

**POLITENESS STRATEGIES IN BARRACK OBAMA' SPEECH IN
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION 2012**

THESIS

Presented to:

Maulana Malik Ibrahim, State Islamic University of Malang

In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S)

AKBAR KUSUMA

NIM. 08320139

The Advisor:

Dr. Hj. Like Rascova Octaberlina, M.Ed

NIP. 19741025 200801 2 015



**ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LETTERS DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF
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2014**

STATEMENT OF THE AUTHENTICITY

I declare that this thesis I have written by the title *Politeness Strategy In Barrack Obama' Speech In Democratic National Convention 2012* is truly my original work. This thesis is carried out to fulfill the requirement for the degree of Sarjana Sastra (S.S) in English Language and Letters Department, Faculty of Humanities, Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang. The content of this thesis does not integrate to any materials previously written or published by other people except those indicated in quotations and bibliography. By reason of this fact, I am the only person who is responsible if there is any objection from others.

Malang, June 1, 2014

The Researcher,

Akbar Kusuma

APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “*Politeness Strategy In Barrack Obama’ Speech In Democratic National Convention 2012*” by Akbar Kusuma has been approved by the thesis advisor, for further approval by the Board of Examiners.

Malang, June 1, 2014

Approved by
The Advisor

Acknowledged by
The Secretary of the English Language and
Letters Department,

Dr. Hj. Like Rascova Octaberlina M.Ed

Dr. Syamsudin S.S M.Hum

NIP 19741025 200801 2 015

NIP 196911222006041001

The Dean of Faculty of Humanities

Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University of Malang,

Dr. Hj. Istiadah, M.A

NIP 196703131992032002

LEGITIMATION SHEET

This is to certify that Akbar Kusuma thesis entitled *Politeness Strategy In Barrack Obama' Speech In Democratic National Convention 2012* has been approved by the board of examiners as the requirement for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra (S.S)*.

The board of examiners

Signature

1. Dr. Hj. Like Rascova Octaberlina M.Ed (Advisor)

NIP 197410252008012015

2. Agus Eko Cahyono M.Pd (Chair)

NIP 198208112011011008

3. Dr. Hj. Kun Aniroh M.Pd (Examiner)

NIP 195701271983032002

Approved by

The Dean of Faculty of Humanities

Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University, Malang

Dr. Hj. Istiadah,MA

NIP. 19670313 199203 2 002

MOTTO

❖ Noble Character

❖ Well-Bodied

❖ Broad Knowledge

❖ Freedom Of Thought

❖ HONESTY IS VERY EXPENSIVE
GIFT, DO NOT EXPECT IT FROM
CHEAP PEOPLE (WARREN BUFFET)

DEDICATION

My thesis is proudly dedicated to:

My dearest parent

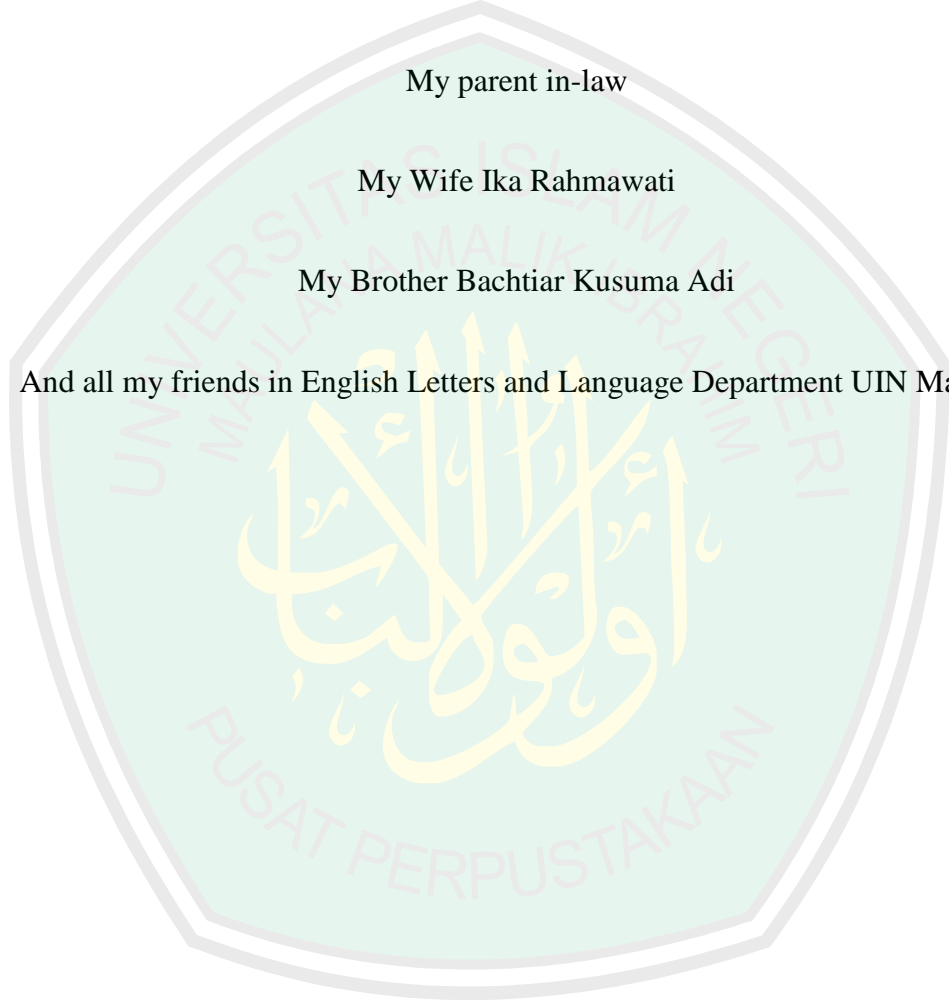
Ayah Mansyur and Ibu Yuda

My parent in-law

My Wife Ika Rahmawati

My Brother Bachtiar Kusuma Adi

And all my friends in English Letters and Language Department UIN Malang



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In the name of Allah, The Magnificent and The Merciful who blesses and guides me to finish my thesis entitled *Politeness Strategies in Barrack Obama' Speech In Democratic National Convention*. Shalawat and Salam are also delivered to Prophet Muhammad SAW who has brought Islam as the Rahmatan Lil Alamin.

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6. All people whom I cannot mention one by one.

Finally, the researcher hopes this research will be useful for others.

Malang, June 1st, 2014

Akbar Kusuma



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ABSTRACT

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The Advisor: Dr. Hj. Like Rascova Octaberlina, M.Ed.

Key Words: Politeness Strategies, Face, and Face Threatening Act

Politeness strategies are used in communication to show the respect to other people and satisfy the hearer. It is very important to consider those in communication for avoiding a conflict as well as creating good harmony. Those phenomena can appear in delivering speech. Here Obama is the candidate of the president of America from Democratic party, so he has to deliver the speech in front of the audience and the official of Democratic party. Therefore, the use of politeness strategies is required and as the reason Obama chosen as the subject, because he is indicated to use politeness strategies successfully in his Speech in Democratic National Convention. Therefore, this research focuses to find out the kinds of politeness strategies used by Obama and to find out the functions of using those kinds of politeness strategies.

This study uses descriptive qualitative because it seeks to understand a certain phenomenon, namely the politeness strategies in Obama speech in DNC. The source of the data I kn this study is Obama speech in Democratic National Convention 2012. The data were analyzed inductively through the observation done by the researcher himself. The approach for analyzing the politeness strategies is based on Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness.

This study shows that Obama uses all types of politeness strategies as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Bald on record is used whenever speaker wants to do FTA with maximum efficiency more than he wants to satisfy hearer's face. The function of positive politeness is to maintain the positive face of audiences and satisfy what their wants. Negative politeness is used in the situation in which has the main focus on assuming that he may be imposing and intruding on H's face. Off Record is proposed for audience to interpret what Obama means. Besides, Obama points out to hearer that he wants to convey important information.

This research explores politeness strategies as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) and a speech as a subject. Therefore, researcher suggest for the next researcher to analyze the social factors of politeness strategy by using other experts' theories and different subjects.

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Strategi kesantunan digunakan dalam komunikasi untuk menghormati dan membuat senang pendengarnya. Hal itu sangat penting untuk dipertimbangkan dalam berkomunikasi untuk menghindari konflik untuk menciptakan harmoni yang baik. Hal itu bisa muncul dalam penyampaian pidato. Obama adalah kandidat presiden Amerika dari partai democrat, dan dia harus menyampaikan pidato dihadapan para audien dan pengurus partai demokrat. Oleh karena itu penggunaan strategi kesantunan dibutuhkan oleh Obama sekaligus sebagai subjek dan terindikasi menggunakan strategi kesantunan dengan baik dalam pidatonya di konvensi Partai Demokrat. Oleh karena itu penelitian ini difokuskan untuk mencari jenis strategi kesantunan yang digunakan dan memahami fungsinya.

Penelitian ini menggunakan kualitatif deskriptiv, yang mana untuk memahami fenomena tertentu, yang disebut dengan strategi kesantunan dalam pidato Obama pada konvensi partai Demokrat. Sumber data dalam penelitian ini adalah pidato Obama. Data dianalisa secara induktif melalui observasi yang dilakukan oleh peneliti. Pendekatan untuk menganalisis startegi kesantunan berdasarkan pada teori Brown dan Levinson tentang Politeness.

Penelitian ini menunjukkan Obama menggunakan seluruh jenis strategi kesantunan Bald on record digunakan ketika pembicara ingin memberikan perlakuan dengan efisiensi yang maksimum melebihi dari keinginannya untuk membuat senang pendengarnya. Fungsi dari positive politeness untuk menjaga kewibawaan dan memuaskan pendengar. Negative politeness digunakan dalam situasi dimana focus utama pembicaraan adalah menagajak dan merayu pendengarnya. Off record mengajak pendengar untuk menafsirkan keinginan dari Obama, disamping Obama bertujuan menyampaikan informasi penting pada pendengarnya.

Penelitian ini mengeksplere teori Brown and Levinson tentang politeness strategies dan menggunakan pidato sebagai subjek penelitian. Oleh karena itu peneliti menyarankan bagi peneliti selanjutnya untuk menganalisa faktor social dari startegi kesantunan dengan teori lain dan subjek penelitian yang berbeda

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter discusses about research context, research focuses, objectives of the study, significances of the study, scope and limitation, and research method.

1.1 Research Context

Communication is the most important aspect in human being's life. Through communication people can interact with each other. To do this, people need a code which is called language to communicate. Wardhaugh (1977:7) has said that language allows people to say things to each other and express their communicative needs. It means that language is the primary medium of communication. People use language to express their feelings and to convey information. They can exchange the ideas and knowledge among each other. Besides, language can also be used to maintain the social relationship and personal behaviors.

In oral communication process, two people try to communicate efficiently and accurately. At the same time, they also try to cooperate with one another. Brown and Yule (1986:32) said that people cooperate on simple mechanics of speech. In one hand, the speaker tries to use the language that can be understood easily by the listener. On the other hand, the listener tries to understand well what is said and expressed by the speaker. It means that the speaker tries to be informative and the listener tries to be cooperative. To reach this aim, a general rule or principle is needed in order the communication which involves both the speaker and the hearer can run well. Therefore, the speaker will participate in the topic discussed in conversation, and then it is followed by the involvement of the

hearer. Renkema (1993:8) has stated that to make a conversation run smoothly, it needs a strategy which is called politeness. This term is not strange in scientific study and casual terminology which are often used by the people in a society. In scientific field, there are experts who have studied politeness phenomena in order to know the characteristics of polite language in a society. Meanwhile, politeness may be associated with the terms, like “respectful, considerate and courteous” by the people in daily conversation.

In case of communication, speakers will choose the strategies to have polite conversation. People communicate each other in their daily lives in order to maintain their social relationship. In communication there are certain conventions which both speaker and hearer must understand. People use politeness strategies in order to get their conversation run well and go smoothly. In other word, in different social situation, people are obliged to adjust the use of word to fit occasion. If they do on contrary, they can be punished. It can happen since they are being considered impolite by disturbing the trial process and insulting the court. Therefore, politeness is the most important conventions to communicate the others.

This research is about the politeness strategies used by Barack Obama at Democratic National Convention 2012. On this research, the researcher describes kinds and function of politeness strategies used by Barack Obama on his speech. Politeness strategies methods of communication used to avoid or minimize the FTA (Face Threatening Act) that speaker makes (Brown and Levinson 1987). Face Threatening Act (FTA) means act that threaten the positive and negative face

of the hearer. Face refers to the respect that an individual has for him or herself or maintaining the “self-esteem” in private or public situation.

Politeness is the expression of the speaker intention to mitigate face threats carried by certain face threatening act (FTA) toward another. (Mills, 2003). Being polite there consist of attempting to save face for another. Politeness theory states that some speech acts threaten others face needs.

First formulated in 1987 by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson, politeness theory has since expanded academia’s perception of politeness (Mills, 2003). Politeness principles have been considered to have wide descriptive power in respect of language use (Lakoff, 1972, 1973).

Being polite is complicated matter in any language. It is difficult to be learned because it involves understanding not only the language, but also the social and cultural values of the community. And language cannot be separated from the community who use it. Moreover, using language must be appropriate with the social context of the speaker.

The important characteristic of the social context is the context of the person spoken to, and in particular, the role relationship and relative status of the participant in a discourse (Grundy, 2000). The speech between individual or unequal rank due to the status in organization, age, social, class, education, or some other factors), for example, is likely to be less relaxed and more formal than between equals. Moreover, the speech will be relaxed whenever it happens between individual with the same or equal ranks.

Furthermore, Holmes (1992:296) explained that politeness is an activity which involves taking account of the feelings of others. A polite person makes

others feel comfortable. Being polite also involves speaking to people appropriately. The appropriate utterances are usually used to make a harmonious interaction. While, inappropriate linguistic choices may be considered rude, cringing, and pusillanimous. Moreover, what is considered polite or not in community also involves the social relationship, distance, solidarity, and status.

Brown and Levinson (in Mills, 2003:60) stated that politeness is essentially a matter of avoiding Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) that is any kinds of act that can threat potentially interlocutor's face. Face refers to the sense of linguistic and social identity. It can be lost, maintained, or improved in social interaction. Then, it is needed a strategy to save people's face. The strategies which are developed by Brown and Levinson are for the aim of dealing with the FTAs.

In this case, the speaker or hearer makes himself or herself polite in front of the interlocutor by saving his or her face. They also argued that in human communication people tend to maintain other people's face continuously. It is done for creating a good communication and building a harmonious relationship.

According to Brown and Levinson, politeness strategies are developed in order to save the hearer's face. Face refers to the respect that an individual has for him or herself, and maintaining that self-esteem in public or in private situation. Usually we try to avoid embarrassing other person, or making them feel uncomfortable. Face Threatening Act (FTA's) are act that infringe on the hearers' need to maintain his/her self-esteem, and be respected. Politeness strategies are developed for the main purpose of dealing with these FTA's. Politeness consist of attempting to save face for another. Brown and Levinson begin the idea of "model person", rational agent who think strategically and are conscious of their language

choices. This influenced Brown and Levinson when examining Goffman's version of face, where they agreed that rational agents have both positive and negative face. Thus politeness strategies are developed in order to formulate messages in order to save the hearer's face when a face-threatening act is inevitable or desired. This means that the speaker avoids embarrassing the listener or making him feel uncomfortable.

In addition, Holmes (1992: 297) argued that making decisions about what is likely to be considered polite in any community involves social aspects, distance and status. Therefore, intimacy, solidarity, and close relationships in a community also influence the politeness system which will take place. That is why, using a politeness strategy should pay attention to the social factors of the society.

Politeness is used by people to make a smooth communication and to build an equilibrium of relationships in a society. Watts (2003:53) states that politeness instructs the interactants to produce a harmonious interaction socially. If someone wants to make a good conversation, he or she should pay attention to the strategy of politeness.

The study is conducted to identify politeness strategies which are applied in the speech of Barack Obama at the Democratic National Convention 2012. It specially describes how the politeness strategies used by Barack Obama in his remarks in front of the people of America. Barack Obama is one of the candidates for American President, so he must be able to convince the people of America that he is able and credible to lead America for the second time. However, his speech in the Democratic National Convention (DNC) will give a big influence for him to get the

supports and voters from his political party Democratic Party and all people in America.

The phenomena of politeness strategies can be encountered in any context of communication. The text of speech as the subject of this research serves the Obama's speech and the context in which politeness strategies may occur. Thus, this subject is important to be discussed on politeness strategies because Obama delivers the speech at DNC aimed not only to find some information from the source that becomes public interest, but also to give the consideration to American people to have best president for next four years. It is furthermore explained that Barrack Obama emphasizes the discussion of elections, policy issues, and other public affairs

The decision to concentrate on the pragmatic phenomenon of linguistic politeness is motivated by the integral part it plays in spoken interaction. Politeness norms and conventions serve to govern what is viewed as co-operative behavior in conversation. As Thomas (1995: 158) points out, politeness strategies are employed by speakers to achieve goals 'such as promoting and maintaining harmonious relationships'. As politeness typifies co-operative behavior, it provides an ideal way to test notions of co-operation.

1.2 Research Problem

The researcher is interested in analyzing the linguistics phenomena that happen in Barrack Obama speech, but this research will focus on the politeness strategy that used by Obama as the speaker. There are two sets of the questions will guide this research;

I. What are politeness strategies used by Barack Obama Speech in Democratic National Convention?

II. What are the functions of the politeness strategies used by Barack Obama Speech in Democratic National Convention?

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of the study are as follows:

I. To find out what politeness strategies used by the speaker.

II. To investigate what are the function of politeness strategies used by the speaker.

1.4 Scope and Limitation

The study is focused on analyzing politeness strategies used by Barack Obama speech in Democratic National Convention 2012. In this study the researcher analyzes the utterances which contain politeness strategies used by speaker, based on Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness. The limitation of the study is the use of the politeness strategies used by Barack Obama.

1.5 Significance of the research

It is very important to conduct this research because this research is analyzing about the reality of communication. Verbal communication typically conveys much more than is linguistically encoded. Here we have in mind not just the enrichment of linguistic meaning and the derivation of standard implicatures, but also uses of the act of communication itself to convey claims and attitudes about the social relationship between the interlocutors.

The result of this study is expected to be able to give valuable contribution both theoretically and practically. Theoretically, this study is expected to give

scientific contributions, especially in linguistics about the concept of politeness strategies proposed Brown and Levinson. Practically, this study is expected to give valuable information to further researchers, students, and readers. For the further researchers, this study is expected to provide the base in analyzing the politeness strategies more deeply. For the students, this study is expected to give useful information in understanding politeness strategies. Then, this study will help the readers who want to know the concept of politeness strategies.

Since those two things, hopefully, by learning politeness strategy, people can behave better and still respect others with no exception.

1.6 Research Method

The research method in this research covers the discussions about research design, data and data source, data collection, data analysis, and definition of the key terms. Each discussion is explained as follows.

1.6.1 Research Design

This study employs qualitative because it seeks to understand a certain phenomenon, namely politeness strategies of Barack Obama speech in Democratic National Convention. Besides, the data are in the form of utterances rather than numerical scores. This research is descriptive as well because it provides rich description of what exists on the selected utterances. Moreover, the key instrument is the researcher himself. Thus, the qualitative approach is the most appropriate approach to be used in this study.

In addition, the researcher uses descriptive qualitative as the research design because he tends to use words than numbers in analyzing the data. Moleong (2007:6) explains that qualitative research is a research that is conducted to

understand phenomena holistically and descriptively in the form of words and language in a scientific context using a certain scientific methods. Therefore, based on Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness strategy, the researcher analyzes the data descriptively by using words and gets a deep understanding about politeness strategy used by Barack Obama.

1.6.2 Data Sources

The data of this research are taken from the words, phrase, sentences, intonation and so on in the Barack Obama speech in Democratic National Convention. The data are collection of the selected language features which taken by the researcher from www.youtube.com. Here, Obama considers his utterances to talk to the audiences and listeners, besides he makes the talk interesting to listen. Thus, politeness strategies may occur in Obama's utterances.

1.6.3 Research Instrument

Since this research is a qualitative research, the main instrument of this research is the researcher himself. It means that the researcher directly involved in collecting, identifying, analyzing, and discussing the data. In addition, note taking is another instrument in this research. It was used in the process of collecting the data by identifying them according to politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson.

1.6.4 Data Collection

In collecting the data, the researcher finds the transcript of the speech from internet. Furthermore, researcher does several steps to get the thick description of the data such as watching the video and listening by carefully and also re-watches the movie more than twice and reads the transcript. To ensure the validity of the

data, researcher rechecks the utterance spoken by the speaker and analyzing everything that doing by the speaker during delivered his speech. Then finally, the researcher determines the utterances which may contain politeness strategies.

1.6.5 Data Analysis

There are several steps which are undertaken in order to answer the research questions. First, the researcher identifies the data based on Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness strategies because this theory provides good explanation in understanding politeness, moreover this theory is more relevant in this study to analyze politeness strategy focuses on personal style and kinds of act threaten face. Second, the researcher determines the utterances of Obama which may contain politeness strategies. Next, the researcher classifies the politeness strategies within speaker utterances weather they belong to bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness, or off record. After that, the researcher describes the politeness strategies which are used by speaker. Next, the discussion of the research finding, to do the possible politeness strategies used by speaker that is classified as a whole result. Finally, the researcher draws the conclusion.

1.6.6 Definition of the Key Terms

In order to avoid misunderstanding or ambiguity and to make the readers easier to understand this research, the definition of the key terms used in *Politeness Strategies In Barrack Obama Speech In Democratic National Convention 2012* research are listed by the researcher as follows:

1. Politeness: a strategy used by people to be polite and to build harmony in term of communication.

2. Politeness Strategies: strategies used to minimize or avoid the Face Threatening Acts (FTA) made by the speaker.

3. FTA (Face Threatening Acts): acts that threaten other's face.

4. Face: the respect that an individual has for himself or herself and maintaining that "self esteem" in a public or private situation.

5. Democratic National Convention (DNC) is a series of presidential nominating conventions held every four years since 1832 by the United States Democratic Party.



CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Sociolinguistics is the descriptive study of the effect of any and all aspects of society, including cultural norms, expectations, and context, on the way language is used, and the effects of language use on society. Sociolinguistics differs from sociology of language in that the focus of sociolinguistics is the effect of the society on the language, while the latter's focus is on the language's effect on the society. Sociolinguistics overlaps to a considerable degree with pragmatics.

Pragmatics is a subfield of linguistics which studies the ways in which context contributes to meaning. It studies how the transmission of meaning depends not only on the linguistic knowledge (e.g. grammar, lexicon etc.) of the speaker and listener, but also on the context of the utterance, knowledge about the status of those involved, the inferred intent of the speaker, and so on.

Politeness theory is the theory that accounts for the redressing of the affronts to face posed by face-threatening acts to addressees. First formulated in 1987 by Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson, politeness theory has since expanded academia's perception of politeness. Politeness is the expression of the speakers' intention to mitigate face threats carried by certain face threatening acts toward another (Mills, 2003, p. 6).

Linguistics research on politeness is closely associated with the names of Lakoff (1973, 1975, 1977), Leech (1970, 1980, 1982), and Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987). These writers have attempted to approach the definitionally, fuzzy and empirically difficult area of politeness with pragmatic means to derive a

number of basic theoretical notions and to find the evidences of politeness in the linguistics form.

2.1 Face

The notion of “face” previously from dramaturgical theories of Erving Goffman that individuals as social actors perform (present a public self) on the stage of everyday life. They use linguistics, behavioral and gestural displays to present a positive self-image (face) to the social world. They also try to create impressions in others and to appear as smooth and as competent as they can in their performance. Meanwhile, face is the positive social value of each person in public area, and it is the very reflection of self worth which upon this presentational aspect hangs individuals self esteem, and their credibility as a member of the social group.

Central to our model is a highly abstract notion of “face” which consist of two specific kinds of desires (face wants) attributed by interactant to one another: the desire to be unimpeded in one’s actions (negative face), and the desire (in some respect) to be approved of (positive face). This is the bare bones of a notion of face which is universal. However, this core concept is subject to cultural specifications of many sorts –what kind of acts threaten of face, what sorts of persons have special rights to face-protection, and what kinds of personal style (in term of like graciousness, easy of social relation, etc) are especially appreciated.

Thus face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced and must be constantly intended to in interaction. People cooperate in maintaining face in interaction such cooperation being based on the mutual vulnerability of face. That is normally everyone’s face depends on

everyone else's face being maintained, and since people can be expected to defend their faces if threatened, and in defending their own to threaten others' face.

Brown and Levinson are assuming that while the content of face will differ in different cultures (what exact limits are to personal territories and what the publicly relevant content of personality consists in), the mutual knowledge of members' public self-image or face, and the social necessity to orient oneself to it in interaction, are universal.

Here Brown and Levinson presents a common interactional events that termed "Face Threatening Act" (FTA's), it includes act of criticizing, disagreeing, interrupting, imposing, asking a favor, requesting information or goods, embarrassing, bumping into, and so forth.

Mainly, according to Brown and Levinson related to threats to face, the speaker needs to balance three wants;

- a. The want to communicate the content of the FTA'
- b. The want to be efficient or urgent,
- c. The want to maintain hearer's face to any degree.

2.2 Politeness Strategy

One access to study of face and politeness phenomena can definitely be built around the examination that language users often depart from the conditions of most advantageous information exchange because, not to do so, would amount to a loss of face of speaker and hearer.

Whenever people do the interaction with others, they have a special intention to the existence of the conversation and its condition. Whatever they said should be appreciated and not to be bothered by others, it means that they do

not want to lose their face. As Brown and Levinson in Goody (1996:66) states that our notion of face is derived from that Goffman and from the English folk term, which ties up face concept of being embarrassed or dishonored, or losing face. Thus face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced and must be constantly intended to in interaction. In general, people cooperate (and presuppose each others's cooperation is based on the mutual weakness of face.

In the following sub topic, the writer explains some politeness strategies based on Brown and Levinson's description of theory that sum up human "politeness" behavior. Brown and Levinson (1978: 65) present four strategies to face "threatening face" (FTA's = Face Threatening Acts); Bald on Record, Negative Politeness, Positive Politeness, and Off-Record-Indirect strategy.

2.2.1 Bald On Record

In communication we often see that an utterance involves certain sense and force another people to do a certain things as what the speaker wants. Yet it is not scarce that people do not always say what they want. A philosopher, Paul Grice pointed out that speakers might not actually say what they mean. So, an utterance can imply a proposition (i.e. a statement that is not part of the utterance and that does not follow as necessary consequence of the utterance). He called the implied statement as the implicature and entailment as the natural meaning-a meaning that is present on every occasion when an expression occurs.

The prime reason for bald-on-record usage may be stated simply in general, whenever Speaker wants to do the FTA with maximum efficiency more than he

wants to satisfy Hearer's, even to any degree, he will chose the bald-on-record strategy.

This strategy as speaking in conformity with Grice's maxim (Grice 1975).

These maxim are in intuited characterization of conversational principles that world constitute guidelines for achieving maximally efficiency of communication, these maxim are:

a. Maxim of quality. It means speaking the truth informatively and be sincere.

This maxim states:

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

The contribution to conversation should be truthful based on the evidence.

Example (a) Pragmatic is difficult. (it gives implicature that the speaker has evidence that pragmatic is difficult), (b) when will dinner be ready?. (the speaker doesn't know, so he or she has a reason for wanting to know and think the addressee knows) (Grundy, 2000:74).

b. Maxim of quantity. It means speak informatively.

This maxim says;

1. Make your contribution as informative as required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Every participant should give the contribution of his or her conversation as what is required, not less or more informative.

Example (a) The students are making progress (this sentence can invite implicature that the students are not doing brilliantly), (b) I don't drink (it means that the speaker doesn't drink alcohol) (Grundy, 2000:74).

c. Maxim of relevance. It means speak relevant.

This maxim states; be relevant. It means that the contribution of the participant should be relevant to the subject of the conversation.

d. Maxim of manner. It means speak avoid ambiguity.

This maxim states;

1. Avoid obscurity of expression
2. Avoid ambiguity
3. Be brief
4. Be orderly

The contribution of participant to conversation should be perspicuous, reasonably direct, not long, not vague and ambiguous.

Example, as one our policyholder, I hope you will already know that creating products which provide excellent value is our aim as Scottish Widow (it is taken to convey the less obscure implicature that the recipient of the letter rather than its writer is the policyholder) (Grundy, 2000:75).

Bald on-record is a politeness strategy that doesn't intend to minimize the impact of the FTA for the hearer. This strategy is often used by people who have known each other very well like close friend. There are different kinds of bald on-record usage in different circumstances because S can have different motives to do the FTA with maximum efficiency. Therefore, bald-on record is divided into two classes, they are cases of non-minimization of the face threat and cases of

FTA oriented bald on-record usage; and those where in doing the FTA baldly on-record, S minimizes face threats by implication.

2.2.1.1 Cases of Non-Minimization of the Face Threat

The condition when maximum efficiency of FTA is very important, and this is mutually known to both S and H, no face redress is necessary as stated by Brown and Levinson (1987: 95-98).

- a) In cases of great urgency or desperation, redress would actually decrease the communicated urgency. Example: Your pants are on fire!
- b) S speaks as if maximum efficiency were very important, he provides metaphorical urgency for emphasis. Example: Hear me out...
- c) In cases of channel noise, or where communication difficulties exert pressure to speak with maximum efficiency. Example: Come home right now! (talking on the telephone with a bad connection)
- d) The focus of interaction is task-oriented, face redress may be felt to be irrelevant. Example: Lend me a hand here.
- e) S wants to satisfy H's face is small either because S is powerful and does not fear retaliation or non-cooperation from H or because S want to be rude, or does not care about maintaining face. A good example of socially acceptable rudeness comes in teasing or joking. Example: Bring me wine, Jeeves.
- f) FTA is primarily in H's interest. In doing the FTA, S conveys that he does care about H, so that no redress is required. Sympathetic advice or warning may be baldly on record. Example: Careful! He's a dangerous man.
- g) Granting permission for something that H has requested. Example: Yes, you may go.

2.2.1.2 Cases of FTA-oriented bald-on-record usage

Another use of bald on-record is actually oriented to face. It illustrates the way in which respect for face involves mutual orientation, so that each participant attempts to foresee what the other participant is attempting to foresee. Brown and Levinson (1987: 98-101) stated these cases happen in three areas.

1. Welcoming, in this situation S asks that H may feel a bit afraid. For example: *"Come in, don't hesitate, I'm not busy."*
2. Farewell, in this condition S asks that H may miss on his positive face by talking his leave. For example: *"I am staying, you go"*
3. Offers, in this situation S asks that H may threaten on S's negative face. For example: *"Don't bother, I'll clean it up, leave it to me"*.

2.2.2 Positive politeness

Positive politeness is redress directed to the addressee's positive face, his perennial desire that his wants (or the action/acquisition/ values resulting from them) should be thought of as desirable (Brown and Levinson 1987:101).

Positive politeness utterances are used as a kind of metaphorical extension of intimacy, to imply common ground or sharing of wants to a limited extent even between strangers who perceive themselves, for the purposes of the interaction, as somehow similar. There are some strategies according to Brown and Levinson that may be conveyed by the speaker in their conversation in order to have positive politeness. These strategies are as following:

2.2.2.1 Claim Common Ground

Speaker can claim 'common ground' with hearer, by indicating speaker and hearer belongs to the same set of persons, who share specific wants, including goals and values. There are three ways for making this claim:

First, speaker may convey that some want (goal) of hearer's is admirable or interesting to speaker too (Strategy 1-3).

Second, speaker may stress common membership in a group or category (Strategy 4).

Third, speaker can claim common perspective with hearer without necessarily referring to in- group membership (Strategy 5-8).

- I. S may convey that some wants (goals, or desired objects) of H's is admirable or interesting to S too.

Strategy 1: Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants, needs, goods)

S should take notice of aspects of H's condition (noticeable changes, remarkable possessions, anything which looks as though H would want S to notice and approve of it) because it will show to H that S has intention to him.

Example: Goodness, you cut your hair! By the way, I came to borrow some flour (Brown and Levinson 1987;103).

Strategy 2: Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)

This strategy may be done with exaggerated intonation, stress, and other aspects of prosodic, as well as with intensifying modifiers. Expressions like *for sure*, *really*, *exactly*, and *absolutely* are often used in this strategy. Example: What a fantastic garden you have! (Brown and Levinson 1987:104).

Strategy 3: Intensify interest to H

Another way for S to communicate to H that he shares some of his wants is to intensify the interest of his own (S`s) contributions to the conversation, by making a good story. This may be done by using ‘vivid present’ as it pulls H right into the middle of the events being discussed and the use of tag questions or expressions that draw H as a participant into the conversation, such as ‘you know?’, ‘see what I mean?’, and ‘isn’t it?’ Example: That was a good movie, you know?

The exaggeration can be used to this strategy by stressing the sincerity of S’s good condition. Example: You *always* do the dishes! I will do them this time.

I. S may stress common membership in a group or category

Strategy 4: Use in-group identity markers

By using any of innumerable ways to convey in-group membership, S can implicitly claim the common ground with H that is carried by that definition of the group.

Address forms. Other address forms used to convey such in-group membership include generic names and terms of address like *Mate, honey, dear, babe, mom, brother, sister, cutie, sweetheart, guys*. Using such in group kinds of address forms with imperatives. Example “*Come here, buddy*” indicates that S considers the relative P (power, status difference) between himself and the addressee to be small thus softening the imperative by indicating that it isn’t a rude command (Brown and Levinson 1987: 107-108).

II. S can claim common perspective with H without necessarily referring to

in-group membership

Strategy 5: Seek agreement

Safe topics. The raising of 'safe topics' allows S to stress his agreement with H and therefore to satisfy H's desire to be 'right', or to be strengthened in his opinions. For example "isn't your new car a beautiful colour!"

Repetition. Agreement may also be stressed by repeating part or all of what the preceding S has said in the conversation and by using that function to indicate emphatic agreement whenever someone is telling story (Brown and Levinson 1987: 112-113). Example: A: John went to London this weekend!

B: To London!

Strategy 6: Avoid disagreement

Token agreement, it means that the desire to agree or appear to agree with H leads also to mechanism for pretending to agree. For instance, the speaker responds to a preceding utterance with "Yes, but....." rather than with "No" to appear the agreement or to hide the disagreement. The agreement yields examples like the following (where B is a response to A, in each case):

Example: A: Can you hear me?

B: Barely

White Lies, it is the positive politeness strategy used by the speaker to avoid disagreement, where S, when confronted with the necessity to state an opinion, wants to lie rather than damage H's positive face. For example: "Yes I do like your new hat!".

Hedging opinions. S speaks may choose to be vague about his own opinion so it is not seem disagree. To soften FTA of suggesting, criticizing or complaining, hedges may also be used (Brown and Levinson 1987: 117). Example "you really sort of botched it, did not you?".

Strategy 7 Presuppose/ raise/ assert common ground

The value of speaker's spending time and effort on being with hearer, as a mark of friendship or interest in him, by talking for a while about unrelated topics. For example: "Isn't it a beautiful day?" And she says to Jim, "How are you?" , and he says "I love you!". In this utterance, the speaker make a light conversation to makes the hearer feel comfort and not shock about what will the speaker convey. The hearer make an utterance that unrelated with what truly he/she wants to say.

Strategy 8: joke

Jokes can be used to stress the fact that there must be some mutual background knowledge and values that S and H share. That is why, the strategy of joking may be useful in reducing the social distance between S and H (Brown and Levinson 1987: 124). Example: How about lending me this old heap of junk? (H's new Cadillac).

2.2.2.2 Convey that S and H are cooperators

This is the second major class of positive-politeness strategies derived from the want to convey that the speaker and the addressee are cooperatively involved in the relevant activity, and they achieve goals in domain, and thus to convey that they are cooperators can serve to redress H's positive-face want.

The strategies that may be derived from this major class of positive politeness are:

Strategy 9: Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants

One way of indicating that S and H are cooperators is to assert or imply knowledge of H's wants and willingness to fit one's own wants with them. For instance, "*Look, I know you want the car back by 5.00, so should (n't) go to the town now?*"

Strategy 10: Offer promise

Offer and promise can indicate that S and H are cooperators. However, S may choose to stress his cooperation with H by claiming that whatever H wants, S wants for him and will help him to obtain. For example, "*Do you need some helps?*" (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 125). Here, speaker conveys cooperation by offering help to addressee. Speaker wants to be friendly with addressee by offering a help in order to be care with addressee, thus he will have a positive face.

Strategy 11: Be optimistic

Speaker assumes that the hearer's wants for the speaker or for the hearer and the speaker, and will help him to obtain them. For example: "You'll lend me your apartment-key for the weekend, I hope." "I'll come to borrow a cup of flour." Both of the utterances is really optimistic that the hearer will fulfilled what the speaker want. The speaker makes an utterance to assert the hearer and will make him/her fulfilled what the speaker's wants because uncomforted feeling.

Strategy 12: Include both S and H in the activity

Here, S manipulates the subject of an activity is done together. S uses an inclusive 'we' when S actually means 'you' or 'me'. Inclusive form 'we' is usually used to soften the request (Brown and Levinson 1987: 127). Example: Let's stop for a bite (i.e. I want a bite, so let's stop)

Strategy 13: Give (or ask for) reasons

In this strategy the speaker asks the hearer in the activity. In other words, giving reasons is a way of implying 'I can help you' or 'you can help me'. For example: "Why don't we go shopping or to the cinema?" "Why don't I help you with that assignment?"

Strategy 14: Assume or assert reciprocity

The existence of cooperation between S and H may also be claimed or urged by giving evidence of reciprocal rights or obligations obtaining between S and H. Example: I did X for you, so you do Y for me this (Brown and Levinson 1987:129).

Strategy 15: Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)

S may satisfy H's positive-face want by actually satisfying some of H's wants (action of gift-giving, not only tangible). For example: "I'm sorry to hear that" (sympathy).

2.2.3 Negative Politeness

Brown and Levinson (1987: 129-30) defined negative politeness as the action to maintain the addressee's negative face: his wants to have freedom of action unhindered and his attention unimpeded. This politeness strategy is used when S wants to show that he cares of aspect H's negative face. In this strategy, S assures that he does not disturb H's freedom action by not showing off, being formal, and restraining himself. If S did or will do an FTA, he will minimise the threat by using apology, deference, hedges, and other strategies. Unlike positive politeness, which functions to minimise the social distance, negative politeness is used to indicate social distancing.

According to Brown and Levinson there are some strategies that may be included in negative-politeness, they are:

a. Be direct

With the direct question the speaker can get information to the hearer directly. It means that the speaker avoid the further imposition of prolixity and obscurity. For example: "What are you doing here?"

b. Be conventionally indirect

In this way the utterance goes on record, and the speaker indicates his desire to have conveyed the same thing indirectly. The speakers want to communicate his desire to be indirect even though in fact the utterance goes on record. The insertion of sentence-internal *please* is commonly used. Example: Could you possibly pass the salt please?

c. Give deference

Give deference are two sides to the coin in the realization of deference: one in which S humbles and abases him and another where S raises H. It means that deference has double sided nature, either the raising of the other or the lowering of oneself. The output of this strategy is, the use honorific terms, For example: "Are you busy Sir?" "Hey thanks for picking up the lunch tab, Mare". Sir is honorific term which is used to the people who have higher level than the speaker. Thanks are appreciation expression to someone that was done good think to speaker.

From the example the researcher know that the speaker try to give respect to the hearer.

d. Apologize

By apologizing for doing an FTA, S expresses his reluctant to maximize on H's negative face by apologizing, asking forgiveness, and admitting impingement (Brown and Levinson 1987: 187). Example "I know this is a bore, but....."

e. Question hedge

In the literature, Hedge defines as a particle, word, or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of predicate or noun phrase in a set. Different with the use of hedges in indirect strategy, here hedge as strengthener word or phrase. For example: "John is a true friend". "I rather think it's hopeless. From the example the researcher known that the underline word is a hedge. Because it's only an addition to makes the meaning stronger. G. Lakoff, drew attention to the theoretical importance of the phenomenon, also reports that certain usages convey hedges performatives, (G. Lakoff 1972:213). For example: "I suppose that she is coming "Betty thinks that Willy is coming (Brown and Levinson 1987:145).

f. Be pessimistic

This strategy gives redress to H's negative face by explicitly expressing doubt that the conditions for the appropriateness of S's speech act obtain. Example: (Could/Would/Might) you do X? (Brown and Levinson 1987:173).

Minimize impositions

Here the strategy is used to minimize S's wants, therefore, H's negative face will not be threatened. Range of expressions like: *a tiny little bit, a sip, a taste, a drop, a smidgen, a little, a bit* can be used to minimize the imposition. Example: Could I have a taste of that cake?.

g. Go on record as incurring a debt or as not indebting

In this part, S can redress an FTA by explicitly claiming his indebtedness to H, or by disclaiming any indebtedness of H, by means of expressions such as the following, Example: I would be eternally grateful if you would...

h. Tate FTA as general rule

The strategy is used by manipulation that S does want to disturb H's face, but what he/she is forced by circumstance. Then, here the FTA serves as social rule, regulation, or obligation. It shows in the example below:

“ Passengers will please refrain from flushing toilets on the bus”

“ You will please refrain from flushing toilets on the bus”

i. Nominalize

The degree of negative politeness (at least formality) in English goes hand in hand with the degree of formality. It is used to make distance and add formality (Brown and Levinson 1987:207). Example: Your good performance on the examinations impressed us favorably.

2.2.4 Off Record

The last strategy is off-record strategy. This strategy serves a situation in which the speaker tries not to impose directly on the interlocutor by removing themselves from any imposition. Brown and Levinson (1987: 211) describe that the utterances in off record are essentially indirect uses of language in which S says something that is either more general or actually different what one means. In more detail way, Brown and Levinson (1987) explain some classes that lie on off record strategy. Off-record is realized by means of fifteen strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 211-227).

Strategy 1: Give Hints

When S states something that is not explicitly relevant, He lets H to interpret of the possible relevance message to act. Truly indirect (off-record) speech acts are accomplished by hints that consist in ‘raising the issue of’ some desired act A, for instance, by stating motives or reasons for doing A (Brown and Levinson 1987: 213). Example, “It’s hot in this stadium.” (give me soft drink)

Strategy 2: Give Association Clues

S gives a related kind of implicature by mentioning something associated with the act required of H. Either S-H have same experience or by mutual knowledge which is not depend on their interactional experience (Brown and Levinson 1987: 215). Example: Oh God, I have got a headache again.

Strategy 3: Presuppose

S makes H to search for the presupposed priority event by implicating something.

e.g: “I washed the car again today.” In this example, S assumes that he has done it before (e.g last week) and therefore may implicate a criticism. The use of “again” forces H to search for the relevance, e.g. it should be H who washed the car (Brown and Levinson 1987: 217).

Strategy 4: Understate

Understatements are one way of generating implicatures by saying less than is required. Typical ways of constructing understatements are to choose a point on a scalar predicate that is well below the point that actually describes the state of affairs. By hedging on the amount of some good or bad attribute one may implicate that it is not good at all or very bad (Brown and Levinson 1987:218).

Example: She is some kind of idiot. (She is an idiot)

Strategy 5: Overstate

Here, S says more than is necessary by exaggerating or choosing point of scale, which is higher than the actual state of affairs. However, the implicature usually lie from what has been said, as in: "I tried to call you a hundred times, but there was never any answer". It example conveys an apology for not getting in touch.

Strategy 6: Tautologies

By saying a tautology, S encourages H to look for an informative interpretation of the non-informative utterance (Brown and Levinson 1987: 220). For example, "If I won't it, I won't" (means I mean it).

Strategy 7: Contradiction

By using two things that contradict each other, S makes as if he cannot be telling the truth. It will encourage H to look for an interpretation that brings together the two contradictory schemes. For example: "Well, John is here and he isn't here". Such contradiction conveys a complaint or criticism, as in the example above is used to say a drunken friend (John) to phone caller.

Strategy 8: Ironic

By saying the opposite of what he means, S can indirectly convey his intended meaning. There are clues that his intended meaning is being conveyed directly. Such clues may be nasality, a smirk, or simply contextual. For instance, "He's a real genius" (after he has done ten stupid things).

Strategy 9: Methapors

Metaphor is on record in common, but there is possibility that the connotation of the metaphor is off record. For example, "John is a real fish" (He drinks/swims/etc like a fish).

Strategy 10: Rethorical questions

By asking question with no intention of obtaining answer, S wants H to provide him with the indicated information. For example: "How many times do I have to tell you....?" (Too many times).

Strategy 11: Be ambiguous

Ambiguity includes the literal meaning of the utterance and its possible implicature. S makes a purposeful ambiguity statement and lets H to guess what he means (Brown and Levinson 1987: 225). Example: John is a pretty (sharp/smooth) cookie.

Strategy 12: Be vague

S goes off-record with an FTA by being vague about the object of the FTA is or what the offense is (Brown and Levinson 1987: 226). Example, "Perhaps someone has done something bad".

Strategy 13: Over generalize

The rule instantiation or the use of proverb may leave the object of the FTA vaguely off record. H then has the choice of deciding whether it applies to him. Example: Mature people sometimes help do the dishes.

Strategy 14: Displace H

S may go off-record of who the target of the FTA is, or he may pretends to address the FTA to someone whom it would not threaten, however he can choose

to pass it himself. As in:” Would you please passing me the ruler, Nancy if you don’t mind”.

Strategy 15: Be incomplete, use ellipsis

S purposely does not finish his utterance and leave an FTA half done, and H this leave the implicature “hanging on the air” just as the rethorical question (Brown and Levinson 1987: 227). Example: Oh sir, a toothache. (ask for medicine).

2.3 Democratic National Convention 2012

The 2012 Democratic National Convention (DNC) was held in Charlotte, N.C. from Sept. 4 to 6, 2012. The DNC was the pinnacle event for the Democratic Party, when state delegates nominated Barack Obama and Joseph Biden as presidential and vice presidential candidates for the 2012 election. The convention drew Democratic delegates from all 50 states in the U.S., thousands of members of national and international media, and non-delegate visitors to Charlotte and the surrounding counties. The convention was the largest single event in the city’s history and put the Queen City in the national and international spotlight.

Preparations for the convention began in 2011 and continued through September of 2012. Much of the convention was held at Time Warner Cable Arena and the Charlotte Convention Center, while numerous hotels around the city hosted convention-related events, meetings and dinners. Modifications were made to both Time Warner Cable Arena and Bank of America Stadium, with respective seating capacities of 20,200 and 73,778; although the latter ultimately was not used due to weather concerns. The convention officially lasted for three

days, from Tuesday to Thursday, but events were held from the Saturday prior to the Saturday after the official schedule.

Events included more than 108 speakers at Time Warner Cable Arena and just under 1,200 other meetings of state delegations, political interest groups, policy discussions and roundtables, trade associations and media organizations. Additional sites beyond Time Warner Cable Arena included the Charlotte Convention Center, Westin Charlotte, Embassy Suites Charlotte/Concord, Charlotte Marriott City Center, The Ritz-Carlton, Charlotte, NASCAR Hall of Fame, EpiCentre, NC Music Factory, Blumenthal Performing Arts venues and both Mint Museum locations among others.

2.4 2012 Democratic National Platform

Four years ago, Democrats, independents, and many Republicans came together as Americans to move our country forward. We were in the midst of the greatest economic crisis since the Great Depression, the previous administration had put two wars on our nation's credit card, and the American Dream had slipped out of reach for too many.

Today, our economy is growing again, al-Qaeda is weaker than at any point since 9/11, and our manufacturing sector is growing for the first time in more than a decade. But there is more we need to do, and so we come together again to continue what we started. We gather to reclaim the basic bargain that built the largest middle class and the most prosperous nation on Earth – the simple principle that in America, hard work should pay off, responsibility should be

rewarded, and each one of us should be able to go as far as our talent and drive take us.

This election is not simply a choice between two candidates or two political parties, but between two fundamentally different paths for our country and our families.

We Democrats offer America the opportunity to move our country forward by creating an economy built to last and built from the middle out. Mitt Romney and the Republican Party have a drastically different vision. They still believe the best way to grow the economy is from the top down – the same approach that benefited the wealthy few but crashed the economy and crushed the middle class. Democrats see a young country continually made stronger by the greatest diversity of talent and ingenuity in the world, and a nation of people drawn to our shores from every corner of the globe. We believe America can succeed because the American people have never failed and there is nothing that together we cannot accomplish.

Reclaiming the economic security of the middle class is the challenge we must overcome today. That begins by restoring the basic values that made our country great, and restoring for everyone who works hard and plays by the rules the opportunity to find a job that pays the bills, turn an idea into a profitable business, care for your family, afford a home you call your own and health care you can count on, retire with dignity and respect, and, most of all, give your children the kind of education that allows them to dream even bigger and go even further than you ever imagined.

This has to be our North Star – an economy that’s built not from the top down, but from a growing middle class, and that provides ladders of opportunity for those working hard to join the middle class.

This is not another trivial political argument. It’s the defining issue of our time and at the core of the American Dream. And now we stand at a make-or-break moment, and are faced with a choice between moving forward and falling back. The Republican Party has turned its back on the middle class Americans who built this country. Our opponents believe we should go back to the top-down economic policies of the last decade. They think that if we simply eliminate protections for families and consumers, let Wall Street write its own rules again, and cut taxes for the wealthiest, the market will solve all our problems on its own. They argue that if we help corporations and wealthy investors maximize their profits by whatever means necessary, whether through layoffs or outsourcing, it will automatically translate into jobs and prosperity that benefits us all. They would repeal health reform, turn Medicare into a voucher program, and follow the same path of fiscal irresponsibility of the past administration – giving trillions of dollars in tax cuts weighted towards millionaires and billionaires while sticking the middle class with the bill. But we’ve tried their policies – and we’ve all suffered when they failed. It is not enough to go back to where the country was before the crisis. We must rebuild a strong foundation that ensures it never happens again.

Democrats know that America prospers when we’re all in it together. We see an America where everyone has a fair shot, does their fair share, and plays by

the same rules. We see an America that out-educates, out-builds, and out-innovates the rest of the world.

We see an America with greater economic security and opportunity, driven by education, energy, innovation and infrastructure, and a tax code that helps to create American jobs and bring down the debt in a balanced way. We believe in deficit reduction not by placing the burden on the middle class and the poor, but by cutting out programs we can't afford and asking the wealthiest to again contribute their fair share.

These values are why we enacted historic health care reform that provides economic security for families and enacted sweeping financial reform legislation that will prevent the recklessness that cost so many their jobs, homes, and savings. They're why we rescued the auto industry and revived our manufacturing supply chain. They're why we helped American families who are working multiple jobs and struggling to pay the bills save a little extra money through tax cuts, lower health care costs, and affordable student loans.

They're why we fought to reclaim the value of treating all Americans with dignity and respect. And they're why President Barack Obama has ended one war and is responsibly drawing down another. They're why we're restoring our alliances and image around the world and pursuing a foreign policy that's making us safer.

But there is more to be done. We knew that renewing the American Dream wouldn't be easy – we knew it would take more than one year, or one term, or even one president.

The problems we're facing right now have been more than a decade in the making. We are the party of inclusion and respect differences of perspective and belief. And so, even when we disagree, we work together to move this country forward. But what is holding our nation back is a stalemate in Washington between two fundamentally different views of which direction America should take.

We must keep moving forward and doing the hard work of rebuilding a strong economy by betting on the American worker and investing in a growing middle class. We need a government that stands up for the hopes, values, and interests of working people, and gives everyone willing to work hard the chance to make the most of their God-given potential.

2.5 Previous Studies

There are previous researchers who have done research on politeness strategy. The first research was conducted by Mukarromah (2002). Her study focuses on politeness used by male and female broadcasters of Andika Lugas Swara (Andalus) FM Malang. In her study, she found that there were certain words which are commonly used by male and female broadcasters use positive and negative politeness, which consist of repetition, included both S and H in the activity, offers and promise, exaggeration and intensify interest to H. While negative politeness strategies used were apologize and passive forms. The weakness of this study is related to the male and female politeness which is not given the vivid explanation, because the nature of politeness between male and female are difference basically. The strength of the study is the data which are taken was really credible enough.

Second, Fitriyana (2007) analyzed politeness strategies used in John Grisham's novel *The Client*. She concluded that four strategies are applied by the portrayed characters in their dialogues. Bald on record is used when S wants to achieve the maximum efficiency of his utterance. Positive politeness strategy is used in the condition in which S tries to minimize the distance between expressing friendliness and solid interest. Negative politeness is used in the situation in which S has the main focus on assuming that he may be imposing and intruding on H's space. Off record is used in the condition to take some pressures off the hearer.

Third, Rahmawati (2008) investigated politeness strategies used by the main character in *Get Rich or Die Trying* movie. Marcus is the only main character in that movie. The strategies found are mostly positive politeness, such as attending to hearer, avoiding disagreement, and hedging opinion. Negative politeness, such as minimizing imposition and be indirect. The last is off record, such as giving hints, being vague, and being sarcastic.

Fourth, Ula (2010) did a research entitled *A Discourse Analysis on Negative Politeness Strategy Used in "There is Something About Mary" Film*. The researcher found the negative politeness strategy used in there is something about Mary film are eight often types of negative politeness: be direct question, be conventionally indirect, give deference, apologize, question-hedge, be pessimistic, minimize imposition, go on record as incurring a debt or as not indebting in the certain situation and setting. There is no utterance which belongs to state FTA as general rule, and nominalize.

Fifth, Rohmah (2011) conducted a research entitled *Politeness Strategies Used by Julia Gillard in Her Labor Party Campaign Speech in August 16th 2010*.

The findings of this study show that Julia Gilard applies almost all of the politeness strategies in her speech. The implementation of using bald on record is used to achieve the maximum efficiency of utterance. Positive politeness is used to satisfy the hearer's positive face by including them as friend or the member of the group. Negative politeness is used in the situation in which S has the main focus on assuming that he maybe imposing and intruding on H's face. Off record is used when S wants to do FTA, but wants to avoid the responsibility for doing it.



CHAPTER III

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter is devoted to present the finding and the discussion of the study. This part talks about the analysis of Politeness Strategies in Barack Obama Speech in Democratic National Convention 2012.

3.1 Findings

Data 1. Michelle, I love you so much. A few nights ago, everybody was reminded just what a lucky man I am.

In the opening of the speech, Obama tries to express his love to Michele. Pay attention to word "A few nights ago, everybody was reminded just what a lucky man I am". The purpose of this sentence was actually wanted to make Michele happy and proud as Obama's wife. Implicitly, by producing this kind of sentence, speaker wants to say that Michele is very special and Obama so lucky man to have her.

According to the theory of Brown and Levinson, positive politeness is used to satisfy the hearer's positive face (Michele), therefore, it contributes to establishing relationships of intimacy and solidarity.

Data 2 "And Joe Biden, thank you for being the very best vice president I could have ever hoped for, and being a strong and loyal friend".

The sentence "thank you for being the very best vice president I could have ever hoped for", it is used to save his interlocutor's positive face. At the beginning of the speech Obama wants to appreciate his vice president in the first period. It is important to catch the attention of the audience, also to show for public of America that Joe Biden is very good vice president but also more. We

can understand that from what Obama said “the very best vice president I could have ever hoped for”.

Based on the theory the speaker uses Positive Politeness by expressing an appreciation of the interlocutor’s self-image. The function is to satisfy the hearer’s positive face which automatically make them happy and directly catch the attention of the audiences to run well smooth communication.

Data 3. Madam Chairwoman, delegates, I accept your nomination for president of the United States. (Cheers, applause.) AUDIENCE MEMBERS: (Chanting.) Four more years! Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

This statement shows that Obama use honorific word, we can see it from the word “*Madam Chairwoman*”. Obama wants to show his respect by lowering himself in front of the chairwoman of Democratic Party, because she give the nomination of president from Democratic Party.

Based on Brown and Levinson’s theory this strategy belongs to positive politeness strategy. By the raising of madam chairwoman Obama would like to thank to the democratic party, because he is elected as the candidate of president.

Data 4. Now, the first time I addressed this convention, in 2004, I was a younger man.

From this utterance we can focus on *I was a younger man*, the meaning of the sentence is not really what it said. Obama join in politics from 2004, but on 2012 he follows the Democratic National Convention as candidate of president for the second time. So, what Obama says is about his past, the word *younger* means that he is not really good in politics when it is. In this case Obama producing that

utterance with smiling and use the joke intonation, this strategy used by Obama to reduce the social distance between him and audience.

Based on the Brown and Levinson's theory the utterance is classified into positive politeness. Jokes can be used to stress the fact that there must be some mutual background, knowledge and values that speaker and hearer share (Brown and Levinson 1987;124).

Data 5. Ours is a fight to restore the values that built the largest middle class and the strongest economy the world has ever known.

The utterance above is a kind of bald on record strategy (cases of non-minimization of the face threat). Obama is asking people of America to work together, therefore he uses the word *ours*. The focus of this interaction (utterance) is task-oriented, so the function of using this kind of politeness strategy, to make clear and understand Obama's goals in the next second period.

Data 6. My grandparents were given the chance to go to college and buy their home — their own home and fulfill the basic bargain at the heart of America's story, the promise that hard work will pay off, that responsibility will be rewarded, that everyone gets a fair shot and everyone does their fair share and everyone plays by the same rules, from Main Street to Wall Street to Washington, D.C.

Pay attention to first sentence of this paragraph, the speaker uses the group identity marker *America*. The speaker implicitly claim the common ground with the audiences, by using the word "America" Obama wants to be close with the people without any consideration about power and status difference (Obama as president). After that Obama continued with delivering his vision in the next sentence in the paragraph above. Based on the theory of Brown and Levinson, that utterances categorized into positive politeness which belongs to claim common ground (group identity marker).

Data 7. Now, our friends down in Tampa at the Republican convention were more than happy to talk about everything they think is wrong with America. But they didn't have much to say about how they'd make it right.

In this utterance Obama wants to tell the audiences that there is Republican Convention in Tampa, and they are talking about the weaknesses of America very happy. What Obama means is they do criticizing to the first period of Obama which according to them there are many errors, also they don't know how to correct and make it better and right.

By producing that utterance Obama uses off record strategy, we can see from the word *our friends* which is not in the real meaning as friends but in this case as competitor in election. Also Obama uses the sentences which is not in the real meaning *down in Tampa at the Republican convention were more than happy to talk about everything they think is wrong with America*, what Obama means with that word is they do criticizing. Also what he means in the next utterance *But they didn't have much to say about how they'd make it right*, he wants to say that they can't do anything to make it better. This off record strategy is classified into give hint, based on Brown and Levinson that's happened because Obama states something is not explicitly relevant, he lets the H (audiences) to interpret of the possible relevance message to act.

Data 8. Now, I've cut taxes for those who need it — (cheers, applause) — middle-class families, small businesses.

In this statement Obama wants to show the audiences his contribution or the positive side during his first period, is about tax cuts for middle class families and small business. So, this utterance classified into positive politeness strategy, with intensify interest to hearer. Speaker communicate to hearer that he shared some of his wants to intensify the interest of his own contribution to the

conversation by making a good story. He tries to attract the hearer's attention (Brown and Levinson: 1987: 106). The function of using this theory for Obama is to satisfy hearer's face and attract the attention of audiences by telling and showing about what he is interested in through the speech.

Data 9. But know this, America: Our problems can be solved. (Cheers, applause.) Our challenges can be met. (Applause.) The path we offer may be harder, but it leads to a better place, and I'm asking you to choose that future.

In this utterance tries to show the real condition of his vision, it can be harder and difficult. However he speaks the truth. In this statement he uses maxim quality which classified into bald on record strategy. Since he speaks directly and informatively. The function of this strategy is, Obama builds people's optimism also to convince that he can make realize the goal of America.

Data 10. I'm asking you to rally around a set of goals for your country, goals in manufacturing, energy, education, national security and the deficit, real, achievable plans that will lead to new jobs, more opportunity and rebuild this economy on a stronger foundation. That's what we can do in the next four years, and that is why I am running for a second term as president of the United States.

What Obama wants to say by producing this utterance is, asking people of America to rally and discuss about all aspects relating to American. That will be the references for Obama in the works, when he wins in the presidential election for the second time.

The utterance is included in the positive politeness, Obama shows claim common ground as the same set person with the audiences as the American society, also he shares about specific wants including goals and values. The function of this utterance based on the theory Obama tries to seek agreement. The

raising of 'safe topics' allows S to stress his agreement with H and therefore to satisfy H's desire to be 'right', or to be strengthened in his opinions.

Data 11. We can choose a future where we export more products and outsource fewer jobs. After a decade that was defined by what we bought and borrowed, we're getting back to basics and doing what America's always done best. We are making things again. I've met workers in Detroit and Toledo who feared— they'd never build another American car. And today they can't build them fast enough because we reinvented a dying auto industry that's back on the top of the world. I worked with business leaders who are bringing jobs back to America not because our workers make less pay, but because we make better products_— because we work harder and smarter than anyone else.

The way Obama says something is simple, easy to understand and will not much complicated, he intended his audience pay attention. In the sentences above we can see that Obama tries to build the American's optimism, by saying "*we're getting back to basics and doing what America's always done best*" he beliefs that American industry will grow faster and better.

In this case speaker use Positive Politeness because Positive politeness strategies seek to minimize the threat to the hearer's positive face. They are used to make the hearer feel good about himself, his interests or possessions, and are most usually used in situations where the audience knows each other fairly well.

The function of use Positive politeness in this case is to catch the attention from audience by telling them that America is the best. We can see it from the word "*. and today they can't build them fast enough because we reinvented a dying auto industry that's back on the top of the world*" where speaker look really want his audience pay attention to him even for a while and this the way of speaker make his audiences feel good about him-self.

However, in the last paragraph what Obama said is "*but because we make better products,_because we work harder and smarter than anyone else*". In this

last words Obama uses the strategy non-minimization of the face threat, that strategy is classified into bald on record strategy. This strategy used in the cases of great urgency or desperation, redress would actually decrease the communicated urgency. In this condition the social status does not influence the use of this strategy.

Data 12. And in this election, you can do something about it. You can choose a future where more Americans have the chance to gain the skills they need to compete, no matter how old they are or how much money they have.

Let's look at the utterances above, so what Obama means with this statement he asks American people to do the right thing in this election. In this case Obama say clearly what he wants, and he say by using the word "*it*" when he says *in this election, you can do something about it* than continued with the next sentence "*you can choose a future where more Americans have the chance to gain the skills they need to compete, no matter how old they are or how much money they have*". So what is meant by producing this utterance, Obama offers the audiences or American people that he wants to give the chance for people to have good training and develop their skill to compete, if they vote him as the president.

In this utterance Obama uses the positive politeness, that indicates that Speaker and hearer are cooperator. Based on Brown and Levinson speaker may choose to stress his cooperation with the Audiences by claiming what they want, and the speaker wants for him to obtain. The function of this strategy is Obama can deliver his vision as the candidate of president through his offering.

Data 13. So help me. Help me recruit a hundred thousand math and science teachers within 10 years and improve early childhood education. Help give 2 million workers the chance to learn skills at their community

college that will lead directly to a job. Help us work with colleges and universities to cut in half the growth of tuition costs over the next 10 years.

The purpose of this statement is, the speaker asks people of America to work together to make the education in America better than before. The speaker understand that he will not alone to realize that big job, therefore he use the word “*help me*” refers to him as the president of America and “*help us*” refers to his administration.

In this utterances the speaker use positive politeness, by repetition the word “*help*” he wants to emphasize the topic to the audiences. Also by producing this utterance speaker tries to involve the audiences in his opinion about education in America, this kind of strategy is can be classified into seek agreement. The function of this strategy is to get the attention from the audiences and to be closer with them, and then he delivers his wants with them clearly.

Data 14. We can meet that goal together. You can choose that future for America. That's our future.

The function of producing the utterances above is the speaker tries to eliminate the social status among their, it would make him closer to the listeners. We can understand it from what he said, he used the words “*we*” and “*our*”, and those two words can make the audiences think that there is no different level among them. Also in this utterance the speaker doing claim common ground, we can see it clearly from the words “*you can choose that future for America*”. By using the word “*America*” he wants to shares that he is the same person as other people in America, also he has the same goals to make America forward.

This strategy is classified into positive politeness which the speaker conveys some wants that hearers also interesting. This strategy can happen when

the speaker and hearer have the same knowledge (claim common ground), then the communication flows well.

Data 15. You know, in a world of new threats and new challenges, you can choose leadership that has been tested and proven. Four years ago I promised to end the war in Iraq. We did. I promised to refocus on the terrorists who actually attacked us on 9/11, and we have. We've blunted the Taliban's momentum in Afghanistan and in 2014, our longest war will be over. A new tower rises above the New York skyline, al- Qaida is on the path to defeat and Osama bin Laden is dead.

This is the way the speaker tells his achievement during his first period as the president of America. He tries to involve the audiences by making the story of his achievement in the government. Before he tells the story, he started with the words “*you know*” then continued with “*in a world of new threats and new challenges, you can choose leadership that has been tested and proven*”.

The utterance “you know” is kind of rhetoric question, the question that delivered by Obama doesn't need an answer and it is used to make the audiences pay attention to him. The second sentence “*in a world of new threats and new challenges, you can choose leadership that has been tested and proven*” also a kind of rhetoric statement which the point of the sentence is not what is said. In other word what Obama wants to say is America will face difficult, therefore they have to vote the president who has been tested and proven, in this case is Obama himself.

The two utterances is classified into off record strategy which the point or the message of the statement delivered as indirectly. In this utterance Obama wants the hearer to provide him the indicated information, we can see it clearly in words “*choose leadership that has been tested and proven*” means vote Obama.

The next sentences he tries to make a short story about his achievements in the first period. By making that story he wants to intensify his interest with the audiences, and it has the function to attract the attention from the audiences. This strategy is categorized into positive politeness.

Data 16. And tonight we pay tribute to the Americans who still serve in harm's way. We are forever in debt to a generation whose sacrifice has made this country safer and more respected. We will never forget you, and so long as I'm commander in chief, we will sustain the strongest military the world has ever known. When you take off the uniform, we will serve you as well as you've served us, because no one who fights for this country should have to fight for a job or a roof over their head or the care that they need when they come home.

This utterances produced by the speaker to honor the soldiers who are still in war, the army serves to maintain the security and defense of united state. This statement is given to all soldiers and retirees military in America, it's important for him to get the attention from public of America especially the politic support for him from the military of United States. By producing the sentences above he used overstate which belongs to off record strategy, we can understand from the words "*We are forever in debt to a generation whose sacrifice has made this country safer and more respected.*" The utterance "forever in debt" is overstate what is said more than is necessary. S exaggerates or chooses a point on a skill which is higher than the actual state of affairs.

In the next case we can find how Obama convince his supporters, let's look at this sentences "*we will never forget you, and so long as I'm commander in chief, we will sustain the strongest military the world has ever known. When you take off the uniform, we will serve you as well as you've served us*". We can see Obama promised in front of his audiences would increase the military of America

and serve them when they retire. We can understand it from the word “we”, Obama uses that word twice.

In the politeness strategy based on Brown and Levinson’s theory, promises is classified into positive politeness strategy. Brown and Levinson say offer and promise that can indicate the Speaker and Hearer are Cooperators, the speaker may stress his cooperation by whatever the Hearer’s wants. From this strategy Obama wants to image himself that he is really care with the military and defense issues.

Data 17. But for all the progress that we've made, challenges remain. Terrorist plots must be disrupted. Europe's crisis must be contained. Our commitment to Israel's security must not waver, and neither must our pursuit of peace. The Iranian government must face a world that stays united against its nuclear ambitions. The historic change sweeping across the Arab world must be defined not by the iron fist of a dictator or the hate of extremists, but by the hopes and aspirations of ordinary people who are reaching for the same rights that we celebrate here today.

In this utterance Obama tries to tell the real conditions that faced by American, by telling that condition he invites the hearer to think and solve together about the problems. We can see it clearly when Obama say *“but by the hopes and aspirations of ordinary people who are reaching for the same rights that we celebrate here today”*, from here he tries to involve people to work together. From the utterance Obama uses positive politeness (include the speaker and the hearer in the activity), and the function of the strategy is the way to make more polite for him in doing the speech.

Data 18. My opponent — my opponent said that it was tragic to end the war in Iraq. And he won't tell us how he'll end the war in Afghanistan. Well, I have, and I will. And while my opponent would spend more money on military hardware that our Joint Chiefs don't even want, I will use the money we're no longer spending on war to pay down our debt and put more people back to work , rebuilding roads and bridges and schools and runways, because after two wars that have cost us thousands of lives and over a trillion dollars, it's time to do some nation building right here at home.

This utterance shows that Obama satires his opponent who are talking about how to end the war in Afghanistan. However, Obama doesn't agree with that, because they will spend more the money on military. For Obama will uses the diplomacy will much better to end the war, and the money can be used for other things more important. This utterance indicates Obama uses positive politeness, the utterance indicates that Obama and his audiences are cooperator. In this case Obama does the claiming what the audience's wants as American people, is about the infrastructure development. We can understand that from what Obama says "*I will use the money we're no longer spending on war to pay down our debt and put more people back to work , rebuilding roads and bridges and schools and runways*", by promise to the audiences he wants to close and friendly and off course he wants them to vote him latter in the presidential election.

Data 19. You can choose a future where we reduce our deficit without sticking it to the middle class. Independent experts say that my plan would cut our deficit by \$4 trillion. And last summer I worked with Republicans in Congress to cut a billion dollars in spending, because those of us who believe government can be a force for good should work harder than anyone to reform it so that it's leaner and more efficient and more responsive to the American people.

By producing this utterance Obama tries to convince the American public about what he wants to do when he is elected as the president of America latter. Let's look at the words "*you can choose a future where we reduce our deficit without sticking it to the middle class. Independent experts say that my plan would cut our deficit by \$4 trillion*", the utterance means that Obama is the right man to be chosen as president of America. He wants to show that he is capable to do that big job as he said. In this case Obama uses the positive politeness to convince and build optimism among American people, because Obama assumes that he can obtain that. Based on the theory of Brown and Levinson that strategy can be classified into be optimistic.

In the next utterance Obama wants to share an important information related with his job as the president to the public of America, we can see it in what Obama said “ *and last summer I worked with Republicans in Congress to cut a billion dollars in spending*” and continued with “*because those of us who believe government can be a force for good should work harder than anyone to reform it so that it's leaner and more efficient and more responsive to the American people*”. By producing those two utterances Obama uses the bald on record strategy, he tells the real condition directly and informatively based on the evidence. This kind of this strategy included to maxim quality. The function of this strategy is he wants to make people understand about the real condition of America, and asking them to work together.

Data 20. I refuse to ask students to pay more for college or kick children out of Head Start programs to eliminate health insurance for millions of Americans who are poor and elderly or disabled all so those with the most can pay less. I'm not going along with that.

In this utterance Obama shows his care and sympathy to the poor family, he wants to give them the guarantee of life. By saying that Obama uses the positive politeness is giving sympathy to the audiences, especially from the poor family even students, elderly or disabled. By giving the sympathy to them, he wants to be close, friendly and make the communication runs well with the audiences and American people who in poverty line.

Data 21. And we will keep the promise of Social Security by taking the responsible steps to strengthen it, not by turning it over to Wall Street.

By saying this utterance Obama promised to people of America, he will strengthen the social security. In this statement Obama uses the word “*we*”, by using that word can make the communication more polite and also to involve the public to do his programe. This strategy can be classified into positive politeness, which Obama uses the group identity marker. Obama implicitly claim common ground as the American people.

The function of this strategy is he wants to get the attention from audiences, by saying “we” he wants to be more polite and friendly with no different social status.

Data 22. This is the choice we now face. This is what the election comes down to. Over and over, we've been told by our opponents that bigger tax cuts and fewer regulations are the only way, that since government can't do everything, it should do almost nothing. If you can't afford health insurance, hope that you don't get sick. (Murmurs of disapproval.) If a company releases toxic pollution into the air your children breathe, well, that's the price of progress. If you can't afford to start a business or go to college, take my opponent's advice and borrow money from your parents.

This is the way of the speaker convince the audiences that his program is the right one for the American people. He wants to make everyone believe in him, that he is capable to handle and solve the problems of America. We can understand it from what he says “*that since government can't do everything, it should do almost nothing*”, from this word we know what Obama disagree with his opponent about tax cut. By producing this utterance he uses the bald on record strategy which belong to maxim manner, he delivers the speech directly, not long and ambiguous.

Also in this utterance he uses off record strategy (ironic), we can see from “*If you can't afford health insurance, hope that you don't get sick*”. After telling the audiences about his opponent’s program is wrong, he wants to convince that by showing the effect of opponent’s program in ironic way. The last word is not in the real meaning, because impossible for everyone never sick. The function of this strategy is to satire his opponent’ program that he thinks is not good, and to get the attention of people by convincing them about Obama’s program.

Data 23. But we also believe in something called citizenship — citizenship, a word at the very heart of our founding, a word at the very essence of our democracy, the idea that this country only works when we accept certain obligations to one another and to future generations.

What Obama wants to deliver by producing this utterance is, he wants to remind the audiences that he always thinks about citizenship. From this forum of convention he wants to convince the American people, whatever he does when he is as the president always to serve and give the best for American people and the next generation of America.

In this case Obama uses the positive politeness, according to the theory of Brown and Levinson, positive politeness is used to satisfy the hearer's positive face; therefore, it contributes to establishing relationships of intimacy and solidarity. So the function of this strategy for Obama is to get close with the audience, and make them proud of him as the candidate president of America.

Data 24. We don't think the government can solve all of our problems, but we don't think the government is the source of all of our problems— any more than our welfare recipients or corporations or unions or immigrants or gays or any other group we're told to blame for our troubles — because America, we understand that this democracy is ours.

This utterances show that Obama wants to remind American public that he and his administration can't work alone without public assistance, public can help the government by sharing ideas, criticism, and any others thing to make America better. He and the government will not think about the background, because America is the democratic country. In other words all people who stay in America are the same in front of him as the president of United State of America, and he lets them to do everything to make America better.

By producing this utterance Obama uses the positive politeness which use the group identity marker “America”, “we” and “ours”, means that he wants to be the same with others as the American people. The function of this strategy is he

involves the audiences in the same activity to think about America, without any thinking who and what they are.

Data 25. I don't know what party these men and women belong to. I don't know if they'll vote for me. But I know that their spirit defines us. They remind me, in the words of Scripture, that ours is a future filled with hope. And if you share that faith with me, if you share that hope with me, I ask you tonight for your vote.

From this utterance Obama shows his commitment to the audiences, he doesn't think about they will chose him or not. Since he has the spirit to work and get the good future for America. That can be seen clearly from what he says *"They remind me, in the words of Scripture, that ours is a future filled with hope"*. In this utterance Obama uses positive politeness strategy (S and H are cooperator), the utterance is classified to be optimistic because he believes that he can do that job. The function of this strategy s to get the sympathy from the audience, therefore he use the word "scripture" to strengthen his point.

Also in the next utterance Obama uses different strategy, we can understand it from the word *"I ask you tonight for your vote"*. This utterance is classified into bald on record strategy, it used in the case of urgency. And the function of this strategy is Obama wants to deliver the message of the statement directly and easy to understand.

Data 26. If you reject the notion that this nation's promise is reserved for the few, your voice must be heard in this election. If you reject the notion that our government is forever beholden to the highest bidder, you need to stand up in this election.

In this utterance Obama uses the metaphorical word, we can see it from *"your voice must be heard in this election"*. The word "voice" and "heard" have different meaning, *voice* refers to the goal of society and *heard* means

accommodated. This metaphorical utterance belongs to off record strategy. The function of this strategy is to deliver the message indirectly, and smooth way.

Data 27. America, I never said this journey would be easy, and I won't promise that now. Yes, our path is harder, but it leads to a better place. Yes, our road is longer, but we travel it together.

By producing this utterance Obama wants to build the optimism and confidence in front of American people, he shows that he is able to be their leader to make America better than before. So, in this case Obama uses two strategies. For the first strategy he uses the group identity marker which belongs to positive politeness, we can understand it from the word “America” and “ours”. By using that words he wants to be close and friendly with the audience, and also to establish that he has the same goal with them when he becomes the president/of America. The next strategy is positive politeness which Speaker and hearer are cooperator. We can see it when Obama says “*yes, our road is longer, but we travel it together*”, in this utterance he includes the hearer in the activity. The function of this strategy is he wants to ask people to work together in making America forward.

Data 28. We don't turn back. We leave no one behind. (Cheers.) We pull each other up. (Cheers, applause.) We draw strength from our victories. (Cheers, applause.) And we learn from our mistakes. But we keep our eyes fixed on that distant horizon knowing that providence is with us and that we are surely blessed to be citizens of the greatest nation on earth.

In this utterance Obama builds the optimism, he asks American people help each other to strengthen America. This utterance can be classified in to direct statement which belong to negative politeness strategy. That can be understood when Obama says “*we don't turn back. We leave no one behind. We pull each other up*”. The utterance occurs before he ends the speech. So the function of this

strategy is the speaker wants to deliver the message directly and clear. It means that the speaker avoid the further imposition of prolixity and obscurity.

Data 29. Thank you, God bless you and God bless these United States.

In the last word of the speech, Obama uses the repetition strategy by using the words “*God Bless*”. That shows his empathy to people of America. This strategy classified into positive politeness. The function of this strategy to stress his agreement with the people about making America forward.

3.2. Discussion

In the case of communication (conversation or speech), maintaining other’s face is needed in order to make the communication runs well and smoothly. The way to maintain other’s face is by applying politeness strategy. Politeness is a communication strategy that people use to maintain and develop relationships (related goal) and a technical term in language study to signify the strategies we use to achieve our goals without threatening the self-respect of others.

In this part of discussion, researcher analyze the usage of politeness strategies and find out the functions of each strategies used by Obama. In according to the finding in the previous part, it can be formulated that Obama applies all kinds of Politeness strategies that promote by Brown and Levinson. There are four kinds of Politeness strategies are covered they are: Bald on-Record, Positive Politeness, Negative Politeness and Off-Record. Moreover, the description of politeness phenomena are described as follow:

1. Bald on-Record.

The prime reason for bald on-Record usage may be stated simply: in general, whenever speaker wants to do FTA with maximum efficiency more than he wants to satisfy hearer's face. Even to any degree, he will choose the bald on-Record strategy. There are, however, different kinds of bald on-Record usage in different circumstances, because speaker can have different motives for his want to do the FTA with maximum efficiency.

In Obama speech, he uses bald on-Record strategy when he has something very important to deliver and to emphasize his statement also use bald on-Record strategy.

2. Positive Politeness

This strategy is applied to minimize the distance between the speaker and the addressee, also to create good harmony in communication or to make way of communication run well and smooth. Positive politeness techniques are not only usable to avoid FTA but as a kind of social accelerator that indicates the speaker wants to come closer with interlocutors. In this research this strategy is dominant used by Obama in delivering speech. Obama uses Positive Politeness to give praises, understand, sympathy to his audience as the hearer. He shows his optimistic and minimizes the distance between him and his audience. By using this strategy speaker avoids conflict and shows his respect and honor to the audience, even actually there is a gap or distance between them but Obama establish the closeness.

3. Negative Politeness

Negative politeness redresses the negative face of the hearer. The speaker wants to be independent and maintains the distance to the addressee. It minimizes the particular imposition to hearer.

4. Off-Record

This strategy used to avoid responsibility for doing FTA. The speaker does off-record to make hearers interpret utterance that produced by speaker. When he uses this kind of theory Obama want to share about his opinion or statement to his audiences. Also Obama uses this strategy to satire his rival from republican party, and to show what he did in the first period.

Table 1: List of usage Politeness Strategies used by Barrack Obama in The Democratic National Convention 2012

Data	Strategies			
	Bald on-Record	Positive Politeness	Negative Politeness	Off-Record
<p>Data 1</p> <p>“Michelle, I love you so much. A few nights ago, everybody was reminded just what a lucky man I am”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 2</p> <p>“And Joe Biden, thank you for being the very best vice president I could have ever hoped for, and being a strong and loyal friend”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 3</p> <p>Madam Chairwoman, delegates, I accept your nomination for president of the United States.</p>	-	√	-	-

(Cheers, applause.) AUDIENCE MEMBERS: (Chanting.) Four more years! Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!				
Data 4 “Now, the first time I addressed this convention, in 2004, I was a younger man”	-	√	-	-
Data 5 “Ours is a fight to restore the values that built the largest middle class and the strongest economy the world has ever known”	√	-	-	-
Data 6 “My grandparents were given the chance to go to college and buy their home — their own home and fulfill the basic bargain at the heart of America's story, the promise that hard work will pay off, that responsibility will be rewarded, that everyone gets a fair shot and everyone does their fair share and everyone plays by the same rules, from Main Street to Wall Street to Washington, D.C”	-	√	-	-
Data 7 “Now, our friends down in Tampa at the Republican convention were more than happy to talk about everything they think is wrong with America. But they didn't have much to say	-	-	-	√

about how they'd make it right”				
Data 8 “Now, I've cut taxes for those who need it — (cheers, applause) — middle-class families, small businesses.”	-	√	-	-
Data 9 But know this, America: Our problems can be solved. (Cheers, applause.) Our challenges can be met. (Applause.) The path we offer may be harder, but it leads to a better place, and I'm asking you to choose that future. (Applause.)	√	-	-	-
Data 10 “I'm asking you to rally around a set of goals for your country, goals in manufacturing, energy, education, national security and the deficit, real, achievable plans that will lead to new jobs, more opportunity and rebuild this economy on a stronger foundation. That's what we can do in the next four years, and that is why I am running for a second term as president of the United States. (Cheers, applause.)”	-	√	-	-
Data 11 “We can choose a future where we export more products and outsource fewer jobs. After a decade that was defined by what we bought and borrowed, we're getting back to basics and doing	√	√	-	-

<p>what America's always done best. We are making things again. (Applause.) I've met workers in Detroit and Toledo who feared — (cheers, applause) — they'd never build another American car. And today they can't build them fast enough because we reinvented a dying auto industry that's back on the top of the world.</p> <p>I worked with business leaders who are bringing jobs back to America not because our workers make less pay, but because we make better products_— because we work harder and smarter than anyone else”</p>				
<p>Data 12</p> <p>“And in this election, you can do something about it. You can choose a future where more Americans have the chance to gain the skills they need to compete, no matter how old they are or how much money they have ”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 13</p> <p>“. So help me. Help me recruit a hundred thousand math and science teachers within 10 years and improve early childhood education. Help give 2 million workers the chance to learn skills at their community college that will lead directly to a job. Help us work with colleges and universities to cut in half the growth of tuition costs over the next 10 years.”</p>	-	√	-	-

<p style="text-align: center;">Data 14</p> <p>“We can meet that goal together. You can choose that future for America. That's our future.”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p style="text-align: center;">Data 15</p> <p>“You know, in a world of new threats and new challenges, you can choose leadership that has been tested and proven. Four years ago I promised to end the war in Iraq. We did. I promised to refocus on the terrorists who actually attacked us on 9/11, and we have. We've blunted the Taliban's momentum in Afghanistan and in 2014, our longest war will be over. A new tower rises above the New York skyline, al- Qaida is on the path to defeat and Osama bin Laden is dead. ”</p>	-	-	-	√
<p style="text-align: center;">Data 16</p> <p>“And tonight we pay tribute to the Americans who still serve in harm's way. We are forever in debt to a generation whose sacrifice has made this country safer and more respected. We will never forget you, and so long as I'm commander in chief, we will sustain the strongest military the world has ever known. When you take off the uniform, we will serve you as well as you've served us, because no one who fights for this country should have to fight for a job or a roof over their head or the care that they need when they come home.”</p>	-	√	-	√

<p style="text-align: center;">Data 17</p> <p>“But for all the progress that we've made, challenges remain. Terrorist plots must be disrupted. Europe's crisis must be contained. Our commitment to Israel's security must not waver, and neither must our pursuit of peace. The Iranian government must face a world that stays united against its nuclear ambitions. The historic change sweeping across the Arab world must be defined not by the iron fist of a dictator or the hate of extremists, but by the hopes and aspirations of ordinary people who are reaching for the same rights that we celebrate here today”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p style="text-align: center;">Data 18</p> <p>“My opponent — my opponent said that it was tragic to end the war in Iraq. And he won't tell us how he'll end the war in Afghanistan. Well, I have, and I will. And while my opponent would spend more money on military hardware that our Joint Chiefs don't even want, I will use the money we're no longer spending on war to pay down our debt and put more people back to work , rebuilding roads and bridges and schools and runways, because after two wars that have cost us thousands of lives and over a trillion dollars, it's time to do some nation building right here at home”</p>	-	√	-	-

<p style="text-align: center;">Data 19</p> <p>“You can choose a future where we reduce our deficit without sticking it to the middle class. Independent experts say that my plan would cut our deficit by \$4 trillion. And last summer I worked with Republicans in Congress to cut a billion dollars in spending, because those of us who believe government can be a force for good should work harder than anyone to reform it so that it's leaner and more efficient and more responsive to the American people. ”</p>	√	-	-	-
<p style="text-align: center;">Data 20</p> <p>“I refuse to ask students to pay more for college or kick children out of Head Start programs to eliminate health insurance for millions of Americans who are poor and elderly or disabled all so those with the most can pay less. I'm not going along with that. ”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p style="text-align: center;">Data 21</p> <p>“And we will keep the promise of Social Security by taking the responsible steps to strengthen it, not by turning it over to Wall Street”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p style="text-align: center;">Data 22</p> <p>“This is the choice we now face. This is what the election comes down to. Over and over, we've been told by our opponents that bigger tax cuts and fewer regulations are the only way, that since</p>	√	-	-	√

<p>government can't do everything, it should do almost nothing. If you can't afford health insurance, hope that you don't get sick. (Murmurs of disapproval.) If a company releases toxic pollution into the air your children breathe, well, that's the price of progress. If you can't afford to start a business or go to college, take my opponent's advice and borrow money from your parents”</p>				
<p>Data 23</p> <p>“But we also believe in something called citizenship — citizenship, a word at the very heart of our founding, a word at the very essence of our democracy, the idea that this country only works when we accept certain obligations to one another and to future generations”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 24</p> <p>“We don't think the government can solve all of our problems, but we don't think the government is the source of all of our problems— any more than our welfare recipients or corporations or unions or immigrants or gays or any other group we're told to blame for our troubles — because America, we understand that this democracy is ours”</p>	-	√	-	-

<p>Data 25</p> <p>I don't know what party these men and women belong to. I don't know if they'll vote for me. But I know that their spirit defines us. They remind me, in the words of Scripture, that ours is a future filled with hope. And if you share that faith with me, if you share that hope with me, I ask you tonight for your vote.</p>	√	√	-	-
<p>Data 26</p> <p>If you reject the notion that this nation's promise is reserved for the few, your voice must be heard in this election. If you reject the notion that our government is forever beholden to the highest bidder, you need to stand up in this election.</p>	-	-	-	√
<p>Data 27</p> <p>America, I never said this journey would be easy, and I won't promise that now. Yes, our path is harder, but it leads to a better place. Yes, our road is longer, but we travel it together.</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 28</p> <p>We don't turn back. We leave no one behind. (Cheers.) We pull each other up. (Cheers, applause.) We draw strength from our victories. (Cheers, applause.) And we learn from our mistakes. But we keep our eyes fixed on that distant horizon knowing that providence is with us and that we are surely blessed to be</p>	-	-	√	-

citizens of the greatest nation on earth.				
Data 29 Thank you, God bless you and God bless these United States.	-	√	-	-

In the first three utterances Obama uses Positive Politeness Strategy which indicates opening of speech he tries to make hearers feel happy, proud and have a good sense about him-self. He also uses this strategy to get the attention from hearer. In the middle of his speech he combines all the strategies related to what he wants to deliver which mostly about emphasizing his ideas, commitment, and programs when he is elected as the president of America. And he closes his speech by using Positive Politeness also to make him-self good in hearer.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

Politeness as the linguistic phenomenon is theoretically formulated by many linguists such as Leech, Lakof and Fraser. In this sense, it is different with the perception of politeness from the people in their daily life. Therefore there are two kinds of politeness, as argued by Watts. The first is politeness as the lay notion, and the second is politeness as the theoretical framework of the linguist. The concept of politeness studied not only in pragmatic but also in sociolinguistics and other disciplines.

One of the popular and widely studied theories of politeness is the theory of politeness which is proposed by Phenelope Brown and Steven Levinson. The center idea is what called face. Face is a person's public self-image that put at stake in conversation. Face can be maintained, enhanced even threatened I the verbal interaction. Consequently, the interlocutor of communication must be aware with his/her face and the addressee's face. Based on the theory, some utterances intrinsically threaten the face. It is called FTA. There are some strategies which can be uses to perform some acts that threaten the face. Through the application the strategies, politeness can be shown. By using some specific strategies, the speaker and hearer can show their positive, negative, off record, and bald on record politeness.

In this research, the writer analyzes the speech of Barrack Obama in Democratic National Convention using the politeness theory of Brown and Levinson. In analyzing the speech, the writer at first decide which utterance is an FTA, and which is not. Then, the writer seek for strategies used by the speaker

performing FTA. Finally, the writer matches between the strategy and the kind of politeness. In this research Obama uses more positive politeness. Since he wants to save the positive face of his audience, also he must be more polite when deliver the speech.

After analyzing and interpreting the data, the writer formulates conclusion and suggestion. The conclusion is made based on the research questions whereas suggestion is given to the next researchers who have same field with this study.

4.1 Conclusions

From the finding and discussion, it is found that Obama employs politeness strategies mostly positive politeness in his speech in the Democratic National Convention. For more detail, those describe as follow:

A. Bald on-Record

The prime reason for bald on-Record usage may be stated: in general, whenever speaker wants to do FTA with maximum efficiency more than he wants to satisfy hearer's face. Even to any degree, he will choose the bald on-Record strategy. There are different kinds of bald on-Record usage in different circumstances, because speaker can have different motives for doing the FTA with maximum efficiency. In the Obama speech, he uses bald on-Record strategy to criticize his rival. Also when he has something very important to delivered and emphasize his statement such as his promise vision and mission when he elected as the president.

B. Positive politeness

This strategy mostly used by Obama to maintain the positive face of addressee and satisfy what addressee's wants. It maintains the solidarity and

harmony in communication. Besides, Obama uses this strategy to minimize the distance and to improve the friendliness. Moreover, that shows he is aware about the audience esteem which want to be liked, understood, admired, and sympathy. Then, the speaker describes the optimistic feeling to blow up the spirit of the hearer. This strategy includes give gift to H, exaggerate, be optimistic, intensify interest to H, include both S and H in activity, offer and promise, avoid disagreement, give (or ask for) reason, assert and presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants, and assume or assert reciprocity.

C. Negative Politeness

It is applied to impede the negative face of the addressee. The speaker tends to be independent and maintains the distance. This strategy includes minimize imposition R_x , and hedge, and give deference. He uses this strategy to motivate listener by showing his weakness in front of audiences. Usually in his speech Obama use this Strategy by lower his position to maintain hearer face. However, the speaker does not use this strategy.

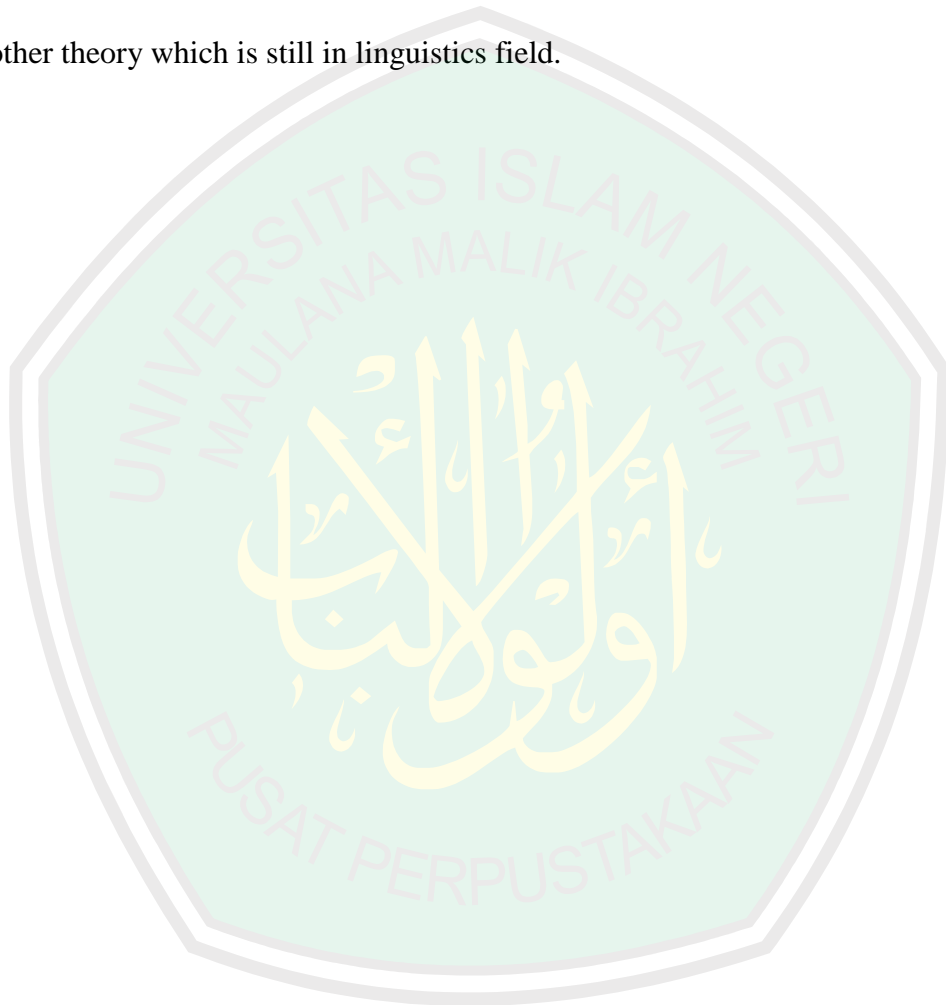
D. Off Record

This strategy is proposed for journalist and American people to interpret what Obama utterance means. Besides, the speaker points out to addressee that he conveys important information. Moreover, giving the sign that both speaker and addressee has mutual knowledge. This strategy includes give association clue and be ambiguous.

4.2 Suggestion

After formulating the conclusion based on the finding and discussion in this study, the writer would like to suggest the further researchers as the additional references to investigate about politeness strategies. This research explores about

the kinds and the functions of politeness strategies as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). Therefore, researcher suggest for the next researcher to analyze the social factors of politeness strategy by using other experts' theory like Scollon, Lakoff, and Holmes. Furthermore, the next researchers can investigate comprehensively not only analyze speech in Politeness Strategy, but also using other theory which is still in linguistics field.



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APPENDICES

LIST OF APPENDICES

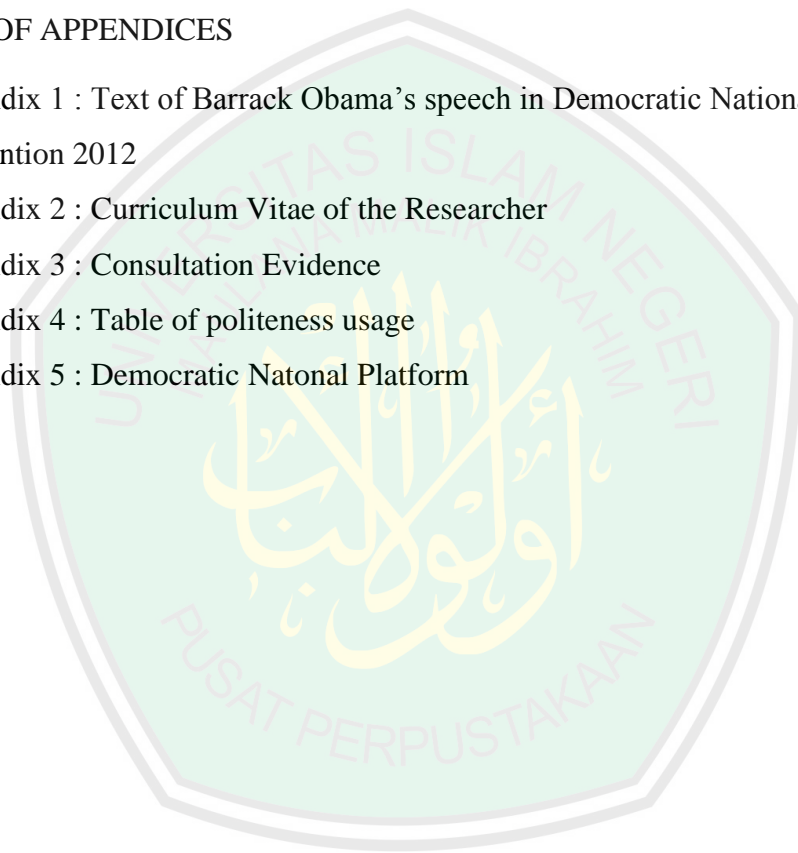
Appendix 1 : Text of Barrack Obama's speech in Democratic National Convention 2012

Appendix 2 : Curriculum Vitae of the Researcher

Appendix 3 : Consultation Evidence

Appendix 4 : Table of politeness usage

Appendix 5 : Democratic National Platform



Appendix 1

Speech Of Barrack Obama

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Thank you. (Sustained cheers, applause.) Thank you. Thank you. Thank you so much.

AUDIENCE MEMBERS: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Thank you.

AUDIENCE MEMBERS: Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Thank you so much. Thank you. Thank you very much, everybody. (Cheers, applause.) Thank you.

Michelle, I love you so much. (Cheers, applause.)

A few nights ago, everybody was reminded just what a lucky man I am. (Cheers, applause.)

Malia and Sasha, we are so proud of you. (Cheers, applause.) And yes, you do have to go to school in the morning. (Chuckles.) (Laughter, applause.)

And Joe Biden, thank you for being the very best vice president I could have ever hoped for — (cheers, applause) — and being a strong and loyal friend.

Madam Chairwoman, delegates, I accept your nomination for president of the United States. (Cheers, applause.)

AUDIENCE MEMBERS: (Chanting.) Four more years! Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Now, the first time I addressed this convention, in 2004, I was a younger man — (laughter) — a Senate candidate from Illinois who spoke about hope, not blind optimism, not wishful thinking but hope in the face of difficulty, hope in the face of uncertainty, that dogged faith in the future which has pushed this nation forward even when the odds are great, even when the road is long.

Eight years later that hope has been tested by the cost of war, by one of the worst economic crises in history and by political gridlock that's left us wondering whether it's still even possible to tackle the challenges of our time. I know campaigns can seem small, even silly sometimes.

Trivial things become big distractions. Serious issues become sound bites. The truth gets buried under an avalanche of money and advertising. And if you're sick of hearing me approve this message, believe me, so am I. (Laughter, cheers, applause.)

But when all is said and done, when you pick up that ballot to vote, you will face the clearest choice of any time in a generation. (Cheers.) Over the next few years big decisions will be made in Washington on jobs, the economy, taxes and deficits, energy, education, war and peace — decisions that will have a huge impact on our lives and on our children's lives for decades to come.

And on every issue, the choice you face won't just be between two candidates or two parties. It will be a choice between two different paths for America, a choice between two fundamentally different visions for the future. Ours is a fight to restore the values that built the largest middle class and the strongest economy the world has ever known — (cheers, applause) — the values my grandfather defended as a soldier in Patton's army,

the values that drove my grandmother to work on a bomber assembly line while he was gone. They knew they were part of something larger — a nation that triumphed over fascism and depression, a nation where the most innovative businesses turn out the world's best products, and everyone shared in that pride and success from the corner office to the factory floor.

My grandparents were given the chance to go to college and buy their home — their own home and fulfill the basic bargain at the heart of America's story, the promise that hard work will pay off, that responsibility will be rewarded, that everyone gets a fair shot and everyone does their fair share and everyone plays by the same rules, from Main Street to Wall Street to Washington, D.C. (Cheers, applause.)

And I ran for president because I saw that basic bargain slipping away. I began my career helping people in the shadow of a shuttered steel mill at a time when too many good jobs were starting to move overseas. And by 2008 we had seen nearly a decade in which families struggled with costs that kept rising but paychecks that didn't, folks racking up more and more debt just to make the mortgage or pay tuition, put gas in the car or food on the table. And when the house of cards collapsed in the Great Recession, millions of innocent Americans lost their jobs, their homes, their life savings, a tragedy from which we're still fighting to recover.

Now, our friends down in Tampa at the Republican convention were more than happy to talk about everything they think is wrong with America. But they didn't have much to say about how they'd make it right. (Cheers, applause.) They want your vote, but they don't want you to know their plan. And that's because all they have to offer is the same prescriptions they've had for the last 30 years. Have a surplus? Try a tax cut. Deficit too high — try another.

Feel a cold coming on? Take two tax cuts, roll back some regulations, and call us in the morning. (Cheers, applause.)

Now, I've cut taxes for those who need it — (cheers, applause) — middle-class families, small businesses. But I don't believe that another round of tax breaks for millionaires will bring good jobs to our shores, or pay down our deficit. I don't believe that firing teachers or kicking students off financial aid will grow the economy — (cheers, applause) — or help us compete with the scientists and engineers coming out of China. After all we've been through, I don't believe that rolling back regulations on Wall Street will help the small-businesswoman expand, or the laid-off construction worker keep his home. We have been there, we've tried that, and we're not going back. We are moving forward, America. (Cheers, applause.)

Now, I won't pretend the path I'm offering is quick or easy. I never have. You didn't elect me to tell you what you wanted to hear. You elected me to tell you the truth. (Cheers, applause.) And the truth is, it will take more than a few years for us to solve challenges that have built up over decades. It'll require common effort, shared responsibility, and the kind of bold, persistent experimentation that Franklin Roosevelt pursued during the only crisis worse than this one. (Cheers, applause.)

And by the way, those of us who carry on his party's legacy should remember that not every problem can be remedied with another government program or dictate from Washington.

But know this, America: Our problems can be solved. (Cheers, applause.) Our challenges can be met. (Applause.) The path we offer may be harder, but it leads to a better place, and I'm asking you to choose that future. (Applause.)

I'm asking you to rally around a set of goals for your country, goals in manufacturing, energy, education, national security and the deficit, real, achievable plans that will lead to new jobs, more opportunity and rebuild this economy on a stronger foundation. That's what we can do in the next four years, and that is why I am running for a second term as president of the United States. (Cheers, applause.)

We can choose a future where we export more products and outsource fewer jobs. After a decade that was defined by what we bought and borrowed, we're getting back to basics and doing what America's always done best. We are making things again. (Applause.) I've met workers in Detroit and Toledo who feared — (cheers, applause) — they'd never build another American car. And today they can't build them fast enough because we reinvented a dying auto industry that's back on the top of the world. (Cheers, applause.) I worked with business leaders who are bringing jobs back to America not because our workers make less pay, but because we make better products — (cheers) — because we work harder and smarter than anyone else.

(Cheers, applause.) I've signed trade agreements that are helping our companies sell more goods to millions of new customers, goods that are stamped with three proud words: "Made in America." (Cheers, applause.)

AUDIENCE MEMBERS: (Chanting.) USA! USA! USA! USA! USA! USA! USA! USA!
USA! USA! USA! USA!

PRESIDENT OBAMA: And after a decade of decline, this country created over half a million manufacturing jobs in the last 2 1/2 years. (Cheers.) And now you have a choice. We can give more tax breaks to corporations that shift jobs overseas —

AUDIENCE MEMBER: No!

PRESIDENT OBAMA: — or we can start rewarding companies that open new plants and train new workers and create new jobs here in the United States of America. (Cheers, applause.) We can help big factories and small businesses double their exports. And if we choose this path, we can create a million new manufacturing jobs in the next four years. You can make that happen. (Cheers, applause.) You can choose that future.

You can choose the path where we control more of our own energy. After 30 years of inaction, we raised fuel standards so that by the middle of the next decade, cars and trucks will go twice as far on a gallon of gas. (Cheers, applause.) We have doubled our use of renewable energy, and thousands of Americans have jobs today building wind turbines and long-lasting batteries. (Cheers, applause.) In the last year alone, we cut oil imports by 1 million barrels a day, more than any administration in recent history. (Cheers, applause.) And today the United States of America is less dependent on foreign oil than at any time in the last two decades. (Cheers, applause.) So now you have a choice between a strategy that reverses this progress or one that builds on it.

We've opened millions of new acres for oil and gas exploration in the last three years, and we'll open more. But unlike my opponent, I will not let oil companies write this country's energy plan or endanger our coastlines or collect another \$4 billion in corporate welfare from our taxpayers. (Cheers, applause.) We're offering a better path.

We're offering a better path where we — a future where we keep investing in wind and solar and clean coal, where farmers and scientists harness new biofuels to power our cars and trucks, where construction workers build homes and factories that waste less energy, where — where we develop a hundred-year supply of natural gas that's right beneath our feet. If you choose this path, we can cut our oil imports in half by 2020 and support more than 600,000 new jobs in natural gas alone. (Cheers, applause.)

And yes, my plan will continue to reduce the carbon pollution that is heating our planet, because climate change is not a hoax. More droughts and floods and wildfires are not a joke. (Cheers, applause.) They are a threat to our children's future.

And in this election, you can do something about it. (Cheers, applause.) You can choose a future where more Americans have the chance to gain the skills they need to compete, no matter how old they are or how much money they have.

Education was the gateway to opportunity for me. (Cheers.) It was the gateway for Michelle. It was — it was the gateway for most of you. And now more than ever it is the gateway to a middle-class life.

For the first time in a generation, nearly every state has answered our call to raise their standards for teaching and learning. (Cheers, applause.) Some of the worst schools in the country have made real gains in math and reading. Millions of students are paying less for college today because we finally took on a system that wasted billions of taxpayer dollars on banks and lenders. (Cheers, applause.)

And now you have a choice. We can gut education, or we can decide that in the United States of America, no child should have her dreams deferred because of a crowded classroom or a crumbling school. No family should have to set aside a college acceptance letter because they don't have the money. (Cheers, applause.) No company should have to look for workers overseas because they couldn't find any with the right skills here at home. (Cheers, applause.) That's not our future. That is not our future. (Cheers, applause.)

A government has a role in this. But teachers must inspire. Principals must lead. Parents must instill a thirst for learning. And students, you've got to do the work. (Cheers, applause.) And together, I promise you we can outeducate and outcompete any nation on earth. (Cheers, applause.)

So help me. Help me recruit a hundred thousand math and science teachers within 10 years and improve early childhood education. (Cheers, applause.) Help give 2 million workers the chance to learn skills at their community college that will lead directly to a job. Help us work with colleges and universities to cut in half the growth of tuition costs over the next 10 years. We can meet that goal together. (Cheers, applause.) You can choose that future for America. (Cheers, applause.) That's our future.

You know, in a world of new threats and new challenges, you can choose leadership that has been tested and proven. Four years ago I promised to end the war in Iraq. We did. (Cheers, applause.) I promised to refocus on the terrorists who actually attacked us on 9/11, and we have. (Cheers, applause.) We've blunted the Taliban's momentum in Afghanistan and in 2014, our longest war will be over. (Cheers, applause.) A new tower rises above the New York skyline, al-Qaida is on the path to defeat and Osama bin Laden is dead. (Cheers, applause.)

And tonight we pay tribute to the Americans who still serve in harm's way. We are forever in debt to a generation whose sacrifice has made this country safer and more respected. We will never forget you, and so long as I'm commander in chief, we will sustain the strongest military the world has ever known. (Cheers, applause.) When you take off the uniform, we will serve you as well as you've served us, because no one who fights for this country should have to fight for a job or a roof over their head or the care that they need when they come home.

Around the world, we've strengthened old alliances and forged new coalitions to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. We've reasserted our power across the Pacific and stood up to China on behalf of our workers. From Burma to Libya to South Sudan, we have advanced the rights and dignity of all human beings — (cheers) — men and women; Christians and Muslims and Jews. (Cheers, applause.)

But for all the progress that we've made, challenges remain. Terrorist plots must be disrupted. Europe's crisis must be contained. Our commitment to Israel's security must not waver, and neither must our pursuit of peace. (Cheers, applause.) The Iranian government must face a world that stays united against its nuclear ambitions. The historic change sweeping across the Arab world must be defined not by the iron fist of a dictator or the hate of extremists, but by the hopes and aspirations of ordinary people who are reaching for the same rights that we celebrate here today. (Cheers, applause.)

So now we have a choice. My opponent and his running mate are new to foreign policy. (Laughter, applause.)

But from all that we've seen and heard, they want to take us back to an era of blustering and blundering that cost America so dearly.

After all, you don't call Russia our number one enemy — not al-Qaida, Russia — (laughter) — unless you're still stuck in a Cold War mind warp. (Cheers, applause.) You might not be ready for diplomacy with Beijing if you can't visit the Olympics without insulting our closest ally.

My opponent — my opponent said that it was tragic to end the war in Iraq. And he won't tell us how he'll end the war in Afghanistan. Well, I have, and I will. (Cheers, applause.) And while my opponent would spend more money on military hardware that our Joint Chiefs don't even want, I will use the money we're no longer spending on war to pay down our debt and put more people back to work — (extended cheers, applause) — rebuilding roads and bridges and schools and runways, because after two wars that have cost us thousands of lives and over a trillion dollars, it's time to do some nation building right here at home. (Cheers, applause.)

You can choose a future where we reduce our deficit without sticking it to the middle class. (Cheers, applause.) Independent experts say that my plan would cut our deficit by \$4 trillion. (Cheers.) And last summer I worked with Republicans in Congress to cut a billion dollars in spending, because those of us who believe government can be a force for good should work harder than anyone to reform it so that it's leaner and more efficient and more responsive to the American people. (Cheers, applause.)

I want to reform the tax code so that it's simple, fair and asks the wealthiest households to pay higher taxes on incomes over \$250,000 — (cheers, applause) — the same rate we had

when Bill Clinton was president, the same rate we had when our economy created nearly 23 million new jobs, the biggest surplus in history and a whole lot of millionaires to boot.

Now, I'm still eager to reach an agreement based on the principles of my bipartisan debt commission. No party has a monopoly on wisdom. No democracy works without compromise. I want to get this done, and we can get it done.

But when Governor Romney and his friends in Congress tell us we can somehow lower our deficits by spending trillions more on new tax breaks for the wealthy, well — (boos) — what'd Bill Clinton call it? You do the arithmetic. (Laughter, cheers, applause.) You do the math.

I refuse to go along with that, and as long as I'm president, I never will. (Cheers, applause.) I refuse to ask middle-class families to give up their deductions for owning a home or raising their kids just to pay for another millionaire's tax cut. (Cheers, applause.) I refuse to ask students to pay more for college or kick children out of Head Start programs to eliminate health insurance for millions of Americans who are poor and elderly or disabled all so those with the most can pay less. I'm not going along with that. (Continued cheers, applause.)

And I will never — I will never turn Medicare into a voucher. (Cheers, applause.) No American should ever have to spend their golden years at the mercy of insurance companies. They should retire with the care and the dignity that they have earned. Yes, we will reform and strengthen Medicare for the long haul, but we'll do it by reducing the cost of health care, not by asking seniors to pay thousands of dollars more.

(Cheers, applause.) And we will keep the promise of Social Security by taking the responsible steps to strengthen it, not by turning it over to Wall Street. (Cheers, applause.)

This is the choice we now face. This is what the election comes down to. Over and over, we've been told by our opponents that bigger tax cuts and fewer regulations are the only way, that since government can't do everything, it should do almost nothing. If you can't afford health insurance, hope that you don't get sick. (Murmurs of disapproval.) If a company releases toxic pollution into the air your children breathe, well, that's the price of progress. If you can't afford to start a business or go to college, take my opponent's advice and borrow money from your parents. (Laughter, mixed cheers and boos, applause.)

You know what, that's not who we are. That's not what this country is about. As Americans, we believe we are endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights, rights that no man or government can take away. We insist on personal responsibility, and we celebrate individual initiative. We're not entitled to success. We have to earn it. We honor the strivers, the dreamers, the risk-takers, the entrepreneurs who have always been the driving force behind our free enterprise system, the greatest engine of growth and prosperity that the world's ever known.

But we also believe in something called citizenship — (cheers, applause) — citizenship, a word at the very heart of our founding, a word at the very essence of our democracy, the idea that this country only works when we accept certain obligations to one another and to future generations.

We believe that when a CEO pays his autoworkers enough to buy the cars that they build, the whole company does better. (Cheers, applause.) We believe that when a family can no longer be tricked into signing a mortgage they can't afford, that family's protected, but so is the value of other people's homes — (cheers, applause) — and so is the entire economy. (Applause.)

We believe the little girl who's offered an escape from poverty by a great teacher or a grant for college could become the next Obama or the scientist who cures cancer or the president of the United States — (cheers, applause) — and it is in our power to give her that chance. (Cheers, applause.)

We know that churches and charities can often make more of a difference than a poverty program alone. We don't want handouts for people who refuse to help themselves, and we certainly don't want bailouts for banks that break the rules. (Cheers, applause.)

We don't think the government can solve all of our problems, but we don't think the government is the source of all of our problems — (cheers, applause) — any more than our welfare recipients or corporations or unions or immigrants or gays or any other group we're told to blame for our troubles — (cheers, applause) — because — because America, we understand that this democracy is ours.

We, the people — (cheers) — recognize that we have responsibilities as well as rights; that our destinies are bound together; that a freedom which asks only, what's in it for me, a freedom without a commitment to others, a freedom without love or charity or duty or patriotism, is unworthy of our founding ideals, and those who died in their defense. (Cheers, applause.)

As citizens, we understand that America is not about what can be done for us. It's about what can be done by us, together — (cheers, applause) — through the hard and frustrating but necessary work of self-government. That's what we believe. So you see, the election four years ago wasn't about me. It was about you. (Cheers, applause.) My fellow citizens — you were the change. (Cheers, applause.)

You're the reason there's a little girl with a heart disorder in Phoenix who'll get the surgery she needs because an insurance company can't limit her coverage. You did that. (Cheers, applause.) You're the reason a young man in Colorado who never thought he'd be able to afford his dream of earning a medical degree is about to get that chance. You made that possible. (Cheers, applause.)

You're the reason a young immigrant who grew up here and went to school here and pledged allegiance to our flag will no longer be deported from the only country she's ever called home — (cheers, applause) — why selfless soldiers won't be kicked out of the military because of who they are or who they love, why thousands of families have finally been able to say to the loved ones who served us so bravely, welcome home. (Cheers, applause.) Welcome home. You did that. You did that. (Cheers, applause.) You did that.

If you turn away now — if you turn away now, if you buy into the cynicism that the change we fought for isn't possible, well, change will not happen. If you give up on the idea that your voice can make a difference, then other voices will fill the void, the lobbyists and special interests, the people with the \$10 million checks who are trying to

buy this election and those who are trying to make it harder for you to vote, Washington politicians who want to decide who you can marry or control health care choices that women should be making for themselves. (Cheers, applause.) Only you can make sure that doesn't happen. Only you have the power to move us forward.

You know, I recognize that times have changed since I first spoke to this convention. Times have changed, and so have I. I'm no longer just a candidate. I'm the president. (Cheers, applause.)

AUDIENCE MEMBERS: Four more years! Four more years!

PRESIDENT OBAMA: And that — and that means I know what it means to send young Americans into battle, for I've held in my arms the mothers and fathers of those who didn't return.

I've shared the pain of families who've lost their homes, and the frustration of workers who've lost their jobs. If the critics are right that I've made all my decisions based on polls, then I must not be very good at reading them. (Laughter.)

And while I'm proud of what we've achieved together — (cheers) — I'm far more mindful of my own failings, knowing exactly what Lincoln meant when he said, "I have been driven to my knees many times by the overwhelming conviction that I had no place else to go." , for I have held in my arms the mothers and fathers of those who didn't return. I've shared the pain of families who've lost their homes, and the frustration of workers who've lost their jobs. If the critics are right that I've made all my decisions based on polls, then I must not be very good at reading them. And while I'm proud of what we've achieved together, I'm far more mindful of my own failings, knowing exactly what Lincoln meant when he said, "I have been driven to my knees many times by the overwhelming conviction that I had no place else to go." (Cheers, applause.)

But as I stand here tonight, I have never been more hopeful about America. (Cheers, applause.) Not because I think I have all the answers. Not because I'm naive about the magnitude of our challenges. I'm hopeful because of you.

The young woman I met at a science fair who won national recognition for her biology research while living with her family at a homeless shelter — she gives me hope. (Cheers, applause.)

The auto worker who won the lottery after his plant almost closed, but kept coming to work every day, and bought flags for his whole town and one of the cars that he built to surprise his wife — he gives me hope.

The family business in Warroad, Minnesota, that didn't lay off a single one of their 4,000 employees when the recession hit — (cheers, applause) — even when their competitors shut down dozens of plants, even when it meant the owner gave up some perks and some pay because they understood that their biggest asset was the community and the workers who had helped build that business — they give me hope. (Cheers, applause.)

I think about the young sailor I met at Walter Reed Hospital still recovering from a grenade attack that would cause him to have his leg amputated above the knee. And six months ago we would watch him walk into a White House dinner honoring those who served in Iran (sic; Iraq) — tall and 20 pounds heavier, dashing in his uniform, with a big grin on his face, sturdy on his new leg. And I remember how a few months after that I

would watch him on a bicycle, racing with his fellow wounded warriors on a sparkling spring day, inspiring other heroes who had just begun the hard path he had traveled. He gives me hope. (Cheers, applause.) He gives me hope.

I don't know what party these men and women belong to. I don't know if they'll vote for me. But I know that their spirit defines us. They remind me, in the words of Scripture, that ours is a future filled with hope. (Cheers.) And if you share that faith with me, if you share that hope with me, I ask you tonight for your vote.

If you reject the notion that this nation's promise is reserved for the few, your voice must be heard in this election. (Cheers, applause.) If you reject the notion that our government is forever beholden to the highest bidder, you need to stand up in this election. (Cheers, applause.)

If you believe that new plants and factories can dot our landscape, that new energy can power our future, that new schools can provide ladders of opportunity to this nation of dreamers, if you believe in a country where everyone gets a fair shot, and everyone does their fair share and everyone plays by the same rules, then I need you to vote this November. (Cheers, applause.)

America, I never said this journey would be easy, and I won't promise that now. Yes, our path is harder, but it leads to a better place. (Cheers.) Yes, our road is longer, but we travel it together. (Cheers.)

We don't turn back. We leave no one behind. (Cheers.) We pull each other up. (Cheers, applause.) We draw strength from our victories. (Cheers, applause.) And we learn from our mistakes. But we keep our eyes fixed on that distant horizon knowing that providence is with us and that we are surely blessed to be citizens of the greatest nation on earth.

Thank you, God bless you and God bless these United States. (Cheers, applause.)

Appendix 2

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name : Akbar Kusuma
Reg. Number : 08320139
Place of Birth : Surabaya
Date of Birth : June, 29th 1987
Address : Desa: Tlogosari Rt.10 Rw.02 Kec: Tirtoyudo. Kab: Malang Jawa Timur 65182
Nationality : Indonesia
Religion : Islam
Sex : Male
Marital Status : Married

Educational Background

1. SDN Jogomulyan 02 Malang (1999)
2. SLTP Al-Munawwariyyah Malang (2002)
3. Pondok Modern Darussalam Gontor (2006)
4. English letter and Language Departement of UIN Maliki Malang (2014)

Organisational Background

1. Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI) (2008-Sekarang)
2. Dewan Pertimbangan Mahasiswa Fakultas (DPMF) Fakultas Humaniora dan Budaya (2010-2011)
3. DPD Tunas Indonesia Raya (TIDAR) Kabupaten Malang (2012-2013)
4. DPD Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia (KNPI) Kabupaten Malang (2013-Sekarang)
5. Pesatuan Mahasiswa Darussalam

Appendix 3



KEMENTERIAN AGAMA
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK
IBRAHIM MALANG
FAKULTAS HUMANIORA
Jl. Gajayana No.50 Malang. Telp (0341)552354, Fax (0341)572553

BUKTI KONSULTASI

Nama Mahasiswa : Akbar Kusuma
Nomor Induk mahasiswa : 08320139
Fakultas/ Jurusan : Humaniora/ Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris
Pembimbing : Dr. Hj. Like Rascova Octaberlina, M.Ed
Judul Skripsi : Politeness Strategy In Barrack Obama Speech In
Democratic National Convention 2012

No	Tanggal	Materi	TTD	
1	20 Maret 2012	Konsul Judul dan Proposal		
2	25 Maret 2012	Revisi Proposal		
3	30 Maret 2012	ACC Proposal		
4	15 November 2012	Konsul BAB I		
5	20 Desember 2012	Revisi BAB I		
6	09 Februari 2013	Konsul BAB II		
7	14 April 2013	Revisi BAB II		
8	21 Oktober 2013	ACC BAB I dan II		
9	16 November 2013	Konsul BAB III		
10	03 April 2014	Revisi BAB III dan Konsul BAB IV		
11	17 April 2014	Revisi BAB I, II, III, dan IV		

12	30 April 2014	ACC BAB I, II, III, dan IV		
13	07 Mei 2014	Konsul Abstract dan Appendices		
14	01 Juni 2014	ACC Skripsi		

Malang, 01 Juni 2014

Dekan

Ketua Jurusan

Fakultas Humaniora

Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris

Dr. Hj. Istiadah, M.A

Dr. Hj. Like Raskova Oktaberlina, M.Ed

NIP 19670313 199203 2 002

NIP 19741025 200801 2 015

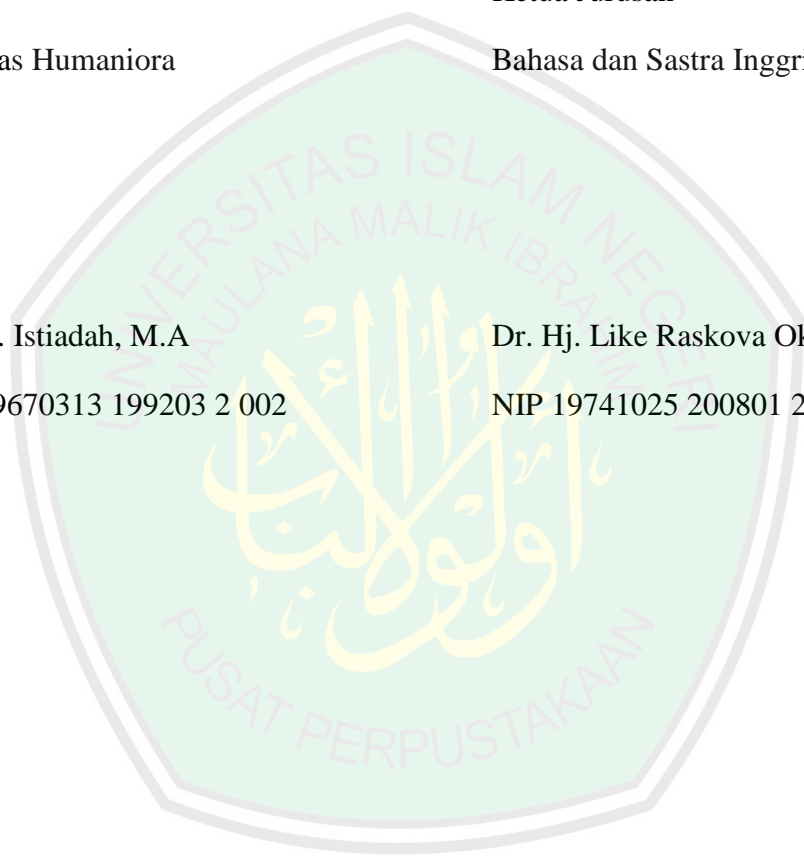


Table 1: List of usage Politeness Strategies used by Barrack Obama in The Democratic National Convention 2012

Data	Strategies			
	Bald on-Record	Positive Politeness	Negative Politeness	Off-Record
<p>Data 1</p> <p>“Michelle, I love you so much. A few nights ago, everybody was reminded just what a lucky man I am”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 2</p> <p>“And Joe Biden, thank you for being the very best vice president I could have ever hoped for, and being a strong and loyal friend”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 3</p> <p>Madam Chairwoman, delegates, I accept your nomination for president of the United States. (Cheers, applause.)</p> <p>AUDIENCE MEMBERS: (Chanting.) Four more years! Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 4</p> <p>“Now, the first time I addressed this convention, in 2004, I was a younger man”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 5</p> <p>“Ours is a fight to restore the values that built the largest middle class and the strongest economy the world has ever known”</p>	√	-	-	-
<p>Data 6</p> <p>“My grandparents were</p>	-	√	-	-

<p>given the chance to go to college and buy their home — their own home and fulfill the basic bargain at the heart of America's story, the promise that hard work will pay off, that responsibility will be rewarded, that everyone gets a fair shot and everyone does their fair share and everyone plays by the same rules, from Main Street to Wall Street to Washington, D.C”</p>				
<p>Data 7</p> <p>“Now, our friends down in Tampa at the Republican convention were more than happy to talk about everything they think is wrong with America. But they didn't have much to say about how they'd make it right”</p>	-	-	-	√
<p>Data 8</p> <p>“Now, I've cut taxes for those who need it — (cheers, applause) — middle-class families, small businesses.”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 9</p> <p>But know this, America: Our problems can be solved. (Cheers, applause.) Our challenges can be met. (Applause.) The path we offer may be harder, but it leads to a better place, and I'm asking you to choose that future. (Applause.)</p>	√	-	-	-
<p>Data 10</p> <p>“I'm asking you to rally around a set of goals for your country, goals in manufacturing, energy, education, national security and the deficit, real, achievable plans that will lead to new jobs,</p>	-	√	-	-

<p>more opportunity and rebuild this economy on a stronger foundation. That's what we can do in the next four years, and that is why I am running for a second term as president of the United States. (Cheers, applause.)”</p>				
<p>Data 11</p> <p>“We can choose a future where we export more products and outsource fewer jobs. After a decade that was defined by what we bought and borrowed, we're getting back to basics and doing what America's always done best. We are making things again. (Applause.) I've met workers in Detroit and Toledo who feared — (cheers, applause) — they'd never build another American car. And today they can't build them fast enough because we reinvented a dying auto industry that's back on the top of the world. I worked with business leaders who are bringing jobs back to America not because our workers make less pay, but because we make better products— because we work harder and smarter than anyone else”</p>	√	√	-	-
<p>Data 12</p> <p>“And in this election, you can do something about it. You can choose a future where more Americans have the chance to gain the skills they need to compete, no matter how old they are or how much money they have ”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 13</p> <p>“. So help me. Help me recruit a hundred thousand math and science teachers within 10 years and improve early childhood education. Help give 2 million</p>	-	√	-	-

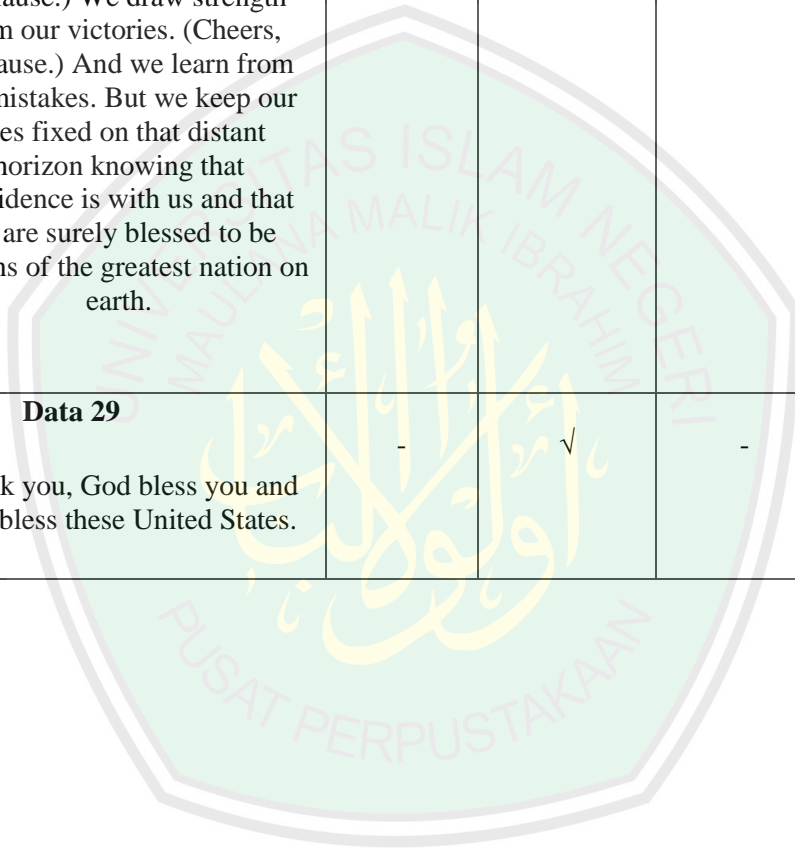
workers the chance to learn skills at their community college that will lead directly to a job. Help us work with colleges and universities to cut in half the growth of tuition costs over the next 10 years.”				
Data 14 “We can meet that goal together. You can choose that future for America. That's our future.”	-	√	-	-
Data 15 “You know, in a world of new threats and new challenges, you can choose leadership that has been tested and proven. Four years ago I promised to end the war in Iraq. We did. I promised to refocus on the terrorists who actually attacked us on 9/11, and we have. We've blunted the Taliban's momentum in Afghanistan and in 2014, our longest war will be over. A new tower rises above the New York skyline, al- Qaida is on the path to defeat and Osama bin Laden is dead. ”	-	-	-	√
Data 16 “And tonight we pay tribute to the Americans who still serve in harm's way. We are forever in debt to a generation whose sacrifice has made this country safer and more respected. We will never forget you, and so long as I'm commander in chief, we will sustain the strongest military the world has ever known. When you take off the uniform, we will serve you as well as you've served us, because no one who fights for this country should have to fight for a job or a roof over their head or the care that they need when they come home.”	-	√	-	√

<p style="text-align: center;">Data 17</p> <p>“But for all the progress that we've made, challenges remain. Terrorist plots must be disrupted. Europe's crisis must be contained. Our commitment to Israel's security must not waver, and neither must our pursuit of peace. The Iranian government must face a world that stays united against its nuclear ambitions. The historic change sweeping across the Arab world must be defined not by the iron fist of a dictator or the hate of extremists, but by the hopes and aspirations of ordinary people who are reaching for the same rights that we celebrate here today”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p style="text-align: center;">Data 18</p> <p>“My opponent — my opponent said that it was tragic to end the war in Iraq. And he won't tell us how he'll end the war in Afghanistan. Well, I have, and I will. And while my opponent would spend more money on military hardware that our Joint Chiefs don't even want, I will use the money we're no longer spending on war to pay down our debt and put more people back to work , rebuilding roads and bridges and schools and runways, because after two wars that have cost us thousands of lives and over a trillion dollars, it's time to do some nation building right here at home”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p style="text-align: center;">Data 19</p> <p>“You can choose a future where we reduce our deficit without sticking it to the middle class. Independent experts say that my plan would cut our deficit by \$4 trillion. And last summer I worked with Republicans in</p>	√	-	-	-

<p>Congress to cut a billion dollars in spending, because those of us who believe government can be a force for good should work harder than anyone to reform it so that it's leaner and more efficient and more responsive to the American people. ”</p>				
<p>Data 20</p> <p>“I refuse to ask students to pay more for college or kick children out of Head Start programs to eliminate health insurance for millions of Americans who are poor and elderly or disabled all so those with the most can pay less. I'm not going along with that. ”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 21</p> <p>“And we will keep the promise of Social Security by taking the responsible steps to strengthen it, not by turning it over to Wall Street”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 22</p> <p>“This is the choice we now face. This is what the election comes down to. Over and over, we've been told by our opponents that bigger tax cuts and fewer regulations are the only way, that since government can't do everything, it should do almost nothing. If you can't afford health insurance, hope that you don't get sick. (Murmurs of disapproval.) If a company releases toxic pollution into the air your children breathe, well, that's the price of progress. If you can't afford to start a business or go to college, take my opponent's advice and borrow money from your parents”</p>	√	-	-	√
<p>Data 23</p> <p>“But we also believe in something called citizenship —</p>	-	√	-	-

<p>citizenship, a word at the very heart of our founding, a word at the very essence of our democracy, the idea that this country only works when we accept certain obligations to one another and to future generations”</p>				
<p>Data 24</p> <p>“We don't think the government can solve all of our problems, but we don't think the government is the source of all of our problems— any more than our welfare recipients or corporations or unions or immigrants or gays or any other group we're told to blame for our troubles — because America, we understand that this democracy is ours”</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 25</p> <p>I don't know what party these men and women belong to. I don't know if they'll vote for me. But I know that their spirit defines us. They remind me, in the words of Scripture, that ours is a future filled with hope. And if you share that faith with me, if you share that hope with me, I ask you tonight for your vote.</p>	√	√	-	-
<p>Data 26</p> <p>If you reject the notion that this nation's promise is reserved for the few, your voice must be heard in this election. If you reject the notion that our government is forever beholden to the highest bidder, you need to stand up in this election.</p>	-	-	-	√
<p>Data 27</p>				

<p>America, I never said this journey would be easy, and I won't promise that now. Yes, our path is harder, but it leads to a better place. Yes, our road is longer, but we travel it together.</p>	-	√	-	-
<p>Data 28</p> <p>We don't turn back. We leave no one behind. (Cheers.) We pull each other up. (Cheers, applause.) We draw strength from our victories. (Cheers, applause.) And we learn from our mistakes. But we keep our eyes fixed on that distant horizon knowing that providence is with us and that we are surely blessed to be citizens of the greatest nation on earth.</p>	-	-	√	-
<p>Data 29</p> <p>Thank you, God bless you and God bless these United States.</p>	-	√	-	-



Democratic National Platform

Four years ago, Democrats, independents, and many Republicans came together as Americans to move our country forward. We were in the midst of the greatest economic crisis since the Great Depression, the previous administration had put two wars on our nation's credit card, and the American Dream had slipped out of reach for too many.

Today, our economy is growing again, al-Qaeda is weaker than at any point since 9/11, and our manufacturing sector is growing for the first time in more than a decade. But there is more we need to do, and so we come together again to continue what we started. We gather to reclaim the basic bargain that built the largest middle class and the most prosperous nation on Earth – the simple principle that in America, hard work should pay off, responsibility should be rewarded, and each one of us should be able to go as far as our talent and drive take us.

This election is not simply a choice between two candidates or two political parties, but between two fundamentally different paths for our country and our families.

We Democrats offer America the opportunity to move our country forward by creating an economy built to last and built from the middle out. Mitt Romney and the Republican Party have a drastically different vision. They still believe the best way to grow the economy is from the top down – the same approach that benefited the wealthy few but crashed the economy and crushed the middle class. Democrats see a young country continually made stronger by the greatest diversity of talent and ingenuity in the world, and a nation of people drawn to our shores from every corner of the globe. We believe America can succeed because the American people have never failed and there is nothing that together we cannot accomplish.

Reclaiming the economic security of the middle class is the challenge we must overcome today. That begins by restoring the basic values that made our country great, and restoring for everyone who works hard and plays by the rules the opportunity to find a job that pays the bills, turn an idea into a profitable business, care for your family, afford a home you call your own and health care you can count on, retire with dignity and respect, and, most of all, give your children the kind of education that allows them to dream even bigger and go even further than you ever imagined.

This has to be our North Star – an economy that's built not from the top down, but from a growing middle class, and that provides ladders of opportunity for those working hard to join the middle class.

This is not another trivial political argument. It's the defining issue of our time and at the core of the American Dream. And now we stand at a make-or-break moment, and are faced with a choice between moving forward and falling back. The Republican Party has turned its back on the middle class Americans who built this country. Our opponents believe we should go back to the top-down economic policies of the last decade. They think that if we simply eliminate protections for families and consumers, let Wall Street write its own rules again, and cut taxes for the wealthiest, the market will solve all our problems on its own. They argue that if we help corporations and wealthy investors maximize their profits by whatever means necessary, whether through layoffs or outsourcing, it will automatically translate into jobs and prosperity that benefits us all. They would repeal health reform, turn Medicare into a voucher program, and follow the same path of fiscal irresponsibility of the past administration – giving trillions of dollars in tax cuts weighted towards millionaires and billionaires while sticking the middle class with the bill. But we've tried their policies – and we've all suffered when they failed. It is

not enough to go back to where the country was before the crisis. We must rebuild a strong foundation that ensures it never happens again.

Democrats know that America prospers when we're all in it together. We see an America where everyone has a fair shot, does their fair share, and plays by the same rules. We see an America that out-educates, out-builds, and out-innovates the rest of the world.

We see an America with greater economic security and opportunity, driven by education, energy, innovation and infrastructure, and a tax code that helps to create American jobs and bring down the debt in a balanced way. We believe in deficit reduction not by placing the burden on the middle class and the poor, but by cutting out programs we can't afford and asking the wealthiest to again contribute their fair share.

These values are why we enacted historic health care reform that provides economic security for families and enacted sweeping financial reform legislation that will prevent the recklessness that cost so many their jobs, homes, and savings. They're why we rescued the auto industry and revived our manufacturing supply chain. They're why we helped American families who are working multiple jobs and struggling to pay the bills save a little extra money through tax cuts, lower health care costs, and affordable student loans.

They're why we fought to reclaim the value of treating all Americans with dignity and respect. And they're why President Barack Obama has ended one war and is responsibly drawing down another. They're why we're restoring our alliances and image around the world and pursuing a foreign policy that's making us safer.

But there is more to be done. We knew that renewing the American Dream wouldn't be easy – we knew it would take more than one year, or one term, or even one president.

The problems we're facing right now have been more than a decade in the making. We are the party of inclusion and respect differences of perspective and belief. And so, even when we disagree, we work together to move this country forward. But what is holding our nation back is a stalemate in Washington between two fundamentally different views of which direction America should take.

We must keep moving forward and doing the hard work of rebuilding a strong economy by betting on the American worker and investing in a growing middle class. We need a government that stands up for the hopes, values, and interests of working people, and gives everyone willing to work hard the chance to make the most of their God-given potential.