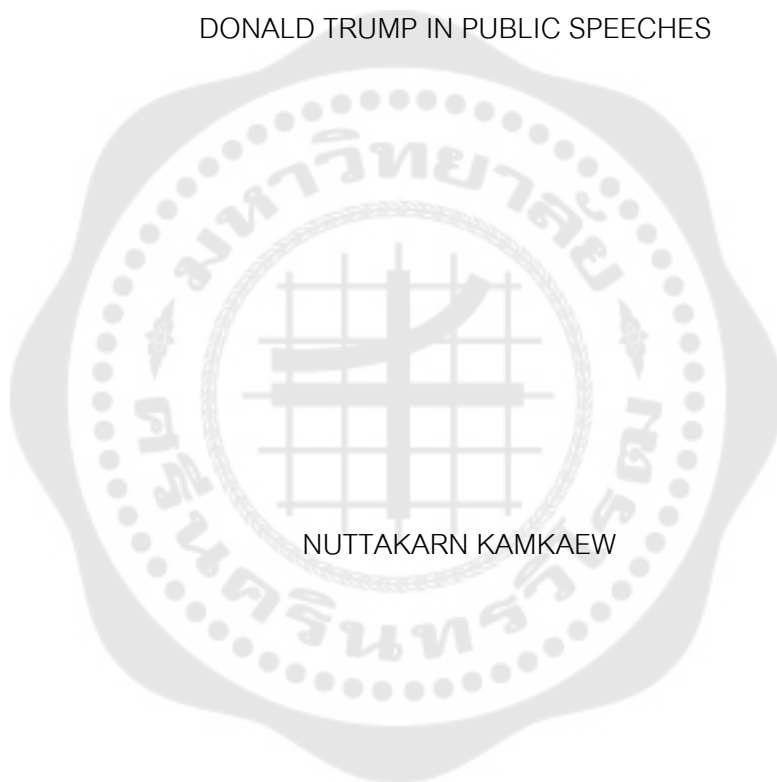




AN ANALYSIS OF POLITENESS PRINCIPLE PERFORMED BY BARACK OBAMA AND
DONALD TRUMP IN PUBLIC SPEECHES



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บทวิเคราะห์หลักคำสุภาพในการกล่าวสุนทรพจน์ของประธานาธิบดีบาร์ค โอบามา และ ประธานาธิบดีโดนัลด์ ทรัมป์



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NUTTAKARN KAMKAEW

A Master's Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of MASTER OF ARTS

(English)

Faculty of Humanities, Srinakharinwirot University

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THE MASTER'S PROJECT TITLED
AN ANALYSIS OF POLITENESS PRINCIPLE PERFORMED BY BARACK OBAMA AND DONALD
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BY
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In this research, recent public speeches of influential American Presidents: Barack Obama and Donald Trump will be analyzed through the lens of Leech's Politeness Principle and its six maxims: Tact Maxim, Generosity Maxim, Approbation Maxim, Modesty Maxim, Agreement Maxim, and Sympathy Maxim. The data was collected from two public speeches of each president that relates to President Inauguration and international relations. Presidential speeches in this study can be defined as presidential messages that are delivered to election campaigners, politicians, and country leaders. The purposes of both the Presidents in giving their speeches are to maintain and build up a good connection between himself and the audience. It is interesting to study how these two Presidents who have different communicative styles employ Politeness Principle and its six maxims in their public speeches. The findings reveal that both presidents have similar styles in delivering public speeches to convince the audience. The use of the Politeness Principle and its six maxims in their first Inaugural speeches are used to a similar degree to gain support from the audience. The U.S.-ASEAN conference speech by President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump, the Politeness Principle and all six maxims are used to avoid disagreement and hard feeling between the speaker and the hearer (ASEAN leaders) in order to avoid international conflicts.

Keyword : Politeness Principle, President, Presidential Speeches

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

In the 21st century, people have more opportunities to connect internationally and communicate with one another. Communication is important for human beings in exchanging information, especially among diplomats and country leaders who deal with relationships within and across regions. When a person wants to get involved in a political area such as being a presidential candidate, he or she needs to prepare good communication strategies to win the election. After getting elected and working as a representative of the country, appropriate and effective communicative skills are mandatory (Rattananukool, 2015). According to Rattananukul (2015), grammatical correctness is not the most important aspect, but appropriate language and politeness strategies in intercultural communication are more significant in maintaining a world relationship. Inappropriate language use may pose negative effects on international relations which possibly lead to failure of diplomatic work. Therefore, country leaders should equip themselves with effective communication strategies in order to succeed in transferring ideas or political viewpoints to the people. According to Huang, one of the social phenomena that help one achieve good interpersonal relationships is the use of 'politeness strategies' (Huang, 2008). Brown and Levinson defined politeness as the behavioral strategies that soften face-threatening acts (FTA): a threat to a person's face that is naturally opposed by the speaker (Brown & Levinson, 1987).

Since politeness strategies play a crucial role in communication, it can be argued that politeness is sometimes more important than clarity required by the transmission of information in conversational encounters. The significance of politeness to human lives can be compared to the symbol of civilization and criterion of social interaction (Wei & Wang, 2016). For any country's leaders, politeness should be one of the major concerns in their speech delivery. They must employ politeness strategies that fit circumstances considering what to say in order to maintain, enhance the relationship and interests of the two countries. When political speeches are given, the meaning can

be interpreted differently depending on the individual perspective's intercultural competence and social background. Hence, selecting the right words and right delivery method are very important.

In the pragmatic field, there are many politeness theories formed by different scholars. Grice's Cooperative Principle which was presented in 1975 is regarded in applying politeness in their communicative activities (Wei & Wang, 2016). It is similar to Brown and Levinson's 'Face Theory' (1987) which only focuses on avoiding conflicts by saving each other's public image and maintaining good social relation of the conversations. Compared to Leech's Politeness Principle, these two theoretical frameworks do not classify their principles as clearly as Leech's Politeness Principle. It includes six maxims: Tact Maxim, Generosity Maxim, Approbation Maxim, Modesty Maxim, Agreement Maxim, and Sympathy Maxim.

In this research, recent public speeches of American Presidents: Barack Obama and Donald Trump, will be analyzed through the lens of Leech's Politeness Principle and its six maxims. These two presidents of the United States are highly influential figures. The President has an image of power and holds a symbolic role as an authority that influences people to listen to. Each of them carries out different personalities and speech styles which gain large audiences around the world when they perform the talk. Obama's speeches always encourage the audience and represent positive implications between groups of people. He also makes his listeners feel like he is a part of their group while Trump is the opposite (Mettomäki, 2017). However, both of the Presidents' purposes in giving their speeches are to maintain and build up a good connection between himself and the audience. It is interesting to study how these two Presidents who have different communicative styles employ Politeness Principle and its six maxims in their speeches and analyze the cooperative characteristics of Politeness Principle in their public speeches which is beneficial in developing political communicative strategies.

Purposes of the Study

1. To analyze the use of Politeness Principle in public speeches given by two American Presidents: President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump, in context of President Inauguration and International Relations speeches.
2. To examine the characteristics of Politeness Principle and its six maxims in both presidents' speeches.

Research Questions

1. Are there any Politeness Principle used in the presidential speeches?
2. How do both American presidents employ the Politeness Principle and its six maxims in their speeches?

Significance of the Study

In this study, the researcher aims at finding and what kind of Politeness Principle and how the two American presidents employ them when delivering their speeches. The findings will benefit not only politicians and diplomats but also people who are interested in developing their communicative abilities. Moreover, the study provides insight into presidential communications (especially political messages) to the people. Since there are not many studies related to Politeness Principle in the political field (Mettomäki, 2017), this work is expected to fill in the gap in the literature.

Scope of the Study

This study focused on the use and characteristics of Politeness Principle and its six maxims in public speeches of two American Presidents: Barack Obama and Donald Trump. The data was collected from two public speeches of each president that relates to President Inauguration by Barack Obama in 2009 and Donald Trump in 2017, and international relations (ASEAN Summit's speeches by Barack Obama in 2016 and Donald Trump in 2017).

Definition of Terms

1. **Public speaking** is an act of organized communication that one individual person performs in front of an audience in order to give information, motivate, persuade, and negotiate. In this study, public speaking delivered the message of the country leader; The President of The United States of America, after winning the election and also the speeches in the context of international relations at the ASEAN summit.

2. **Presidential speeches** in this study can be defined as a presidential message that is delivered to election campaigners, politicians, and country leaders in the Inauguration after winning the election and the U.S. ASEAN Summit which is related to international relations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW

Theoretical Frameworks

Language is an important tool of communication. When people communicate, not only should they focus on the language but they should take the concept of social structure: identity, power, class, status, solidarity, accommodation, gender, face, politeness into consideration in order for everyone in the society to maintain good relationships in living together (Wardhaugh, 2010). The concept of “Face” was first introduced by a famous scholar, Goffman, in 1967. It was further elaborated by Brown & Levinson In 1987. The “Face” concept was divided into “Negative Face” and “Positive Face”. They indicated that people need to have good manners, avoid threatening others and keep their own faces. This “Face” theory influences Geoffrey Leech to establish Politeness Principle and its six maxims in 1983 (Cutting, 2007). According to Leech (1983), politeness is conducted as forms of behavior and phenomenon existing in all languages aiming to establish and maintain harmony. The definition of those maxims are as follows.

Tact maxim: minimize cost to other; maximize other’s benefit. For example, *Could I interrupt you for a second?* According to Maharani (2017), it also refers to the minimization of the cost of the listener by the speaker .Tact maxim is normally used in declaring a promise, offering something, inviting, and commanding (Nurdianingsih, 2006)

Generosity maxim: minimize self-benefit; maximize cost to self. For example, *you relax and let me do the dishes*. This maxim is similar to the Tact maxim but it focuses more on self than others (Maharani, 2017).

Approbation maxim: minimize dispraise to other; maximize praise to others. For example, *I know you’re a genius— do you know how to solve this math problem here?* This maxim can be used to avoid unpleasant feelings uttering between the speaker and the hearer (Maharani, 2017). Approbation maxim can usually be found in the context of congratulation, compliment, and praise (Searle, 1969).

Modesty maxim: minimize self-praise; maximize self-dispraise. For example, *Oh! How silly I am. I forgot to bring your notebook.* It is the maxim that focuses on the judgment that the hearers could have on the speaker and it can normally be found in an apologizing context (Leech, 1983).

Agreement maxim: minimize disagreement between self and other; maximize agreement between self and other. For example, *yes—yes, but if you do that- you- your tea towels soaking and at the end of the night, nothing's getting dried.* This maxim focuses on the relevance of opinion between the speaker and hearer (Yu & Ren, 2013). If the ideas of both conversationers are accordant, the agreement maxim occurs.

Sympathy maxim: minimize antipathy between self and other; maximize sympathy between self and other. For example, *I was sorry to hear about your father.* This maxim also deals with psychological relation and feeling between the speaker and the hearer (Yu & Ren, 2013). It can often be found in the context of condolence (Leech, 1983).

Politeness Principle and its six maxims are basic regulations that help maintain relationships in community by minimizing impolite expressions and maximizing positive beliefs between the speakers (self), listeners and third parties (others). The principle also focuses on the effects of interpretative process toward the hearer more than the speaker which mainly purposes to avoid conflict and miscommunication (Rattananukool, 2015).

Related Studies

Politeness Principle (PP) has played an important role in people's oral communication, text, mass media, including political and economic areas (Zheng, 2015). Most interactions are governed by politeness, i.e., what is recognized as polite social behaviors within a particular culture.

In Zheng's study, the Politeness Principle was employed in persuasive English business letters. Only two types of persuasive letters—sales letters and application letters were analyzed in order to describe and demonstrate the ways of using PP and its

significant influences on the reader's (2015). The result showed that PP has great impact when it is used in sales letters and application letters because they required cooperation from authorities in a company, not only an accuracy or facts need to be put but also appropriateness was required to reach an agreement and avoid negative responses.

In daily life communication, there is a form for controlling interaction between people who have different social backgrounds, culture, race, age, and gender which is called 'speech behavior' including Politeness Strategy (Ryabova, 2015). In Ryabova's study, the daily interaction, with a main focus on apology and condolence dialogue of people in Great Britain were analyzed through the lens of Politeness. It was found that Politeness Principle was considered as speech criteria that was an inclusive part of daily life communication. The study concluded that Politeness Principle in a form of speech etiquette could be an option for a communicative model in order to minimize disagreement and controversy in society.

Leech's work has been adopted by many researchers as a suitable analytical framework for linguistic politeness phenomena within or across different languages and cultures. As there were conflicts in intercultural communication and perspective of people due to dissimilarities in cultural background affect the way of interpretation in regard to communicative aspects as supported by Huang (2008). Each individual culture has a different perspective on what polite and impolite mean. For example, what Westerners considered as courtesy may be impolite for Asians. In Huang's study, the differences between politeness in Chinese and Western cultures were comparatively analyzed in order to detect any dissimilarities between those two cultures in different aspects; privacy, individualism, and taboo. The findings of the study show that although each culture had different views of what polite means, communicators would try to show their respect and harmony by using politeness strategies in order to avoid misunderstanding.

Politeness Principle is the principle of communication when the participants in a social interaction have the ability to engage in interaction in an atmosphere of relative harmony (Elisabeth & Saragih, 2014). It is important for people to politely perform

communication with one another in order to avoid conflicts and individually and socially maintain good relationships.

In a political field, when candidates or politicians try to win the elections, they should have appropriate language skills in order to maintain relationships with people who would vote for them. Politeness Principle could be used as a common principle for politicians or anyone to reduce negative outcomes in miscommunication (Huang, 2008). The language that the politicians use to express their ideas or convey their messages needs to be clear and acceptable by all hearers. It can be clarified that even if there are dissimilarities in any upbringing background, social status, age, gender, belief, and so on, the expression of the candidates would be understood and accepted by everyone.

The study conducted by Pakzadian (2012) has shown that in presidential debates between Barack Obama and John McCain, Politeness Principle was employed to impress the audience and at the same time to avoid the embarrassment of the opponent. In addition, the Politeness Principle could be applied not only to catch hearers' attention but also to avoid any disagreement and create first impression (Soleimani & Nouraei Yeganeh, 2016).

When a person decides to join the election and become a candidate who works as a representative of a political party, he or she will get to run the campaigns and debates against competitors. This debating event will allow candidates to present their policies and ideas to the public. It is important that the candidates prepare good communication strategies to express their visions, satisfy their supporters and ultimately win over the opponents.

Once the candidates get elected, either being a country leader, statesman or any political positions, they have important roles as representatives of the country. They must maintain relationships with other countries as well as protect the country from any conflicts (Pakzadian, 2012). Particularly, a Prime Minister or a President who is the head of the state must be cautious when communicating or saying anything because the carelessness in expressing inappropriate words could not only upset their own people but also lead to failure of international relationship (Rattananukool, 2015).

In conclusion, the Politeness Principle has been applied in different communication contexts because of its significant influences on people in intercultural society. It also can be argued that applying Politeness Principle in communication, including appropriate and polite words could help maintain friendly relations and avoid conflicts.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This study is a qualitative descriptive research. It aims to analyze the use of Politeness Principle in American Presidents' public speeches and how both American presidents use it in their speeches.

The first speech is an inaugural address by Barack Obama who represents the Democrat Party on January 20th, 2009, in comparison to an inaugural speech by Donald John Trump who represents the Republican Party on January 20th, 2017. Both speeches were delivered right after they won the election and became The President of the United States of America. The second speech is the president's remarks at the opening session of the U.S.-ASEAN Summit which is related to international relationship between America and the ASEAN members.

Instrument

Table 1: Public Speeches of President Obama and President Trump.

President	Speech	Related to	Number of words
Barack Obama	The 1st Inaugural Address at Capitol Hill, Washington DC.	Presidential Inauguration	2,420
Barack Obama	U.S. ASEN Summit in Sunnylands Center, California	International Relations	965
Donald Trump	The 1st Inaugural Address at Capitol Hill, Washington DC.	Presidential Inauguration	1,433
Donald Trump	U.S. ASEAN Summit in Philippine International Convention Center Manila, Philippine	International Relations	573

Method Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis will be used to find out Politeness Principle in Barack Obama and Donald Trump's public speeches which related to Presidential Inauguration and International Relations. The main focus will be on the characteristics of Politeness Principle and its six maxims that are mainly used in each presidential speech. In addition, this critical analysis aims to identify which types of maxims are used and why they may have been chosen to aim for successful political communicative strategies.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESULT

Politeness Principle in the Presidential Speeches

In this chapter, public speeches of President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump are analyzed to find the most frequent use of the Politeness Principle and its six maxims. The characteristics and how the Politeness Principle are employed in each public speech of both Presidents are described to gain more understanding and develop communicative political strategies.

The findings of the study are based on critical discourse analysis from four presidential speeches.

4.1 Analysis of Obama's Inaugural Speech

The first Inauguration speech of Obama was delivered after his presidential victory. The event was held on the 20th January, 2019 in front of Capitol Hill, Washington DC. In the ceremony, there were more than a hundred of thousand people joining this special moment as President Obama tried to include as many people to be in this celebration as possible (Weatherson, 2011). More than 26 million people watched Obama's Inaugural speech worldwide (CNN, 2010). The theme of Obama's speech was "Renewing America's Promise." Obama began his speech by greeting and thanking his audience as well as the former government. He then informed his audience that he acknowledged that America was facing international as well as internal crisis and claimed that all the problems would be solved during his presidential era. Obama also encouraged the American by referring to the ancestors who had fought for the nation and made America the great country with bare hands. He encouraged the audience and made them believe that together, the country could be better. After cheering up his audience, Obama promises to provide the country with all basic needs; jobs, shelters, education, transportations, and so on. In his speech, Obama declared that he would

also help poor countries and will not excessively exert the power to harm anyone. At the same time, Obama praised all American soldiers who had sacrificed themselves to protect the country. At the end of his speech, he uplifted the American spirit and told his audience not to give up.

4.1.1. Approbation Maxim

"My fellow citizens: I stand here today, humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you've bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors." ("Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama," 2009)

Obama uses the phrase, *'My fellow citizens'* to welcome his audience. These words are expressed in a polite way to bond himself with the listeners. He also expresses his gratitude toward his supporters by saying *"the trust you've bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors"* to praise them. Obama aims to include the American people and point out that changes could be made if the entire country worked together for common goals.

"I thank President Bush for his service to our nation -- (applause) -- as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition." ("Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama," 2009)

Obama then says *"I thank President Bush for his service to our nation"* to thank the former presidents who facilitated change by showing gratitude and cooperation. This is a strategy to reduce tension between both sides of the political parties, at the same time, showing modesty by praising the others. The above statement is classified as an Approbation maxim.

4.1.2. Sympathy Maxim

"So it has been, so it must be with this generation of Americans. That we are in a crisis now is well understood. Our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred."
 ("Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama," 2009)

In his speech, Obama says that *"we are"* and *"well understood."* as Obama is aware of the problematic situation that the United States is currently undergoing. He expresses his sympathy by revealing the truth and resuming to his people that the situation can be resolved. The phrases are *"We are"* and *"well understood"* are classified as a Sympathy maxim.

"Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost, jobs shed, businesses shuttered. Our health care is too costly, our schools fail too many -- and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet." ("Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama," 2009)

Obama also expresses his sympathy on the current economic situation by saying *"Our economy is badly weakened..."*. At the same time, he indirectly influenced the past authority by saying *"our collective failure to make hard choices..."* to avoid harsh feelings between his government and the former one. This strategy also presents compassion on the past failure management of Obama to the audience. The statement is classified as a Sympathy maxim.

"Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real. They are dangerous, and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short period. But know this America: They will be met."

(*Applause.*)" ("Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama," 2009)

For Obama, who states and expresses his sympathy with a focus on his speech, *"Today, I say to you."* The word *"today"* suggests a new beginning. Here it is once again emphasized the fact that the United States is facing a crisis in various ways. However, Obama makes a commitment to his listeners that the situation would be better as he says *"they will be met"*. The phrases *"Today, I say to you,"* and *"they will be met."* are types of Sympathy maxim.

4.1.3. Tact Maxim

"For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of our economy calls for action, bold and swift. And we will act, not only to create new jobs but to lay a new foundation for growth. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. We will restore science to its rightful place, and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost. We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories. And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age." ("Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama," 2009)

Obama presents that not only he will create new jobs but also to lay a new foundation for growth as he says *"We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together."* Obama tries to maximize the benefits of others by committing to provide the country's primary needs - roads, bridges, science, technology, energy, and education. These things are necessary to drive the economy and lives of the

nation. He makes promises in his speech by saying that he will do things that benefit the American citizens. The statement is classified as a Tact maxim.

"The question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works -- whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a dignified retirement. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end. And those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account, to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day, because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government."

("Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama," 2009)

Obama convinces and urges the audience to support his power. He offers his help and promises the people through his speech that American will be great again. He announces that the ongoing issues in the country are to be taken seriously by saying *"reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of the day"*. It is a way of minimizing the harsh feeling of others. Then he confidentially says *"We restore the vital trust between a people and their government."* to promote benefits for the American people through a credible and well-managed government. This statement is classified as a Tact maxim.

4.1.4. Generosity Maxim

"To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds." ("Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama," 2009)

By showing his generosity through his speech, Obama mentions other nations by saying *"To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you..."* This

statement is the ideological position of his administration that poor countries should be helped. He shows his generosity by making a commitment to take some actions for others. The phrase is *"We pledge to work alongside you..."* which is classified as a type of Generosity maxim.

4.1.5. Modesty Maxim

"What is demanded, then, is a return to these truths. What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility -- a recognition on the part of every American that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world; tasks that we do not grudgingly accept, but rather seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character than giving our all to a difficult task. This is the price and the promise of citizenship. This is the source of our confidence -- the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny. This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed, why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent mall; and why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served in a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath. (Applause.)" (Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama," 2009)

In his speech, Obama uses the phrases *"God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny,"* and *"sacred oath."* which are classified as a Modesty maxim. In the phase of problems and crises, Obama creates an atmosphere of confidence for the people by saying, *"God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny."* He speaks with US citizens that the country is not just a government and encourages people by using the word *"sacred oath."* Obama humbly gives more praise to the United States and American people than to his power.

4.1.6. Agreement Maxim

"The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our Gross Domestic Product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart -- not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good. (Applause.)" ("Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama," 2009)

Obama explains his economic policies and how to distribute national wealth. To gain an agreement from his audience, he outlines his theory, confidently expressing his views and opinions on policies to ensure them that it will be successful.

"And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to the suffering outside our borders, nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect. For the world has changed, and we must change with it." ("Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama," 2009)

Obama tries to reach an agreement from his audience by explaining the current situation of the world. He uses the word "we" to include himself with the others and let them consider Obama as he is in the same position with good understanding on the world crisis. This strategy helps Obama minimize harsh feelings and disagreement between himself and his audience. At the same time, he gains support from his listeners regarding his policies. The above statement is classified as an Agreement maxim.

"Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new. But those values upon which our

success depends -- honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance, and curiosity, loyalty, and patriotism -- these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history." ("Inaugural Address by President Barack Obama," 2009)

The phrases "*These things are old, these things are true...*" imply the abstract values, such as honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism which Obama tries to remind his audience. He also persuades his people multiple times to get them to agree and ready for what the newly elected government is going to do.

4.2. Analysis of Trump's Inaugural Speech.

Donald Trump's first inaugural speech was delivered after winning an election and he became the 45th President of the United States of America. The speech was given at the Capital Hills, Washington D.C. on Friday, January 20, 2017. At the event, there were around 250,000 – 600,000 people attended this event (Qui, 2017). Most of his audience were those who supported him throughout his presidential campaigns and voted for him (Appel, 2018). The theme of president Trump's speech was "Make America Great Again". Trump opened his speech by sending out a bonded message between himself and the American citizen then convincing the audience that working together, America would be the better nation. He also referred to the internal crisis that the country was facing, including economic, crimes, corruption, military, and immigration. At the same time, Trump persuaded the audience to oppose the big companies around the country who took advantage of the American working class and left their employees suffering while they made lots of profits. He then emphasized that all of the country's resources should be owned and benefited only American citizens. At the end of his speech, Trump made a promise to his audience that under his authority and support from Americans, he would bring back America and whatever belonged to Americans.

4.2.1. Approbation Maxim

“Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world: thank you.” (“Remarks of President Donald J. Trump – as prepared for delivery inaugural address,” 2017)

At the beginning of his presidential inaugural speech, Donald Trump expresses his gratitude by thanking the former President of the United States, American citizens, and people around the world. This praise speaks of humility and appreciation for others so it is classified as an Approbation maxim.

“Every four years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent.” (“Remarks of President Donald J. Trump – as prepared for delivery inaugural address,” 2017)

Trump expresses his gratitude by praising the former president and the first lady of the United States of American in front of the audience by saying *“They have been magnificent.”* for their incredible hard work during their years.” This strategy used to minimize dispraise to others; maximize praise to others and it is classified as an Approbation maxim.

4.2.2. Sympathy Maxim

“Today's ceremony, however, has extraordinary meaning. Because today we are not merely transferring power from one Administration to another, or from one party to another - but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C., and giving it back to you, the American People. For too long, a small group

in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government while the people have borne the cost. Washington flourished - but the people did not share in its wealth. Politicians prospered - but the jobs left, and the factories closed. The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country." ("Remarks of

President Donald J. Trump – as prepared for delivery inaugural address," 2017)

After greeting and expressing his appreciation to the audience, Trump starts to show his sympathy to those Americans who do not flourish and do not receive enough welfare. He indirectly says that "*The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country.*" to let the audience acknowledge that he is aware of the injuries and crisis that all Americans are facing and he will make it better in his presidential era. By saying that, Trump tries to maximize sympathy between self and others which is related to Sympathy maxim.

"But for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities; rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation; an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of knowledge; and the crime and gangs and drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential." ("Remarks of President Donald J. Trump – as prepared for delivery inaugural address," 2017)

Trump expresses his sorrow to his audience again by capturing the current situation in the United States. He addresses all the issues that the American people are facing in his speech such as education of the young nation, economics, drugs, and crime. Trump overstates the issues by using the phrases "*Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities*", "*rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation*",

and “an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of knowledge” to show his sympathy and at the same time, minimize hatred from others. This strategy is classified as a Sympathy maxim.

4.2.3. Generosity Maxims

“This is your day. This is your celebration. And this, the United States of America, is your country.” (“Remarks of President Donald J. Trump – as prepared for delivery inaugural address,” 2017)

The phrases *“This is your day, celebration, and country.”* are classified as a Generosity maxim. For Trump, once again confirming his position by showing generosity to the audience, he uses the word “your” instead of “My” to show that what he will do today is dedicated to Americans.

4.2.4. Modesty Maxim

“What truly matters are not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people.” (“Remarks of President Donald J. Trump – as prepared for delivery inaugural address,” 2017)

Trump, the new President of the United States of America, tries to minimize self-praise by humbly expressing his thoughts through the phrase *“whether our government is controlled by the people”* to the audience that the true power belongs to the American citizens, not the government nor himself. This is classified as Modesty maxim.

“At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction: that a nation exists to serve its citizens. Americans want high schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves. These are the just and reasonable

demands of a righteous public." ("Remarks of President Donald J. Trump – as prepared for delivery inaugural address," 2017)

To emphasize his modesty, Trump humbly uses the word "nation" to represent his authority, at the same time he reminds the audience that he is not only the president of America but also a man who is willing to serve the country and the people.

4.2.5. Agreement Maxim

"This American carnage stops right here and stops right now. We are one nation - and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams, and their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny. The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans." ("Remarks of President Donald J. Trump – as prepared for delivery inaugural address," 2017)

Trump mentions the reasons for fighting for the presidency. He takes the position, not for his dignity, but to dedicate himself to the country. Trump says "to all Americans" to imply unselfish help. He issues a plea and action for the audience, saying, "The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans." to gain agreement and support from the audience as he is doing everything for the benefit of the nation. The strategy used in the statement is classified as an Agreement maxim as Trump tries to maximize agreement between himself and the others.

"America will start winning again, winning like never before. We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth. And we will bring back our dreams. We will build new roads, and highways, and bridges, and airports, and tunnels, and railways all across our beautiful nation. We will

get our people off of welfare and back to work – rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor.”

(“Remarks of President Donald J. Trump – as prepared for delivery inaugural address,” 2017)

In order to convince the audience to agree with his policy and support his authority, Trump clarifies the benefits of working together. He convinces the people to believe that unity will make America great again. Trump repeatedly refers to himself as one of the American citizens by using pronoun “we” at the beginning of the sentence.” This strategy maximizes agreement between the speaker, Trump and the others which is also classified as an Agreement maxim.

“At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America. Through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our commitment to each other. When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice.” (“Remarks of President Donald J. Trump – as prepared for delivery inaugural address,” 2017)

To emphasize his previous statement and gain more support from the people, Trump convinces his audience by using the concept of “patriotism”. He wants to emphasize to all Americans how important unity and nationalism are to the country. He wants everyone to accept that if they are all loyal to the nation, there will be no partiality. By saying so, Trump chooses not to command everyone to follow his policy. On the other hand, he tries to minimize disagreement between himself who are now holding the most of the power in the country and the others by pointing out benefits they are going to achieve if they believe in him. This statement can be classified as an Agreement maxim.

4.2.6. Tact Maxim

“We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and

destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength. I will fight for you with every breath in my body - and I will never, ever let you down." ("Remarks of President Donald J. Trump – as prepared for delivery inaugural address," 2017)

Before ending his speech, Trump is trying to convince audiences that he will do everything in his power to protect the benefits of American citizens. He uses the phrase *"I will fight for you with every breath in my body..."* to emphasize his wills. At the same time, he minimizes tension by promising the audience that he will never let them down. This strategy is classified as a Tact maxim.

4.3 Analysis Remarks by President Obama at Opening Session of the U.S.-ASEAN Summit

The first U.S.-ASEAN summit that was hosted by the United States was held at Sunnylands Center, California on February 15, 2016. The U.S.-ASEAN summit was where the president of the United States of America and South East Asia leaders joined together to discuss the relationship between the United States and ASEAN countries in terms of economic, trade, international policies, military, education, and so on (Hachigian, 2016). Obama opened this special event by delivering the speech to greet and welcome all the ASEAN leaders. He proudly announced that he was the American President who attended the ASEAN summit more than any other Presidents in history. The main ideas of his speech were about cooperation and maintaining good relationships between ASEAN nations and America. Obama mentioned rebalancing foreign policies and he prioritized the ASEAN countries as the center of the region. He also pointed out to all the ASEAN leaders that America would continue to increase international trade for a better economic system and bring profits to the people. Obama also admired the young ASEAN leaders for being role models and inspiring young citizens who would be important resources of the nation in the future. Before ending his

speech, Obama emphasized his objective that America and ASEAN community should maintain cooperative relationships in every way for the benefit of every nation.

4.3.1 Agreement Maxim

"PRESIDENT OBAMA: Good afternoon, everyone. It is my privilege to welcome you to this landmark gathering -- the first U.S.-ASEAN Summit hosted by the United States. This reflects my commitment, and the national committee of the United States, to a healthy and enduring partnership with your ten nations individually and South East Asia as one region, as one community -- ASEAN." ("Remarks by President Obama at Opening Session of the U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2016)

At the beginning of his speech, Obama shows his determination and represents the national committee of the United States of America by saying *"This reflects my commitment"*. It is the strategy to gain agreement between Obama, the speaker and all the ASEAN leaders at the same time reducing international conflicts. The above statement is classified as an Agreement maxim.

4.3.2 Generosity Maxim

"As President, I've had the opportunity to visit most of your countries. You and the people of ASEAN have always shown me extraordinary hospitality, and I hope we can reciprocate with the warmth today and tomorrow -- which is why I did not hold this summit in Washington. It is cold there. It's snowing. So, welcome to beautiful, warm Sunnylands. (Laughter.)" ("Remarks by President Obama at Opening Session of the U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2016)

The statement above is classified as a type of Generosity maxim. Obama shows polite compliments to the countries he visited and demonstrates great

persuasiveness to his audience. He gratefully tells the ASEAN leaders that he was once visiting South East Asia and sincerely appreciates the hospitality he had received during those times. By saying this, Obama also seeks to aim international cooperation between ASEAN and America as in the phrase *"and I hope we can reciprocate with the warmth today and tomorrow"*.

4.3.3 Modesty Maxim

"As part of our more profound engagement, I'm proud to be the first U.S. President to meet with leaders of all 10 ASEAN countries. This summit marks our seventh meeting." ("Remarks by President Obama at Opening Session of the U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2016)

Obama proudly announces to his audience that he is the first American president who has an opportunity to meet with all the ASEAN leaders. By saying this, he humbly considers himself as an ordinary man receiving a great opportunity. It is an indirect expression of the speaker, Obama, to minimize self-praise by showing his commendation to his audience, the ASEAN leaders. This is categorized as a type of Modesty maxim

4.3.4 Approbation Maxim

"I'm very proud that our Young Southeast Asian Leaders Initiative is helping to empower young men and women who are shaping the region every day. As you know, I've held several town hall meetings with these remarkable young people. And their idealism, their courage, their willingness to work for the future that they believe in should all give us hope." ("Remarks by President Obama at Opening Session of the U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2016)

Obama expresses his appreciation and praises the ASEAN leaders for being good inspiration of the young generation. This strategy maximizes

praise to other which the speaker, Obama, hopes to convince the ASEAN leaders to trust him regarding his future policies. He also seeks to aim cooperation from all the leaders in complying with his ideas that working together will make the world a better place.

4.3.5 Tact Maxim

"As leaders, we have to answer their aspirations. And here at the summit, we can reaffirm that stable, prosperous, and inclusive societies require good governance, the rule of law, accountable institutions, vibrant civil organizations, and upholding human rights." ("Remarks by President Obama at Opening Session of the U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2016)

The statement above is a type of Tact maxims. Obama confidentially announces to the audience that with his power he will reform the administration to be more stabilized, develop the law and regulation, and aim human equalization. Obama maximizes the benefit of the other by promising to bring the people a better nation.

4.3.6 Sympathy Maxim

"Together, we can continue to support the aspirations and dignity of our citizens. The historic election in Myanmar and the transition now underway gives hope for a nation that is inclusive, united, peaceful, and democratic. In joining the TPP, Singapore, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Brunei have committed to high labor and environmental standards." ("Remarks by President Obama at Opening Session of the U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2016)

Obama expresses his compassion to the previous situations in Myanmar, Singapore, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Brunei by saying how relieved he is as the issues were successfully resolved. He stated that he looked forward to work

together with those countries for the benefit of the citizen. It is the strategy to reduce discord and increase sympathy between self and others so this statement is classified as a Sympathy maxim.

4.4 Analysis Remarks by President Trump at 5th U.S.-ASEAN Summit

The 5th U.S.-ASEAN summit was hosted by The Republic of Philippines. The event took place at Philippine International Convention Center, Manila on November 13, 2017. It was also a special occasion of ASEAN members to celebrate their 50 years of being a powerful organization and center of Asia pacific. At the beginning of the speech, Trump humbly expressed his gratitude for being a part of this privilege moment. He then continued showing his modesty by acting as a representative of Americans, not the President of the most powerful country of the world. Trump tried to soften the atmosphere and minimized his praise so his audience can feel more comfortable throughout the meeting. It also helped reduce conflict and bias between Trump and his listeners, particularly all ASEAN leaders. At the middle of his speech, Trump talked about American visions toward ASEAN nations and sought for agreement and cooperation from all Indo-pacific nations. At the end of the speech, he emphasized his wills and objectives that American would provide good support and maintain partnership for the benefits of citizens in the regions.

4.4.1 Modesty Maxim

"PRESIDENT TRUMP: President Duterte, distinguished leaders, friends, and partners: I'm honored to represent the United States of America at this U.S.-ASEAN Commemorative Summit. We gather today at a time of great promise and great challenge." ("Remarks by President Trump at 5th U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2017)

At the beginning of his speech, Trump expresses his gratitude toward all the ASEAN leaders by saying *"I'm honored to represent the United States of*

America". In saying that, he let the audience considering himself as an ordinary man receiving a great opportunity to be a part of this special event. This strategy is used to minimize self-praise, at the same time reducing tension between Trump, the leader of the most powerful nation in the world, and all the ASEAN members. It is categorized as a Modesty maxim.

"I speak to you on behalf of 350 million Americans with a message of friendship and partnership. I'm here to advance peace, to promote security, and to work with you to achieve a genuinely free and open Indo-Pacific, where we are proud. We have sovereign nations, and we thrive, and everybody wants to prosper." ("Remarks by President Trump at 5th U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2017)

After greeting all the ASEAN members, Trump repeatedly expresses his humbleness by using the phrase *"I speak to you on behalf of 350 million Americans"* as he wants the audience to consider himself as an entrusted representative of all American people who work for the American nation. He then purposes his wills of at the summit that he seeks peace, safety, and cooperation between the United States and ASEAN countries. It is a way of reducing self-esteem and showing modesty. It is classified as a Modesty maxim.

4.4.2 Approbation Maxim

"This year we mark 40 years of friendship and cooperation between the United States and this organization. It's a long time. I also want to congratulate ASEAN on 50 years of promoting peace and prosperity and stability in Southeast Asia and the broader Indo-Pacific region." ("Remarks by President Trump at 5th U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2017)

Trump congratulates ASEAN communities for their 50 years' celebrations. It is a way of honoring the greatness of all ASEAN nations. This

also helps soften 'the Trump personality' as a rugged leader that people often see in the media. The statement above is classified as an Approbation maxim which is used to maximize others' praise and let the audience feel more comfortable interacting with the speaker.

"Rodrigo, I would like to commend you on your success as ASEAN chair at this very critical moment in time and the association's history — such an important event. And I want to thank you for your incredible hospitality." ("Remarks by President Trump at 5th U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2017)

The phrase *"And I want to thank you for your incredible hospitality"* is a type of Sympathy maxim. Trump expresses his admiration to President Rodrigo for his warm reception at this meeting, in which he persuades the audience by complimenting the president of Philippines is a strategy of Approbation maxim; maximize praise to other.

4.4.3 Sympathy Maxim

"For five decades, I would like to commend you on your success as ASEAN chair at this very critical moment in time and the association's history — such an important event. And I want to thank you for your incredible hospitality." ("Remarks by President Trump at 5th U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2017)

Trump maximizes sympathy between himself and the ASEAN countries for being a disunited organization. The Phrase *"For five decades...your success as ASEAN"* implies the hard times and hard work all ASEAN members have done for 50 years. It is the way of expressing his admiration, at the same time, increasing empathy between himself and the listeners. This statement is classified as a Sympathy maxim.

4.4.4 Agreement Maxim

"The United States remains committed to ASEAN's central role as a regional forum for total cooperation. This strategic partnership advances the security and prosperity of the American people and the people of all Indo-Pacific nations."
 ("Remarks by President Trump at 5th U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2017)

After softening the atmosphere by expressing his appreciation at the event, Trump starts to achieve his goal and aim support from the ASEAN nations. He says *"The United States remains committed to ASEAN's central role as a regional forum for total cooperation"* to let the audience know that he commits to comply with the ASEAN's policies. This is the way of reduce disagreement and conflict between the United States and the ASEAN countries. This strategy is classified as an Agreement maxim; minimize disagreement between self and other.

4.4.5. Tact Maxim

"So we want our partners in the region to be strong, independent, and prosperous, in control of their own destinies, and satellites to no one. These are the principles behind our vision for a free and open Indo-Pacific." ("Remarks by President Trump at 5th U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2017)

Trump, a representative of the United States, confidentially promises that America will continue to support ASEAN in every way. Trump implies that with American support, all the countries in Indo-Pacific regions will be independent, govern under their own visions, and will never be subordinate to anyone. This is the strategy used to maximize the benefit of the others which is classified as a Tact maxim.

4.4.6 Generosity Maxim

"So again, I wish you all the best of luck. It's an honor to be here. And, Rodrigo, thank you very much for the way you treated all of us. Thank you. (Applause.) ("Remarks by President Trump at 5th U.S.-ASEAN Summit," 2017)

At the end of the speech, Trump emphasizes how generous the host that held the meeting and how he receives great hospitality during attending the meeting. Trump also says *"It's an honor to be here."* to express his sincere gratitude toward President Rodrigo for his genuineness and the ways he welcomed all the guests. It is classified as a Generosity maxim.

Based on the above discussion, Politeness Principles and its six maxims are employed in both presidential speeches. Each of the maxim is utilized in different context and occasion but the main purpose of applying the Politeness Principles and its six maxims is to maintain good communication and avoid conflicts especially for both presidents who are a representative of the country. It is necessary for them to have effective communicative skill to communicate internationally as the lack of it can cause issues between nations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY DISCUSSION and SUGGESTIONS

5.1 Discussion

In this research, recent public speeches of influential American Presidents, Barack Obama and Donald Trump have been analyzed through the lens of Leech's Politeness Principle and its six maxims. The definition of six maxims are as follows *Tact maxim*, which minimizes cost to others; maximize other's benefit, *Generosity maxim*, which minimizes self-benefit; maximize value to self, *Approbation maxim*, which minimizes dispraise to others; maximize praise to others, *Modesty maxim*, which minimizes self-praise; maximize self-dispraise, *Agreement maxim*, which minimize disagreement between self and other that maximize agreement between self and other, *Sympathy maxim*, which minimize antipathy between self and other; maximize sympathy between self and other. The Politeness Principle and its six maxims are basic regulations that help maintain relationships in communities by minimizing impolite expressions and maximizing positive beliefs between the speakers (self), listeners, and third parties (others).

The purpose of this study is to analyze the use of Politeness Principle in public speeches given by two American Presidents: President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump, in context of President Inauguration and International Relations speeches and to examine the characteristics of Politeness Principle and its six maxims in both presidents' speeches. This study also focuses on the effects of the interpretative process between the listener and the speaker, which mainly proposes to avoid conflict and miscommunication. According to Rattananukul (2015), an interaction without Politeness that involves a diplomatic context can lead to aggression and disagreement which can lead to international conflicts.

The findings of the study are based on critical discourse analysis because of four presidential speeches. The study reveals that both presidents employ Politeness Principle and its six maxims in all of their speeches. The total numbers of each maxim that are used in each speech are varied depending on the context and occasion.

In Presidential inauguration speeches, Approbation maxim is used to express an appreciation and praise the hearer by both presidents, especially, when they begin their speeches and to greet the audience. This is a strategy used by both presidents to gain support from the hearers. The Generosity maxim is also employed along with Tact maxim in order to minimize self-benefit and maximize other benefit. Before both presidents making any promises and stating their futures policies, they express their generosity so the audience would consider them as a representative of the people who is willing to work for the entire nation. Then, they declare their policies and promise to bring back benefits to Americans and make the country greater than ever. After informing their audience with attractive policies, Agreement maxim is used to gain agreement and support from the hearers and at the same time, to reduce disagreement between the president, former administrative team, and the opponents.

In the U.S.-ASEAN conference, the findings suggest presents that both Obama and Trump's use the Politeness Principle and its six maxim in their speeches. However, there are differences in prioritizing each maxim in each presidential speech. For Obama, he begins his speech with Agreement maxim as he seeks for agreement and support from the ASEAN leaders. On the other hand, Trump begins his speech by showing his modesty in order to show the audience that he reduces his self-esteem and let the audience consider himself as a representative of Americans, not the President of the most powerful country. They both employ Approbation maxim, Generosity maxim and Tact maxim to express their appreciations and how honor they are to be part of this special event. This strategy not only reduces the tension among each country leader but also soften the environment and comforts all the attendants. Sympathy maxim is rarely used in both American presidential speeches as it is not an occasion for showing condolences.

5.2 Summary

The findings reveal that both presidents have similar styles in delivering public speeches to convince the audience. The use of the Politeness Principle and its six

maxims in their first Inaugural speeches are used to a similar degree. The U.S.-ASEAN conference speech by President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump, the Politeness Principle and all six maxims are used to avoid disagreement and hard feeling between the speaker and the hearer (ASEAN leaders) in order to avoid international conflicts. The Politeness Principle has been applied in different communication contexts because of its significant influence on people in an intercultural society. It can be argued that applying the Politeness Principle in communication, in appropriate context, can help maintain friendly relations and avoid conflicts. This benefits not only politicians and diplomats, but also people who are interested in developing their communicative abilities.

5.3 Suggestions

For those who are interested in conducting similar research, they should offer different points of view in analyzing or capturing the theoretical framework in speeches. Politeness is not the only principle that can be used to explore presidential speeches or political discourses, as there are many theories in the context of “face”.

In addition, there are various contexts of the presidential speeches that can be analyzed using Politeness Principle which will add up the body of knowledge and fill in the gap in the literature.

Furthermore, future studies may focus on how Politeness Principle and its six maxims vary in presidential speeches that focus on younger audience. Since the president frequently visits schools and delivers an education speech, it would be beneficial to study and analyze the president’s remarks.

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