

Language and Power: Positive Politeness as an Instrument of Indirect International Interest through Speech Act on United States' and Ukraine's President Calls Transcript

Misyi Gusthini¹, Lia Maulia Indrayani², Rosaria Mita Amalia³, Elvi Citraresmana⁴

¹ Depatment of Linguistic, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Universitas Padjadjaran e-mail: <u>misyi15001@mail.unpad.ac.id</u>

Abstract

This paper is aim to discuss how the use of indirect speech act with positive politeness used by Trump as United States' President and Zelensky as Ukraines' President in their call conversation represent the power through language. We can see from the data that the conversation appear is related to the bilateral of United States and Ukraine's political world and Ukraine's national defense needed. The data, later on known as the causes of the request for Trumps impeachment in 2019, since the Americans though that Trumps used his status for power abused intend to sabotage Biden in United Stated Presidential election 2021. This research will focus on the utterances that use politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson, 1983), and discuss the meaning of speech act (Yule, 1996) and it's relation to power dimension (Lavrentsova, 2010). This research applies descriptive qualitative method (Norman in Targadi, 2011), and the result of analysis shows that there is power use from Trump's utterances in the call conversation, since United States helps Zelensky in Ukraine presidential election and for their prosperity, so Trump thinks that Zelensky needs to pay him back.

Keywords: politeness strategy, international interest, speech act, language and power, pragmatics.

INTRODUCTION

2019 became unforgettable years in the world, there are a lot of things happened, and the most memorable one is the pandemic appears in our world. This is the time when the virus spreads around the world, all part of countries is infected by the virus covid-19 and most of people died caused by the disease (Fellman et al, 2020). Unfortunately, before the virus comes there are a lot of big issues appear in some countries, such as the accident caused by the demonstrators of Bill (RUU Cipta Kerja), the war between Armenia vs Azerbaijan which caused thousands people died, and the impeachment proposed by United States for their Presiden. As the country with a lot of diplomatic relations with others country, United States becomes a spotlight center of a whole world because of the impeachment news, moreover this news appears in the middle of preparation for the next United States' Presidential Election campaign.

The cause of impeachment in United States is none other than the phone call communication held by Trump with Zelensky as a President Ukraine. This phone call talks about each countries needed including the political world like for the campaign, and



for national defense of Ukraine, international cooperation is the flip side of international conflict which is also one aspect of international relation. The main issue of international interest is based on the extent to which the mutual benefits obtained through the support unilateral and competitive actions (James and Robert, 2005). Bilateral can be formed because the each's nation needed including the ideology, politics, economics, social, environment, culture, defense and security. Also written in ua.usembassy.gov "The united States and Ukraine have a bilateral investment treaty. U.S exports to Ukraine include coal, machinery, vehicles, agricultural products, fish and seafood, and aircraft. U.S. imports from Ukraine include iron and steel, inorganic chemicals, oil, iron and steel products, aircraft, and agricultural products."

This bilateral implicitly uttered through the phone call communication activity. The conversation or communication, always need a language as a media, even it is body language or variant languages from so many countries, language has an important role in intellectual development, social and or emotional. Language also portrays the closeness level of the speakers, we can see that people mostly use formal or polite language intend to keep their distance from those who are not close relative in relation or those who are apparently older, also to parents. In the example, if there is a student searching something (a pen) from the bag without a word or even talking to themselves is part of politeness theory, which label as "off-records" that used indirect speech as a mark of politeness (Cutting, 2002). Furthermore, the use of language usually influenced by the context, meanwhile the language used influenced by the context is part of pragmatic (Mey, 2006), in the pragmatic field, the study of speech act is the most frequently conducted studies by a linguist, speech act is doing something through language or doing an act through language (Yule, 1996 p.53). Doing something through language means, consciously or not usually there is some effect speaker say something to the listener.

For an example, when the lecturer said he left the presence list in lecturers' room, automatically one of the student will take the presence list without any order from the lecturer. From the example, we can see that the lecturer did not utter direct order, but indirect speech act with a meaning of ordering or asking for help, and the student get the point directly, means that there is an action from the utterances that is an order act which classify into directive speech act. There are 5 classification of speech act; declarative, representative, directive, expressive, and commisive (Yule, 1996 p.53), the speech act classification has a function such as apologize, order, ask, commit, declare, and many more. Related to the example of student searching a pen in thebag, will give some possible response, getting ignored, or one of her friend will give the pen to her, so we can see that there is relation between politeness and speech act contextually, because indirect speech act may have a meaning of asking for help indirectly.

From the example, lecturer and student above, can be seen also there is hidden power because the student know that, implicitly the lecturer is more powerful than him in the university, and it is related with Cutting (2002) statement that stated there is power inequality between speaker, such as between lecturer and student, senior doctor and the intern, police officer and society, or even between parents and children. In addition, the 282



study about language and power has become a concern from time to time in many object analyses, Fairclough (1989) explain in his book, when the doctor controlling the situation and the act of intern in patient medical checkup, all of the intern action is in the control of senior doctor, even when the intern wants to explain the situation of patient, the senior doctor controlling him to choose the right words. The act of controlling someone is part of directive speech act (Fairclough, 1989).

Language and power relation can be found in our daily life also, like in diplomacy relation, or political world; such is in debate activity or even in call transcript between two countries' leader (Diana, 2009), United Stated and Ukrainian President. As the news spread around the worlds, in 2019 United States ask their president "Donald J. Trump" to get an impeach, since there is call transcript revealed between Trump and Biden which talks about sabotaging Biden, since Biden will represent Democrat to be next President candidate. Trump said "I heard you had a prosecutor who was very good and he was shut down and that's really unfair. ----- The other thing, there's a lot of talk about Biden's son, that Biden stopped the prosecution and a lot of people want to find out about that so whatever you can do with the Attorney General would be great.". In addition, Trump accused Biden of acting inappropriate in March 2016, he threatens that he will not give the funding, except general Viktor Shokin is fired from his position. Another utterance is "I will say that we do a lot for Ukraine. We spend a lot of effort and a lot of time ---- I would like you to do us a favor though because our country has been through a lot and Ukraine knows a lot about it. --- I guess you have one of your wealthy people. The server, they say Ukraine has it".

From the dialogue call above, it is a proof that Trump tries to control Zelensky or we can say that, Trump has more power than Zelensky, since United States gives big influences for Ukraine in war weapon, funding, or even in Ukraine Presidential candidate campaign, as a result of Zelensky chosen as the Ukraine's President. Here is the reason Trump utters directive speech act is to order Zelensky looking for some secret information through The Server about what has Biden done towards the Ukraines' general, intend to let the society know that Biden has a bad track record. United States which represent by Trump is helping many aspect of Ukraine that the reason Trump feels more powerful than Zelensky, but since they have a diplomacy relation, Trump prefers to use positive politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987) to deliver his intention about Biden through Zelensky, because Trump wants to make good relationship with Ukraine's President, and let him think that they are in the same ship. In addition, Brown and Levinson state that, "Positive Face concerns to the want of every member that is desirable to at least some others, Positive Face means a person's desire to be appreciated and accepted by others (Amalia et al, 2017). Furthermore, United States society, not only triggered by the call transcript, there are some issues about several parts of country is in bad economy situation. How Trump as represent United States, helps Ukraine mostly in funding, shows that Unites States is wealthier than Ukraine, here the writer sees that the power of economy can be analyzed through Lavrentsova theory (2010), which stated there are 3 dimensions of power, they are; class, power, and prestige dimensions.



From those background of study, the writer conduct this analysis for; 1) investigate and explain how the use of indirect speech act classification (Yule, 1996) related to politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson, 1987) in the data, 2] analyses and explain the function of speech act (Yule, 1996) and the power dimension (Lavrentsova, 2010) used in the data analysis. The target of this analysis is to gain the information through linguistic analysis, how language and power correlated through language, from the utterances of leader or president in each country represent in the call transcript, and what is the impact from their society.

Speech Act as Part of Pragmatics (Study of Language influence by Context)

Pragmatic is a study about contextual meaning, which learns about hidden meaning from the utterances delivered by the speaker in certain context that can be analyzed in written or spoken (Searle, 1962). From related literature review of speech act, we know that in our daily language, people usually do the act through language, which indicate indirect order, apologize, sorry, asking, inviting, promise, and others (Yule, 1996). Those utterances not suddenly appear, they are influence by the context, and even sometime people do not intend to utter some utterances but because of the situation or context make people utter some certain utterances. Take example, if there is a lecturer utter "here is hot", it may be cause by the weather, or indirect order for the student, to open the window, open the door, or turn on the Air Conditioner, we can see that the student will doing something cause by the utterances from the lecturer. Speech act classification is divided into five; declarative, representative, directive, expressive, and commisive. Declarative based on Yule "are those kinds of speech acts that change the world via utterance. Speaker has to have institutional role, in a specific context, in order to perform a declaration appropriately", representative is "kind of speech acts states what the speaker believes to the case or nor statements of fact, assertions, conclusions, and descriptions", expressive is "is the utterances express our feeling to make the addressee understand what the real feeling that we want to show", also Yule stated directive is "the utterances use to get someone else to do something. They express what the speaker wants", the last is commisive is "kind of speech acts that the speakers use to commit themselves to some future action. They express what the speaker intends" [7]. Moreover, the concept of the speech act can be seen in this table.

Speech Act	Direction of fit	S: Speaker	
Classifications		X: Situation	
Declaration	Make word change in the	S caus es X	
	world		
Representatives	Make words fit the words	S believes X	
Expressives	Make words fit the words	S feels X	

Table 1. Speech Act	Table by Yule (1996)
---------------------	----------------------

284



Directives	Make the world fit words	S wants X
Commissives	Make the world fit words	S intends X

Speech Act and Power Relation

Cutting (2002, p.120) stated "that people do not have equal control in interaction, because there are inequalities of power. In the second, he looks at the speech act of requesting and the way it inequalities of power". In some aspects of our lives, such as in social, education and even politics, someone will figure out more speech acts and the meaning in form of utterances stated verbally and written. Even if the utterances are different based on the speaker's background, there would be always speech acts produced. For instance in political world, politicians impose many speech acts in their speech debate to gain people's interest (Diana, 2009), meanwhile in political world the activity that can be find is not only debate, but also can be find in the politics communication between two president of a countries. Santosa in Rahayu (2003, p.2) claimed that political language is an instrument used to control the society in general, which are various sociocultural backgrounds. This was imposed by Trump as the President of United States and Zelensky as the Ukraines' President when they have a conversation in a call on 2019. There are some utterances which identify as an expressive act from Zelensky to Trump for helping him to be a Ukraines' President by states "We did win big and we worked hard for this. We worked a lot but I would like to confess to you that I had an opportunity to learn from you. We used quite a few of your skills and knowledge and were able to use it as an example for our election". Another utterances proves that Trump ask Zelensky doing something for him as the way Zelensky pay him back "I would like you to do us a favor though because our country has been through a lot and Ukraine knows a lot about it. I would like you to find out what happened with this whole situation with Ukraine--". Those utterances, shows that there is direct directive act from Trump to Zelensky, because Trump has more power that Zelensky because United Stated has more power in control another country like Ukraine.

In addition, Weber (1978) claimed that there is power/party dimension, which explain that power is "ability to exercise and enforce one's will, affecting other people's behavior by various means – economic, political, ideological, religious, etc"[16]. Moreover, related to the this analysis, Chi-hung and Terence Patrick (1989) has conducted the research entitle "Pragmalinguistic: An Analysis of Power Relations in Speech Act", using the grand theory of speech act from Austin (1962) and combined with felicity condition, while the researchers held the research in a university and the object study was taken from daily conversation in meeting, interview, between lecturer and students, and between supervisor and student (Lo Chi Hung et al, 1989). Also there is another research about "Speech Act analysis on Barrack Obama and McCain Debate 2008: A Pragmatic Study" done by Danang (2012) which result that all of the speech act classification can be found in the data (Danang, 2012). Meanwhile from Chi-hung and Terence's analysis, shows that Power usually used in expressive and directive speech act. From those analyses, shows that there is power relation with speech act, also Fairclough (1989) stated "CLS' analyses



social interactions in a way which focuses up on their linguistic elements', and how language affects and is affected by the system of social relationships (1989, p. 5). The novelty of this research is, none of previous research tries to analyses the call transcript of Trump and Zelensky which causes the United States' President impeachment, here the writer tries to analyses how linguistic features analyzing the meaning inside of the utterances in the call transcript, which cause the anger of United States' Society.

Politeness Relationship View from Direct/Indirect Speech Act Used (Pragmatic-Discourse Study)

"Pragmatic study and Discourse study are the study which learns about meaning of sentences influenced by context it can be verbal or non-verbal. Context here, means consist of; situational context, background knowledge between speaker and hearer, and co-textual context between writer and reader" (Brown & Yule, 1983). Here, the writer sees that there is a similarity between discourse and pragmatic, there must be differences but both of them are the study of contextual meaning and sees the function of language itself (Stilwell, 1999). In certain situation, some people may need a help or response from their environment but may be the speaker feeling shame for asking direct help from other people because keep the distance with the foreigner, or for saving their face from politeness point of view (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The speaker has some optional acts, such as giving the signal by body language, shaking their heads, touching their heads, or looks like searching for something while hoping someone will give some help. In another side, in delivering some intended meaning may use body language like explain above, or speaker may use some of indirect language like self-talking, by uttering "where do I put my pen?" "Where does the address?" it is part of indirect speech act categorized as representative (represent that he forget something) but also implicitly this utterances also targeting people around him, which may help him. This is part of politeness strategy, Brown and Levinson (1987) stated, "Politeness is an act of preventing and dealing with speech act that threaten the self-image or face (face) of others as well as themselves (Face Threatening Acts)". Face can be simply interpreted as a person's self-image/public selfimage. Self-image is an emotional thing and has a social impression that everyone wants others to respect each other's self-image (Yule, 1996). The speaker sometime use indirect speech act or positive politeness strategy intend to give an opportunity for the hearer whether they want to help the speaker or not, or even for saving hearer's face, since there is a distance between speaker and hearer.

Brown and Levinson (1987, p. 101-103) argue that "positive politeness occurs in a group or environment whose participants have the same goals, desires, or background knowledge". This strategy is raised because the speaker wants to show a good impression on the speaker and indicates that the speaker wants to strengthen his social relationship with the hearers through the same desires. Here the writer sees this marker from the data uttered by Trump "I will say that we do a lot for Ukraine. We spend a lot of effort and a lot of time. Much more than the European countries are doing. – the United States has been very good to Ukraine" and Zelensky agree with Trump by stating "—the European 286

Union should be our biggest partner but technically the United States is a much bigger partner than the European Union and I'm very grateful to you for that because the United States is doing quite a lot for Ukraine.", Brown and Levinson state that Seek Agreement" is a mark of positive politeness strategy [11]. Brown and Levinson (1987) in Amalia, et al, divided positive politeness strategy into the following 15 types :

- Notice, attend to H (His interest, wants, needs, goods)
- Exaggerate (interest, approval, sympathy with H)
- Intensify interest to H
- Use in-group identity markers,
- Seek agreement
- Avoid disagreement
- Presuppose/raise/assert common ground
- Joke
- Assert or presuppose S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants
- Offer, promise
- Be optimistic
- Include both S and H in the activity
- Give (or ask for) reason
- Assume or assert reciprocity
- Give gift to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)

In addition, Van Dijk (1993) also stated that "equality of power is not always seen through speech acts such as ordering, but power can also be seen in daily activities such as the relationship between parents and children, superior-subordinate, or between police officers and citizens. From those statements, the writer realizes that when the dominance occurs in communication (Van Dijk, 1993). It is related to research done by Morand (2000), which conducted the research in superior-subordinates communication in a company, the result of analysis shows that the speaker which less power usually used negative politeness strategy, while the superior use positive politeness strategy in their utterances, also most of the positive politeness has an intended meaning of asking and ordering act. The novelty is different object study with the research that is call transcript between United States' Presidents with Ukrainian President.

Language and Power: Power Dimension in the Utterances

Fairclough stated that the idea of speech act, 'act through language' is the core of what is call as CLS (Critical Language Study) [4]. CLS is study about social interaction which focuses on linguistic element, and how language influenced and influences by social system. Fairclough criticize pragmatic from his point of view, each individual not always manipulates the language that they use for achieving they aim, but they also limited by social convention. Fairclough also agree that people has not equal control in interaction, he look at in asking (directive act) and its' relation with power inequality. He agrees that indirect asking is related to power inequality implicitly. Language as media to



gain the power has always heard in the study of rhetoric communication or even sociolinguistic (Uzoechi, 2021). Language is product or result from politics system factors: language is influence and influenced by politics [25]. From all the explanation about how language and power engaged, and it is related to the society, since the target of power in about controlling the big scale of people through utterances which support by some fact of utterances. Here the writer use the model of Power Dimension to measure the power exists from the utterances. Weber (1978) develops a multidimensional approach to stratification; he thinks that "the economic position and class affiliation are not the only dominants in society that determine the system of social of stratification". Weber in Lavrentsova (2010) said that "the different position of the individual and groups in the social space stems not only from the ownership relations, but also from the relation to power as well as the level of social prestige". On that basis he introduces three primary dimension of stratification: class (economic position), party (power), and status (prestige) [14].

- Class Dimension (economic): the economic dimension consist of two elements; income is the amount of money one receives, while wealth is property or the material possession owned by the individual, such as immovable property, production, and non-production assets, jewelry, shares, securities, expensive artwork and so forth. In addition, class can be defined as a group of people, who have identical life's chances and common economic interest.
- Party (Power): in Weber's conception, power is the ability to exercise and enforce one's will, affecting other people's behavior by various means—economic, political, ideological, religious, etc.
- Status (or Prestige): apart from an economic and political dimension, stratification also has a purely social indicator status or prestige as an assessment given to different social statuses on the basis of comparison performed by the members of society. It is also include the stratification of social hierarchy.

Related to the previous research, Misyi et al (2018) doing the research power dimension in United States' Presidential Debate 2016, which result the power dimension uttered by candidates influence the society when voting in election day. Still, the novelty is there is no previous research about the call transcript of Trump and Zelensky.

METHOD

The research method is the way or the tools that later on will help researchers answer the problem formulations. Djajasudarma (2006, p. 24) stated that methodology is the knowledge of or a description of the method. Method is an orderly and well thought out way to achieve an aim in research. Furthermore, Djajasudarma also stated, "language research method is closely related to language research, which aims to collect, and analyses the data, as well as study linguistic phenomena". Norman, Denzim, Y Lincoln in Targadi (2011, p. 23) stated "qualitative research means different things in each these



moments. The qualitative data is the way to analyze data through an observation and to collect the data". Furthermore, the descriptive was taken with the aim of determining the characteristics of a population or phenomenon. The qualitative data analysis does not use the statistic method. The writer can conclude that the descriptive qualitative method is the way of analyzing or studying from the phenomenon or the data and she tries to describe it. The research will focus with contextual and situation in interpreting the data [27], and analyze the data inductively.

The primary data of the analysis is the call transcript as the data of Trump and Zelensky, and for the detail of supporting data will be analyzed from context and information from the internet. The writer gets the data from the internet (Mahsun, 2005). So the data sources are call transcript, and the data is the utterances from both speakers which consist of politeness strategy, has a speech act classification and power inside it. The writer searching the call transcript in February 2020 read and underlined the utterances which can be categorized as positive politeness strategy, with indirect/direct speech act, and there is power dimension inside it. Then the writer put it into table and analyzes it.

Data analyzing technique in this research is using content analysis. First, the writer will see how the positive politeness strategy used by each speaker [11], whether by building same agreement or assumption or what, then the writer analyses the function of utterances and categorized it into speech act classification (Yule, 1996) and into direct or indirect speech act based on context. The last, the writer will analyses the power dimensions (Weber, 1978) appears in those utterances and recheck the fact from trustable sources in the internet.

The result of analysis will be delivered through sentences, explain by formal language. The writer will explain it from one paragraph to paragraph (Mahsun, 2005). The writer will explain it carefully to be easy understood by the readers.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This part will explain what can the writer finds in the data, and discusses the data by explaining the fact from the sources that the writer gets from the internet sources. In addition, there will be explanation also about the representative, expressive, directive and commisive speech act, with positive politeness strategies which consist of power dimension. This analysis shows there are; 2 data of representative, 1 expressive, 1 directive, and 1 commisive speech act. The writers take all the data from the data source that is call transcript, and there is same pattern in one data of commisive, so here the writers take only one to be analyses and discusses in this part. Here, the writer tries to compile the analysis.

1. Representative Speech Act

Representative speech acts states what the speaker believes to the case or not, statements of fact, assertions, conclusions and description. The speaker represents the world as he or she believes it is (Yule, 1996: 53). To indicate this classification, Searle



also stated in Cicognani (2006) that the verbs assert, claim, clarify, affirm, state, deny, disclaim, assure, argue, rebut, inform, notify, remind, object, predict, report, retrodict, suggest, insist, conjecture, hypothesize, guess, swear, testify, admit, confess, accuse, blame, criticize, praise, complain, boast, and lament, could be imposed to figure out the meaning and the classification. Based on the theory above, here are some utterances classified as representative.

Stated by	Indication	Utterance
	Remind (page 2)	"I will say that we do a lot for Ukraine. We spend a lot of effort and a lot of time. Much more than the European countries are doing and they should be helping you more
President Trump	wants to strengthen his social relationship	than they are" "A lot of the European countries are the same way so I think it's something you want to look at but the United States has been very very good to Ukraine"

A1. 1st Finding, Utterances 1

B1. Discussion

1) Context

On July 25th 2019, there is phone activity which held by Donald Trump as United States' President with Zelensky as the President of Ukraine. Later on, this call transcript known as the impeachment inquiry because, there is power abuse identification in the call activity. Here is the first datum find. Let us see the fact or the context following up the truth of the utterances. There is statement from the web www.state.gov "The United States' commitment to Ukraine's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity is ironclad" and "The United States is committed to strengthening our relationship with Ukraine as we work to build a prosperous future for all Ukrainians" [31]. Another information gain from this web is, since 2014 United States has committed more than \$7.3 billion in assistance to Ukraine, including security and non-security assistance. In addition, the United States provided three sovereign loan guarantees totaling \$3 billion. On March 15, President Biden signed the bipartisan Ukraine Supplemental Appropriation Act to provide an additional \$13.6 billion in military, humanitarian, and economic assistance to help Ukraine defend itself from Russia's unprovoked further invasion. Furthermore, the United States will welcome up to 100,000 Ukrainian citizens and others fleeing Russia's aggression. We can see how much United States help Ukraine in humanity and war.

2) Meaning of Indirect Speech Act

The utterance "I will say that **we do a lot for Ukraine**. **We spend a lot of effort and a lot of time**. Much more than the European countries are doing and they should be helping you more than they are" is classified into representative because President Trump 290



implicitly state what he believe about the situation, Trump remind Zelensky that he has done so many things for Ukraine, and he wish Ukraine will pay him back. Implicitly the analysis come to this (I remind you) "we spend a lot of effort for Ukraine", Trump implicitly boast himself or his States, because United States more powerful and did help Ukraine for a long time and much money also for their prosperity. In addition (Cicognani, 2006) stated that boast or remind which identified about what the speakers believe can conclude as representative.

3) Positive Politeness Strategy

The utterance from President Trump "I will say that we do a lot for Ukraine. We spend a lot of effort and a lot of time. Much more than the European countries are doing and they should be helping you more than they are" is classified into positive politeness strategy by using the same context as the writer explain above, can be seen that Trump tries to assert about what he has done for Ukraine about supporting the prosperity and security of Ukraine. Brown and Levinson (1987) stated that Assert or presuppose the speakers knowledge and concern for hearers wants or need is part or a mark of positive politeness strategy, because the speaker give a positive self-image to the hearer. Moreover, it seems that Trump wants to show a good impression and wants to strengthen his social relationship, so the utterances "we do a lot for Ukraine, spend lot of effort and a lot of time much more than the European countries" can be identify as politeness strategy because Trump assert what United States give for Ukraine.

4) Power Dimension

Based on Weber's conception, power is the ability to affecting other people's behavior by various means like political, ideological, or religious. Here is the writer put the data ""I will say that **we do a lot for Ukraine**. **We spend a lot of effort and a lot of time**. Much more than the European countries are doing and **they should be helping you** more than they are" into Party/Power Dimension, because the data shows that Trump tries to assure Zelensky that United States doing the most for Ukraine than another country. Meanwhile, the supporting data also show that United States is wealthier that Ukraine, it is proof by the fact of since 2014 United States has committed more than \$7.3 billion in assistance to Ukraine, including security and non-security assistance. As stated by Weber, class can be defined as a people who have identical life's chance and common economic interest, through the context can be seen that United States has better economic shares than Ukraine.

A2. 2nd Finding (Representative-Expressive)

This second data is categorized as representative expressive, because the utterances consist of two element speech act classification. Since the utterances represent what Zelensky believe about another country, while complaining about they do not doing more than they can do for Ukraine. Here the explanation.



Stated by	Indication	Utterance
	Inform-complaining (page 2)	"I also met and talked with Macron and <i>I told</i> them that they are not doing quite as much as they need to be doing on the issued with the sanctions".
President Zelensky	Exaggerates Approval – Positive Politeness Strategy	"The European Union should be our biggest partner but technically the United States is a much bigger partner than the European Union and <i>I'm very grateful</i> to you for that because the <i>United States is doing quite a lot for</i> <i>Ukraine</i> "

Utterances 2

B2. Discussion

1) Context

After the first data of Trump's utterances stating he's done a lot for Ukraine, the next data is Zelenksy's utterances in responding Trump's statement. The first utterance from Zelensky is "Yes you are absolutely right. Not only 100%, but actually 1000%---" as a way Zelensky seek agreement to what Trump state. Let us say, the information from the first context prove that United States help Ukraine a lot [31] from the needed of war, security, and prosperity. Here the writer wants to give another explanation, about what the European Union did for helping Ukraine which states not more that United States did. www.washingtonpost.com informs Zelesnky argued that Western nations, which have already imposed historic sanctions on Russia, hadn't gone far enough in their efforts to cripple the country's economy because they "have not completed the sanctions on disconnecting the banking system from SWIFT." Zelensky was referring 'to the international consortium used to move money among banks.' Although Western Allies disconnected some Russians financial institutions from the system, they didn't block Russia's access entirely [32]. Meanwhile from the same sources [32] there is additional information "Julianne Smith, the United States permanent representative to the body, said Sunday. Since January 2021, the United States has provided \$2 billion worth of lethal assistance, including Stinger and Javeline missiles, Smith said. So, that's the proof of United States doing a lot for Ukraine until now, meanwhile the other countries like western not doing much for Ukraine like Zelensky states in the phone "they are not doing quite as much as they need to be doing on the issue with the sanctions (of banks SWIFT)".

2) Meaning of Indirect Speech Act

Here is the discussion of indirect speech act in the second datum "I also met and talked with Macron and (**I inform you that I complaining them**) *I told them that they* 292



are not doing quite as much as they need to be doing on the issued with the sanctions ". Indirect speech act appears in this datum is *informing* Trump that Zekensky *complaining* to Macron, about they do not do much to help Ukraine situation, while Zelensky expect Macron can maximum the sanction to block the SWIFT bank activity. Based on Searle in Cicognani [30], stated that *inform* can be a mark of representative because from the situation, known that Zelensky informs Trump about what he believe about the situation faces by Ukraine. In addition in the same utterances, Zelensky also express about what he feels about Macron and other European Union country which is not give sanction for blocking the SWIFT bank activity. Yule [7], stated an utterances which contain about speaker feeling like *complaining* can be conclude as part of expressive act.

3) Positive Politeness Strategy

The respond utterance from President Zelensky "The European Union should be our biggest partner but technically the United States is a much bigger partner than the European Union and *I'm very grateful* to you for that because the *United States is doing quite a lot for Ukraine*" is classified into positive politeness strategy because the data shown that Zelensky exaggerate approval of Trump statement "We spend a lot of effort and a lot of time. Much more than European countries are doing and they should be helping you more than they are." To exaggerate the approval, Zelensky even adds the complaining expression and states "you are absolutely right, not only 100%, but actually 1000%" to proof that he is totally agree about what Trump said. In conclusion, Brown and Levinson [1987] explain that **exaggerate approval** is part of positive politeness strategy.

4) Power Dimension

Based on Weber's concept of the economic dimensions are explained about income and wealth. In this conception, power is the total amount of wealth or income that owned by the people or a group of people. From the context, it brings the writer to check how much Unites States net worth compare to Ukraine, until make the United States help Ukraine a lot. Reported from financebuzz.com for the fourth quarter of 2019, total wealth in the United States was \$111.04 trillion, this is the year when the news of impeachment inquiry appears. Meanwhile, Ukraine's' wealth is reported around \$600,126 billion in 2022. From the explanation above, can conclude that Unites States is wealthier than Ukraine, or can be stated that, Unites Stated is more powerful than Ukraine, in Class/Economic Dimension.

2. Expressive Speech Act

Yule (1996:53) stated that this expressive is defined as what the speaker feels, like pleasure, pain, likes, dislikes, joy, or sorry. Moreover, Searle in Cicognani (2006) claims some indication of verbs of this classification. They are; apologizing, thank, condole, suspicious, congratulate, complain, lament, protest, deplore, boast, compliment, praise,



welcome, and greet. Based on the theory above, here is the utterance classified as expressive that the writer found from the data sources.

Stated by	Indication	Utterance
	Thank	
	(page 1)	"We did win big and we worked hard for thisWe
		worked a lot but I would like to confess to you that I
President	Give	had an opportunity to learn from you. We used quite
Zelesnky	Sympathy-	a few of your skills and knowledge and were able to
	Positive	use it as an example for our election and yes it is true
	Politeness	that these were unique election."
	Strategy	

A3.	3 rd	Finding,	Utterances	3
-----	-----------------	----------	------------	---

B3. Discussion

1) Context

After It is the opening session of call activity, starts on 9:03 am in the White House. Trump begins the conversation by congratulating Zelensky for his party won the parliament, by stating, "Congratulations on a great victory. We all watched from the United States and you did a terrific job. The way you came from behind, somebody who hasn't given much of a chance, and you ended up winning easily. It's a fantastic achievement. Congratulation". The next utterances is "I'm able to tell you that the following; the first time , you called me to congratulate me when I won my presidential election, and the second time you are now calling me when my party won the parliamentary election." From this situation, can be seen that Zelensky really thankful to President Trump. From the utterances also seems that Zelensky give sympathy to Trump because they are in good relationship, and wants to make a better state relationship by agreeing with each other statement.

2) Meaning of Indirect Speech Act

The utterances will be analyzed as below "We worked a lot but **I would like to confess to you that (I am thankful, because) I had an opportunity to learn from you.** We used quite a few of your skills and knowledge and were able to use it as an example for our election". The utterances is classified into indirect expressive act because Zelensky, not directly say "thank you" to President Trump, but implicitly praise about Trumps' expressive of congratulation, and implicit thankful for the advice form President Trump by state "I had an opportunity to learn from you. We use few of your skills and knowledge". Based on Yule [7] and Cicognani [30], utterances contain what the speaker's feel is part of expressive speech act.

3) Positive Politeness Strategy



The positive politeness strategy is contain the utterances with keep the face of hearers, by praising, seek agreement or even gives sympathy to the hearer. The utterance with indirect meaning thank for the hearer such as "We worked a lot but **I would like to confess to you that (I am thankful, because) I had an opportunity to learn from you.**" Also can be part of positive politeness strategy, since there is an indication of Zelensky give the sympathy to Trump by praising him and keep Trumps' face or self-image. As stated from Brown and Levinson (1987), this strategy is raised because the speaker wants to show a good impression on the speaker and indicates that the speaker wants to strengthen his social relationship with the hearers, so the utterances is categorized as positive politeness strategy.

4) Power Dimension

Related to power dimension, here the writer put additional information about what the Zelensky stated about drain the swamp, "well yes, to tell you the truth, we are trying to work hard because we *wanted to drain the swamp* here in our country". Based on <u>www.dictionary.com</u> drain the swamp has meaning to root out of corruption. Here Zelensky try to use open the corruption, for gaining the attention of Ukraine society to choose him in Election Day, while when this call transcript released, Zelensky already became a Ukraine's President. The word drain the swamp indicated that Trump used power/party dimension, because here Zelensky feels Trump is more experienced in handle the political thing. Based on Weber, power is the ability to affecting other people's behavior by various means like political, ideological, or religious. So the data can be concluding to have power dimension.

3. Directive Speech Act

In reality, most speakers use to get someone else to do something (Yule, 1996). They express what the speaker wants. It could be in a form of commands, orders, requests and suggestions. In addition, Searle in Cicognani (2006) proposes some verbs to indicate directives. It could be in a form of commands, orders, requests and suggestions. Some of them are, direct, request, ask, urge, tell, require, demand, command, order, forbid, prohibit, enjoin, permit, suggest, insist, warn, advise, recommend, beg, supplicate, entreat, beseech, implore, and pray They express what the speaker wants. It could be in a form of commands, orders, requests and suggestions. In the call transcript the writer find one directive data which represent what the speaker through language used.

Stated by	Indication	Utterance
Presiden t Trump	Asking (page 3) Assert	"I would like you to do us a favor though because our country has been through a lot and Ukraine knows a lot about it. I would like you to find out what happened with

A4. 4 rd Finding, U	Utterances 4
--------------------------------	--------------

OPEN SOCIETY CONFERENCE	The 5 th Open Society Conference (OSC), Volume 1, 2023 Faculty of Law, Social and Political Science Universitas Terbuka
reciprocity- positive politeness	this whole situation with Ukraine, they say Crowdstrike. I guess you have one of your wealthy people."
(Page 4)	"The other thing, there's a lot of talk about Biden's son, that Biden stopped the prosecution and a lot of people want to find out about that so whatever you can do with the Attorney General would be great"

B4. Discussion

1) Context

Take a look at the supporting data that the writer gets from the www.cnbc.com, "Trump and his personal attorney, former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, have accused Biden of corruption over his pressuring Ukraine to fire a prosecutor who reportedly oversaw a probe into the owner of a Ukrainian gas company, Burisma Holdings, of which Hunter Biden was a board member. After Trump suggested in the call that Ukraine 'look into' Biden and his son. Zelensky said he is appointing a new prosecutor to look into the situation". Trump then said that he "will have Mr. Giuliani give you a call and I am also going to have Attorney General [William] Barr call and we will get to the bottom of it. Meanwhile, Hunter Biden has not been accused of wrongdoing related to his work with company. Here is the climax of the impeachment inquiry, here is the conclusion of United Stated agree that Trump doing power abuse as the President of United States to control or influence another country to do what he need as the candidate of in preparation of the next presidential campaign. In accordance with information that the writers explain above, it is proof that United States more powerful than Ukraine, Ukraine owe so many things to United Stated, so when the conversation between two leaders of states come up, with some intended next action, it will cause the big impact from the society.

2) Meaning of Indirect Speech Act

The indirect speech act of this point utterance is asking, as part of directive, because Trump wants Zelensky doing something to him. Here is the analysis "I would like to (ask) you to do us a favor though because our country has been through a lot and Ukraine knows a lot about it." For the second utterances, the indirect speech act is like "The other thing, there's a lot of talk about Biden's son, that Biden stopped the prosecution and a lot of people want to find out about that so (I ask) whatever you can do with the Attorney General would be great". The analysis discussion that there is indirect asking act in the data 4, and it is related to the supporting information, as a proof of Trump want Zelensky doing something, and based on Yule (1996) and Cicognani (2000) when the speaker use to get someone else to do something is part of directive act.

3) Positive Politeness Strategy

Furthermore, for positive politeness strategy in the datum 4 is mark with assert 296



reciprocity. The reason is, because the utterances before the datum 4 is contain about what Trump or United States has done for Ukraine or for Zelensky. Here, Trump use to make Zelensky owe something to United States or owe something to Trump as a President of United States. As stated by Brown and Levinson (1987), assume or assert reciprocity is part of positive politeness strategy because here the speaker mention what he already give to the hearer, then ask something to the Hearer politely intend to keep the hearer's face, to keep the hearers self-image. So the utterances "I would like you to do us a favor though because our country has been through a lot and Ukraine (what United Stated give to Ukraine) knows a lot about it. I would like you to find out what happened (**assert reciprocity**) with this whole situation with Ukraine." is part of positive politeness strategy.

4) Power Dimension

The ability to affecting other people's behavior by various means like political, ideological, or religious, is the Weber's concept this is how Power dimension control the people who is powerless than the speaker. From the data, can be seen Trump tries to control Zelensky in political world. With the same references from <u>www.cnbc.com</u>, indicated that Trump wants Zelensky looking for some information about Biden to spread the information to the society that Biden doing corrupt. While Hunter Biden has not been accused of wrongdoing related to his work with company. Those are the reason why Trump claims as doing power abuse.

5) Commisive Speech Act

Commisive is kind of speech act which states about some next future action. Yule (1996) and Searle (1962) stated that this speech act could be into form of promises, threats, refusal and pledges such as in the word commit, promise, threaten, vow, pledge, swear, accept, consent, refuse, offer, bid, assure, guarantee, warrant, contract, covenant, and bet. There are two data of commisive find in the data, but here the writer only take 1 data to be present because it has same meaning of indirect speech act. Here is the explanation.

Stated by	Indication	Utterance
	Assure	"For me as a President, it is very important and we are
	(page 3)	open for any future cooperation, we are ready to open
Ducaidan		a new page on cooperation in relations between the
Presiden	Seek	United States and Ukraine."
t 7-11	Agreement-	
Zelensky	positive	"I just wanted to assure you once again that you have
	politeness	nobody but friends around us-with the best and most
	-	experienced people"

A5. 5th Finding, Utterances 5



B5. Discussion

1) Context

The context or situation appears in this utterances is clear enough. Trump mention about Crowdstrike in the previous data, "I would like you to find out what happened with this whole situation with Ukraine, they say Crowdstrike. I guess you have one of your wealthy people – I think you're surrounding yourself with some of the same people." Here is Zelensky answer by assuring Trump "Yes it is very important for me and everything that you just mentioned earlier. For me as a President, it is very important and we are open for any future cooperation, we are ready to open a new page on cooperation in relations between the United States and Ukraine. – I just recalled our ambassador from United Stated and he will be replaced by a very competent and very experienced ambassador who will work hard on making sure that our two nations are getting closer". Can be seen that Zelesnky always give positive utterances in order to assure Trump that he will doing his best about Trump request since Trump has stated "we do a lot for Ukraine". Here Zelensky like owe many things to Trumps.

2) Meaning of Indirect Speech Act

Here is the analysis of indirect commisive speech act that the writers get from the data. "For me as a President, it is very important and (**I assure you**) we are open for any future cooperation, we are ready to open a new page on cooperation in relations between the United States and Ukraine." For the second utterances, the indirect speech act is like "I just recalled our ambassador from United Stated and he will be replaced by a very competent and very experienced ambassador who will work hard on (**I promise you, he will**) making sure that our two nations are getting closer". Related to the Yule (1996) and Cicognani (2000) stated about commisive, this data can be categorized as commisive speech act because in contains some next future action.

3) Positive Politeness Strategy

Here is the analysis for positive politeness strategy from the data. Zelensky stated "we are ready to open a new page on cooperation in relations between the United States and Ukraine". The further statement is a proof that there is positive politeness, "I just wanted to assure you once again that you have no body but friends around us. I will make sure that I surround myself with best and most experienced people. I also wanted to tell you that we are friends. We are great friends and you Mr. President have friends in our country so we can continue our strategic partnership". Clearly the utterances intend to keep the face of hearers, and seek agreement is a mark of positive politeness 298



strategy based on Brown and Levinson (1987).

4) Power Dimension

The power dimension appears in the data in power/political power dimension, because as the leader of a country, Trump and Zelensky has a power to deal with so many things about States' cooperation, bilateral, international relationship in security, prosperity, business, and many more. In addition all of those things need to accepted or agree by the President of the State. In line with Webers' concept, the ability to affecting other people's behavior by various means like political, ideological, or religious is part of power dimension.

CONCLUSION

The conclusions of this research are;

- 1. There is relation between power and language, since the analysis proof that power can be find from utterances.
- 2. From the utterances, also there is implicit meaning which explain that through language, there are some impact such as; someone who doing something for the speaker, because feeling less of power or even doing power abuse and make the society angry and ask for the impeachment. In other words, it is true that there is an act through language
- 3. The third, it also answered the research question of positive politeness as a mark there is close relation between two speaker, and how the way speakers agree each other is part of keep face's hearer to make the self-image is safe from threaten.

Here, the writers conclude that there are 4 speech act classification in the data, and each data consist of positive politeness and power dimension inside the data utterances.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank Universitas Padjadjaran and all of my professors, and Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture for the funding of my dissertation grant

REFERENCES

- [1] Amalia, Rosaria M., Citraresmana, Elvi., Saefullah, Nurul H., Putra, Aridhtardha A. Face Threatening Acts and Politeness Strategy in the Issued of the Live Banned Export of Live Cattle by the Australian Govenrment to Indonesia. (2017) Proceedings of The 7th Annual International Conference (AIC) Syiah Kuala University and The 6th International Conference of Multidisciplinary Research (ICMR) in conjuction with the International Conference on Electrical Engineering and Informatics (ICELTICs) 2017, October 18-20, 2017, Banda Aceh, Indonesia.
- [2] Austin, J. How To Do Things With Words. (1962). Oxfords: Clarendon Press.



- [3] Brown, P, and Levinson, S. Politeness. (1987). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [4] Brown, G, and Yule, G. Discourse Analysis. (1983). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [5] Cicognani, A. (2006). Defining a Design Language in A Text-Based Virtual Community. Sidney: University of Sydney NSW
- [6] Cutting, Joan. Pragmatic and Discourse. (2002) London and New York: Routledge.
- [7] Danang. (2012). Speech Act Analysis on Barrack Obama and Mc Cain Presidential Debate 2008. Bandar Lampung: Thesis; (Unpublished): Teknokrat
- [8] Diana, C. (2009). The Presidential Debate, A Teacher Guide. Kansas: University of Kansas.
- [9] Djajasudarma, Fatimah. (2006). Metode Linguistik: Ancangan Metode Penelitian dan Kajian. Bandung: PT Refika Aditama.
- [10] Dougherty, James E. Dan Robert L. Pfaltzgraff. 2005. Pengantar Studi Hubungan Internasional. Yogyakarta:Pustaka Pelajar
- [11] Fairclough, N. (1989). Language and Power. New York: Longman Inc.
- [12] Fellman, Daniel., Ritakallio, Liisa., Waris, Otto., Jylkka, Jussi., Laine, Matti. Beginning of the Pandemic: COVID-19 Elicited Anxiety as a Predictor of Working Memory Performance. Frontiers in Psychology, personality and Social Psychology. https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.576466 Lavrentsova, E. (2010). Primary Dimension of Stratification. Trakin Journal o Sciences, 254-257.
- [13] Lo, Chi-hung, & Patrick, Terence. (1989). Pragmalinguistic: An Analysis of Power Relation in Speech Acts. Hongkong; Dissertation (Published Journal Dissertation): The University of Hong Kong
- [14] Mahsun, (2005). Metode Penelitian Bahasa. Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada,
- [15] Mey, Jacob L. (2006). Pragmatics: Overview. Basil Blackwell: Elsevier Ltd.
- [16] Morand, David A. (2000). Language and Power: An Empirical Analysis of Linguistic Strategies Used in Superior-Subordinate Communication. Journal of Organization Behavior, 21, hal. 235-248
- [17] Sugiyono.(2008). Metodologi Penelitian. Bandung: Alfabeta.
- [18] Stillwell Peccei, J. (1999). Pragmatics. London: Routledge,
- [19] Uzoechi Nwagbara, Power, Language and Context: The Sociolinguistic Of Bill Clinton's Between Hope and History. (2011). The Criterion: An International Journal in

Between Hope and History. (2011). The Criterion: An International Journal 1 English, 1-5 Vol.II. Issue. III.

- [20] Van Dijk, Teun A. (1993). Principles Critical Discourse Analysis. Discourse & Society. SAGE: London. Newbury Park and New Delhi.
- [21] Weber, M., Status Groups and Classes in: Weber, M., Economy and Society. (1978). Barkeley.
- [22] Wodak, Ruth, Language and Ideology Language and Ideology. (2007). Journal of Language andPolitics.6.1. : 1-5.

[23] Yule, George. Pragmatics. (1996). New York: Oxford University Press. 300



- [24 Web-Data 1, Usman Hamid: 402 Orang Jadi Korban Kekerasan Polisi saat Demo RUU Cipta kerja.https://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/usman-hamid-402-orangjadi-korban-kekerasan-polisi-saat-demo-uu-cipta-kerja.html, Accessed April 2022
- [25] Web-Data 2, Armenia-Azerbaijan: Why did Nagorno-Karabakh spark a conflict?. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-54324772, Accessed April 2022
- [26] Web-Data 3, Trump Impeached for Abused of Power and Obstruction of Congress. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/18/us/politics/trump-impeached.html, Accessed April 2022
- [27] Web-Data

https://www.whitehouse.gov/wpcontent/uploads/2019/09/Unclassified09.201 9.pdf (Accessed Febuary 2020)

- [28] Web-Data 5, https://www.newsweek.com/trump-impeachment-petition-millionsfirst-year-
- 783674 (Accessed April 2020)
- [29] Web-Data 6, https://www.whitehouse.gov/wpcontent/uploads/2019/09/Unclassified09. 2019.pdf Accessed, Febuary 2020.
- [30] Web-Data 7, https://www.state.gov/united-with-ukraine/. Accessed April 2022[31] Web-Data8, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-
- security/2022/03/27/ukraine-russia-zelensky-biden-nato/. Accessed April 2022
- [32] Web-Data 9, https://financebuzz.com/us-net-worth-statistics. Accessed April 2022
- [33] Web-Data 10, https://www.cnbc.com/2019/09/25/trump-asked-ukraine-president-ifyou-can-look-into-biden-and-his-son-in-phone-call.html.

4,