DISCOURSE MARKERS USED BY OBAMA AND ROMNEY IN THE FIRST OF PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DENVER IN 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)*

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2013

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I state that this thesis entitled *Discourse Markers Used by Obama and Romney in the First of Presidential Debate at the University of Denver in 2012* is truly my original work. It does not incorporate any materials previously written or published by another person except those indicated in quotations and in bibliography. I am the only person who is responsible for this thesis if there is any objection or claim from others.

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мотто

مَن كَانَ يُرِيدُ الْعِزَّةَ فَلِلَّهِ الْعِزَّةُ جَمِيعاً إِلَيْهِ يَصْعَدُ الْكَلِمُ الطَّيِّبُ

وَالْعَمَلُ الصَّالِحُ يَرْفَعُهُ وَالَّذِينَ يَمْكُرُونَ السَّيِّئَاتِ لَهُمْ عَذَابٌ

شَدِيدٌ وَمَكْرُ أُوْلَئِكَ هُوَ يَبُورُ

Whoever desires might, then to Allah belongs the might wholly. To Him do ascend the goodly words, and the goodly deed – He exalts it. And those who plan evil – for them is a severe chastisement. And their plan will perish.

(FAATHIR: 10)

DEDICATION

This thesis is especially dedicated to my beloved parents:

My father, Ach. Rotibul Haddad

My Mother, Suhartini

My sisters Evi Fahrunnisa' and Rofina Fauziah

For their endless loves, prayers and supports

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Malang, ... September 2013

The writer

ABSTRACT

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Keywords: Discourse Marker, Marker of information Management, Marker of Response, Discourse Connectives, Markers of Cause and Results, Temporal Adverb, Information and Participation.

Discourse markers are a linguistic devise that speakers use to signal how the upcoming unit of speech or text relates to the current discourse state (Schiffrin, 1987). It means that discourse markers are elements such as, *you know, I mean*, and *well* which provide remarks to show the way the utterance indicates how the speaker intends to relate the message to the previous discourse. Schiffrin (1987) stated the important thing of analyzing discourse markers is to know how speakers and hearers jointly integrate forms, meaning, and actions to make overall sense out of what is said.

This study intends to understand and describe discourse markers used by Obama and Romney in the first of presidential debate at the University of Denver in 2012, consequently, the researcher used descriptive qualitative.

There were several steps to analyze. First, the data is classified according to the types of discourse marker and discourse connective are used. Second, the functions of discourse markers of every datum are analyzed. The next step was discussing the findings and finally drawing conclusion of the analysis.

The finding of this study, finds Obama and Romney used six discourse markers. The first *well* is marker of response uses to disagree, reject. Second marker of *and* is marker of connectives used to coordinate ideas and to continue speaker's action in the spoken language. The third *but* marker of connectives used to marks an upcoming unit as contracting action. Obama and Romney also used the word *so* as marker of result which convey a meaning of result. *Because is* included into marker cause used to convey a meaning of cause. The last one is marker of *you know* which has functions as encourages addresses to think about the comprehensibility of what has just be said and it also used when the speaker want to show the hearer something important and new expectation.

Marker of *well* was dominant used by Obama and Romney because they always defend their opinion by reject and disagree to other opinion during debate. It can be concluded that in debate marker of *well* will used more dominant than others.

The researcher suggests that future researchers conduct similar theme of study with more complete data and description. They can use others theories to analyze the same theme.

ABSTRACT

Munawaroh, Lailiyatul. 2013. Penanda Wacana yang Digunakan oleh Obama dan Romney dalam Debat Kepresidenan Pertama yang dilakukan di Universitas Denver Pada Tahun 2012. Skripsi. Jurusan Bahasa dan Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Humaniora. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang. Pembimbing: Drs H. Djoko Susanto, M.Ed., Ph.D

Kata Kunci: Discourse Marker, Marker of information Management, Marker of Response, Discourse Connectives, Markers of Cause and Results, Temporal Adverb, Information and Participation.

Penanda Wacana adalah Gaya bahasa atau ciri khas yang digunakan oleh Pembicara sebagai Penanda bahwa ungkapan yang akan disampaikan oleh pembicara berhubungan dengan pernyataan pembicara yang telah disampaikan sebelumnya (Schriffrin, 1987). Ini menunjukkan bahwa Penanda Wacana adalah kata-kata seperti: *Oh, Kamu tahu,* Menurut ku, *Baiklah* yang mana digunakan olen penutur atau pembicara sebagai penanda untuk menunjukkan ungkapan yang akan di sampaikan itu berhubungan dengan pesan yang telah disampaikan pada ungkapan sebelumnya. Schriffrin (1987) mengungkapkan bahwa masalah terpenting ketika menganalisis Penanda Wacana adalah mengetahui bagaimana penutur memadukan cara berbicara dan maksud pembicaraan sehingga pendengar bisa mengidentifikasi maksud pembicaraan dan pembicaraan tersebut bisa di mengerti oleh kedua belah pihak (penutur dan pendengar).

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk Memahami dan mendeskripsikan Penanda Wacana yang digunakan oleh Obama dan Romney pada debat kepresidenan pertama di Universitas Denver pada tahun 2012. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode descriptive qualitative.

Ada beberapa langkah penelitian. Pertama, data di kelompokkan berdasarkan Jenis Penanda Wacana dan Kata penghubung yang digunakan berdasarkan teori schriffrin. Kemudian data dianalisis berdasarkan jenis dan fungsi Penanda Wacana dan kata penghubung yang digunakan. Kontek ungkapan juga disediakan untuk mengetahui maksud pembicara. kemudian, kesimpulan ditulis berdasarkan hasil data analysis untuk menjawab kerangka masalah.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Obama dan Romney menggunakan enam penanda Wacana. Pertama adalah *Baiklah* adalah Penanda bahasa yang digunakan untuk merespon ketidak setujuan atau penolakan. Kedua adalah *dan* adalah penanda Wacana yang digunakan sebaga kata penghubung untuk menghubungkan ide dalam Ujaran. Ketiga adalah *tetapi* sebagai kata penghubung yang digunakan untuk nenandai ide yang berlawanan. Obama dan Romney juga menggunakan penanda wacana *jadi* sebagai kata penghubung yang menandai hasil. Penanda bahasa yang kelima adalah *karena* yang menunjukkan sebab melakukan suatu tindakan. Terakhir adalah penanda wacana *Kamu tahu* yang digunakan ketika pembicara ingin menunjukkan sesuatu yang penting atau mengungkapkan harapan.

Dalam penelitian ini, Penanda wacana *baiklah* paling sering digunakan oleh Obama dan Romney karena mereka selalu mempertahankan opini mereka dengan cara menolak atau tidak setuju terhadap opini lawan debat.

Peneliti menganjurkan kepada peneliti selanjutnya untuk melakukan penelitian yang sama dengan data dan pemaparan yang lebih lengkap. Peneliti selanjutnya juga bisa menggunakan teori lain dalam penelitian.

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents background of the study, research problems, and objectives of the study, significant of the study, scope and limitation, definition of the key terms, and research method.

1.1 Background of the Study

Discourse markers plays an important role in understanding discourse and information progression (Schiffrin, 1987).Discourse markers are a linguistic devise that speakers use to signal how the upcoming unit of speech or text relates to the current discourse state (Schiffrin, 1987). Redeker (1990) also defines discourse marker as language expression used to signal the relation between the utterance to its immediate context which the primary function bringing to the listener attention a particular kind of linkage of the upcoming utterance with the immediate discourse context. It means that discourse markers are elements, such as *you know*, *I mean*, and *well* which provide remarks to show the way the utterance indicates how the speaker intends to relate the message to the previous discourse. Schiffrin (1987) stated the important thing of analyzing discourse markers is to know how speakers and hearers jointly integrate forms, meaning, and actions to make overall sense out of what is said.

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Discourse markers have certain features which distinguish them from other language units. One common feature of discourse markers is that they often (but not exclusively) occur at the beginning of sentences in order to connect one idea to the previous discourse (Schiffrin 1987:31). Another common feature of discourse markers is that they are mostly conjunctions, adverbs or prepositional phrases (Fraser 1999:943), but there are also discourse markers such as you know and I mean which are difficult to categorize (Schiffrin 1987:40). Furthermore, discourse markers are said to form a pragmatic class, as they contribute to the interpretation of an utterance within a specific context. Such as, discourse markers have an emotive, rather than a referential, function (Carstens 1997). Schiffrin (1987:320-321) states that if discourse markers are not present, there could be one of many relationships between two utterances. When discourse markers are used, however, there can only be one possible relationship between the two utterances. Another feature of discourse markers is that, on their own, they do not have any social and/or expressive meaning. Rather, they must be interpreted in context and more specifically, within a specific utterance (Schiffrin 1987:318). A last, discourse markers can perform different functions (Muller 2005:8-9).

Several researchers are interested in investigating discourse markers. Bolden (2009) analysed discourse markers *so*. Bolden found that *so* is used to convey that the upcoming course of action is emerging from incipiency and has been on the interactional agenda. In other words, *so* is one solution available to the interlocutors for dealing with a common interactional problem: how to show that the current utterance is occasioned by something other than the immediately

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preceding talk. *So* helps answer the question 'why that now' by instructing the recipients to understand the current turn by reference to some pending interactional agenda. Thus, this discourse marker is a resource for establishing discourse coherence and, more fundamentally, accomplishing understanding.

Wafa (2009) focused on discourse markers used by James Bond's in dialogues Casino Royale Movie. In terms of discourse markers, Bond uses first marker of *oh* to indicate a marker of Information Management as exclamation or interjection. It shows strong emotional states. Second marker of *well* is a marker of response as preface utterances which is to reject and disagree with the content the foregoing discourse. Third, marker of *and* is discourse connectives. Bond used it to coordinate ideas and to continue a speaker's action in spoken language. Fourth, marker of *so* is a marker of *cause* and results. Bond used it to convey a meaning of result. Fifth, marker of *then* is temporal adverb. Bond used it to make a relationship between the time at which a proposition is assumed to be true. Sixth, marker of *you know* is marker of information. Bond used it to encourage the addresses to think about the comprehensibility of what has just been uttered. Wafa, however, did not found data of markers or *now* and *because*.

The present study examines some discourse markers and discourse connectives made between Obama and Romney in the presidential debate at the University of Denver in 2012. This presidential debate is taken as the object of this research because of some reasons: first, in debate people speak to convey their ideas and facts. They also have to oppose. In a debate, candidates state and defend their positions on major issues. Debate is natural conversation (Stubbs, 1983:33). In this debate, Both candidate are influential figure and the language used have great effect to others. In the first debate, there are crucial issues debated by Obama and Romney. The debate was very interesting since both of candidates frequently criticize the opponent; moreover it contains many discourse markers relevant to this research. While previous researchers have looked at discourse markers used by the characters in the movie. The present study examines some discourse markers in the presidential debate. The present study used Shiffrin's theory to analyze discourse markers and discourse connectives.

1.2 Research Questions

In line with the background of study explained above, this research is conducted to answer these following questions:

- 1. What are discourse markers and discourse connectives used by Obama and Romney in the first Presidential Debate at The University of Denver?
- 2. What are the functions of discourse markers and discourse connectives used by Obama and Romney in the first Presidential Debate at The University of Denver?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are described as follows:

 To find out the discourse markers and discourse connectives used by Obama in the first Presidential Debate at The University of Denver. To describe the functions discourse markers and discourse connectives used by Obama and Romney in the first Presidential Debate at The University of Denver.

1.4 Significances of the Study

The significances of this study is to contribute knowledge on the discourse markers and discourse connectives used by Obama and Romney in their presidential debate. The result of this study is relevant for the next researcher who are interested in doing further research in this area.

1.5 Scope and Limitation

As mentioned earlier, this study examines the use of discourse markers and discourse connectives by Obama and Romney in the first of Presidential Debate. The analysis only focuses on the utterances including discourse markers *well, oh, so, because, and you know,* and discourse connectives, *and* and *but,* other utterances which are not related to the theme will not be discussed.

1.6 Definition of the Key terms

To avoid misinterpretation, the key terms used in this study need to be clarified.

1. Discourse markers :

Discourse Markers are elements, such as *you know, I mean*, and *well* which provide remarks to show the way the utterance indicates how the speaker intent to relate the message to the previous discourse. (Fraser, 1990)

1.7 Research Method

This chapter discusses the research methods, which consists of subjects of the study, data sources, instruments for collecting data, and data analysis.

1.7.1 Research Design

In conducting this research, descriptive qualitative method is used. This research describes how discourse markers and discourse connectives are used by Obama and Romney in The First Presidential Debate at The University of Denver in 2012. Qualitative approach is used it involves several characteristics. First, the data is the form of words uttered by Obama and Romney. Second, this research uses human as primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Third, the purpose of this research is to get understanding and deep information on how discourse markers and discourse connectives are used by the US President candidate in the debate at The University Of Denver in 2012.

In addition, this research used discourse analysis approach particularly discourse markers and discourse connectives that focuses on the function of discourse markers and discourse connectives .

1.7.2 Data and Data Sources

The data of this study are taken from the Presidential Debate between Obama and Romney at The University of Denver in 2012. The data of this study include the use of discourse markers found in Presidential Debate between Obama and Romney. A special attention is paid to the occurrences of discourse markers *well, oh, so, and, but, because, and you know.* The data was taken from the website <u>http://www.npr.org/2012/10/01/162258551/transcript-first-obama-</u> <u>romney-presidential-debate</u>.

1.7.3 Research Instrument

The researcher is the main instrument for gathering and analyzing the data. Another instrument is also used to support analyzing the data: video debate between Obama and Romney in the presidential debate in 2012, and the transcript of the debate.

1.7.4 Data Collection

There are several steps to collects the data. First, the researcher browsed online the video and script of debate between Obama and Romney at the University of Denver in 2012. The second step, the researchers read the script and check into the Video. Then she identified the debate that contain discourse markers and discourse connectives. After that, the data are categorized based on the questions mentioned in chapter 1. The data were analyzed based on based on schriffin's theory.

1.7.5 Data Analysis

The data analysis was started by categorizing the data based on the sub sections. After that the data were classified according to the types of discourse marker and discourse connectives used. Next, the data were analyzed based on their types and functions of discourse markers and discourse connectives, such as marker of information management, marker of response, discourse connectives, markers of cause and results, temporal adverb and the last markers information and participation. The context of the utterances is also considered to understand what the speakers actually means; who speaks what? with whom? For what purpose?. Then, a conclusion is drawn based on the result of the data analysis to answer the research problems.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter presents the concept of discourse markers, function of discourse markers, marker of information management, marker of response, discourse connectives, markers of cause and results, temporal adverb, information and participation.

2.1 Discourse Markers

As has been mentioned in chapter 1, discourse marker is linguistic expressions used to signal the relationship of an utterance to its immediate context, with the primary function of bringing to the listener's attention a particular kind of linkage of the upcoming utterance with the immediate discourse context (Redeker:1990). According to Fraser (1990 :.383-395) discourse markers are practical markers which provide a remarks on the following utterance; that is they show the way of an utterance and indicate how the speaker intends basic message to relate to the previous discourse. Therefore, discourse markers are used as pointer of chronological discourse in social interaction.On the other hand, Schiffrin (1994 : 46) said that, the important thing of the analysis on discourse markers is to know how speakers and hearers jointly integrate forms, meaning, and actions to make overall sense out of what is said. Blakemore (2006 : 232) defines discourse markers in terms of their function in establishing connectivity in discourse. Connectivity could be understood either as coherence or cohesion which mark text connections at different levels. Following Blakemore's (2006: 234) definition, coherence is a cognitive notion which represents the hearer's integration of the received information/ propositions into the larger representation of a text. Cohesion, however, implies the structural connection between different units of a text as well as between different texts (Fraser, in Blakemore 2006: 232).

2.3. Function of Discourse Markers

The fundamental point of view concerning with the discourse markers is that, discourse markers such as *well, oh*, and *you know* are one set of linguistic items that function in cognitive, communicative, social, and textual domains. Fraser (1990) proposed that discourse markers are practical markers which provide a remarks on the following utterance; that is they show the way of an utterance and indicate how the speaker intends basic message to relate to the previous discourse. Therefore, discourse markers are used as pointer of chronological discourse in social interaction .Matei (2010) concluded the following list of discourse markers goes from the general functions to the particular ones. Based on his explanation, the lists of functions have been mentioned in the literature (Schiffrin, 1987, 2006; Blakemore, 2006; Müller, 2005; Murar, 2008; Downing, 2006; Eggins, 2004). 1. Discourse markers contribute to or highlight cohesion and coherence relations in discourse.

As opposed to other cohesive devices such as conjunctions, discourse markers involve speaker choice. Conjunctions have an inherent meaning that determines their almost automatic selection especially by native speakers. However, with a discourse marker that is known to be able to fulfill a number of functions, it becomes a matter of how the speaker chooses to construct meaning. In other words, it is a matter of selecting the most appropriate sign that could accommodate the desired pragmatic meaning.

2. Discourse markers act as constraints on relevance.

It can perhaps refer to two types of relevance, discursive and contextual, connected to Halliday's (qtd. In Eggins 9) three variables of *field* (the social activity in which the speakers are involved or the subject matter of the text), *tenor* (the social distance (power and solidarity) between the participants in the speech event and which determines the degree of familiarity in the wording) and *mode* (is concerned with the medium (spoken, written) by means of which the text is expressed as well as with the amount of feedback) of discourse. Generally (except for deviant cases involving chronic social inadaptability of speakers, mental illness, etc.) discourse markers are used in accordance with the three variables mentioned above thus constraining the discursive and contextual relevance of the discourse they bracket.

3. Markers guide the interpretation process of the hearer towards a desire meaning.

This function involves the speaker's indicating the hearer, by means of discourse markers, the correct inferential path that has to be taken in view of a correct understanding of the message.

4. They have an interactive or expressive function

This function covers such aspects as politeness, face-saving or face threatening uses of markers, turn-taking related uses of DMs, signaling emotional involvement of speakers in their contribution.

5. Discourse markers have a deictic or indexical function

This function indicates the discourse markers' ability to show the relationship that is to be established by the hearer between prior and ensuing discourse.

6. They are functional elements of discourse management

In the sense that they are used in initiating discourse (e.g. *now*, *now then*, *so*, *indeed*), marking a boundary or a shift, serve as a filler (e.g. *em*, *well*, *like*), used as delaying tactic and markers can also be used in holding or claiming the floor (e.g. *and*, *coz* – *because*), focusing attention (e.g. *look*), diverting (e.g. *well*), reformulating (e.g. *in other words*, *I mean*, *actually*) and resuming (e.g. *to sum up*).

 Discourse markers are used to express shared knowledge or common ground between speakers

By means of this function which has been termed as *grounding*, discourse markers are used to display other-attentiveness. The latter can be achieved by the permanent verification of the listener's understanding of information (e.g. *you*

see, got it) or by showing awareness that the communicated proposition represents common knowledge (e.g. *you know, indeed*).

 Discourse markers are used in responses to signal the hearer's attention and involvement.

A function which can be fulfilled by markers such as *okay*, *right*, *I see*, *all right*, etc. Minimal responses such as *mhm* can also be included in this category.

Based on the general function above, the researcher give priority to the function provided by Schifrin (1984). There are six functions of discourse markers. Those are Marker of Information Management, Marker of Response, Discourse Connectives, Markers of Cause and Results, Markers of Temporal Adverb and marker of Information and Participation.

2.3.1. Oh Marker of Information Management

The first is discourse marker *oh*. The explanation of discourse markers *oh* is not clearly based on semantic meaning or grammatical status. *Oh* is traditionally viewed as an exclamation of interjection. When it use alone, without the syntactic support of a sentence, *oh* is said to indicate strong emotional states, e.g. surprise, fear or pain. For examples:

Speaker 1 : Was that interesting games?

Speaker 2 : *oh* ! yes! It was

It can also initiate utterances, followed either by a brief pause or without pause preceding the rest of the tone unit. For example:

Speaker 1 : *Oh*, they will know later on.

Speaker 2: *Do not they go to the party? Oh maybe there are too old.*

Marker of *oh* is a marker of information management covers *oh* in repair and *oh* in the status of information. *Oh* in repair can be divided into two parts, which are repair initiation and repair completion. While in information status, *oh* mark to changes, which are the recognition of familiar information and the receipt of new information (Schffrin 1994 :74).

So *oh* is a marker of information management: it marks shifts in speaker's orientation to information which occurs as speakers and hearers manage the flow of information produced and received during discourse. Orientation shifts affect the overall information of state of a conversation: the distribution of knowledge about entities, events, and situations. Although *oh* is a number of cognitive tasks, its use may have pragmatic effects in interaction.

1.3.2. Well Marker of Response

The use of *well* is not based on semantic meaning or grammatical status. Although *well* sometimes is a noun, an adverb or degree word, its use in utterance initial position is difficult to characterize in terms based on any of these classes. We can see some placements of *well*. The usual dialogic functions identified for *well* as a discourse marker are used in the beginning of utterances which reject, cancel or disagree with the content or tenor of the foregoing discourse. *Well* often begins turns, serving as a left hand discourse bracket. This is one example of *well*: Speaker 1 : *Where you would like to teach? If you have choose your favorite spot what is that?*

Speaker 2 : Uh, well I like Japan.

Well can occur in request for confirmation although it is a bit harder to identity. Such requests are often identifiable because of the information status assumed to hold at the time of speaking, that is, speaker or hearer knowledge and meta-knowledge. This is, if a speaker makes a statement about an event about which a hearer is expected to have knowledge as request for confirmation, then, are statements about the hearer's past life, abilities, likes and dislikes, knowledge, and so on. For examples:

Speaker 1: And my father has been working for the government company. Speaker 2: So your father must like them as an employer then. Speaker 1: Well my father likes his job, now.

2.3.3. Discourse Connectives And, But, Or

There are three kinds of discourse connective they are *and*, *but* and *or*. The first item of this kind of marker is *and*. The word *and* is use to coordinate ideas and to continue a speaker's action in spoken language, it is considered as marker when it connects narrative sections, action, or turns. However, *and* is not considered as a marker when it connects nouns (e.g. *I bought book and pencil yesterday*) and verb phrases (e.g. *I went to the beach and Swam in the ocean*) since the conjoined unites in such cases were not discourse units but clause internal constituents. (Schffrin 1984:152)

This is the example of *and* as a marker:

Speaker : I go on trips with 'em, I bring 'em here, we have supper, or dinner here, **and** I don't see any problem because I'm workin' with college graduates

The second item of connective marker is *but*. Although *but* is a discourse coordinator (like *and*), it has a very pragmatic effect: *but* marks an upcoming unit as a contrasting action, because this effect is based on its contrastive meaning, the range of ideational uses of *but* is considerably narrower that of *and*, for examples: **Speaker :** *we started everything, and we're – we're infidels? We're pagans?*

Where does that come off? That doesn't add up! **But**, in my father's house, we were not taught hate.

The third item of connective marker is *or*. *Or* is used as an option marker in discourse. It differs from *and* and *but* not only in meaning, because it is move hearer-directed: whereas *and* marks a speaker's continuation, and *but* a speaker's return to a point, or marks a speaker's provision of options to hearer. *Or* is used as an option for a marker in discourse: it provides with a choice between accepting only one member of disjunct or both members of disjunct. Thus, or is fundamentally different from and and but because it is not a marker of a speaker's action toward his own talk, but of a speaker's desire for a hearer to take action. For example:

Speaker : Its how there's an economic situation then they use race. **Or** they use nationality, **or** anti Semitism, **or** what have you.

2.3.4. Markers of Cause and Results

Another different set of marker are *so* and *because*. They are called marker of cause and result. They can mark idea units, information states, and action. They have semantic meanings, which are realized at both sentence and discourse levels. *Because* conveys a meaning of course or event, and *so* conveys a meaning of result. A fact-based causal relation between *cause* and *result* hold between idea units, such as between the events, states, and so on. The following example will show a fact-based relation marked by *so* and *because*: (Schffrin 1984 :157).

Speaker: Well we were going up to see our son to night, but we're not seeing the younger one's gonna come for dinner **because** he's working in theneighborhood. **So** that's out.

So and because are grammatical signals of main or subordinate clauses respectively, and this grammatical difference is reflected in their discourse use: because is a marker of subordinate idea units, and so is a complementary marker of main idea units. It is important to define 'subordinate' and 'main' in discourse. Such designations depend on both the functional and referential organization of talk. From a functional perspective, subordinate material is that which has a secondary role in relation to a more encompassing focus of joint attention and activity. From a referential perspective, subordinate material is that which is not as relevant in and of it, as it is to a more global topic of talk. For example, so and because may show a fairly clear differentiation of main by from subordinate material.

2.3.5.Now and Then Markers of Temporal Adverb

Deictic elements relate an utterance to its person, space and time coordinates. *Now* and *then* are time deictic because they convey a relationship between the time at which a proposition is assumed to be true, and the time at which it is presented in an utterance. Before we go further, let us discuss about the different between reference time and event time first. Reference time refers to the deictic relationship between proposition and it speaking time (Schffrin1984 :160). For examples:

- **Speaker :** *Ok. I can see that I've convinced you. Now go find the next random bad guy who will advance the plot.34*
- Speaker : Reaching the shore, he dumps Bond Girl in the arms of a puzzledlooking guy with a sailor costume of some sort, then goes back to follow the EvilMastermind. He tracks him back to a private jet that is about to take off.

Now occurs in discourse in which the speaker progresses through a cumulative series of subordinate unit. The discourse in which *now* occurs need not be explicitly structured or identified as having two subordinate units. *Now* occurs not only when the comparison is explicitly identified as having two clearly introduced subtopics, but also when the subtopics under comparison are only implicit. For example:

Speaker : They aren't brought up the same way. Now Italian people are very outgoing. They're very generous. When they put a meal on the table it's a meal.

Now, these boys were Irish.

They lived different.

2.3.6. You know, I mean Marker of Information and Participation

The last markers whose literal meanings directly influence their discourse use are *you know* and *I mean*. Schiffrin believes that the basic meaning of *I mean* is to forewarn upcoming adjustments. Unlike *um* and *uh* which represent pauses, the term *you know* do not represent natural pauses in speech. Marker *you know* is cognitively process and used by speaker. Marker *you know* encourages addresses to think about the comprehensibility of what has just been said (Schiffrin1987: 167). *You know* functions as the first information and participant marker. The literal meaning of expression *you know* suggests the function of *you know* in information status. *You* is a second pronoun and it is also used as an indefinite general pronoun similar to one. *Know* refers to the cognitive state in which one has the information about something.

This is example of *I mean* and *you know*:

Speaker : How do you get on with this fellow hart? I mean he is a nice fellow normally, but he is a hell of a big head in some ways you know Reynard.

Heeman and Byron (1997) proposed that discourse marker also known as cue words are used extensively in human-human task-oriented dialogs to signal the structure of the discourse. A speaker's choice of discourse marker in turn-initial position helps the listener develop an expectation of the discourse intent of the upcoming utterance. Heeman and Byron Also discussed some Discourse markers:

1. Well

Heeman (1997) proposed that discourse marker *well* is used almost exclusively at the beginning of a response to signal that an upcoming contribution is not fully consonant with the set of possible responses implied by the question initiator. It is also found that *well* is employed as a canonical use in a response.

Example: A: "how long would it take to load the oranges from the warehouse into the engine?"

B: "uh well we can't load oranges into an engine we need a boxcar." In the trains dialogs, *well* is typically used to correct a misconception or to suggest an alternative plan. Moreover, *well* is found not only at the beginning of responses, but also after the other speaker has just stated a fact or drawn a conclusion with the current speaker is about to disagree. Starting a turn with *well* sets up an expectation that the speaker is about to disagree with or current information either implicit or explicit from the prior turn (Heeman &Byron: 1997).

Example: A: And then I'm done. B: well you have to get to Avon still

In addition, *well* as a discourse marker has been studied by Karin Aijmer & Venderbergen (2003). They want to make a contribution to the description of the meaning and function of *well* by looking at the translation into the Swedish

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and Dutch. They data have shown that it may express not only agreement or acceptance but also disagreement if the context is one of verbal conflict.

Moreover, several different meanings can co-occur. The discourse marker *well* means simultaneously resignation and dismissal.

Example: A: He gazed down at the sink, and the warmth from the dishes drifted gently up into his face.

B: Well, you have to carry on. You have to carry on.

The specific function of *well* varies according to the context of the situation, in particular in the preceding context (Aijmer & Venderbergen, 2003). For example, the speaker uses *well* in answer to requests to which it is difficult to give a straight answer, to mark a transition to a new turn a topic, to signal corrections or counterclaims and to approve of something. Juncker (1993) also proposes that The discourse marker *well* is used to indicate a shift in the relevant context. In addition, Hoey (2004) believe that *well* used at the beginning of speaking turn. On other hand, *well* is used to embed the imperative in the context. Linking the command to information just received:

Example: *A*: *I ate with Ty, Daddy*.

B: Well, then, sit down or go out. You're making me nervous standing there.

It can also begin answer with *well* if someone asks a question with assumes something that is not in fact true (Hoey: 2004). For example:

Speaker 1 : What, He did the whole lot?

Speaker 2 : well yeah, I think, he did not do everything.

2. Oh

Heeman and Byron (1997) proposed that, in the trains corpus *oh* marks a change in its speaker's orientation to information. *Oh* turns frequently occur after the other speaker provides new information. It found that *Oh* is employed as a signals incorporation of new information.

Example A:

- A: "how far is it from Elmira to Bath?
- B: two hours.
- A: **oh** really so then w- we could actually take like Engine E two have it go to Bath."

When used in this way *oh* connotes not only that its speaker understands information provided in the previous turn, but also that the information was somehow contrary to his prior beliefs. *Oh* can also signal that information provided in a prior turn was incomplete or incorrect. In the example below, the 'system' had agreed that three boxcars were in Dansville, but then realizes that there are also boxcars in Elmira. He use of *oh* as signals that the rest of the turn describes a change in his informational state.

Example

um there are three boxcars in Dansville. yep.

A: um.

A:

B:

- *B: oh* there are also two in Elmira.
- A: two in Elmira **oh** um hm okay.

Oh turns may allow a discontinuity in the topic, implying that the reason for changing the topic is because the speaker has experienced a sudden change in his beliefs about some domain-related information.

3. And

And is used extensively in turn-initial position in the Trains dialogs. As Schiffrin's analysis predicts, *and* is used primarily to mark that the current utterance is a continuation of the same speaker's prior turn. *And* also correlates strongly, though not absolutely, with the presentation of new information. It meant that *and* as a signals continuation of the prior turn.

Example	<i>A</i> :	fill up the boxcar with the oranges.
	<i>B</i> :	okay.
	<i>A:</i>	and pick up a tanker and bring it back to Elmira.
	<i>B</i> :	okay.
	<i>A:</i>	and make the OJ right.
	<i>B</i> :	mm-hm.

After part of the plan has been constructed in the first conversation, the 'user' continues adding onto the plan with *and* turns. It can sometimes be difficult to tell the discourse use of *and* from its lexical function as a conjunction. Elaborations of the plan typically involve describing a sequence of events, so speakers naturally conjoin them with *and*. But notice that in the above example the 'user' is delivering information in installments. Each turn is already assumed to be a continuation of the list begun in the prior turn. The turn-initial *and* can be removed without changing the logical flow or informational content of the turns, so it must be operating at the discourse level.

4. So

So is traditionally said to mark main idea units, such as the return to a main level after a clarification sub-dialog or to bring a higher-level context space back into focus. In the Trains corpus, so turns provide conclusions, summaries, or restatements. When a restatement begins with so, the listener does not expect the upcoming utterance to build new information onto the emerging plan. So contrasts with and in interesting ways which are discussed in the next section.

The system participants in Trains dialogs tend to take frequent checkpoints to compare the emerging plan with time requirements in the problem statement. These summaries typically begin with *so*. See following example:

Example A: okay so it'll get to Dansville at ten a.m.and then to Corning so

get to Corning at eleven a.m.

Heeman also stated that *so* is used not only to present conclusions about the plan, but also to request that the other speaker contribute a conclusion about the plan when the current speaker does not have the information to make the conclusion himself. See example bellow:

Example A: hm let me think here there are no boxcars at Avon right.
B: there're no bo- rights.
A: hm
B: so what exactly ar- are you trying to do?

so your goal is?

A: okay well the goal is transport two boxcars.

Partners in the Trains dialogs often re-state information that has just been presented while they are thinking about it, and these utterances invariably begin with 'so'. See the example:

Example

A: and then when it gets to Corning

B: yep.

A: it'll leave one of the boxcars of bananas.

B: okay **so** we're going to get to Corning and leave a boxcar of bananas.

In the Trains corpus, when a misunderstanding or miscommunication sets up the need for a clarification subdialog or side discussion, return to the main topic is typically marked by *so*. Another common use of *so* in Trains is when the speaker presents a summary of the plan to re-establish a prior context space, the**n** adds onto the plan. In that case the re-stated information will begin with *so*, and the new part of the plan will be marked with *and*. In addition, Holmes (1992) proposes that discourse marker *so* has a function to summarize the information of speaker's utterance.

Based on Hemaan and Byron's Discussion above, it can be concluded that Discourse markers *well, and, oh* and *So* have different function in conversational moves. Discourse marker *well* has functions as: Canonical use of *well* in a response and make corrections. Discourse marker *Oh* has functions as a signal of incorporation of new information and a change of informational state. Discourse marker *and* functions as signals continuation of the prior turn. The last is

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discourse marker *so* functions as a conclusion about the plan, to request a summary of the plan, *and* marks a restatement of old information.

In addition, concerning discourse marker *you know* and I mean, both of discourse markers have similerities in function. Some proposed function highlight the sprinkling quality, claiming that *you know* and I mean " add liveliness to the conversation" (Stenstrom, 1990:152) or that they create a "mood" (Ostman, 1981: 41). Speakers are seen as using *you know* and I mean to keep being bored, and as such could utter these words at any point. In fact, *you know* and I mean apparent lack of being tied to a particular position has been used to argue that they are in a separate class from other discourse markers (Fraser, 1990:392). In other hand, *you know* may be increased in dialog because its basic meaning focuses on addresses, by inviting addressee inferences, whereas I mean's basic meaning focuses on speakers, by forewarning speaker adjustments. Another way of viewing this is that *you know* encourages listeners to focus more one speaker's thoughts. This view touches base with the proposal that *you know* is addressee oriented, but that I mean is speaker oriented (Stubbe and Holmes, 1995).

You know and I mean occur frequently in conversation because they function to the naturalistic, unplanned, unrehearsed, collaborative nature of spontaneous talk (Fox Tree, 1999). It is in talking on the fly that speakers are motivated to invite addresses to fill out their inferences by saying *you know* or to forewarn upcoming speech allows speakers to plan the best way to express their idea in advance. There is less need for *you know* because the speaker has worked out most kinks and adjustments already.

CHAPTER III

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents findings and discussion, the analysis of the data is done in line with the formulated research questions. The detail explanation can be seen as follows.

3.1. Finding

This section presents the analysis of discourse markers used in the debate between Obama and Romney in the presidential debate at the university of Denver in 2012. The first step of analysis is to find the data of discourse markers then to identify its functions. The data are presented in the form of text. In analyzing each discourse marker, the context is explained first to make it easier for readers to understand the data without reading the transcript of the debate.

3.1.1 Type of Discourse Markers and Discourse Connectives used by Obama and Romney in the First of 2012 Presidential Debate at the University of Denver

There are a number of discourse marker and discourse connectives found in the data which included discourse markers *well*, *oh*, *you know*, *because*, *so*, and discourse connectives *and*, and *but*, are analyzed. It is found that *well* is used as a marker of response, *oh* is used as a marker of information management, *you* *know* as a marker of information and participation, *so* and **because** are used as marker of cause and results, the last *and* and *but* as discourse connectives.

3.1.1.1 Well

The first type of discourse marker used is a marker of *well*. The discourse marker *well* is found among other in Datum 1, datum 2 datum 3.

Datum 1

The first discourse marker *well* was proposed by Obama. It was found when the debate concerns jobs. Romney Said that he will not take a trickle-down approach as Obama did. Trickle-down approach refers to the idea that tax breaks or other economic benefits provided by government to businesses and the wealthy will benefit poorer members of society by improving the economy as a whole. Romney has different idea in creating new job. Then, Lehrer give a chance to obama to respond what Romney said.

Obama: Well, let me talk specifically about what I think we need to do. First, we've got to improve our education system. When it comes to our tax code, Governor Romney and I both agree that our corporate tax rate is too high. So I want to lower it, particularly for manufacturing, taking it down to 25 percent. On energy, Governor Romney and I, we both agree that we've got to boost American energy production.

Analysis:

The utterance above consists of one discourse marker *well*. Discourse marker *well is* usually used to reject, cancel, or disagree in the first utterance (Schiffrin, 1987). Discourse marker *well* in "*Well*, *let me talk specifically about*

what I think we need to do" was made by Obama to respond to current idea

proposed by Romney. Obama used discourse marker well to indicate his

disagreement with the opinion made by Romney. It can be seen from his sense of

being a bit emotional when saying "let me talk specifically about what I think we

need to do". He tried to refute Romney's opinion by proposing his idea in detail.

The marker *well* in this context can be regarded as a marker of response.

Datum 2

Marker of *well* is also found in Obama's utterance when he answered a question proposed by Lehrer. The question was about the activity will be done by both candidates after they are elected as president.

Lehrer: Mr. President.

Obama:Well, first of all, I think Governor Romney's going to have a busy first day, because he's also going to repeal "Obamacare," which will not be very popular among Democrats as you're sitting down with them.(Laughter.) But look, my philosophy has been I will take ideas from anybody, Democrat or Republican, as long as they're advancing the cause of making middle-class families stronger and giving ladders of opportunity into the middle class.

Analysis:

Heeman (1997) stated that discourse marker *well* is used almost exclusively at the beginning of a response to signal that an upcoming contribution is not fully consonant with the set of possible responses implied by the question initiator. It is also can begin answer with well if someone asks a question with assumes something that is not in fact true (Hoey, 2004). In the utterance above, marker *well* was used to answer requests proposed by Lehrer. In this term, Obama was a bit hard to say "*I think Governor Romney's going to have a busy first day, because* ...", so Obama used marker *well* in the beginning to make the situation more relax. It can be seen when Obama produced that word *well* he seemed a little bit calm and after that he laughed to show that it was not serious answer. At that time, Obama tried to tease Romney. He wanted to show that Romney and him are different. Romney will only concern to Republican as his own party. But, Obama will not differentiate between Democrat and Republican, as long as they give good contribution to their country, especially for middle class. In this case, the marker *well* indicates a marker of response.

Datum 3

The next discourse marker *well* was also proposed by Obama. It was found when the debate concerns tax plan. Both candidates have different views regarding the issue. Romney gave detail explanation about his plan. He ought to provide tax relief to people in the middle class. But he is not going to reduce the share of taxes paid by high-income people. Then, Mr. Lehrer gave opportunity to Obama to respond what Romney said.

Lehrer :Mr. President.

Obama :Well, I think — let's talk about taxes because I think it's instructive. Now, four years ago when I stood on this stage I said that I would cut taxes for middle-class families. And that's exactly what I did. We cut taxes for middle-class families by about \$3,600. And the reason is because I believe we do best when the middle class is doing well.

Analysis:

Marker of *well* is usually used to reject, cancel, or disagree, and it stated in the first utterance. Karin Aijmer & Venderbergen (2003) also stated that marker of *well* may express agreement or acceptance. Discourse marker *well* was used by Obama in the beginning of a response to indicate his agreement. Obama shown in utterance above was to give a response to an opinion proposed by Romney concerning tax plan. Then, Lehrer gave a chance to Obama to respond Romney's opinion. Obama gave respond by saying "Well, I think — let's talk about taxes because I think it's instructive." It indicates that Obama agreed very much toward Romney opinion about tax plan. In this case, It can be concluded that the marker of well is included into marker of response.

Datum 4

The next marker of *well* was used by Obama when the debate concerned health care. It was used to respond Romney's idea. Romney wanted to repeal the affordable care act, "Obamacare". He stated that the cost of insurance for each family is too expensive. It is \$2.500. Expensive things hurt families. Therefore, Romney disagreed with this program. Lehrer gave a chance to Obama to respond Romney's idea.

Lehrer:Mr. President, the argument against repeal.

Obama: "Well", four years ago when I was running for office I was traveling around and having those same conversations that Governor Romney talks about. And it wasn't just that small businesses were seeing costs skyrocket and they couldn't get affordable coverage even if they wanted to provide it to their employees; it wasn't just that this was the biggest driver of our federal deficit, our overall health care costs. But it was families who were worried about going bankrupt if they got sick millions of families, all across the country.

Heeman (1997) proposed that discourse marker *well* is used almost exclusively at the beginning of a response to signal that an upcoming contribution is not fully consonant with the set of possible responses implied by the question initiator. In the utterance above, Obama used marker *well* to mark transition to a

new topic. It can be seen from the answer "Well, four years ago when I was running for office I was" that is not consonant with the question given. In this case, Lehrer asked Obama to respond Romney's plan. Romney has planned to repeal Obamacare. Obama found difficult to give a straight answer, so he tried to begin telling his experience as evidence to answer the question. It means that marker of well indicates disagreement. Obama disagreed with Romney's Plan. Based on the explanation, It indicates that marker of well used by Obama was included into marker of response.

3.1.1.2 Oh

The second type of discourse marker used is *oh*. Several data of discourse marker *oh* are found in datum 1 and 2.

Datum 1

The first marker *oh* was made by Romney. He used marker *oh* to respond Obama's opinion about Medicare and Social Security. Lehrer gave an opportunity to Romney to explain his idea on Social Security and Entitlements.

Romney: *Oh, I just thought about one, and that is in fact I was wrong when I said the president isn't proposing any changes for current retirees. In fact, he is on Medicare. On Social Security, he's not.*

Marker *oh* is usually used as exclamation or interjection, and it is stated in

the first utterance. When it is used alone, without the syntactic support of a

sentence, it indicates strong emotional states, e.g. surprise, fear, or pain Scriffrin (1994:73).The word *oh* was used by Romney after commenting Obama's idea in Social Security and Medicare. Romney stated that neither Obama nor him was proposing any changes for any current retirees, or near retirees, either to Social Security or Medicare. I found marker *oh* a moment after proposing that idea. At that time, Romney used marked *oh* to indicate strong emotional states, he looks panic when saying *"Oh, I just thought about one,...". Oh* used to repair his statement made before. It indicates that discourse marker *oh* refers to an *"*exclamation". It can be concluded *oh* is included into marker of information management.

Datum 2

The second marker *oh* was made by Romney when he responds Obama's opinion. It was found when the debate concerns Education and Federal Government. Obama suspect Governor Romney and him agree on getting businesses to work with community colleges so that they're setting up their training programs.

Obama	: I suspect Governor Romney and I probably agree on is getting businesses to work with community colleges so that they're setting up their training programs
Lehrer	: Do you agree, Governor?
Obama	: Let — let — let me just finish the point.
Romney	: Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah.
Obama	: I suspect it'll be a small agreement.
Romney	: It's going over well in my state, by the way, yeah

The word *oh* was used by Romney to answer Lehrer's question. Lehrer

asked Romney whether he agreed or not to Obama's program. Obama has

program to give load for student. Previously, This program had operated. He sent \$60 billion to banks and lenders as middle men for the student loan program. In this term, Obama used marker *oh* to answer the question" *Do you agree*, *Governor?*" Then, Romney responded by saying "*Oh*, *yeah*. *Oh*, *yeah*" with strong emotional states. It indicates that discourse marker *oh* used by Romney refers to an "exclamation". Based on the explanation, it can be concluded *oh* is included into marker of information management.

3.1.1.3 And

Discourse connective *and* also found in the data. The word *and* are found, among other, in datum 1, datum 2, and datum 3 etc.

Datum 1

The word *and* was found in Romney's utterance. After Obama proposed his opinion about Medicare and social security, Lehrer gave an opportunity to Romney to explain his idea on social Security and Entitlements. Romney used a *and* to continue his utterance in the middle of sentences.

Romney: Jim, our seniors depend on these programs. And I know any time we talk about entitlements, people become concerned that something's going to happen that's going to change their life for the worst, and the answer is, neither the president nor I are proposing any changes for any current retirees or near retirees, either to Social Security or Medicare. So if you're 60 or around 60 or older, you don't need to listen any further.

Analysis:

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Schffrin (1984:152) proposed that *and* is used to coordinate ideas and to continue a speaker's action in spoken language. In the utterance above, Romney used *and* to continue his idea about Social Security and entitlement. It can be seen in the utterance "*And I know any time we talk about entitlements,......*". this utterance was made after saying "*Jim, our seniors depend on these programs*" the word "program" means Social Security and entitlemen. It can be concluded that *and* used by Romney above indicates discourse connective because it used to coordinate an idea.

Datum 2

The word *and* was again made by Obama when the debate concerned to tax plan.

Obama: But I have said that for incomes over \$250,000 a year that we should go back to the rates that we had when Bill Clinton was president, when we created 23 million new jobs, went from deficit to surplus and created a whole lot of millionaires to boot. And the reason this is important is because by doing that, we can not only reduce the deficit, we can not only encourage job growth through small businesses, but we're also able to make the investments that are necessary in education or in energy.

Schffrin (1984:152) also proposed that the word and is used to coordinate

ideas and to continue a speaker's action in spoken language. The word and in the

utterance "And the reason this is important is because by doing that, we can not

only reduce the deficit,....." was proposed after part of the plan has been

constructed. Obama used this word after proposing an idea about tax plan. It can be seen in the utterance "*I have said that for incomes over* \$250,000 *a year that*

we should go back to the rates that we had when Bill Clinton was president,.....". It means that obama used **and** to coordinate an idea that people by incomes over \$2500 they have to pay taxe more and he showed the reason by using **and** as connector. In this case, the word **and** is used to indicate a marker of connective.

Datum 3

Discourse connective *and* proposed by Obama when he and Romney were debating about Medicare and Social Security. Romney proposed that the idea of cutting \$716 billion from Medicare to balance the additional cost of "Obamacare" is a mistake. Regarding to young people, he has got proposals to make sure Medicare and Social Security are there for them. To respond Romney's statement, Lehrer gave an opportunity to Obama to propose his idea.

Lehrer: *Obama:*

Mr. President.

First of all, I think it's important for Governor Romney to present this plan that he says will only affect folks in the future. And the essence of the plan is that he would turn Medicare into a voucher program. It's called premium support, but it's understood to be a voucher program. \

Analysis:

The word *And* is used to coordinate ideas and to continue a speaker's action in spoken language Schffrin (1984:152). Obama used *and* in the utterance "*And, the essence of the plan is that he would turn Medicare into a voucher program.*" to continue his speaking after giving suggestion to Romney to present his idea. It can be seen in the utterance "*I think it's important for Governor Romney to present*". He gave comments to Romney's program by using

and as connector. So it can be concluded that a marker *and* is used to indicate discourse connective.

3.1.1.4 But

Discourse connectives but also found in the data. Several data of but are

found, among other, in datum 1, datum 2, and datum.

Datum 1

The first but was made by Obama when Lehrer asked both candidates.

Lehrer asked what they will do as president after being elected.

Lehrer: Mr. President.

Obama:Well, first of all, I think Governor Romney's going to have a busy first day, because he's also going to repeal "Obamacare," which will not be very popular among Democrats as you're sitting down with them.(Laughter.)

> But look, my philosophy has been I will take ideas from anybody, Democrat or Republican, as long as they're advancing the cause of making middle-class families stronger and giving ladders of opportunity into the middle class

Analysis:

But marks an upcoming unit as contrasting action, *But* does not coordinate functional units unless there is some contrastive relationship in an either their ideational or interaction content. The use of *but* could be interpreted as speaker's efforts to return to prior concern of making a point. In the utterance above, by saying "*he's also going to repeal Obamacare, which will not be very popular among Democrats as you're sitting down with them*", Obama whant to show that Romney only concerned with Republican. On the other hand, by saying "*But look* *my philosophy has been I will take ideas from anybody....* means that Obama had different action to Romney. He will take the idea not only from Democrat but also from Republican. Based on the explanation above, marker *but* proposed by Obama indicates a Discourse connectives.

Datum 2

The first *but* was proposed by Obama when the debate concerned tax plan. It used to respond Romney's idea. Mr. Romney explains that he want to bring down tax rates. He wanted to bring down the rates down. The reason is because small business pays that individual rate. Fifty-four percent of America's workers work in businesses that are taxed not at the corporate tax rate but at the individual tax rate. If they lower that rate, they will be able to hire more people. He believes that it is the appropriate one to create job. Lehrer gave an opportunity to Obama to respond Romney's ideas.

Romney:*This is about getting jobs for the American people.* **Lehrer** :*Yeah. Do you challenge what the governor just said about his own plan?*

Obama : my tax plan has already lowered taxes for 98 percent of families, I also lowered taxes for small businesses 18 times. And what I want to do is continue the tax rates — the tax cuts that we put into place for small businesses and families.
But I have said that for incomes over \$250,000 a year that we should go back to the rates that we had when Bill Clinton was president, when we created 23 million new jobs, went from

deficit to surplus and created a whole lot of millionaires to boot.

Analysis:

The word *but* marks an upcoming unit as contracting action because by saying "*But I have said that for incomes over \$250,000 a year that we should go*

back to the rates that we had when Bill Clinton was presiden.....t' shows

contrastive action to the utterence "*what I want to do is continue the tax rates* — *the tax cuts that we put into place for small businesses and families.*" . In this case, Obama has a plan to lower tax rate for small businesses and families. In other hand, Obama also will raise taxes on the wealthy, for income over \$250,000 a year. They should pay what they paid under President Bill Clinton 39.6 percent. It means that Obama will do contractive action for high income people. Based on the explanation, the word *but* indicates a discourse connective.

Datum 3

But was also made by Romney when he proposed idea about tax plan. It was found after both Obama and Romney had spoken about their ideas in creating new job. They had said a lot of different things. Mr. Lehrer was going to try to get through them in as specific way as they possibly can. Therefore, Mr. Lehrer starts by giving question to Mr. Romney.

Romney: My view is that we ought to provide tax relief to people in the middle class. **But** I'm not going to reduce the share of taxes paid by high- income people. High-income people are doing just fine in this economy. They'll do fine whether you're president or I am.

Analysis:

Schriffrin (1987) proposed that *but* marks an upcoming unit as contracting action. *But* does not coordinate functional units unless there is some contrastive relationship in an either their ideational or interaction content. In the utterance above, discourse marker *but* indicates contrasting idea. Romney proposed that he will cut tax rate for middle class. In other hand, He will not reduce tax rate for

high income people. It can be seen in the utterance "*but*, *I'm not going to reduce* the share of taxes paid by high- income people. High-income people are doing just fine in this economy". it indicates that **but** included into discourse connectives

3.1.1.5 So

Discourse marker *so* was also found in the data. Several data of discourse markers *so* are found, among other, in Datum 1, and Datum 2.

Datum 1

The first marker of *so* was found in Romney's utterance after Obama proposed his opinion about Mr. Romney's ideas. Mr. Romney stated that what Obama said about is inaccurate. Obama argued that Mr. Romney's proposal about cutting taxes for middle-class in not appropriate one. Then, Mr. Romney reduced it. He had different detail explanation. Mr. Lehrer gave time to Mr. Romney to continue his opinion. In this case, Mr. Romney used marker *so*.

Lehrer: All right, go —

Romney: So — so if — if the tax plan he described were a tax plan I was asked to support, I'd say absolutely not. I'm not looking for a \$5 trillion tax cut. Whzat I've said is I won't put in place a tax cut that adds to the deficit. That's part one. So there's no economist can say Mitt Romney's tax plan adds 5 trillion (dollars) if I say I will not add to the deficit with my tax plan.

Analysis:

The discourse marker *so* can be used in the middle of conversation between two speakers to convey a meaning of result. In the utterance above Romney used discourse marker *so* to mark the idea unit of conversation when he debated with Obama. However, Romney in the utterance : So - so if - if the tax plan he described, clarified his opinion as stated by Obama in the utterance: "When you add up all the loopholes and deductions that upper income individuals can - are currently taking advantage of - if you take those all away - you don't come close to paying for \$5 trillion in tax cuts and \$2 trillion in additional military spending." Romney says loudly the following utterance "So— so if - if the tax plan he described ..." to indicate that he used a marker of result.

Datum 2

Marker of *so* was proposed by Romney when debate concerns *Obamacare*.

Romney: And unfortunately, when — when you look at "Obamacare," the Congressional Budget Office has said it will cost \$2,500 a year more than traditional insurance. So it's adding to cost. And as a matter of fact, when the president ran for office, he said that by this year he would have brought down the cost of insurance for each family by \$2,500 a family. Instead, it's gone up by that amount. So it's expensive. Expensive things hurt families. *So* that's one reason I don't want it.

Marker of *so* can be inserted in the middle of sentence, and it used to

convey a meaning of result. In the dialogue above, Romney used marker of *so* when he proposed his idea about Obamacare. Romney rejects Obamacare because the cost of insure for each family more than traditional insure a years. The utterance "*So* that's one reason I don't" resulted from the utterance "Expensive things hurt families", (see the utterance above). In this case, the marker of *so* was inserted by Romney to conclude the idea expressed before. Based on the explanation, I conclude that markers of *so* is included into marker of result.

3.1.1.5 Because

Discourse marker *because* was also found in the data. Several data of discourse markers *so* are found, among other, in datum 1, and datum 2.

Datum 1

Marker of *because* was made by Romney. It was found when Romney responses Obama's opinion. Obama said that Romney tax plan is inaccurate. Romney refuted by stating his detail explanation. He said that he will not reduce the taxes paid by high-income individuals and raise taxes on middle-income families. He will lower taxes on middle-income families.

Romney: And you think, well, then why lower the rates? And the reason is **because** small business pays that individual rate. Fifty-four percent of America's workers work in businesses that are taxed not at the corporate tax rate but at the individual tax rate. And if we lower that rate, they will be able to hire more people. For me, this is about jobs.

Schiffrin (1987) stated that *because* convey a meaning of cause. In the

dialogue above, Romney was explaining why he reduce the tax rate. The reason can be seen in utterance "*because small business pays that individual rate*". It means Romney used cause to progressively embedded reason in her explanation. Romney will reduce the tax rate because most of middle class people work in business that is in the individual tax rate. It means that the word *because* in the utterance above convey a meaning of cause. Based on the explanation, it can be concluded that *because* is included into marker of cause.

Datum 2

Marker of *because* was proposed by Obama. It was found when Lehrer asked both candidates to present Closing statement. The first opportunity was given to Obama.

OBAMA : Well, Jim, I want to thank you and I want to thank Governor Romney, **because** I think this was a terrific debate and I very much appreciate it.

Because convey a meaning of cause. In the dialogue above, Obama used marker of *because* when he is explaining why he says thank to Lehrer and Romney. The reason is in utterance "*because I think this was a terrific debate and I very much appreciate it*". It means Obama has great appreciation to the debate. Obama uses cause to progressively embedded reason in her explanation. From the analysis above, I conclude that the markers of *because* is included into "marker of cause".

3.1.1.6 Markers of you know

The researcher also found marker *you know*. Several data of discourse marker *you know* are found, among other, in datum 1, datum 2, datum 3 and Datum 4.

The first marker *you know* was made by Obama in the first segment about economy. Lehrer as the moderator also gave a question about the major difference in creating new jobs to both candidates, Obama and Romney. The first

opportunity was given to Obama. Obama tried to remind the audiance of financial crisis. On his utterance, Obama used a discourse marker *you know*.

Obama : You know, four years ago we went through the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. Millions of jobs were lost. The auto industry was on the brink of collapse. The financial system had frozen up. And because of the resilience and the determination of the American people, we've begun to fight our way back.

Analysis :

The conversation above contains a discourse marker that is in the term of you know. Erman (1986:135) proposes that you know is used to provide background information or to foreshadow a cause, effect or clarification of the preceding utterance. Marker you know is also used when a speaker wants to show the hearer something important and new expectation. But, marker you know in the utterance "You know, four years ago we went through the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression." proposed by Obama was used to inform the hearer to think comprehensively toward Obama's utterance. In this case, Obama tried to remind the audience of financial crisis occurred four years ago. From his explanations, the discourse marker you know can be categorized as a marker of information.

The second marker *you know* was found when the debate concerns entitlement. An entitlement program can be defined as a governmental mechanism where public funds are given to people because they meet some kind of requirement. One commonly known American example of an entitlement program is Medicare, Obama stated that he talked about the values behind Social saecurity and Medicare because that was important. In this term, Obama used marker *you know* in the first utterance.

Obama: — of our deficits right now. **You know**, my grandmother, some of you know, helped to raise me. My grandparents did. She worked her way up, only had a high school education, started as a secretary, ended up being the vice president of a local bank. And she ended up living alone by choice. And the reason she could be independent was because of Social Security and Medicare. She had worked all her life, put in this money and understood that there was a basic guarantee, a floor under which she could not go. My grandmother died three days before I was elected president.

Analysis :

Marker *you know* encourages addresses to think about the comprehensibility of what has just be said and it also used when the speaker want to show the hearer something important and new expectation. By using marker *you know* above, Obama gave new information about his grandmother which can be independent because of social security and independent. By using this experience, Obama tried to show audiences that social security and Medicare were really important. The marker *you know* indicates a marker of information.

The next marker *you know* was also found when the debate concerned the role of education. Lehrer proposed a question to Obama. The question is about the difference between both Obama and Romney concerning the education and federal Government. The first opportunity was given to Obama. In this opportunity Obama began by using marker *you know*.

Obama: You know, this is where budgets matter because budgets reflect choices. So when Governor Romney indicates that he wants to cut taxes and potentially benefit folks like me and him, and to pay for it, we're having to initiate significant cuts in federal support for education, that makes a difference.

Analysis:

The marker *you know* encourages addresses to think about the comprehensibility of what has just been said. On the other hand, marker of *you know* in the dialogue *You know*, *this is where budgets matter because budgets reflect choices*....., was used by Obama to convince the hearers, and to inform the hearer to think comprehensively toward Obama's utterance. In this case obama wanted to show the hearer that education depends on the budget. If budget for education are high, the education will be better. Then Obama gave suggestion to Romney to get significant cut in federal support for education. In this case, the marker *you know* indicates a marker of information.

3.2 Discussion

To clarify the answers of the research problem, the discussion of the findings need to be done after data are obtained and analyzed. With the result of the data analysis above, I found six type of discourse marker used by Obama and Romney in the First of 2012 presidential debate. Namely: marker of response, marker of connective, marker of information management, cause and result, marker of temporal adverb and marker of information and participant.

Marker of *well* used By Obama and Romney with a function to disagree, reject, marker transition to new topic, agree, and respond current question. They are shown in the first type of discourse marker in section *3.1.1.1* Datum *1-4*

Marker *oh* only found in Romney utterances. It is included into marker of Information Management as exclamation, which it indicates strong emotional states. The utterances content of marker of *oh* was presented in section **3.1.1.2** datum **1** and **2**.

Obama and Romney also used *and* which has functions to coordinate ideas and to continue speaker's action in the spoken language. They are found in the third type of discourse marker in the section *3.1.1.3* datum *1-3*

Romney and Obama also used *but* in which it is used to marks an upcoming unit as contracting action. It explained in the section 3.1.1.4 datum 1-3.

Obama and Romney as the speakers also uses the word *so*. It is include marker of result. It is convey a meaning of result. It is shown in section **3.1.1.5** Datum **1** and **2**.

The word *because* that Obama and Romney expressed is included into marker cause , which it convey a meaning of cause. The dialogue that contents *because* was presented in the section **3.1.1.6** datum **1 and 2**.

The last one is Marker of *you know* which has functions as encourages addresses to think about the comprehensibility of what has just be said and it also used when the speaker want to show the hearer something important and new expectation. It shown in the section *3.1.1.7* datum *1-3*.

1

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This chapter presents the conclusion and suggestion dealing with the findings in Chapter III

5.1 Conclusion

In line with the data presentation and discussion in the previous chapter, the conclusion of this study can be formulated based on the research question. From the analysis, Obama and Romney used five types of discourse markers. The first is markers of *well*. it is found that marker of *well* as marker of response used by Obama and Romney with functions to disagree, reject, mark transition to new topic, agree, and respond current question. The second type is Marker oh only found in Romney utterances which included into marker of Information Management as exclamation, which it indicates strong emotional states. The next connective and as Discourse connectives which has a function to coordinate ideas and to continue speaker's action in the spoken language. The then the word *but*. Romney and Obama used marker of *but* in which it is used to marks an upcoming unit as contracting action. Obama and Romney also uses the word so. It includes marker of result. It is convey a meaning of result. The word because that Obama and Romney expressed is included into marker cause, which it convey a meaning of cause. The last one is marker of *you know* which has functions as encourages addresses to think about the comprehensibility of what has just be said and it also used when the speaker want to show the hearer something important and new expectation.

2

Marker of *well* was dominant used by Obama and Romney because they always defend their opinion by reject and disagree to other opinion during debate. It can be concluded that in debate marker of *well* will used more dominant than others.

5.2. Suggestion

Considering the importance of analyzing discourse markers, the researcher provides suggestions for the next researchers. The researcher suggests that future researchers conduct similar theme of study with more complete data and description. They can use other theories to analyze the same theme. For further researchers, the results of this study provide more examples of the use of discourse markers in a political debate. . For the researcher herself, the results of this study provide new insights of the use of discourse markers, that is, the meaning of certain discourse markers may also depend on their positions in an utterance.

In short, this study is hopefully being useful as the additional references for the next reseracher who want to conduct studies in this field.

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Appendix

Datum 1

- Lehrer: Gentlemen, welcome to you both. Let's start the economy, segment one. And let's begin with jobs. What are the major differences between the two of you about how you would go about creating new jobs? You have two minutes — each of you have two minutes to start. The coin toss has determined, Mr. President, you go first.
- **Obama : "Well"**, thank you very much, Jim, for this opportunity. I want to thank Governor Romney and the University of Denver for your hospitality. **"You know"**, four years ago we went through the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression.

Datum

- Lehrer:Mr. President, please respond directly to what the governor just said about trickle-down — his trickle-down approach. He's — as he said yours is.
- **Obama:**"Well", let me talk specifically about what I think we need to do.
- **Lehrer**: Governor Romney, do you have a question that you'd like to ask the president directly about something he just said?
- **Romney:** *"Well", sure.* I'd like to clear up the record and go through it piece by piece. First of all, I don't have a \$5 trillion tax cut. I don't have a tax cut of a scale that you're talking about. My view is that we ought to provide tax relief to people in the middle class. "But" I'm not going to reduce the share of taxes paid by high- income people. High-income people are doing just fine in this economy. They'll do fine whether you're president or I am.

Datum

- **Romney:** *Jim, the president began this segment, so I think I get the last word, so I'm going to take it. All right? (Chuckles.)*
- Lehrer: "Well", you're going to get the first word in the next segment.
- **LEHRER:**"All right", Let's talk we're still on the economy. This is, theoretically now, a second segment still on the economy, and specifically on what do about the federal deficit, the federal debt.
- **ROMNEY:** Well, good. I'm glad you raised that. And it's a it's a critical issue. I think it's not just an economic issue. I think it's a moral issue

- Lehrer: *The question is this:* What are the differences between the two of you as to how you would go about tackling the deficit problem in this country?
- **Romney: "Well",** good. I'm glad you raised that. And it's a it's a critical issue. I think it's not just an economic issue. I think it's a moral issue. I think it's, frankly, not moral for my generation to keep spending massively more than we take in, knowing those burdens are going to be passed on

to the next generation. "And" they're going to be paying the interest and the principle all their lives. And the amount of debt we're adding, at a trillion a year, is simply not moral.

Datum 8

Lehrer:Mr. President.

Obama:"Well", I think — let's talk about taxes because I think it's instructive. "Now", four years ago when I stood on this stage I said that I would cut taxes for middle-class families. And that's exactly what I did. We cut taxes for middle-class families by about \$3,600. And the reason is because I believe we do best when the middle class is doing well.

Datum 9

Lehrer: All right, go -

Romney: "So" — so if — if the tax plan he described were a tax plan I was asked to support, I'd say absolutely not. I'm not looking for a \$5 trillion tax cut. Whzat I've said is I won't put in place a tax cut that adds to the deficit. That's part one. So there's no economist can say Mitt Romney's tax plan adds 5 trillion (dollars) if I say I will not add to the deficit with my tax plan.

Datum 10

Romney:*This is about getting jobs for the American people.*

Lehrer: Yeah. Do you challenge what the governor just said about his own plan?

Obama:"Well", for 18 months he's been running on this tax plan. And now, five weeks before the election, he's saying that his big, bold idea is "never mind." And the fact is that if you are lowering the rates the way you describe, Governor, then it is not possible to come up with enough deductions and loopholes that only affect high-income individuals to avoid either raising the deficit or burdening the middle class. It's — it's math. It's arithmetic.

"Now", Governor Romney and I do share a deep interest in encouraging small-business growth. So at the same time that my tax plan has already lowered taxes for 98 percent of families, I also lowered taxes for small businesses 18 times. And what I want to do is continue the tax rates the tax cuts that we put into place for small businesses and families.

"But" I have said that for incomes over \$250,000 a year that we should go back to the rates that we had when Bill Clinton was president, when we created 23 million new jobs, went from deficit to surplus and created a whole lot of millionaires to boot.

"And" the reason this is important is because by doing that, we can not only reduce the deficit, we can not only encourage job growth through

small businesses, but we're also able to make the investments that are necessary in education or in energy.

Datum 11

Lehrer: Mr. President. two minutes.

- **Obama: "Now"**, we all know that we've got to do more. And so I've put forward a specific \$4 trillion deficit-reduction plan.
 - "And" the way we do it is \$2.50 for every cut, we ask for a dollar of additional revenue, paid for, as I indicated earlier, by asking those of us who have done very well in this country to contribute a little bit more to reduce the deficit.
 - "And" Governor Romney earlier mentioned the Bowles-Simpson commission. Well, that's how the commission — bipartisan commission that talked about how we should move forward suggested we have to do it — in a balanced way with some revenue and some spending cuts. And this is a major difference that Governor Romney and I have.

Datum 12

- **Obama:***That's what we've done, made some adjustments to it; and we're putting it forward before Congress right now, a \$4 trillion plan, (a balanced ?)*
- **Romney: "But"** you've been but you've been president four years. You've been president four years. You said you'd cut the deficit in half. It's now four years later. We still have trillion- dollar deficits.

Datum 13

- **Romney:** I don't want to go down the path to Spain. I want to go down the path of growth that puts Americans to work, with more money coming in because they're working.
- Lehrer: Yeah. "But" Mr. President, you're saying in order to get it the job done, it's got to be balanced. You've got to have —
- **Obama:***If we're serious, we've got to take a balanced, responsible approach. And by the way, this is not just when it comes to individual taxes.*

As I indicated before, when you talk about shifting Medicaid to states, we're talking about potentially a — a 30 — a 30 percent cut in Medicaid over time. Now, **"you know"**, that may not seem like a big deal when it just is — **you know**, numbers on a sheet of paper, but if we're talking about a family who's got an autistic kid and is depending on that Medicaid, that's a big problem. And governors are creative. There's no doubt about it. But they're not creative enough to make up for 30 percent of revenue on something like Medicaid. What ends up happening is some people end up not getting help

Datum 14

Lehrer:Come back to Medicaid, here, yeah, yeah, right.

Romney:— oil to tax breaks and companies overseas. "So" let's go through them one by one. First of all, the Department of Energy has said the tax break for oil companies is \$2.8 billion a year. "And" it's actually an accounting treatment, as you know, that's been in place for a hundred years. Now —

Datum 15

Obama: It's time to end it.

Romney:And — and in one year, you provided \$90 billion in breaks to the green energy world. "Now", I like green energy as well, "but" that's about 50 years' worth of what oil and gas receives, and you say Exxon and Mobil — actually, this \$2.8 billion goes largely to small companies, to drilling operators and so forth.

Datum: 17

Lehrer:*Two seconds and we're going on, still on the economy on another — but another part of it.*

Obama:OK.

Lehrer: All right? "All right", this is this is segment three, the economy, entitlements.

Datum 18

- Lehrer: *Mr. President, do you see a major difference between the two of you on Social Security?*
- **Obama: "You know**", I suspect that on Social Security, we've got a somewhat similar position. Social Security is structurally sound.

Datum 19

Obama: — of our deficits right now. "**You know**", my grandmother, some of you know, helped to raise me. My grandparents did. She worked her way up, only had a high school education, started as a secretary, ended up being the vice president of a local bank. And she ended up living alone by choice. And the reason she could be independent was because of Social Security and Medicare. She had worked all her life, put in this money and understood that there was a basic guarantee, a floor under which she could not go.

My grandmother died three days before I was elected president. **Datum 20**

Romney: "Well", Jim, our seniors depend on these programs. "And" I know any time we talk about entitlements, people become concerned that something's going to happen that's going to change their life for the worst, and the answer is, neither the president nor I are proposing any changes for any current retirees or near retirees, either to Social Security or Medicare. "So" if you're 60 or around 60 or older, you don't need to listen any further.

"Oh", I just thought about one, and that is in fact I was wrong when I said the president isn't proposing any changes for current retirees. In fact, he is on Medicare. On Social Security, he's not.

Datum 11

Lehrer: Mr. President.

Obama: First of all, I think it's important for Governor Romney to present this plan that he says will only affect folks in the future. "And" the essence of the plan is that he would turn Medicare into a voucher program. It's called premium support, but it's understood to be a voucher program. His running mate —

Datum 20

Lehrer:*Can we* — *can the two of you agree that the voters have a choice, a clear choice between the two of you* —

Romney: Absolutely.

Obama:Yes.

Lehrer: — *on Medicare?*

Romney:*Absolutely*.

Lehrer: "All right". So, to finish quickly, briefly, on the economy, what is your view about the level of federal regulation of the economy right now? Is there too much, and in your case, Mr. President, is there — should there be more? Beginning with you — this is not a new two-minute segment — to start, and we'll go for a few minutes and then we're going to go to health care. OK?

Datum 21

Lehrer: You want to repeal Dodd-Frank?

Romney: "Well," I would repeal it and replace it. You — we're not going to get rid of all regulation. You have to have regulation. And there's some

parts of Dodd-Frank that make all the sense in the world. You need transparency, you need to have leverage limits for institutes —

Datum 22

Lehrer:Let's let him respond to this specific on Dodd-Frank and what the governor just said.

- **Obama:**"Wel"l, I think this is a great example. The reason we have been in such a enormous economic crisis was prompted by reckless behavior across the board. "Now," it wasn't just on Wall Street. You had — loan officers were — they were giving loans and mortgages that really shouldn't have been given, because they're — the folks didn't qualify.
 - "Now", Governor Romney has said he wants to repeal Dodd-Frank, and, you know, I appreciate, and it appears we've got some agreement that a marketplace to work has to have some regulation, but in the past, Governor Romney has said he just wants to repeal Dodd-Frank, roll it back. "And" so the question is does anybody out there think that the big problem we had is that there was too much oversight and regulation of Wall Street? Because if you do, then Governor Romney is your candidate. "But" that's not what I believe.

Datum 23

- **Romney:** I will make sure we don't hurt the functioning of our of our marketplace and our businesses, because I want to bring back housing and get good jobs.
- Lehrer: "All right," I think we have another clear difference between the two of you. Now let's move to health care, where I know there is a clear difference — (laughter) — and that has to do with the Affordable Care Act, "Obamacare."

"And" it's a two-minute new segment, and it's — that means two minutes each. And you go first, Governor Romney. You wanted repeal. You want the Affordable Care Act repealed. Why?

Datum 24

Lehrer : Governor Romney. You wanted repeal. You want the Affordable Care Act repealed. Why?

Romney: *I sure do. "Well," in part, it comes, again, from my experience.*

Datum 25

Lehrer:Mr. President, the argument against repeal.

Obama: "Well", four years ago when I was running for office I was traveling around and having those same conversations that Governor Romney talks about. And it wasn't just that small businesses were seeing costs skyrocket and they couldn't get affordable coverage even if they wanted to provide it to their employees; it wasn't just that this was the biggest driver of our federal deficit, our overall health care costs. "But" it was families who were worried about going bankrupt if they got sick — millions of families, all across the country.

Datum 26

Lehrer:Let's let the governor explain what you would do if "Obamacare" is repealed. How would you replace it? What do you have in mind?

Romney:Let — "well," actually — actually it's — it's — it's a lengthy description," but" number one, pre-existing conditions are covered under my plan. Number two, young people are able to stay on their family plan. That's already offered in the private marketplace; you don't have — have the government mandate that for that to occur.

Datum: 27

Obama: the choices we've made have been ones that ultimately are benefiting middle-class families all across the country.
Lehrer: "All right," we're going to move to a —
Romney: No, I — I have to respond to that —

Datum 28

- **Romney:***Mayo Clinic is doing it superbly well, Cleveland Clinic, others. But the right answer is not to have the federal government take over health care and start mandating to the providers across America, telling a patient and a doctor what kind of treatment they can have. That's the wrong way to go.*
- **Obama:**Let me just point out, first of all, this board that we're talking about can't make decisions about what treatments are given. That's explicitly prohibited in the law. "**But**" let's go back to what Governor Romney indicated, that under his plan he would be able to cover people with pre-existing conditions. "**Well**", actually, Governor, that isn't what your plan does. What your plan does is to duplicate what's already the law, which says if you are out of health insurance for three months then you can end up getting continuous coverage and an insurance company can't deny you if you've — if it's been under 90 days.

Datum 29

Lehrer:Mr. President — do you believe there's a fundamental difference between the two of you as to how you view the mission of the federal government?
Obama: "Well", I definitely think there are differences.

Datum 30

Lehrer: And — yeah.

Obama:*The first role of the federal government is to keep the American people safe.*

"But" I also believe that government has the capacity — the federal government has the capacity to help open up opportunity and create ladders of opportunity and to create frameworks where the American people can succeed.

"But" as Abraham Lincoln understood, there are also some things we do better together.

"So" in the middle of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln said, let's help to finance the Transcontinental Railroad.

Datum hal 31

Lehrer:*Two minutes, Governor, on the role of government, your view.*

Romney: *"Well,"* first, I love great schools. Massachusetts, our schools are ranked number one of all 50 states. And the key to great schools: great teachers. So I reject the idea that I don't believe in great teachers or more teachers. Every school district, every state should make that decision on their own.

Datum 32

Romney:We know that the path we're taking is not working. It's time for a new path.

Lehrer: *"All right,"* let's go through some specifics in terms of what — how each of you views the role of government.

DATUM 33

Romney:" *Well,*" the primary responsibility for education is — is of course at the state and local level." But" the federal government also can play a very important role. "And" I — and I agree with Secretary Arne Duncan. He's — there's some ideas he's put forward on Race to the Top — not all of them but some of them I agree with, and congratulate him for pursuing that. The federal government can get local and — and state schools to do a better job.

Datum 34

Obama: "Well", as I've indicated, I think that it has a significant role to play. Through our Race to the Top program, we've worked with Republican and Democratic governors to initiate major reforms, and they're having an impact right now.

Obama: "You know", this is where budgets matter because budgets reflect choices. So when Governor Romney indicates that he wants to cut taxes and potentially benefit folks like me and him, and to pay for it, we're having to initiate significant cuts in federal support for education, that makes a difference.

"You know", his running mate, Congressman Ryan, put forward a budget that reflects many of the principles that Governor Romney's talked about. "And" it wasn't very detailed. This seems to be a trend. But — "but" what it did do is to — if you extrapolated how much money we're talking about, you'd look at cutting the education budget by up to 20 percent.

Datum 36

Lehrer: Do you agree, Governor?
Obama: Let — let — let me just finish the point.
Romney: Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah.
Obama: I suspect it'll be a small agreement.
Romney: It's going over well in my state, by the way, yeah.

DATUM 37

Lehrer: Mr. President.

Obama: "Well", first of all, I think Governor Romney's going to have a busy first day, because he's also going to repeal "Obamacare," which will not be very popular among Democrats as you're sitting down with them.(Laughter.)

> "But" look, my philosophy has been I will take ideas from anybody, Democrat or Republican, as long as they're advancing the cause of making middle-class families stronger and giving ladders of opportunity into the middle class

> "So" we've — we've seen progress even under Republican control of the House or Representatives. "But" ultimately, part of being principled, part of being a leader is, A, being able to describe exactly what it is that you intend to do, not just saying, I'll sit down, but you have to have a plan.

DATUM 38

- Lehrer: That brings us to closing statements. There was a coin toss. Governor Romney, you won the toss, and you elected to go last. So you have a closing two minutes, Mr. President.
- **Obama: "Well**", Jim, I want to thank you and I want to thank Governor Romney, because I think this was a terrific debate and I very much appreciate it. "And" I want to thank the University of Denver.

"You know", four years ago we were going through a major crisis, and yet my faith and confidence in the American future is undiminished. "And" the reason is because of its people. Because of the woman I met in North Carolina who decided at 55 to go back to school because she wanted to inspire her daughter, and now has a new job from that new training that she's gotten.

"And" everybody's getting a fair shot and everybody's getting a fair share. Everybody's doing a fair share and everybody's playing by the same rules.

"You know", four years ago I said that I'm not a perfect man and I wouldn't be a perfect president. And that's probably a promise that Governor Romney thinks I've kept. But I also promised that I'd fight every single day on behalf of the American people and the middle class and all those who are striving to get in the middle class. **CENTRAL LIBRARY** OF MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MALANG

3.1.1.1 Markers of well

Datum 1

Obama:"Well", let me talk specifically about what I think we need to do. First, we've got to improve our education system. When it comes to our tax code, Governor Romney and I both agree that our corporate tax rate is too high

Datum 2

Lehrer:Mr. President.

Obama:"Well", I think — let's talk about taxes because I think it's instructive. Now, four years ago when I stood on this stage I said that I would cut taxes for middle-class families. And that's exactly what I did. We cut taxes for middle-class families by about \$3,600.

Datum 3

Lehrer: Mr. President.

Obama:Well, first of all, I think Governor Romney's going to have a busy first day, because he's also going to repeal "Obamacare," which will not be very popular among Democrats as you're sitting down with them.(Laughter.)

Datum 4

Romney:*This is about getting jobs for the American people.*

Lehrer: Yeah. Do you challenge what the governor just said about his own plan?

Obama:"*Well*", for 18 months he's been running on this tax plan. And now, five weeks before the election, he's saying that his big, bold idea is "never mind."

3.1.1.2 Markers of *oh*

Romney: *Oh*, *I* just thought about one, and that is in fact I was wrong when I said the president isn't proposing any changes for current retirees. In fact, he is on Medicare. On Social Security, he's not.

Datum 2

Lehrer	: Do you agree, Governor?
Obama	: Let — let — let me just finish the point.
Romney	: Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah.
Obama	: I suspect it'll be a small agreement.
Romney	: It's going over well in my state, by the way, yeah

3.1.1.3 Markers of And

Datum 1

Romney: Jim, our seniors depend on these programs. And I know any time we talk about entitlements, people become concerned that something's going to happen that's going to change their life for the worst, and the answer is, neither the president nor I are proposing any changes for any current retirees or near retirees, either to Social Security or Medicare.

Datum 2

Obama: But I have said that for incomes over \$250,000 a year that we should go back to the rates that we had when Bill Clinton was president, when we created 23 million new jobs, went from deficit to surplus and created a whole lot of millionaires to boot.

And the reason this is important is because by doing that, we can not only reduce the deficit, we can not only encourage job growth through small businesses, but we're also able to make the investments that are necessary in education or in energy.

Datum 3

Lehrer: Mr. President.

Obama: First of all, I think it's important for Governor Romney to present this plan that he says will only affect folks in the future. **And** the essence of the plan is that he would turn Medicare into a voucher program. It's called premium support, but it's understood to be a voucher program. \

3.1.1.4 Markers of but

Datum 1 Romney:*This is about getting jobs for the American people.* Lehrer:Yeah. Do you challenge what the governor just said about his own plan? Obamamy tax plan has already lowered taxes for 98 percent of families, I also lowered taxes for small businesses 18 times. And what I want to do is continue the tax rates — the tax cuts that we put into place for small

businesses and families.

"But" I have said that for incomes over \$250,000 a year that we should go back to the rates that we had when Bill Clinton was president, when we created 23 million new jobs, went from deficit to surplus and created a whole lot of millionaires to boot.

Datum 2

Romney My view is that we ought to provide tax relief to people in the middle class. "**But**" I'm not going to reduce the share of taxes paid by high-income people. High-income people are doing just fine in this economy. They'll do fine whether you're president or I am.

Datum 3

Lehrer: Mr. President.

Obama:Well, first of all, I think Governor Romney's going to have a busy first day, because he's also going to repeal "Obamacare," which will not be very popular among Democrats as you're sitting down with them.(Laughter.)

> "But" look, my philosophy has been I will take ideas from anybody, Democrat or Republican, as long as they're advancing the cause of making middle-class families stronger and giving ladders of opportunity into the middle class

Datum 4

Lehrer: *And* — *yeah*.

Obama:*The first role of the federal government is to keep the American people safe.*

"But" I also believe that government has the capacity — the federal government has the capacity to help open up opportunity and create ladders of opportunity and to create frameworks where the American people can succeed.

3.1.1.5 Markers of so

Datum 1

Lehrer: *All right, go* —

Romney: "So" — so if — if the tax plan he described were a tax plan I was asked to support, I'd say absolutely not. I'm not looking for a \$5 trillion tax cut. Whzat I've said is I won't put in place a tax cut that adds to the deficit. That's part one. So there's no economist can say Mitt Romney's tax plan adds 5 trillion (dollars) if I say I will not add to the deficit with my tax plan.

Datum 2

Romney: And unfortunately, when — when you look at "Obamacare," the Congressional Budget Office has said it will cost \$2,500 a year more than traditional insurance. So it's adding to cost. And as a matter of fact, when the president ran for office, he said that by this year he would have brought down the cost of insurance for each family by \$2,500 a family. Instead, it's gone up by that amount. So it's expensive. Expensive things hurt families. *So* that's one reason I don't want it.

3.1.1.6 Because

Datum 1

Romney: And you think, well, then why lower the rates? And the reason is **because** small business pays that individual rate. Fifty-four percent of America's workers work in businesses that are taxed not at the corporate tax rate but at the individual tax rate. And if we lower that rate, they will be able to hire more people. For me, this is about jobs.

Datum 2

OBAMA : Well, Jim, I want to thank you and I want to thank Governor Romney, because I think this was a terrific debate and I very much appreciate it.

3.1.1.6 Markers of you know

Datum 1

Obama : You know, four years ago we went through the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. Millions of jobs were lost. The auto industry was on the brink of collapse. The financial system had frozen up. And because of the resilience and the determination of the American people, we've begun to fight our way back.

Datum 2

Obama:As I indicated before, when you talk about shifting Medicaid to states, we're talking about potentially a — a 30 — a 30 percent cut in Medicaid over time. Now, **you know**, that may not seem like a big deal when it just is — **you know**, numbers on a sheet of paper, but if we're talking about a family who's got an autistic kid and is depending on that Medicaid, that's a big problem.

Datum 3

Obama: — of our deficits right now. **You know**, my grandmother, some of **you know**, helped to raise me. My grandparents did. She worked her way up, only had a high school education, started as a secretary, ended up being the vice president of a local bank.

Datum 4

Obama: You know, this is where budgets matter because budgets reflect choices. So when Governor Romney indicates that he wants to cut taxes and potentially benefit folks like me and him, and to pay for it, we're having to initiate significant cuts in federal support for education, that makes a difference.



