

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE USE OF WOMEN'S
LANGUAGE FEATURES BY HILLARY CLINTON
IN PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES**

A SARJANA PENDIDIKAN THESIS

**Presented as Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
to Obtain the *Sarjana Pendidikan* Degree
in English Language Education**



By

Cornelia Selly Amanda

Student Number: 131214064

**ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION STUDY PROGRAM
DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE AND ARTS EDUCATION
FACULTY OF TEACHERS TRAINING AND EDUCATION
SANATA DHARMA UNIVERSITY
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Approved by

Advisor

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Truly", is positioned above the advisor's name.

Truly Almendo Pasaribu, S.S., M.A.

Date

June 14, 2017

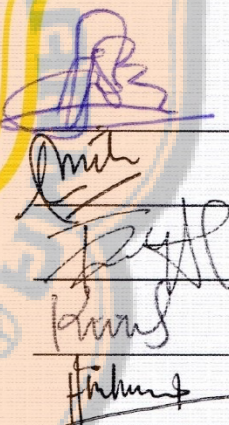
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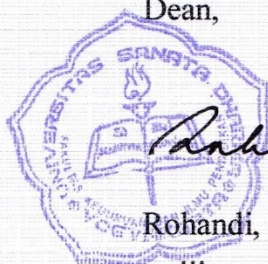
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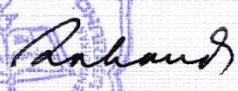
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I honestly declared that this thesis, which I have written, does not contain the work or parts of the work of other people, except those cited in the quotations and the references, as a scientific paper should.

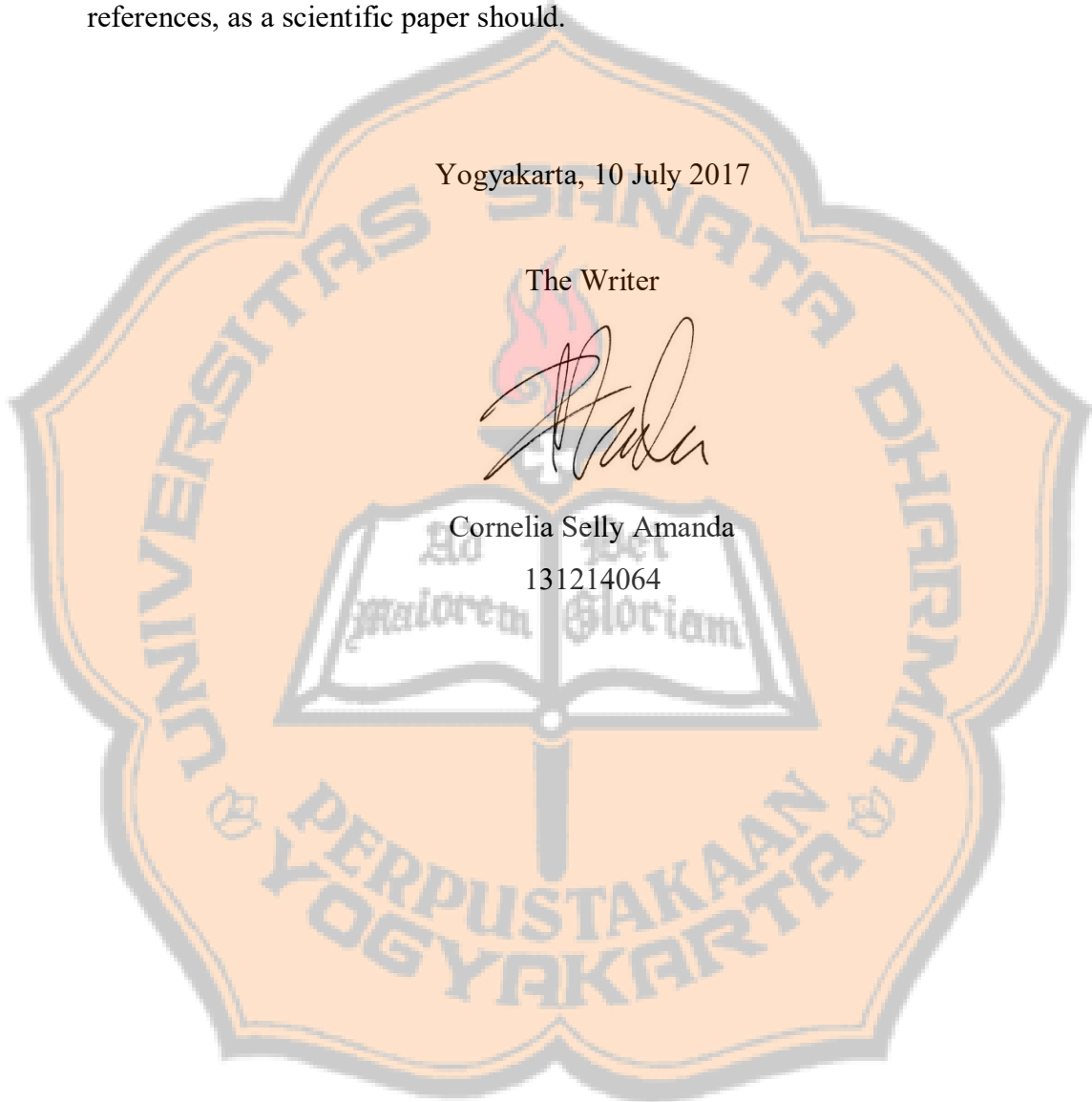
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Cornelia Selly Amanda

ABSTRACT

Amanda, Cornelia Selly. (2017). *An Analysis of The Use of Women's Language Features by Hillary Clinton in Presidential Debates*. Yogyakarta: English Language Education Study Program, Faculty of Teachers Training and Education. Sanata Dharma University.

Language is substantial communication media for human beings. Studies on the relationship between language and gender focus on the differences in women's and men's speech style. Based on Lakoff's study (1975), women and men use different language features.

This study aims to analyze the language features in Hillary Clinton's presidential debates in 2016. This study addresses a research question: what are the women's language features used by Hillary Clinton in her presidential debates based on Lakoff's theory? The researcher used Lakoff's theory (1975) and Holmes's theory (1986) to answer the research question. The researcher referred to some theories from Penfield (1984), Arliss (1991), Eckert (2003), White (2003), Swerts and Hirschberg (2010), and Talbot (2010) to address the reasons and the functions of using women's language features.

This study belongs to mixed method research in which discourse analysis was employed to analyze the data. The researcher is the human instrument in this study. The data are mainly from Hillary's utterances in the first and third presidential debate in 2016. The researcher analyzed each feature in the transcriptions. Afterward, the researcher referred to the reasons and functions of women's language features.

The findings of this study show that there are seven out of ten women's language features used by Hillary in the presidential debates. It includes lexical hedges or fillers (41.54%), rising intonation on declaratives (1.56%), empty adjectives (0.96%), intensifiers (14.65%), hypercorrect grammar (21.25%), superpolite forms (0.24%) and emphatic stress (19.81%). The absent features are tag questions, precise color terms, and avoidance of using strong swear words. It was influenced by the topic discussions and speaker's confidence. Hillary tends not to use some of the women's language features to show uncertainty or to express a lack of confidence. In contrast, Hillary expresses herself as a confident woman due to her status and the role as a politician which indicates woman's leadership.

Keywords: *Hillary's utterances, women's language features, presidential debate*

ABSTRAK

Amanda, Cornelia Selly. (2017). *An Analysis of The Use of Women's Language Features by Hillary Clinton in Presidential Debates*. Yogyakarta: English Language Education Study Program, Faculty of Teachers Training and Education. Sanata Dharma University.

Bahasa merupakan media komunikasi yang penting untuk manusia. Penelitian tentang hubungan antara bahasa dan jenis kelamin berfokus pada perbedaan gaya bicara antara pria dan wanita. Berdasarkan penelitian yang dilakukan Lakoff (1975), wanita dan pria menggunakan fitur bahasa yang berbeda.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis fitur bahasa yang digunakan oleh Hillary Clinton dalam debat presiden tahun 2016. Penelitian ini ditujukan untuk menjawab rumusan masalah: apa saja fitur bahasa wanita yang digunakan oleh Hillary Clinton dalam debat presiden berdasarkan teori Lakoff? Peneliti menggunakan teori dari Lakoff (1975) dan teori dari Holmes (1986) untuk menjawab rumusan masalah. Peneliti merujuk pada beberapa teori dari Penfield (1984), Arliss (1991), Eckert (2003), White (2003), Swerts and Hirschberg (2010), dan Talbot (2010) untuk menjelaskan alasan dan fungsi penggunaan fitur bahasa wanita.

Penelitian ini termasuk dalam penelitian metode campuran dimana analisis wacana digunakan untuk menganalisis data. Peneliti adalah instrumen manusia dalam penelitian ini. Data penelitian ini berasal dari ucapan Hillary dalam debat presiden yang pertama dan ketiga di tahun 2016. Peneliti menganalisis fitur bahasa dari transkrip. Langkah selanjutnya yaitu peneliti menghubungkan alasan and fungsi dari fitur bahasa wanita tersebut.

Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa terdapat tujuh dari sepuluh fitur bahasa wanita yang digunakan oleh Hillary dalam debat presiden. Fitur-fitur tersebut antara lain *lexical hedges or fillers* (41.54%), *rising intonation on declaratives* (1.56%), *empty adjectives* (0.96%), *intensifiers* (14.65%), *hypercorrect grammar* (21.25%), *superpolite forms* (0.24%) dan *emphatic stress* (19.81%). Fitur bahasa yang tidak ditemukan adalah *tag questions*, *precise color terms*, dan *avoidance of using strong swear words*. Hal ini dipengaruhi oleh topik yang didiskusikan dan kepercayaan diri dari pembicara. Hillary menggunakan beberapa fitur bahasa wanita bukan untuk mengekspresikan ketidakpastian atau untuk mengekspresikan rasa tidak percaya diri. Sebagai perbedaan, Hillary menunjukkan diri sebagai seorang wanita yang percaya diri berhubungan dengan jabatan dan perannya sebagai seorang politisi yang menunjukkan seorang pemimpin wanita.

Kata kunci: *Hillary's utterances, women's language features, presidential debates*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude for those who helped me to finish my thesis. First of all, I would like to say my deepest gratitude to God for His blessings in my life. Then, I respectfully express my gratitude to my advisor, **Truly Almendo Pasaribu, S.S., M.A.** for giving important advice and guidance in finishing my thesis. I would also like to thank **all lecturers** in ELESP for the knowledge and guidance which I gained throughout my study in Sanata Dharma University.

I would like to give my special thanks to my father, **Athanasius Murti Joko Priyono**, and my mother, **Bernadeta Rini Herawati** for their endless love, support, and prayers. I would like to thank my **brother** and **sister**, for their support. I also thank **Antonius Prabowo Jati** for his unconditional love, support, time, and patience.

I would never forget my **best friends**, my **classmates in class C batch 2013** and **ELESP students batch 2013** for being such helpful friends during my study in ELESP. Last, I would like to give my gratitude for people whom I cannot mention one by one who have supported and helped me during my study in ELESP.

Cornelia Selly Amanda

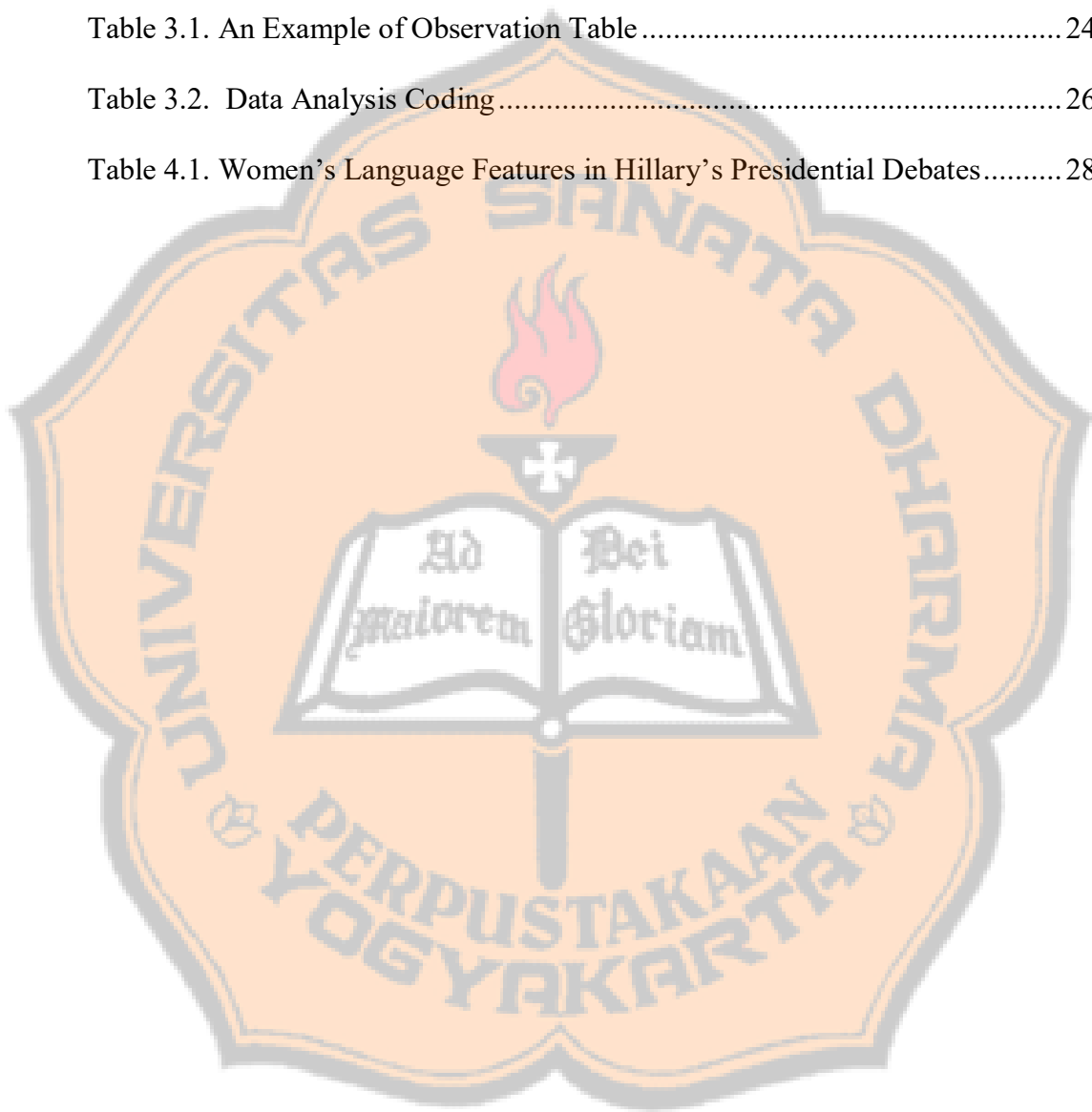
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter consists of four parts. It covers the research background, the research question, the research significance, and the definition of terms of this study.

A. Research Background

Language is media for people to communicate, share information and deliver the meaning of their utterances. In communication, people interact with each other in their daily life and the way people talk to others influenced by the social context in which they are talking (Holmes, 2013). Some factors such as context, situation, and social background affect different ways of speaking. Moreover, the social context in communication is associated with gender. Talbot (2010) states that society and social divisions on gender grounds are reflected in a pattern of language use.

In the 1960s, sociolinguists began to research gender related to language. Recent sociolinguistic studies have discovered gender as an important variable in language use. It also offered the hypothesis about the connection of power to the language use. The earliest study about the different use of language between men and women is Lakoff's theory (1975) on women's language features. Lakoff as cited in Holmes (2013) then categorized ten language features used by women. She also connected the use of language features as women's characteristic which indicates powerlessness and tentativeness. For example, women using tag questions such as "*really?*" or "*...isn't it?*" that indicate powerlessness in their speech, or

using a propensity to issue requests rather than commands. In addition, the powerless speech, in turn, made people treat women as if they really were powerless, whether they were or not (Eliasoph, 1987).

In the early nineteenth century, there were different gender division. The studies about language use in the past several years showed the existence of gender inequalities. In a male-dominated society, women are pressured to show the feminine qualities of weakness and frequently subordinate in status toward men (Lakoff, 1975). As a result, society placed women in a lower position.

Nowadays, women's position in society is equal to men's position. Women have taken some substantial positions in the field where men used to lead such as in politics, economy, education and other fields. The evidence that women assimilate nowadays invites the researcher to do the study about the use of women's language features.

Some researchers have conducted the study about women's language. First, Kartikasari (2015) in her study entitled "*The Study of women language of Elizabeth's speech in Kings's Speech Movie*". She analyzes a woman character's speech in a movie which based on true story. The study emphasized the use of language features related to power. Kartikasari (2015) found six features of women's language used by the character, Elisabeth, in King's Speech movie. The other study is conducted by Wahyunityas (2016) on her research entitled "*Analysis on Hillary Clinton's Speeches and Interviews Based on Lakoff's Theory on Women's Language Features*". She analyzes the features of women's language

used by Hillary Clinton in her speeches and interviews. In Wahyuningtyas's (2016) study, women's language features were found both in speeches and interviews.

In comparison, this research aims to find out the use of women's language features in real life situation related to the issue of power. In order to have a deep understanding of women's speech, the researcher proposes to conduct the research about women's language features by Hillary Clinton in 2016 Presidential debate.

The researcher chooses Hillary Clinton due to her status and background in society. According to Rowlands (2016), Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton or Hillary Clinton is one of the most prominent female political leaders in the United States. She is a part of a tiny minority of women who have risen to the top of politics. She was a candidate for US president in 2016 and was the first woman in the US history who became a candidate for US president. In 2016, she did the presidential debates against her competitor, Donald Trump.

The politic career of Hillary Clinton who had been a Senator and a Secretary of State lead the researcher to study Hillary Clinton's language use. Moreover, the researcher chooses presidential debates because of its special rule that demand the candidates speak in formal speech within specified time. The researcher analyzed Hillary's utterances in the first and the third presidential debate. The first presidential debate is where both candidates meet face-to-face for the first time to acquaint their wits and policy. It is the chance for the candidates to give the first impression on the American people. The third presidential debate is the last chance for the candidates to give strong statement to maintain or even to increase the voting on them.

B. Research Question

Based on the research background above, the researcher formulates the research question as follows:

1. What are the women's language features used by Hillary Clinton in her presidential debates based on Lakoff's theory?

C. Research Significance

The researcher believes that this research will be useful and beneficial for several parties as follows:

1. English Learners

The researcher hopes that this research will help English learners in learning sociolinguistic, specifically women's language. Through this research, English learners can learn and understand about women's language features in formal speech. Furthermore, this research also helps learners to gain the understanding of social perspectives on masculinity and femininity.

2. English Teachers

This research provides examples related to language and gender. Specifically, this research provides the differences between men and women on the way of speaking and communicating. English teachers can use this research to study more about language and gender. This research is expected to be the source for teaching and learning. Through this research, English teachers can develop and design language-learning strategies based on the role of language and gender in teaching English.

3. Future Researchers

This research is expected to be a proper academic reference for other researchers who want to conduct further research dealing with women's language features. Hopefully, this research can give information for other researchers to help them complete their research. Moreover, through this research, future researchers can gain better and deeper research and develop the research to be more specific.

D. Definition of Terms

In this research, there are some terms which are frequently used in this research. There are two terms namely women's language features and presidential debate as the subjects of this research.

1. Women's Language Features

Women's language indicates the characteristic of women's behavior (Lakoff, 1975). Because someone's language shows their role in the society, women should have certain speech features to be shown in their society. Lakoff (1975) suggests that there are universal characteristics of 'women's language' and the way in which women are expected to speak. Lakoff identified ten types of speech features that commonly used by women than men (as cited in Holmes, 2013). They are lexical hedges or fillers, tag questions, rising intonation on declaratives, empty adjectives, precise color terms, intensifiers, hypercorrect grammar, superpolite forms, avoidance of strong swear words, and emphatic stress.

2. Presidential Debate

In general, a debate is a formal contest of argumentation between two teams or individuals. Crocker (1962) states that debate is a formal argument where two

both sides establish and maintain different point of view on a selected proposition. Presidential debate is one type of debate applied for political needs. The presidential debate is conducted under special rules drafted for a specific occasion. It has become a routine of U.S. presidential election that once the candidate nominated, the attention quickly turns into the big event of the presidential campaign, which is presidential debates. After several months campaigning from country to country, the candidates meet face-to-face, sometimes for the first time, to persuade voters who will be the most qualified candidate to lead the United States. According to Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD), the first presidential debates in US history was held on 1960 between John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon. After that, the United States had conducted the presidential debate to know deeper about the vision and mission of each candidate and help the voters to choose the candidate within rational thinking.

Presidential debates present the voters with an opportunity to learn about the candidates and their respective policy preferences (Mullinix, 2011). In addition, debate offers preparation for leadership. Involving the candidates for president and vice president will help to inform the voting public about the policies and personalities of the competing debaters (Freeley & Steinberg, 2009).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter reviews about the theories related to the study. There are two parts provided in this chapter namely theoretical description and theoretical framework. The first part is a theoretical description which provides theories that directly relevant to the study and reviews of related studies which are conducted before this study. The second part is a theoretical framework which provides the summarized and synthesized of the major relevant theories to answer the research problems.

A. Theoretical Description

In this section, the researcher will discuss theories related to the study. There are some terms related to this study, they are language and gender, language and power, women's language features, and debate.

1. Language and Gender

Language and gender are a research interdisciplinary that studies varieties of speech in terms of gender, gender relation, gendered practices, and sexuality. In recent years, there have been debates about the definition of the term 'gender'. Gender in the linguistic field has different context with sex. West and Zimmerman state that gender is "not something we are born with, and not something we have, but something we do" (as cited in Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 10). Furthermore, Talbot (2010) states that gender is learned behavior and it is constructed in society. It means that gender is not merely talking about the physical

or anatomical but also involves the whole display of psychological, social, and cultural differences between men and women.

Wardhaugh (2010) states that gender is an important component in the society that affects societies in doing interaction. The choices, ways of using language and roles of men and women who speak the language are connected. Moreover, Trudgill (2000) says that gender differentiation in language arises because language as a social phenomenon is closely related to social attitudes. Similarly, Holmes (2006) points out that the ways people talking to others are associated with particular roles, behavior, activities, and gender. Men and women are socially different in that society. It lays down different social roles for them and expects different behavior patterns from them.

In the study of language and gender, linguists have analyzed the relation between gender and language use. Among the other researchers, Lakoff (1975) published an influential account of women's language. It is a set of basic categorizations of ten women's language features. The specific features of women's language indicate women are more likely to express uncertainty. Tannen (1990) conducted a study on women's and men's language that offers insight into an everyday communication of the speakers from both genders. Her study has shown the differences between men and women in conversation.

In linguistics, there are different features of feminine and masculine interactional styles that indicate men's and women's behavior in speaking. According to Holmes (2013) feminine has indirect speech style and tend to be facilitative, while masculine uses direct speech style and tend to be competitive.

The study of sociolinguistics in gender shows that variation in the use of language according to gender is connected to the social context which reflects male dominance in societies. It is related to gender differences in language reflect social status and power differences (Holmes, 2013).

2. Language and Power

There have been studies of the ways in which power is exercised in conversation and other forms of talk between people. O'Barr and Atkins (1980) conducted a study which examined the witnesses for the ten basic speech differences between men and women that Lakoff (1975) has proposed. O'Barr and Atkins (1980) showed that language differences are based on situation-specific authority or power and not gender. At this point, the use of language is affected by the social status in society.

According to Fairclough (2001), language and power are about how language works to maintain and change power relations in society and how to understand these processes which can enable people to resist and change them. Wardhaugh (2010) notes that men and women in their interactional patterns in conversation, exhibit the normal power relationship that exists in society, with men dominant and women subservient.

In discussing the power of language, Fairclough (2001) focuses on two major aspects of the power and language relationship. They are power in discourse and power behind discourse. The power in discourse is concerned with situations where power relationships are set up and enacted. It focuses on the language use and how power is exercised linguistically. The second type is concerned with the

organization of institutions and the effects of those power relations on various uses of language. It contextualizes linguistic features according to the structures and the relationship of power that shapes the language use.

3. Women's Language Features

Women's language indicates the characteristic of women's behavior. Lakoff (1975) suggests that there are universal characteristics of women's language and the way in which women are expected to speak. Lakoff (1975) proposes a range of features to express uncertainty and lack of confidence as typical women's speech. Some of the features are lexical items. Lakoff as cited in Holmes (2013) claimed that there are certain features of women's language that gave the impression women are weaker and less certain than men.

a. Lexical Hedges or Fillers

Hedges is a type of verbal filler items which reduce the force of an utterance. Pearson (1985) explains that verbal fillers are used when speaker fills in a silence of their conversations. Hedging devices explicitly indicate speaker's lack of confidence. Lakoff as cited in Talbot (2010) states that women tend to use more hedges than men to express uncertainty. Lakoff (2004) differentiates four types of hedges. The first type is to express uncertainty such as, *you know, well, kinda/kind of*. The second type is hedges that are used for the sake of politeness such as *sorta/sort of*. The next type is to express that the speaker certain of the truth of a statement to attach the attention of the listener, for example *you know*. The last type is the type that is a preface to declarations or questions, for example, *I guess, I*

wonder, I think. Talbot (2010) states that women often use these expressions to add tentativeness to the statements and make them seem less assertive.

Furthermore, hedges that are used as filler items while the speaker thinks about what to say can be used together with other filler pauses. For example, vocalizations such as [uh] or [uhm]. These kinds of filler items may occur at the beginning of a sentence when the speaker is uncertain (Swerts & Hirschberg, 2010).

b. Tag Questions

Tag questions are question tagged on to an utterance. Tag questions are defined formally as grammatical structures in which a declarative is followed by an attached interrogative clause or 'tag'. According to Lakoff women tend to turn a statement into a question in order to reduce the force of the statement (as cited in Talbot, 2010). Tag questions are used when speaker is feeling unsure with topic being discussed such as *Don't you?*, *Haven't we?*, ..., *did you?*, *really?*, *It's a nice day, isn't it?*, and so on. In the sentence *It's a nice day, isn't it?* The speaker is already predicting the response, but the speaker needs confirmation from the interlocutor.

In addition, Holmes (1986) conducted a study on the use of tag questions in male's and female's conversations. Holmes (1986) states that there are three functions of using tag questions. The first is to express uncertainty and signal speaker's desire for confirmation. The second is to express speaker's solidarity or positive attitude to the addressee. The third is to express politeness and soften the statements.

c. Rising Intonation on Declaratives

In many languages, including many varieties of English, intonation rises at the final point of questions. Rising intonation is used to turn a statement into a question, weaken the force of it and making the speaker sound uncertain. Lakoff (1975) associates rising intonation on declaratives with showing tentativeness, for example, *When will dinner be ready?*, *Oh... around six o'clock...?*, *Work? Again?*, *Dinner with Martha?*, and so on. Rising intonation on declaratives is used when the speaker seeking for confirmation, though at the same time the speaker may be the only one who has the requisite information.

d. Empty Adjectives

Women convey their emotional reaction rather than give specific information by using empty adjectives. Lakoff (1975) suggests that many adjectives used in expressing approval or admiration are strongly marked as feminine. Lakoff (1975) gives examples of some adjectives which have both to express their specific and literal meanings and to indicate the speaker's approbation or admiration for something. Some of the adjectives are neutral, but some of them are confined to women's speech. Below is the list of both types:

<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Women only</i>
Great	Adorable
terrific	Charming
cool	Sweet
neat	lovely
	divine

(Robin Lakoff, *Language and Woman's Place*, 1975, p.51)

Lakoff (1975) adds that women can use neutral adjectives freely despite the fact that women tend to use the special adjectives. However, men are rarely use the special adjectives such as *adorable* or *lovely* because they may be considered as a feminist and will affect their image in society.

e. Precise Color Terms

Women tend to classify some specific color terms. Lakoff (1975) states that women have more vocabulary about colors more than men, for example, *mauve*, *turquoise*, *mustard*, and etc. Women use the precise color terms because it is related to their specific interest. When women prefer to use the precise color terms, it intends to show that she is good in their own field. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) said that men have a bigger probability to suffer color blindness than women. Women can specify one basic color into some specific color such as *blue* which can be specified into *aquamarine*, *navy*, and etc.

f. Intensifiers

Intensifiers employ on the intense sentences which a speaker says, whether to decrease or increase it. The use of *so* has subsequently been viewed as a boosting device, like *very*. Holmes (2013) states that intensifiers aimed to strengthen intended meaning, for example *really*, *so*, *such*, *quite*, and *very*. Arliss (1991) states that the use of intensifier concerns with attention to the emotional message. The intensifier is supposed to weaken a speaker's strength of feeling, as in *I like him so much!*. The use of *so* has subsequently been viewed as a boosting device. It is used to emphasize the speaker's utterances and emotional message. The use of this term is more frequent in women than men language, though certainly men can use it.

g. Hypercorrect Grammar

Hypercorrect grammar is related to the politeness in utterance and indifference of the relationship between the speaker and addressee. Hypercorrect grammar involves avoidance of harsh language; more frequent apologizing and the use of superpolite form (Lakoff, 1975). Further, Lakoff (1975) states that hypercorrection includes the use of standard forms and pronunciation. For example, women avoid to use *ain't* or double negatives. Another example such as sounding the final *g* in words such as *going* instead of the more casual *goin'*. Women tend to be more standard in their use of these variables than men (Labov as cited in Talbot, 2010).

Sociological studies have shown that women are more likely to use linguistic forms thought to be more correct than those used by men. Trudgill (2000) states that women are generally more status-conscious than men, and therefore more sensitive to linguistic norms. White (2003) explains that women do self-correction due to the sensitivity to linguistic norms, especially in formal speech. As proposed by Holmes (2013), women are subordinate to men, so they must avoid offending them and should speak with standard forms. For instance, hypercorrection may happen because of women are in the lower positions and the function is that they are supposed to be polite as they are considered having subordinate status in society.

h. Superpolite Forms

Lakoff as cited in Talbot (2010) emphasizes superpolite forms into three things; (a) avoidance of swearing words, (b) extensive use of euphemism (the indirect expression used to utter taboo words in conversation), and (c) using more

particles in a request sentence. Lakoff (1975) uses those terms to show how women consider politeness in their utterances. The use of *please* in sentence *Close the door, please* make it sounds more polite than *Close the door!* The use of polite form prevents expression of strong statements. The use of indirect speech like the example above does not mean to lower the speaker's position (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003).

i. Avoidance of Strong Swear Words

Swearing is considered as an expression of very strong emotion due to particular condition the speaker like or dislike. Eckert (2003) suggests that swearing is kind of interjection that can express extreme statements. Lakoff said that "women are not supposed to talk rough" (2004, p.80). Women tend to avoid using swear words because they will consider as unladylike. Lakoff (1975) notes that women tend to use soften words such as *dear*, or *goodness* rather than rough words such as *shit*, *damn*, and so on.

j. Emphatic Stress

Emphatic stress is a term to emphasize the most important word in a speaker's statement (Lakoff, 2004). Talbot (2010) adds that what Lakoff means as emphatic stress is women's greater pitch of range. The examples of emphatic stress are seen in these sentences:

(a) *It was a BRILLIANT performance!*

(b) *What a BEAUTIFUL shoes!*

The use of emphatic stress aims to boost and to ensure the message received and responded by the interlocutor. Lakoff (1975) suggests that women use over-

the-top emphasis because they anticipate not being taken seriously. Emphatic stress is used when women want to strengthen an assertion.

4. Debate

The debate is a formal method to present an argument of particular topic or issue in a structured manner. According to Freeley and Steinberg (2009), a debate is the process of inquiry and advocacy to seek a reasoned judgment in a proposition. In general, a debate is a formal contest of argumentation between two teams or individuals. Crocker (1962) states that debate is a formal argument where two both sides establish and maintain different point of view on a selected proposition. Yet, a debate is different from an argument in the target which the speaker wants to attempt. Harvey-Smith (2011) differentiates that in an argument, people are targeting to change their interlocutor's mind about particular topic or issue, while in a debate, the target is judgment panel.

Furthermore, a debate is conducted to search the truth which may appear when both sides of the topic are put together and defended intelligently as possible. It helps people to make a rational decision and reach a decision in their own mind. On the other hand, people could use a debate to persuade others to have the same way of thinking with them (Freeley & Steinberg, 2009). The debate can potentially affect the choices of the audience by presenting convincing arguments to them, thus causing them to update their beliefs about which choices are ultimately better or worse for them personally. The purpose of a debate is not for two disputing parties to leave the room in agreement. Instead, through the debate between them, others will form a judgment about which of the two to support (Harvey-Smith, 2011).

Freeley and Steinberg (2009) classify debate into two big categories, namely applied debate and academic debate. Academic debate is conducted to provide students' educational opportunities and is conducted by the educational institution. While applied debate defines as a debate to respond a specific topic in a real way, for example, presidential debates. Presidential debate is classified in the special debate in which it is conducted for a specific occasion with special rules. The presidential debates bring the candidates together and give voters a better opportunity to compare the candidates. Presidential campaign debates present the public with an opportunity to learn about the candidates and their respective policy preferences (Mullinix, 2011).

Other researchers, Holz, Akin, and Jamieson have conducted the study about presidential debates in 2016. Holz et al. (2016) study about the effect of U.S. presidential debate to the viewers in 2012. The research found that the debates are helpful because they provided a live, direct view of under pressured candidates, not controlled or mediated by the press or by the candidates' handlers. In academic debate, judges decide which debater is winning the debate.

B. Theoretical Frameworks

This section will summarize how the theories will be used to analyze and to answer the research question. This study aims to analyze women's language features used by Hillary in her presidential debates based on Lakoff's theory. The researcher regulates the relevant theories and answers the research question using the theories which have been explained in the previous part of this chapter.

The researcher uses Lakoff's theory (1975) on account of being able to cover women's language phenomena in relation with the way of women speak in their society. As proposed by Lakoff (1975), there are ten features of women's language, namely lexical hedges or fillers, tag questions, rising intonation on declaratives, empty adjectives, precise color terms, intensifiers, hypercorrect grammar, superpolite forms, avoidance of strong swear words, and emphatic stress. The researcher analyzes Hillary utterances in presidential debates, then categorizes them based on women's language features.

Furthermore, the researcher uses Holmes' theory (1986) which focuses on the functions of *you know* in women's and men's speech. It covers the function of lexical hedges and tag questions used in women's and men's speech. Holmes (1986) states that lexical hedges serve as verbal fillers which express confidence and add the weight of the proposition. Tag questions serve functions as modal meaning, affective meaning and softening device. Besides, the researcher obtains theories about the function of women's language features from some experts (Penfield (1984), Arliss (1991), Eckert (2003), White (2003), Swerts and Hirschberg (2010), and Talbot (2010)).

In addition, the researcher uses some articles about Hillary Clinton to support the analysis of Hillary's utterances in presidential debates. The articles are from Clift (2016), who states that Hillary is a confident leader and a woman with wide knowledge and from Phillip, DelReal, & Fahrenthold, D (2016) who report the overall of first presidential debate.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides a detailed description of the methodology employed in this research. The methodology covers the description of research method, research instrument, data gathering technique, and data analysis technique.

A. Research Method

The researcher conducted this research to analyze the use of women's language features by Hillary Clinton in presidential debates based on Lakoff's theory. In conducting the research, the researcher applied mixed method research. In general, mixed method research represents research that involves collecting, analyzing, and interpreting quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or in a series of studies that investigate the same underlying phenomenon (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2008). Furthermore, Creswell and Clark (2011) state that the central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches, in combination, provides a better understanding of research problems than one approach alone. The researcher applied quantitative research and qualitative research together to gain a more complete understanding of the research question.

Qualitative research covers a wide range of approaches for the exploration of human experience, perceptions, motivations and behaviours. Ary et al. (2010) mention that the goal of qualitative research is to describe the complex pattern of what is being studied in depth and detail understanding. Moreover, qualitative research helps researchers to gain an understanding of human thought, behavior,

and its interpretation (Holloway & Wheeler, 2010). In this part, the researcher applied qualitative research to present the reasons and functions of using women's language features.

Quantitative research focuses on the quantity of the data analysis. Qualitative research uses objective measurement to gather numeric data that are used to answer questions (Ary, Jacobs, Sorensen & Razavieh, 2010). In this part, the researcher applied quantitative research to present the occurrence and the frequency of women's language features used by Hillary in presidential debates.

In this research, the researcher used discourse analysis to analyze the data. Discourse analysis is a term for the study of the ways in which language is used in texts and contexts. Discourse analysis is a person's point of view that contains methodological and conceptual elements (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Discourse analysis examines the construction of texts and verbal accounts to explore the systems of social meaning (Tonkiss, 2000). Hence, discourse analysis explores the different functions of language in social interaction. The discourse data could be spoken and written texts. The analysis may be based on a variety of different sources containing discourse including written documents, speeches, media reports, interviews and conversation. The researcher conducted discourse analysis to study women's language features used by Hillary in presidential debates using the utterances that were collected from videos and transcripts.

B. Research Instrument and Data Gathering Technique

There are three instruments in this research. The instruments are human instrument, the videos and the transcripts of Hillary Clinton's presidential debates in 2016 and the observation table. These following parts will describe each instrument.

1. Human Instrument

The first and main instrument is a human instrument. Qualitative studies need human investigator as the main instrument for gathering and analyzing the data (Ary, et al., 2010). The researcher also attached meaning to the data as the study proceeds. Moreover, Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that human as the instrument in a research should be flexible to capture the complexity of the human experience, capable of adapting and responding to the environment (as cited in Ary, et al., 2010). In this research, the researcher acts as human instrument who chooses the topic, decides the instrument, collects the data, analyses the data, and makes conclusion. The researcher gathered and analyzed the data from the videos and transcript documents. The researcher gathered the utterances from the videos and transcript of Hillary Clinton's presidential debate in 2016, then categorized the data into women's language features and analyzed the reasons and the functions of using those features. In addition, the researcher made the interpretation of the data and drew conclusion.

2. Videos and Transcripts of Hillary Clinton's Presidential Debates

The researcher analyzed the videos of Hillary Clinton's presidential debates 2016 in order to gather the data for this research. Since this study used discourse

analysis, the data, which in forms of videos and transcripts, are included as the research instrument. In this research, there were two videos to be analyzed. The first video is the first presidential debate of the 2016 US election entitled *The First Presidential Debate: Hillary Clinton And Donald Trump (Full Debate) - NBC News* which held on September 26, 2016, at Hofstra University. The second video is the third or the final presidential debate of the 2016 US election entitled *The Third Presidential Debate: Hillary Clinton And Donald Trump (Full Debate) - NBC News* was held on October 19, 2016, at the University of Nevada in Las Vegas. The researcher chose the first and the third or last presidential debate for some reasons. The first presidential debate is where both candidates meet face-to-face for the first time to acquaint their wits and policy. It is the chance for the candidates to give the first impression on the American people. The third presidential debate is the last chance for the candidates to give strong statement to maintain or even to increase the voting on them. The researcher did not choose the second presidential debate because the researcher has enough data to be collected on the first and third presidential debate. Further, the researcher watched the second presidential debate and the researcher assumed that the pattern of the features used by Hillary is constant and would not alter the obtained data. The videos helped the researcher to know the intonations used by Hillary Clinton in her debates and facilitated the researcher to analyze the language features used by Hillary Clinton based on Lakoff's theory (1975).

Besides using videos, the researcher employed the transcripts of the first and third US presidential debates from 2016 election. The transcripts were retrieved on

September 27, 2016 and October 20, 2016 from <https://www.nytimes.com>. The transcripts used to help the researcher analyzed the utterances and looked for the women's language features in Hillary Clinton's presidential debates.

In gathering the data, the researcher conducted some steps. First, the researcher watched the videos of the presidential debates. At the same time, the researcher read the transcripts and checked the transcripts. The researcher checked the transcripts and added words or fillers which were not provided yet to make the data valid and congruent with Hillary utterances. The researcher watched the videos and checked the transcripts for several times to make sure that the transcripts were congruent with Hillary utterances. Then, the researcher selected Hillary's utterances which contain women's language features.

3. Observation Table

In analyzing and gathering the data, the researcher used the observation table. The researcher set the format of the table. The component of the table is based on Lakoff's theory (1975) of the ten women's language features. The example of the observation table is presented in Table 3.1 as follows:

Table 3.1. An Example of Observation Table

No.	Utterances	LH	TQ	RI	EA	CT	I	HG	SF	SW	ES
1.											
2.											
Etc.											
	Total										

Abbreviations:

- LH : Lexical Hedges or Fillers
- TQ : Tag Questions
- RI : Rising Intonations
- EA : Empty Adjectives
- CT : Precise Color Terms
- I : Intensifiers
- HG : Hypercorrect Grammar
- SF : Superpolite Forms
- SW : Avoidance of Strong Swear Words
- ES : Emphatic Stress

C. Data Analysis Technique

In this study, the researcher adapted Creswell's (2009) data analysis procedure. There were six steps of analyzing the data for this research. They were organizing and preparing the data for analysis, reading through all the data, coding the data into categories, rechecking and validating the data, presenting the data, and interpreting the data.

First, the researcher organized and prepared the data for analysis by checking and transcribing the data. The researcher completed the transcriptions with words of fillers which not inserted yet in the transcriptions from the website. Then the researcher divided the paragraph into sentences and input it in each row on the observation table (see table 3.1).

Second, the researcher read the data while watching the videos. According to Ary, et al., 2010), the researcher should be familiar with the data through reading the transcripts and watching the videotapes repeatedly to be immersed in the data. In this step, the researcher read all the transcripts to gain insight into the topic discussed during the debates. By reading the transcripts, the researcher collected also tried to find the features of women's language in the utterances. Then, the researcher marked the words and phrases on the data that supported the study. The researcher repeated this process seven times to make sure all of the women's language features were collected.

Third, the researcher began coding the data into categories for analysis. In this research, the category referred to ten women's language features based on Lakoff's theory as cited in Holmes (2013). The coding labeled the data with a term in a number column. The coding used to differentiate the data from the first debate transcript and the third debate transcript. Then, the researcher labeled each feature with abbreviations of women's language features. The researcher also used a check symbol (✓) to help the researcher to know which language features being used and to count the data. The researcher used both abbreviations of features and check symbol to reduce confusion in reading the data analysis. Table 3.2 shows the data coding in this study.

Table 3.2. Data Analysis Coding

No.	Utterances	LH	TQ	RI	EA	CT	I	HG	SF	SW	ES
1D.1.	You know (LH), it's really (I) disturbing.	✓					✓				
3D.2.	I will STAND UP(ES) for families against powerful interests, against corporations.										✓

Note:

1D.1 : First presidential debate example number 1

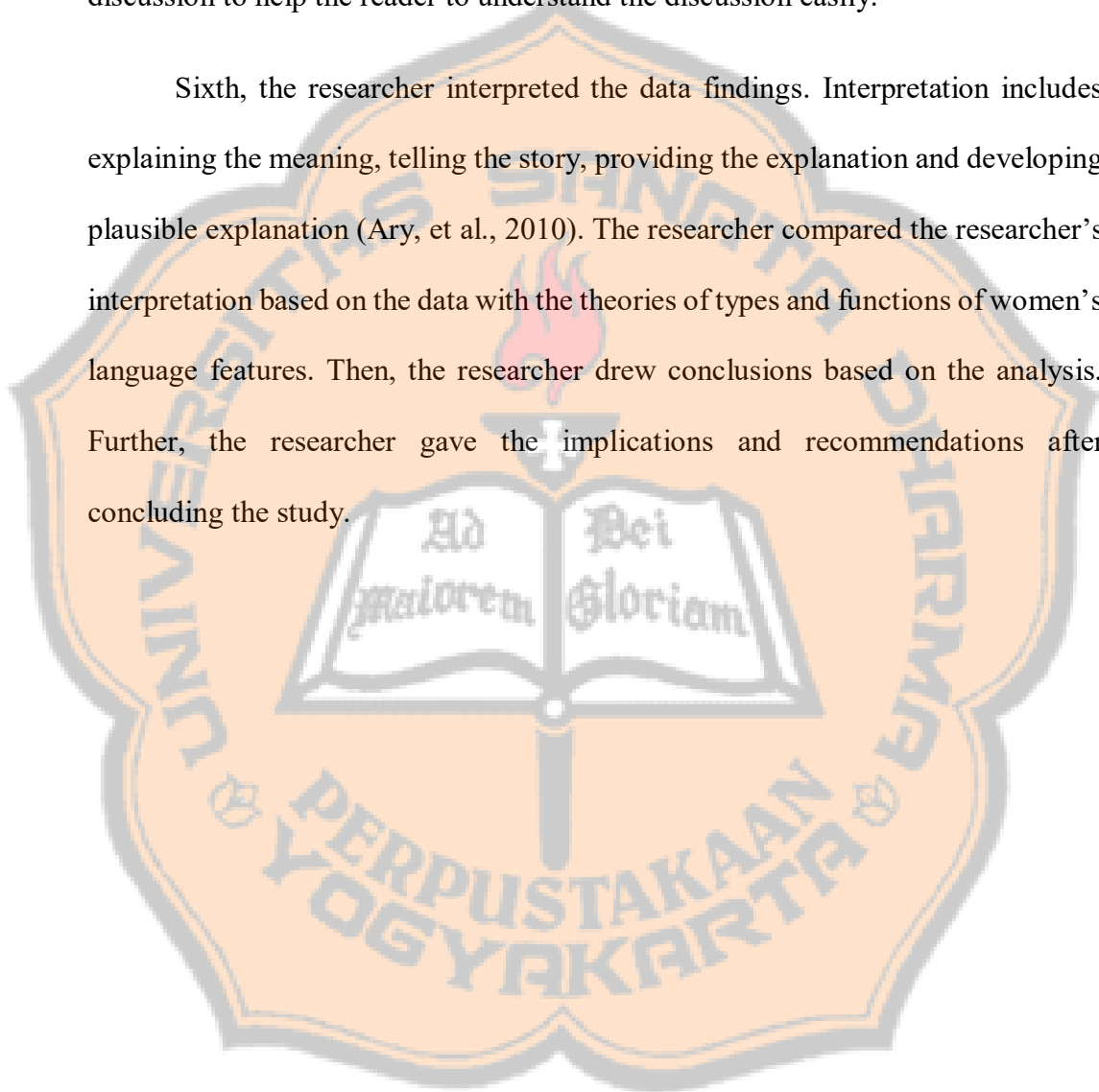
3D.2 : Third presidential debate utterance number 2

Fourth, the researcher rechecked and validated the data in order to ensure that the statements were in a correct classification. The researcher rechecked the data for four times. In validating the collected features, the researcher employed the theory of women's language features. In addition, the researcher consulted the data with the thesis advisor for three times. After the feedback given, the researcher revised the classification according to the advisor's recommendation.

Fifth, the researcher presented the data in form of table and narration. the table is contained the amount of women's language features used by Hillary and the percentage. The percentage (%) in analyzing the data is used as a tool to support the argument explained in this research. The narration discussed the detailed descriptions of each category. In this step, the researcher presented some examples of each category then discussed it through the qualitative narration. The researcher selected some utterances which include women's language features to be explained

in detail. For example, the researcher described the classification of the feature, in what topic Hillary used it, and what the reason or function of using the feature. the researcher provided some examples of Hillary's speech from the data in the discussion to help the reader to understand the discussion easily.

Sixth, the researcher interpreted the data findings. Interpretation includes explaining the meaning, telling the story, providing the explanation and developing plausible explanation (Ary, et al., 2010). The researcher compared the researcher's interpretation based on the data with the theories of types and functions of women's language features. Then, the researcher drew conclusions based on the analysis. Further, the researcher gave the implications and recommendations after concluding the study.



CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the researcher presented and discussed the data findings to answer the research question formulated in the research problems. The research question is what are women's language features used by Hillary Clinton in her presidential debates based on Lakoff's theory.

A. The Frequency of Women's Language Features Used by Hillary Clinton

This section focuses on the frequency of women's language features found in Hillary's presidential debates in 2016. According to Lakoff (1975), there are ten types of women's language features. The researcher found that not all women's language features stated by Lakoff (1975) were expressed in Hillary's presidential debates. In this discussion, the researcher presents the data in a form of table and description. The findings on women's language features used by Hillary in the first and third presidential debate is exemplified in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Women's Language Features in Hillary's Presidential Debates

No.	Women's Language Features	Number of Features	Percentage
1.	Lexical hedges or fillers	346 features	41,54%
2.	Hypercorrect grammar	177 features	21,25%
3.	Emphatic stress	165 features	19,81%
4.	Intensifiers	122 features	14,65%
5.	Rising intonation on declaratives	13 features	1,56%
6.	Empty adjectives	8 features	0,96%
7.	Superpolite forms	2 features	0,24%
8.	Tag questions	-	0,00%
9.	Precise color terms	-	0,00%
10.	Avoidance of strong swear words	-	0,00%
	Total	833 features	100%

Table 4.1 shows the result of women's language features that Hillary Clinton used in her presidential debate. The frequency of women's language features found in Hillary's presidential debate are 833 features. Hillary used seven out of ten women's language features. They consisted of lexical hedges or fillers (41,54%), rising intonation on declaratives (1,56%), empty adjectives (0,96%), intensifiers (14,65%), hypercorrect grammar (21,25%), superpolite forms (0,24%) and emphatic stress (19,81%). Other features such as tag questions, precise color terms, and avoidance of strong swear words were not found in the first and third US presidential debates.

The percentage in Table 4.1 shows that lexical hedges or fillers are the most frequent feature used in Hillary's speech. The use of lexical hedges or fillers are related with the situation and the rules of presidential debate. There are several segments where each segment there is time given for candidates to answer the question or to respond other candidate's statements. After the host gives a question, each candidate is given time to answer the question spontaneously within the specific time. For one question, each candidate is given two minutes to answer the question given. In answering and responding to the question, Hillary had to think fast and answered spontaneously before the time run out. Hillary used lexical hedges or fillers frequently in her speech to give her time to think before making statements. She was aware with the situation in the debate and she tried to be careful with what she said. similar to what Al-Rashady (2012) states, the use of hedges reflects the speaker's mark that he or she is carefully thinking or processing the information the speaker is about to utter. Even though the candidates already

prepared for the debate, but they do not know what questions would be given in the debate or what the respond from the opponent would be.

In the first and third presidential debate, the researcher did not find tag question features in the utterances. In Lakoff's study (1975), tag questions indicate speaker's uncertainty. Hillary did not use tag questions which usually show uncertainty in the debate because she was confident and sure about her statement. Wahyuningtyas (2016) in her study also found that Hillary did not use tag questions because she was sure about what she wanted to say. Hillary also did not need to clarify her statement by using tag questions to the opponent or audience because of the format of the presidential debates. In the presidential debate, there is no rule that allows the candidates to seek answers both from the opponent or audience. The candidates only could answer the question and respond to the opponent's statements.

The other feature such as the use of precise color terms also did not used by Hillary. The researcher assumed that Hillary did not use the features because there was no topic in the presidential debate that forces the candidates to use particular color words in the statements given. The major topic of the presidential debates was about political issues, economy and security issues that the America faced.

Hillary also did not use the feature of avoiding strong swear words. Eckert (2003) suggests that swearing is kind of interjection that can express extreme statements. Women tend to avoid using swear words because they will be considered as unladylike (Lakoff, 1975). The researcher studied Hillary's utterances and concluded that Hillary did not use that feature demand to the situation where she was aware of being a public figure and her utterances in the

presidential debates were seen by the American citizen. It also showed that she could maintain her emotion and did not frequently express her feeling by using avoidance of strong swear words.

The use of these features mainly showed how Hillary Clinton deliver her messages confidently. Although Holmes (1986) states that some features of women's language may show uncertainty, Hillary used some features to express that she was certain with what she said. It convinces by Clift (2016) who provides facts that Hillary Clinton is a self-confident leader and a woman with wide knowledge.

B. The Functions of Women's Language Features Used by Hillary Clinton

This section presents the elaboration of women's language features used by Hillary in presidential debates. The researcher presents the examples of each feature which were used by Hillary and discusses the functions of each feature.

1. Lexical Hedges or Fillers

Lakoff (1975) states that lexical hedges or fillers are used to weaken the strength of what a speaker is saying. The use of hedges in mixed-sex interaction show women powerlessness (Lakoff, 1975). The researcher found that Hillary Clinton used hedges or fillers consistently in the first presidential debate and the third presidential debate. Lexical hedges that found were *kind of*, *I think*, *I guess* and *probably*, while the fillers were *well*, *you know*, and *I mean*. Fillers were described as 'meaningless particles' as assigned to the same category as 'pause fillers' such as [uh], [uhm], and [aaa].

In the first and third presidential debate, Hillary frequently used the filler *well* in her presidential debates. Lakoff (1975) states that hedges or fillers determined to express the uncertainty of the speaker. While Talbot (2010) proposed that it is used to reduce the force of utterance. The example can be seen below.

[1] *Well*, you're right. Race remains a significant challenge in our country. (1D.128)

In excerpt [1], Hillary had given a question about race issue in America. In that segment, the host gave a brief explanation about race relation in America and then asked the candidates how to solve the gap between one race and another. Hillary used the word *well* to reduce the force of her statement.

Hillary tended to use the word *well* at the beginning of her speech before answering the question given by the host or responding to the statement from her opponent, Donald Trump. She used the word *well* as a preface to her declarations as seen in the examples below:

[2] *Well*, let's stop for a second and remember where we were eight years ago. (1D.24)

[3] *Well*, first of all, I support the second amendment. (3D.275)

As seen in excerpt [2] and [3], the word *well* used by Hillary before delivering her statements. Hillary used the word *well* as verbal filler. Holmes (1986) states that the function of *you know* as verbal filler has similar function with other lexical items such as *well*, *I mean*, *sort of* and so on. The statement of the excerpt [2] was the statement in responding the opponent's statement in the first presidential debate, while excerpt [3] was Hillary's statement on the third presidential debate video to answer the issue about the law and court in America.

Another variant of fillers found in Hillary's utterances was the phrase *you know*. According to Holmes (1986) in her study of *Functions of You Know in Women's and Men's Speech*, women frequently use the filler *you know* to convey certainty. Here are some of the evidence:

[4] ***You know***, your campaign manager said that you built a lot of businesses on the backs of little guys. (1D.114)

[5] Well, one thing, Lester, ***you know*** he tried to switch from looks to stamina. (1D.255)

From the excerpt [4], the researcher discovered that Hillary employed the phrase *you know* not to express uncertainty. However, it was used to boost the strength of the utterance. It indicated that the speaker was confident to "reassure the addressee of the validity of the proposition" (Holmes 1986, p.7). Hillary also used the phrase *you know* which serves an attributive function. According to Holmes (1986), an attributive function refers to the speaker's confidence "that the addressee knows, as a result of past experience, the kind of thing being referred to, though not the precise instance described" (p.9). In excerpt [5], Hillary referred to the statement that Trump said before. The use of *you know* in excerpt [5] expressed Hillary's certainty and confidence in the statement because the audience knew the proposition being referred by Hillary from the previous segment.

Hillary also applied filler [aaa] in her presidential debate as seen in excerpt [6] from the first presidential debate.

[6] But we also have to intensify our airstrikes against ISIS [aaa] and eventually support our Arab and Kurdish [aaa] partners to be able to actually take out ISIS [aaa] in Raqqa and their claim of being a caliphate. (1D.206)

In the excerpt [6], Hillary used pause filler [aaa] to give time for her to think of the best word used in the utterances to inform it well. According to Swerts and Hirschberg (2010), hedges or fillers can also be used as filler items while the speaker thinks about what to say. Hillary also used filler [aaa] when she had not done spoken yet and when she wanted to continue her statement so the host or her opponent would not interrupt or cut her speech.

Besides using fillers, Hillary also used hedges. Some hedges that used by Hillary in the first and third presidential debate such as *I think*, *kind of*, *probably*, and *I guess*. The lexical hedge that most appeared in Hillary's presidential debates was the phrase *I think*. According to Lakoff (1975), the hedge *I think is* used as a preface to declarations of the speaker. Here some evidence of *I think* as a preface to Hillary's statements:

[7] and *I think* it's important that we grip this and deal with it, both at home and abroad. (1D.38)

[8] *I think* we can compete with high wage countries and I believe we should. (3D.369)

According to Holmes (1986), the phrase *I think* has two functions, namely deliberative and tentative. In excerpt [7], Hillary used the hedge *I think* to add the weight to her statement and make it stronger, this is what it called a deliberative function. On the other hand, Hillary also showed tentative function in excerpt [8]. In that utterance, Hillary used the hedge *I think* to express uncertainty.

In conclusion, lexical hedges or fillers were used as women's language features. For instance, some linguists state that women used filler devices to show a lack of confidence (Lakoff, 1975, Holmes, 1986). But in Hillary's case, the

researcher looked at the videos, she did not seem insecure or shy when she gave her statements in her debate. Instead, she looked confident and answered questions from the host with convincing statements. However, she used a lot of meaningless particles which did not alter the ideas of her statements. In line with Swerts, M. & Hirschberg, J. (2010), it might be used for her to think what she wanted to say to avoid to say something wrong instead of being unconfident.

From this research, lexical hedges and fillers have various functions to the utterances. In addition, confirming Lakoff (2004), the filler *well* can be used to reduce the force of statement and serves as verbal fillers. The filler *you know* were used to boost utterance, to express speaker's certainty, and to express speaker's confidence. The hedge *I think* has two functions in the utterances which can be used to express confidence and to make the statement stronger (deliberative function). Further, the filler [aaa] is used to give time for Hillary to think in order to avoid gaps and mistakes in making a statement.

2. Rising Intonation on Declaratives Statement

Lakoff (1975) states that women tend to raise the tone of voice at the end of a statement. The following cases were the examples when Hillary used to raise intonation in her statements.

[9] And yes, I did. And you know what else I prepared *for?* I prepared to be president. And I think that's a good thing. (1D.173)

[10] Well -- At the last debate, we heard Donald talking about what he did to women, and after that a number of women have come forward saying that's exactly what he did to them. Now, what was his *response?* Well, he held a number of big rallies where he said that he could not possibly have done those things to those women because they were not attractive enough for -- them to be assaulted. (3D.423)

Hillary was the one who had the requisite answer for those questions. In excerpt [9], she made a clear statement that she was ready to be a president. She turned her statement into a question as a preface to her next statement. She raised the intonation in excerpt [9] and [10] not literally to ask the questions to the audience but to grab attention so the audience will focus on what Hillary will says next.

[11] To the thousands of people that you have stiffed over the course of your business not deserve some kind of *apology*? From someone who has taken their labor. (1D.117)

[12] You call yourself the *King of Debt*? (1D.122)

[13] Taken the goods that they produced, and then refused to pay *them*? (1D.118)

In the excerpt [11], Hillary talked about what her opponent have done to the people who he stiffed in his business. Hillary raised the tone of voice to emphasize the important thing that her opponent, Donald Trump, did not do and should do about apologizing people he had stiffed. Hillary might want to seek for confirmation about the epithet for Donald Trump and she might have thought about what her opponent did in dealing with his business that harmed people.

In the excerpt [12], Hillary raised the tone of voice in the phrase *King of Debt* to describe her opponent. Lakoff (1975) states that the use of rising intonation at the end of declarative sentences indicate hesitancy and the desire for confirmation from the other. In contrast, Hillary raised her intonation on declaratives as part of emphasizing her statement. Penfield (1984) in analysis on Chicano English states that rising intonation on declaratives would lead its speakers to be “a strong marker of emphasis, not a weakening of declarative force” (as cited in Johnson, 2000, p.38).

It also can be seen in excerpt [13], where she raised the intonation in the last utterance to emphasize Donald Trump's decision who did not pay his employees.

In this case, the researcher assumed that Hillary did not hesitate in delivering her speech. She was confident in giving facts related to her opponent in the presidential debates. The researcher discovered the contradiction to Lakoff's theory (1975). Based on the context, Hillary was assertive and confident with what she said. So, Hillary used rising intonation to emphasize her statements.

3. Empty Adjectives

Empty adjectives are used to convey an emotion or feeling rather than specific information. Lakoff (1975) proposed some adjectives used in expressing emotion, such as *adorable*, *charming*, *sweet*, *lovely*, *pretty* and *divine*. Those adjectives are commonly used by women which marked as feminine (Lakoff, 1975).

[14] I think my husband did a *pretty* good job in the 1990s. (1D.45)

[15] It is *pretty* clear you won't admit that the Russians have engaged in cyber-attacks against the United States of America. (3D.348)

The utterances above showed that Hillary used one example of empty adjective stated by Lakoff (1975). The word *pretty* is commonly used by women than by men to express approval or admiration. In the excerpt [14], Hillary expressed her husband's job using empty adjective *pretty*. It indicated her admiration toward her husband's job. Hillary also used the word *pretty* in excerpt [15] when she responded to Trump's statements. In that situation, Hillary expressed her opinion about Trump who did not admit that the Russians have engaged in cyber-attack against the US. Hillary used the word *pretty* to indicate approbation of her opinion and to indicate that she had a strong fact or evidence to support her

opinion. Another empty adjective was the word *awesome* which appeared 3 times in Hillary's presidential debates.

[16] You have to judge us, who can shoulder the immense, ***awesome*** responsibilities of the presidency. (1D.9)

As seen in the excerpt [16], Hillary used the adjective *awesome* to emphasize her statement. Hillary used the adjective *immense* and *awesome* to modify the noun *responsibility*. The word *awesome* was added by Hillary to emphasize her statement. Empty adjectives did not contribute much to the content. Although the adjective *awesome* is removed, it did not alter the main idea of the statement. The audience would understand what Hillary was saying. Moreover, Hillary also used the adjective *immense* in her utterance. So, she used the adjective *awesome* as an addition for emphasizing a statement.

[17] I lived in Arkansas for 18 ***wonderful*** years. I represented upstate New York. (3D.276)

[18] and the ***incredible*** opportunity of working to try to make life better for all of you (3D.524).

The adjective *wonderful* in excerpt [17] was used as the admiration of what Hillary had experienced when she lived in Arkansas. It indicated that Hillary had great experience of 18 years living in Arkansas. Another example is the word *incredible* in excerpt [18] which indicated admiration towards the opportunity of working as a president if she was elected. moreover, the word *wonderful* and *incredible* were used to boost the statement in order to make the statement stronger.

There are some functions of empty adjective based on Lakoff's theory (1975). It can be either to express approbation or admiration. Moreover, Lakoff

suggests that many adjectives used in expressing approval or admiration are strongly marked as feminine (1975). Hillary used some adjectives as seen above to show both admiration and approbation. She also used some adjectives as boosting devices to strengthen her statements.

4. Intensifiers

Intensifiers are used to strengthen intended meaning, such as *really*, *so*, *such*, *quite*, and *very* (Holmes, 2013). It has been viewed as a boosting device. Women tend to use intensifier more than men do, even though men also use it. The words *very* and *really* were mostly used in the videos. Below are some examples of intensifiers *very* and *really* used by Hillary:

[19] So I've tried to be *very* specific about what we can and should do. (1D.40)

[20] Words matter when you run for president, and they *really* matter when you are president. (1D.244)

In the excerpt [19], Hillary used the adverb *very* to modify an adjective. In the first presidential debate, Hillary was asked about how to grow the economy and increase new jobs. Hillary came up with some ways to overcome that issue and she used intensifier *very* in excerpt [19] to strengthen her effort about what she and people can and should do to increase more jobs and grow the economy in America. Hillary also used the adverb *really* in excerpt [20] to make a strong statement so the audience would take it seriously.

In this study, the researcher also found other intensifiers used by Hillary in her first and third presidential debates. They were *strongly*, *clearly*, *absolutely*, *terribly*, and *deeply*. Here are some evidence of intensifier used by Hillary:

[21] And using that kind of [aaa] scare rhetoric is just *terribly* unfortunate. (3D.306)

[22] We have 17, 17 intelligence agencies, civilian and military who have all concluded that these espionage attacks, these cyber-attacks, come from the highest levels of the Kremlin. And they are designed to influence our election. I find that *deeply* disturbing. (3D.353)

As seen in excerpt [21] and [22], Hillary also used the intensifier in the end of her statement to strengthen her point that she already mentioned. In excerpt [21] the adverb *terribly* is used to modify adjective *unfortunate*. Excerpt [22] also used adverb *deeply* to modify adjective *disturbing*. She applied intensifiers in her utterances to strengthen her feelings or her statements so that the audience would understand what she meant.

From the examples above, the researcher found that Hillary used intensifiers in her presidential debates to express her intention in her statements and to express her emotional message so the audience could pay attention on the statements. Intensifiers concern with attention to the emotional message (Arliss, 1991). The researcher argued that Hillary used intensifiers containing emotional messages as an approach to convince the audience to believe in her statements.

5. Hypercorrect grammar

Hypercorrect grammar is the use of a standard verb form and avoidance of harsh language. Women tend to use standard forms more than men (Lakoff, 1975). Hypercorrect grammar includes the use of a standard form of English grammar and pronunciation. Hypercorrect grammar leads women to use grammar correctly than they ought to be.

In this study, the researcher found that Hillary used a standard form of pronunciation in her utterances. The use of a standard form such as *going* used by Hillary instead of *goin'*. Below is one evidence from the first presidential debate:

[23] ***I am not going*** to let anyone into this country who is not vetted, who we do not have confidence in, but I am not going to slam the door on women and children. (3D.495)

A variable occurring in a lot of varieties of English is [ŋ]. The final sound in *going* has two variants that can be pronounced into *going* [ŋ] or *goin'* [n]. The pronunciation with the variant [ŋ] is more formal and the other is more casual (Labov as cited in Talbot, 2010). Hillary in the excerpt [23] tended to use the formal variant *going* considering her demand to the situation in formal speech.

[24] In fact, I ***have written*** a book about it. (1D.65)

[25] [aaa] But it is clear when you look at what Donald ***has been proposing***. (3D.327)

[26] This is one of the worst possible choices that any woman and her family has to make. And ***I do not believe the government should be making it***. (3D.308)

Hillary tended to use standard verb form in her utterances. In the excerpt [24] Hillary used the correct pattern for the present perfect tense, which is S + have + V3 (verb participle). Hillary frequently used that form in the presidential debates. The tense *I have written* could be changed into *I wrote a book about it*. Excerpt [25] showed Hillary's utterance which used the correct verb form of present perfect progressive to explain her opponent's statement that was in progress in that time.

Hillary also used the modal "should" followed by the bare infinitive progressive as seen in excerpt [26] to express her opinion toward someone's decision in doing something. She tended to use a standard verb form due to her

social background as a politician. Nichols (2011) in her study of grammatical variation found that workplace or job market bring some speakers into contact with more standard speech form.

Further, the researcher found that Hillary used the standard verb form to emphasize her statement. As seen excerpt [27], Hillary tended not to use the abbreviation of verb form. She used the verb form *I do not* rather than *I don't*. Further, in excerpt [28] she used the verb form *I did say* rather than *I said*. Both of evidence showed that Hillary tried to emphasize her statement by using those verb forms.

[27] But if you look at the debt, which is the issue you asked about, Chris, I pay for everything I'm proposing. I **do not** add a penny to the national debt.
 [28] The facts are -- **I did say** I hoped it would be a good deal. (3D.505)

Beside using correct pattern of the verb forms, hypercorrection also includes making self-correction while speaking. The researcher found an evidence in the first presidential debate video when Hillary made self-correction in her speaking.

[29] Well, I hope the fact checkers **are turned up in--turning up** the volume and really working hard. (1D.211)

White (2003) explained that women do self-correction due to the sensitivity of formal speech. As seen in the excerpt [29], Hillary was aware of using the correct grammar in her speech. At first, she used the form *are turned up in*, but suddenly she changed it into correct grammar which is *are turning up*. She made self-correction on her utterances.

In addition, Hillary used hypercorrection in the presidential debates. Talbot (2010) states that women used hypercorrection because they were aware of their

status in the society. Hillary paid attention a lot in every detail of her statements. Her social background and occupation lead her to use more standard grammar.

6. Superpolite forms

Superpolite form is one of language feature which is related to the avoidance of swear words and extensive use of euphemism. Moreover, superpolite forms can be indicated by using indirect speech and using more particles in a sentence request (Lakoff as cited in Holmes, 2013). Women use superpolite forms to show politeness which according to Lakoff become the characterization of women's language (1975). There were only two utterances that indicated superpolite forms in Hillary's presidential debates.

Superpolite forms were found in the first presidential debate. The first one when Hillary answered the question on the first segment of the debate. The second was in the segment called securing America.

[30] Finally, we tonight are on the stage together, Donald Trump and I.
[aaa] Donald, *it's good to be with you.* (1D.7)

[31] *With respect to Iran*, when I became Secretary of State, Iran was weeks away from having enough nuclear material to form a bomb. (1D.225)

In excerpt [30], Hillary made a statement that she was glad to be with Donald Trump in the presidential debate. The researcher found that Hillary said the utterance for being polite. Hillary was being polite to her opponent to reduce the tension between two opponents to show that they were not rival. However, in the next segment till the end of the debate, both Hillary and Trump frequently made statements that accused each other. As state by Phillip, DelReal, and Fahrenthold, D (2016), the debate turned unusually contentious as Donald Trump and Hillary

Clinton accused each other of not possessing the proper temperament to be president, with Trump saying Clinton is not being strong enough, and Clinton saying Trump is too easily taunted. It indicated that Hillary used that phrase just to show politeness.

While in excerpt [31], Hillary was being superpolite when she mentioned Iran. Before her turn, Trump mentioned Hillary's mistake in dealing with Iran. In responding to Trump's statement, Hillary tried to be superpolite while mentioning Iran. By using the word respect, she also explained about her mistake in the past that she made sanctions against the country.

In the presidential debates, Hillary did not have much tendency to use superpolite form. However, she tried to be polite by using *please* in directive utterances.

[32] So if you want to see in real time [aaa] what the facts are, ***please go and take a look.***

[33] That's a -- that's -- go to the -- ***please, fact checkers,*** get to work.

The use of *please* along with the imperative form of verb is used to express a polite request or command. It is more polite if the word *please* is added to the request or command sentence. Lakoff states that the use of *please* will sound un-masculine (1973). In excerpt [32], Hillary was addressing the audience to go and take a look at her website to check whether her opponent said the truth or not. For the information, Hillary had a website where it can be turned into live fact checker during the presidential debates. In other segment of the first presidential debate, Hillary also gave command to the people who were on duty checking Trump's statements as seen in excerpt [33]. Instead of using the sentence such as *'let's go*

and take a look' or 'go fact checker get to work!' Hillary added the word *please* to softening phrases in the request and make it less direct, so it can be more polite.

7. Emphatic Stress

Emphatic stress is a term to emphasize the most important word in a speaker's statement (Lakoff, 1975). Emphatic stress is the use of high pitch of range to give stress on the particular word. Hillary in her presidential debate used emphatic stress to boost and to ensure that her audience could receive the message that she declared. It can be seen in the example below:

[34] First, we have to build an economy that works for **EVERYONE**, not just those at the top. (1D.4)

[35] They **WANT** support, they want more training, they want more assistance. (1D.162)

In excerpt [34], Hillary stressed the word *everyone* to ensure that her audience could receive the message that she wanted every person could taste the impact of the economy growth. Hillary also stressed the word *want* as seen in excerpt [35] where she explained about the issue faced by the police officers in the US. The word *want* is stressed in order to boost her statement about police officers who really need support, training, and assistance. She also emphasized the words that indicate a particular range of numbers as seen in the evidence below:

[36] But what Donald is proposing with these **MASSIVE** tax cuts will result in a \$20 trillion additional national debt. (3D.516)

In excerpt [36], Hillary stressed the word *massive* to emphasize that those range or numbers were huge and she intended the audience would take it seriously. Lakoff (1975) suggests that women use emphatic stress to avoid not being taken

seriously by the addressee. Although Hillary did not specify how much the number was, by stressing the adjective *massive* indicated that Hillary wanted the audience paid attention to her statement.

Hillary used emphatic stress frequently in her presidential debates to emphasize the main idea or word that she wanted to focus on. She also raised the intonation in some words to convey statement that needs to be paid more attention. The stress is not merely given in adjective form as Lakoff's examples of emphatic stress. As seen in the examples above, the stress can be given in noun word (e.g: *everyone*), verb form (e.g: *want*) or adjective form (e.g: *massive*). It depends on the speaker's intention which word should be stressed to boost the idea of the utterances. In addition, the researcher believed that Hillary used emphatic stress as her ways to grab US citizens' heart so they would believe in her statements and voted her to be the president and that she was worth to run as president.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations of this study. The conclusions were drawn after conducting a series of discussion in the previous chapter. Additionally, the recommendation part is presented for English learners, English teachers and for the future researchers.

A. Conclusions

In this section, the researcher concluded the result of this study. This study aimed to analyze women's language features used by Hillary in her presidential debates. The researcher used discourse analysis as a method to analyze Hillary's utterances from two videos and two transcripts as the data samples.

Based on findings and discussion in the previous chapter, there were seven types of women's language features employed by Hillary Clinton in the first and third presidential debates. The features namely lexical hedges or fillers, rising intonation on declaratives, empty adjectives, intensifiers, hypercorrect grammar, superpolite forms, and emphatic stress.

The type of women's language feature mostly employed by Hillary was lexical hedges or fillers. The researcher found 346 features or 41,54% out of 833 features were found. The most variants used by Hillary were *well, you know, I think* and the filler *[aaa]*. The functions of lexical hedges and fillers in Hillary's utterances were used to reduce the force of the statement. It also serves as verbal fillers in which to give time for Hilary to think in order to avoid gaps and mistakes

in making a statement. The other functions were to boost Hillary's utterances and to express her confidence and to convey certainty toward something.

Hillary used 13 (1,56%) features of rising intonation on declaratives in her utterances. Hillary turned her statement into a question as a preface to her next statement. Further, she used this feature to grab attention so the audience will focus on what she would say next. Somehow this rising intonation is also used by Hillary to emphasize her statements.

The empty adjectives found in Hillary's utterances were 0,96% out of 833 features. The variants were *pretty*, *awesome*, *wonderful*, and *incredible*. The functions in utterances were to show admiration and approbation toward something. Hillary also used empty adjectives as boosting devices to emphasize her statements.

The percentage of intensifiers used by Hillary is 14,65% out of 833 features. The variants of intensifiers such as *really*, *very*, *so*, *strongly*, *terribly*, *deeply* were used by Hillary in her utterances. Intensifiers served some functions, namely to strengthen Hillary's statements and to express her emotional message so the audience would what she said and take it seriously.

Hillary used 177 (21,25%) features of hypercorrect grammar in the presidential debates. In this research, Hillary used hypercorrect grammar considering her demand to the situation in formal speech. Hillary used hypercorrect grammar in form of standard verb forms, standard pronunciations, and self-correction on statements. The functions of using hypercorrect grammar were to emphasize her statement and to express that she is aware of her status and situation in which she talked.

Hillary only used two (0,24%) superpolite forms in the presidential debates. Superpolite forms were used by Hillary to reduce the tension of being rough and to express contrast messages from what she felt that time. Hillary did not have much tendency to use superpolite forms. Yet, Hillary tried to be polite in her utterances by using the word *please* in directive utterances.

The emphatic stress found in Hillary's utterances was 19,81% out of 833 features. The functions were to boost and to ensure that the audience could receive Hillary's intentional messages. She also stressed some words to convey statement that needs to be paid more attention.

The absent features are tag questions, precise color terms, and avoidance of using strong swear words. It was influenced by the topic discussions and speaker's confidence. Hillary tends not to use some of the women's language features to show uncertainty or to express a lack of confidence. In contrast, Hillary expresses herself as a confident woman due to her status and the role as a politician which indicates woman's leadership.

B. Implications

This study aims to give a contribution for the educational purposes, especially in language teaching and learning. Through this study, students can acquire knowledge of women's language in relation to gender, power, and status in society.

For English Language Education Study Program students, this study helps the students to gain awareness of using the standard English form both in speaking or writing. Some evidence in the data findings provide examples of standard verb

forms and formal pronunciation form of *going*. Further, it helps ELESP students in studying Structure course.

In using language, speakers have to comprehend the function of the utterances. This study helps English learners to gain awareness of the language functions or communication functions. Study the function of language is important to have a better understanding in using language. It helps English learners in delivering messages in proper sentences and avoid to make ambiguity in speaking.

In conclusion, this study helps English learners and teachers to develop communication competence. In the class activity, a formal and standard form of English are applied in the conversation between teacher and students. Knowing the standard form and the function of language will help the speakers to improve their communication competence.

C. Recommendations

There are some suggestions addressed to English learners, English teachers, and future researchers.

1. English learners

English learners especially English Language Education Study Program (ELESP) students can use the result of the study to enrich their knowledge and the discussion on women's language in sociolinguistic class. Beyond the study on Sociolinguistics, this study may give an understanding about social perspective on masculinity and femininity in this modern era. Nowadays, women and men have equal status in society. The students should learn to cooperate and respect each other in the society.

2. English teachers

English teachers or lecturers can use this study as an additional material. There are many examples in this study which can be used in teaching Sociolinguistics. This study can be used to develop and design language learning strategies based on the role of language and gender in teaching English. This study analyzed language features in presidential debates of 2016 election. Using this study, the researcher can provide new examples of women's language features to the students.

3. Future researchers

This research can be used as a reference for future researchers especially those who conduct a study on women's language. This study can also enrich the knowledge about women's language phenomenon in society. Through this study, the researcher can conduct a deeper study on women's language. Future researchers who want to conduct a deeper study about the use of women's language features can choose to compare between men's and women's utterances within formal or informal speech. Hopefully, this recommendation will improve this study into the larger sample.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Sample Transcript of The First 2016 Presidential Debate, September 26, 2016

HOLT: Good evening from Hofstra University in Hempstead, New York. I'm Lester Holt, anchor of "NBC Nightly News." I want to welcome you to the first presidential debate. The participants tonight are Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. This debate is sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates, a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization. The commission drafted tonight's format, and the rules have been agreed to by the campaigns. The 90-minute debate is divided into six segments, each 15 minutes long. We'll explore three topic areas tonight: Achieving prosperity; America's direction; and securing America. At the start of each segment, I will ask the same lead-off question to both candidates, and they will each have up to two minutes to respond. From that point until the end of the segment, we'll have an open discussion. The questions are mine and have not been shared with the commission or the campaigns. The audience here in the room has agreed to remain silent so that we can focus on what the candidates are saying. I will invite you to applaud, however, at this moment, as we welcome the candidates: Democratic nominee for president of the United States, Hillary Clinton, and Republican nominee for president of the United States, Donald J. Trump.

(APPLAUSE)

CLINTON: How are you, Donald?

(APPLAUSE)

HOLT: Good luck to you.

(APPLAUSE)

Well, I don't expect us to cover all the issues of this campaign tonight, but I remind everyone, there are two more presidential debates scheduled. We are going to focus on many of the issues that voters tell us are most important, and we're going to press for specifics. I am honored to have this role, but this evening belongs to the candidates and, just as important, to the American people. Candidates, we look forward to hearing you articulate your policies and your positions, as well as your visions and your values. So, let's begin. We're calling this opening segment "Achieving Prosperity." And central to that is jobs. There are two economic realities in America today. There's been a record six straight years of job growth, and new census numbers show incomes have increased at a record rate after years of stagnation. However, income inequality remains significant, and nearly half of Americans are living paycheck to paycheck.

Beginning with you, Secretary Clinton, why are you a better choice than your opponent to create the kinds of jobs that will put more money into the pockets of American workers?

CLINTON: Well, thank you, Lester, and thanks to Hofstra for hosting us.

The central question in this election is really what kind of country we want to be and what kind of future we'll build together. Today is my granddaughter's second birthday, so I think about this a lot. First, we have to build an economy that works for everyone, not just those at the top. That means we need new jobs, good jobs, with rising incomes.

I want us to invest in you. I want us to invest in your future. That means jobs in infrastructure, in advanced manufacturing, innovation and technology, clean, renewable energy, and small business, because most of the new jobs will come from small business. We also have to make the economy fairer. That starts with raising the national minimum wage and also guarantee, finally, equal pay for women's work.

CLINTON: I also want to see more companies do profit-sharing. If you help create the profits, you should be able to share in them, not just the executives at the top.

And I want us to do more to support people who are struggling to balance family and work. I've heard from so many of you about the difficult choices you face and the stresses that you're under. So let's have paid family leave, earned sick days. Let's be sure we have affordable child care and debt-free college.

How are we going to do it? We're going to do it by having the wealthy pay their fair share and close the corporate loopholes.

Finally, we tonight are on the stage together, Donald Trump and I. [aaa] Donald, it's good to be with you. We're going to have a debate where we are talking about the important issues facing our country. You have to judge us, who can shoulder the immense, awesome responsibilities of the presidency, who can put into action the plans that will make your life better. I hope that I will be able to earn your vote on November 8th.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton, thank you.

Mr. Trump, the same question to you. It's about putting money -- more money into the pockets of American workers. You have up to two minutes.

TRUMP: Thank you, Lester. Our jobs are fleeing the country. They're going to Mexico. They're going to many other countries. You look at what China is doing to our country in terms of making our product. They're devaluing their currency, and there's nobody in our government to fight them. And we have a very good fight.

And we have a winning fight. Because they're using our country as a piggy bank to rebuild China, and many other countries are doing the same thing.

So we're losing our good jobs, so many of them. When you look at what's happening in Mexico, a friend of mine who builds plants said it's the eighth wonder of the world. They're building some of the biggest plants anywhere in the world, some of the most sophisticated, some of the best plants. With the United States, as he said, not so much.

So Ford is leaving. You see that, their small car division leaving. Thousands of jobs leaving Michigan, leaving Ohio. They're all leaving. And we can't allow it to happen anymore. As far as child care is concerned and so many other things, I think Hillary and I agree on that. We probably disagree a little bit as to numbers and amounts and what we're going to do, but perhaps we'll be talking about that later.

But we have to stop our jobs from being stolen from us. We have to stop our companies from leaving the United States and, with it, firing all of their people. All you have to do is take a look at Carrier air conditioning in Indianapolis. They left - - fired 1,400 people. They're going to Mexico. So many hundreds and hundreds of companies are doing this.

TRUMP: We cannot let it happen. Under my plan, I'll be reducing taxes tremendously, from 35 percent to 15 percent for companies, small and big businesses. That's going to be a job creator like we haven't seen since Ronald Reagan. It's going to be a beautiful thing to watch.

Companies will come. They will build. They will expand. New companies will start. And I look very, very much forward to doing it. We have to renegotiate our trade deals, and we have to stop these countries from stealing our companies and our jobs.

HOLT: Secretary Clinton, would you like to respond?

CLINTON: Well, I think that trade is an important issue. Of course, we are 5 percent of the world's population; we have to trade with the other 95 percent. And we need to have smart, fair trade deals.

We also, though, need to have a tax system that rewards work and not just financial transactions. And the kind of plan that Donald has put forth would be trickle-down economics all over again. In fact, it would be the most extreme version, the biggest tax cuts for [aaa] the top percent of the people in this country than we've ever had.

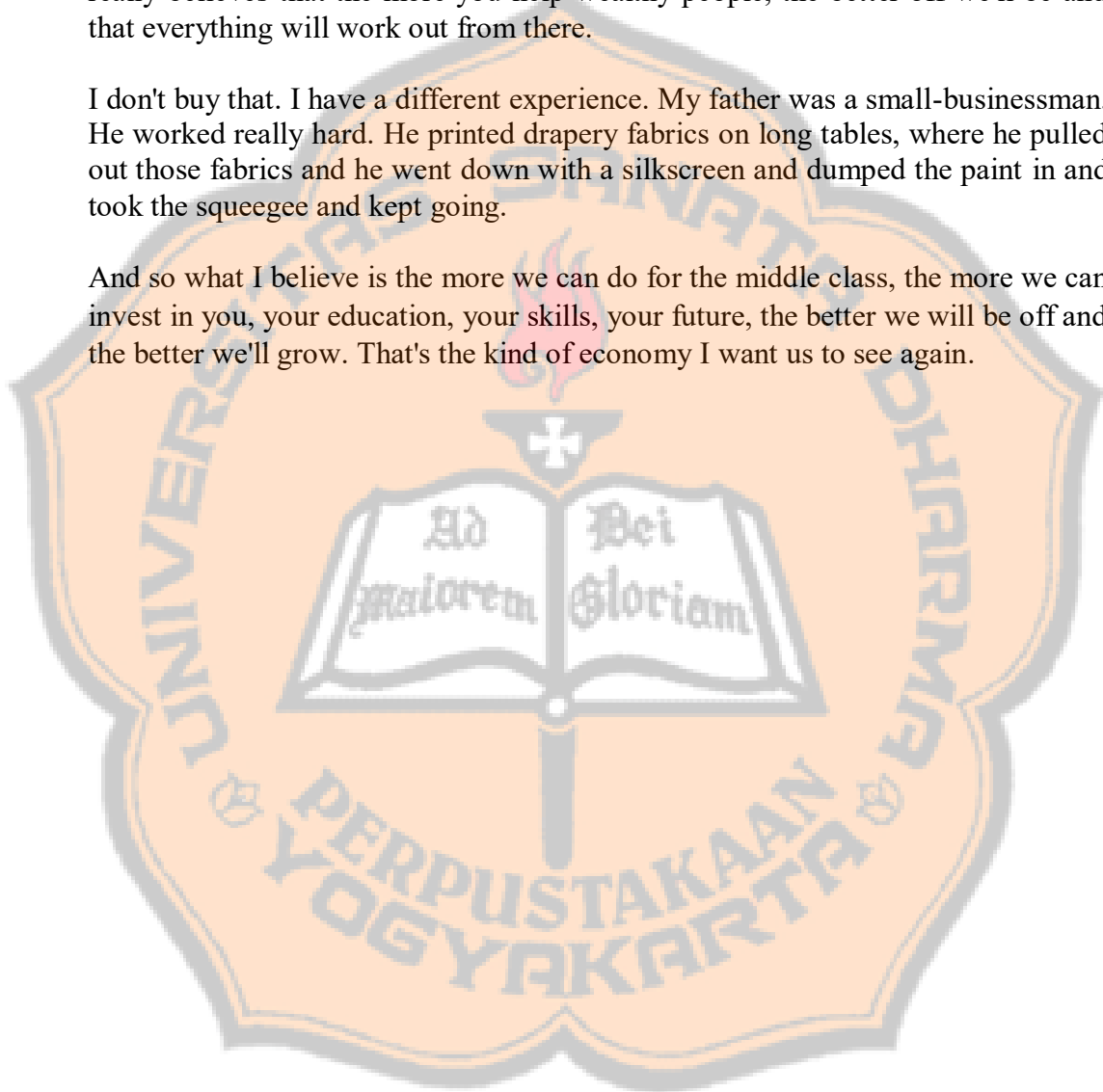
I call it trumped-up trickle-down, because that's exactly what it would be. That is not how we grow the economy.

We just have a different view about what's best for growing the economy, how we make investments that will actually produce jobs and rising incomes.

I think we come at it from somewhat different perspectives. [aaa] I understand that. You know, [aaa] Donald was very fortunate in his life, and that's all to his benefit. [aaa] He started his business with \$14 million, borrowed from his father, and he really believes that the more you help wealthy people, the better off we'll be and that everything will work out from there.

I don't buy that. I have a different experience. My father was a small-businessman. He worked really hard. He printed drapery fabrics on long tables, where he pulled out those fabrics and he went down with a silkscreen and dumped the paint in and took the squeegee and kept going.

And so what I believe is the more we can do for the middle class, the more we can invest in you, your education, your skills, your future, the better we will be off and the better we'll grow. That's the kind of economy I want us to see again.



APPENDIX B**Sample Transcript of The Third 2016 Presidential Debate, October 9, 2016**

WALLACE: Good evening from the Thomas and Mack Center at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. I'm Chris Wallace of Fox News, and I welcome you to the third and final of the 2016 presidential debates between Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Donald J. Trump.

WALLACE: This debate is sponsored by the Commission on Presidential Debates. The commission has designed the format: Six roughly 15-minute segments with two-minute answers to the first question, then open discussion for the rest of each segment. Both campaigns have agreed to those rules.

For the record, I decided the topics and the questions in each topic. None of those questions has been shared with the commission or the two candidates. The audience here in the hall has promised to remain silent. No cheers, boos, or other interruptions so we and you can focus on what the candidates have to say.

WALLACE: No noise, except right now, as we welcome the Democratic nominee for president, Secretary Clinton, and the Republican nominee for president, Mr. Trump.

(APPLAUSE)

Secretary Clinton, Mr. Trump, welcome. Let's get right to it. The first topic is the Supreme Court.

You both talked briefly about the court in the last debate, but I want to drill down on this, because the next president will almost certainly have at least one appointment and likely or possibly two or three appointments.

WALLACE: Which means that you will, in effect, determine the balance of the court for what could be the next quarter century.

First of all, where do you want to see the court take the country? And secondly, what's your view on how the Constitution should be interpreted? Do the founders' words mean what they say or is it a living document to be applied flexibly according to changing circumstances? In this segment, Secretary Clinton, you go first. You have two minutes.

CLINTON: Thank you very much, Chris. And thanks to UNLV for hosting us.

You know, I think when we talk about the Supreme Court, it really raises the central issue in this election, namely, what kind of country are we going to be? What kind

of opportunities will we provide for our citizens? What kind of rights will Americans have?

And I feel strongly that the Supreme Court needs to stand on the side of the American people, not on the side of the powerful corporations and the wealthy. For me, that means that we need a Supreme Court that will stand up on behalf of women's rights, on behalf of the rights of the LGBT community, that will stand up and say no to Citizens United, a decision that has undermined the election system in our country because of the way it permits dark, unaccountable money to come into our electoral system.

I have major disagreements with my opponent about these issues and others that will be before the Supreme Court. But I feel that at this point in our country's history, it is important that we not reverse marriage equality, that we not reverse Roe v. Wade, that we stand up against Citizens United, we stand up for the rights of people in the workplace, that we stand up and basically say: The Supreme Court should represent all of us.

That's how I see the court, and the kind of people that I would be looking to [aaa] nominate to the court [aaa] would be in the great tradition of standing up to the powerful, standing up on behalf of our rights as Americans.

And I look forward to having that opportunity. I would hope that the Senate would do its job and confirm the nominee that President Obama has sent to them. That's the way the Constitution fundamentally should operate. The president nominates, and then the Senate advises and consents, or not, but they go forward with the process.

WALLACE: Secretary Clinton, thank you.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump, same question. Where do you want to see the court take the country? And how do you believe the Constitution should be interpreted?

TRUMP: Well, first of all, it's great to be with you, and thank you, everybody. The Supreme Court: It's what it's all about. Our country is so, so — it's just so imperative that we have the right justices.

Something happened recently where Justice Ginsburg made some very, very inappropriate statements toward me and toward a tremendous number of people, many, many millions of people that I represent. And she was forced to apologize. And apologize she did. But these were statements that should never, ever have been made.

We need a Supreme Court that in my opinion is going to uphold the Second Amendment, and all amendments, but the Second Amendment, which is under absolute siege. I believe if my opponent should win this race, which I truly don't

think will happen, we will have a Second Amendment which will be a very, very small replica of what it is right now. But I feel that it's absolutely important that we uphold, because of the fact that it is under such trauma.

I feel that the justices that I am going to appoint — and I've named 20 of them — the justices that I'm going to appoint will be pro-life. They will have a conservative bent. They will be protecting the Second Amendment. They are great scholars in all cases, and they're people of tremendous respect. They will interpret the Constitution the way the founders wanted it interpreted. And I believe that's very, very important.

I don't think we should have justices appointed that decide what they want to hear. It's all about the Constitution of — of — and so important, the Constitution the way it was meant to be. And those are the people that I will appoint.

WALLACE: Mr. Trump, thank you.

WALLACE: We now have about 10 minutes for an open discussion. I want to focus on two issues that, in fact, by the justices that you name could end up changing the existing law of the land. First is one that you mentioned, Mr. Trump, and that is guns.

Secretary Clinton, you said last year, let me quote, "The Supreme Court is wrong on the Second Amendment." And now, in fact, in the 2008 Heller case, the court ruled that there is a constitutional right to bear arms, but a right that is reasonably limited. Those were the words of the Judge Antonin Scalia who wrote the decision. What's wrong with that?

CLINTON: Well, first of all, I support the Second Amendment. I lived in Arkansas for 18 wonderful years. I represented upstate New York. I understand and respect the tradition of gun ownership. It goes back to the founding of our country.

[aaa] But I also believe that there can be and must be reasonable regulation. Because I support the Second Amendment doesn't mean that I want people who shouldn't have guns to be able to threaten you, kill you or members of your family.

And so when I think about what we need to do, we have 33,000 people a year who die from guns. I think we need comprehensive background checks, need to close the online loophole, close the [aaa] gun show loophole. There's other matters that I think are sensible that are the kind of reforms that would make a difference that are not in any way conflicting with the Second Amendment.

You mentioned the Heller decision. And what I was saying that you referenced, Chris, was that I disagreed with the way the court applied the Second Amendment in that case, because what the District of Columbia was trying to do was to protect toddlers from guns and so they wanted people with guns to safely store them. And

the court didn't accept that reasonable regulation, but they've accepted many others. So I see no conflict between saving people's lives and defending the Second Amendment.

WALLACE: Let me bring Mr. Trump in here. The bipartisan Open Debate Coalition got millions of votes on questions to ask here, and this was, in fact, one of the top questions that they got. How will you ensure the Second Amendment is protected? You just heard Secretary Clinton's answer. Does she persuade you that, while you may disagree on regulation, that, in fact, she supports a Second Amendment right to bear arms? **TRUMP:** Well, the D.C. vs. Heller decision was very strongly — and she was extremely angry about it. I watched. I mean, she was very, very angry when upheld. And Justice Scalia was so involved. And it was a well-crafted decision. But Hillary was extremely upset, extremely angry. And people that believe in the Second Amendment and believe in it very strongly were very upset with what she had to say.

WALLACE: Well, let me bring in Secretary Clinton. Were you extremely upset?

CLINTON: Well, I was upset because, unfortunately, dozens of toddlers injure themselves, even kill people with guns, because, unfortunately, not everyone who has loaded guns in their homes takes appropriate precautions.

But there's no doubt that I respect the Second Amendment, that I also believe there's an individual right to bear arms. That is not in conflict with sensible, commonsense regulation.

And, you know, look, I understand that Donald's been [aaa] strongly supported by the NRA. The gun lobby's on his side. They're running millions of dollars of ads against me. And I regret that, because what I would like to see is for people to come together and say: Of course we're going to protect and defend the Second Amendment. But we're going to do it in a way that tries to save some of these 33,000 lives that we lose every year.

APPENDIX C

THE DATA ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S LANGUAGE FEATURES

No.	Utterances	Language Features									
		LH	TQ	RI	EA	CT	I	HG	SF	SW	ES
1D.1	Well (LH), thank you, Lester, and thanks to Hofstra for hosting us.	✓									
1D.2	The CENTRAL (ES) question in this election is really (I) what kind of (LH) country we want to be.	✓					✓				✓
1D.3	and what kind of (LH) future we'll build together.	✓									
1D.4	First, we have to build an economy that works for EVERYONE (ES), not just those at the top.										✓
1D.5	And I want us to do more to SUPPORT (ES) people who are struggling to balance family and work										✓
1D.6	I've heard from so many (I) of you about the difficult choices you face AND THE STRESSES (ES) that you're under.						✓				✓
1D.7	Finally, we tonight are on the stage together, Donald Trump and I. [aaa] (LH) Donald, it's good to be with you (SF).	✓							✓		
1D.8	We're going (HG) to have a debate where we are talking about the important issues facing our country.							✓			
1D.9	You have to judge us, who can SHOULDER (ES) the immense, awesome(EA) responsibilities of the presidency				✓						✓
1D.10	who can put into ACTION (ES) the plans that will make your life better.										✓

1D.25	That was in LARGE(ES) part because of tax policies that slashed taxes on the wealthy,												✓
1D.26	FAILED TO INVEST (ES) in the middle class,												✓
1D.27	took their eyes off of Wall Street, and created a PERFECT (ES) storm												✓
1D.28	In fact, Donald was one of the people who rooted for the housing crisis. He said, back in 2006, "Gee, I, I hope it does collapse, because then I can go in and buy some and make some money." Well (LH) , it did collapse.	✓											
1D.29	Nine million people -- nine million people lost their jobs. Five million people lost their homes. And \$13 trillion (ES) in family wealth was wiped out.												✓
1D.30	Now, we have come back (HG) from that ABYSS (ES) and it has not been easy (HG)							✓					✓
1D.31	So we're now on the precipice of having a POTENTIALLY (ES) much (I) better economy,						✓						✓
1D.32	but the LAST THING (ES) we need to do is to go back to the policies that failed us in the first place.												✓
1D.33	Independent experts have looked (HG) at what I've proposed and looked at what Donald's proposed, and basically, they've said this, that if his tax plan, which would BLOW UP (ES) the debt by over \$5 trillion							✓					✓
1D.34	because we will be making (HG) INVESTMENTS (ES) where we can grow the economy.							✓					✓
1D.35	Take clean energy. Some country is going (HG) to be the clean-energy superpower of the 21st century.							✓					

1D.48	And because I HOLD (ES) the same standards as I look at all of these trade deals.											✓
1D.49	But let's not assume that trade is the ONLY (ES) challenge we have in the economy.											✓
1D.50	I think (LH) it is a part of it, and I've said what I'm going to do. I'm going to have a special prosecutor. We're going to enforce the trade deals we have, and we're going (HG) to hold people accountable.	✓						✓				
1D.51	When I was secretary of state, we actually INCREASED (ES) American exports globally 30 percent. We increased them to China 50 percent.											✓
1D.52	So I know how to really (I) work to get new jobs and to get exports that helped to CREATE more new jobs.						✓					
1D.53	Well (LH) , I've been a senator, Donald... [interruption]	✓										
1D.54	And I have been a secretary of state and I have done a lot (HG)							✓				
1D.55	Well (LH) , that's your opinion. That is your opinion. [Interruption]	✓										
1D.56	Well (LH) , that, that is just not accurate.	✓										
1D.57	I [aaa] (LH) was against it once it was finally negotiated and the terms were laid out. I wrote about that in...	✓										
1D.58	Well (LH) , I hope...[interruption]	✓										
1D.59	and you know (LH) what.. [interruption]	✓										
1D.60	Well (LH) , Donald, I know you live in your own reality, but that is NOT (ES) the facts.	✓										✓
1D.61	The facts are -- I did say I hoped it would be a good deal (HG)							✓				

1D.62	but when it was negotiated [Interruption] which I was not (HG) responsible for, I concluded it wasn't.							✓			
1D.63	And I think (LH) it's important to look at what we need to do to get the economy going (HG) again.	✓						✓			
1D.64	That's why I said new jobs with rising incomes, INVESTMENTS (ES) , not in more tax cuts that would add \$5 trillion to the debt.										✓
1D.65	In fact, I have written a book about it (HG) . It's called "Stronger Together."							✓			
1D.66	You can pick it up tomorrow at a bookstore? (RI)			✓							
1D.67	or at an airport (RI) near you.			✓							
1D.68	So we have a very (I) robust set of plans.						✓				
1D.69	And people have looked at both of our plans, have concluded (HG) that mine would create 10 million jobs and yours would lose us 3.5 million jobs							✓			
1D.70	You know (LH), I kind of (LH) assumed that there would be a lot of these charges and claims, and so...	✓✓									
1D.71	So we have taken (HG) [aaa] (LH) the home page of my website, HillaryClinton.com, and we've turned it into a FACT (ES) - checker.	✓						✓			✓
1D.72	So if you want to see in REAL TIME(ES) [aaa](LH) what the facts are, please go and take a look.	✓									✓
1D.73	Because what I have proposed would not add a penny to the debt (HG)							✓			
1D.74	What I have proposed would cut (HG) regulations and STREAMLINE THEM (ES) for small businesses.							✓			✓

1D.75	What I have proposed would be paid for by raising taxes on the wealthy (HG)							✓			
1D.76	because they have made (HG) all the gains in the economy.							✓			
1D.77	And I think (LH) it's time that the wealthy and corporations paid their fair share to support this country.	✓									
1D.78	Well (LH) , at least I have a plan to fight ISIS. [Interruption]	✓									
1D.79	I, I have a feeling that by, the end of this evening, I'm gonna be blamed FOR EVERYTHING (ES) that's ever happened.										✓
1D.80	You know (LH) , ju... just...just join [aaa] (LH) join the debate by [aaa] (LH) saying more crazy things.	✓✓ ✓									
1D.81	Now, let me say this, it is absolutely (I) the case...						✓				
1D.82	Yeah, well (LH) , let's start the clock again, Lester.	✓									
1D.83	Ehm (LH) , we've looked at your tax proposals.	✓									
1D.84	I don't see changes in the corporate tax rates or the kinds of (LH) proposals you're referring to that would cause the repatriation, bringing back of money that's stranded overseas. I happen to support that.	✓									
1D.85	But when I look at what you have proposed (HG) , you have what is called now the Trump loophole, because it would so(I) advantage you and the business you do.						✓	✓			
1D.86	Trickle-down did not work (HG) .							✓			
1D.87	It got us into the MESS (ES) we were in, in 2008 and 2009.										✓
1D.88	SLASHING TAXES (ES) on the wealthy hasn't worked.										✓
1D.89	And a lot of really (I) smart, wealthy people know that.						✓				

1D.115	And, indeed, I have met (HG) a lot of the people who were STIFFED (ES) by you and your businesses, Donald.							✓			✓
1D.116	I've met dishwashers, painters, architects, GLASS (ES) installers, MARBLE (ES) installers, DRAPERY (ES) installers, like my dad was, who you refused to pay when they finished the work that you asked them to do.										✓✓ ✓
1D.117	Well (LH) , to the THOUSANDS (ES) of people that you have STIFFED (ES) over the course of your business not deserve some kind of apology? (RI) from someone who has taken their labor,	✓		✓							✓✓
1D.118	TAKEN (ES) the goods that they produced, and then refused to pay them? (RI)			✓							✓
1D.119	I can only say that I'm certainly (I) relieved that my late father never did business with you.						✓				
1D.120	[aaa] (LH) He provided a good middle-class life for us, but the people he worked for, he expected the bargain to be kept on both sides.	✓									
1D.121	There are a lot of great business people that have never taken bankruptcy once (HG)							✓			
1D.122	You call yourself the King of Debt? (RI)			✓							
1D.123	You talk about leverage? (RI)			✓							
1D.124	You even at one time suggested that you would try to negotiate down the national debt of the United States? (RI)			✓							
1D.125	Well (LH) , sometimes there's not a direct transfer of skills from business to government,	✓									
1D.126	but sometimes what happened in business would be really (I) bad for government.						✓				
1D.127	And we need to be very clear about that.						✓				

1D.128	Well (LH) , you're right. Race remains a significant challenge in our country.	✓										
1D.129	Unfortunately, race still determines too much (I) ,					✓						
1D.130	often determines where people live, determines what kind of (LH) education in their public schools they can get, and, yes, it determines how they're treated in the criminal justice system.	✓										
1D.131	We have to restore TRUST (ES) between communities and the police.											✓
1D.132	We have to WORK (ES) to make sure that our police are using the best training, the best techniques, that they're well PREPARED (ES) to use force only when necessary.											✓✓
1D.133	I've laid out a platform that I think (LH) would begin to remedy some of the problems we have in the criminal justice system.	✓										
1D.134	But we also have to recognize, in addition to the CHALLENGES (ES) that we face with policing,											✓
1D.135	there are so many (I) good, brave police officers who equally want reform.					✓						
1D.136	We have to restore TRUST (ES) . We have to work with the police.											✓
1D.137	And we have to TACKLE (ES) the plague of gun violence, which is a big contributor to a lot of the problems that we're seeing today.											✓
1D.138	Well (LH) , I've heard [uhm] (LH) I heard Donald say this [uhm] (LH) at his rallies,	✓✓										
1D.139	and it's--it's really (I) unfortunate that he paints such (I) a dire negative picture of black communities in our country.	✓				✓✓						

1D.140	The vibrancy of the black church, the black businesses that employ so many (I) people,						✓				
1D.141	[aaa](LH) the opportunities that so many (I) families are working to provide for their kids.	✓					✓				
1D.142	[aaa] (LH) There's a LOT (ES) that we should be proud of and we should be supporting and lifting up (HG) .	✓						✓			✓
1D.143	It did not (HG) do what it needed to do.							✓			
1D.144	We've had 25 years of very (I) good cooperation.						✓				
1D.145	Too many (I) young African-American and Latino men ended up in jail for nonviolent offenses,						✓				
1D.146	and it's just a fact that if you're a young African-American man and you do the SAME (ES) thing as a young white man,										✓
1D.147	So we've GOT TO ADDRESS (ES) the systemic racism in our criminal justice system.										✓
1D.148	We CANNOT (ES) just say law and order.										✓
1D.149	We have to say -- we have to come forward with a PLAN (ES) that is going to divert people from the criminal justice system, deal with mandatory minimum sentences, which have put (HG) too many (I) people away for too long (I) , for doing too little (I) .						✓ ✓	✓			✓
1D.150	I want to see them ended in the state system. You shouldn't have a PROFIT (ES) motivation to FILL (ES) prison cells with young Americans.										✓✓
1D.151	So there are some POSITIVE (ES) ways we can work on this.										✓
1D.152	And I believe strongly (I) that common sense gun safety measures would assist us right now, and this is something Donald has supported along with the gun lobby (HG)						✓	✓			

1D.164	Well (LH) , It's also fair to say, if we're gonna talk about mayors, that under the current mayor, crime has continued (HG) to drop, including murders.	✓						✓			
1D.165	New York has done (HG) an excellent job.							✓			
1D.166	and I give credit across the board going (HG) back [aaa] (LH) two mayors, two police [aaa] (LH) chiefs, because it has worked (HG)	✓✓						✓✓			
1D.167	And other communities need to come together to do what will work [aaa] (LH) as well.	✓									
1D.168	Look, one murder is too many (I) .						✓				
1D.169	But it is important that we LEARN (ES) about what has been effective (HG) ,							✓			✓
1D.170	and not go to things that SOUND (ES) good that really(I) did not have(HG) the kind of (LH) impact that we would want.	✓					✓	✓			✓
1D.171	But let's also add, no one should disagree about respecting THE RIGHTS(ES) of young men who live in those neighborhoods.										✓
1D.172	I think--I think (LH) that Donald just criticized me for preparing for this debate.	✓									
1D.173	And yes, I did. And you know (LH) what else I prepared for? (RI) I prepared to be president. And I think (LH) that's a good thing.	✓✓	✓					✓			
1D.174	Well (LH) , just listen to what you heard.	✓									
1D.175	And clearly (I) , as Donald just admitted, he knew he was gonna stand on this debate stage,						✓				

	money, [aaa](LH) foreign weapons, so we have to make this the top priority.										
1D.209	and I think(LH) we need to go after Baghdadi [aaa](LH) as well, make that one of our organizing principles.	✓✓									
1D.210	Because we've got to defeat ISIS and we've got to do everything we can to disrupt their [aaa](LH) propaganda efforts online.	✓									
1D.211	Well(LH) , I hope the fact checkers are turned up in, turning up(HG) the volume and really(I) working hard.	✓					✓	✓			
1D.212	That is absolutely(I) proved over and over again.						✓				
1D.213	He actually advocated for the actions we took in Libya and urged that Gaddafi be taken out(HG) , after actually doing some business with him one time.							✓			
1D.214	And the only way that American troops could have stayed(HG) in Iraq is to get an agreement from the then Iraqi government that would have PROTECTED(ES) our troops(HG) .							✓			✓
1D.215	And I think(LH) we've got to have an intelligence surge, where we are looking for EVERY(ES) scrap of information.	✓									✓
1D.216	I was so(I) proud of law enforcement in New York, in [aaa](LH) Minnesota, in New Jersey, you know(LH) , they responded so(I) quickly, so(I) professionally to the attacks that occurred by Rahami and they brought him down.	✓✓					✓✓	✓			
1D.217	So we've got to do everything we can to vacuum up intelligence from Europe, from the Middle East, and that means we have to work more closely with our allies, and that's something that Donald has been very(I) dismissive of(HG)						✓	✓			
1D.218	We're working with NATO, the longest military alliance in the history of the world, to really(I) turn our attention to terrorism.						✓				

1D.230	So I spent a year and a half putting together a coalition that included Russia and China, to impose the TOUGHEST(ES) sanctions on Iran,											✓
1D.231	and we did drive(HG) them to the negotiating table.						✓					
1D.232	And my successor, John Kerry and President Obama got a deal that put a LID(ES) on Iran's nuclear program. Without firing a single shot. That's diplomacy.											✓
1D.233	The other day, I saw Donald saying that there were some Iranian sailors on a ship in the waters off of Iran, and they were TAUNTING(ES) American sailors who were on a nearby ship.											✓
1D.234	He said, you know(LH) , "if they taunted our sailors, I'd blow them out of the water and start another war." That's --	✓										
1D.235	That's--that's not good judgment. That is not the right temperament to be commander in chief, to be TAUNTED(ES) and the worst part --											✓
1D.236	The worst part of what I heard Donald say has been about nuclear weapons(HG)						✓					
1D.237	He has said repeatedly that he didn't care if other countries got nuclear weapon, Japan, South Korea even Saudi Arabia (HG).						✓					
1D.238	It has been the policy of the United States, Democrats and Republicans, to do everything we could to reduce the proliferation of nuclear weapons(HG)						✓					
1D.239	He even said “ well(LH), you know(LH) if there were nuclear war in East Asia, well(LH), you know(LH) that's fine, you know(LH) .”	✓✓ ✓✓ ✓										
1D.240	And in fact, his cavalier attitude about nuclear weapons is so deeply(I) troubling.						✓					

1D.252	That's what I intend to do. I intend to be a leader of our country that people can count on both here at home and around the world [aaa](LH) to make decisions that will further peace and prosperity	✓									
1D.253	We cannot let those who would try to DESTABILIZE(ES) the world, to interfere with American interests and security -- to be given (HG) any opportunities at all.						✓				✓
1D.254	Well(LH) , as soon as he travels to 112 countries and negotiates a peace deal, a cease-fire, a release of dissidents	✓									
1D.255	Well(LH) , one thing, Lester, you know(LH) he tried to switch from looks to stamina.	✓✓									
1D.256	But this is a man who has called women pigs, slobs, and dogs(HG) .						✓				
1D.257	And someone who has said pregnancy is an inconvenience to employers(HG) , who has said --						✓				
1D.258	Her name is Alicia Machado and she has become a U.S. citizen(HG) , and you can bet she's going(HG) to vote this November.						✓✓				
1D.259	Well(LH) , I support our democracy. And [aaa](LH) sometimes you win. Sometimes you lose.	✓✓									
1D.260	[aaa](LH) But I certainly(I) [aaa](LH) will support the outcome of this election.	✓✓				✓					
1D.261	And I know Donald's trying very(I) hard to plant doubts about it, but I hope the people out there understand					✓					
1D.262	This election's really(I) up to you.					✓					
1D.263	It's not about us so much(I) as it is about you and your families and the kind of(LH) country and future you want.	✓				✓					

3D.264	Thank you very much(I) Chris and thanks to UNLV for hosting us.						✓				
3D.265	You know(LH), I think(LH) when we talk about the Supreme Court, it really(I) raises the central issue in this election.	✓✓					✓				
3D.266	Namely, what kind of(LH) country are we going(HG) to be? What kind of(LH) opportunities will we provide for our citizens? What kind of rights will Americans have?	✓✓						✓			
3D.267	And I feel strongly(I) that the Supreme Court needs to stand on the side of the American people.						✓				
3D.268	a decision that has undermined(HG) the [aaa](LH) election system in our country because of the way it permits dark, Unaccountable money to come into [aaa](LH) our electoral system.	✓✓						✓			
3D.269	But I feel that at this point in our country's history, [aaa](LH) it is important that we not reverse marriage equality, that we not reverse Roe v. Wade,	✓									
3D.270	that we STAND UP(ES) against Citizens United,										✓
3D.271	we STAND UP(ES) for the rights of people in the workplace,										✓
3D.272	that we STAND UP(ES) and basically say, the Supreme Court should represent all of us.										✓
3D.273	That's how I see the court. And the kind of(LH) people that I would be looking(HG) to [aaa](LH) nominate to the court [aaa](LH) would be in the great tradition of standing up to the powerful, standing up on behalf of our rights as Americans. And I look forward to having that opportunity.	✓✓ ✓						✓			

3D.274	I would hope that the Senate would do its job and confirm the nominee that President Obama has sent to them (HG) .							✓			
3D.275	Well(LH) , first of all, I support the second amendment.	✓									
3D.276	I lived in Arkansas for 18 wonderful(EA) years. I represented upstate New York			✓							
3D.277	I understand and respect the tradition of gun ownership that goes back to the founding of our country, [aaa](LH) but I also believe that there can be and must be reasonable regulation.	✓									
3D.278	[Uhm](LH) Because I support the second amendment doesn't mean that I want people who shouldn't have guns to be able to threaten you, KILL(ES) you or members of your family.	✓									✓
3D.279	I think(LH) we need comprehensive background checks, need to close the online loophole, close the [aaa](LH) gun show loophole.	✓✓									
3D.280	There's other matters that I think(LH) are sensible, that are the kinds of(LH) reforms that would make a difference, that are not in any way CONFLICTING(ES) with the second amendment.	✓✓									✓
3D.281	You mentioned the Heller decision and what I was saying [aaa](LH) that you referenced, Chris, was that I disagreed with the WAY(ES) the court APPLIED(ES) the second amendment in that case.	✓									✓✓
3D.282	Because what the District of Columbia was trying to do was to protect TODDLERS(ES) from GUNS(ES) .										✓✓
3D.283	And so they wanted people with guns to safely store them. And the court did not accept(HG) that reasonable regulation but they've accepted many others.							✓			

3D.293	Donald has said(HG) he is in favor of defunding planned parenthood.							✓			
3D.294	I will DEFEND(ES) planned parenthood. .										✓
3D.295	I will DEFEND(ES) Roe v. Wade and I will DEFEND(ES) women's rights to make their own healthcare decisions										✓✓
3D.296	We have come(HG) too far(I) to have that turn back now. And indeed, he said women should be punished.						✓	✓			
3D.297	There should be some form of punishment [aaa](LH) for women [aaa](LH) who obtain abortions.	✓✓									
3D.298	And I could just not be more opposed(HG) to that kind of(LH) thinking.	✓									
3D.299	Because Roe v. Wade very(I) clearly sets out that there can be regulations on abortion so long(I) as the life and the health of the mother are taken into account.						✓✓				
3D.300	And when I voted as a senator, I did not think(HG) that that was the case.							✓			
3D.301	The kinds of(LH) cases that fall at the end of pregnancy are often the most heartbreaking, PAINFUL(ES) decisions for families to make.	✓									✓
3D.302	I have met with women who have, toward the end of their pregnancy, get the worst news one could get (HG) .							✓			
3D.303	That their health is in jeopardy if they continue to carry to term. Or that something terrible has happened or just been discovered(HG) [aaa](LH) about the pregnancy.	✓						✓			

3D.304	I do not think the United States government should be stepping in(HG) and making those MOST PERSONAL(ES) of decisions. So you can regulate if you are doing so with the life and the health of the mother taken into account.							✓			✓
3D.305	Well(LH) that is not what happens in these cases.	✓									
3D.306	And using that kind of(LH) scare rhetoric is just terribly(I) unfortunate.	✓					✓				
3D.307	You should meet with some of the women I've met with.										
3D.308	This is one of the WORST(ES) possible choices that ANY(ES) woman and her family has to make. And I do not believe the government should be making it(HG).							✓			✓✓
3D.309	You know(LH) , I've had the great honor of traveling across the world on behalf of our country.	✓									
3D.310	I've been to countries where governments either FORCED(ES) women to have abortions, like they used to do in China,										✓
3D.311	or FORCED(ES) women to bear children like they used to do in Romania.										✓
3D.312	Well(LH) , as he was talking, I was thinking about a young girl I met here in Las Vegas,	✓									
3D.313	Carla [aaa](LH) who is very(I) worried that her parents might be deported because [aaa](LH) she was born in this country but they were not. They work hard.	✓✓					✓				
3D.314	I don't want to be sending parents away from children(HG).							✓			
3D.315	I don't want to see the deportation force that Donald has talked(HG) about in action in our country.							✓			

3D.316	He said as recently as a few weeks ago in Phoenix, that EVERY(ES) undocumented person would be subject to deportation. Here's with that means.												✓
3D.317	It means you would have to have a MASSIVE(ES) law enforcement presence where law enforcement officers would be going(HG) school to school, home to home, business to business.									✓			✓
3D.318	ROUNDING UP(ES) people who are undocumented.												✓
3D.319	And we would then have to put them on trains, on buses to get them out of our country.												
3D.320	I think(LH) that is an idea that is not in keeping with who we are as a nation.	✓											
3D.321	I think(LH) it is an idea that would rip our country apart.	✓											
3D.322	But I want to put our resources where I think(LH) they're most needed.	✓											
3D.323	Getting rid of ANY(ES) violent person, ANYBODY(ES) who should be deported(HG) , we should deport them.									✓			✓✓
3D.324	So I think(LH) we are both a nation of immigrants and we are a nation of laws and that we can act accordingly.	✓											
3D.325	I voted for border security and there are [aaa](LH) some limited places where that was appropriate.	✓											
3D.326	There also is necessarily going(HG) to be new technology and how best to deploy that.									✓			
3D.327	[aaa](LH) But it is clear when you look at what Donald has been proposing(HG) .	✓								✓			

3D.328	He started his campaign bashing immigrants, calling Mexican immigrants rapists and criminals and drug dealers, that [aaa](LH) he has a very(I) different view about what we should do to deal with immigrants.	✓					✓				
3D.330	Because then employers can't EXPLOIT(ES) them and undercut Americans' wages.										✓
3D.331	He UNDERPAID(ES) undocumented workers and when they complained, he basically said what a lot of employers do?										✓
3D.332	Get the economy working and not let employers like Donald EXPLOIT undocumented workers which hurts them but also hurts American workers.										✓
3D.333	well(LH) , If you went on to read the rest of the sentence, I was talking [aaa](LH) about energy.	✓✓									
3D.334	you know(LH) , We TRADE(ES) more energy with our neighbors than we trade with the rest of the world combined.	✓									✓
3D.335	And I do want(HG) us to have an electric grid, an energy system that crosses borders.							✓			
3D.336	I think(LH) that would be a great benefit to us.	✓									
3D.337	But you are [aaa](LH) very(I) clearly quoting from WikiLeaks.	✓					✓				
3D.338	What is really(I) important about WikiLeaks is that the Russian government has engaged(HG) in espionage against Americans.						✓	✓			
3D.339	They have hacked(HG) American [aaa](LH) websites, American accounts of private people, of institutions.	✓						✓			
3D.340	Then they have given(HG) that information to WikiLeaks for the purpose of putting it on the internet.							✓			

3D.341	This has come(HG) from the highest levels of the Russian government.							✓			
3D.342	Clearly(I) from Putin himself in an effort, as 17 of our intelligence agencies have confirmed(HG) , to influence our election.						✓	✓			
3D.343	So I actually think(LH) the most important question of this evening, Chris, is FINALLY(ES) , will Donald Trump admit and condemn that the Russians are doing this?	✓									✓
3D.344	and make it clear that he will not have the help of Putin in this election?			✓							
3D.345	That he REJECTS(ES) Russian espionage against Americans, which he [aaa](LH) actually encouraged in the past.	✓									✓
3D.346	Those are the questions we need answered. We've never had anything like this HAPPEN(ES) in any of our elections before.										✓
3D.347	Wait. Well(LH) , that's because he would rather have a puppet as president of the United States.	✓									
3D.348	It is pretty(EA) clear you won't admit that the Russians have engaged(HG) in cyber attacks against the United States of America.				✓			✓			
3D.349	That you ENCOURAGED(ES) espionage AGAINST(ES) our people.										✓✓
3D.350	And that you continue to get help from him because he has a very(I) clear favorite in this race.						✓				
3D.351	So I think(LH) that this is such(I) an unprecedented [aaa](LH) situation.	✓✓					✓				

3D.352	We've never had a foreign government trying to interfere in our election.											
3D.353	We have SEVENTEEN, SEVENTEEN(ES) intelligence agencies, civilian and military who have all concluded that these espionage attacks, these cyber attacks, come from the highest levels of the Kremlin. And they are designed to influence our election. I find that deeply(I) disturbing.						✓					✓
3D.354	And I think(LH) it is time -- to take a stand because if--	✓										
3D.355	Well(LH) , he rather believe Vladimir Putin than the military and civilian intelligence professionals who are SWORN(ES) to protect us.	✓										✓
3D.356	I find that just absolutely(I) --						✓					
3D.357	well(LH) , I find it ironic that he is raising nuclear [aaa](LH) weapons.	✓✓										
3D.358	This is a person who has been very(I) cavalier(HG) , even casual about the use of nuclear weapons.						✓	✓				
3D.359	He's said if we have them, why don't we use them which I think(LH) is terrifying. But here's the deal.	✓										
3D.360	The bottom line on nuclear weapons is that when the president gives the order, it MUST(ES) be followed.											✓
3D.361	And that is why ten people who have had that awesome(EA) responsibility have come out(HG) and in an unprecedented way said they would not trust Donald Trump with the nuclear codes or to have his finger on the nuclear button.					✓			✓			

3D.362	Well(LH) , I'm just quoting you, [uhm](LH) when you were asked- about a potential nuclear - nuclear [aaa](LH) competition in Asia.	✓ ✓									
3D.363	You said, you know(LH) , "go ahead. Enjoy yourselves, folks.". That kind of(LH) language-	✓✓									
3D.364	Well(LH) , the United States has kept the peace-- The United States has kept the peace through our alliances(HG) . Donald wants to tear up our alliances.	✓					✓				
3D.365	I think(LH) it makes the world safer and frankly, it makes the United States safer.	✓									
3D.366	That is the only way we're going(HG) to be able to keep the peace.						✓				
3D.367	Well(LH) , I think(LH) when the middle class thrives, America thrives. So my plan is based on GROWING(ES) the economy, giving middle class families many more opportunities.	✓✓									✓
3D.368	[aaa](LH) I want us to have the biggest jobs program since World War II. Jobs in infrastructure and advanced manufacturing.	✓									
3D.369	I think(LH) we can compete with high wage countries and I believe we should.	✓									
3D.370	New jobs in clean energy. Not only to fight climate change, which is a serious problem but to CREATE(ES) new opportunities and new businesses.										✓
3D.371	I want us to do more to help small business, that's where two-thirds of the new jobs are going(HG) to come from.						✓				

3D.420	and I was taking on [aaa](LH) discrimination against African-American kids in schools.	✓									
3D.421	He was getting sued(HG) by the Justice Department for racial discrimination in his apartment buildings.						✓				
3D.422	[interruption] And ON THE DAY(ES) when I was in the situation room monitoring the raid that brought Osama bin laden to justice, he was hosting The Celebrity Apprentice.										✓
3D.423	Well(LH) -- At the last debate, we heard Donald talking about what he [aaa](LH) did to women, and after that a number of women have come forward(HG) saying that's exactly what he did to them.	✓✓						✓			
3D.424	Now, what was his response?(RI) Well(LH) , he held a number of big rallies where he said that he could not POSSIBLY(ES) have done(HG) [aaa](LH) those things to those women because they were not attractive enough for [aaa](LH) them to be assaulted.	✓✓ ✓		✓				✓			✓
3D.425	He attacked the woman reporter writing the story, called her disgusting, as he has called(HG) a number of women [aaa](LH) during this campaign.	✓						✓			
3D.426	That's who Donald is. I think(LH) it's really(I) up to all of us to demonstrate who we are and who our country is	✓					✓				
3D.427	and to stand up and be very(I) clear about what we expect from our next president, how we want to bring our country together, where we don't want to have the kind of(LH) PITTING of people one against the other	✓					✓				✓

	million people around the world with HIV AIDS to afford treatment											
3D.438	In partnership with the American [aaa](LH) health association.	✓										
3D.439	we have made(HG) environments in schools, healthy for kids including healthier lunches						✓					
3D.440	Well(LH) , it is an open discussion. And you--	✓										
3D.441	well(LH) , But there is no-- but there is no evidence--	✓										
3D.442	but there is a lot of evidence about the very good work -- and the high rankings						✓					
3D.443	Well(LH) , very quickly(I) , we [uhm](LH) at the Clinton Foundation spend ninety percent, NINETY PERCENT(ES) , of all the money that [aaa](LH) is donated on behalf of programs for people around the world and in our own country.	✓✓ ✓					✓					✓
3D.444	I'm very(I) proud of that. We have the highest rating from the watchdogs that [aaa](LH) follow foundations.	✓					✓					
3D.445	I mean(LH) , who does that? (RI) It just was astonishing.	✓		✓								
3D.446	But when it comes to Haiti, Haiti is the poorest country in our hemisphere. The earthquake and the hurricanes, it has DEVASTATED(ES) Haiti(HG) .							✓				✓
3D.447	Bill and I have been involved(HG) in trying to help Haiti for many years.							✓				
3D.448	The Clinton Foundation raised \$30 million to help Haiti after the catastrophic [aaa](LH) earthquake and all of the terrible problems the people there had.	✓										
3D.449	We've done things to help small businesses, agriculture, and so much(I) else.							✓				

3D.462	We've accepted the outcomes when we may not have liked them(HG) , and that is what must be expected of anyone standing on a debate stage during a general election.							✓			
3D.463	You know(LH) , President Obama said the other day when you're whining before the game is even finished--	✓									
3D.464	And let's be clear about what he's saying and what that means. He's DENIGRATING(ES) , he is TALKING DOWN(ES) our democracy.										✓✓
3D.465	And I, for one, am appalled that somebody who is the nominee of one of our two major parties would take that kind of(LH) position.	✓									
3D.466	Well(LH) , I am encouraged that [aaa](LH) there is an effort led by the Iraqi Army, [aaa](LH) supported by Kurdish forces	✓✓ ✓									
3D.467	and [aaa](LH) also given the help and advice from the number of special forces and other Americans on the ground,	✓									
3D.468	but I will not support putting American soldiers into Iraq as an occupying force(HG) .							✓			
3D.469	In fact, Chris, I think(LH) that would be a big red flag waving for ISIS to reconstitute itself.	✓									
3D.470	The goal here is to take back Mosul. It's gonna be a hard fight. I've got no [aaa](LH) illusions about that.	✓									
3D.471	I am hopeful that the hard work that American [uhm](LH) military advisers have done(HG) will pay off and that we will see a really(I) successful military operation. But we know we've got lots of work to do.	✓					✓	✓			

3D.472	Syria will remain a HOTBED(ES) of terrorism as long as the civil war aided and abetted by the Iranians and the Russians continue, so I have said(HG) , look, we need to keep our eye on ISIS.							✓			✓
3D.474	If you're too dangerous(I) to fly, you're too dangerous(I) to buy a gun.						✓✓				
3D.475	And I'm going(HG) to continue to [aaa](LH) push for a no-fly zone and safe havens within Syria, not only to help protect the Syrians and prevent the constant outflow of refugees,	✓						✓			
3D.476	but to frankly gain some leverage on both the Syrian government and the Russians so that perhaps we can have the kind of(LH) serious negotiation necessary to bring the conflict to an end and go forward on a political track.	✓									
3D.477	Well(LH), you know(LH) , once again [aaa](LH) Donald is implying that he didn't support the invasion of Iraq. I said it was a mistake. I said that years ago.	✓✓ ✓									
3D.478	He has consistently denied(HG) what is -- -- is a very(I) clear fact that before the invasion --he supported it.						✓	✓			
3D.479	And, you know(LH) I just want everybody to go google it. "Google Donald Trump Iraq" and you'll see the dozens of sources which verify that he was for the invasion of Iraq.	✓									
3D.480	And you can actually hear the audio of him saying that. Now why is that matter? Well(LH) , it matters because he has not told(HG) the truth about that position.	✓		✓				✓			
3D.481	I guess(LH) he believes it makes him look better to contrast with me because I did vote(HG) for it. But what's really(I) important here is to understand all the interplay.	✓					✓	✓			

3D.482	Mosul is on the border of Syria, and yes, we do need to go after Baghdadi, and, [aaa](LH) just like we went after Bin Laden [aaa](LH) while you were doing "Celebrity apprentice" and we brought him to justice.	✓✓									
3D.483	We need to go after the leadership. but we need to GET RID(ES) of them, get rid of their fighters. There are an estimated several thousand fighters in Mosul.										✓
3D.484	It's gonna to be tough fighting, but I think(LH) we can take back Mosul and then we can move on into Syria and take back Raqqa.	✓									
3D.485	but that's how Donald thinks, you know(LH) , he always is looking for some conspiracy--	✓									
3D.486	he has all the conspiracy theories- this conspiracy theory, which he's been spewing out for quite(I) some time -- He says... unfit, and he proves it every time he talks						✓				
3D.487	well(LH) , you should ask Bernie Sanders who he's supporting for president.	✓									
3D.488	And he has said...as he has campaigned for me around the country(HG) , you are the most dangerous person to run for president in the modern history of America.							✓			
3D.489	I think(LH) he's right.	✓									
3D.490	Well(LH) Chris, first of all, I think(LH) a no-fly zone could save lives and hasten the end of the conflict.	✓✓									
3D.491	I am well aware of the really(I) LEGITIMATE(ES) concerns you have expressed(HG) from both the president and the general.						✓	✓			✓

3D.492	[aaa](LH) This would not be done(HG) just on the first day.	✓						✓			
3D.493	We've had MILLIONS(ES) of people leave Syria, and those millions of people [aaa] inside Syria who've been dislocated.	✓									✓
3D.494	So I think(LH) we could strike a deal and make it very(I) clear [aaa](LH) to the Russians and Syrians that this was something that we believe the best interests of the people on the ground in Syria.	✓✓					✓				
3D.495	I am not going(HG) to let anyone into this country who is not vetted, who we do not have confidence in, but I am not going to slam the door on women and children.							✓			
3D.496	and so we are going(HG) to do very(I) careful, thorough vetting.						✓	✓			
3D.497	That does not solve(HG) our internal challenges with ISIS and our need to stop radicalization to work with American Muslim communities who are on the front lines to identify and prevent attacks.							✓			
3D.498	So let's be clear about what the threat is and how we are best going to be able to meet it(HG) .							✓			
3D.499	And some of it is we have to up our game and be much(I) smarter here at home.						✓				
3D.500	Well(LH) , first when I hear Donald talk like that and know that his slogan is "Make America Great Again." I wonder when he thought America was great?	✓	✓								
3D.501	[aaa](LH) and before [aaa](LH) he [aaa](LH) rushes and says, you know(LH) , before you and President Obama were there,	✓✓ ✓✓									
3D.502	I think(LH) it's important to recognize that he has been criticizing(HG) [aaa](LH) our government for decades.	✓✓						✓			

3D.523	You know(LH) , I've been privileged to see the presidency up close, and I know the awesome(EA) responsibility of protecting our country	✓			✓							
3D.524	and the incredible(EA) opportunity of working to try to make life better for all of you.				✓							
3D.525	I have made(HG) the cause of children and families really(I) my life's work. That's what my mission will be in the presidency.						✓	✓				
3D.526	I will STAND UP(ES) for families against powerful interests, against corporations.											✓
3D.527	I will do EVERYTHING(ES) that I can to make sure that you have good jobs with rising incomes, that your kids have good educations from preschool through college.											✓

