

DISCOURSE MARKERS IN POLITICAL SPEECHES OF AMERICAN AND INDONESIAN PRESIDENTS (A Comparative Study between Obama's and Jokowi's Political Speeches)

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Abstract: *Discourse Markers can be defined as expressions which relate discourse segments. Discourse markers analyzed and compared in this study are lexical cohesions in political speeches of the American and Indonesian presidents. In this study, the writer used descriptive qualitative method. The method includes collecting, arranging, classifying, analyzing, and interpreting the data. The data for the English political speeches were taken from washingtonpost.com and Federal News Service, and those for the Indonesian political speeches were taken from suarasurabaya.net and TEMPO.CO, Jakarta. The result of this study shows that the lexical cohesions as discourse markers in both languages are generally similar except the position where they occur. In English, lexical cohesions might occur in three positions in a sentence: initial, medial and final positions with special meaning for each position, while lexical cohesions in Indonesian language might not do as they occur only in the initial and medial positions, and not in the final position. In addition, it also shows that lexical cohesions in English political speeches are used more frequently than those in Indonesian political speeches.*

Keywords: *discourse markers, connector, lexical cohesion*

Introduction and Literature Review

Knowing how sentences and clauses in a text relate to each other is very helpful in understanding or interpreting the text. For example, whether the events referred to stand in a causal relation or whether one text segment provides an elaboration or a summary of another. The term or markers that relate sentences and clauses in a text or a discourse is called Discourse Markers (henceforth called DMs).

There is no agreement among the researchers on how DMs are to be defined or how they function. This is due to different research perspectives, DMs have been defined as sentence connectives from a systemic functional grammar perspective and also as pragmatic markers from a grammatical pragmatic view. However, most researchers agree that DMs are expressions which relate discourse segments (Yang, 2011).

Fraser (1999) stated that there are other names of discourse markers, i.e. discourse connectives, discourse operators, or cue phrases, and those expressions share one common property: they impose a relationship between some aspect of the discourse segment they are a part of, call it S2, and some aspect of a prior discourse segment, call it S1. In this sense, Fraser defined DMs as a class of lexical expressions drawn primarily from the syntactic class of conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositional phrases.

The DMs that relate one segment to another segment in a text or discourse might be explicit and implicit. The term used to refer to overt or explicit discourse markers might be called marked relations or marked discourse markers, while the covert or implicit DMs might be called unmarked relation or unmarked discourse markers.

Haberlandt (1982) in Taboada (2005) tested reading times with marked and unmarked relations between two sentences, and found that the pairs that were marked with a discourse marker were processed faster. In some cases, it can be argued that a relation is present, although not explicitly indicated. For instance, in Example (1) below, readers would agree that sentence (1b) is related to (1a) through a causal relation: the reason why Tom quit was that he was tired of the long hours. The relation can be made explicit through the conjunction 'because', as in Example (2). A different marker would void the causal relation, as is the case with 'anyway' in (3).

- 1) a. Tom quit his job.
- b. He was tired of the long hours.

- 2) Tom quit his job **because** he was tired of the long hours.
- 3) Tom quit his job. He was tired of the long hours, **anyway**.

Some DMs are straightforward conjunctions; for instance, in Example (4) below, the conjunction 'if' indicates that what follows is a condition on the previous statement (namely, that August 8th is a good date for the speaker).

- 4) [Arranging a meeting]

Uh . . . August eighth at nine thirty would be, fine. If, that's okay with you as well.

Further, the DMs might occur at any position of an utterance, Archakis (2001) and Fung and Carter (2007) in Yang (2011) state that DMs can be placed at any position that fits into the utterance. In most cases, however, it is common to find DMs in turn-initial position to signal upcoming information.

Like in English, in Indonesian language there are DMs which show relationship between some aspects of the discourse segment. These DMs are called 'penanda wacana'. The DMs in this case refer to the use of conjunctions or expressions to connect clauses or sentences to maintain the coherence and cohesion of the discourse and this investigation concerns the lexical cohesion used in the political speeches of president Jokowi. The DMs or 'penanda wacana' which refer to the lexical cohesion are similar to the lexical cohesion in English, like: 'and' to show additional relation, 'but' to show contrast, 'because' to indicate reason.

Based on the idea that DMs impose a relationship between some aspects of the discourse segments and they can occur at any position of an utterance and also they might be marked and unmarked, this study aims at analyzing and comparing DMs in the form of lexical cohesions between English and Indonesian languages, in which it tries to analyze the political speeches delivered by president Obama and president Jokowi not long after the presidential election day.

Method

In this study, the writer uses descriptive qualitative method. The method includes collecting, arranging, classifying, analyzing, and interpreting the data.

The data were taken through the electronic device in the internet; the transcripts of president Obama's political speeches were taken from *the Washington Post* and *the Federal News Service* while president Jokowi's political speeches were taken from *Tempo.co.Jakarta* and *suarasurabaya.net*. The reasons of choosing those presidents' political speeches are that they have similarities in terms of context, in which their first speeches are about the victorious speech not long after the presidential election day and their second speeches are the new president's inaugural political speeches which took place at the U.S. Capitol in Washington for Obama's political speech and at the Indonesian House of Representative for Jokowi's political speech. Thus, there are only four political speeches which were taken to be analyzed.

The lexical cohesions as DMs gotten from those transcripts were identified and then analyzed in terms of their functions and their positions among the clauses or sentences they combine and the meanings they have. And that the lexical cohesions appear more frequently were identified and put into percentage out of the amount of words used in both English and Indonesian political speeches. This is to due to the different amount of words used in those political speeches and this is also used to have a better way in comparing things in number.

Result and Discussion

1. DMs in English political speeches

Both president Obama's political speech transcripts consist of 9306 words and the DMs in the form of lexical cohesion are clearly stated in Obama's political speech. The most three common lexical cohesions used are: **and**, **because**, **but**. Out of 9306 words in both Obama political speeches, 3.88% (361) of them are '**and**', 0.58 (54) of them are '**because**' and 0.30% of

them are '**but**'. For the purpose of analysis, the writer concerns only few of them.

- a. The connector '**and**' might occurs at the middle and at the beginning of sentence give additional meaning. When '**and**' occurs at middle of sentence, it means to give additional meaning for the parallel sentences and to avoid the restatement for a part of sentence mentioned previously, for example:

"I'm committed to making Washington work better, **and** rebuilding the trust of the people who sent us here" (washingtonpost.com)

The example above can be extended into two sentences:
 1) *I'm committed to making Washington work better, and*
 2) *I'm committed to rebuilding the trust of the people who sent us here.*

When '**and**' occurs at the beginning of a sentence, it means to add or extend the previous statement, this case more frequently happen in the speech of Obama, such as in the following example:

"... The best measure of opportunity is access to a good job. With the economy picking up speed, companies say they intend to hire more people this year.

And over half of big manufacturers say they're thinking of insourcing jobs from abroad". (washingtonpost.com)

However, '**and**' might not mean to give additional meaning for the sentences or clauses stated previously but it means to start with new statement or idea, as we can find many of this case happen in Obama's political speech:

"...I want to thank my friend and partner of the last four years, America's happy warrior, the best vice president anybody could ever hope for, Joe Biden.

And I wouldn't be the man I am today without the woman who agreed to marry me 20 years ago". (Federal News Service)

- b. The connector '**because**', as Bauer & Ramazani (2008) state, appears commonly in the middle to connect two independent clauses and with '**because**', it is recommended to identify the REASON and the RESULT first in order to avoid a mix-up (incorrect meaning relationship), they illustrate this as: a). RESULT because + REASON . and b). Because + REASON, RESULT. The following examples show the result first and the reason as '**because**' occurs in the middle.

"...It moves forward **because** you reaffirmed the spirit that has triumphed over war and depression, ...". (Federal News Service)

"... and we close the prison at Guantanamo Bay **because** we counter terrorism not just through ...". (washingtonpost.com).

In a similar way to the meaning or function of 'because', 'as' is also used to indicate reason and the position 'as' in the beginning of the clause indicates that the emphasis is given to the reason, for example:

"...**As** this time of war draws to a close, a new generation of heroes returns to civilian life". (washingtonpost.com).

- c. The connector '**but**' is commonly used to indicate opposition or to introduce a statement that disagrees with something just said.

"..., I have used force when needed to protect the American people, and I will never hesitate to do so as long as I hold this office. **But** I will not send our troops into harm's way unless it is truly necessary, ...". (washingtonpost.com).

However 'but' is not always used to indicate opposition but it also may be used to introduce a clause or a new sentence that adds information such as background or reasoning, such as in the following statement:

"But if we work together; if we summon what is best in us, the way Cory summoned what is best in him, with our feet planted firmly in today but our eyes cast towards tomorrow, I know it's within our reach". (washingtonpost.com).

Apart from the function and meaning indicated by the connector 'but' mentioned above, it is also used to emphasize a statement which means 'only or just' as happen in the example below:

"Sasha and Malia before our very eyes, you're growing up to become two strong, smart, beautiful young women, just like your mom. And I am so proud of you guys. **But I** will say that for now, one dog's probably enough". (Federal News Service).

- d. The word '**so**' is used in this speech not only to introduce the reason for doing what has just been mentioned but also to get audience attention as it mostly happen in the beginning of sentence or clause, such as in the examples below:

"When people come here to fulfill their dreams -- to study, invent, contribute to our culture -- they make our country a more attractive place for businesses to locate and create jobs for everybody. **So** let's get immigration reform done this year. ...". (washingtonpost.com)

"So even as we actively and aggressively pursue terrorist networks, through more targeted efforts and by building the capacity of our foreign partners, America must move off a permanent war footing. ...". (washingtonpost.com).

The word '**so**' is also used to introduce the result of the situation that has just been mentioned:

“... I'll build on that success by setting new standards for our trucks **so** we can keep driving down oil imports and what we pay at the pump”. (washingtonpost.com).

However, the word '**that**' in the following example has the meaning that '**so**' has, namely to introduce result, such as in the following statement:

“... I will reform our surveillance programs because the vital work of our intelligence community depends on public confidence, here and abroad, **that** privacy of ordinary people is not being violated”. (washingtonpost.com)

Further, it is found that there are only few of the unmarked DMs in the political speeches delivered by president Obama and this perhaps because the political speeches must be easily understood by the audience. Those unmarked DMs can be inferred in the examples quoted from *Federal News Service* below:

1. *Tonight you voted for action, not politics as usual.*
2. *It's not small, it's big*
3. *..., that something better awaits us so long as we have the courage to keep reaching, to keep working, to keep fighting*
4. *America's never been about what can be done for us; it's about what can be done by us together, ...*

The implicit DMs in the first and third examples, can be 'and' as the relation between these two clauses is to show addition, in the second example is 'but' to show contrast, while in the fourth example could be 'but' or 'however' to introduce some form of contrast.

2. DMs in Indonesian political speeches

Both president Jokowi's political speeches consist of 1252 words, thus they are fewer than the words in both president Obama's political speeches which consist of 9306 words. The

most three lexical cohesions which commonly appear in president Jokowi's political speeches are '**dan**' (**and**), '**tetapi**' (**but**), and '**jika**' (**if**), in which out of 1252 words in president Jokowi's political speeches, 4.63% (58) of them are '**dan**', 0.72% (9) of them are '**tetapi**' and 0.24% (3) of them '**jika**'. And for the purpose of analysis, the writer focuses only on some of them.

- a. Like in English, the word '**dan**' (**and**) is the most frequently used and it is used to give additional meaning for the sentences or clauses stated previously or to extend the previous statement such as in the following examples:

*Lupakanlah nomor 1 **dan** lupakanlah nomor 2, marilah kembali ke Indonesia Raya. (Tempo.co, Jakarta)*

*Kita tidak akan pernah besar jika terjebak dalam keterbelahan dan keterpecahan. **Dan**, kita tidak pernah betul-betul merdeka tanpa kerja keras. (suarasurabaya.net)*

- b. The word '**tetapi**' (**but**) as in English is used to used to introduce a statement that disagrees with something just said. However not like in English, the clauses before '**tetapi**' (**but**) in Indonesia are commonly in negative form or meaning, like in the following examples:

*Kerja besar membangun bangsa tidak mungkin dilakukan sendiri oleh Presiden, Wakil Presiden ataupun jajaran Pemerintahan yang saya pimpin, **tetapi** membutuhkan topangan kekuatan kolektif yang merupakan kesatuan seluruh bangsa. (suarasurabaya.net)*

*Pemilihan Umum Presiden telah membawa politik ke sebuah fase baru bukan lagi sebagai sebuah peristiwa politik semata-mata, **tetapi** peristiwa kebudayaan. (Tempo.co, Jakarta)*

- c. The words '**apabila**' and '**jika**' (if) which commonly occur in the middle of sentence indicate the condition or something that must exist for something else to happen, such as:

*... perjuangan mencapai Indonesia yang berdaulat, Indonesia yang berdikari dan Indonesia yang berkepribadian, hanya akan dapat tercapai dan terwujud **apabila** kita bergerak bersama mulai sekarang. (Tempo.co, Jakarta)*

*Kita tidak akan pernah besar **jika** terjebak dalam keterbelahan dan keterpecahan. (suarasurabaya.net)*

*Negara ini akan semakin kuat dan berwibawa **jika** semua lembaga negara bekerja memanggul mandat yang telah diberikan oleh Konstitusi. (suarasurabaya.net)*

- d. The words '**sehingga**' (so) is commonly used to introduce the result of the situation that has just been mentioned such as in the statement below:

*Kini saatnya kita mengembalikan semuanya **sehingga** Jalesveva Jayamahe, di Laut justru kita jaya, sebagai semboyan nenek moyang kita di masa lalu, bisa kembali membahana. (suarasurabaya.net)*

Like DMs in English, some DMs in Indonesian language are stated implicitly (unmarked), the most unmarked DMs which occur in Indonesian political speeches is the word '**and**', such as in the following example in which between the two sentences, '**and**' can be inserted to show additional relationship:

*Baru saja kami mengucapkan **sumpah, sumpah** itu memiliki makna spritual yang dalam (suarasurabaya.net)*

3. Similarities and differences of DMs in English and Indonesian political speeches

The DMs in this case lexical cohesions in English and Indonesian languages are commonly similar in function and

meaning such as '**and**' ('**dan**' in Indonesia) is used to give additional relationship between segments in discourse. However '**and**' in English political speeches is used not only to relate two clauses or sentences but also to relate ideas between one segment or paragraph and the other ones, and thus the word '**and**' occur in the beginning of a segment or paragraph.

The word '**so**' ('**sehingga**' in Indonesia) in both English and Indonesian political speeches is used to introduce the reason for what has just been mentioned, however in English political speeches it is also used to get audience attention as it mostly happens in the beginning of sentence or clause as in the example:

***So** even as we actively and aggressively pursue terrorist networks, through more targeted efforts and by building the capacity of our foreign partners, America must move off a permanent war footing. ... (washingtonpost.com)*

At last, the number of DMs found in English political speeches in particularly which refer to the lexical cohesions are more than that in Indonesian political speeches, this perhaps the Indonesian political speeches taken in this investigation is shorter than those English political speeches and also this is might be due to the different individual capability of those who delivered political speeches taken as the sample in this study. Further, looking at the percentage of most common lexical cohesions used out of the total number of words in both political speeches, it is found that the percentage of using '**and**' (**dan**) in Indonesian political speeches is 4.63%; greater than that in English political speeches with 3.88%.

Conclusion

The DMs which refer to the lexical cohesion in both English and Indonesian political speeches have similar function and meaning in common, except in a certain case especially in relation to their positions; in English they may occur in the beginning, in the middle or in the last of the sentences with

special meaning for each, while in Indonesian they occur only in the beginning and in the middle.

As this study only considers lexical cohesions as DMs and takes only four political speeches delivered by two presidents, the result of it cannot be generalized that lexical cohesions in English political speeches are more frequently used than those in Indonesian political speeches.

Based on this simple study, it is suggested for those who are interested in investigating the similar case to look at other aspects of DMs and to take more examples as data. In addition, it would be more challenging if the study is to look at and compare speeches between two languages or more in term of their rhetorical aspects.

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