

The application of politeness principles in speech acts in the 2024 presidential Election debate

Mulyono, Kisyani Laksono, Rusdhianti Wuryaningrum & Anggoro Abiyyu Ristio Cahyo

To cite this article: Mulyono, Kisyani Laksono, Rusdhianti Wuryaningrum & Anggoro Abiyyu Ristio Cahyo (2025) The application of politeness principles in speech acts in the 2024 presidential Election debate, Cogent Arts & Humanities, 12:1, 2495479, DOI: [10.1080/23311983.2025.2495479](https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2025.2495479)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2025.2495479>



© 2025 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 05 May 2025.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

The application of politeness principles in speech acts in the 2024 presidential Election debate

Mulyono , Kisyani Laksono , Rusdhianti Wuryaningrum 
and Anggoro Abiyyu Ristio Cahyo 

Department of Language and Literature, Faculty of Language and Arts, State University of Surabaya, Surabaya, Indonesia

ABSTRACT

Language politeness is a pragmatic topic that can help identify potential presidential candidates in positioning themselves in debates. This study analyzes the application of the principle of linguistic politeness in improving the delivery of speech acts in the debate of the presidential candidates of the Republic of Indonesia in 2024. With a pragmatic approach, the analysis was conducted based on politeness strategies, politeness maxims and linguistic expressions of politeness using data from verbatim debate transcripts. The results showed that Anies Baswedan dominated the Politeness Strategy, particularly through positive politeness to build solidarity and create inclusive communication. Prabowo Subianto dominates in applying the maxim of politeness, especially the maxim of generosity to emphasize commitment to joint solutions. In addition, Prabowo Subianto also dominated the use of Politeness Linguistic Expressions, such as committers and hesitators. This research confirms that the strategic application of language politeness principles can increase the deliverability of speech acts, strengthen the candidate's image and persuasively influence public opinion in political debates.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 3 January 2025
Revised 10 April 2025
Accepted 16 April 2025

KEYWORDS

Language politeness;
speech acts; political
debate; communication
strategy; pragmatic

SUBJECTS



Applied Linguistics;
Language & Linguistics;
Pragmatics

1. Introduction

The presidential election in Indonesia is a valuable moment. Therefore, there is a term 'democratic party' to describe how lively the event is. In the context of persuasion, the event is referred to as a party for the people or in the book it is called pivotal moments in a presidential contest (Dailey et al., 2008). This is important to motivate Indonesians to cast their votes by participating in elections.

Every Indonesian citizen has a legally protected right to express opinions freely, without fear of intimidation or discrimination (Bagir et al., 2020; Budiono et al., 2020; Fernando & Nur, 2022; Wardiono et al., 2021). Freedom of speech is regulated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 9 of 1998, as the expression of opinions must be carried out based on democratic principles and uphold human rights (Najib et al., 2024; Sofwan et al., 2022; Wahyuni, 2020). In political debates, candidates are in the spotlight because this moment allows the public to assess the candidates' ability to convey ideas, visions and solutions to the nation's problems.

Political debates are platforms where candidates present arguments and demonstrate effective language strategies (Boussalis et al., 2021; Steffan, 2020; Zarouali et al., 2022). One important strategy is the application of politeness principles. These principles play a role in maintaining polite interactions, avoiding verbal conflicts and ensuring communication remains ethical (Bardon et al., 2023; Iwry, 2021; Tkotz et al., 2021). In a debate atmosphere full of pressure and competition,

CONTACT Mulyono  mulyono@unesa.ac.id  Department of Language and Literature, Faculty of Language and Arts, State University of Surabaya, Kampus Lidah, Jalan Kampus Lidah Unesa, Surabaya 60213, Indonesia
<http://unesa.ac.id>

Current affiliation of Mulyono Mulyono is Universitas Negeri Surabaya

© 2025 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

politeness is an important key for candidates to maintain their image in front of the public while attracting voters' sympathy.

A politeness strategy through acts of affiliation, respect, and positive politeness plays an important role in reducing threats. A politeness strategy builds solidarity and maintains harmonious relationships in communication (Ackermann, 2023; Llorica & Sosas, 2023; Mubarak & Rhaif, 2022; Shen et al., 2023). With this strategy, candidates can formulate speech acts that are more convincing and accepted by the audience.

Courtesy is an agreed social rule to avoid conflict, build a positive image and reduce the potential for confrontation (Aljuraywi & Alyousef, 2022; Pirdehghan, 2024; Tarmini et al., 2023). In political debates, courtesy is reflected in the candidate's ability to convey messages and maintain the audience's trust.

Presidential debates are not just a platform for candidates to present their policies. They are high-stakes arenas where political credibility is tested, alliances are challenged and public perception is shaped in real time. Unlike scripted speeches or controlled interviews, debates require quick thinking and strategic communication. Candidates must assert their positions while maintaining politeness to ensure that their arguments remain persuasive without alienating voters.

In the 2024 presidential debate organized by the KPU, the candidates were confronted with critical national issues. This required them to navigate complex topics appropriately. Debates not only demanded relevant and formal language, but also required candidates to carefully manage their public image. In this context, linguistic politeness became a very important tool for maintaining professionalism, credibility and audience engagement.

Several studies have examined politeness strategies in Indonesian political discourse. Mardiana et al. (2025) analyzed speech acts in Commission X of the DPR RI, highlighting how politeness enhances political persuasion in policy discussions. Juita et al. (2024) explored linguistic politeness among female politicians on social media, revealing that rhetorical strategies, such as tact and agreement maxims play a key role in shaping public perception and credibility. Meanwhile, Wijayanti et al. (2022) investigated politeness strategies in leadership discourse, demonstrating how speech acts and linguistic politeness contribute to leader identity construction in formal settings. These relevant studies offer valuable insights into political discourse. The relevant studies focus on structured interactions, such as parliamentary debates, social media communications and professional interviews.

The relevant research differs from the current research. Presidential debates are spontaneous, competitive events watched by a wide audience. Candidates must implement a strategy of politeness in real time while maintaining their self-image in the midst of interactions that could threaten their credibility. Although this aspect is important, research on politeness strategies in election debates remains limited. This study fills that gap by analyzing how strategies of politeness were used in the 2024 Indonesian presidential debate to shape public perceptions, maintain credibility and support persuasive political communication.

This study focuses on three main aspects of the presidential candidate debate. First, the strategies used by candidates to maintain interpersonal relationships and build self-image. Second, the maxims of politeness applied to create harmony and facilitate clear and constructive communication. Third, the expressions of linguistic politeness used in conveying arguments, criticisms and responses. These three aspects provide an overview of how presidential candidates apply linguistic politeness. This study reveals the strategies, maxims and linguistic expressions used to build a positive image while attracting public sympathy.

2. Literature review

This section describes the literature review that is the basis of this research.

2.1. Brown and Levinson's politeness theory

Language politeness is an important aspect in the study of pragmatics, especially in the analysis of social interaction involving speech acts. Brown and Levinson (1987) explain that speakers manage

interactions by paying attention to the concept of 'face,' which is the self-image maintained by each individual in communication. Two types of 'faces' that play a role in interaction are positive face and negative face. In political debates maintaining a positive face is important to gain public support, while a negative face is related to candidates' efforts to maintain freedom of expression without pressure.

In political debates, candidates are faced with the challenge of maintaining their self-image (positive face), while remaining strategically critical. Brown and Levinson offer several politeness strategies to deal with threats to 'face,' such as bald on record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record. Bald on-record is used when speakers speak directly and firmly without mitigation (Handayani et al., 2022). Positive politeness emphasizes solidarity and attention to the interlocutor (Prayitno et al., 2022). Negative politeness focuses more on respecting the freedom and privacy of the other party (Masruddin et al., 2023). Off-record strategies allow speakers to make statements implicitly or indirectly (Daar et al., 2023).

These politeness strategies help speakers balance the need to remain competitive without damaging their self-image in the eyes of both interlocutors and audiences. Managing the threats that must be 'face' is an important element in creating communication deliverables. It becomes crucial, especially in situations that have the potential to create conflict or competition, such as political debates.

2.2. Leech's maxims of politeness

The maxims of politeness in communication play an important role in the study of pragmatics, especially in maintaining social harmony and avoiding verbal conflict. Geoffrey Leech (1983) explains that the theory of politeness maxims guides in interacting politely to maintain harmony and avoid verbal conflict. This theory expands the concept of politeness by establishing principles that help speakers balance personal interests and the interests of others.

Leech identifies six maxims that form the basis of polite communication, namely the maxims of wisdom, generosity, compliment, humility, agreement and sympathy. The maxim of wisdom encourages speakers to minimize harm to others (Kosasih et al., 2024). Generosity maxim requires speakers to maximize benefits for others (Indrajaya & Mulatsih, 2021). The maxim of praise invites speakers to minimize disagreement and conflict (Sarwin, 2021). The maxim of humility encourages speakers not to exalt themselves (Jewad et al., 2020). Agreement maxim maximizes agreement or support for the interlocutor's opinion (Culpeper & Pat, 2021). The sympathy maxim encourages speakers to show sympathy and concern for others (Moosawi & Shammari, 2023).

The application of the maxims of politeness helps maintain good relations between participants and influences the audience's judgment of them. By using strategies that take these six maxims into account, speakers can keep communication polite and harmonious.

2.3. Linguistic expressions of politeness according to House and Kasper

Linguistic expressions of politeness are used to keep communication polite while reducing the potential for conflict in interaction. House and Kasper (1981) studied language politeness with a focus on how it is conveyed through linguistic expressions. These linguistic tools help speakers convey messages subtly, avoid confrontation and maintain social harmony, especially in formal contexts such as political debates. Some main concepts used as politeness markers are Politeness Markers, Consultative Devices, Downtoners, Committers, Hesitators and Agent Avoiders.

Politeness Markers are expressions added to an utterance to show a request for cooperation. Consultative Devices function to show the speaker's openness to the interlocutor's opinion (Mirzaei & Parhizkar, 2021:11). Downtoners are used to weaken statements to make them sound more polite (Al Kayed et al., 2020:12). Committers associate the speaker with the statement personally (Syting & Gildore, 2022:135). Hesitators are expressions of indecision, such as 'uhm' or 'I think,' which give the speaker time and reduce the pressure on the interlocutor (Agustina & Putri, 2020:125). Agent avoiders use passive voice to avoid direct mention of the actor in the action (Fiaz et al., 2024:27).

The use of these politeness markers allows speakers to keep communication diplomatic, especially in formal or debate situations. The use of these linguistic tools allows speakers to reduce threats to interlocutors, maintain harmony and convey arguments subtly but still clearly.

3. Research methods

This research uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive method. The research approach was chosen to describe and analyze the principles of language politeness applied by the candidates in the presidential debate. The pragmatic approach was used to analyze speech acts in political debate interactions.

3.1. Participants

The sample in this study is the oral speech of the candidates in the 2024 Presidential Candidate debate of the Republic of Indonesia. The debate was organized by the General Election Commission or *Komisi Pemilihan Umum* (KPU) of the Republic of Indonesia and involved three candidates. The debate consisted of several rounds that discussed strategic themes about state problems. The selection of samples was based on moments in the debate that showed the delivery of arguments, criticism of interlocutors, or responses to difficult question. The samples were selected by considering the relevance of the utterances to the research objectives.

3.2. Instruments

The main instrument of this research was the video recordings of the presidential debates. The instrument was accessed and downloaded from an official online platform. The recordings were transcribed verbatim to ensure all candidates' utterances were accurately recorded. Each transcript was analyzed to identify politeness strategies based on pragmatic theories, including Politeness Strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987), Politeness Maxims (Leech, 1983) and Linguistic Expressions of Politeness (House and Kasper, 1981). The transcription process was thorough to ensure the reliability of the data.

3.3. Data collection procedures

The data collection process in this study was conducted by accessing and downloading official video recordings of the first, third and fifth rounds of the 2024 Indonesian presidential candidate debates provided by the KPU.

All statements in these videos were transcribed verbatim to ensure data accuracy. The transcription process was carried out meticulously, paying close attention to every verbal interaction that occurred during the debates. After completing the transcription, the researcher selected segments that demonstrated the use of politeness strategies, politeness maxims, and linguistic politeness expressions in arguments, criticisms, proposed solutions and responses to complex questions.

3.4. Data analysis

The transcribed data were analyzed using the comprehensive listening and taking notes method and content analysis. The analysis involved observing each relevant speech act in the transcripts to identify politeness strategies. A pragmatic approach was used to understand the politeness strategies applied by the candidates in various communication situations. The data were then compared with the theoretical framework of Politeness Strategies (Brown and Levinson), Politeness Maxims (Leech) and Linguistic Expressions of Politeness (House and Kasper). The results of the analysis provide in-depth insights into the application of language politeness principles in political debates. This aims to create communication that is delivered politely and persuasively.

4. Results and discussion

The results of this study show that the principle of politeness plays an important role in shaping communication patterns in the 2024 Indonesian presidential candidate debates. The candidates utilize linguistic politeness to convey ideas, criticisms and responses assertively. The application of this strategy is to create a constructive debate atmosphere, strengthen self-image and attract public sympathy in the context of intense political competition.

Politeness is present in the form of strategies, maxims, and language expressions used by the candidates. The use of appropriate language elements allows messages to be delivered straightforwardly. This finding reinforces the understanding that intelligent and directed political communication depends heavily on the ability to maintain the ethics of polite language.

4.1. Politeness strategies in the presidential candidate debate

This study found that the candidates in the presidential debate of the Republic of Indonesia 2024 applied four politeness strategies. This strategy is used to maintain self-image and ensure that communication remains focused. Each strategy is used with a different approach to strengthen interpersonal relationships, deliver criticism politely, show assertiveness or open discussion space without confrontation. [Table 1](#) summarizes the application of these strategies.

The results of the analysis in [Table 1](#) show that the strategy of politeness in language helped to create directed speech acts in the 2024 Republic of Indonesia presidential candidate debate. Anies Baswedan used a combination of positive politeness and off-record dominantly to create inclusive and diplomatic communication. This approach allowed him to convey criticism subtly, strengthen solidarity and maintain the harmony of the discussion. Prabowo Subianto combined negative politeness and bald-on-record, highlighting the balance between respect for interlocutors and assertiveness in delivering criticism. The strategy creates an image of a straightforward and firm leader. Ganjar Pranowo used positive and negative politeness to show empathy and caution in providing solutions. This choice shows precision in fostering cooperative communication.

Of the three candidates, the strategy applied by Anies Baswedan appears to stand out in shaping clear and purposeful speech acts. He is able to convey criticism in a subtle yet firm way, creating communication that feels inclusive and strengthens a sense of togetherness. This communication style also reflects the values of Indonesian culture, which emphasize harmony and politeness, while still being able to reach diverse audiences without losing clarity. Although each candidate uses politeness strategies in relatively balanced ways, Anies shows a strong consistency in applying positive politeness and indirect strategies at key moments, such as when responding to sensitive questions or offering criticism. This consistency makes his communication feel coherent and deliberate. The strategic use of polite language helps him build a credible image and influence public opinion in the midst of a competitive and dynamic political debate.

A courtesy strategy helps build directed communication and create a positive image of the candidate. Even so, some research shows that audience reception can be different. Caldero and Sun (2021) say that courtesy strategies can be perceived as circular and less straightforward by listeners who prefer direct clarity. The use of bald-on-record can give a firm impression, to the point of risking being judged rude by voters who uphold courtesy. On the other hand, the off-style has the potential to provide room for thought but can feel less certain for audiences who want certainty. These findings show that politeness strategies need to be carefully designed according to the character of the audience and the ever-changing context of the debate.

4.2. Politeness maxims in the presidential candidate debate

This study found that the candidates in the presidential candidate debate of the Republic of Indonesia 2024 strategically applied the six maxims of politeness outlined by Leech (1983). The application of this maxim aims to maintain interpersonal relationships while building directed political communication.

Table 1. Implementation of politeness strategies in political debates.

No.	Politeness strategy	Candidate	Speech	Analysis
1	Positive politeness	Anies Baswedan	<i>3rd debate</i> <i>Ketika dikatakan bahwa standar etika yang dipegang adalah tinggi. Memang, menjadi presiden, panglima tertinggi, harus memiliki standar etika yang amat tinggi. Itu harus, karena dia akan mengambil keputusan mengerahkan pasukan...</i> 'When it is said that the ethical standards held are high. Indeed, being the president, the commander-in-chief, must have very high ethical standards. It must, because he will make the decision to deploy troops...' (KPU Ri, 2024b)	Shows appreciation by using lexical emphasis <i>harus</i> 'must' and repetition structure, to build solidarity and highlight the importance of ethical standards.
		Prabowo Subianto	<i>5th Debate</i> <i>Secara garis besar, secara objektif saya menilai jawaban-jawaban Pak Anies baik, bagus, relevan. Saya banyak setuju dengan jawaban tersebut...</i> 'Broadly speaking, objectively I think Mr Anies' answers are good, good, relevant. I agree with many of these answers...' (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Acknowledges contributions by using lexical <i>baik, bagus, relevan</i> 'good, great, relevant' and the honorific Pak Anies 'Mr. Anies', creating a positive discussion atmosphere.
		Ganjar Pranowo	<i>5th debate</i> <i>Kalau pendidikan mau maju maka fasilitas mesti diberikan. Negara harus hadir dan makin inklusif...</i> 'If education is to progress, facilities must be provided. The state must be present and more inclusive...' (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Builds commitment to collective needs by using phrase <i>mesti diberikan</i> 'must be provided' and state obligation emphasis, promoting inclusiveness in education.
2	Negative politeness	Anies Baswedan	<i>3rd debate</i> <i>Kalau Bapak tidak menunjuk-kan, berarti memang faktanya benar. Itulah kenyataan yang ada di lapangan...</i> 'If you don't show it, it means that the facts are true. That is the reality on the ground...' (KPU Ri, 2024b)	Uses indirect statements with <i>Kalau Bapak tidak menunjukkan</i> 'If you do not show', to reduce confrontation and maintain respect.
		Prabowo Subianto	<i>5th Debate</i> <i>Pak Anies, kita mengerti tadi bahwa angka kematian atau usia hidup Indonesia termasuk cukup memprihatinkan...</i> 'Mr. Anies, we understand that Indonesia's mortality rate or life expectancy is quite alarming...' (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Shows polite disagreement by using inclusive phrase <i>kita mengerti</i> 'we understand' and cautious lexical choice <i>cukup memprihatinkan</i> 'quite alarming'.
		Ganjar Pranowo	<i>5th Debate</i> <i>Saya izinkan kok, Bapak, biar kita berdebat. Karena beliau tidak mau bereaksi, saya ingatkan saja pertanyaannya.</i> 'I allow you, Mr., to let us debate. Since he doesn't want to react, I'll just remind him of the question...' (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Requests permission with <i>Saya izinkan kok, Bapak</i> 'I allow you, Sir' to maintain politeness before giving a reminder.
3	Bald-on Record	Anies Baswedan	<i>3rd debate</i> <i>Tidak ada yang perlu dirahasia-kan. Bapak Presiden menyam-paikan bahwa Bapak punya lahan lebih dari 340.000 hektar, sementara TNI kita, prajurit kita, lebih dari separuh tidak punya rumah dinas...</i> 'There is nothing that needs to be kept secret. Mr. President said that you have more than 340.000 hectares of land, while our TNI, our soldiers, more than half do not have official houses...' (KPU Ri, 2024b)	Delivers direct criticism with <i>tidak ada yang perlu dirahasiakan</i> 'nothing needs to be kept secret', to show assertiveness.
		Prabowo Subianto	<i>3rd debate</i> <i>Kita harus menjaga, dan habis itu, kita harus mengelola kekayaan kita...</i> 'We must protect, and after that, we must manage our wealth...' (KPU Ri, 2024b)	Emphasizes urgency by using repetition of structure <i>kita harus</i> 'we must', highlighting immediate action.
		Ganjar Pranowo	<i>5th Debate</i> <i>Pak Anies, lagi ramai, kita mau tanya soal Bansos. Karena, menurut saya, Bansos ini adalah kewajiban negara, dan rakyat berhak mendapatkannya...</i> 'Mr. Anies, it's busy, we want to ask about Bansos. Because, in my opinion, this Bansos is a state obligation, and the people deserve it...' (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Voices firm evaluation with <i>menurut saya</i> 'in my opinion' and direct statement structure, to assert views on social obligations.

(Continued)

Table 1. Continued.

No.	Politeness strategy	Candidate	Speech	Analysis
4	Off-Record	Anies Baswedan	<i>3rd debate</i> <i>Kami melihat penting sekali untuk kita tenang, dingin, jangan emosional dalam menghadapi persoalan-persoalan kenegaraan...</i> 'We see that it is very important for us to be calm, cool, not emotional in dealing with state issues...' (KPU Ri, 2024b)	Gives indirect advice with phrases <i>tenang, dingin, jangan emosional</i> 'calm, cool, not emotional', encouraging self-reflection.
		Prabowo Subianto	<i>3rd debate</i> <i>Saya mengundang kita bicara terbuka terbuka. Silakan, tapi saya ingatkan bapak cinta atau tidak dengan negara ini...</i> 'I invite us to talk openly. Please, but I remind you whether you love this country or not...' (KPU Ri, 2024b)	Invites open discussion by using <i>Saya mengundang kita bicara terbuka</i> 'I invite us to talk openly', combined with rhetorical challenge.
		Ganjar Pranowo	<i>5th Debate</i> <i>Apakah Bapak setuju dengan gagasan saya untuk secara besar-besaran mengirim 10 ribu anak-anak kita ke luar negeri dengan beasiswa penuh...</i> 'Do you agree with my idea to massively send 10,000 of our children abroad on full scholarship...' (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Uses rhetorical question <i>Apakah Bapak setuju</i> 'Do you agree', to open discussion without direct confrontation.

Each maxim is used to strengthen cohesion, create a cooperative discussion atmosphere, and build a positive self-image before the public. Table 2 summarizes the application of these maxims by each candidate.

The results of the analysis in Table 2 show that politeness maxims play an important role in building harmonious interpersonal relationships and creating directed communication in the 2024 Republic of Indonesia presidential candidate debate. Anies Baswedan used the maxims of wisdom and sympathy predominantly to highlight his concern for vulnerable groups while creating a strong emotional connection. The strategy strengthened his image as a caring and inclusive leader. Prabowo Subianto more often applied the maxims of generosity and agreement that highlighted his commitment to collective solutions while maintaining the harmony of the discussion. This approach reinforced his image as a firm but togetherness-oriented leader. Meanwhile, Ganjar Pranowo emphasized appreciation for the contributions of the interlocutor through compliments and humility. This reflects a cooperative and empathetic attitude.

Of the three candidates, Prabowo Subianto's strategy in building focused and directed communication stands out the most. His dominant use of generosity and agreement maxims illustrates a strong commitment to collective problem-solving, aligning with the Indonesian public's values of collaboration and inclusive leadership. His ability to combine harmony and assertiveness helps foster public trust and reinforces his image as a visionary leader. While the overall frequency of politeness maxims among the candidates appears relatively balanced, Prabowo's consistency and contextual precision in applying these maxims during critical moments of the debate, particularly when responding to challenges and articulating key policy commitments, makes his approach appear more coherent and impactful.

The application of politeness maxims in debate does not always produce a uniform impression in the public eye. The act of giving praise or agreeing with the opponent's opinion can be considered polite as well as risky to be seen as lacking in critical acumen. Wahdani et al. (2023) mention that excessive agreement can weaken the argument's position. On the other hand, expressions of strong sympathy can be warmly received by some audiences but can also be considered empty rhetoric by those who prioritize concrete action. The use of generosity maxims can reinforce the image of caring, but a more skeptical public may see it as a political promise that is not always realized. These findings show that the application of maxims needs to adjust to the increasingly diverse expectations of the audience, which is careful in assessing the sincerity of a leader.

4.3. Linguistic expressions of politeness in presidential debates

Linguistic expressions of politeness describe the candidates in the debate of the presidential candidates of the Republic of Indonesia 2024. Strategically applying various linguistic devices of politeness

Table 2. Application of politeness maxims in political debates.

No.	Maxims of politeness	Candidate	Speech	Analysis
1	Tact maxim	Anies Baswedan	5th Debate ...Ketika sampai kepada Bansos, Bansos ini adalah atas nama negara. Ketika saya bertugas di Jakarta, semua paket Bansos, di kerudnya, diberikan label 'Dibiayai APBD DKI Jakarta', bukan dari gubernur. '...When it comes to Bansos, this Bansos is on behalf of the state. When I was in Jakarta, all Bansos packages, on the box, were labeled 'Financed by DKI Jakarta APBD', not from the governor.' (KPU RI, 2024c)	Shows wisdom by using the passive construction <i>dibiayai APBD DKI Jakarta</i> 'funded by the Jakarta Regional Budget', to emphasize collective responsibility.
		Prabowo Subianto	1st Debate Kita harus rukun, kita harus bersatu, kita tidak boleh menghasut, memecah belah... Hanya dengan kerukunan, hanya dengan kearifan, hanya dengan kebersihan jiwa... Cinta tanah air Indonesia akan maju, adil, negara hebat. 'We must get along, we must unite, we must not incite, divide ... Only with harmony, only with wisdom, only with the cleanliness of soul... Love for the country Indonesia will be a developed, just, great country.' (KPU RI, 2024a)	Promotes unity by repeating the inclusive pronoun <i>kita</i> 'we', reinforcing the sense of togetherness and cooperation.
		Ganjar Pranowo	5th Debate Ini menarik, dan kami punya data yang bisa kita baca. Tentu saja, ini penting. Paradigma Bansos, sekali lagi, ini betul-betul hak rakyat... 'This is interesting, and we have data that we can read. Of course, this is important. The Bansos paradigm, again, this is really the right of the people...' (KPU RI, 2024c)	Highlights public concern by using the lexical emphasis <i>hak rakyat</i> 'the people's rights', to stress fairness and social justice.
2	Generosity maxim	Anies Baswedan	5th Debate Bansos itu bisa dipastikan untuk mereka yang miskin dan prasejahtera, termasuk di dalamnya. Jangan sampai mereka terlewatkan. 'Social assistance can be ensured for those who are poor and underprivileged, including them. Don't let them be overlooked.' (KPU RI, 2024c)	Expresses generosity by using the inclusive pronoun <i>mereka</i> 'they' and the phrase <i>bisa dipastikan</i> 'can be ensured', to affirm commitment to the underprivileged.
		Prabowo Subianto	5th Debate ...Saudara-saudara sekalian, kita juga akan membangun 3 juta rumah untuk mereka yang belum punya rumah. '...Ladies and gentlemen, we will also build 3 million houses for those who do not have a house.' (KPU RI, 2024c)	Shows a strong commitment by using the verb <i>akan</i> 'will' and inclusive pronoun <i>kita</i> 'we', reinforcing a collective promise.
		Ganjar Pranowo	5th Debate Maka, pada tahap berikutnya, barulah kita memberikan fasilitas kesehatan sampai ke desa-desa. Seperti yang tadi saya sampaikan, satu desa, satu fasilitas kesehatan, satu tenaga kesehatan. 'Then, in the next stage, we will provide health facilities to the villages. As I said earlier, one village, one health facility, one health worker.' (KPU RI, 2024c)	Demonstrates a proactive approach by using the phrase <i>barulah</i> 'only then', to indicate prioritization and structured planning.
3	Approbation maxim	Anies Baswedan	5th Debate Apa yang disampaikan Pak Prabowo tadi baik, izinkan kami meneruskan Pak Prabowo. Data ini diperlukan komprehensif. 'What Mr. Prabowo said was good, let us continue Mr. Prabowo. This data needs to be comprehensive.' (KPU RI, 2024c)	Strengthens interpersonal relations by using the lexical compliment <i>baik</i> 'good' and the honorific reference <i>Pak Prabowo</i> 'Mr. Prabowo', to show respect.
		Prabowo Subianto	3rd Debate Kita patut bersyukur bahwa, dalam beberapa dasawarsa ini, negara kita terhindar dari konflik bersenjata dengan negara asing. Hal ini berkat kepemimpinan dan kenegaraan-wanan para pemimpin kita. 'We should be grateful that, in recent decades, our country has avoided armed conflict with foreign countries. This is thanks to the leadership and statesmanship of our leaders.' (KPU RI, 2024b)	Encourages appreciation by using the lexical praise <i>berkat kepemimpinan</i> 'thanks to the leadership', reinforcing the role of national figures.
		Ganjar Pranowo	5th Debate Pak Anies tadi betul, ikhtiar para mahasiswa hari ini adalah agar mereka tetap bisa sekolah... 'Mr. Anies was right, the efforts of the students today are so that they can still go to school...' (KPU RI, 2024c)	Creates a supportive tone by using the agreement phrase <i>betul</i> 'right' and the honorific reference <i>Pak Anies</i> 'Mr. Anies', to acknowledge contributions.

(Continued)

Table 2. Continued.

No.	Maxims of politeness	Candidate	Speech	Analysis
4	Modesty maxim	Anies Baswedan	5th Debate <i>Kita menyaksikan begitu banyak orang yang memegang prinsip Sopo Wani Rekoso, Bakal Ngayuh Mullo. Siapapun yang bersungguh-sungguh dalam usahanya pasti akan meraih kemuliaan. 'We see so many people who hold the principle of Sopo Wani Rekoso, Bakal Ngayuh Mullo. Whoever is earnest in his efforts will surely achieve glory.'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Demonstrates humility by citing the proverb Sopo Wani Rekoso 'Who dares to endure hardship will achieve greatness', emphasizing perseverance.
		Prabowo Subianto	3rd Debate <i>Saya akan bawa data, saya akan bawa data yang sebenar-benarnya... 'I will bring the data, I will bring the real data...'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024b)	Showing humility by using the sentence <i>saya akan bawa data yang sebenar-benarnya</i> ... 'I will bring the true data...' shows humility, because the speaker does not emphasize himself as the source of truth, but refers to collective and objective facts.
		Ganjar Pranowo	5th Debate <i>Tuaniku adalah rakyat, jabatan ini hanyalah mandate. 'My lord is the people, this position is just a mandate'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Expresses deference by using the phrase <i>Tuaniku adalah rakyat</i> 'My lord is the people', showing recognition of public sovereignty.
		Anies Baswedan	5th Debate <i>Yang tadi disampaikan baik, dan izinkan saya meneruskan bahwa salah satu persoalan utama adalah pusat kesehatan masyarakat kita saat ini terlalu diarahkan pada hal-hal yang sifatnya kuratif... 'What was said was good, and let me continue that one of the main problems is that our public health centers are currently too directed towards things that are curative in nature...'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Fosters cooperation by using the agreement phrase <i>baik</i> 'good'. This is to build a constructive atmosphere.
5	Agreement maxim	Prabowo Subianto	3rd debate <i>Saya sepandapat bahwa semakin tinggi, semakin kompleks. Memang, kepemimpinan itu membutuhkan nilai-nilai yang sangat fundamental... 'I agree that the higher, the more complex. Indeed, leadership requires very fundamental values...'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024b)	Reinforces cohesion by using the phrase <i>saya sepandapat</i> 'I agree', to strengthen alignment and unity.
		Ganjar Pranowo	5th Debate <i>Demokrasinya harus lebih baik, demokratisasi berjalan baik, kemudian contoh atau teladan pemimpin juga harus baik dan tidak ada konflik kepentingan, seperti yang Pak Mahfud contohkan... 'Democracy must be better, democratization must go well, then the example of the leader must also be good and there must be no conflict of interest, as Pak Mahfud exemplified...'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Strengthens communal spirit by referencing Pak Mahfud 'Mr. Mahfud', to emphasize shared values and agreement.
		Anies Baswedan	5th Debate <i>Kita menyaksikan bahwa kemajuan sistem telekomunikasi dan teknologi informasi itu berkembang amat pesat. Karena itu, Indonesia tidak boleh ketinggalan... 'We see that the progress of telecommunications systems and information technology is growing very rapidly. Therefore, Indonesia must not be left behind...'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Builds emotional connection by using the inclusive phrase <i>kita menyaksikan</i> 'we witness', fostering collective engagement.
		Prabowo Subianto	1st Debate <i>Kita ingin lebih maju, kita ingin lebih baik, kita ingin lebih adil, kita ingin menghilangkan kemiskinan, dan kita ingin menghilangkan korupsi. Siap melanjutkan fondasi yang sudah dibangun oleh pendahulu-pendahulu kita... 'We want to be more advanced, we want to be better, we want to be fairer, we want to eliminate poverty, and we want to eliminate corruption. Ready to continue the foundation that has been built by our predecessors...'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024a)	Expresses aspirations by repeating <i>kita ingin</i> 'we want', reinforcing a shared national vision.
6	Sympathy Maxim	Ganjar Pranowo	3rd debate <i>Mereka butuh bantuan, maka dibantu. Tapi, pada sisi yang lain, pembentahan yang tumpang-tindih di daerah, sebentar juga beda, bisa di-support agar keamanan bisa berjalan dengan baik. Siapa mereka? Pelaksana di daerah. Kita tidak pernah membiarkan situasi negara diurus oleh pusat saja. Kita mesti mengambil inisiatif karena peran-peran sampai tingkat lokal itu ada, bahkan tokoh masyarakat dan tokoh agama. 'They need help, so they are helped. But, on the other hand, overlapping improvements in the regions, which are also different for a while, can be supported so that security can run well. Who are they? The regional executives. We never let the country's situation be taken care of by the center alone. We must take the initiative because there are roles at the local level, even community leaders and religious leaders.'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024b)	Invites collective participation by using the inclusive pronoun <i>kita</i> 'we' and a directive structure, encouraging joint responsibility.

outlined by House and Kasper (1981). These expressions are used to maintain language manners, build interpersonal relationships and create directed political communication. Each linguistic device helps to refine the delivery of ideas, minimize potential conflicts and strengthen the candidate's image before the public. Table 3 presents examples of the application of these linguistic devices by each candidate.

The results of the analysis in Table 3 show that politeness linguistic devices play an important role in shaping speech acts during the 2024 Indonesian presidential candidate debate. Anies Baswedan emphasizes the use of politeness markers, consultative devices and downtoners, which create an inclusive and diplomatic impression. Ganjar Pranowo tends to use agent avoiders, downtoners and committers, which show prudence and collective commitment. Meanwhile, Prabowo Subianto is more prominent in the use of consultative devices, hesitators and committers, which balance an open attitude in discussion with firmness in conveying a vision.

Among the three candidates, Prabowo Subianto excels in building strong communication. By combining a consultative strategy and firm commitment, Prabowo Subianto is able to show a balance between respecting the interlocutor and affirming his leadership vision. The use of committers shows certainty and firmness in conveying policies. Meanwhile, the use of hesitators allows for more subtle criticism without appearing confrontational. This combination creates the image of a strong leader who is clear in policy direction. Although each candidate shows relatively balanced use of politeness devices, Prabowo's consistency and contextual appropriateness in delivering key statements make his strategy appear more coherent and impactful.

The choice of polite language expression is not always perceived by the audience as intended by the speaker. The dominant use of hesitant and humble words can undermine the impression of confidence even if it is intended to be cautious. Commitment is demonstrated through the frequent use of the word *committee*, but for some it can sound excessive if not accompanied by concrete steps. Rwakakindo (2021) argues that a complete and formal opening greeting can also be read as a formality in the eyes of an audience that wants a more spontaneous approach. Every linguistic device used by a candidate requires consideration of the context and character of the audience so that the message is still received as a form of sincerity, not just a strategy.

5. Conclusions

This study proves that the principle of politeness is an important part of the debate for Indonesian presidential candidates in 2024. This principle helps candidates build directed communication and maintain good relationships with interlocutors and audiences. The principle of politeness also shapes the candidate's self-image in public.

This study notes that there is more data from Anies Baswedan and Prabowo Subianto than from Ganjar Pranowo. This suggests that the two candidates showed more frequent use of the principle of linguistic politeness. Ganjar Pranowo seems to be more cautious and chooses to use simpler and less direct expressions. This situation reflects the dynamics of the debate and the communication preferences of each candidate. These findings show that different communication styles are part of the richness of political pragmatics in Indonesia.

Future research can expand pragmatic studies by examining how the principle of language politeness is influenced by social and cultural contexts. Research can also examine the relationship between the use of the principle of language politeness and the success of building public trust in various political situations. With the development of broader pragmatic research, the understanding of political communication strategies will be more complete and make a real contribution to the academic world and the practice of political communication.

Acknowledgments

In accordance with this Research, we would like to be grateful for this opportunity. Massive thanks to the Head of the Indonesian Literature Study Program, the Dean of the Faculty of Languages and Arts, *Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat* 'Institute for Research and Community Service' Unesa, and the Rector of the State

Table 3. Application of linguistic expressions of politeness in political debates.

No.	Linguistic Expressions	Candidate	Speech	Analysis
1	Politeness markers	Anies Baswedan	5th Debate <i>Terima kasih. Kita menyaksikan bahwa kemajuan sistem telekomunikasi dan teknologi informasi itu berkembang amat pesat. 'Thank you. We see that the advancement of telecommunication systems and information technology is growing very rapidly.'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Showing respect with the use of politeness marker <i>terima kasih</i> 'thank you', to maintain harmony.
		Prabowo Subianto	1st Debate <i>Bismillahirrahmanirrahim. Assalamu'alaikum Wr.Wb. Salam sejahtera bagi kita semua. Shalom, Om Swastiastu, Namoh Buddha, Salom Bismillahirrahmanirrahim. Assalamu'alaikum Wr.Wb. Peace be upon you all. Shalom, Om Swastiastu, Namoh Buddha, Greetings of Virtue.'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024a)	Emphasizing respect with the use of greeting <i>Assalamu'alaikum</i> 'peace be upon you', to honor diverse audiences.
		Ganjar Pranowo	5th Debate <i>Terima kasih. Ya kali ini pasti setuju dong. Karena proses logik thinkingnya adalah datanya diperbaiki... 'Thank you. Yes, this time you must agree. Because the logic thinking process is that the data is improved...'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Expressing appreciation with the use of politeness marker <i>terima kasih</i> 'thank you', to sustain professionalism.
		Anies Baswedan	3rd debate <i>Kalau kita lihat potensi ekonomi digital, bagaimana seharusnya strategi untuk memaksimalkan pengaruh Indonesia di kawasan dan di dunia melalui teknologi ini? 'If we look at the potential of the digital economy, what should be the strategy to maximise Indonesia's influence in the region and in the world through this technology?' (KPU Ri, 2024b)</i>	Engaging the audience with the use of consultative device <i>bagaimana</i> 'how', to encourage participation.
		Prabowo Subianto	3rd debate <i>Saya kira apa yang disampaikan itu masuk akal, tetapi mari kita bahas detailnya bersama. Apakah Anda setuju bahwa kita memulai dari aspek pendidikan militer terlebih dahulu? 'I think what you said makes sense, but let's discuss the details together. Do you agree that we start from the military education aspect first?' (KPU Ri, 2024b)</i>	Inviting discussion with the consultative phrase <i>mari kita bahas</i> 'let's discuss together', to foster cooperation.
2	Consultative devices	Ganjar Pranowo	3rd Debate <i>Mas Anies, anggaran pertahanan belum ideal, tadi saya sampaikan kita perlu satu sampai dua persen dari PDB, ini kira-kira solusi apa yang bisa kita lakukan untuk bersama-sama memperbaikinya</i>	Promoting collaboration with the consultative device <i>apa yang bisa kita lakukan</i> 'what can we do', to emphasize joint problem-solving.
		Anies Baswedan	3rd debate <i>Saya kira ini adalah persoalan besar yang membutuhkan kolaborasi semua pihak, termasuk peran masyarakat sipil untuk turut mengawasi. 'I think this is a big problem that requires the collaboration of all parties, including the role of civil society to participate in monitoring.'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024b)	Softening statements with the downtoner <i>saya kira</i> 'I think', to maintain politeness.
		Prabowo Subianto	3rd debate <i>Kita masih perlu meningkatkan upaya dalam banyak sektor, terutama terkait pendidikan dan kesehatan, karena ini adalah investasi jangka panjang bagi bangsa kita. 'We still need to step up efforts in many sectors, especially in education and health, as these are long-term investments for our nation.'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024b)	Reducing directness with the downtoner <i>masih perlu</i> 'still need', to convey subtle criticism.
		Ganjar Pranowo	3rd debate <i>Mungkin kita perlu memulai dari hal-hal sederhana, seperti pengelolaan anggaran yang lebih transparan, untuk membangun kepercayaan masyarakat. 'Maybe we need to start from simple things, such as more transparent budget management, to build public trust.'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024b)	Showing caution with the modal verb <i>mungkin</i> 'maybe', to propose ideas tentatively.
		Anies Baswedan	3rd debate <i>Sepertinya kita harus lebih serius memperhatikan daerah-daerah yang selama ini tertinggal, khususnya dalam hal pendidikan dan kesehatan, agar mereka bisa sejajar dengan wilayah lain. 'It seems that we must pay more attention to areas that have been left behind, especially in terms of education and health, so that they can be equal to other regions.'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024b)	Showing hesitation with the hedging phrase <i>sepertinya</i> 'it seems', to balance caution and certainty.
3	Downtoners	Prabowo Subianto	1st Debate <i>Kok rasanya kita ini masih jauh dari apa yang bisa disebut ideal, padahal potensi kita luar biasa besar. 'How come it feels like we are still far from what can be called ideal, even though our potential is enormous.'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024a)	Expressing subtle doubt with the hesitator <i>kok rasanya</i> 'how come it feels', to convey careful observation.
		Ganjar Pranowo	5th Debate <i>Mungkin kita perlu memulai dengan perbaikan anggaran pendidikan, karena saya pikir ini adalah akar dari banyak masalah yang kita hadapi saat ini. 'Maybe we need to start with an overhaul of the education budget, because I think this is the root of many of the problems we face today.'</i> (KPU Ri, 2024c)	Softening statements with the word <i>mungkin</i> 'maybe' and <i>saya pikir</i> 'I think', to create a tentative tone.
		Anies Baswedan		
		Prabowo Subianto		
		Ganjar Pranowo		
4	Hesitators	Anies Baswedan		
		Prabowo Subianto		
		Ganjar Pranowo		
		Anies Baswedan		
		Prabowo Subianto		

(Continued)

Table 3. Continued.

No.	Linguistic Expressions	Candidate	Speech	Analysis
5	Agent Avoiders	Anies Baswedan	3rd Debate <i>Kami melihat langkah yang telah dilakukan sebelumnya cukup baik, namun tentu saja masih ada ruang yang perlu kita tingkatan bersama. 'We see that the steps that have been taken previously are quite good, but of course there is still room for us to improve together.' (KPU Ri, 2024b)</i>	Agent avoider is found in the phrase <i>yang telah dilakukan sebelumnya</i> 'that has been done before' which uses the passive voice without mentioning the perpetrator, as well as the use of the word <i>kami</i> 'we' which softens individual claims.
		Prabowo Subianto	1st Debate <i>Kami paham bahwa tidak semua hal sempurna, tetapi apa yang sudah ada ini adalah langkah awal yang harus terus kita jaga dan perbaiki. 'We understand that not everything is perfect, but what is already in place is a first step that we must continue to maintain and improve.' (KPU Ri, 2024a)</i>	Agent avoider appears through the phrase <i>apa yang sudah ada ini</i> 'what already exists' which does not specifically mention the perpetrator, plus the use of <i>kami</i> 'we' to emphasize collectivity.
		Ganjar Pranowo	5th Debate <i>Karena tugas negara itu menciptakan keadilan sosial, bukan menciptakan bantuan sosial. 'Because the duty of the state is to create social justice, not to create social assistance.' (KPU Ri, 2024c)</i>	Agent avoider is seen in the use of the abstract subject <i>tugas negara</i> 'state duty' which shifts responsibility from the individual to the institution.
6	Committers	Anies Baswedan	3rd debate <i>Kami akan memulai dengan kepemimpinan yang menjunjung tinggi etika, kepemimpinan yang mengandalkan data, informasi, kapasitas yang serius. Kita ingin republik ini berperan di level global dijaga secara serius untuk rumah tangga untuk nasional, sehingga kewibawaan kita adalah kewibawaan berdasarkan kekuatan. Untuk itu kita butuh perubahan. 'We will start with leadership that upholds ethics, leadership that relies on data, information, serious capacity. We want this republic to play a role at the global level to be taken seriously for the home for the nation, so that our authority is an authority based on strength. For that we need change.' (KPU Ri, 2024b)</i>	Expressing confidence with the committer phrase <i>kami akan</i> 'we will', to emphasize assurance.
		Prabowo Subianto	3rd debate <i>Kita bertekad harus punya pertahanan yang kuat, mungkin ada yang asal bicara tanpa data, ya kan mungkin didorong oleh ambisi yang menggebu-gebu sehingga tidak objektif. Kita harus menjaga kekuatan nasional kita. 'We are determined to have a strong defence, maybe there are those who just talk without data, yes, maybe driven by passionate ambition so they are not objective. We must maintain our national strength.' (KPU Ri, 2024b)</i>	Showing sincerity with the committer phrase <i>kita bertekad</i> 'we are determined', to affirm determination.
		Ganjar Pranowo	5th Debate <i>Kami berkomitmen untuk memastikan semua kelompok rentan mendapatkan perhatian yang lebih, termasuk perempuan, penyandang disabilitas, dan anak-anak. Mereka butuh perhatian yang lebih untuk mendapatkan hak mereka secara setara. 'We are committed to ensuring all vulnerable groups get more attention, including women, people with disabilities, and children. They need more attention to get their rights equally.' (KPU Ri, 2024c)</i>	Emphasizing collective responsibility with the committer phrase <i>berkomitmen</i> 'committed', to show unity.

University of Surabaya, Indonesia. This research was carried out based on the Rector's Decree Number: 364/UN38/HK/PP/2024. In this column, we write down the contribution of each author.

Author 1	Conceived the project, the main conceptual ideas and proof outline, and determined the literature review
Author 2	Worked out almost all of the technical details, and sentences performed on the data which are indicated to represent the characteristics of the data.
Author 3	Worked out the bound for data transcription, determining content analysis.
Author 4	Proposed the data analysis and checked the completeness of the results and data discussion.

Author contributions

CRediT: **Mulyono Mulyono**: Conceptualization, Data curation, Formal analysis, Funding acquisition, Supervision, Validation, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing; **Kisyani Laksono**: Formal analysis; **Rusdhianti Wuryaningrum**: Investigation, Methodology; **Anggoro Abiyyu Ristio Cahyo**: Conceptualization, Data curation.

Disclosure statement

We declare here that there are no competing interests and also there are no relevant financial or non-financial competing interests to report in this manuscript.

Funding

We disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship and/or publication of this article: This research article received funding from the Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian *kepada Masyarakat* or Institute for Research and Community Service, State University of Surabaya and Universitas Negeri Surabaya.

About the author



Mulyono is a lecturer in the Department of Language and Literature, State University of Surabaya. He is an Associate Professor who does a lot of research on language and culture. His research interests are Theoretical Linguistics, Syntax, Morphology, Language Acquisition and Learning and Sociolinguistics. In addition, Linguistics studies is his current research program. He has published many articles and research articles in several national and international journals, respectively. He has also presented several articles in national, regional and international conferences across the world. As his main task, he carried out his duties as a lecturer by giving lectures on General Linguistics, Semantics, Syntax, Pragmatic, Applied Linguistics, Language Education, Indonesian Language Learning for Foreign Speakers and Language Research Methods.

ORCID

Mulyono  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-1611-6617>
 Kisyani Laksono  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-7397-850X>
 Rusdhianti Wuryaningrum  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0440-6425>
 Anggoro Abiyyu Ristio Cahyo  <http://orcid.org/0009-0009-0143-5958>

Data availability statement

We state here that the research data associated with a article is available, and under what conditions can be accessed via the links https://www.youtube.com/live/yNO0YS846kU?si=9G_EWmslP3M2sHVy; <https://www.youtube.com/live/KJdt-HBBGlo?si=wwyyvcLLw-8VgQQO>; <https://www.youtube.com/live/8J66JxvmEzo?si=SDL8ZEoqlwtXucP2>.

Since the data is open to the public, we can download it. Our data is spoken discourse in YouTube videos that can be viewed anytime and anywhere.

References

- Ackermann, T. (2023). Mitigating strategies and politeness in German requests. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 19(2), 355–389. <https://doi.org/10.1515/pr-2021-0034>
- Agustina, K. T. S., & Putri, N. L. G. M. (2020). The types of directness and internal modification on request strategies: A pragmatic study. *Litera Jurnal Bahasa Dan Sastra*, 6(2), 145–157. <https://doi.org/10.36002/litera.v6i2.1150>

- Al Kayed, M., Al-Zu'bi, M. A., & Alkayid, M. (2020). The study of refusals and pragmatic modifiers in Jordanian Arabic. *Acta Scientiarum. Language and Culture*, 42(2), e52543. <https://doi.org/10.4025/actascilangcult.v42i2.52543>
- Aljuraywi, J. A., & Alyousef, H. S. (2022). Attitude in political discourse: An appraisal analysis of attitude in Donald Trump and Joe Biden's interviews on 60 Minutes. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies*, 18(3), 176–193. <http://www.jlls.org/index.php/jlls/article/view/4678>
- Bagir, Z. A., Asfinawati, A., Suhadi, S., & Arianingtyas, R. (2020). Limitations to freedom of religion or belief in Indonesia: Norms and practices. *Religion & Human Rights*, 15(1–2), 39–56. <https://doi.org/10.1163/18710328-BJA10003>
- Bardon, A., Bonotti, M., Zech, S. T., & Ridge, W. (2023). Disaggregating civility: Politeness, public-mindedness and their connection. *British Journal of Political Science*, 53(1), 308–325. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000712342100065X>
- Boussalis, C., Coan, T. G., Holman, M. R., & Müller, S. (2021). Gender, candidate emotional expression, and voter reactions during televised debates. *American Political Science Review*, 115(4), 1242–1257. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055421000666>
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge University Press.
- Budiono, A., Absori, A., Harun, H., Nugroho, H., Santoso Wahito, W., Dimiyati, K., & Wardiono, K. (2020). The ideal management of health insurance for Indonesia according to constitution. *Quality - Access to Success*, 21(176), 48–50. <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/ideal-management-healthinsurance-indonesia/docview/2406322452/se-2>
- Caldero, J. A., & Sun, L. (2021). (Im)politeness and emotion in academic correspondence. *Journal of Language Teaching and Research*, 12(5), 724–734. <https://doi.org/10.17507/jltr.1205.11>
- Culpeper, J., & Pat, K. (2021). Compliment responses in Hong Kong: An application of Leech's pragmatics of politeness. *De Gruyter*, 41(1), 667–690. <https://doi.org/10.1515/text-2020-0047>
- Daar, G. F., Beratha, N. L. S., Suastra, I. M., & Sukarini, N. W. (2023). The off-record politeness strategy and cultural values of the Belis negotiation speech event: A Sociopragmatic study. *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 12(3), 626–636. <https://doi.org/10.17509/ijal.v12i3.48746>
- Dailey, W. O., Hinck, E. A., & Hinck, S. S. (2008). *Politeness in presidential debates: Shaping political face in campaign debates from 1960 to 2004*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Fernando, Z. J., & Nur, R. (2022). The freedom of expression in Indonesia the freedom of expression in Indonesia. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 8(1), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2103944>
- Fiaz, S., Kashif, F., & Asgher, T. (2024). A comparative ethnographic analysis of politeness strategies found in animated series Jaan and Sofia the first. *Journal of Applied Linguistics and TESOL (JALT)*, 7(4), 18–35. <https://jalt.com.pk/index.php/jalt/article/view/21>
- Handayani, R., Rachmawati, R., & Arif, T. Z. Z. A. (2022). Politeness strategies conveyed by the students in online discussions. *Jambi-English Language Teaching Journal*, 6(2), 74–87. <https://doi.org/10.21608/psjh.2022.250026>
- House, J., & Kasper, G. (1981). Politeness markers in English and German. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *Conversational routine*. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Indrajaya, K. T., & Mulatsih, S. (2021). Politeness principles used in Oedipus rex imaginative recreation (2012). *Undergraduate Conference on Language, Literature, and Culture (UNCLLE)*, 1(1), 75–81.
- Iwry, J. (2021). Open to debate: Reducing polarization by approaching political argument as negotiation. *Negotiation Journal*, 37(3), 361–391. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nej.12370>
- Jewad, H. G., Ghabanchi, Z., & Ghazanfari, M. (2020). Pragmatic analysis on Leech's maxims in three Surahs from The Holy Quran. *Solid State Technology*, 63(6), 8118–8137. <https://solidstatetechnology.us/index.php/JSST/article/view/4698>
- Juita, N., Ermanto, E., Liusti, S. A., Vicno Triwira Dhika, J. R., & Ardi, H. (2024). The linguistic politeness of Indonesian female politicians in political communication on social media. *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language*, 12(3), 17–31. <https://doi.org/10.22034/ijsc.2024.2037674.3621>
- Kosasih, P., Sunitha, N. P., Afri, M., Dilla, A., & Rahayu, D. (2024). Politeness maxim in real time with Bill Maher Shows with Elon Musk. *Proceedings Series on Social Sciences & Humanities*, 18(1), 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.30595/pssh.v18i.1217>
- Leech, G. (1983). *Principles of pragmatics*. Longman.
- Llorica, M. M., & Sosas, R. V. (2023). Politeness strategies of Filipino Teenagers in the household. *Journal of Language Modelling*, 19(1), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.15398/jlm.v0i1.64>
- Mardiana, D., Rokhman, F., Mardikantoro, H. B., & Rustono. (2025). Speech act of political figures in the discourse of educational development: An interpersonal pragmatic approach. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 12(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2025.2463728>
- Masruddin, M., Amir, F., Langaji, A., & Rusdiansyah, R. (2023). Conceptualizing linguistic politeness in light of age. *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language*, 11(3), 41–55. <https://doi.org/10.22034/ijsc.2023.2001556.3018>
- Mirzaei, A., & Parhizkar, R. (2021). The interplay of L2 pragmatics and learner identity as a social, complex process: A poststructuralist perspective. *Tesl-Ej*, 25(1), 1–27. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1302585>
- Moosawi, E. A. M. A., & Shammari, S. M. K. A. S. (2023). A socio-pragmatic study of sympathy in the wonder movie. *Kurdish Studies*, 11(2), 4180–4191. <https://kurdishstudies.net/menu-script/index.php/KS/article/view/1013>
- Mubarak, A. S. J., & Rhaif, K. K. R. (2022). Politeness strategies in motivational storytelling by American commencement. *Journal of Language and Linguistic Studies*, 18(1), 22–39. <https://doi.org/10.52462/jlls.164>
- Najib, A., Umar, U., Bhakti, A., Fatikasari, P., & Zawawi, A. N. K. B. (2024). Regulation on freedom of expression on social media in Indonesia and Malaysia. *Journal of Indonesian Constitutional Law*, 1(1), 46–60. <https://doi.org/10.71239/jicl.v1i1.20>

- Pirdehghan, A. (2024). Politeness strategies in a speech by Jordan B. Peterson about "how to be articulate." *Journal of Language and Literature*, 24(1), 134–143. <https://doi.org/10.24071/joll.v24i1.7146>
- Prayitno, H. J., Markhamah, M., Nasucha, Y., Huda, M., Ratih, K., Ubaidullah, U., Rohmadi, M., Boeriswati, E., & Thambu, N. (2022). Prophetic educational values in the Indonesian language textbook: Pillars of positive politeness and character education. *Heliyon*, 8(8), e10016. [https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e10016\[Mismatch\]\]](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2022.e10016[Mismatch]])
- Ri, K. (2024a). *Debat Kelima Calon Presiden Pemilu Tahun 2024*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8J66JxvmEzo>
- Ri, K. (2024b). *Debat Ketiga Calon Presiden Pemilu Tahun 2024*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KJdt-HBBGlo>
- Ri, K. (2024c). *Debat Pertama Calon Presiden Pemilu Tahun 2024*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yNO0YS846kU&t=3532s>
- Rwakakindo, I. D. (2021). A sociolinguistic analysis of verbal greetings, address forms and paralinguistic behaviours in Kisubi. *Language in Africa*, 2(1), 41–61. <https://doi.org/10.37892/2686-8946-2021-2-1-41-61>
- Sarwin, R. A. (2021). The application of approbation and modesty maxim by leech in Cinderella movies. *Prosiding Seminar Nasional Linguistik Dan Sastra (SEMANTIKS)*, 1(6), 709–715.
- Shen, Z., Zhao, M., & Lai, M. (2023). Analysis of politeness based on naturally occurring and authentic conversations. *Journal of Language*, 19(3), 47–65. <http://www.jlls.org/index.php/jlls/article/view/5407>
- Sofwan, E., Sopiyan, M., & Fathurrahman, A. M. (2022). The application of the right to freedom of expression in demonstration based on principles of a democratic state. *Jurnal Civics: Media Kajian Kewarganegaraan*, 19(2), 310–319. <https://doi.org/10.21831/jc.v19i2.53464>
- Steffan, D. (2020). Visual self-presentation strategies of political candidates on social media platforms: A comparative study. *International Journal of Communication*, 14(1), 3096–3118. <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748925415-76>
- Syting, C. J. O., & Gildore, P. J. E. (2022). Teachers' linguistic politeness in classroom interaction: A pragmatic analysis. *World Journal of English Language*, 12(8), 133–141. <https://doi.org/10.5430/wjel.v12n8p133>
- Tarmini, W., Safi'i, I., & Nurhikmah, T. (2023). Tourism practitioner's language politeness model in Kota Tua Jakarta. *European Journal of Language and Culture Studies*, 2(2), 18–32. <https://doi.org/10.24018/ejlang.2023.2.2.77>
- Tkotch, J., Kienhues, D., Jucks, R., & Bromme, R. (2021). Keep calm in heated debates: How people perceive different styles of discourse in a scientific debate. *Frontiers in Education*, 5, 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.3389/feduc.2020.572503>
- Wahdani, T. D., Paturohmah, P. S., & Nur, S. R. M. (2023). Positive politeness strategies in Jay Shetty podcast Youtube channel: An interview with Will Smith. *LINGUISTICA*, 12(4), 213. <https://doi.org/10.24114/jalu.v12i4.52488>
- Wahyuni, E. T. (2020). Defamation through social media based on laws and regulations. *Journal La Sociale*, 1(6), 31–40. <https://doi.org/10.37899/journal-la-sociale.v1i6.184>
- Wardiono, K., Dimyati, K., Nugroho, S. S., Nugroho, H., Acob, J. R., & Budiono, A. (2021). Philosophy, law, and ethics of handling COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia. *Open Access Macedonian Journal of Medical Sciences*, 9(E), 1104–1108. <https://doi.org/10.3889/oamjms.2021.7107>
- Wijayanti, F. I., Djatmika, Sumarlam., & Sawardi, F. X. (2022). Portraying leader characters through speech acts and politeness strategies in job interview: A gender perspective. *International Journal of Society, Culture and Language*, 10(1), 41–57. <https://doi.org/10.22034/ijsc.2022.549337.2549>
- Zarouali, B., Dobber, T., De Pauw, G., & de Vreese, C. (2022). Using a personality-profiling algorithm to investigate political microtargeting: Assessing the persuasion effects of personality-tailored ads on social media. *Communication Research*, 49(8), 1066–1091. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650220961965>