent agreement between the UAW and GM to help guarantee the health benefits of retired auto workers. I'm told the UAW/Ford talks include a similar proposal to create a trust fund for health care. But my friends we must do more - we must reign in the growing cost of care if we are to compete globally.⁴

Thank you. Thank you for inviting me. It's been a little while since I've had the honor of addressing you, and **I appreciate very much your courtesy to me today.** We should do this more often. I hope you will pardon my absence last year, and understand that I intended no personal insult to any of you. I was merely pre-occupied with the business of trying to escape the distinction of pre-season frontrunner for the Republican nomination, which, I'm sure some of you observed, I managed to do in fairly short order. But, now, **I again have the privilege of that distinction,** and this time I would prefer to hold on to it for a while.⁵

Based on those three quotations above, it is clear that the way McCain uses this discursive tactic which is to support the coherence of the discourse in those quotation is same as in the first quotation. He respects the audience by showing his humility and appreciating them.

Once, he employs this tactic in different way. He inspires the audiences by reminding them to the America's leadership from his party, Republican party, long ago. He invites them to give a great respect for him. As like in the following quotation:

To meet this challenge requires understanding the world we live in, and the central role the United States must play in shaping it for the future. **The United States must lead in the 21st century, just as in Truman's day.** But leadership today means something different than it did in the years after World War II, when Europe and the other democracies were still recovering from the devastation of war and the United States was the only democratic superpower. Today we are not alone. There is the

³ John McCain, *John McCain's Address to the Hudson Institute* (September 27, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

⁴ John McCain, *Address to Detroit Economic Club* (Arlington: October 9, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

⁵ John McCain, *Remarks by John McCain to CPAC* (Arlington: February 7, 2008), www.john-mccain.com

powerful collective voice of the European Union, and there are the great nations of India and Japan, Australia and Brazil, South Korea and South Africa, Turkey and Israel, to name just a few of the leading democracies. There are also the increasingly powerful nations of China and Russia that wield great influence in the international system.⁶

All of those efforts are the strategy to win the American people vote. By using active voice as his discursive tactic, McCain tries to make a good impression on the audience and gain their sympathy. This is then what I call respective active.

2. Demonstrative Active

One of the crucial topics that must be discussed by every candidate of the President of the United States is terrorism. When McCain gave his speech to the VMI cadets, Hudson institute, and the Economic Club of Memphis, he also talked about that topic.

I just returned from my fifth visit to Iraq. Unlike the veterans here today, I risked nothing more threatening than a hostile press corps. And my only mission was to inform my opinions with facts. We still face many difficult challenges in Iraq. That is undeniable. But we have also made, in recent weeks, measurable progress in establishing security in Baghdad and fighting al Qaeda in Anbar province. To deny the difficulties and uncertainties ahead is an egregious disservice to the public. But as General Petraeus implements his plan to correct the flawed strategy we followed in the past, and attempts to spare the United States and the world the catastrophe of an American defeat, it is an equal disservice to dismiss early signs of progress. And now we confront a choice as historically important as any we have faced in a long while. Will this nation's elected leaders make the politically hard but strategically vital decision to give General Petraeus our full support and do what is necessary to succeed in Iraq? Or will we decide to take advantage of the public's frustration, accept defeat, and hope that whatever the cost to our security the politics of defeat will work out

⁶ John McCain, *Remarks by John McCain to the Los Angeles Affairs Council* (Los Angeles: March 26, 2008), www.john-mccain.com

better for us than our opponents? **For my part, I would rather lose a campaign than a war.**⁷

I have told you how I intend to fight this war. Other candidates will argue for a different course. Democratic candidates for President will argue for the course of cutting our losses and withdrawing from the threat in the vain hope it will not follow us here. **I cannot join them in such wishful and very dangerous thinking.** Peace at any price is an illusion and its costs are always more tragic than the sacrifices victory requires. **I will stand where I stand today and trust you to give me a fair hearing.** There is too much at stake in this election for any candidate to do less. Thank you.⁸

I'm not running for President to be somebody, but to do something; to do the hard but necessary things not the easy and needless things. **I'm running for President to protect this country from harm and defeat our enemies. I'm running for President to make the government do its job, not your job; to do it with less, and to do it better. I'm running for President to defend our freedom and expand our opportunities. I'm running for President not to leave our biggest national problems to some unluckier generation of leaders, but to fix them now, and leave our grandchildren a safer, freer and more prosperous country than the one we were blessed to inherit; I'm running for President to make sure America maintains its place as the political and economic leader of the world;** the country that doesn't fear change but makes change work for us; the country that doesn't long for the good old days, but aspires to even better days. I'm running for President of the United States, not a defeated country, not a bankrupt country; not a timid and frightened country; not a country fragmented into bickering interest groups with no sense of or dedication to the national interest; not a country with a bloated, irresponsible and incompetent government. I'm not running for town manager or school board member or corporate treasurer or surgeon general or head of the trial lawyers association or secretary of the local charity. I'm running for President of the United States, the most powerful, prosperous nation and greatest force for good on earth. **And if I am elected President I intend to keep it so.** Thank you.⁹

Having read the quotations above, I consider that the American people could be influenced to agree with his idealism to support the war. By utilizing

⁷ John McCain, *April 11 Speech on Iraq* (April 11, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

⁸ John McCain, *John McCain's Address to the Hudson Institute* (September 27, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

⁹ John McCain, *Senator John McCain Addresses the Economic Club of Memphis* (Arlington: April 16, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

active voice as one of his discursive tactics in his political speech, we can see in the quotation above how he keeps his idealism to stand for the war against terrorism, how he convince the American people that this war is hold to be won not to be lost.

In the name of peace and freedom, he engages the American people to trust him that they cannot withdraw troops as easy as they think, since they need to protect their country from harm and defeat their enemies. It is a discursive tactic used by John McCain to win the American vote.

Another topic is about economy. When he gives his remarks to Detroit Economic Club, he talked about that topic too. The quotation goes as follows:

I will fight to save the future of Social Security and Medicare by reaching my hand across the aisle, but if the Democrats won't act, give me the responsibility and I will. If Congress won't act, I will demand an up or down vote on my plan. No problem is in more need of honesty than the looming insolvency of our entitlement programs. No government program is the object of more political posturing and spin than Social Security and Medicare. Americans have the right to know the truth, no matter how bad it is. **I won't leave office without doing everything** I can to fix the fiscal problem that, more than any other, threatens our future prosperity and power. **I am running for President to restore the trust of taxpayers in their government.** Americans have lost trust in their government to spend their hard earned money wisely. Today, the government spends more money than ever before. Since Ronald Reagan left office, government spending adjusted for inflation has increased \$2,500 for every man, woman and child in the country. Wasteful spending has gone from irresponsible to indefensible. When Congress sends a pork-laden spending bill to my desk, I will veto it. The Congress just sent to the President a Water Resources and Development Act with 900 earmark projects. **If I got that bill, I'd pull out this pen, a pen given to me by a great President, Ronald Reagan, and I'd veto that bill in a heartbeat. If they kept sending it to me, I'd use the bully pulpit to make the people who are wasting your money famous.** You'd know who they are, and you could hold them accountable. No is always the right answer to wasteful spending. I

have the veto pen of Ronald Reagan and, **I promise you**, I'll use it. I have a reputation for straight talk and we need to work together to increase CAFE standards to a level that is practical and achievable for all new vehicles, foreign and domestic, because improved fuel economy will help our nation achieve national energy security, reduce carbon emissions, and improve local and regional air quality. But as we strive to increase fuel economy, we must also ensure that we maintain auto safety.¹⁰

As like in the quotation about economy above, it appears that he gives much promise to American people to build a better economy of America. McCain promotes himself by exposing what he will do towards America if he is elected. It is stated by saying “I will fight to save the future of Social Security and Medicare by reaching my hand across the aisle, but if the Democrats won’t act, give me the responsibility and I will”, “If Congress won’t act, I will demand an up or down vote on my plan”, “I won’t leave office without doing everything”, etc.

Again, it becomes his discursive tactic to reach his goal by promoting himself.

The most fascinating of him in using this discursive tactic is appeared when he rebuts every single word stated by Senator Obama and Clinton. The quotation goes as follows:

Senator Clinton and Senator Obama want to increase the size of the federal government.

I intend to reduce it. I will not sign a bill with earmarks in it, any earmarks in it. I will fight for the line item veto, and I will not permit any expansion whatsoever of the entitlement programs that are bankrupting us. On the contrary, I intend to reform those programs so that government is no longer in that habit of making promises to Americans it does not have the means to keep.

Senator Clinton and Senator Obama will raise your taxes.

I intend to cut them. I will start by making the Bush tax cuts permanent. I will cut corporate tax rates from 35 to 25% to keep industries and jobs in this country. I will

¹⁰ John McCain, *Address to Detroit Economic Club* (Arlington: October 9, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

end the Alternate Minimum Tax. And I won't let a Democratic Congress raise your taxes and choke the growth of our economy.

They will offer a big government solution to health care insurance coverage.

I intend to address the problem with free market solutions and with respect for the freedom of individuals to make important choices for themselves.

They will appoint to the federal bench judges who are intent on achieving political changes that the American people cannot be convinced to accept through the election of their representatives.

I intend to nominate judges who have proven themselves worthy of our trust that they take as their sole responsibility the enforcement of laws made by the people's elected representatives, judges of the character and quality of Justices Roberts and Alito, judges who can be relied upon to respect the values of the people whose rights, laws and property they are sworn to defend.

Senator Clinton and Senator Obama will withdraw our forces from Iraq based on an arbitrary timetable designed for the sake of political expediency, and which recklessly ignores the profound human calamity and dire threats to our security that would ensue.

I intend to win the war, and trust in the proven judgment of our commanders there and the courage and selflessness of the Americans they have the honor to command. I share the grief over the terrible losses we have suffered in its prosecution. There is no other candidate for this office who appreciates more than I do just how awful war is. But I know that the costs in lives and treasure we would incur should we fail in Iraq will be far greater than the heartbreaking losses we have suffered to date. And I will not allow that to happen.

They won't recognize and seriously address the threat posed by an Iran with nuclear ambitions to our ally, Israel, and the region.

I intend to make unmistakably clear to Iran we will not permit a government that espouses the destruction of the State of Israel as its fondest wish and pledges undying enmity to the United States to possess the weapons to advance their malevolent ambitions.

Senator Clinton and Senator Obama will concede to our critics that our own actions to defend against its threats are responsible for fomenting the terrible evil of radical Islamic extremism, and their resolve to combat it will be as flawed as their judgment.

I intend to defeat that threat by staying on offense and by marshaling every relevant agency of our government, and our allies, in the urgent necessity of defending

the values, virtues and security of free people against those who despise all that is good about us.¹¹

When I was five years old, a car pulled up in front of our house in New London, Connecticut, and a Navy officer rolled down the window, and shouted at my father that the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor. My father immediately left for the submarine base where he was stationed. I rarely saw him again for four years. My grandfather, who commanded the fast carrier task force under Admiral Halsey, came home from the war exhausted from the burdens he had borne, and died the next day. In Vietnam, where I formed the closest friendships of my life, some of those friends never came home to the country they loved so well. I detest war. It might not be the worst thing to befall human beings, but it is wretched beyond all description. When nations seek to resolve their differences by force of arms, a million tragedies ensue. The lives of a nation's finest patriots are sacrificed. Innocent people suffer and die. Commerce is disrupted; economies are damaged; strategic interests shielded by years of patient statecraft are endangered as the exigencies of war and diplomacy conflict. Not the valor with which it is fought nor the nobility of the cause it serves, can glorify war. Whatever gains are secured, it is loss the veteran remembers most keenly. Only a fool or a fraud sentimentalizes the merciless reality of war. However heady the appeal of a call to arms, however just the cause, we should still shed a tear for all that is lost when war claims its wages from us.¹²

He uses all the way to win this election, even by underestimating his opponent. As what he said to rebut his opponent, Senator Obama and Clinton. For example, when there is statement from Senator Obama and Clinton that they want to increase the size of the federal government, he rebuts it by saying that he intends to reduce it, when there is statement from both democrats candidates that they will raise the American people taxes, he rebuts it by saying that he intends to cut them. When they will offer a big government solution to health care insurance, he intends to address the problem with free market solutions. When there is statement from both of Democrats candidates that they will withdraw the

¹¹ John McCain, *Remarks by John McCain to CPAC* (Arlington: February 7, 2008), www.john-mccain.com

¹² John McCain, *Remarks by John McCain to The Los Angeles World Affairs Council* (Los Angeles: March 26, 2008), www.john-mccain.com

America's forces from Iraq, he keeps his idealism to support the war by saying that he intends to win the war.

This tactic is done to convince the American people that, indeed, he deserves to be the next leader of the United States. It is done by promoting or showing himself or even underestimating others.

3. Agentless Active

The agent is the classic doer of the action. An agent subject is an animate being that acts deliberately, with intent. Most speakers consider the agent as the most typical subject. In active voice, it is allowed to talk about events or what is happening without specifying an agent, since the agent is unknown, unimportant, or conceptually complex.

However it ends, the war in Iraq will have a profound influence on the future of the Middle East, global stability, and the security of the United States, which will remain, for the foreseeable future, directly affected by events in that dangerous part of the world. The war is part of a broader struggle in the Arab and Muslim world, the struggle between violent extremists and the forces of modernity and moderation. **Our defeat in Iraq would constitute a defeat in the war against terror and extremism and would make the world a much more dangerous place.** The enemies we face there harbor the same depraved indifference to human life as those who killed three thousand innocent Americans on a September morning in 2001. A couple of days before I arrived in Baghdad, a suicide car bomb destroyed a large, busy marketplace. It was a bit unusual, because new U.S. and Iraqi security measures in Baghdad have reduced the number of car bomb attacks. But this time the terrorists had a new tactic: they drove their car to a security checkpoint and were waved through because there were two small children in the back seat. The terrorists then walked away from the car, leaving the children inside it, and triggered the explosion. If the

terrorists are willing to do this terrible thing to Iraqi children, what are they willing to do to our children?¹³

When someone read this passage, his or her spirit against terrorism, which also means giving support to the Iraq war, is required to come up. They are going to think twice to do not care about the war against terrorism.

Here, McCain only focuses his speech on Iraq war. He explains that the ends of the war, whether it can be won or not, must have a great effect towards the world. It is stated as: “However it ends, the war in Iraq will have a profound influence on the future of the Middle East, global stability, and the security of the United States, which will remain, for the foreseeable future, directly affected by events in that dangerous part of the world.”, and “Our defeat in Iraq would constitute a defeat in the war against terror and extremism and would make the world a much more dangerous place.”

It considers as his discursive tactic to obtain the support from the American people towards his mission in Iraq. Thus, he gives emphasis to what happens within Iraq war.

The following quotation is taken from another speech which is also considered to use this tactic:

Lowering barriers to trade creates more and better jobs, and higher wages. It keeps inflation under control. It keeps mortgage and other interest rates low, and it

¹³ John McCain, *April 11 Speech on Iraq* (April 11, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

makes goods more affordable for low and middle income consumers. Protectionism threatens all those benefits.¹⁴

Here, the reader is invited to keep focus on the way he is offered to keep the inflation, mortgage, and other interest rates under control. It makes the audiences understand that he is proficient in both economy and military management.

Thankfully, efforts in Congress to deny General Petraeus and American forces in Iraq the support necessary to continue their counterinsurgency successes have lost support since the summer. That is, I believe, largely attributable to the fact that it is becoming clearer to Americans, and to members of Congress for whom our situation in Iraq is a substantially greater concern than an election that is more than a year away, that after four years of reinforcing failure in Iraq, we are beginning to get things right there. That is a great credit to General Petraeus, the architect as well as the commander of the counterinsurgency. It is an even greater credit to the men and women he has the honor to command, who have bid good-bye again to their families, while no doubt directing some well-deserved abuse at those of us who have put them in this situation, and then shouldered a rifle and risked everything - everything - for our sake. On this point I hope we all agree, Republicans and Democrats. It is an honor to live in country so well defended by such brave patriots.¹⁵

Reading the bold-face type sentence invites people to give their support to the Iraq war. It says that efforts in Congress to fight all of things related to the war are denied.

Now that will help. **Michigan businesses already struggle against an unfavorable cost structure, and higher taxes will only make those problems worse. Higher taxes discourage entrepreneurship, foster wasteful tax-planning, inhibit economic freedom and slow long-term growth.** I will not let the Democrats roll back the Bush tax cuts. I believe we should protect the American family against partisan tax

¹⁴ John McCain, *Senator John McCain Addresses the Economic Club of Memphis* (Arlington: April 16, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

¹⁵ John McCain, *John McCain's Address to the Hudson Institute* (September 27, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

increases by requiring a three-fifths majority in Congress to raise taxes. But that is just a start.¹⁶

Both of sentences which is in a bold-face type describe something important. They talk about Michigan business which are already struggle against an unfavorable cost structure and the higher taxes which has the worst effect towards America. It encourages the American people to be sure that John McCain is the right choice, since he, based on what he said, knows what he has to do to control them when he is the president.

He uses active voice as his discursive tactic to focus on that events. McCain seems to emphasize that he will not do something which has the worst effect towards American people.

Often elections in this country are fought within the margins of small differences. This one will not be. We are arguing about hugely consequential things. Whomever the Democrats nominate, they would govern this country in a way that will, in my opinion, take this country backward to the days when government felt empowered to take from us our freedom to decide for ourselves the course and quality of our lives; to substitute the muddled judgment of large and expanding federal bureaucracies for the common sense and values of the American people; to the timidity and wishful thinking of a time when we averted our eyes from terrible threats to our security that were so plainly gathering strength abroad. It is shameful and dangerous that Senate Democrats are blocking an extension of surveillance powers that enable our intelligence and law enforcement to defend our country against radical Islamic extremists. **This election is going to be about big things, not small things.** And I intend to fight as hard as I can to ensure that our principles prevail over theirs.¹⁷

At this point, the American people is asked to pay attention to the election.

It perhaps remain them to be careful in choosing the next President for USA.

When delivering speech to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, he uses this tactic too.

¹⁶ John McCain, *Address to Detroit Economic Club* (Arlington: October 9, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

¹⁷ John McCain, *John McCain to CPAC* (Arlington: February 7, 2008), www.john-mccain.com

The developments of science and technology have brought us untold prosperity, eradicated disease, and reduced the suffering of millions. We have a chance in our lifetime to raise the world to a new standard of human existence. Yet these same technologies have produced grave new risks, arming a few zealots with the ability to murder millions of innocents, and producing a global industrialization that can in time threaten our planet.¹⁸

The audiences are focused on the developments and technology which have brought them untold prosperity, eradicated disease, and reduced the suffering of millions. It motivates the audiences to keep up their courage in the face of globalization.

All of them are discursive tactic by John McCain to win the American people ballot. All the quotation above show how the events related to the war and American's economy, such as the war in Iraq, lowering barriers to trade, Michigan businesses, and the efforts in Congress to deny General Petraeus, the election, and the developments of science and technology are more important to be told than others. This tactic will influence the audience to keep focus on the events, and engage them to understand the cause and effect of the events.

4. Provocative Active

It is very clear that in campaign there must be efforts to provoke the audiences. In this, by employing active voice, McCain burns the American people's spirit to stand beside him and then together to follow up what he has stated. As like what have stated in the following quotation:

We all respect the sacrifices made by our soldiers. We all mourn the losses they have suffered in this war. But **let us honor them** by doing all we can to ensure their sacrifices were not made in vain. **Let us show an appropriate humility** by recognizing that so little is asked of us compared to the burdens we imposed on them,

¹⁸ John McCain, *Remarks by John McCain to The Los Angeles World Affairs Council* (Los Angeles: March 26, 2008), www.john-mccain.com

and **let us show just a small, but significant measure of their courage, resolve and patriotism** by putting our country's interests before every personal or political consideration.¹⁹

While our ultimate victory is not in doubt, the length and intensity of this struggle remain to be determined. It's up to us. We have historically important choices to make, all of us, the American people, their President, and their Members of Congress. We must recognize that our enemies are in this fight to win, and so must we be. **We must use our strengths, our resources, our inventiveness and our fortitude - qualities that have distinguished us through history and which have never failed us - to defeat our unpardonable foe.** We must act boldly and with confidence that history has not yet assigned us a challenge that we cannot meet successfully. Though we regret the mistakes we have made in this war, they must not cause us self doubt. We must learn from them, as Americans have always learned from our mistakes, and fight smarter and harder. Though we mourn the losses we have already incurred in this war, we must not let our grief weary us so that we cannot do the work that is ours to do.²⁰

America must be a model citizen if we want others to look to us as a model. How we behave at home affects how we are perceived abroad. **We must fight the terrorists and at the same time defend the rights that are the foundation of our society. We can't torture or treat inhumanely suspected terrorists we have captured.** I believe we should close Guantanamo and work with our allies to forge a new international understanding on the disposition of dangerous detainees under our control.²¹

“Let us honor them (the soldiers) by doing all we can”, “Let us show an appropriate humility”, “We must fight the terrorists”, “We must use our strengths, our resources, our inventiveness and our fortitude qualities to defeat our unpardonable foe”, are discursive tactics on active voice used by McCain in his speeches to provoke the audience.

Here, the audiences are incited to honor, show an appropriate humility towards the American soldiers. They are also invited to keep fight terrorism, use the strengths, resources, and inventiveness to defeat their enemies.

¹⁹ John McCain, *April 11 Speech on Iraq* (April 11, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

²⁰ John McCain, *John McCain's Address to the Hudson Institute* (September 27, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

²¹ John McCain, *John McCain to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council* (Los Angeles: March 26, 2008), www.john-mccain.com

When John McCain remarks to the Economic club of Memphis and Detroit Economic Club which talked about economy, he also uses this discursive tactic.

There's never been a tomorrow Americans weren't eager to greet. There's never been a problem Americans couldn't solve. The courage, patriotism, ingenuity and industry of our forbears earned the reverence we hold for our storied past. But we have never been a country that substitutes nostalgia for optimism. We have never been a country that would rather go back than forward. We are the world's leaders, and leaders don't fear change, hide from challenges, pine for the past and dread the future. **We make the future better than the past.** That's why I resent demagogues who preach the false virtues of economic isolationism. Opening new markets for American goods and services is indispensable to our future prosperity. **We can compete with anyone.** You wouldn't know that by listening to the protectionists. They think we're licked. They think we should hide behind walls, bury our heads and industries in the sand, and hope we have enough left to live on while the world passes us by. That's not leadership, and that's not American. Here's what the demagogues don't tell you. America is the world's biggest exporter, importer, producer, saver, investor, manufacturer, and innovator. Americans don't run from the challenge of a global economy. We are the global economy. Any confident, competent government should embrace competition - it makes us stronger - not hide from our competitors and cheat our consumers and workers. We can compete and win, as we always have, or we can be left behind. I'm not running for President to preside over our decline.²²

No one should have to wait until they are laid off to build a better life. **We can start right now** by improving the accountability of public education at the primary and secondary level, allowing competition, and helping provide parents with choices for their children's education. The better educated Americans are, the more capable they will be of adjusting to and benefiting from economic change. So today **I encourage Michigan to join my efforts to resist higher taxes**, control spiraling health care costs, restore trust in government, and build 21st century labor markets. It will work for Michigan. It will work for America.²³

Courage, bravery, heroism of the American people must be strengthened by what are stated by McCain as I quote above. I can feel that when I read the

²² John McCain, *Senator John McCain Addresses the Economic Club of Memphis* (Arlington: April 16, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

²³ John McCain, *Address to Detroit Economic Club* (Arlington: October 9, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

quotation above. He convinces them that, together with him, everything is manageable. With him, America could build a better life.

“We make the future better than past”, “We can compete with anyone”, “You wouldn’t know that by listening to the protectionists”, They think we should hide behind walls, bury our heads and industries in the sand, and hope we have enough left to live on while the world passes us by”, “We can start right now”, all of those sentences are stated by John McCain to fires up the American people’s spirit.

Those active voices are used by John McCain as his discursive tactic to gain support from the American people.

I believe today, as I believed twenty-five years ago, in small government; fiscal discipline; low taxes; a strong defense, judges who enforce, and not make, our laws; the social values that are the true source of our strength; and, generally, the steadfast defense of our rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, which I have defended my entire career as God-given to the born and unborn. Those are my beliefs, and **you need not examine only my past votes and speeches to assure yourselves that they are my genuine convictions. You can take added confidence from the positions I have defended during this campaign.** I campaigned in Iowa in opposition to agriculture subsidies. I campaigned in New Hampshire against big government mandated health care and for a free market solution to the problem of unavailable and unaffordable health care. I campaigned in Michigan for the tax incentives and trade policies that will create new and better jobs in that economically troubled state. I campaigned in Florida against the national catastrophic insurance fund bill that passed the House of Representatives and defended my opposition to the prescription drug benefit bill that saddled Americans with yet another hugely expensive entitlement program. I have argued to make the Bush tax cuts permanent, to reduce the corporate tax rate and abolish the AMT. I have defended my position on protecting our Second Amendment rights, including my votes against waiting periods, bans on the so-called "assault weapons," and illegitimate lawsuits targeting gun manufacturers. I have proudly defended my twenty-four year pro-life record. Throughout this campaign, I have defended the President's brave decision to increase troop levels in Iraq to execute a long overdue counterinsurgency that has spared us the

terrible calamity of losing that war. I held these positions because I believed they were in the best interests of my party and country.²⁴

Here, John McCain exposes his genuine convictions, which are about fiscal discipline, low taxes, a strong defense, judges who enforce, etc. Therefore, he assures them that they will not be disappointed if they choose him. “You need not examine only my past votes and speeches to assure yourselves that they are my genuine convictions. You can take added confidence from the positions I have defended during this campaign.” He uses those active voices as his discursive tactic to convince them that he deserves to be the next leader of USA.

4.1.2 Discursive Tactics on Passive Voice

1. Respective Passive

In his political speeches, McCain also uses passive voice as his discursive tactic. There are a number of discourse reasons for the existence of the passive voice. Sometimes the focus of the sentence is really on the sentence object or what we know it as the receiver of the action, rather than the acting subject. It, of course, has different intentions.

At this stage, it seems that passive voice used as discursive tactic to respect the object or the receiver of the action. He places the object or the receiver as the subject or the doer.

This institution is steeped in the ideals of service and sacrifice exemplified by the veterans here today. VMI has helped to form the character of many fine patriots, none greater than George Marshall, whose long, selfless service to our country was of inestimable value in some of the most consequential moments of the last century. As we celebrate this year the 60th anniversary of the Marshall Plan, VMI's Corps of Cadets should take renewed pride from their association with his good name and in knowing the lesson of his character and patriotism has been a part of your education.²⁵

²⁴ John McCain, *John McCain to CPAC* (Arlington: February 7, 2008), www.john-mccain.com

²⁵ John McCain, *April 11 Speech on Iraq* (April 11, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

I know that open markets don't automatically translate into a higher quality of life for every single American. Change is hard, and while **most of us gain, some industries, companies and workers are forced to struggle with very difficult choices.** It wasn't government's job to spend millions to save buggy whip factories and haberdashers when cars replaced carriages and men stopped wearing hats. And it isn't government's job to spend billions preserving products and services that we can't sell anymore. But it is government's job to help workers get the education and training they need for the new jobs that will be created by new businesses in this new century.²⁶

Your work in promoting global security, prosperity, and freedom is well known. Your founder, Herman Kahn, virtually invented the modern field of strategic studies, and today Hudson scholars carry on his tradition of honest, original and far-sighted thinking about America's situation in the world, and the challenges and opportunities we find as we continue the work of preceding American generations to make this world less threatening to our security and more hospitable to our values.²⁷

As in the first quotation above, McCain seems to accentuate the object of sentence - VMI institution - as he appreciates the institution for its contribution to form the character of many fine patriots. In the second quotation, he appears to heighten the industries, companies, and workers that are forced to struggle by very difficult choices. Also, in the third quotation, even the subject of the sentence is actually unknown, it seems that he intensifies the Hudson scholars which has contribution to promote global security, prosperity, and freedom.

For decades in the greater Middle East, we had a strategy of relying on autocrats to provide order and stability. We relied on the Shah of Iran, the autocratic rulers of Egypt, the generals of Pakistan, the Saudi royal family, and even, for a time, on Saddam Hussein. In the late 1970s that strategy began to unravel. **The Shah was overthrown by the radical Islamic revolution that now rules in Tehran.** The ensuing ferment in the Muslim world produced increasing instability. The autocrats clamped down with ever greater repression, while also surreptitiously aiding Islamic radicalism abroad in the hopes that they would not become its victims. It was a toxic

²⁶ John McCain, *Senator John McCain Addresses the Economic Club of Memphis* (Arlington: April 16, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

²⁷ John McCain, *John McCain's Address to the Hudson Institute* (September 27, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

and explosive mixture. The oppression of the autocrats blended with the radical Islamists' dogmatic theology to produce a perfect storm of intolerance and hatred. We can no longer delude ourselves that relying on these out-dated autocracies is the safest bet. They no longer provide lasting stability, only the illusion of it. We must not act rashly or demand change overnight. But neither can we pretend the status quo is sustainable, stable, or in our interests. Change is occurring whether we want it or not. The only question for us is whether we shape this change in ways that benefit humanity or let our enemies seize it for their hateful purposes. We must help expand the power and reach of freedom, using all our many strengths as a free people. This is not just idealism. It is the truest kind of realism. It is the democracies of the world that will provide the pillars upon which we can and must build an enduring peace.²⁸

The Shah which is the receiver of the action is also more important to be known than the doer. In this, McCain may be eager to enlighten to the audience about the cause why America must involve in the issue of the greater Middle East. In the name of 'freedom' McCain tries to convince the American to support him against Islamic terrorism, to appeal the minority people and the better angels of their nature.

2. Personal Passive

One important function of the passive is maintaining the topic of the discourse. Once an entity has been introduced as a topic, then, a speaker will try to keep that topic in subject position. Related to this issue, we can consider it as the egocentrism of human beings since humans like to talk about themselves and other human. We are likely to make a human as the subject of a sentence even when there is no topic to be maintained.

When John McCain gave his speech which talked about Iraq war, he used it as one of his discursive tactics.

²⁸ John McCain, *Remarks by John McCain to The Los Angeles World Affairs Council* (Los Angeles: March 26, 2008), www.john-mccain.com

In closing, I'd like to bring to your attention the gallantry and patriotism of one American who served with distinction in Iraq, a Navy SEAL, who refuses to quit his mission and let the country he loves so well suffer the terrible harm our defeat would entail. A few days ago, **Petty Officer First Class Mark Robbins' unit was ambushed outside Baghdad.** During the ensuing firefight, he spotted an insurgent with an RPG, and immediately stepped out from cover and exposed himself to enemy fire to take out the terrorist before he could fire. He saved the lives of his comrades, but **was gravely wounded** as he did so. **He was shot in the eye by another insurgent with an AK-47.** The bullet exited the back of his head about three inches behind his ear. **He was initially knocked** unconscious but came to, continued to fight and then, despite the severity of his wound, walked to the evacuation helicopter. **He was eventually taken** to Landstuhl military hospital in Germany. As is the custom of Navy SEALs, **he was accompanied by one of his comrades,** Petty Officer Second class McLean Swink. On our way home from Iraq, our delegation stopped in Germany for refueling and crew rest, and I had the privilege of visiting some of our wounded at Landstuhl. I briefly stopped in Mark Robbins' room, but he was sedated and unable then to communicate. I spent a few moments there, and talked to his buddy, before I went to visit other wounded soldiers. Not too long after I had left Mark's room, Petty Officer Swink found me and told me **Mark was awake** and had asked to see me. So I returned. When I entered his room and approached his bedside, he struggled with great difficulty to sit up, stiffened his body as if he were trying to stand at attention, grasped my hand tightly and wouldn't let go. And then he whispered to me not to worry, 'We can win this fight. We can win this fight.' Mark, as another person observed, looks like the 'toughest kid on the high school football team.' He is tough, and brave, and very young. But more than that, **he's an inspiration to those who are only called upon to subordinate a temporary political advantage to the security of our good and great nation.** Petty Officer Mark Robbins, an American hero, believes we can still win this fight. I'll take his word for it, and accept my responsibility to help the cause he sacrificed so much to defend.²⁹

In this, the audiences' attention are brought to the gallantry and patriotism of one American who served with distinction in Iraq, a Navy SEAL, Petty Officer First Class Mark Robbins. Regarding his patriotism, Mark Robbins is become a good example or an inspiration for American people.

²⁹ John McCain, *April 11 Speech on Iraq* (April 11, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

To keep the audiences' attention to the topic he told, which is about patriotism of one American, John McCain uses passive voice. It also becomes his discursive tactic persuading the audiences to do the same thing, to fight for war or at least support the war against terrorism for the security of good and great nation.

3. Agentless Passive

When addressing his remarks to the VMI cadets, the Economic Club of Memphis, the Hudson Institute, and the Los Angeles Word Affairs Council, John McCain utilized passive voice as his discursive tactic to emphasize what happens to something rather than who or what does something.

Our government was conceived to protect our liberty in all its expressions, political, religious, and economic, and in many respects government provides services that are indispensable to us. But it was not intended to command our economy, or redirect its benefits to this or that interest group or subordinate its growth to the growth of government. Government's constitutional obligation to promote the general welfare did not empower it to assume the responsibilities of individuals but to protect our right to exercise those responsibilities without fear or favor, and to profit from the results. Government should never ask from American families more than is necessary to do the things they cannot do for themselves. It should spend money as wisely as they would, and exercise its responsibilities as competently as they exercise theirs.³⁰

In this part, it is told that the establishment of USA government is to protect the American's liberty in all its expression, political, religious, and economic, and in many respects as what are stated above. It can be seen that it reflects how important the establishment of USA towards the America's liberty. Thus, McCain uses passive voice as his discursive tactic by accentuating to the establishment of USA government.

³⁰ John McCain, *Senator John McCain Addresses the Economic Club of Memphis* (Arlington: April 16, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

Through this discursive tactic, John McCain attempts to manipulate the meaning of the discourse by emphasizing to the American people that the next government must be handled by a proficient leader. It is hoped that they will consider McCain as the one.

This discursive tactic also viewed in other speeches, as follows:

While we enlarge the armed forces, we must also transform them. **To a large extent, our military is still configured to fight enemies that no longer exist.** Our stealth bombers, aircraft carriers, and nuclear submarines may make the difference in a future conflict, but they do little to win our current struggles against terrorists from the Horn of Africa to the Hindu Kush.³¹

Those who argue that our goals in Iraq are unachievable are wrong, just as they were wrong a year ago when they declared the war in Iraq already lost. **Since June 2007 sectarian and ethnic violence in Iraq has been reduced by 90 percent. Overall civilian deaths have been reduced by more than 70 percent.** Deaths of coalition forces have fallen by 70 percent. The dramatic reduction in violence has opened the way for a return to something approaching normal political and economic life for the average Iraqi. People are going back to work. Markets are open. Oil revenues are climbing. Inflation is down. **Iraq's economy is expected to grown by roughly 7 percent in 2008.** Political reconciliation is occurring across Iraq at the local and provincial grassroots level. Sunni and Shi'a chased from their homes by terrorist and sectarian violence are returning. Political progress at the national level has been far too slow, but there is progress.³²

Both quotations above talk about military and Iraq. It shows that the audiences are asked to focus on the achievement of the USA in fighting terrorism. They are encouraged to know what are happened within that war: the military is still configured to fight enemies, sectarian and ethnic violence in Iraq has been reduced by 90 percent, civilian deaths have been reduced by more than 70

³¹ John McCain, *John McCain's Address to the Hudson Institute* (September 27, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

³² John McCain, *Remarks by John McCain to The Los Angeles World Affairs Council* (Los Angeles: March 26, 2008), www.john-mccain.com

percent. Those are happened within the war that John McCain presents by passive voice are required to prove that the war against terrorism is not useless.

4. Provocative Passive

Too often, however, the users of the passive sentence intend to evade a reader or hearer's active imagination, as let them to think or guess who is the agent, or even realize what is actually happened by their selves. It is so, to influence others to react what someone said or intentionally to make people argue about something or to whip up their reaction.

The war on terror, the war for the future of the Middle East, and the struggle for the soul of Islam - of which the war in Iraq constitutes a key element - are bound together. Progress in one requires progress in all. The many complex challenges we face require more than a military response. This is a contest of ideas and values as much as it is one of bullets and bombs. We must gain the active support of modernizers across the Muslim world, who want to share in the benefits of the global system and its economic success, and who aspire to the political freedom that is, I truly believe, the natural desire of the human heart. No matter how much attention their ruthless tactics receive, terrorists are not the true face of Islam. Devout Muslims in Lebanon, Indonesia, Pakistan and Egypt, Morocco, Bahrain, and in Iraq, aspire to progress for their societies in which basic human needs are met for more than the privileged few and basic human rights are respected.³³

At this point, the audiences are invited to think who are actually bound those three issues: the war on terror, the war for the future of the Middle East, and the struggle for the soul of Islam, and why they did. It is hoped that the American people has an agreement with John McCain to keep fight against terrorism and win the war, since such agreement is able to enhance his credibility to be the next President.

³³ John McCain, *April 11 Speech on Iraq* (April 11, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

Again, when he talked about the war, he used this discursive tactic to whip up the enthusiasm of American people to stand besides him against terrorism. As in the paragraph I have quoted below:

Prevailing in Iraq and Afghanistan are critical to defeating the threat posed by radical Islamic extremists, but are not the last battle in this global challenge. **We are in a long war, a war I am afraid the US government is not adequately prepared to fight.** The next president will need tested experience, political courage and strategic clarity to make sound and difficult decisions, even when those decisions are not, as few critical decisions ever are, immediately or decidedly popular. Tough talk or managerial successes in the private sector aren't adequate assurance that their authors have the experience or qualities necessary for such a singular responsibility. We have to make far-reaching reforms to our government to prepare for the long threat our enemies plan for us, and the cruel and desperate means they will employ to harm us. You don't just talk about or manage such changes, you lead them. In 1998, the Clinton Administration and we in Congress agreed to abolish the United States Information Agency and put its public diplomacy functions inside the State Department. This was a mistake. Dismantling an agency dedicated to promoting America's message amounted to unilateral disarmament in the struggle of ideas. Communicating our government's views on day-to-day issues is what the State Department does. But communicating the idea of America, our purpose, our past and our future is a different task. We need to re-create an independent agency with the sole purpose of getting America's message to the world - a critical element in combating Islamic extremism. **The cold war was won not with a tank battle in the Fulda Gap, but by winning the hearts and minds of the people that democracy was better than communism.** And so it must be in our struggle with Islamic extremism. We must win this war by convincing the world that freedom is better than rule by terror.³⁴

I began by assuring you that we share a conception of liberty that is the bedrock of our beliefs as conservatives. As you know, **I was deprived of liberty for a time in my life**, and while my love of liberty is no greater than yours, you can be confident that mine is the equal of any American's. It is a deep and unwavering love. My life experiences in service to our country inform my political judgments. They are at the core of my convictions. I am pro-life and an advocate for the Rights of Man everywhere in the world because of them, because I know that to be denied liberty is

³⁴ John McCain, *John McCain's Address to the Hudson Institute* (September 27, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

an offense to nature and nature's Creator. I will never waver in that conviction, I promise you. I know in this country our liberty will not be seized in a political revolution or by a totalitarian government. But, rather, as Burke warned, it can be "nibbled away, for expedience, and by parts." I am alert to that risk and will defend against it, and take comfort from the knowledge that I will be encouraged in that defense by my fellow conservatives.³⁵

The audiences, here, are asked to think carefully that they cannot choose the next President of America as what they want, since the government is not adequately prepared to handle the war. They have been suggested to consider its criteria. John McCain gives criteria for the next President which involves war experience, political courage, and strategic clarity to make sound and difficult decisions immediately, which of course he has all.

To convince it, he reminds them about the cold war that was won not with a tank battle in the Fulda Gap, but by winning the hearts and mind of the people that democracy was better than communism. Also, by telling them about his experience that he was ever deprived of liberty for a time.

Such tactic also emerges in other speeches:

We have much to be hopeful about. **We are powered by entrepreneurs that will enhance our global economic competitiveness and maintain America's economic leadership.** My friends, America's best days are still to come. Despite the pessimism peddled by politicians, you can't sell me on hopelessness. You can't scare me about the future. You can't convince me that our problems are insurmountable. I have faced adversity throughout my life and with perseverance, have overcome it. I will use those lessons now to guide my resolve as President.³⁶

³⁵ John McCain, *Remarks by John McCain to CPAC* (Arlington: February 7, 2008), www.john-mccain.com

³⁶ John McCain, *Address to Detroit Economic Club* (Arlington: October 9, 2007), www.john-mccain.com

Relations with our southern neighbors must be governed by mutual respect, not by an imperial impulse or by anti-American demagoguery. The promise of North, Central, and South American life is too great for that. I believe the Americas can and must be the model for a new 21st century relationship between North and South. Ours can be the first completely democratic hemisphere, where trade is free across all borders, where the rule of law and the power of free markets advance the security and prosperity of all.³⁷

At this chance, the audiences are engaged to be brave in facing the globalization era. The passive voices which sounded “We are powered by entrepreneurs that will enhance our global economic competitiveness and maintain America’s economic leadership” and “Relations with our southern neighbors must be governed by mutual respect not by an imperial impulse or by anti-American demagoguery” used by John McCain as his discursive tactic arouse the audiences to be optimist that the America’s best days are still to come.

4.2 Discussion

Four major types for discursive tactics on active sentence used by John McCain turn up in this analysis. They are labeled as *respective active*, *demonstrative active*, *agentless active*, and *provocative active*.

Respective active is active voice used as discursive tactic to make a good impression on the audiences by recognizing, appreciating them, etc. Demonstrative active is active voice used as discursive tactic to convince others that he has capability to do or be something by promoting or showing himself, revealing his best, even underestimating his opponent. Agentless active is active voice used as discursive tactic to make others understand the cause and effect of the events by highlighting the events without specifying the agent. Provocative

³⁷ John McCain, *Remarks by John McCain to The Los Angeles World Affairs Council* (Los Angeles: March 26, 2008), www.john-mccain.com

active is active voice used as discursive tactic that is deliberately intended to make people argue or react towards something.

Furthermore, four major types of discursive tactics on passive sentence also emerge in the qualitative analysis of John McCain's political speeches. They are: *respective passive*, *provocative passive*, *personal passive*, and *agentless passive*.

Respective passive is passive voice used as discursive tactic to respect the object or the receiver of the action and to show that the receiver is more important to be known. Personal passive is passive voice used as discursive tactic to maintain the topic of the discourse. Agentless passive is passive voice used as discursive tactic to emphasize what happens to something rather than who or what does something. While provocative passive is passive voice used as discursive tactic to influence others to argue or react towards what he or she has stated.

Some researchers actually have investigated the use of passive voice as tactic to influence others. Danvilled who examined the use of passive voice by Bush and Gore considered that passive voice is commonly used to shade meaning, and Geoffrey who released a study on verb selection which found that passive voice is often used to make one's violence more overt and apparent. However, there are more functions of active and passive voice in someone's speech as what I found in John McCain's political speeches. Therefore, this study is considered to enrich some theories that have existed.

Critical Discourse Analysis offered by van Dijk is indeed eligible to this study, for it enables me to interpret the structures or strategies of texts.

Moreover, to make it more systematic, the qualitative is used as its method since it allows the qualitative researcher to open mind and be receptive to new ideas.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Before specifying the conclusions and suggestions, as a qualitative researcher the writer wants to make a reflection. As a researcher, I also examine how McCain uses those kinds of discursive tactic. It allows me to have deep understanding of how those discursive tactics used by John McCain. John McCain uses every single active and passive voice in his political speeches with an intention. Both of those sentence forms are used as his discursive tactic to enhance his reputation, to reach his goal by affecting and persuading the American people in order to give him support to be the next leader of the United States. It was proven that, by now, he is the one from Republic who was elected to compete with the others candidate from his opponent, the Democrats.

Much can be taken as lessons from this thesis. It has given me a wonderful chance to critically analyze a powerful speaker as John McCain which of course enables me to know deeply about both his personality and thoughts. I have had the opportunity to learn about how we should speak in front of the massive audiences which is of course concerning to how we should utilize appropriate sentence form as our tactics. I do expect that I can use this exploration in all aspects of my life, especially when I have a chance to speak in front of public.

5.1 Conclusion

This thesis offers and describes some kinds of discursive tactic on active and passive voice used by John McCain in his political speeches. There are four kinds of discursive tactic for each sentence form; on active voice, there are

respective, demonstrative, agentless, and provocative active, and on passive voice, there are respective, personal, agentless, and provocative passive. Those what I have found enable me to know and understand how I could categorize the data.

Answer the questions in problem statements here (with number).

5.2 Suggestion

This study can be further continued by pertaining to the empirical aspects of the analysis. The exemplar cases studied in this research was quiet small. That is why, I suggest for the next researcher to analyze a more extensive body of texts or speeches. To be closer and deeper, this study only focused on two topics. This does not mean that the other linguistic aspetcs of political speeches are not important. Due to this limitation, I suggest that the next researchers will add with other topics. Otherwise, she or he may condust such contrastive or comparative study. They may compare discursive tactic used by one political figure to another.

One thing that became clear having conducted this research is that it is not only sentence form which constructs the tactics that John McCain used, but also other aspects of language. Time, for every researcher, is not plenty. The time also that makes me to stop this study, but with the eagerness to do more in the future.

4.2 Discussion

As explicated in findings section, John McCain uses four major types of discursive tactics of active sentence. Inductively, the writer develops label for each types. They are *respective active*, *demonstrative active*, *agentless active*, and *provocative active*.

The respective active refers to the use of active voice as discursive tactic by making a good impression in front of the audiences, as recognizing and appreciating them. When John McCain uses active voice as discursive tactic by convincing others that he has capability to do or be something such as promoting or showing himself, revealing his best, even underestimating his opponent, the label chosen is demonstrative active. In other hand, agentless active is an active voice used as discursive tactic by making others understand the causal relationship of the more than one events; it may be done by highlighting the events without specifying the agent. Whereas provocative active is an active voice used as discursive tactic that is deliberately intended to gain the audiences' support by rising their consciousness to argue for or react against something.

Furthermore, four major types of discursive tactics on passive sentence also emerges in John McCain's political speeches. The label I use are: *respective passive*, *personal passive*, *agentless passive* and *provocative passive*.

Respective passive is a passive voice used as discursive tactic to intensify his purposes by respecting the object or the receiver of the action and showing that the receiver is more important to be known. Personal passive is a passive voice used as discursive tactic by maintaining the topic of the discourse. Agentless passive is a passive voice used as discursive tactic by emphasizing what

happens to something rather than who or what does something, while provocative passive is a passive voice used as discursive tactic by influencing others to argue for or react against what the author stated.

The following table shows the frequency of discursive tactics on active and passive voice used by John McCain in his political speeches in which the analysis places in the appendixes.

Table 4.1. Typology of Active Voice as Discursive Tactics

No.	Types of Active Voice	Frequency	%
1.	Respective Active	17	6.7%
2.	Demonstrative Active	121	47.6%
3.	Agentless Active	24	9.5%
4.	Provocative Active	92	36.2%
Total		254	100%

Source: Writer's analysis

Table 4.2. Typology of Passive Voice as Discursive Tactics

No.	Types of Passive Voice	Frequencies	%
1.	Respective Passive	2	4.1%
2.	Personal Passive	6	12.2%
3.	Agentless Passive	32	65.3%
4.	Provocative Passive	9	18.4%
Total:		49	100%

Source: Writer's analysis

The table presents that there are 254 of discursive tactics on active voice and only 49 of discursive tactics on passive voice in his political speeches. Thus, it is fair to conclude that John McCain uses active voice more often than passive voice. My interpretation goes to Orwell arguments, which sounds as follows:

In this way, Orwell hoped, it would be possible to halt the decline in the language, which he saw as intimately connected with the political chaos of the time:

1. Never use a metaphor, simile or other figure of speech which you are used to seeing in print.
2. Never use a long word when a short one will do.
3. If it is possible to cut a word out, always cut it out.
4. Never use the passive where you can use the active.
5. Never use a foreign phrase, a scientific word or a jargon word if you can think of an everyday English equivalent.
6. Break any one of these rules sooner than say anything outright barbarous.¹

Some researchers actually have investigated the use of passive voice as a tactic to influence others. Danvilled who examined the use of passive voice by Bush and Gore considered that passive voice is commonly used to shade meaning, and Geoffrey who released a study on verb selection which found that passive voice is often used to make one's violence more overt and apparent. However, there are more functions of active and passive voice in someone's speech as what I found in John McCain's political speeches. Therefore, this study is considered to enrich some theories that have existed.

Critical Discourse Analysis offered by van Dijk is indeed eligible to this study, for it enables the writer to interpret the structures or strategies of texts. Moreover, to make it more systematic, the qualitative is used as its method since it allows the qualitative researcher to open mind and be receptive to new ideas.

Underlining the ideological position of critical discourse analysts, language has its instrumental aspects for the user. Derived from such principle, the forms of sentence, i.e. active and passive form, has also its instrumental dimension by

¹ David Crystal, The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987:2

which the user of language can optimize his or her goals or interests. And, John McCain, as a public or political speaker is really really aware about the potential power of language to persuade the voters, especially the non-decisive or swing voters of the United States.

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