Politeness in Criticizing Political Discourse: A Model Design

Agustina[1], Nurizzati[2], Erizal Gani[3], Muhammad Adek[4], and Srimutia Elpalia[5]

[12345]Universitas Negeri Padang, Indonesia
*Corresponding Author: agustina@fbs.unp.ac.id

Abstract

The design of this model is based on previous research findings that show the existence of 'verbal violence' in criticizing politicians during political discourse. This violence stems from the type of criticism, the strategy used to criticize, and the dominant style of criticism which is often sarcastic and cynical. As a result, the illocutionary function is conflictive and competitive, which poses a high level of face threat and falls within the impolite category. Based on these findings, a politeness model was developed to criticize political discourse. The model was designed using research and development methods with six stages: needs analysis, model design, model development, model implementation, and model evaluation. Data was collected through media review, and data validation was conducted using expert and user validation. Data analysis was done through content analysis and model development. Given that political discourse is characterized by a struggle for power, the model aims to reduce and soften the illocutionary power of criticism by applying relevant politeness principles and scales. The model is implemented using declarative and interrogative constructions, fenced imperative pragmatic meanings, and soft cues to produce polite criticism while maintaining the competitive atmosphere of political contestation. Therefore, the novelty of this research lies in using linguistic tools to produce a model of polite criticism without reducing the competitive atmosphere that characterizes political contestation. Additionally, the model can contribute to revitalizing political culture by increasing political discourse literacy through linguistic competence. It also presents an alternative solution to the problem of intolerance in the country.

Introduction

Based on the history of politics in Indonesia, the political events of the last five years have left problems in upholding democracy because the discourse in the political space is tight, competitive, and tough. This is revealed from the results of research by (Adek & Agustina, 2021; Agustina, 2017, 2018; Agustina et al., 2020; Firmansyah et al., 2020; Humairah et al., 2019; Sundari et al., 2019), that found verbal violence in the discourse of political contestation, especially in criticizing because politicians and their supporting communities are dominantly using the type of direct criticism, with bald on-record strategy and negative politeness, and using sarcastic and cynical language styles that have a high potential to threaten the face of the interlocutor so that it tends to trigger conflict in the community, even today.

Indeed, criticism is a form of communication that is needed in building democracy because through criticism, weaknesses and shortcomings can be overcome and addressed. Therefore, formally the criticism is conveyed in polite and neutral language so that it aims to be positive and solution. However, the problems found in political contestations, criticism is often interpreted as a compilation of expressions of disapproval, negative evaluation, or statements of wrong actions. In this view, criticism functions as a competition so that it tends to use sarcastic, vulgar language, and even throws each other down so that the purpose of criticism turns towards conflict and hostility which has the potential to cause democratic problems (Agustina, et al., 2020).

This fact is evident from the IDI Report (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2010) that there is a decline in the Indonesian Democracy Index (IDI) every year, especially indicators 16-17 which have a bad score (<60) in the last three years. This record indicates that intolerance as an expression of community involvement still ends in violence, which is contrary to democracy, and even tends to be anti-democratic. Then, based on the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) report, although in 2019 IDI rose to a score of 6.48 (Wibowo, 2021); but in 2020 it decreased again with a score of 6.3, specifically the political culture aspect was at 4.3 (Heriyanto, 2021; Wibowo, 2021)

The question is, why is criticism associated with intolerance? In the view of pragmatics, criticizing is an interactive language activity that takes place in the principle of cooperation between speakers and their interlocutors to maintain face threats in speaking (Geis et al., 1976). But in reality, in political discourse, in general, criticism reflects psycho-social behavior that deviates from the principle of cooperation which is triggered by the absence of common share due to the absence of common knowledge between the parties speaking so that communication proceeds in their respective ways and understandings. In Socio-Pragmatics, this situation is called a 'pragmatic failure' which eventually tends to trigger the growth of a culture of intolerance in society. This phenomenon is supported by (Hasanah, 2019) findings that "the political elite has gone too far and has almost no ethics and substance in political education; the 2019 presidential election process should be an arena for people's political maturity; but instead disperses people's political awareness because various ways are carried out, black campaigns to bring each other down.

Based on this phenomenon, Lwin in (Revita, 2018) revealed that a solution is needed that each speech participant actually has "linguistic intelligence", namely the ability to process and use words very well in communication including linguistic reportoire competence or mastery in various languages and the ability to use them in a variety of different situations.

Therefore, it is important to conduct this research with the aim of compiling a model of criticizing politeness that will be used as an alternative how to criticize politely,

without reducing the competitive atmosphere as a characteristic of political contestation.This model is also a novelty for this research because it will contribute as an alternative solution to the problem of intolerance, as well as a way to improve political culture by increasing literacy in political discourse for politicians and society in general.

Based on the literature review, research on "politeness to criticize in political discourse", so far has not been found, but research on criticism in the study of political and interpersonal communication has been widely implemented.For example, research by (Farias & Rosso, 2017; Gani et al., 2020; Herman & Manaf, 2022; Pohjonen & Udupa, 2017; Rahmadani & Agustina, 2020) and research on cricizing style was conducted by (Filik et al., 2015, 2017; Toplak & Katz, 2000). Then, criticism in the class of second language learners (L2) by (Nguyen, 2005, 2008) and (Wajnryb R, 1993, 1995). Criticism in speech acts and politeness has been widely executed, including by (Hardini, 2014; Prayitno, 2009; Wicaksono, 2011), then criticized based on socio-ethnicity by (Gunarwan, 1996; Jauhari, 2017).

In general, this research is one of the works in the research concept map with the theme "Language and Democracy". However, it is specifically in the field of Pragmatics, namely the study of how language is used in communication (Leech, 1993; Parker, 2005; Penelope Brown, 1996; Wijana, 1996), especially in the aspect of speech acts as a theoretical basis for studying "criticizing" behavior, and the aspect of Politeness in Language as a theoretical basis to develop indicators of 'model criticizing politeness in political discourse'.

From this study, no research has been found on the criticizing politeness model. Therefore, through this research a politeness model specifically designed to criticize in political discourse is designed. However, in general, this research is part of a series of concept maps of the author's research entitled "Language and Democracy". Therefore, the choice of developing this politeness model specifically for political discourse departs from the results of previous research that there is verbal violence in political contestation discourse (Pilkada and Presidential Elections) so that it has the potential to threaten the integrity of democracy (Agustina, 2017, Agustina, et.al, 2020).

The development of this model focuses on the Pragmatics field as a theoretical basis, namely aspects of expressive speech acts and examines 'critical behavior' and aspects of principles and politeness scales to develop 'critical politeness model indicators', as follows.

First, the position of criticizing in speech act theory. Speech acts consist of locutions, illocutions, and perlocutions (White et al., 1962). Illocutionary acts are classified into five types of speech acts, namely assertive, directive, commissive, expressive, and declarative performative by (Searle, 1969). In this case, 'criticizing' is in an expressive illocutionary act, namely expressing the psychological attitude of the speaker to a situation, with the aim of being an evaluation, which has a convivial function, for example congratulating, praising, etc.(Searle, 1969). However, based on research (Agustina, Gani, et al., 2020), condemning, criticizing, accusing, and the like functions as competitive, even potentially conflictive.Therefore, criticizing has a high illocutionary power so that it has the potential to threaten a positive face because it has a negative impact (Levinson, 1987). Therefore, it is necessary to use a kind of strategy and a polite criticizing style to reduce/soften the illocutionary power by using good language politeness tools.

Second, politeness is a social procedure/behavior that is mutually agreed upon by a society (Levinson, 1987); or property that is associated that the speaker believes the

speaker does not exceed/deny his obligations in speaking (Faser, 2014); or politeness is an attempt to make the presence of impolite beliefs/opinions as small as possible by adhering to some politeness principles (Lakoff, 1972; Leech, 1993; Yule, 1996). The application of the principle of politeness in speaking by (Spradley, 1997) is characterized by the following indicators: (1) do not treat the speaker as someone who is submissive to the speaker; and do not let the speaker incur "costs" (social, physical, psychological, etc.); (2) do not say unkind things about the speaker; and (3) do not express pleasure over the addressee's misfortune.

On the other hand, politeness is a system of interpersonal relationships designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation (Lakoff, 1972). Conflict avoidance in politeness is related to the concept of face or "self-image", which is something that is emotionally invested and which must be present consistently in interactions (Levinson, 1987); which is called a negative face and a positive face so that the resulting action has implications for the creation of negative politeness and positive politeness (Yule, 1996). To avoid this, in the application of politeness, a measuring indicator called the Politeness Scale is needed, including the indirectness scale, the profit-and-loss scale, and the (Leech, 1993) optional scale; and can also be based on the formality scale, the hesitancy scale, and the equality scale (Lakoff, 1972) and the Face Threatening Acts (FTA) parameters established by Brown and (Penelope Brown, 1996).

Third, the design of the critique politeness model focuses on three discussion objects: (1) the type of criticism based on (Nguyen, 2005, 2008), which consists of direct criticism (negative evaluation, rejection, disagreement, problems, difficulties, and consequences) and indirect criticism; (2) criticizing strategies based on the theory of (Levinson, 1987; Penelope Brown, 1996), namely bald on-record, negative politeness, positive politeness, and off the record; while (3) the criticizing style aspect is based on (Keraf, 2007), including sarcasm, cynicism, irony, antifrasis, and allusion.The choice of the style of criticizing satire is based on the reason that criticizing speech acts have a high potential to threaten the face of the speech partner because the illocutionary function is competitive, even tends to be conflictive (Gani et al., 2020; Penelope Brown, 1996; Rahmadani & Agustina, 2020)

Fourth, the development of politeness models for these three aspects is based on three elements of politeness in language, for instance (1) elements of politeness principles, (2) elements of politeness scale, and (3) elements of formal structure and pragmatic structure as linguistic tools that realize the application of elements of politeness principles and politeness scale. The theoretical basis for developing politeness principles refers to (Leech, 1993) concept, including (1) tact maxim (i.e. minimize cost to other, maximize benefit to other); (2) maxsim generosity (minimize benefit to self, maximize cost to self); (3) approbation maxim (minimize dispraise, maximize praise of other); (4) modesty maxim (minimize praise of self, maxmize dispraise of self); (5) agreement maxim (minimize disagreement between self and other maximize agreement between self and other); and (6) sympathy maxim (minimize antipathy between self and other, maximize sympathy between self and other).

Fifth, in the design of this model to determine the politeness rating, the politeness scale proposed by (Leech, 1993) is used, that is (1) the cost-benefit scale (the more the speech harms the speaker, the more polite it is; the more the speech benefits the speaker, the more disrespectful it is), (2) optionality scale (the more the imperative utterance presents many choices, the more polite the use of the imperative utterance will be), (3) indirectness scale (the more the speech is indirect, it will be considered polite), (4) authority scale (the farther the distance of social rank authority between the speaker and

the addressee, the more polite the speech is; the closer the distance of social authority between the two, the less polite the speech is); and (5) the social distance scale (the closer the social rank distance between the speaker and the addressee, the less polite the speech is; the farther the distance in social rank between the two, the more polite the speech). In developing this model, (Lakoff, 1972) politeness scale is also considered which includes (1) formality scale (speech can be said to be polite if there is no coercive tone and does not seem arrogant), (2) hesitancy scale or optionality scale (speech can be said to be polite if the speaker and the speech partner give each other choices for his speech); (3) equality scale (speech will be said to be polite if the speaker and the speech partner are mutually be friendly and always maintain friendship).
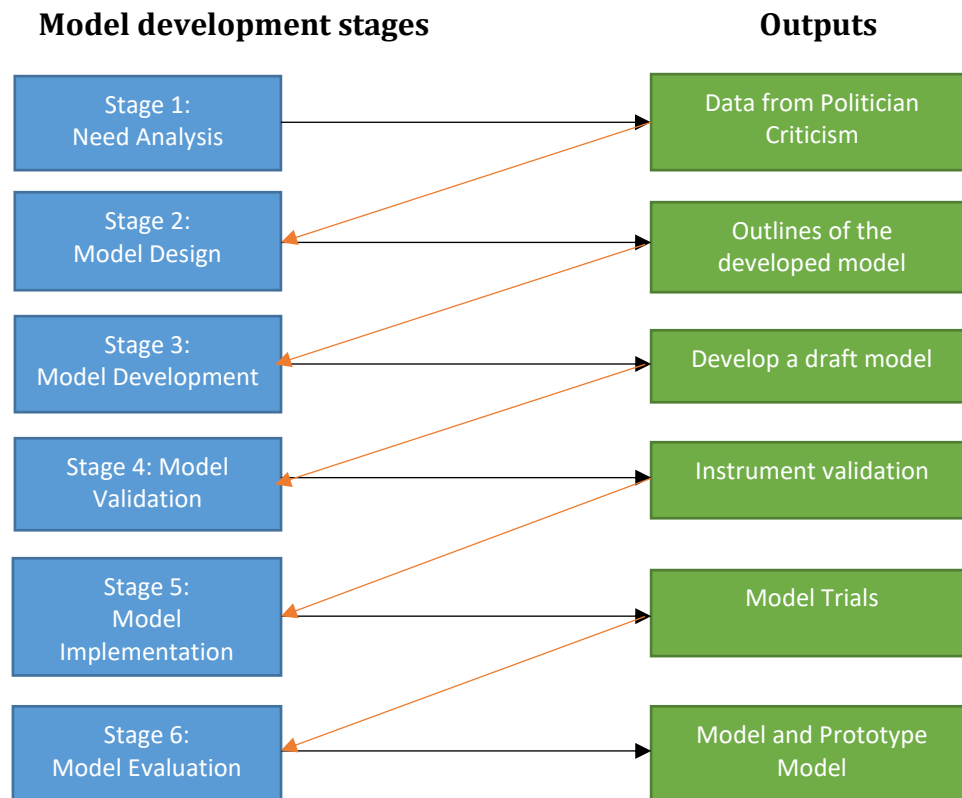
Final, the third element of the development of this critical politeness model is the form of formal structures and pragmatic structures as linguistic tools that realize the application of the elements of politeness principles and politeness scales. The form of the structure is the realization of the purpose of the lingual unit based on its structural characteristics; and the form of pragmatics is the realization of a lingual unit based on its pragmatic meaning/intention. The forms of the lingual unit structure used include interrogative, declarative, and imperative sentences. Because criticizing is an expressive speech act that tends to be at a high level of face threat because the illocutionary function is generally competitive, So, to reduce or soften the illocutionary power, criticism is needed by using hedged imperative and interrogative sentences so as to produce criticism in the form of pragmatics which means passive imperative. The linguistic devices and markers used include ordinary interrogative sentences beginning with a few question words and phatic interrogatives and interjections with some relevant panandas; and imperative sentences which mean requests, requests, invitations, suggestions, prohibition of negation, and imperatives with strong and soft signs. With a variety of chois, criticism in the discourse of competitive political contestation will sound more polite.

Thus, the theory of expressive speech acts (criticizing) is used as the basis for the validity of the object model; while the theory of politeness principles, politeness scale, and formal and pragmatic linguistic forms are used as the basis for developing politeness model indicators criticizing in political language.

Method

This research includes research and development (R&D), which is carried out in six stages of work, as show in figure 1.

Figure 1
Research Steps

Model development stages   **Outputs**

Model development stages	Outputs
Stage 1: Need Analysis	Data from Politician Criticism
Stage 2: Model Design	Outlines of the developed model
Stage 3: Model Development	Develop a draft model
Stage 4: Model Validation	Instrument validation
Stage 5: Model Implementation	Model Trials
Stage 6: Model Evaluation	Model and Prototype Model

The research data comes from the speeches/writings of politicians that contain criticisms of political contestation events (Pilkada, Pileg, and Pilpres) since 2017-2019, which are sourced from political discourse that is exposed in news from print and online mass media, as well as discourse documentation. candidate debate held by KPU-RI. Data collection methods are carried out through: (1) media review, to obtain initial data on the realization of criticism as an analysis of the need for model design preparation (phase I), (2) literature study, to find the theoretical basis for developing model indicators (phase II) (Spradley, 1997); and (3) model development (phase III--IV); which in this article is in phase III. The initial data analysis in phases I-II uses a content analysis approach that focuses on the types, strategies, and styles of criticizing to explore the meaning, message, and value it implies; while the data analysis in phase III uses research and development methods, namely the development of a criticizing politeness model; as well as in Vase IV-V, namely model validation, implementation and evaluation of the model.

This discussion is in phase 3, namely the development of a prototype model of politeness criticizing the three objects of realization of criticism found in phase 1, namely the type of criticism, the strategy of criticizing, and the application of politeness principles used by politicians in political discourse, and are classified into four categories, namely criticizing polite, somewhat polite, less polite, and not polite. It is based on these four classifications that a critique politeness model is developed with reference to the

indicators of politeness principles, politeness scales (the pragmatic experts above), and indicators of formal and pragmatic linguistic forms formulated in this study. Its development can be seen in the following research results section, then validation of the results of model development is carried out by relevant experts after the development of this model is complete.

Results and Discussion
Realization of Criticism in Political Discourse
Based on the results of the first phase of research, it was found that the realization of criticism in political discourse in three aspects, namely the type of criticism, criticizing strategies, and criticizing styles. The results of the classification of research findings (figure 2).
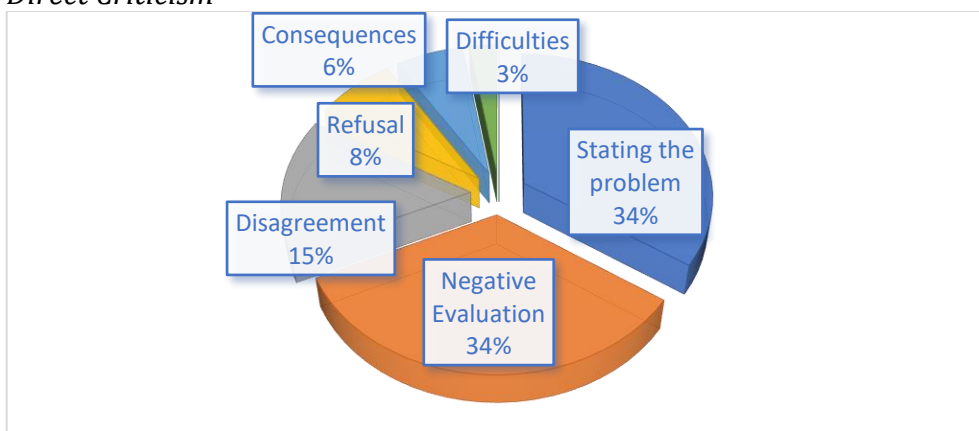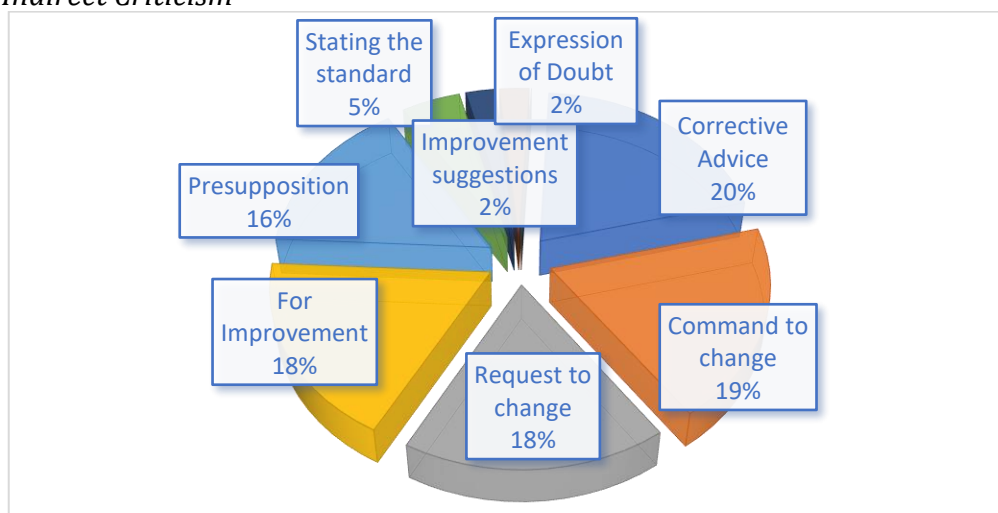
Figure 2
Direct Criticism

Figure 3
Indirect Criticism
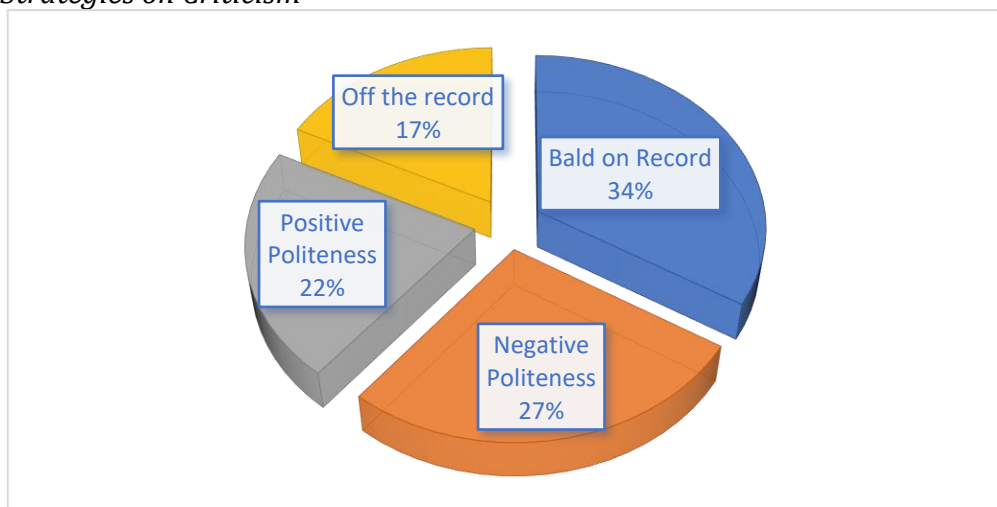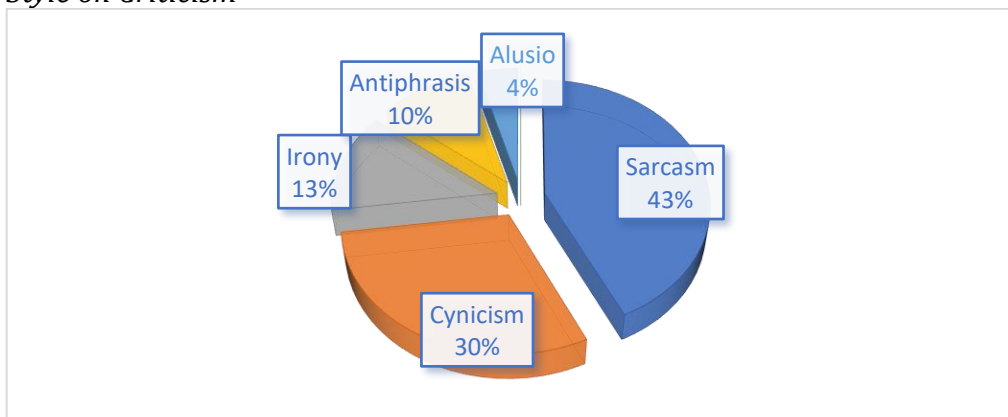
Figure 4
Strategies on Criticism

Figure 5
Style on Criticism

The classification of the results showed that the type of direct criticism (six types) was more dominant than indirect criticism. Furthermore, the strategy of criticizing bald on the record and negative politeness is more dominant than positive politeness and vaquelly; while the style of criticizing sarcasm and cyniscism is more dominant than irony and antifrasis. In politeness theory, the illocutionary type of criticism, criticizing strategy, and the dominant criticizing style function as "Conflictive" with Face Threatening Acts (FTA) "High" and are in the "Not Polite" category. On the other hand, these three aspects are in the "Competitive and Collaborative" function, with an FTA between "Somewhat High"-"Slightly Low", and "Low" "Less Polite", "Samewhat Polite", and "Neutral" politeness rating. That is, from the research findings it can be concluded that the average realization of criticism in political contestation is in the "Conflictive-Competitive" illocutionary function with FTA "High-Slightly High" and the category "Not Polite-Less Polite". Based on the facts of the data, it is necessary to design a polite criticizing model.

Politeness Model for Criticizing in Political Discourse

The formulation of this criticizing politeness model is based on the conclusions of the criticizing data analysis found. In conclusion, the level of politeness in criticizing which is realized in the political discourse can be classified into four levels of politeness

specifically: (1) impolite criticism, (2) less-polite criticism, (3) polite criticism, and (4) neutral criticism. Starting from the choice of three aspects of criticizing (e.g. the type of criticism, criticizing strategy, and criticizing style) found in the realization of criticizing in the political discourse in stage I, a criticizing politeness model can be designed based on the theory of politeness (politeness principle and politeness scale), as shown in table 2.

The design of this criticizing politeness model is based on the results of data analysis on three aspects of criticizing (type, strategy, and criticizing style). Based on the illocutionary function, the level of facial intimidation (FTA), and the politeness category, the use of the three aspects of criticizing is realized in four levels of politeness.

Table 1
Level of Politician Politeness on Criticism

Type of Criticism	Strategy of Criticism	Style of Criticism	Illocutionary function	Face-threatening Acts (FTA)	Politeness Rating (PR)
Direct Criticism 1.Negative Evaluation 2. Refusal	Bald on-record	Sarcasm	Conflictive	High	Very Impolite
3.Disagreement	Negative Politeness	Cynicism	Competitive	Above Average	Impolite
4.Stating Problems	Positive Politeness	Irony	Competitive	Below Average	Less Polite
5. Consequences	Off the record	Antiphrasis	Collaborative	Low	Slightly Polite
6. Difficulties Indirect Criticism	Do not do FTA	Satire			

Based on the four levels of criticizing politeness found, a criticizing politeness model was designed by applying the elements of politeness, including: (1) politeness principles: tact maxim, generosity maxim, approbation maxim, modesty maxim, agreement maxim, and sympathy maxim (Leech, 1993); (2) politeness scale: cost-benefit scale, optional scale, indirectness scale, authority scale, and social distance scale (Leech, 1993); and politeness scale: formality scale, hesitancy scale, and equality scale (Lakoff, 1972); and (3) the use of formal and pragmatic structural linguistic tools to realize the application of politeness principles and scales, including imperative and interrogative constructions with the pragmatic meaning of the imperatives of request, excuse, invitation, strong marker, mild marker, negation, etc.

The design of the critical politeness model can be seen in table 2, where the four levels of politeness are listed in column (1-2), while the model designed is in column (3-6) in table 2.

Table 2
Politeness Model Design for Criticizing in Political Discourse

Realization of Criticism in Political Discourse		Politeness model in criticizing			
a. Types of Criticism **b. Criticism Strategies** **c. Criticism Style**	Illocutionary Function; Face-Threatening Acts; Politeness scale	Apply the principle of Politeness	Apply the Politeness scale	Using Structural and Pragmatic Form	Illocutionary Function; Face-Threatening Acts;

					Politeness scale
1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Direct Criticism a. **Negative Evaluation** b. **Bald on-record** c. **Sarcasm** a. **Refusal**	-Conflictive -High -Very Impolite	1. Approbation Maxim Minimize dispraise & maximize praise of other 2. Modesty Maxim Minimize praise & maximize disparise of self 3.Sympathy Maxim Minimize antiphaty & Maximize sympathy between self and other 4.Tact Maxim Minimize cost & maximize benefit to other 5.Generosi-ty Maxim Minimize benefit and maximize cost to self 6.Agree-ment Maxim Minimize disagree-ment & maximize agreement between self and other	1. Indirect Scale the more direct the speech, the more impolite 2. Cost Benefit scale the more benefit the speech to speaker, the more impolite 3. Optionality scale The more choice of imprative speech provided, the more polite the speech 4. Formality scale Speech is considered polite if it is not arrogant and rude 5.Authority Scale The farther the authority distance between the participants, the more polite the speech 6.Equality scle Speech will be polite if welcoming and friendly 7. Indirectness scale The more indirect the speech, the more polite.	Using hedges in speech with an imperative meaning 1.Interogatives -How about .. -Can be ..-Will be .. etc. 2.Pathic/Interjective -Nah .. – Perhaps, -Oh Yes.. etc. 3. Imperative of Invitation -Let's..-try on.. etc 4. Imperative of welcome -please..-try on.. etc 5.Imperative request -Help..-please..-I hope..-I expect 6. Imprative with negation -not like that, don't be like that, not supposed to, etc. 7. Imperative w strong cues -With the.. -If so, of course..etc. 8. Imperative w soft cues -In a way, maybe, of course.. etc.	-Competitive -Above average -Slightly Polite
a. **Disagrement** b. **Negative Politeness** c. **Cynicism**	Competitive -Above Average -Impolite				-Collaborative -Low -Neutral
a. **Stating Problems** b. **Positive Politeness** c. **Irony** a.**Consequences**	Competitive-Collaborative -Below Average -Less Polite				-Convivial -Very Low -Polite
a. **Difficulties** b. **Vague** c. **Antiphrasis** a. **Indirect Criticism** b. **Off-Record** c. **Satire**	Collaborative -Low -Slightly Polite				-Convivial -Very Low -Polite

First-Level Criticizing Politeness Model Design

Criticism at the first level is in the impolite category. The realization can be seen in data (1) below.

(1)   *…Kubu sebelah merupakan tempat berkumpulnya pendukung **ekstremis, radikalis, hingga teroris***", ungkapnya (PP, SAS:23/3/19).
'The other side is a gathering place for supporters of extremists, radicals, and terrorists, he said.'

The criticism is categorized as impolite due to several things. First, the type of criticism is negative evaluation, which is marked by statements that tend to accuse so that they seem arrogant and antipathy. Second, criticism is delivered reproach with a bald on record strategy so that the threat to the face of the criticized party is very high. Third, the criticism uses a sarcasm style which is represented by harsh and negative diction referring to the grip of crime (e.g. extremists, radicals, terrorists). Based on the politeness theory, as an indicator of communication ethics, the illocutionary critique of the three aspects used has a conflictive function.

Based on the data phenomenon, a polite criticizing model is designed. First, to reduce the illocutionary power of negative evaluation criticism, critics apply the principles of politeness (1) approbation maxim (minimize dispraise, maximize praise of other) and (2) sympathy maxim, (minimize antipathy and maximize sympathy between self and other) so that the impression of accusing and antipathy is not too obvious. Second, the application of politeness rating (1) indirectness scale (the more direct the speech will be considered impolite) so that criticism does not directly hit the face (self-image) of the speech partner; and (2) cost-benefit Scale (the more the speech benefits the speaker, the more disrespectful it is) so as not to harm the social mentality of the intended party (Leech, 1993; Penelope Brown, 1996).

The application of maxims and politeness scales is implemented through the use of formal structural devices with pragmatic imperative meanings, including: (1) hedged interrogatives, such as What if/if…., Is it possible if…., Can if….., Is it possible if….., etc; and (2) phatic and interjective interrogative constructions, such as well.., you know.., ha.., why is that…, maybe…, again…, etc. as a means to reduce the tension of the competitive atmosphere in political discourse.

The realization of the application of the politeness model to criticize at this level can be seen in (1a), and please compare it with the initial data (1).

(1a)   *Nah, kalau begitu jangan-jangan benar anggapan bahwa kubu sebelah merupakan tempat berkumpulnya pendukung ekstremis, radikalis, hingga teroris*", ungkapnya.
'Well, if that's the case, maybe it's true that the order side is a gathering place for supporters of extremists, radicals, and terrorists, he said.'

The results of the model development on the data can reduce the illocutionary power of criticism and on the contrary increase the politeness category from impolite (1) to less polite (1a) because the application of the principle and scale of politeness is realized with an interrogative construction with a phatic hedges (Well…. lest it be…) with a pragmatic meaning of presuppositional imperative (if so… the assumption is correct) thus, it can reduce the level of accusations submitted into prejudices or suspicions that are still questionable.

The use of fenced construction can also reduce the illocutionary function of criticism from conflicting to competitive. Although the increase in the politeness category is only one level, namely from impolite to less polite, because the chosen diction is sarcastic and cannot be replaced because it is criticism material, however, this model has attempted to reduce the tension of the harsh and vulgar communication atmosphere as is the hallmark of competitive political discourse.

Second Level Criticizing Politeness Model Design

The realization of criticizing at this second level is in the less polite category because of the type, strategy, and style of criticizing used to bring down the face of the intended party. The criticism can be seen in data (2) below.

(2) *Berani itu enggak cukup. Misalnya berani melawan BPK terus dibilang berani dan hebat? Enggak begitu. Semua itu kan ada aturannya. **Makanya pemimpin harus berakhlak**,” (MI, FI:15/4/17)*
'Courage is not enaough. For example, if you dare to fight against the BPS, you can still say that you are brave and great? Not so. All of that has rules. That is why the leader must have character, he said.'

At least there are several factors that indicate the criticism is categorized as less-polite. First, criticism expresses disapproval of the reputation of the person/party being criticized, which is realized through repetitive and climax expressions (to be brave is not enough, that's why...) thus indicating the critic's antipathy to the person being criticized. Second, criticism is conveyed with a negative politeness strategy and a cynical style (that's why the leader must have character), which indicates the critic is criticizing and potentially threatening the face (self-image) of the criticized party.

In order for the criticism to be categorized as polite, in this model the politeness principle is applied, including: (1) sympathy maxim (reduce antipathy and increase sympathy between self and others); (2) approbation maxim (criticize others as little as possible, praise others as much as possible); (3) cost-benefit scale (the more the speech harms the speech partner, the less polite it is) and (4) optional scale (the more choices provided the more polite the speech) (Leech, 1993).

The application of the four elements of politeness is realized with a hedged interrogative construction and a phatic/interjective interrogative (well, so, of course, come on, let) which results in several choices of imperative meanings, including (a) means the imperative of bid (what if we choose…which is more…), as in example (2a); (b) means a persuasive imperative (so let's choose…which is more…) as in the example (2b); (c) means a reasoned imperative (so we don't have a problem choosing…which is more…) as in the example (2c). The three constructions modeled use our pronouns to realize the equality scale (hospitality and friendship) so that it does not harm self-image (cost-benefit scale) of the person/party referred to in the criticism. Compare the original criticism with the following modeled criticism.

(3) *Berani itu enggak cukup. Misalnya berani melawan BPK terus dibilang berani dan hebat? Enggak begitu. Semua itu kan ada aturannya.*
   a. *Nah, bagaimana kalau untuk berikutnya kita pilih pemimpin yang lebih berakhlak.*
   b. *Nah, karena itu mari/ayo kita pilih pemimpin yang lebih berakhlak.*
   c. *Lha, supaya tidak bermasalah kita pilih pemimpin yang lebih berakhlak.*

'Courage is not enough. For example, if you dare to fight against the BPK, you can still say that you are brave and great? Of course not, right? All of that has rules.

    a.   *So, what if for the next we choose a more moral leader.*
    b.   *So, lets choose a more moral leader.*
    c.   *Well, so that these is no problem, let's choose a leader eho has more morals.'*

The results of this development change the category of criticism politeness which was originally less polite to be more polite because the application of politeness principles and scales is realized through a hedged interrogative construction with phatic, interjective, and other softening expressions. Thus, it can reduce the illocutionary power and change the illocutionary function of criticism from competitive to collaborative

Third Level Criticizing Politeness Model Design

The realization of criticism at the third level is in "Polite" category because the criticism aspect used is not too high to threaten the face of the speech partner.

(3)   *Harus diingat bahwa **kita bukan sedang mencari pemimpin agama, tetapi sedang mencari pemimpin pemerintahan**, ujarnya (DT, Mg:3/13/17)*
    'it must be remembered that we are not currently looking for religious leaders, but are looking for government leader, he said.'

The critique of the data reveals the problems presented with the strategy of positive politeness and irony style. Although the criticism is categorized as somewhat polite, it feels formal, rigid, and does not show friendship so that the illocutionary function is competitive. Therefore, it is necessary to design a politeness model to neutralize the unfavorable atmosphere by applying some elements of politeness. Therefore, it is necessary to design a politeness model to neutralize the unfavorable atmosphere by applying some elements of politeness.

To soften the illocutionary power of the type of criticism that contains the ironic satire, it is necessary to apply (1) generosity maxim (make other people's profits as much as possible) and (2) agreement maxim (try to make an agreement between yourself and others) (Leech, 1993); (3) the application of the formalty scale (speech should not be forced and appear arrogant), (4) hesitancy scale (speech can not be tense and stiff), and (5) equality scale (speaker must be friendly and friendly) (Lakoff, 1972; Leech, 1993).

The application of the five elements of politeness is realized through a hedged interrogative structure with the imperative meaning of proffer (please…), the imperative of invitation with the addition of our pronouns (each of us always reminds us…), and the imperative of negation (right or not), as seen in construction (3a).

(3a)   *Silakan masing-masing kita selalu mengingatkan kepada semua pihak bahwa kita sekarang bukan sedang mencari pemimpin agama, tetapi kita sedang mencari pemimpin pemerintahan, benar bukan?"*
    'Please each of us always remind all paties that we are not currently looking for religious leaders, we are looking for government leader, right?'

By applying the maxims and scales of politeness, critics indirectly benefit others by friendly ways, inviting and embracing the speech partners who agree with the intention

of the criticism conveyed. In addition, so that critics do not seem arrogant and the tone of criticism is not too demanding. Thus, criticism that originally functioned competitively turned into collaborative, as well as from the somewhat polite category, turned into polite.

Fourth Level Criticizing Politeness Model Design

Realization of criticism at this last level is in the neutral category. It means, criticism is generally not problematic in content, but does not reflect politeness. Therefore, it needs to be polished with linguistic tools so that it becomes a polite criticism.

(4) *"Terima kasih juga buat mereka yang banyak sumbang sembako, terima kasih dan kalau bisa jangan berhenti, terus bagikan," kata P. (VN, P"19/4/17)*
'Thank you for those who donate a lot of basic necessitiesm thank you once again and if you can do not stop, continue to share, said P.'

Although the type of criticism states difficulty (donation of necessities) which in its context is managed in the initial attack before the Election, but delivered in an uncertain strategy and an antifrascist style, therefore the illocutionary function is collaborative with a low level of face threatening thereby criticism is categorized as neutral. In this criticism, the style of delivery of antifrasis makes the criticism seem neutral, even though it means the opposite and has an ironic tone (Keraf, 2007).

However, it is necessary to use the agreement maxim politeness principle so that the criticism submitted is approved and agreed upon by the other party, and the application of the formality scale so that the speech does not seem coercive and arrogant, as well as the indirectness scale so that the innuendo that is conveyed is not immediately polite. The element of politeness is realized with a hedged interrogative construction with the meaning of the negation imperative (isn't it?....) and the imperative of invitation or confirmation (do you agree?....). The comparison of the two can be seen in the construction (4a-b).

(4b) *Terima kasih juga buat mereka yang banyak sumbang sembako, terima kasih dan kalau bisa jangan berhenti, terus bagikan.*
   a. Bukankah begitu Bapak-Ibu? Kata P.
   b. Setuju kan, Bapak Ibu? Kata P.
   'Thank you for those who donate a lof basic necessities, thank you once again and if you can, do not not stop, continue to share.'
   a. 'Isn't that so, ladies and gentlemen?'
   b. 'Do you agree, ladies and gentlemen?'

With the addition of these elements of politeness, criticism that originally had a collaborative function turned into convivial, so that the criticism category from neutral turned into polite because it had the nuances of politeness.

Discussion

Generally, in political discourse, criticism tends to function competitively, because the orientation of political competition is to gain public votes and power. Therefore, numerous efforts have been made by competing parties to fight for, and even to seize power, especially in the arena of political contestation (such as Pilkada, Pileg, Pilpres), including through criticism. Criticism, as one of the language activities in political

discourse, plays an important role in conveying the political situation and aspirations of a constituent. Therefore, the use of language as a means of conveying criticism greatly influences the political atmosphere. This is evident from the results of research conducted by (Agustina, 2017, 2018; Firmansyah et al., 2020; Gani et al., 2020; Rahmadani & Agustina, 2020), that the discourse in the political space is tight, competitive, and harsh, especially in criticizing opposite party because it is generally delivered in the form of a negative evaluation and in a sarcastic and cynical style so that it has the potential to threaten the face (self-image) of the person/party being criticized.

In the world of politics, those who criticize or are criticized both have an interest in the aims and objectives of criticism. Therefore, the method of criticizing that is used will determine the communicativeness of the criticism conveyed. However, from the results of research conducted by (Agustina, 2018) and (Rahmadani & Agustina, 2020) it turns out that not all criticisms in political discourse aim to convey the essence that is in accordance with the political arena held (Regional head and President election), but The criticism is even more targeted at things that are personal or the personality of the competing politicians, even targeting the constituents of each competitor. It is in this phenomenon that criticism becomes a kind of 'strength' for political people and their constituents, not only in the political sphere, but also in the public sphere, especially in social media. This kind of situation can foster attitudes of intolerance and are vulnerable to triggering conflict in society so that it has an impact on the enforcement of democracy (Gani et al., 2020).

In fact, criticizing situations such as this phenomenon are caused by the absence of a common share due to the absence of common knowledge, so that communication proceeds on an individual basis according to each other's understanding. Thus, what actually happened was a 'failure to understand', resulting in a criticism speech that was impolite or less polite because the elements of politeness realized through linguistic rules were not understood. This fact is also found in research (Agustina, Gani, et al., 2020).

Based on this phenomenon, a model of criticizing politeness in political discourse was developed, as an alternative to overcome these problems. This model prioritizes the inclusion of elements of "linguistic intelligence", specifically one's ability to process and use language elements properly and correctly, both orally and in writing (Revita, 2018), especially linguistic repertoire competence, which emphasizes mastery in a variety of languages and the ability to use them in a variety of different situations. In this model, the priority of linguistic intelligence is the application of the elements of politeness (politeness principle and politeness scale) realized through formal and pragmatic linguistic tools in various hedged interrogative constructions with various imperative meanings (offer, invitation, acceptance, soft and subtle cues). The use of hedges construction is a place for realizing the application of politeness principles and scales with the aim of reducing the illocutionary power of criticism which tends to be high in political discourse.

This is the novelty of this model, as well as an indicator that distinguishes this research from previous research, among others by (Agustina, 2017, 2018; Agustina, Gani, et al., 2020; Herman & Manaf, 2022), which explores and describes the forms and types of criticizing speech and describes the functions and principles of criticizing politeness and other speech acts in political discourse; while research (Humairah et al., 2019; Sundari et al., 2019) discusses criticizing and other speech acts in his ideological study, and (Firmansyah et al., 2020) discussing criticizing in sarcasm and cynicism.

However, because the political world is full of competition, in political discourse the use of impolite criticism cannot be completely eliminated. It means, this criticizing model does not hinder the delivery of criticism in political discourse, but rather accommodates the use of criticism politely, so that the criticism conveyed does not lose its true essence. In this model, criticism still expresses phenomena and facts that occur, both positive and negative, but uses polite, elegant, and dignified language. Thus, criticism does not have the potential to trigger and create conflict, but instead returns to its essence, constructive and evaluative criticism in order to be better than before.

Therefore, the targets and priorities to be achieved through this model are (1) reducing the level of face threat from the criticized parties, from high gradation to low and neutral; (2) changes in the illocutionary function, from conflictive to competitive, then collaborative, and finally convivial; and (3) a decrease in the politeness category from impolite to less polite, somewhat polite, neutral, and finally polite. The priority of this model design is in line with the nature of politeness, which is an attempt to minimize the presence of impolite beliefs/opinions by complying with several politeness principles (Leech, 1993; Penelope Brown, 1996; Yule, 1996); and politeness is a system of interpersonal relationships designed to facilitate interaction by minimizing the potential for conflict and confrontation (Lakoff, 1972).

Therefore, this model of criticizing politeness will be able to contribute to overcoming the problem of intolerance, both within the scope of politics in particular and in society in general. This section is also the novelty of this research, as well as an indicator of where this research differs from research conducted by (Farias & Rosso, 2017; Gani et al., 2020; Herman & Manaf, 2022; Pohjonen & Udupa, 2017; Rahmadani & Agustina, 2020), which discusses anthropological and digital ethnic points in hate speech. Similarly, research conducted by (Nguyen, 2005; Toplak & Katz, 2000), focuses more on the use of criticizing strategies in second language (L2) learners; and (Wajnryb R, 1993, 1995) deals with the management of criticism, it offers strategies used such as management by cushioning, discourse decisions, strategic delivery and sensitivity to language; while (Gunarwan, 1996) and (Edy Jauhari, 2017) discuss criticizing based on socio-ethnicity.

Conclusion

Criticizing is one of the dominant language activities used in political discourse. This phenomenon can be understood because the political orientation is power. Therefore, criticism is highly awaited and at the same time wary of by political people because those who criticize or are criticized both have an interest in the aims and objectives of criticism. Thus, the type and method and style of criticism used will determine the intent and purpose of criticism, which will ultimately affect the political atmosphere.

For this reason, this critical politeness model is designed to prioritize linguistic intelligence, especially linguistic repertoire competence in the application of politeness elements (politeness principles and politeness scale), which is manifested through formal and pragmatic linguistic tools in various fenced declarative and interrogative constructions, with various meanings of pragmatic imperatives (offers, invitations, invitations, requests, soft and subtle gestures, etc.), with flexible options as needed. In this model, the use of fenced construction as a forum for realizing the application of politeness principles and scales is needed to reduce and/or lessen the illocutionary power of criticism that tends to be high in political discourse.

However, because the political orientation is the acquisition of power, criticism tends to contain a competitive function. In response to this, the main priority targeted in

this model is the reduction and softening of the illocutionary power of criticism so that the level of FTA which was originally high becomes low and neutral; the illocutionary function that was originally conflicting turned into competitive, collaborative, and convivial; Thus, the politeness category which was originally 'impolite' changed to 'less polite' and 'polite'.

This is the novelty of this research, namely this model accommodates the use of criticism in a polite manner, does not lose its true essence, continues to express phenomena and facts that occur but still uses polite, elegant, and dignified language. Thus, criticism does not have the potential to trigger conflict, on the contrary, it returns to its essence, namely constructive, evaluative, and solution-based so that the democratic order is maintained.

Although language is not only a medium for conveying meaning in accordance with reality, but can also construct social reality, it is through language that personality and self-image are reflected. Therefore, it is appropriate for politicians to master 'linguistic intelligence', especially 'linguistic repertoire', the ability to master various languages and use them in different situations. Especially in criticizing, although it tends to be a negative evaluation, it can be neutralized by using several relevant linguistic tools. Therefore, this critique politeness model can be used as an alternative for political beings to criticize in the mass media, especially in social media. It is hoped that this model can contribute as an alternative to revitalizing political culture by increasing political discourse literacy through linguistic competence. Because, through the use of polite language in political communication, it is hoped that the atmosphere of democracy will be maintained.

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