



P-ISSN 2355-2794
E-ISSN 2461-0275

A Pragmatic Study of Speech as an Instrument of Power: Analysis of the 2016 USA Presidential Debate

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Abstract

This research was aimed at analyzing the speeches of Donald Trump and of Hillary Clinton in the USA Presidential candidates' debates as instruments of power. The data is a presidential final debate video of Trump and Clinton made in September 2016 which has been converted into a transcript. The data analyzing technique is divided into three steps: 1) describing the context, 2) analyzing the illocutionary acts, and 3) analyzing the power dimensions. The results of this research show that the speakers use the speech act as an instrument of power with classifications of representative, commissive and expressive. In this regard, the researchers found that the speakers demonstrated their power to try to convince the voters in their society to trust them to be the president. The research results also showed that the usage of speech in debate as an instrument of power can influence the voters especially on Election Day.

Keywords: Speech act classifications, power dimensions, contextual meaning, pragmatic.

1. INTRODUCTION

Language is a tool for people to communicate. Through language, people can express their feelings and messages. Gunarwan (2004, p. 6) stated that the function of a language is to make the communicants be able to understand the messages that they deliver. When a single language is used and both speakers understand each other, it means that good communication has occurred. A speaker of a language must acquire extra-linguistic knowledge about the world in addition to his linguistic knowledge (vocabulary and rules of grammar) to succeed in communicating with others (Sameer, 2017, p. 135). For example, "How's the salad going? Is it ready yet?" Thus, this

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utterance is not really an inquiry about the progress of making the salad, but an implicit demand that the salad be brought out (Crystal, 1980, p. 152).

While communicating through language, we often mean more than what we say which is indicated by how we ask about something, complain about something, make commands or offer to do something, etc. Performing actions through utterances is called a speech act. According to Yule (1996, p. 47), it is in the nature of speech acts that people express themselves; people not only produce utterances containing grammatical structures and words but also perform actions via those utterances. Yule (1996, p. 53) also stated that there are five classifications of speech act; they are declarations, representation, expression, directives and commissives. It can be assumed that, when we have communicated something, we will have embedded intended meaning in our utterances, like when we ask someone to do something. A speech act is the attempt at doing something purely by speaking and many things can be done by speaking (Sameer, 2017); asking someone to do something is part of the directives classification which also includes commands, orders, requests and suggestions. Thus it can be seen that only those who have power can give commands as well as orders. Amalia (2017) stated that a sentence does not have an explicit performative verb but it has illocutionary force which is known from the context. In this instance, the correlation between a speech act and power can be seen. This is also explained by Cutting (2002, p. 120) that “people do not have equal control in interactions, because there are inequalities of power”. He looks at the speech act of requesting and the way it accentuates inequalities of power.

In some aspect of our lives, such as in social life, education and even politics, some people will use more speech acts and use their meaning in the form of utterances stated verbally and in writing. For instance in the political world, politicians use many speech acts in their debates and speeches to get people’s interest and support. In the USA, Presidential Debates are held before the Election Day for each candidate to try to convince more voters to choose him or her as the next president.

In 2016, with their plans for achieving prosperity, giving America direction and ensuring security in the USA, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton each explained their future plans for leading the USA. Trump’s boasts about his wealth were part of projecting his power dimension, as shown in the transcript from www.washingtonpost.com, which follows: “... my father gave me a very small loan in 1975, and I built it into a company that’s worth many, many billions of dollars, with some of the greatest assets in the world and I say that only because that’s the kind of thinking that our country needs”. So what Trump says shows his power dimension in “and I built it into a company that’s worth many, many billions of dollars” can be categorized as a statement about wealth as a part of the power dimension. Moreover, www.forbes.com reported that Trump’s net worth was US\$3.7 billion, while Clinton’s net worth was US\$32 million. The researchers here are interested in analyzing the power dimensions in the 2016 USA Presidential Debate because they believe that the candidates produced the characteristics of the power dimension, and this can be shown by the classification of their speeches.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

An important previous study was done by Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012); the study was done to identify the speech act features of President Umaru Yar’ Adua’s

Victory and Inaugural Speeches. Hence, the study focused on the pragmatic functions of locution, illocution, and perlocution identified by Austin (1962) and Searle (1976). The findings showed that the Overall Relative Frequency Percentages (ORFPs) for the selected speeches of Umaru Musa Yar' Adua were: assertive = 60%, directive = 35%, expressive = 15%, verdictive = 40%, commissive = 30%, and declarative = 20%.

Another similar study done by Hashim (2015) and focused on the pragmatic functions of locution, illocution and perlocution in the speech acts. By using some theories related to political discourse by Dijk (1997, p. 13), political speeches by Beard (2000, p. 18) and the speech acts theory by Austin (1962), Hashim (2015) could determine the speech acts classification for John Kerry's speeches in his Presidential Campaign in 2004 and for George Bush's Inaugural Address in 2001. Her findings showed that the overall relative frequency percentages for the selected speeches were commissive 40%, assertive 35%, directive 20%, and expressive 5%.

While Altikriti (2016) wrote a paper which analyzed speech acts in Barack Obama's Inaugural Speeches (in 2009, 2013) and The Last State of The Union Address (in 2016). Altikriti (2016) aimed to shed light on and determine the role of the speech act in political addresses. He used the speech acts classification from Perloff (2003, p. 34) and adapted the model from Bach and Harnish (1979) for speech taxonomy. His data revealed that President Obama used more sentences that performed constative speech acts than other speech acts while assertive illocutionary acts were used for persuasion. Such results have proven the important role of persuasive speech acts in political addresses and their impact on the audience.

Danang (2012) analyzed the speech acts in Obama's and McCain's debates in 2008. First was the classification of the speech acts and the second was the meanings of the illocutionary acts uttered by Barack Obama and McCain in their debates. He was able to find five speech act classifications and also the meanings from the utterances of Barack Obama and McCain in the presidential debate transcripts. Danang (2012) also explained how both of the candidates were able to influence their voters. In this case, the researcher believed that the candidates influenced their voters by making some better promises compared to the period under President Bush and expressed more confidence in the future to win the sympathy of the voters.

By imposing Yule's theory, the researchers used this previous study for two purposes, first to look at problem formulation, and second to see the responses to each of the speech act classifications. Comparison of the previous research studied for this study is shown below.

Table 1. Research position based on method, data and research results.

<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Title of research</i>	<i>Research method</i>	<i>Data</i>	<i>Result</i>
Ominiya & Olajoke (2012)	"A Pragmatic Analysis of Victory and Inaugural Speeches of President Umaru Musa Yar' Adua"	Descriptive method and data analyzing technique identifying, noting, analyzing and classifying the data.	Selected Inaugural Speeches of Umaru Musa Yar' Adua.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assertive 60% • directive 35% • expressive 15% • verdictive 40% • commissive 30% • declarative 20%.

Table 1 continued...

Susan Suhair Hashim (2015)	“Speech Acts in Political Speeches”	Descriptive method and data analyzing technique identifying, noting, analyzing and classifying the data.	John Kerry’s 2004 Presidential Campaign speech and George Bush’s 2001 Inaugural Address.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • commissive 40% • assertive 35% • directive 20% • expressive 5%
Sahar Altakriti (2016)	“Persuasive Speech Acts in Barack Obama’s Inaugural Speeches in 2009 and 2013 and his 2016 State of The Union Address ”	Descriptive method and data analyzing technique identifying, noting, analyzing and classifying the data.	2009 & 2013 Inaugural Speeches of Obama and his 2016 State of The Union Address.	President Obama used more sentences that performed constative speech acts than other speech acts where assertive illocutionary acts were used as a persuasive factor
Danang (2012)	“Speech Acts Analysis of Barack Obama and McCain Debate, 2008: A Pragmatic Study”	Descriptive method, analyzing data from transcription; identifying, noting, analyzing, and classifying the data.	Transcript of Obama and McCain Debates in 2008	Found five speech act classifications and the meanings of utterances from Obama and McCain, also explained how both candidates could influence the voters.

3. METHOD

The method of research is the way or the tools that later on will help us answer the problems. Sugiyono (2008, p. 6) stated that “(the) method of research is a scientific way to get data for an aim and a purpose”. The research design functions to help the researchers answer the problems by analyzing the illocutionary acts and the dimensions of power in the transcripts of the 2016 USA Presidential Debates. The method used by the researchers was library and internet research to support their analysis. The researchers found internet transcripts of the USA’s Presidential Debates in www.washingtonpost.com from September 30th 2016. They also found other information dealing with speech acts and the power of speech from library research. The researchers used the descriptive qualitative method (Targadi, 2011).

Furthermore, the descriptive way was taken with the aim of determining the characteristics of a population or phenomenon. Qualitative data analysis does not use statistical methods. The researchers have found that the descriptive qualitative method is a way of analyzing or studying a phenomenon from the data and hence they try to describe the phenomenon in detail.

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In conducting the study, the researchers have used some related theories for analyzing the data, as explained below.

4.1 Speech Acts

The researchers analyzed the implicit meaning and the power dimensions of each speech act based on the context and the classification of each speech act. Yule (1996, p. 53) stated that “there are five types of general classifications performed by a speech act: declarations, representations, expressives, directives and commissives.” Basically, Searle (1969) in Yule (1996) claimed that each classification has its own function as shown in Table 2, and each classification is further explained in the next sub-sections.

Table 2. Speech Acts Classification (Yule, 1996, p. 55).

<i>Speech act classifications</i>	<i>Direction of fit</i>	<i>S: Speaker X: Situation</i>
Declaration	Make words change the world	S causes X
Representatives	Make words fit the world	S believes X
Expressive	Make words fit the world	S feels X
Directives	Make the world fit the words	S wants X
Commissives	Make the world fit the words	S intends X

4.1.1 Declarations

Declarations are those kinds of speech acts that attempt to or do change the world via their utterance. A speaker has to have an institutional role, in a specific context, in order to perform a declaration appropriately, e.g. Priest: “I pronounce you to be husband and wife”. In using a declaration, the speaker changes the world via words. The example illustrates, the speaker has to have a special institutional role, in a specific context, in order to perform a declaration appropriately.

4.1.2 Representations

These kinds of speeches state what the speaker believes to be the case or are statements of fact, assertions, conclusions and/or descriptions. The speaker represents the world as he/she believes it to be, e.g. “The earth is flat”. This is an example of a speaker’s utterance representing the world as he believes it to be.

4.1.3 Expressives

In our daily life we need to express our feelings to make the addressee(s) understand the real feelings that we want to show. Typically, this is when the speaker thanks, apologizes or welcomes people. This expresses or shows what the speaker feels, like joy or sorry, e.g.:

A: “Congratulations!”

B: “Thank you, I am so happy to have graduated at last.”

4.1.4 Directives

According to Yule (1996, p. 53), in reality, most speakers use this to get someone else to do something. They express what the speaker wants which could be in the form of a command, an order, a request or a suggestion, e.g. “Please, lend me a pen”. The example illustrates what the speaker wants.

4.1.5 Commissives

This kind of speech act is used by the speakers to commit themselves to some future action. They express what the speaker intends; they are promises, threats, refusals, pledges and commissions and they can be performed by the speaker alone, or by the speaker as a member of a group, e.g. “I’ll be back”. In using a commissive, the speaker undertakes *to make the world fit the words*.

4.2 Power Dimensions

Weber (1978) developed a multidimensional approach to stratification. He thought that the economic position and class affiliation are not the only factors in society that determine the system of social stratification. On this basis he introduced three primary dimensions of stratification, via: class (economic position), party (power) and status (prestige).

4.2.1 Class Dimension (Economic Position)

The economic dimension consists of two elements: income and wealth. Weber (1978), in Lavrentsova (2010), said that income is the amount of money one receives and wealth is the property and material assets owned by someone, such as immovable property, productive and non-productive assets, jewelry, shares, securities, valuable art, bank deposits, cash and gold in hand, and so forth. From this statement, it shows that an individual can have a high income without being wealthy, because he does not save money, has a tendency toward high consumption and manages to spend all of his available money.

4.2.2 Party (Power)

Power in the concept of Weber (1978), in Lavrentsova (2010), constitutes the second dimension of stratification. Power is the ability to exercise and enforce one’s will, affecting other people’s behavior by various means – economic, political, ideological, religious, etc. Apart from domination, however, power is also expressed in a variety of other forms – guidance, organization, management and control.

4.2.3 Status (Prestige)

Based on Weber (1978), in Lavrentsova (2010), apart from economic and political dimensions, stratification can also have a purely social indicator – status or prestige as an assessment given to different social statuses on the basis of comparisons performed by the members of a society. Status is the relative social position of the individual or

group in the social hierarchy, which includes certain rights and obligations. Weber (1978) introduced a very important distinction, which would later acquire the sociological qualification of ascribed and achieved status. Depending on whether the individual occupies a certain position due to hereditary attributes, such as, social or family origin, gender, age, racial or ethnic affiliation or whether they earned their status due to extraordinary performance, e.g. in business, sport or politics.

Consequently, the theoretical framework in this study is depicted in Figure 1.

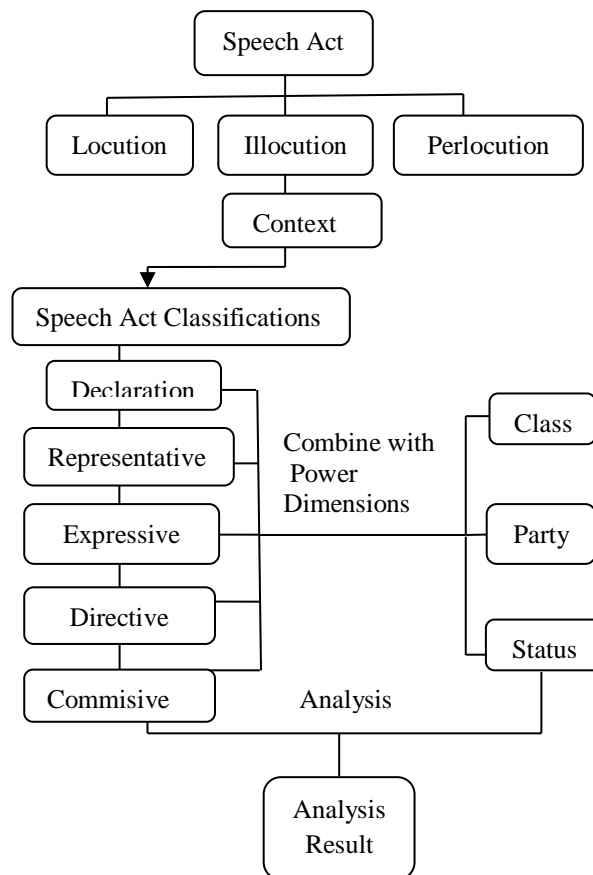


Figure 1. Theoretical framework.

The researchers used the descriptive qualitative method. This method was taken with the aim of determining the characteristics of a population or phenomenon. The researchers can conclude that the descriptive qualitative method is a way of analyzing or studying from a phenomenon or data which are obtained and then try to describe it. The method of data analysis used in this study was to firstly see the situational context to further identify the illocutionary acts, and then analyze the power dimension characteristics. The data for this analysis is the transcripts of the final 2016 USA Presidential Debate. The results of this study can add knowledge on how the power dimension from the speech acts can influence and can possibly convince other people, in this case, voters of a presidential debate.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This analysis shows how the candidates tried to convince the people, i.e. the voters, by showing the mistakes of their opponents during their tenure and also to show that each of them has more power to influence the economy. In the power dimension the candidates each tried to attack their opponent by pushing him or her to answer their questions and to show the wealth that they have. While here, the researchers only try to analyze the first motion, which was about achieving prosperity. The researchers present their analysis as the following.

5.1 Representative

These kinds of speech acts state what the speaker believes to be the case or not with statements of facts, assertions, conclusions and descriptions. The speaker represents the world as he or she believes it is (Yule, 1996).

Table 3. Datum 1.

<i>Stated by</i>	<i>Indication</i>	<i>Utterance</i>
Mr. Trump	Assures (pg. 4)	“My father gave me a small loan in 1975, and I built it into a company that’s worth many, many billions of dollars, with some of the greatest assets in the world , and I say that’s the kind of thinking that our country needs”.

5.1.1 Context

This debate took place in Hofstra University, New York, USA. The activity presented here is both of the candidates conveying their intentions to achieve prosperity in the USA in the future during the Presidential Debate. In this debate, the candidates explained their future planning to make USA more prosperous. Senator Trump was debating against former Secretary of State, Senator Clinton when she asked him cynically, “You (Trump) started your business with \$14 million, borrowed from your father, and do you really believe that the more you help wealthy people, the better off we’ll be and that everything will work out from there?” After Clinton asked that, Senator Trump assured the audience that even though he had borrowed that money from his father, he had made a lot of benefit with his deals for the economic problems faced by the USA to achieve prosperity for the people. By saying this, Trump tried to assure the people in the audience that he had helped America to reduce unemployment and he would do it better when he becomes the president. Here both of the candidates shared the same background knowledge, since both of them were politicians. As we knew, Hillary is the wife of Bill Clinton, the USA President in 1993-2001, and she became a senate in his administration. Furthermore, even though Trump started as a businessman, he became a USA Senator for the Republican Party in 2010.

5.1.2 Illocutionary Act

The utterance is classified as an illocutionary act because Trump said:

“...and I built it into a company that’s worth many, many billions of dollars, with some of the greatest assets in the world...”

This was his way to represent what he believed by assuring the audience that he had built up many companies, earned much money and was the owner of some of the greatest assets in the world. This is supported by facts from www.forbes.com that Trump owned several companies in the world. Based on Cicognani (2006) this can be categorized as an illocutionary act (i.e. illocutionary acts illustrate or illuminate facts or conditions using elocutionary or speaking skills).

5.1.3 Power Dimensions

The power dimension that appears in this utterance was a classic example of using an economic position. Economic class is talking about one’s income and wealth. From this illocutionary act, Trump tried to expose his wealth as the owner of several companies in several countries. In income, Hillary and Trump had different incomes. From www.bankrate.com, Trump reportedly banked US\$3 million per episode during his 11-year run as host of TV’s “The Apprentice”. While Clinton was known to have been bankrupt in 2000, but after that she became a speaker at many events, she reportedly earned US\$22 million in the 3 years since 2008 (www.voaindonesia.com). For total wealth, Trump’s net worth in December 2016 was US\$3.7 billion as reported in www.forbes.com. Whereas Hillary’s net worth was US\$32 million in August 2016 as reported by www.bankrate.com. Hence from the wealth aspect, Clinton is rich but Trump is an order-of-magnitude richer than Clinton.

Table 4. Datum 2.

<i>Stated by</i>	<i>Indication</i>	<i>Utterance</i>
Mrs. Clinton	Conclusions (pg. 14)	“Third, we don’t know all of his business dealings, but we have been told through investigative reporting that he owes about \$650 million to Wall Street and foreign banks. Or maybe he doesn’t want the American people, all of you watching tonight, to know that he’s paid nothing in federal taxes, because the only years that anybody’s ever seen were a couple of years when he had to turn them over to state authorities when he was trying to get a casino license, and they showed he didn’t pay any federal income tax ”.

5.1.4 Context

These utterances occurred because Trump had not released his tax returns, yet. Then Holt as the presenter of the Presidential Debate asks Trump the question, “Mr. Trump, we’re talking about the burden that Americans have to pay, yet, you have not released your tax return. And the reason nominees have released their returns for decades is so that voters will know if their potential president owes money to – who he owes it to and any business conflict. Don’t Americans have a right to know if there are any conflicts of interest?” But Trump just said that the data was still in the process of auditing, so he had not released the tax returns, yet. However, Clinton believed that Trump had not released his tax returns because there was something to hide about his financial condition in his tax returns.

5.1.5 Illocutionary Acts

“...Or maybe he doesn’t want the American people, all of you watching tonight, to know that he’s paid nothing in federal taxes, because the only years that anybody’s ever seen were a couple of years when he had to turn them over to state authorities when he was trying to get a casino license, and they showed he didn’t pay any federal income tax”

The utterance above is classified as representative because it shows Clinton trying to build her conclusions in the name of American’s voters, who have a right to know about the tax returns of their candidates for president so Trump had to be transparent about his sources of income and his tax returns. Based on Yule (1996), conclusions can be categorized as representative illocutionary acts.

5.1.6 Power Dimensions

The power dimension that appears in this utterance is the political party power dimension. Power is the ability to exercise and enforce one’s will, affecting other people’s behavior by various means – economic, political, ideological, religious, etc. (Weber, 1978). Here Clinton tried to force Trump to release his tax returns forth with. She put herself as representing the society, the voters, who had the right (power) to know what was in Trump’s tax returns since he was an American presidential nominee.

5.2 Expressive

In our daily life we need to express our feelings to make the addressee understand what the real feelings that we want to show are. Typical cases are when the speaker thanks, apologizes or welcomes the listeners. This expressive act is defined as that which the speaker feels, like pleasure, pain, likes, dislikes, joy or sorry (Yule, 1996).

Table 5. Datum 3.

<i>Stated by</i>	<i>Indication</i>	<i>Utterance</i>
Mr. Trump	Boast (pg. 15)	“... the buildings that were in question, they said in the same report, which was – actually, it wasn’t even a bad story, to be honest with you, but the buildings are worth \$3.9 billion. And the \$650 (million) isn’t even on that. But it’s not \$650. It’s much less than that”.

5.2.1 Context

Contextually, these utterances occurred after the second quote above, after responding to Clinton’s question about the tax returns that Trump had not yet released. Clinton believed that Trump was hiding something, she even said, “so if he’s paid zero, that means zero for troops, zero for vets, zero for schools or health. And I think probably he’s not all that enthusiastic about having the rest of our country see what the real reasons are, because it must be something really important, even terrible, that he’s trying to hide”. Clinton believed that there was something being hidden by Trump and she brought up the issue about one of Trump’s hotels that maybe one of his buildings that was well known, had never paid the federal taxes due, but Trump did not show concern by this situation; instead he boasted about his wealth. That was why Trump said the buildings were worth US\$3.9 billion. While the building itself was the Trump International Hotel near the White House.

5.2.2 Illocutionary Act

Yule (1996, p. 53) stated that “expressive is defined as what the speaker feels, like pleasure, pain, likes, dislikes, joy, or sorry”. Moreover, Searle (1975) in Cicognani (2006) lists some verbs for this classification. They include apologize, thank, condole, suspect, congratulate, complain, lament, protest, deplore, boast, compliment, praise, welcome, and greet. Clinton said, “... the buildings that were in question, they said in the same report, which was – actually, it wasn’t even a bad story, to be honest with you, but the buildings are worth \$3.9 billion. And the \$650 (million) isn’t even on that. But it’s not \$650. It’s much less than that”. These utterances were categorized as expressive because here Trump boasts about his hotel assets. As Cicognani (2006) has stated before, boasting is an expressive act.

5.2.3 Power Dimensions

The power dimension that appeared in this utterance was a classic economic position, talking about income and/or wealth. In this illocutionary act, Trump exposed his wealth as the owner of the Trump International Hotels. He showed his wealth here because he had to counter Clinton’s statement dealing with Trump’s tax returns that had not yet been released. So, here Trump gave an answer with an economic dimension especially about his wealth. Note here that it was reported in www.telegraphs.co.uk, that Trump’s hotel cost \$200 million to renovate; it has 263 rooms to rent including suites costing \$20,000 a night. So here Trump was saying that the income from this building alone was enough to pay the debts of \$650 million, but the fact was that he had not yet released his tax returns.

Table 6. Datum 4.

<i>Stated by</i>	<i>Indication</i>	<i>Utterance</i>
Mr. Trump	Boast (pg. 17)	“So, yeah I think – I do think it’s time. Look, it’s all words, it all sound bites. I built an unbelievable company. Some of the greatest assets anywhere in the world, real estate assets anywhere in the world, beyond the United States, in Europe, lots of different places. It’s an unbelievable company”.

5.2.4 Context

After accepting the questions about his tax returns from Holt as the presenter and Clinton as his opponent in the debate, Trump did not show concern for those questions; in the end Hillary Clinton said, “... indeed, I have met a lot of people who were stiffed by you and your businesses, Donald. I’ve met dishwashers, painters, architects, glass installers, marble installers, drapery installers, like my dad was, who you refused to pay when they’d finished the work that you asked them to do.” Here Clinton opened another of Trump’s character faults beside his lack of tax returns. So at last, Trump was exposed, that actually even if he had so many greatest assets, he had not paid his debts, Hillary contended that he still had not paid to many people who had done things for him.

5.2.5 Illocutionary Act

“So, yeah I think – I do think it’s time. Look, it’s all words, it’s all sound bites. I built an unbelievable company. Some of the greatest assets anywhere in the world, real estate assets anywhere in the world, beyond the United States, in Europe, lots of different places. It’s an unbelievable company.”

This utterance is categorized as an expressive illocutionary act, because we can see that Trump again boasted of his wealth in front of Hillary and the audience, both live and on TV. Based on Cicognani (2006), this boast is part of an expressive illocutionary act.

5.2.6 Power Dimensions

The power dimension that appears in the utterance above is a party/power dimension. Power is the ability to exercise and enforce one’s will, affecting other people’s behavior by various means – economic, political, ideological, religious, etc. (Weber, 1978). Here Trump tried to say that Clinton is responsible for the economic problems faced by the USA. Trump was indulging in verbal bullying, putting himself as the society, as we know that America is a democratic country, and the people have the right to know about the economic situation of their country transparently. Thus, here Trump used verbal bullying to allege that Clinton was responsible for problems in the economy, asking those questions repeatedly since she has been an American politician for 30 years, such as why that she had not solved these problems before.

5.3 Directive

According to Yule (1996, p. 53), in reality most “speakers use this to get someone else to do something”. They express what the speaker wants which could be in a form of command, order, request and suggestion (Yule, 1996, p. 53).

Table 7. Datum 5.

<i>Stated by</i>	<i>Indication</i>	<i>Utterance</i>
Mr. Trump	Ask (pg. 4 and pg. 6)	<p>“She’s been doing this for 30 years, and why hasn’t she made the agreements better?”</p> <p>“... they should have been doing this for years. What’s happened to our jobs and our country and our economy generally is –look, we owe \$20 trillion ...”.</p> <p>“And, Hillary, I’d just ask you this. You’ve been doing this for 30 years. Why are you just thinking about these solutions right now? For 30 years, you’ve been doing it, and now you’re just starting to think of solutions”.</p>

5.3.1 Context

The context in this utterances appeared when both of the candidates still debated about achieving prosperity, Clinton said, “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 of and the better we’ll grow. That’s the kind of economy I want us to see again”. Secretary Clinton explained that her plan about doing the infestation in infrastructure, education, and health by raising the tax especially for the

wealthy people was so the tax could be useful for middle and lower classes in the USA. Clinton believed that by helping the middle class, the country would be much better and could grow. However, after Clinton finished her statement, Trump in the middle of his speaking said, “she’s been doing this for 30 years and why hasn’t she made the agreement better?” Here, Trump satirized about NAFTA (North America Free Trade Agreement), since this agreement was conducted in Bill Clinton’s time, and caused some economic problems, and this agreement was also one of factors that made America owed \$20 trillion. So here Trump tried to push Clinton to give the right answer and her responsibility about NAFTA, and why she just thought about the solution now.

5.3.2 Illocutionary Act

This utterance is classified into directive because Mr. Trump asked Hillary and pushed her to answer his question with the right answers towards the USA’s owe by uttering, “and Hillary, I’d just ask you this for 30 years. Why are you just thinking about these solutions right now? For 30 years, you’ve been doing it, and now you’re just starting to think of solutions” as a way to make Hillary answer his question, Trump put himself as a society that needed her response about the recent economic problem. Based on (Yule, 1996), asking can be categorized as directive illocutionary acts.

5.3.3 Power Dimensions

The power dimension that appeared in Data 5 is party/power dimension. Power is the ability to exercise and enforce one’s will, affecting other people’s behavior by various means – economic, political, ideological, religious, etc. (Weber, 1978). Here Trump tried to enforce Clinton to answer his question dealing with the economic problem faced by their country. Trump put himself as the society, as we know that America is democratic country, and the people have a right to know about the economic situation of their country transparently. Thus, here Trump used a political way to enforce Clinton’s responsibility; by asking the question repeatedly since Clinton was one of America’s politician for 30 years and did she not resolve the problem before.

5.4 Commissives

These kinds of speech acts are used by speakers to commit themselves to some future action. They express what the speaker intends, they can be promises, threats, refusals or pledges and they can be performed by the speaker alone, or by the speaker as a member of a group (Yule, 1996).

Table 8. Data 6.

<i>Stated by</i>	<i>Indication</i>	<i>Utterance</i>
Mr. Trump	Threats (pg. 5)	“... and what you do is you say, fine, you want to go to Mexico or some other countries, good luck. We wish you a lot of luck. But if you think you’re going to make your air conditioners or your cars or your cookies or whatever you make and bring them into our country without a tax, you’re wrong”.

5.4.1 Context

Then, Holt, as the Master of Ceremonies for the Debate, gave the candidates a question, “Back to the question, though. How do you bring back – specifically bring back jobs, American manufacturers? How do you make them bring the jobs back?” Here Holt asked for the candidates’ plans for how to make the USA economy better, less unemployment, and much better in education, health, and less debt. For a start, Trump said that he would decrease taxes, he believed the more he lowered taxes, the more manufacturers would come back to the USA, and hence the more he would bring back the jobs. Then, in addition, Trump said:

“Well, the first thing you do is don’t let the jobs leave. The companies are leaving. I could name, I mean, there are thousands of them. They’re leaving in bigger numbers than ever. And what you do is you say, fine, you want to go to Mexico or some other country, good luck. We wish you a lot of luck. But if you think you’re going to make your air conditioners or your cars or your cookies or whatever you make and bring them into our country without a tax, you’re wrong”.

Here besides Trump wanting to decrease taxes in the USA, he also wanted to put a tax on every single thing that is imported, the same as Mexico that uses a VAT tax system on imported goods. Furthermore, Trump wanted to stop Americans, from moving their businesses to other countries looking for cheap labor and lower taxes, as he intended to decrease taxes for manufacturers in the USA and tax their products when imported to the USA.

5.4.2 Illocutionary Act

“... and what you do is you say, fine, you want to go to Mexico or some other country, good luck. We wish you a lot of luck. But if you think you’re going to make your air conditioners or your cars or your cookies or whatever you make and bring them into our country without a tax, you’re wrong”.

Categorized as a commissive, because from those utterances above it can be seen that if he became the USA President and as we now know he did become President of the USA, Trump warned his people, if they took jobs abroad to another country, he would make a tax on any goods that they bring back (i.e. import) from that other country. Moreover, based on [Yule \(1996\)](#), such threats can be categorized as commissive illocutionary acts, since Trump committed himself to such future actions.

5.4.3 Power Dimension

The power dimension that appears in the utterance is the party/political power dimension again. Here Trump threatened/warned businesses from the USA to not move production to another country to enrich themselves and try to bring the products back to the USA. Trump wanted to force businesses to provide people with work in the USA and keep the total wealth in their own country, the USA. Trump, as a candidate for president, if elected would have the power to put taxes on every single thing that is imported into the USA. Eventually he won the election and became the President of the USA in 2017.

6. CONCLUSION

After analysis, four types of speech act classification that had power in them were found. These were: (1) representative, which is categorized as having economic dimension and concludes with power dimensions, (2) expressive, where both speakers boasted about their economic dimensions, since in this part of their speeches they boasted about their wealth, (3) directive, categorized in relation to power dimensions, and lastly, (4) commissive, which were found in threats related to the power dimension. Finally the data for declaratory illocutionary acts with power dimension characteristics could not be found. Thus it can be concluded that speaker talks can convince people (i.e. audiences/listeners) and influence them to choose, in this case, the President during presidential debates. As we now know, Senator Donald Trump officially won the election and became the President of the USA in January 2017.

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[Received 10 April 2017; revised 13 June 2017; accepted 27 February 2018]

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