



System of Modality on the Text of Indonesian Presidential Candidates Debate on the Period of 2014 - 2019



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Article history: Received 10 September 2017, Accepted in revised form 20 February 2018, Approved 20 March 2018,
Available online 1 April 2018

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Abstract



Keywords

*Linguistic phenomena;
Modality system;
Presidential candidate
debate;
Presidential election;
Systemic functional
linguistics (SFL);*

The text modality system is a set of views, judgments, and opinions of a tenor on the linguistic phenomena. The tenor's view of discourse lies in a core position called the modal arena and is reconciled with two polar namely positive and negative polar. There are three linguistic phenomena underlying the study of the modalities of the text of the presidential candidate debate, i.e empirical, practical, and theoretical phenomena. The objective of the study was to describe the text modality system of Indonesian presidential candidate debate on the period of 2014-2015. The theory used in this research namely the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) which was initiated by M.A.K Halliday (1985, 1991, 2004, 2014). The research approach is qualitative descriptive approach with the linguistic phenomenological paradigm. The types of data include words, phrases, clauses, a group of phrases, and text units. The data comes from the TDC audio recordings of stage I and II. The research instrument used text validation tables and contexts. Furthermore, the data collection stage used the method of documentation and observation along with some advanced techniques. Stage of data processing was done through classification, segmentation, and data codification. The analysis stage includes several stages, namely reduction, presentation, and verification. The results show that the PS has a tendency to use the probabilistic 'probable' modality, frequency 'usual', must 'mandatory' tendency to 'wish' with the subjective-implicit action orientation, while the JW tends to use the modulation of the probability type of 'certain', frequency 'always', must 'required', tendency 'fixed' with an objective-explicit action orientation.

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*e-ISSN : 2550-7001, p-ISSN : 2550-701X ©Copyright 2018. The Author.
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1. Introduction

The presidential election is a process that is commonly conducted in all countries embracing presidential system. Various series of presidential election activities are conducted by every government in the world. One of the activities in the process of presidential candidate debate. The presidential debate is an activity which shows off arguments, views, and ideas or ideas to build the nation and state. There are many examples of presidential debates around the world, such as a debate between Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton and Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump in 2016 where they argued over taxation policies (Bhattarai, et al., 2018), presidential political disruption in Lebanon (Potter, 2016), community conflict in the election of the governor of the province of Lagos, Nigeria (Ajilore, 2015), President Buhari's political speech in response to the parliamentary chaos in Nigeria (Koussouhon & Dossoumou, 2015), and various political issues of presidential elections in the United States that often debate the issue of race, group or community, the handling of immigrants, etc. (Benoit & Airne, 2005).

The process of presidential candidate debate is included as political activities. Each conversation has political intention. Politics has the nature of power, so it is often used by the tenor of discourse to achieve power. The presidential debate is a meaningful language activity, and anything meaningful can be said as text. In the meantime, the presidential candidate debates are texts, meaning that they are a collection of political information concerning the policy of the presidential candidate in leading the nation and state. Orwell (1986) in Jones and Wareing (2007: 63) states that the text of a political language is constructed to make a lie sounding true, the murder sounding noble, and the nonsense sounding convincing. It means the representation of reality in political conversation, such as the presidential debate needs serious attention to reveal the truth or the facts behind the speech. Do the speakers say the reality or it is just political promises?

For example, the debate of presidential candidates in Indonesia in the period 2014-2019 brought together presidential candidates Prabowo Subianto and Joko Widodo. Based on this example, it reveals several functions and the nature of language in political conversation, there are three factors which make the researcher being interested in researching the phenomenon of language in the presidential debate (presidential candidates) in the 2014 presidential election, namely empirical, practice, and theoretical way.

The empirical phenomenon that attracted attention in the conduction of presidential debate in 2014 is the social language attitude of the presidential candidates, the involvement of the media in the process of supporting the presidential candidate, and the political and social conditions of the society. Various linguistic contents of the presidential candidates which are persuasive and euphemistic tend to trigger excessive fanaticism in society. The society becomes divided into mass or coalition of pros and cons of both candidates. The same thing also happens to the smallest community in society, namely family life

(household). The family members even split into two camps due to different attitudes and perceptions of the presidential candidates. An academician as well as a political observer, Purba (Okezone, 23/3/14), describes this phenomenon in the national media news headline entitled "Warring against Your Own Brother" which essentially alludes to horizontal conflicts of Indonesian society due to the influence of the presidential election of 2014. The involvement of media in playing political issues to favor or weaken one of the presidential candidates further aggravates the 2014 presidential situation. The media tends to intervene and lead the voters' perceptions through political languages. [Eriyanto \(2009: 12\); \(2012: 32\)](#) further states that the media is mainly dominated by dominant groups and becomes a means to discredit other groups.

A practical phenomenon in conducting the presidential debate in 2014 that attracted the attention of researchers is the language practice of the presidential candidates, the procedure of debate, and the mechanism of broadcasting debate on the television. Both candidates' language strategies tend to make use personal experiences to build a nation. The contents of the talks of the presidential candidates are largely sourced from survey evidence according to their own expert team without any comparison so that it can lead to subjective claims. The activities of the presidential debate are held by the General Election Commission (KPU) which is directly supervised by the Election Supervisory Board (Bawaslu). Broadcasting the presidential debate must have been guarded by the public. In this case, the researcher is obliged to do monitoring and analyzing, especially to the mechanism of organizing event funded by the state. The researcher's attitude to control the debate show based on article 17 paragraph 2 in Press Law Number 40 of 1999 on public participation in monitoring media broadcasts, including printed and electronic.

The theoretical phenomenon that encourages researcher to analyze the 2014 presidential debate is a scheme of linguistic experience and the lack of some previously related researches. [Halliday \(2014: 13\)](#) states in his study of Systematic Functional Linguistics, linguistic experience stems from non-linguistic experiences communicated by participants, which is referred as texts. The existence of text cannot be interpreted without the presence of context. Hence, linguistic experience in the study of Systematic Functional Linguistics is formed from text and context with elements of analysis include type, scope, value, and orientation. In the meantime, in the recent years there have been some researchers on the study of texts and contexts based on the theory of Systematic Functional Linguistics, such as: [Bhattarai, et.al. \(2018\)](#), [Potter \(2016\)](#), [Ajilore \(2015\)](#), [Koussouhon & Dossoumou \(2015\)](#), and [Benoit & Airne \(2005\)](#). Of the five studies, there is a gap that has not been studied by previous researchers, namely the debate scheme that contains the level of domination and the clause range of language based on the study of the theory of Systematic Functional Linguistics.

The methodological concept of the abovementioned research largely refers to the most influential concept of J.R. Firth in Europe. Firth's thinking is much influenced by several structural linguistic theories of Saussure, Hjelmslev, Malinowski, and the Flow of Prague ([Sinar, 2012: 14](#)). Firth's view seeks to look at the language in its use and to look at functions on the basis of the various systems in the language. This is the one which was developed by the Prague its who see the function of language derived from interrelated forms, systems (structures) that are interconnected and mutually determine each other, and also stratified ([Young, 2011: 625](#)).

The novelty of this research is to analyze the scheme of language and the range of text modalities of the two candidates based on the modalities system which includes text analysis in the form of type, scope, value, and orientation. The four units of the modal system analysis have the analytical elements include: (1) the modalities include modalization and modulation, (2) values include probabilities, frequencies, imperatives, and tendencies, (3) coverage includes causality, appearance, and range, and (4) the orientation includes the participant's position as a subjective or objective doer. The whole analysis of the modalities system is used to investigate ideological motives in the text of the presidential debate based on the context of the situation and culture.

The targeted findings in this study are to obtain the scheme and the range of clause statement from the exposure of linguistic experience of the presidential candidate Prabowo Subianto and the presidential candidate Joko Widodo on the text of the presidential debate of the Republic of Indonesia in the period of 2014 - 2019. In the meantime, the exposure of the linguistic experience aims to describe the modalities system which includes analysis of the type, value, scope, orientation, and the range of the four elements of

systemic analysis. The use of range on the analysis of types, values, scope, and orientation may represent the focus and direction of the plan of both candidates.

Based on the abovementioned empirical, practical, and theoretical phenomena, this is an interesting research to conduct based on the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). First, the researcher analyzed the function of linguistic experience exposure. Next, researcher analyzed the ideological contents based on the social context of the text. The research is intended to explore and map the scheme and the discussion on the 2014 presidential debate text. In addition, the study of the text of political debate based on the theory of Systemic Functional Linguistics has never been done by previous researchers so that this research is expected to be one of the analytical formulas and additional variations to the method of discourse research, particularly to oral text, such as the text of the presidential debate.

Theory

Systemic Functional Linguistics theory (SFLT) is a model of linguistic assessment introduced by [M.A.K Halliday \(1985; 1991; 2004; 2014\)](#) from the University of Sydney, Australia. Halliday received abundance of linguistic theories from European linguists, such as J.R. Firth (England). Besides, the development of Halliday's views because he received much input from the linguistic principle of the Prague Flow. [Young \(2011: 625\)](#) describes the views of the Flow of Prague on several things in linguistic theory, namely: (a) the view of language as an interconnected network, (b) the view of language as a system consisting of multilevel or stratified sub-systems, (c) the emphasis is more on the functional aspects of the language, and (d) the existence of the form view comes from the function. The main focus of SFLT lies in language relation with context. Furthermore, SFLT was developed based on two basic concepts that distinguish it from other linguistic theories, namely; (a) language is a social phenomenon in the form of social semiotics and (b) language is a text that is in conjunction with the social context, so the study of language cannot be separated from the social context. Discussion of SFLT has been described in the last four editions of [Halliday's books \(1985; 1991; 2004; 2014\)](#).

[Halliday \(2004: 1\)](#) explains that the text must be considered based on two main visions; 1) focus on the text as an object in itself and 2) focus on the text as a tool to find out about something else. It means that the text can declare itself through the text's content and also can encourage a person to understand the meaning beyond the text, in this case, the context. The realization of a non-linguistic experience into a language experience (linguistic) in which language as a means of interaction is referred to as a language metafunction. [Saragih \(2006: 6\)](#) explains that the language metafunction becomes the basic function of language in its use by speakers of the language. Language has a role to make the realization of a speaker's linguistic experience. Various messages and meanings, either expressed or implied, can be contained in the speaker's language. [Halliday \(1991: xiii\)](#); [Eggin \(1994: 3\)](#); [Sinar \(2012: 27\)](#) state that the metafunction of language consists of three parts namely the function of exposure, exchange, and sequencing or organizing. In the meantime, in accordance with this study, the part of the language metafunction that becomes the focus of the researcher is the system of linguistic experience exposure through the analysis of text modalities.

Modality is a part of the exchange of linguistic experience in a conversation that contains views, considerations, and opinions of language users. [Halliday \(2014: 686\)](#); [adapted by Saragih \(2006: 72\)](#) describes modalities as a view, consideration, or personal opinion of the language used on the meaning of the exposure experience he conveys in interaction. The language user's view lies in a core position called the modal arena and is reconciled with two polar, positive and negative polar. Positive polar is a positive focal point on the mode (realization of the meaning of exchange and interpersonal meaning in grammar) commonly manifested through variations of verb markers, such as; want, wish, obligated, probability, perhaps, always, ordinary, sometimes, expected, may, be set, expected, and so on. Meanwhile, negative polar is a negative boundary point in the usual mode marked with the word "no". [Halliday \(1991: 89\)](#); [\(2004: 150\)](#); [adapted by Saragih \(2006: 73-76\)](#) breaks down variations of modalities based on: a) type, b) value, c) coverage, and d) orientation. Further description is as follows.

Type of modalities is divided into two namely modalization and modulation. Modalization is the opinion or personal consideration of the language use of a proposition (information expressed or questioned), whereas modulation is the opinion or personal consideration of the proposal (goods and services offered or requested) ([Halliday 1991, 2004](#)); ([Saragih, 2006: 73](#)). In the meantime, modalization is

divided into probabilities and frequencies. Meanwhile, the modulation aspect consists of two parts namely the necessity and the inclination. All parts of modalization and modulation are divided into high (), medium (-), and low (/) grades.

The value of modalities is defined as the level of probability of happening or the degree of proximity of views to polar 'yes' or 'no', each probability, namely frequency, necessity, and tendency are grouped into three levels: *high*, the action closest to polar 'yes' and most likely to happen, *medium*, between high and low levels and the implementation can be 'yes' or 'no', and *low*, closest to 'no' and most likely not to happen (Halliday, 1991; 2004; 2014); adapted by Saragih (2006: 74).

Coverage is the sphere of meaning that speakers express in an action. Halliday (1991; 2004; 2014) adapted by Saragih (2006: 75) describes the range of modalities surrounding other meanings related to the four types of meanings suggested earlier (probability, frequency, necessity, and tendency) with varying degrees of closeness or possibility of an action to happen. According to this, modalities may include other aspects, such as causality, appearance, and range (Fairclough, 2006: 159). The explanation can be observed below.

1. Causality relates to the necessity, in which the participants are required to take action. At the intensity level, causality is divided into three types namely low (let), medium (make), and high (force).
2. Occurrence, relates to the probability in which there is a probability of an action to happen. At the level of intensity, causality is divided into three types, namely low (alleged, supposedly), medium (apparently, it sounds), and high (fact).
3. Range relates to the degree of doubt a language user towards the relation of things conveyed with a field. At the intensity level, causality is divided into three types, namely low & medium (about, sort, or similar) and high (word assertion by using *tag question*).

Orientation is a category that indicates whether modalities are subjective or objective (Saragih, 2006: 205). The orientation of modalities has two properties namely subjective and objective. Subjective means the statement the speaker is uttered using a first-person pronoun (such as: me, I, *-ku*,) indicating the speaker is directly involved in the interaction, otherwise objective is a statement that is uttered by using first person singular or third person plural pronouns (such as him, us, them, you) that show the speaker is not directly involved in the conversation. Furthermore, orientation also concerns explicit modalities meaning that modalities are obviously manifested through written, spoken, and stated. Instead, implicit modalities are manifested by other forms of expression, such as; I guess ..., I think ..., argue ..., doubtful ..., there are worries and others.

2. Research Method

The research approach used in this research is qualitative which aims to describe and analyze the transitivity system, situation context, and cultural context. So, in the end, it would obtain a detailed understanding of the scheme and the range of talks of the two candidates during the debate.

Kinds of data in this research are in the form of oral data which is then transcribed so that data in form of such as words, phrases, group phrases, clauses, and text units obtained. The whole data comes from the conversations of the candidates during the debate. Data transcripts or TDC 2014 become the primary data of research because of the data obtained by researchers directly from the data source. While supporting data or secondary data is in the form of supporting data analysis that comes from written text or library references.

The source of data in this study comes from the audio-visual recording (video) of 2014 presidential debate which was broadcasted through television. The debate video is divided into five rounds, namely: first round of presidential debate and vice presidential stage I, second round of the first stage of the debate, the third round of the second stage of the debate, the fourth round of the first stage of the debate, and the fifth round of the presidential and vice presidential debate stage II.

The research instrument is divided into two namely the main and supporting instruments. The main instrument in this study is the researcher himself as a human resource in the study. In this case, the researcher used a validation instrument in the form of functional validation table to observe the systemic function of every text-forming element, such as words, phrases, groups, and clauses. Furthermore,

supporting instruments are in the form of supporting equipment in searching, collecting, determining, and analyzing data.

This research used the descriptive method because the data was collected qualitatively by describing the language scheme and the range of presidential talk on debate text of 2014. To describe text units and context in 2014 presidential debate text, several data collection methods were used namely documentation and observation method. The method of analysis used by the researcher is inductive, meaning that the method of thinking in this study departs from the rules that are specific to determine the rules that are general. The analytical technique used is qualitative technique because the collected data was processed and analyzed descriptively. Miles and Huberman (1992: 16) provide an interactive and comprehensive step of analysis into three steps namely reduction, presentation, and verification.

Method of data presented in this research used the general and special method. The general method is intended to present all forms of speech in research in the form of numbers and descriptions of words, phrases, group phrases, clauses, units of text, and text. Meanwhile, a special method is intended for the presentation of research in the form of symbols or signs (Band, Sudaryanto (2015: 144), Mahsun (2007: 123)).

3. Results and Analysis

The modalities analysis of the text aims to describe the views, responses, or thoughts of the speaker on the interest of speech. Modality has an area of meaning, an area that contains views, considerations, attitudes, information, or personal views of language users on goods and services that are exchanged (Saragih, 2009: 72). The modality arena is also related to the limit of the meaning of statements between positive and negative polar. Previously, Halliday (2014: 172) divides the modality system arena into two parts, namely modalities with positive polar and modalities with negative polar. The keywords of the use of these two poles are distinguished by the use of the word 'yes' and 'no'. The word 'yes' means the statement uses positive polar which is then analyzed based on some component of modalities, whereas the word 'no' means that it does not require further analysis.

Positive Polar

Positive polar clauses have the main characteristic of using the word 'yes' and do not use 'no' or 'not' which denies statements in a clause. Positive polar statements require advanced analysis based on several components. Halliday (2014: 172); Saragih (2006: 73-76) divide modal system analysis by type, scope, value, and orientation.

a. Type

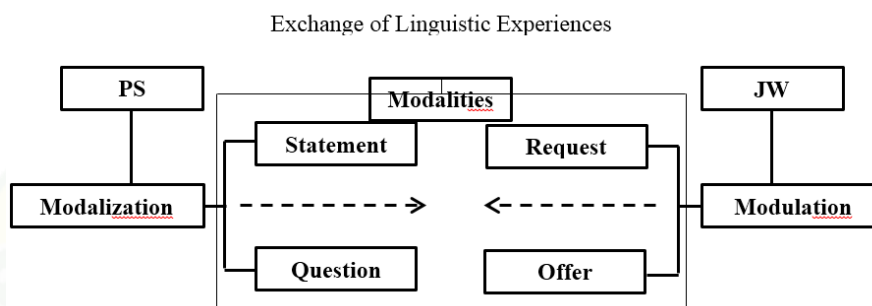
Modality by type is divided into two, namely modalization and modulation. Halliday (2014: 173); (Saragih, 2006: 73) explains the notion of both types of modalities, modalization is the opinion or personal consideration of the language used to an information expressed or questioned, while modulation is the opinion or personal consideration of the language user on the goods and services offered or requested. In the meantime, both types of modalities derive subcategories of analysis consisting of modalization analysis of 'probability' and 'frequency', while modulation analysis includes 'necessity' and 'tendency'. The result of modalization and modulation utilization level analysis at TDC I and II by both candidates can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1
Level of use of the type of modalities in the statement of the two candidates

Type	PS		JW	
	TDC I	TDC II	TDC I	TDC II
Modalization	135	241	202	162
Modulation	157	146	256	252

Table 1 shows the level of use of modalities by both candidates. Overall, PS dominates the use of modalization compared to JW. PS exchanges information with debate partners by prioritizing the

opinion or personal consideration of the language used on an information expressed or asked by a debating partner, while JW dominates the use of modulation in the debate. JW engages in linguistic experience exchange activities using the opinion or personal consideration of the language used on goods and services offered or requested by the debating partner. The difference between the two types of modalities in the statement of the two candidates is in the form of an opinion or personal views of the two candidates. PS tends to have a view of something of revelation or question, whereas JW views on offer and request. The concept of views or considerations of the statements of the two candidates in the debate can be observed in the following scheme 1.



Scheme 1. The concept of Views and Considerations of the two Presidential Candidates in TDC I and II

b. Value

Values represent the probability of occurrence of an activity approaching the positive or negative polar. The value element of the text modality system is divided into two units of activity, namely modalization and modulation. Halliday (2014); Saragih (2006: 75) mentions the activity values of the four sub-components of modalities, namely: (a) probabilities (certain, possible, and perhaps); (b) frequencies (always, usually, and sometimes); (c) must (required, expected, and permissible), and (d) tendency (defined, wish, and wanted). From the result analysis of TDC I and II, it was obtained the level of use of modality value by the two candidates in the following table.

Table 2
Level of Use of Modalities Value by 2 Presidential Candidates at TDC I and II

Type	Value	Intensity	PS		JW	
			TDC I	TDC II	TDC I	TDC II
Modalization	Probability	Certain	45	65	76	39
		Possible	80	140	100	115
		Perhaps	7	2	1	2
Frequency	Frequency	Always	-	8	5	8
		Usual	2	3	-	-
		Sometimes	2	2	-	-
Modulation	Must	Required	20	29	20	15
		Expected	53	83	144	124
	Tendency	Permissible	8	2	1	1
		Defined	22	24	19	38
		Wish	54	39	62	56
	Wanted	18	8	4	19	

The dominance of the modalities value of the two candidates' statements in TDC I and II in Table 2 above shows that PS' statements are more probability 'probable', whereas JW has a must 'expected' statement. By value, PS' statements tend not to bind or not require the speaker to realize his vision, otherwise, the JW statement is more binding and requires the speaker to realize his work program. Of

the two properties of modalities used by both candidates, JW has a statement that gives more hope for the realization of a policy than the statement used by PS.

The level of use of modality values by both candidates shows that PS uses probability values of 339 clauses, frequency of 17 clauses, the must of 198 clauses, and the tendency of 165 clauses. Meanwhile, JW uses probability value 333 of clauses, the frequency of 16 clauses, must of 305 clauses, and the tendency of 198 clauses. For the discussion of modality values, the researcher only presents the most dominant use of values since the tendency to use modality values by the two candidates can determine the range of policy realization which can be seen as follows.

1) Probability “Possible” on the statement of both Candidates

'Possible' probability is an intensity of possibility that has potential 'will', 'is being', and 'already' realized by the participants. It means a statement may be 'will', 'is being', and 'has been realized' by the speaker in real life. Here are the examples of phrases that indicate possible actions, such as the use of a word 'maybe' or 'perhaps', and others that say something is about to happen. However, the use of those words should not be explicit in the clause, but it can also be implicit, so in order to understand the probability value of the clause it is necessary to understand the context of the clause within the text units of the debate itself. For example, the use of the range value of probability 'probable' in both presidential candidates can be seen in Table 3 below.

Table 3
The Range of Probability 'probable' of both Candidates

Theme	Types of Policies by Prabowo Subianto	Types of Policies by Joko Widodo
“Economic Development and National Welfare”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. State Budget leak, 2. Economic growth, 3. The amount of agricultural land, 4. Village Law, 5. Total population, 6. Education quality. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National economic 2. Total population 3. Village Law 4. Health Care System 5. National Education Quality
“International Politics and National Security”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National defense 2. Budget leak 3. Indonesian migrant workers safety 4. People welfare 5. Socio-political condition 6. South China Sea Dispute 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Internasional Diplomatic 2. National Defense 3. Economic growth strategy 4. National strategic industry 5. Safety of Natural Wealth

2) Frequency “always” on the statement of both candidates

The value of frequency is the level or intensity of activities that has characteristics as 'always', 'ordinary', and 'sometimes'. These three values of frequency are sourced from the daily activities, so in practice, the doer sometimes 'always' acts, 'can' act, and 'sometimes' act. The use of the value of the frequency is very influential on the views or personal considerations of the speaker to the information expressed or asked. From the analysis of PS and JW statements in TDC I and II, the researcher obtained three forms of use, namely 'always' frequency, 'normal' frequency, and 'occasional' frequency. The level of use of 'frequent' modalization shows PS (17 uses) is more dominant than JW (13 uses). However, based on the value of frequency, JW is superior to PS in using the 'always' frequency. The range of use of "always" frequency values by both candidates can be seen in table 4 below.

Table 4
The range of frequency “always” on both candidates

Theme	Types of Policies by Prabowo Subianto	Types of Policies by Joko Widodo
“Economic Development and National Welfare”	*) the use of modalization frequency ‘always’ is not found	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Infrastructure development 2. Increasing people’s welfare 3. Improving the quality of education and health 4. Fostering cadgers
“International Politics and National Security”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National Defense 2. Handling the problems of migrant workers 3. Prevention of budget leakage 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. International relation 2. International diplomatic 3. Social change

3) Must “Expected” on the statement of both candidates

A must is mandatory, expected, and permissible activity of one or more participants to act on participants or other objects. Modulation of 'must' is divided into three values, namely: must 'obligatory', must 'expected, and must 'may'. These three values have different levels of realization. For example, the 'obligatory' means activities that are mandatory and binding on one or more participants to realize the policy, the 'expected' means the activity that begs or asks, but is less binding on the participants to realize the policy, and the must of 'allow' does not prohibit and not bind the participants to realize their policies. From the results of the analysis of the use of modulation on TDC I and II, researcher get the dominance of the must of 'expected' on both candidates. JW uses the 'must' modulation of 'expected' value as many as 136 clauses, while PS of 268 clauses. It means JW is more dominant using clauses value of the 'must' of 'expected' than JW. Meanwhile, the range of policy values frequency "always" in both presidential candidates can be seen in the following table 5.

Table 5
The range of frequency “always” on both candidates

Theme	Types of Policies by Prabowo Subianto	Types of Policies by Joko Widodo
“Economic Development and National Welfare”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. People Welfare 2. Agricultural Land 3. National Economy 4. Village Law 5. Education quality 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Economic growth 2. People welfare 3. Human resources
“International Politics and National Security”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National defense 2. National Budget 3. National Welfare 4. Safety of Indonesian migrant workers 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National defense 2. People welfare 3. Foreign policy 4. Regional conflict 5. Handling Indonesian migrant workers

4) Tendency “Want” on the statement of both candidates

A must is mandatory, expected, and permissible activity of one or more participants to act on participants or other objects. Modulation of 'must' is divided into three values, namely: must 'obligatory', must 'expected, and must 'may'. These three values have different levels of realization. For example, the 'obligatory' means activities that are mandatory and binding on one or more

participants to realize the policy, the 'expected' means the activity that begs or asks, but is less binding on the participants to realize the policy, and the must of 'allow' does not prohibit and not bind the participants to realize their policies. From the results of the analysis of the use of modulation on TDC I and II, researcher get the dominance of the must of 'expected' on both candidates. JW uses the 'must' modulation of 'expected' value as many as 136 clauses, while PS of 268 clauses. It means JW is more dominant using clauses value of the 'must' of 'expected' than JW. Meanwhile, the range of policy values tendency "want" in both presidential candidates can be seen in the following table 6.

Tabel 6
The range of Tendency "always" on both candidates

Theme	Types of Policies by Prabowo Subianto	Types of Policies by Joko Widodo
"Economic Development and National Welfare"	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. People Welfare 2. Health Services 3. National Budget 4. Investment 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National Service System 2. Infrastructure 3. Investment 4. Education Quality 5. Agricultural Product
"International Politics and National Security"	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National Defense 2. National Industry 3. Foreign Politics 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. National Defense 2. International Diplomatic 3. Maritime Wealth

c. Coverage

Coverage is the sphere of meaning that speakers speak in speech. Saragih (2006: 75) states that coverage has a scope on all four values in the modalities. These four values constitute the realization of activities based on modalization and modulation. Modalization has the realization of activity in the form of probability and frequency, while the modulation has the realization of the form of activity and mandatory tendencies. Of the four elements of this value, coverage may include other elements. From the results of the text analysis of the 2014-2019 presidential debate, the result of PS who has the scope of **causality 'make'** village budget, productive sector, and establish good relationships between countries, **causality 'force'** the ratification of Village Law and the closure of state budget leak. Meanwhile, JW has **causality 'make'** infrastructure development, human resource development, self-sustaining economic development, procurement of defense system primary tools, and provision of reserve troops, **causality 'force'** barrier systems to foreign investors, increasing international political roles and expanding the role of ambassador.

d. Orientation

Orientation deals with the direction of one participant's review of the other participants in the interaction. Saragih (2006: 205) states that orientation is the view, consideration, and subjective or objective opinion of language users on the meaning of exposure experience in the interaction. It means that orientation shows the modalities which are subjective or objective. In addition, the orientation includes other modalities, namely explicit and implicit. The result of orientation analysis of the statement of the two presidential candidates on the text of the presidential debate is the orientation of actions of PS and JW shows the difference. The orientation of the action is subjective implicit, meaning that PS positions participants I subjectively by using a strategy to disguise the identity of the participant or entity (implicit). Polar negative on PS statements tend to use the word 'no, not, and *nggak*'. Meanwhile, JW action orientation is explicitly objective, meaning that JW positions the participant I objectively by using empirical/real (explicit) statement strategy. Polar negative on JW statements tends to use the word 'no, no, and *nggak*'.

4. Conclusion

The text modality system of the Indonesian presidential debate of 2014 shows the difference. The use of the modalities system determines the views, considerations, and personal opinions of a presidential

candidate in selecting and defining the nation and state development policies. PS has an attitude of probability 'probable', frequency "ordinary", must "*ajib*", and tendency "wish". PS has consideration coverage covering causality of "making" and "forcing" on village budgeting policy, productive sector, and good relations between countries. PS has a subjective-objective orientation of personal opinion. Meanwhile, JW has an attitude of probability 'certain', frequency "always", must "expected", and tendency 'set'. JW has a range of considerations covering causality 'making' and 'forcing' on infrastructure development policies, human resource development, self-sustaining economic development, procurement of defense system primary tools, and provision of reserve armies, applying a barrier system to foreign investors, increasing the role of international politics, and expanding the role of ambassadors. Thus, as a whole, the system of modalities of the statement of JW is more convincing for Indonesian citizens than the PS.

Conflict of interest statement and funding sources

The authors declared that they have no competing interest. The study was financed by BPPDN in Indonesian national government.

Statement of authorship

The authors have a responsibility for the conception and design of the study. The authors have approved the final article.

Acknowledgments

My gratitude is delivered to the team of examiners, Prof. Dr. Aron Meko Mbete, Prof. Dr. I Nengah Sudipa, M.A., Prof. Dr. I Wayan Simpen. M.Hum. Dr. Putu Sutarna, M.S., and Dr. Made Sri Satyawati, S.S., M.Hum., for their advice, criticism, motivation, appreciation, and moral support, so that this research can be accomplished.

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