

**A SPEECH ACT ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT BARACK
OBAMA'S SELECTED SPEECHES ON HEALTHCARE**

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A SPEECH ACT ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA’S SELECTED SPEECHES ON HEALTHCARE

ABSTRACT

This study aims to identify the different types of illocutionary acts and their functions in three selected speeches of the President Barack Obama on healthcare, which was later known as *Obamacare*. Searle’s (1979) theory of speech acts was applied as the theoretical framework to explore the types of illocutionary acts while Leech’s (1983) concept of illocutionary functions was used to examine the functions used. The selected speeches on healthcare, which were downloaded from *The New York Times* and *Obama White House* websites, were based on the highest viewers on YouTube. The qualitative analysis of the data suggests that Obama’s speeches were mainly composed of the assertive and the commissive acts, while the main functions were mostly collaborative and convivial. The findings also showed that similar sentences were used in different contexts such as the Congress and the House of Democrats, which mainly contained facts and promises. Further analysis revealed that promises were frequently used in Obama’s speech to Congress to gain support of other parties while he rarely used promises when he addressed the Democrats as they already support his healthcare programme. The results of the study suggest that political leaders and speech writers may consider using specific speech acts and functions to effectively convince target audience i.e., members of the Congress or the Democrats, to accept new ideas or changes to policies and programmes despite oppositions from other political parties.

Keywords: Speech acts, Illocutionary acts, Obamacare, Assertive acts, Collaborative functions.

SATU ANALISIS UCAPAN TERPILIH PRESIDEN BARACK OBAMA TERHADAP PENJAGAAN KESIHATAN

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengenal pasti jenis perbezaan tindakan-tindakan illocutionary (Ilokusionari) dan fungsinya dalam tiga ucapan Presiden Barack Obama yang dipilih mengenai penjagaan kesihatan yang dikenali sebagai *Obamacare*. Teori Lakuan Pertuturan Searle (1979) diaplikasikan sebagai kerangka teori untuk meneroka jenis-jenis tindakan illocutionary manakala konsep Leech's (1983) telah digunakan untuk menguji fungsi-fungsi yang digunakan. Ucapan yang dipilih adalah tentang penjagaan kesihatan yang telah dimuat turun dari laman web *The New York Times* dan *Obama White House* berdasarkan kepada tontonan paling tinggi di YouTube. Data analisis kualitatif menunjukkan bahawa sebahagian besar ucapan Obama begitu tegas, bersifat mendesak dan komisif, sementara fungsi-fungsi utama kebanyakannya bersifat kolaboratif dan bersahaja. Penemuan juga menunjukkan bahawa ayat yang sama digunakan dalam konteks yang berbeza seperti di Kongres dan di Dewan Demokrat, yang kebanyakannya mengandungi fakta dan janji-janji. Analisis lanjut mendedahkan bahawa janji-janji sering digunakan dalam ucapan Obama di Kongres untuk mendapat sokongan dari pihak lain sementara dia jarang menggunakan janji-janji ketika berucap kepada Demokrat kerana mereka sudah pun menyokong program penjagaan kesihatannya. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa pemimpin politik dan penulis ucapan mungkin mempertimbangkan menggunakan tindakan pertuturan khusus dan fungsi ucapan tertentu untuk meyakinkan khalayak sasaran iaitu ahli Kongres atau Demokrat, untuk menerima ide baharu atau perubahan kepada dasar dan program walaupun mendapat tentangan dari parti politik lain.

Kata kunci: Tindakan Ucapan, Tindakan Ilokusionari, *Obamacare*, Tindakan Asertif, Fungsi Kolaboratif

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

This study is linked to the speeches made by a former president of the United States of America. It focuses on the contents of the speeches related to health insurance issues of the United States during the office of President Barack Obama between 2008 and 2017. These speeches on healthcare carried many impactful messages for the Americans, hence it is important to understand how former president conveyed these issues during his administration. In his speeches, President Barack Obama had made reference to the fact that more than 10% of the American population was unable to afford health coverage (“Obama’s health care speech to Congress,” 2009). He also stated that one in every three citizens in the US was living without health coverage because these people could not afford the expensive health insurance fees. Obama’s healthcare plan was aimed to formulate a law that would make it a rule for health coverage firms to provide insurance to ailing or sick people as well as to ensure that those health coverage firms will also agree to insure people with chronic diseases (“Obama's Remarks to House Democrats ,” 2010).

While in office, the Democrat government under President Obama then adopted the Obamacare plan as a reaction to solve the problems that were being experienced by the healthcare system in the US. Obamacare thus became a healthcare programme that aimed to enhance the health insurance affordability, availability and quality for a wider range of the American people. The opposition of the government, namely the Republicans, had rejected this plan as they consider the Obamacare plan as interference by the government on private business affairs. It was proposed that such interference from the government could end many occupations in the private health care sector and this could eventually cause the government to consume a huge budget. On the contrary,

works in the health care sector had increased by 9% in 2017 (“How has Obamacare fared under Trump”, 2018). Obamacare programme was officially termed as the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA) or the Affordable Care Act (ACA) (“Facts on the Affordable Care Act,” 2017). President Obama marketed and advocated for the programme through his speeches until he was able to convince the Congress to approve the plan (“Facts on the Affordable Care Act,” 2017). According to Quealy and Katz (2014, para.3), the programme offers health insurance for many people, “The biggest winners from the law include people between the ages of 18 and 34; blacks; Hispanics; and people who live in rural areas”.

The fact that President Barrack Obama was able to use his speeches to convince the Congress into approving the healthcare programme and thereby, benefit those who really need the programme, should be an issue to be marvelled at. Unlike previous politicians such as Hillary Clinton who was also for the same healthcare issue but was less successful in implementing it (Priest and Weisskopf, 1994), the former president was able to use his speeches to convince other politicians to act on a worthy cause. Due to this, it is thus important to understand what approach was used in writing those speeches so that more people can benefit from the knowledge.

1.2 Problem Statement

Previous studies examined the use of speech acts in presidential speeches on different topics. The manifestations of speech acts on the political speeches of President Obama have been identified by other researchers. However, the one on healthcare which was a serious issue in the US for people to get affordable health insurance (“Time has come for universal health care,” 2007) has not been explored. Aiming to fill in this gap, the current study thus focuses on President Obama’s speeches on healthcare in order to examine how language was used to construct the speeches, which had convinced his audience, the American people and Congress, to adopt this programme. The fact of this

issue was that even though the Republicans did not give their support to the Obamacare programme in the Congress (Zurcher, 2017), President Obama was still able to overcome the controversial environment.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This study seeks to understand how Barack Obama uses speech acts in his speeches on health care to convey his thoughts and messages as well as to perform actions by using language, since language is not only a means of communication, but it is also a means of control and domination on others (van Dijk, 2008). To zoom in on the speeches, the current study thus applies the Speech act theory (Searle, 1979) and the concept of illocutionary functions (Leech, 1982) to accomplish the aim. Thus, the objectives of this study are as follows:

- i. To identify the types of illocutionary acts as prevailed in the selected speeches of Obama on healthcare.
- ii. To investigate how Obama uses the various functions of illocutionary acts.

1.4 Research Questions

Based on the two objectives outlined, this study addresses the following research questions:

- i. What are the types of illocutionary acts that prevailed in the three selected speeches of Obama on healthcare?
- ii. What are the various functions of the illocutionary acts in the three selected speeches?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The Obamacare was signed into the law by President Obama in spite of the controversial role of the Republicans in Congress and the media (Zurcher, 2017). By understanding the types of illocutionary acts that formed these speeches, researchers can

thus gain the knowledge on how Obama acted through words in order to present his healthcare programme to his audience. In addition, the shortage of past and relevant research on speech acts analysis of Obama speeches of healthcare will be enhanced by the contribution of this study.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

This study is confined to only three selected speeches on only one issue, namely healthcare. The selected speeches were also restricted to those made only by the former President of the United States of America, namely Barack Obama. Further, since this study is only limited to a small data set which seeks to perceive how political speeches were constructed through the speech acts framework, the outcome cannot be generalised to other issues, other political speeches and other presidents of the United States.

1.7 Definitions of Terms

This section introduces the important terms that are used in the study.

Speech acts refer to “the action performed by a speaker with an utterance” (Yule, 1996: p.133). Like others before him, Yule too suggested that from the different utterances made by a speaker, we could understand the kind of actions the speaker expects us to perform, for example, making a request, making a promise, making a welcome or so on.

Illocutionary acts refer to acts that imply the intention of the speaker that is conveyed through the utterance i.e. what the speaker really wants people to do upon hearing (Searle, 1979).

Illocutionary functions as proposed by Leech (1983) can be categorised into four types according to their actions toward the mutual belief of society and “how they relate to the social goal of establishing and maintaining comity” (p.105).

Obamacare refers to a healthcare programme that President Obama adopted to reform health system in U.S. This programme was officially termed as the Patient Protection

and Affordable Care Act (PPACA) or the Affordable Care Act (ACA) (“Facts on the Affordable Care Act,” 2017).

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CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces a review of the previous studies of speech act on presidential speeches on various topics. In addition, the chapter presented pragmatics, speech act theory and the contributions of researchers such as Austin (1962), Searle (1979), Bach & Harnich (1979) and Habermas (1984) in the field of theory. Furthermore, this chapter introduces speeches of Obama on cases other than healthcare such as immigration, homosexual marriage and weapons control.

2.2 Pragmatics

Pragmatics is a subdivision of linguistics, which deals with the inner of an utterance through its context, and beyond its direct lexical and semantic denotation. In modern linguistics, the term itself is a newcomer in the arena, originally, pragmatics as a term was derived from the Greek term (*pragmatikos*) to mean “deed” or “act”, and used by Morris (1983) in relation to the field of semiotics (Levinson, 1983).

Pragmatics is a fast growing discipline that begins to develop and expand due to the need for a theory of human communication that goes beyond semantics. Pragmatics is defined and examined in different approaches depending on the researcher’s point of view. In addition, as it is related to other fields and discipline, it has become interdisciplinary science. Many researchers defines pragmatics from various approaches, for instant, Yule (1996) defines it as the study of contextual meaning, communicated by a speaker or writer and interpreted or decoded by a particular receiver or reader. Yule clarifies that only pragmatics allows human beings into the analysis of their assumptions, purposes, goals and actions that they perform while speaking. Leech (1983) states that pragmatics is the study of meaning related to the speech situation. Further, pragmatics for him is a way for solving problems that might arise or emerge,

both from prospective of a speaker and hearer. In addition, Levinson (1983) sees pragmatics as the study of the use of language in communication, where people try to see the relation between language and contexts.

After examining various definitions of pragmatics, we can find different approaches that try to deal with human communication. All these approaches and perspectives aim to reach to the real meaning of an utterance beyond the surface of mere words or sentences, by taking into account the social context of utterance including the intentions and purposes of the speakers to decode language messages correctly and properly.

2.3 Speech Act Theory

Speech act theory attracted and inspired many linguists and philosophers, who treated the topic from different point of views. John Austin (1962) is the pioneer of speech act theory; he presents speech act theory in his lectures at Harvard University. In his paper that was published in *The Shorter Rutledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Bach (2005) proposed that speech act could be used to achieve various other functions. For instance, certain messages can be conveyed to the receiver through the speaker's utterance. He stated that a speech act uttered by a speaker can actually perform several acts at once and the different aspects of the speaker's intention can distinguish this. For instance, he said that in the act of saying something, a speaker can also be making a request or making a promise.

2.3.1 Austin's Theory of Speech Act

The speech act theory was presented for the first time by Austin (1962) in his book, *How to Do Things with Words*, in which he proposed that through an utterance, a speaker not only achieves the communication purpose alone, he also fulfils a certain action.

Austin classified these speech acts into three kinds as illustrated below:

1. Locutionary acts: They are the acts that represent the literal meaning of the utterance.
2. Illocutionary acts: They are the acts that imply the intention of the speaker that is conveyed through the utterance. (What the speaker really wants people to do upon hearing).
3. Perlocutionary acts: They are the acts that represent the understanding of the hearer to the utterance of the speaker. (What the hearer will do upon listening.)

Austin (1962) classified utterances into performatives and constatives.

The performatives are those utterances that contain actions while the constatives are the utterances that do not include actions. The performatives utterances are used by a speaker to make the hearer doing action in respond to those utterances whereas the constatives are descriptive or assertion utterances that used to assert or describe something. Furthermore, Austin (1962) categorizes illocutionary acts into five different types that have the performative actions through words as the following:

1. Verdictives are the types of illocutionary acts that represent the evaluation or judgment about the deeds of another person by “giving of a verdict, as the name implies, by a jury, arbitrator, or umpire” (p.150), through “estimating, reckoning, or appraisal” (p.150).
2. Exercitives are the types of utterances in which the speaker expresses his power or authority through “appointing, voting, ordering, urging, advising, warning” (p.150).
3. Commissives are the utterances in which the speaker commits himself of doing something that contains also “declarations or announcements of intention, which are not promises” (p.151).

4. Behabitives are the utterances that reflect the social conduct of person through “apologizing, congratulating, commending, condoling, cursing and challenging” (p.151).
5. Expositives are the utterances that a speaker uses in “the course of an argument or conversation” (p.151).

The taxonomy of Austin has been criticized by Fotion (2000) who believes that Austin’s flaw was concentrating on verbs instead of focusing on the acts. Searle (1979) also criticized Austin’s taxonomy and developed a new one in which he makes the rules that prevent overlapping between the taxonomy units to avoid Austin’s mistake.

2.3.2 Searle’s Theory of Speech Act

Searle was one of Austin’s students who continued the work of his tutor on the theory of speech act (Fotion, 2000). He modified Austin’s theory of speech act by proposing that any linguistic unit that is used in an interaction has the ability to create a performance, “all linguistics communication involves linguistic acts” (Searle, 1969, p.16). Searle (1979) produced a new taxonomy of speech acts as a substitution of Austin’s taxonomy. Searle believes that Austin taxonomy does not have the efficient standards that make it a reliable guide in differentiating between illocutionary acts kinds (Fotion, 2000). Searle explains that Austin’s taxonomy provides a list of illocutionary verbs that contains a lot of overlapping between their categories instead of providing illocutionary acts. He proposes that the absence of clear standards that put the boarders between the five kinds of Austin’s taxonomy makes the overlapping in the taxonomy Searle (1979). As a reaction to the overlapping in Austin’s taxonomy, Searle assigns twelve criteria to his new taxonomy that put the borders between the various kinds of illocutionary acts Searle (1979).

The following standards are the twelfth dimensions of Searle (1979) that set the rules of differentiating between the illocutionary types:

1. The first dimension represents “Differences in the point (or purpose) of the (type) of act” (Searle, 1979, p. 2). According to Searle (1979) the illocutionary point or purpose is the intention of the speaker, which differs between illocutionary acts types. Therefore a speaker may commit himself to doing futuristic matter in the commissive type, which differs totally from the intention of another speaker in cases of reporting facts or belief in the assertive type.
2. The second dimension represents “Differences in the direction of fit between words and the world” (Searle, 1979, p. 3). In this dimension, Searle proposes that the direction of fit is resulted from the point of the illocutionary acts. Therefore the direction of fit differs between illocution types. The direction of fit represents the speaker intends whether to make his utterance fit the world or makes the world fits his utterance while some other utterance has a dual way towards the direction of fit and some other has a zero direction of fit (Fotion, 2000).
3. The third dimension represents “Differences in expressed psychological states” (Searle, 1979, p. 4). Searle proposes that the psychological situation of a person who expresses the illocutionary acts differs from type to another regardless of the sincerity of the situation and the person.
4. The fourth dimension represents “Differences in the force or strength with which the illocutionary point is presented” (Searle, 1979, p. 4). Searle believes that even though the influence strength of the utterance may vary but the illocutionary point will be the same one for the utterance. Searle gives the following examples to illustrate his point “Both, “I suggest we go to the

movies" and "I insist that we go to the movies" have the same illocutionary point, but it is presented with different strengths" (Searle, 1979, p. 5).

5. The fifth dimension represents "Differences in the status or position of the speaker and hearer as these bear on the illocutionary force of the utterance" (Searle, 1979, p. 5). In this dimension Searle suggests that the social level and job hierarchy influence the force of the illocutionary acts of the speaker or the hearer, such as the kind of utterances between a boss and an employee.
6. The sixth dimension represents "Differences in the way the utterance relates to the interests of the speaker and the hearer" (Searle, 1979, p. 5). Searle believes that the perception of a hearer or a speaker of utterances may differ depending on the occasion in which the utterances are uttered. Searle believes that a hearer and a speaker perception of congratulation or condolence are different between the two sides of the conversation depending on being a sender or receiver of the utterance.
7. The seventh dimension represents "Differences in relations to the rest of the discourse" (Searle, 1979, p. 5). In this dimension Searle proposes that the role of some linguistics units in certain discourse is to connect between the utterances such as "'I reply", "I deduce", "I conclude"' (p. 6) or "however", "moreover" and "therefore"' (p. 6).
8. The eighth dimension represents "Differences in propositional content that are determined by illocutionary force indicating devices" (Searle, 1979, p. 6). Searle proposes that prediction is used in utterances related to futuristic event while reporting is used in utterances that tell about an existing fact.
9. The ninth dimension represents "Differences between those acts that must always be speech acts, and those that can be, but need not be performed as speech act" (Searle, 1979, p. 6). Searle proposes that some utterances are

definitely speech acts while some others can be a speech acts or not depending on their role in the utterances such as “I estimate”, “I diagnose” and “I conclude”, but in order to estimate, diagnose or conclude it is not necessary to say anything at all. In these cases, no speech act, not even an internal speech act, is necessary” (p. 6, p. 7)

10. The tenth dimension represents “Differences between those acts that require extra-linguistic institutions for their performance and those that do not” (p. 7). According to Searle some illocutions need certain institutional positions in order to be performed by a specific speaker such as “pronounce guilty, call the base runner out” (p. 7) which are performed respectively by a judge in court and referee in baseball game. While some other illocutions that used in describing, promising and requesting do not require institutional position.
11. The eleventh dimension represents “Differences between those acts where the corresponding illocutionary verb has a performative use and those where it does not” (p. 7). Searle proposes that some illocutionary verbs have the performative role such as “state”, “promise”, “order”, “conclude” (p. 7) while some others do not have a performative role such as “I hereby boast”, or “I hereby threaten” (p. 7).
12. The twelfth dimension represents “Differences in the style of performance of the illocutionary act” (p. 8). In this dimension, Searle proposes that the style of performing the illocutions may vary through the use of different verbs such as “announcing and confiding” (p. 8) without any influence on the illocutionary point.

Fotion (2000) clarified that Searle depended mainly on the first three dimensions as the standards that govern his taxonomy.

In the new taxonomy Searle proposed five types of illocutionary acts that consist of assertive, directive, commissive, expressive and declarative. (For further information about Searle's taxonomy check Section 3.3.1 of this study). Fotion (2000) describes Searle's work on speech act theory as a complete work "set himself the task of carrying on his mentor's work by presenting a more complete and systematic account of speech acts" (p. 18).

Searle introduced indirect speech acts as the case in which "One illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another" (Searle, 1979, p. 31). He proposes that speaker's sentence may contain a primary illocutionary act and a secondary illocutionary act. The speaker might have two intentions in his sentence, one is the direct illocutionary act, and the other one is the indirect illocutionary act. Therefore a speaker might use a specific literal utterance to say something, whereas he intends to achieve an additional purpose. The following examples shed light on the direct and indirect speech acts:

1. "Can you reach the salt?)Searle, 1979, p. 30)

The request in sentence number 1 takes the form of an interrogative question; the request represents the indirect primary illocutionary act to perform a specific action, while the questioning form represents the direct secondary act of the sentence.

2. "Speaker X: Let's go to the movie tonight.

Speaker Y: I have to study for an exam." (Searle, 1979, p. 33)

In sentence number 2, speaker X invites hearer Y to watch movie, by using direct request statement, while speaker Y replies through indirect rejection statement which represents the primary illocutionary act of the sentence, whereas the literal form of the sentence has the indirect secondary illocutionary act.

We can notice that Searle spent remarkable effort to present adequate theory of speech acts as he puts the rules that determine the boundaries between the five kinds of his taxonomy.

2.3.3 Bach and Harnich's Theory of Speech Act

Bach and Harnich (1979) introduced their contribution in the field of the theory through classifying the illocutionary acts into communicative and conventional acts that together contain six types of illocutionary acts as followed:

1. Communicative illocutionary acts contain four types:
 - a. Constatives: "In general, a constative is the expression of a belief" (1979, p. 42). This type includes "predictives, retrodictives, descriptives, ascriptives, informatives, confirmatives, concessives, retractives, assentives, dissentives, disputatives, responsives, suggestives, suppositives" (p. 41).
 - b. Directives: "Directives express the speaker's attitude towards some prospective action by the hearer" (p. 47), this type includes "requestives, questions, requirements, prohibitives, permissives, advisories" (p. 42).
 - c. "Commissives are acts of obligating oneself or of proposing to obligate oneself to do something" (p. 49), this type includes "Promises, offers" (p. 41).
 - d. Acknowledgments: "They express, perfunctorily if not genuinely, certain feelings toward the hearer" (p. 51), this type includes "apologize, condole, congratulate, greet, thank, bid, accept, reject" (p. 41).
 - e. "Conventional illocutionary acts include such diverse acts as voting, resigning, arresting, acquitting, marrying, christening, dedicating, and abolishing. Despite their diversity, they fall into two general categories, effectives and verdictives" (p. 108).
 - f. "Effectives are utterances that, when issued by the right person under the right circumstances, make it the case that such and such" (p. 113).

- g. “Verdictives are merely determinations of fact. They have official and binding consequence, however, and what they determine to be so is the case, as far as the institution is concerned” (p. 115).

Bach and Harnich tried to propose their own understanding to speech act theory through dividing the illocutionary acts into two types that each of them contains sub branches. This kind of classification contains six types, which are similar to Austin and Searle taxonomies of illocutionary acts as some of the types have different titles and some others have the same title whereas in general they have the same essence.

2.3.4 Habermas’s Theory of Speech Act

Juurgen Habermas, a German philosopher and sociologist dealt with the subject of speech acts philosophically. Habermas’ project was to ground the social sciences in the theory of language and his concept of Communication Action which he defines as those linguistically mediated interactions in which all participants pursue illocutionary aims, with their mediating acts of communicative action. He was motivated by his general philosophy concerning the ethics of dialogue in human society. Habermas believes that speech acts are part of universal social dialogue, which depends on certain criteria of sincerity, truthfulness and rightness. His claim to truth and validity corresponds with his concept of formal and universal pragmatics (Eriksson and Vits, n.d).

Habermas examined the findings of Austin and Searle and submitted serious criticism about their limitation. On the other hand, he praised and appreciated their contribution. So, he accepted Austin’s concept of speech acts and his distinction of speech acts as locution, illocution and perlocution, but he embedded them in the contexts of communicative rationality. Referring to Austin’s concept, Habermas assumes that speech acts are not just sayings something, but actions, or deeds whose illocutionary force can be described (Eriksson and Vits, n.d).

Habermas believes that the importance of Searle's theory is that he considers language as a means for coordinating action. But he criticized Searle also for overlooking the orientation of the participants. Habermas criticized Searle also for believing that coordination is confined and brought about by perlocutionary effects, whereas it is brought about only by illocutionary effects. Furthermore, Habermas thinks that Searle does not differentiate between empirical and rational coordination action (Eriksson and Vits, n.d).

To overcome all these limitations, Habermas introduced an alternative taxonomy for speech acts based on his philosophical and sociological perspective. Habermas's (1984) taxonomy of speech acts is composed of four kinds, which are as follows:

1. Imperatives: A speaker uses this kind to command a hearer. When a speaker says to a hearer "Shut up" and "I want you to stop smoking", the speaker aims to change the objective world or person's conduct. The dominant claim in this kind is the power of the claim.
2. Constatives: A speaker uses this kind to assert something about the state of affairs in the objective world as in the following example: "it is raining". The dominant claim of this kind is the claim of truth.
3. Regulatives: A speaker uses this kind to give promises to the hearer. When a speaker says, "I promise you to take my horse away", he tries to establish an interpersonal relation, which is considered to be legitimate. The dominant claim of this kind is the claim of justice.
4. Expressives: A speaker uses this kind to express his feelings. When a speaker utters "I apologize for stepping on your toes", he refers to his subjective world in such a way that he discloses publicly a lived expression. The dominant claim of this kind is the claim of sincerity.

2.4 Leech's Illocutionary Functions

Geoffrey Leech is an English linguist who contributed to the field of Pragmatics. He was inspired by the works of Austin and Searle in the field of Pragmatics. In his book "Principles of Pragmatics", he introduced his first participation to Pragmatics (Myers, n.d). Leech (1983) presented his concept of illocutionary functions that he built in harmony with Searle (1969) taxonomy of illocutionary acts. Leech (1983) categorized his functions of illocutionary functions into four types, which are as follows:

1. The competitive function: is the illocutionary function that related to the directive act, both of them are used to compete with social aim.
2. The convivial function: is the illocutionary function that related to the commissive and expressive acts. The illocutionary goal of this function agrees with the social aim.
3. The collaborative function: is the illocutionary function that related to the assertive act. The illocutionary aim of this function is indifferent to the social aim.
4. The conflictive function: is the illocutionary function that related to the declarative function. The illocutionary aim of this function clashes with the social aim.

2.5 Previous Studies Using Speech Act to Analyse Presidential Speeches

Several studies have been conducted to examine the use of speech acts in the political speeches of world leaders on different topics.

2.5.1 Studies on Presidential Speeches

Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012) studied the inaugural and victory speeches of the Nigerian President Umaru Musa Yar' Abdu. A qualitative research in nature, they

also applied Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) speech act theory to assess the similarities and differences in each of the President's speeches. From the results of the study we found that the assertive type forms 60% of the total speech acts of Umaru's speeches, which means that Umaru depended on this type highly, to present his thoughts and agenda.

In a qualitative research looking at the manifestations of speech acts' felicity conditions, Asadu (2013) explored the selected speeches of the former Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in two different periods of his reign. Using Searle's (1969) speech act theory, the scholar looked at the first speech delivered before the crisis in Egypt in 1981 and another speech during the crisis. Both were gathered from Hosni Mubarak's speeches made on 28th January, 2011, 1st, 10th and 11th February 2011. The results showed that Mubarak violated the felicity conditions through his speeches. From exploring the study, we can conclude that it seems to be a political criticism of Mubarak's reign rather than being a pragmatic study of his selected speeches, as it focused highly on the shortcomings of his reign rather than on the manifestations of speech acts felicity conditions in his speeches.

Alattar (2014) examined the use of illocutionary acts in the speeches of four American Presidents. Various topics were addressed in the speeches by Ronald Regan, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush and Barack Obama. Ronald Regan's speech dealt with the explosion of Challenger space ship, while Bill Clinton's speech dealt the annual prayer at white house. George Bush's speech addressed the war on Iraq at 1990, whereas Barack Obama's speech addressed the occasion of the national school day in the United States. Bach and Harnich's (1979) taxonomy of illocutionary acts was applied in this qualitative study to examine the used types of illocutionary acts in the four speeches. The results of this study showed that the four presidents relied mainly on the constative type to report information and assert facts. The directive type was the second dominant

type on the speeches of the four presidents, which was used mainly in requesting and questioning. The results of the four speeches reflected higher tendency for using the constative type as a means of conveying opinions and facts by the four presidents.

Antony (2015) also used Searle's (1969) theory of speech act to investigate the role of language and power in Obama's speech at West Point. The study aimed to understand how language was used to convey various kinds of messages. The results of Antony qualitative study depicted that the assertive type is the most used type followed by the commissive type in Obama's speech. The outcomes of this study clarify that Obama depends in his speech mainly on assertive and commissive types to convey his messages through the use of power and language.

Basiru (2015) also qualitatively analysed the military and civilian speeches of the Nigerian President, Obasanjo, by using Searle's (1976) theory of speech act. The study aimed to identify the occurrence of the commissive and directive acts in both types of speeches. The results showed that Obasanjo produced 12 commissive acts in the military speech, while he produced 27 commissive acts in the civilian speech. On the other hand, the outcomes of directive acts showed that Obasanjo produced 14 acts in the military speech, whereas he produced 8 acts in the civilian speech. From the total results of the study, it is clear that Obasanjo tends to highly use the directive acts and rarely to produce the commissive acts in his military speech, which might be resulted from the nature of military life that depends basically on commands than promises. Meanwhile, Obasanjo produced more promises in the civilian speech and less directive acts comparing with the results of both types in the military speech. These results lead us to conclude that Obasanjo is aware of the proper use of messages that fit each context.

In another study, K& Novitasari (2015) qualitatively studied the use of illocutionary acts. They focused on two speeches of the Indonesian President, Joko Widodo. The study explored the first inaugural speech of Joko Widodo and his speech

given at the 9th East Asia Summit. Like others, they also used Searle's (1969) speech act theory and Leech's (1983) functions of illocutionary acts to examine the two speeches of Joko Widodo. The results of this study showed that the assertive acts is the most used type of illocutionary types and the collaborative function is the most used function in the two speeches. It is clear from the outcomes of the study that Indonesian President tended to use the two speeches to report or express his thoughts in order to convey his messages to his audience.

Focusing on the role of language in interactions and the clarification of meanings, Hashim (2015) likewise adopted the speech act theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) as a theoretical framework to explore the use of locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts in the selected speeches of John Kerry and George W. Bush. Two speeches were taken from John Kerry's presidential campaign and two speeches were taken from the inaugural address of George W. Bush in 2001. Only twenty sentences were explored from the selected speeches as a result of varying in length and number of sentences. The outcomes of the study showed that half of Kerry's speech consists of commissive acts through which he tends to give promises in his campaign, while the majority of illocutionary acts in Bush's speech represents the assertive type with 40% of his total result, in which he presents his beliefs and agenda. On the other hand, the whole results of this study showed that commissive type forms 40%, which indicates that politicians are used to rely on promises to convince people to adopt their programme. Furthermore, the assertive type represents 35% of the result, which is used to state their thoughts. From the total results, we can understand that Bush and Kerry depend mainly on commissive and assertive illocutionary types that contain their promises and beliefs in order to achieve their goals.

Bashir and Sameer (2017) also explored the first inaugural speeches of two American presidents, George W. Bush and Barack Obama. They concentrated on the

speeches on policies to understand which type of speech acts were most used by each president. They used Searle's (1969, 1979) and Ferrara's (1980) speech act theory to focus on the differences and similarities. The paper introduced the development of the various terms and concepts of speech act theory to pave the way to readers to absorb the study easily. From the results, it is comprehended that the most used type in Bush speech was the assertive type with 46.72% from his total speech acts types, while the commissive types was the most used type in Obama's speech. The results reflect that Bush tends basically to use assertive type to convey his programme, whereas Obama relies mainly on promises, which are available in the commissive type to present his agenda.

Dylgjeri (2017) qualitatively studied the use of illocutionary acts in the election victory speech of the Albanian Prime Minister Edi Rama. Searle (1969) theory of speech acts was used to examine the selected speech. The results showed that the commissive type is the most used type by Edi Rama while the assertive type possessed the second rank. Edi Rama used commissive type to give hope for Albanian people after winning election while he used the assertive type to state his opinions and reporting facts.

Sameer (2017) also qualitatively analysed the inaugural speeches of the Egyptian presidents, El-Sadat and El-Sisi, in two different periods. Using the speech act theory, he aimed to understand how each of these two presidents conveyed their messages to the people. The results of this paper showed that the use of commissive type in El-Sadat speech possessed the first rank of speech acts types, while the assertive type was the dominant type on El-Sisi inaugural speech.

In his mix method study, Koutchadé (2017) used Searle's (1969) theory of speech act to examine the speech of the Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari to the United Nation General Assembly in 2016. The results showed that the representative type

formed 52% of the total types and the directive type possessed the second rank with 19% of the total results. Koutchadé used the representative type to convey his thoughts to his audience while he used the directive type to give suggestions to them. The study depicted the absence of the declaration type in the speech of the Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari.

Virginia and Olanrewaju (2017) investigated through a qualitative study the use of speech acts in the Nigerian candidates' speeches during the presidential election of 2015. Twenty speeches were examined through Austin (1962) and Searle's (1969) theory of speech act. The results of the study showed that the assertive type was the most used type in the twenty speeches, followed by the directive type. From the results of the study, it is noticed that candidates conveyed their messages that contained facts and thoughts through the assertive type to their audience. On the other hand, the candidates conveyed many promises through the commissive type to their voters.

Widiatmoko (2017) qualitatively examined the use of speech acts in the inaugural speeches of five presidents through Searle's (1979) theory of speech act. The results of the research depicted that only one president relied mainly on the commissive type while the rest used the assertive type instead. The outcomes of the paper also depicted the absence of the declaration illocutionary act in all inaugural speeches.

Mufiah and Rahman (2018) examined the use of illocutionary acts in the inaugural speech of the American President Donald Trump. The study adopted qualitative method and Yule Speech act theory. The results of this study showed that the representative type possessed the first rank of the used type by Donald Trump in his inaugural speech while the directive type came in the second rank. It is clear from the results that Donald Trump relied highly on the representative type to assert his opinions or to report facts to Americans. He also used the directive type to order and command officials to protect the United States and to secure borders.

From examining the past presidential studies of this section, it is noticed that the assertive type is the most dominant type. Moreover, the previous studies that had examined how political speeches were composed of the various speech acts, it can be deduced that most of these studies had focused on analysing the illocutionary acts through Searle's (1969) theory of speech act except one study that used Bach and Harnich's theory of speech act and these researchers had also adopted the qualitative research design. In that regard, a study similar to that nature will not digress too far from such theoretical frameworks and research designs.

2.6 Obama's Speeches on Various Topics other than Healthcare

In his speeches, Obama addressed many important issues that were illustrated in the following sections.

2.6.1 President Obama's Speech on Immigration and Border issues (5th November 2014)

Illegal immigration and border trespassing are crucial issues for the Americans. When he was in office, President Barack Obama worked really hard to reform the immigration system so as to protect the border from trespassers of other countries and also to find a solution for the illegal immigrants' issue in the American territory. Obama plans to achieve his goals through sustaining southern border with more patrols and technology in order to stop human traffic.

In addition, Obama plans to have a fair solution for illegal immigrants who live in United States through legislating a bill in the Congress that governs their rights and responsibilities. He realizes the necessity of the American business for the skillful illegal immigrants' workers who live in America. Furthermore, Obama perceives that many illegal immigrants' parents have sons who have an American citizenship; therefore he opposes the deportation of illegal immigrants who have no criminal record

(“Obama's immigration speech”, 2014). It is clear that border and immigrants’ issues have been fairly treated by Obama as they represent together main concern for American people that need to be solved.

2.6.2 President Obama’s Speech on Homosexual Marriage (26th June 2015)

On the approval day of the homosexual marriage law made by America’s Supreme Court, President Obama delivered a speech in which he asserted that America is a nation where all people are equal before the law. President Obama revealed that homosexual people had suffered from unfair treatment in many American cities before the approval of the law. This law will enable married homosexual people to live their lives legally and equally, like any other member in the American society (“Gay Marriage US Supreme Court Ruling”, 2015).

2.6.3 President Obama’s Speech on Weapons Control (5th January 2016)

Weapon possession in the US is a crucial issue that threatens Americans’ lives. President Obama had sensed the danger of this phenomenon for the American society. In his speech, he revealed that thirty thousand Americans die every year because of weapons. Therefore, while in office, President Obama tried all means to control weapon possession. In order to achieve his goal, Obama made the decision that anyone who worked in the weapons selling sector should be licensed and be without a criminal record. He reveals that weapon purchasers will not be able of buying a weapon unless they do not have a criminal record. Furthermore Obama states that more security agents will be recruited to ensure that Americans will not face weapons threatening. He declares that mental health check system will be used to ensure that the weapons buyer is mentally fit to possess weapons. He also proposes that technology solutions such as weapons fingerprint can be developed in order to prevent criminals from using stolen weapons. As such, he urges the Congress to legislate a law that can fairly govern

weapons possession and protect Americans from violent weapons use (“Obama's Speech about Gun Control”, 2016). From the facts mentioned in Obama speech, we can perceive that weapon issue represents real threats for Americans life that Obama tried to solve fairly.

2.7 *Obamacare*

In his speech, President Obama had revealed that more than thirty million Americans were unable to get health coverage (“Obama’s health care speech to Congress,” 2009) because it was too costly for them. In order to ensure that health insurance was made affordable to the American people, President Obama adopted the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA) or the Affordable Care Act (ACA) which later became known as *Obamacare* (“Facts on the Affordable Care Act,” 2017). Obama’s plan was to formulate a law that puts conditions to prevent health insurance companies from dropping health coverage from sick people as well as to ensure that those companies will accept to cover people with chronic diseases.

In addition, this law will not let people who lose their jobs or move from a city to another, without health coverage. According to Obama’s proposal on health care, young people will be able to remain under their parents’ health insurance policy until they turned 26 years old. Thus, companies will not be able to deprive them of health cover because of age limits policy (“Obama's Remarks to House Democrats,” 2010). The ACA was signed into law by President Barack Obama on March 23, 2010 and approved by the Supreme Court on June 28, 2012, which enables many Americans to get health insurance coverage (“Facts on the Affordable Care Act,” 2017).

The three selected speeches of Obama for this study addressed healthcare issue in the United States. Obama presented facts on healthcare situation in order to convince Americans and Congress to support his programme on health insurance. In his speech to

Congress, Obama revealed that a lot of people lost their health coverage because of not being able to purchase affordable one (Obama's health care speech to Congress, 2009).

Furthermore, in his speech to the House of Democrats, many promises related to establishing health insurance that would enable people from getting affordable health insurance were noted (Obama's Remarks to House of Democrats, 2010). After the approval of the programme into law by the Supreme Court, Obama delivered another speech, which contains many similar promises related to preventing health insurance companies from exploiting people with unfair treatments (US Supreme Court Upholds Affordable Care Act. n.d.).

University of Malaya

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical frameworks which comprise of Searle's speech act theory (1979) and Leech's (1983) concept of illocutionary functions, sample of the study, research instrument, research ethics, research methodology, data collections and procedures, data analysis and validity and reliability.

3.2 Research Design

This research is qualitative in nature as it focuses on the use of language in speech constructions. Under the Social Science and Humanities discipline, it is inevitable for studies to be qualitative in nature as the aim is often geared towards understanding a certain phenomenon. Creswell (2007, p. 3) proposes that the focus of all qualitative research is based on the need to understand a certain experience and such studies are usually explored from the perspective of the researcher, who may come with different values and beliefs. As such, the qualitative research design was adopted in this study in order to explore the phenomenon of the illocutionary acts and their functions contained within the three selected speeches of Obama on healthcare.

3.3 Theoretical Framework

The linguistics approach of this research is pragmatics, which Kecskes (2014) defines as "a branch that focuses on the use of language in social contexts and the ways in which people produce and comprehend meanings through language" (p. 6). Searle's (1979) theory of speech act and his taxonomy of illocutionary acts as well as Leech's (1983) concept of the illocutionary functions are used to identify the various types of illocutionary acts and their functions in the three selected speeches of Obama on health care.

3.3.1 Searle's Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts

Searle's (1979) taxonomy of illocutionary acts consist of five types as shown below:

1. Assertive illocutionary acts: A speaker expresses in this type what he believes to be the truth, through stating, concluding, reporting, asserting and claiming (pp. 12-13). Searle (1979) proposes that the illocutionary point or purpose of the assertive type is "to commit the speaker to something's to be the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition (p. 12). Searle proposes the next example as a sample of the assertive type, "He is a Fascist" (p. 25).
2. Directive illocutionary acts: A speaker can use this type for requesting, ordering, questioning, and advising (pp. 13-14). Searle asserts that the illocutionary point or purpose of the directive type represents "attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something" (p. 13). Searle proposes the next example as a sample of the assertive type, "I order you to leave" (p. 22).
3. Commissive illocutionary acts: A speaker can use this type to send messages that include promising, offering, threatening, pledging and vowing (pp.14-15). Searle (1979) asserts that "Commissives are those illocutionary acts whose point is to commit the speaker (again in varying degrees) to some future course of action" (p. 14). Searle proposes the next example as a sample of the commissive type, "I promise to pay you the money" (p. 22).
4. Expressive illocutionary acts: A speaker uses this type to convey his feelings through apologizing, blaming, thanking, praising, congratulating and welcoming (pp. 15-16). Searle (1979) proposes that the purpose or the point of the expressive type intends to "express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about state of affairs" (p.1 5). Searle proposes the next

example as a sample of the expressive type, “I apologize for stepping on your toe” (p. 23).

5. Declarative illocutionary acts: A speaker in this type is a person who has the authority that can use to issue or execute decisions through excommunicating, pronouncing, judgments, declaring war or freedom, firing from employment and christening (pp.16-17). Some illocutions need certain institutional positions in order to be performed by a specific speaker “those acts that require extra-linguistic institutions for their performance” (p.7) such as “pronounce guilty, call the base runner out” (p.7). Searle proposes the next example as a sample of the expressive type: “I now pronounce you man and wife” (p.26).

Section 2.3.2 discusses Searle’s theory of speech act in detail.

3.3.2 Leech’s Concept of Illocutionary Functions

Leech’s (1983) concept of illocutionary functions is also applied in this study to explore the different functions of the illocutionary acts present in the three selected speeches of President Obama. Leech’s (1983) concept of illocutionary functions is explained in harmony with Searle’s (1979, p. 105) taxonomy of illocutionary acts as shown in Table 3.1.

No	Type	Definition	Function
1	Competitive	<p>“The illocutionary goal competes with the social goal” (p.104). Leech proposes that directive acts belong to competitive function (p.106).</p> <p>According to Leech (1983), in this function the speaker acts politely to achieve his social aim to reduce the disagreement of ordering, asking,</p>	<p>“Ordering, asking, demanding begging” (p.104).</p>

		demanding and begging between the hearer and the speaker.	
2	Convivial	The illocutionary goal coincides with the social goal (p. 104). Leech proposes that commissive and expressive acts belong to convivial function (p. 106). According to Leech (1983), the speaker essentially acts politely in this function to reach his social goal.	“Inviting, greeting, thanking, congratulating” (p.104). “Promising, vowing, offering” (p.106).
3	Collaborative	“The illocutionary goal is indifferent to the social goal” (p.104). Leech proposes that assertive acts belong to collaborative function (p.105). According to Leech (1983), this function is irrelevant to politeness as it is used basically by a speaker for conveying facts and thoughts to audience.	“Asserting, reporting, announcing, instructing” (p.104).
4	Conflictive	“The illocutionary goal conflicts with the social goal” (p.104). The declarative acts belong to conflictive function. According to Leech (1983), the social function of this type is against politeness as it used by a speaker for threatening a hearer.	“Threatening, accusing, cursing, reprimanding” (p.104)

Table 3.1: Leech’s Illocutionary functions

3.4 Sample of the Study

As the forty-fourth president of the United States of America, President Barack Obama was elected as president for two presidential terms, from 2008 to 2017 (“Presidents & Vice Presidents,” n.d.). Obama became the first African American president in the history of the United States. Obama was born in Hawaii in 1961. His father, Barack Hussein Obama Sr., originates from Kenya. The father arrived to the United States after getting a scholarship at the University of Honolulu where he met his wife S. Ann Dunham who originates from Texas. When Obama was three years old, his parents divorced and his mother took him to Indonesia to live with her new Indonesian husband for several years. In 1971, Obama went back to Hawaii to live with his grandparents and sometimes with his mother.

Obama started his higher education study in United States through getting his first bachelor degree in political science from Columbia University in 1983. Later, he graduated with a law degree from Harvard University in 1991. He then became an active member in the Democratic Party in Chicago. Obama spent a lot of his time and efforts to sustain peace and in 2009 he was awarded the Noble Peace Prize (Mendell & Wallenfeld, 2018).

One of the important issues that President Obama addressed in his speeches was healthcare. Throughout his presidential terms, Obama spent a lot of time and effort to offer an affordable healthcare programme to the Americans, under the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA) or the Affordable Care Act (ACA) (“Facts on the Affordable Care Act,” 2017). In this regard, the speeches of President Obama on healthcare were selected.

3.5 Research Instruments

The three selected speeches for the study represent three different periods and audiences of President Obama on healthcare. These speeches have the highest viewers

on YouTube compared to seventeen other videos of the same topic by Obama. The transcripts of the three selected speeches were downloaded from two Internet websites. The two websites namely, *The New York Times* websites and *Obama White House archives*, offer public accessibility to the three speeches.

The three speeches vary in length and views as illustrated in Table 3.2.

No	Speech Title	Website	Date of Speech	Video Duration	YouTube Views	Number of words	Audience	Context
1	Obama's health care speech to Congress	New York Times	9 th of September 2009	46mins: 45sec	189,701	5449	Congress Members	Congress
2	Obama's remarks to House of Democrats	New York Times	20 th of March 2010	30mins: 27sec	62,819	3785	House of Democrats Members	House of Democrats
3	Remarks by the President on Supreme Court Ruling on the Affordable Care Act.	Obama White House Archives	28 th of June 2012	7mins: 45sec	164,252	1242	Americans	White House
				Total time 84mins: 57sec		Total words 10476		

Table 3.2: Three Speeches of President Barack Obama

The following information, links, and prints screens represent the websites of the three transcripts of the three speeches downloaded for this study.

Speech 1: Title: Obama's Health Care Speech to Congress

The first speech on healthcare was given on 9th September 2009 at a joint session of Congress ("Obama's Health Care Speech to Congress," 2009).

First link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/10/us/politics/10obama.text.html>

First YouTube Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SSJugLUm58&t=113s>

Obama's Health Care Speech to Congress

SEPT. 9, 2009

Following is the prepared text of President Obama's speech to Congress on the need to overhaul health care in the United States, as released by the White House.

Madame Speaker, Vice President Biden, Members of Congress, and the American people:

When I spoke here last winter, this nation was facing the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. We were losing an average of 700,000 jobs per month. Credit was frozen. And our financial system was on the verge of collapse.

Speech 2: Title: Obama's Remarks to House Democrats

The Second speech was addressed to the House Democrats on 20th March 2010 ("Obama's Remarks to House Democrats," 2010).

Second Link: <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/20/health/policy/20text-obama.html>

Second YouTube link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YiYUVdwoHu4>

Obama's Remarks to House Democrats

MARCH 20, 2010

The following is a transcript of President Obama's remarks to the House Democratic Caucus on Saturday as the chamber prepares for a vote on health care overhaul, as provided by the White House.

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you. Thank you, everybody. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you. Everybody, please have a set.

Speech 3: Title: Remarks by the President on Supreme Court Ruling on the Affordable Care Act

The third speech was addressed to Americans on 28th June 2012 when the Supreme Court approved the *Obamacare* (“US Supreme Court Upholds Affordable Care Act.” n.d.).

Third Link: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/06/28/remarks-president-supreme-court-ruling-affordable-care-act>

Third YouTube Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b5zU1y_0Geo



3.6 Research Ethics

The researcher has committed to undertake the study according to the ethical standards of research proposed by the Association of Internet Researches (Ethical Decision, 2012). Further, no permissions are required for downloading the speeches as the two websites (The New York Times websites and Obama White House archives website) offer free access and download for Internet users.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

An expert in the field of Pragmatics was approached to validate the coded data, which composed of the total three speeches of this study. The expert's result confirms

80% of the similarity of the analysed data, making the outcome of this research reliable and validated as Miles and Huberman (1994) propose that 80% of agreement between coders on 95% of the codes is adequate agreement between several coders.

3.8 Data Collection and Procedures

The transcripts of the three speeches were copied by the researcher from two websites namely, *The New York Times* websites and *Obama White House archives* and converted into word document to be printed after removing unwanted links and advertisements from the speeches. The three hardcopies of the speeches are printed to identify and code the used illocutionary types and their functions.

3.9 Data Analysis

The three transcripts of the selected speeches were analysed through Searle's (1979) theory of speech act and Leech's (1983) concept of illocutionary functions. The purpose was to identify the types of illocutionary acts and their functions noted in the speeches respectively.

Krippendorff (2004) proposed that, "content analysis (CA) provides new insights, increases the researcher's understanding of a particular phenomenon" (p. 18). As such this approach was applied in order to understand the phenomenon of the speech act presented in Obama's speeches.

Cresswell's (2014) coding practices as shown in Table 3.3 were adapted to divide and code the speeches into segments.

No	Codes of Speeches	Codes of Illocutionary Acts	Codes of Illocutionary Functions
1	Sp1 refers to the first speech.	Asse refers to assertive illocutionary acts.	Comp refers to Competitive function
2	Sp2 refers to the	Expr refers to expressive	Conv refers to

	second speech.	illocutionary acts.	Convivial function
3	Sp3 refers to the third speech.	Comm refers to commissive illocutionary acts.	Coll refers to Collaborative function
4		Dire refers to directive illocutionary acts.	Conf refers to Conflictive function
5		Decl refers to declarative illocutionary acts.	

Table 3.3 Coding Practices

University of Malaysia

Data analysis for this study adopted from Creswell (2014) as is shown in Figure 3.1

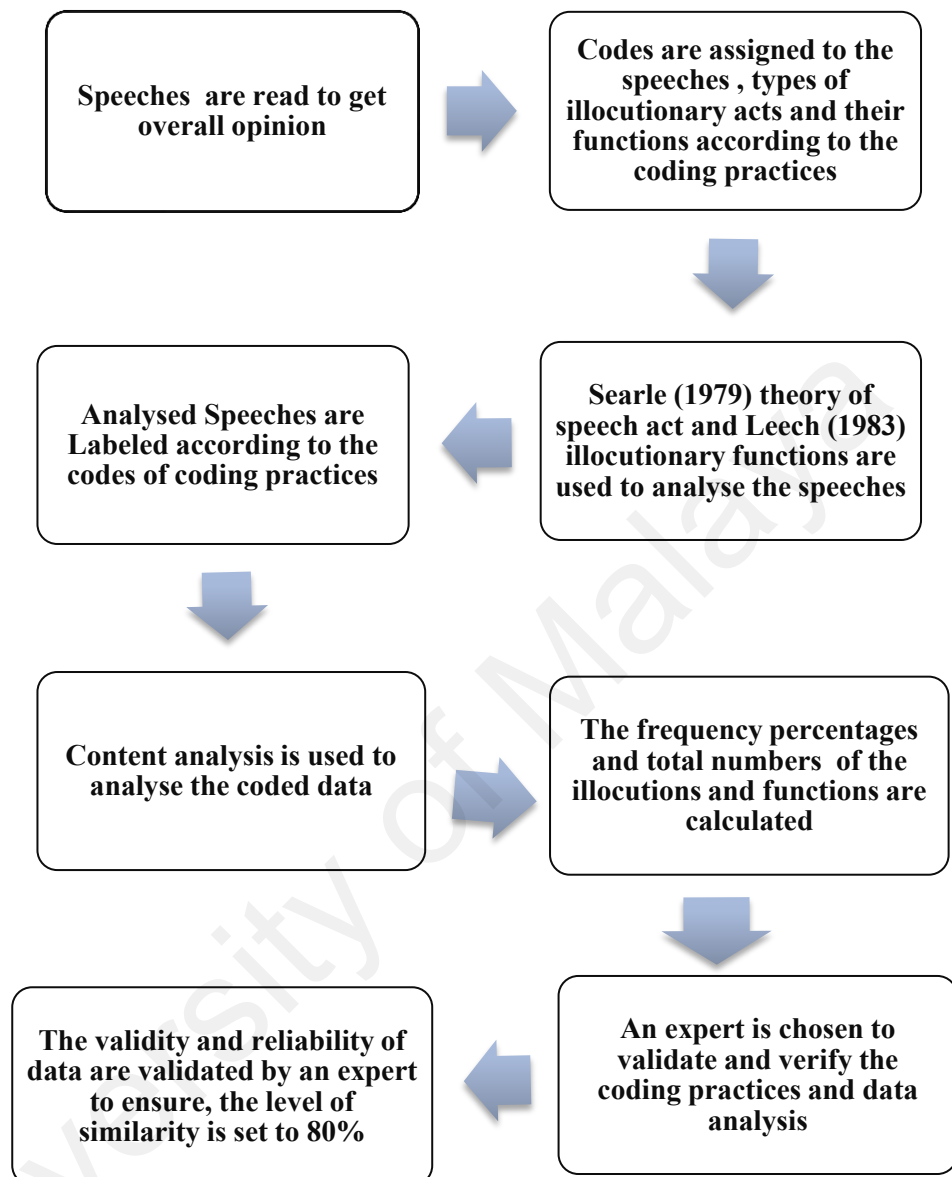


Figure 3.1 Data Analysis

The following steps are adopted for the data analysis procedure. It is further illustrated in Figure 3.1

1. The three speeches were read in order to have the overall opinion.
2. Searle's (1979) theory of speech act and Leech's (1983) concept of illocutionary functions were then used to analyse data.
3. Data were then coded as illocutions and functions (see Table 3.3).
4. Content analysis was used to analyse the coded data.

5. Frequency count was taken and then tabulated as percentages as follows:
 - a. The total numbers of the types of speech act were counted in each speech. These were then added to get the total number of the different types of illocutionary acts. The same was done for each of the three speeches.
 - b. The total numbers of the illocutionary functions were counted in each speech. These were then added to get the total number of the functions. The same was done for all the three speeches.
 - c. The frequency of the speech act present in each speech was divided by the total number of the acts and then multiplied by 100 to gain the percentage. For example $70/230 \times 100 = 30.4\%$.
 - d. The frequency of the illocutionary functions in each speech was divided by the total number of the functions and then multiplied by 100 to gain the percentage. For example $80/150 \times 100 = 53.3\%$.
 - e. The frequency of the specific illocutionary acts in the three speeches were divided by the total number of the acts in the speeches and then multiplied by 100 to gain the percentage. For example $343/800 \times 100 = 42.8\%$.
 - f. The frequency of the specific functions in the three speeches were divided by the total number of the functions in the speeches and then multiplied by 100 to gain the percentage. For example, $343/800 \times 100 = 42.8\%$.
6. An expert in the field of Pragmatics validated the coded data of the total three speeches of the study:-

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis, findings and discussion of the illocutionary types and their functions in the three speeches of Obama on healthcare. The first section presents the process of analysing the speeches started with exploring the illocutionary types, while the second section introduces the functions in each speech separately. On the other hand the third section examines the structure of Obama speeches. The results are presented in this chapter from the highest to the lower occurrences. Furthermore, the total results of the three speeches were combined together to form the total results of the illocutionary acts and their functions in this study.

4.2 The Illocutionary Acts

From the analysis conducted on the three speeches, it was noted that, Obama used the following illocutionary types in the three selected speeches of healthcare as shown in Table 4.1.

Illocutionary Type	Occurrence		Percentage
Assertive	Sp1: 231	401	73.1%
	Sp2:131		
	Sp3: 39		
Commissive	Sp1: 40	81	14.9%
	Sp2: 21		
	Sp3: 20		
Directive	Sp1: 12	41	7.5%
	Sp2: 27		

	Sp3: 2		
Expressive	Sp1: 5	25	4.5%
	Sp2: 15		
	Sp3: 5		
Declarative	Sp1: 0	0	0%
	Sp2: 0		
	Sp3: 0		
Total		548	100%

Table 4.1: Frequency and Occurrence of Illocutionary Types in the Three Speeches

From the Table 4.1, it is noticed that Obama used the various types of illocutionary acts in various ratios. The assertive type was the most dominant type in the three speeches as it formed 401 acts of the total acts. On the other hand, the results of the commissive type formed 81 acts of the used acts in the three speeches. It is clear that Obama relied highly on the commissive type as it possessed twice the second rank of the used acts in the three speeches.

Moreover, the table showed that the results of the directive type formed 41 acts of the total acts, which enabled this type to occupy the second rank twice. In addition, the table depicted that the expressive type formed 25 acts of the total acts which is the lowest ratio in the table as this type possessed the third level thrice in the speeches. Finally, it is recognized that Obama never relied on the declarative type in the three speeches as the results of the table reflected the absence of this type.

4.2.1 The Assertive Acts

Obama used the assertive acts 401 times in the three speeches and out of the total of 548 illocutionary acts detected in the three speeches, he used this type mainly to report facts on healthcare and to assert his thoughts on this issue, as well as he used it to

make conclusion of healthcare situation. Table 4.2 shows varieties of assertive type that were used by Obama in the three speeches.

Reporting	Asserting	Declaring	Concluding
227	129	11	34

Table 4.2 Varieties of Assertive Type in the Three Speeches

From examining Table 4.2, it can be observed that Obama mainly used the assertive act to report facts for 227 times. In addition, he applied this type to assert his ideas to people for 129 times. Furthermore, Obama used the assertive type to make conclusion for 34 times and to announce declaration for 11 times. The assertive acts are presented in the following paragraphs from the highest to the lowest occurrences in the three speeches.

In Speech 1, Obama used the assertive illocutionary type for 231 times among the other types. He applied this type more than other speeches as he needed to introduce several facts in order to influence on the Republicans. He mainly used it to convey his thoughts and to report facts on healthcare to Congress members. Extract 1 demonstrates that the assertive illocutionary type was used by Obama to declare truths about the country's economic crisis to Congress members and the American population.

Extract 1 (Sp1, line 2):

“When I spoke here last winter, this nation was facing the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression”.

In extract 1 of the first speech, Obama tried in the beginning of his speech to provoke Congress members feeling through **reporting** facts in order to be able eventually of gaining their support for people who need affordable programme of health care.

In Speech 2 to the House of Democrats, Obama used the assertive illocutionary type for 131 times among the other types. He used this type in a lower frequency than in the first speech as he acted in a friendly environment of his party and fewer facts are

required to convince members to embrace his programme of health care. He used this type predominantly to assert his thoughts and to report facts on healthcare to members of the House Democrats and the rest of the American population. Extract 2 shows Obama revealing facts to the House Democrats and the rest of the American population.

Extract 2 (Sp2, lines 15-16-17):

“Eight hundred thousand people per month were losing their jobs. Millions of people were losing their health insurance”.

In extract 2 of the second speech to the House of Democrats, Obama reported facts to draw member’s attention to the jobs losses that Americans encountered. Moreover, Obama mentioned that in consequence of job losses, millions lost their health insurance. Obama used those two facts through the assertive type to convey effective message to his audience.

Speech 3 showed that Obama used the assertive illocutionary type in a lower frequency than in the first speech and the second speech as he used it only for 39 times since his programme of health care is approved by the Supreme Court and no intensified use of facts are required. Obama used this type to make declaration on the healthcare programme and also to report facts related to this programme. Extract 3 shows Obama using the assertive illocutionary type to make announcements.

Extract 3 (Sp3, line 1):

“Earlier today, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Affordable Care Act - the name of the health care reform we passed two years ago”.

Obama **announced** the approval of Obamacare into law by the Supreme Court through the assertive type to convey a piece of information to audience.

In extract 4, Obama **concluded** that the failure of the government in reforming healthcare system led to the bankruptcy of many American people.

Extract 4 (Sp1, line 26-27):

“Our collective failure to meet this challenge – year after year, decade after decade – has led us to a breaking point”.

In extract 5, Obama expressed his **opinion** to **assert** that the Congress members comprehend the difficulties of uninsured people who suffer of sickness money shortage.

Extract 5 (Sp1, line 27-28):

“Everyone understands the extraordinary hardships that are placed on the uninsured, who live every day just one accident or illness away from bankruptcy”.

Searle (1979) proposed that a speaker could use the assertive type to express what he believes to be the truth, through stating, concluding, reporting, asserting and claiming (pp.12-13). It is clear that Obama used the assertive type as Searle (1979) introduced it to achieve several targets in his three speeches. From examining the three extracts that represents the assertive type in the three speeches, it is noticed that Obama used this type in the first two speeches to give a flow of negative facts related to the economic and health care situation in order to put his audience in a compassionate sphere with his programme. On the other hand, in the third extract Obama used this type to convey positive information to his audience as Obamacare was approved into law and health care became promising.

4.2.2 The Commissive Acts

In total, Obama had used this type of illocutionary act a total of 81 times out of 548 counts. This made up 14.9% of the total. Obama used the commissive acts in the three speeches to send various promises. Obama used various linguistic formulas that

contain modal verbs and verb to be, such as: *will +verb, will +be, will not+be, would+be, can +no longer and are+ ing* to express his intention regarding futuristic actions in his promises. The following paragraphs show commissive acts from the highest to the lowest, according to their occurrences in the three speeches.

In Speech 1, the commissive type was ranked second among other acts as it was used for 40 times to give promises of offering an affordable healthcare programme. In addition, Obama promised that government will not spend money on abortion. Moreover he promised that Obamacare will help companies to grow as the programme will help them to buy affordable health insurance for their employees. Extract 1 shows Obama promising Congress members and Americans that he will enhance economy.

Extract 1 (Sp1, lines 6-7-8):

“And **I will not** let up until those Americans who seek jobs can find them; until those businesses that seek capital and credit can thrive; until all responsible homeowners can stay in their homes”.

In extract 1, Obama used the first singular person (**I**) to give several clear promises to congress and Americans. Furthermore, he used the modal verb (*will +not*) to promise that he will work to offer jobs for people who do not have them. Moreover, he promised that he will work to make business prosper and people can keep their houses. It is noticed that Obama delivered three promises in Extract 1 that served together emphatic purpose, aimed to influence on his audience in order to gain their support for his policy.

The commissive illocutionary type identified in Speech 2 was ranked third among the other types as it was used for 21 times. Obama had used the commissive type in his speech to the House of Democrats. This occurrence revealed that Obama was not inclined towards using the act of promising highly since he acted in the capacity of the Democratic Party that had already supported and adopted his healthcare programme.

In extract 2, Obama used the first person plural (we) to speak on behalf of government. He promised the House Democrats members and Americans to offer an efficient healthcare programme for poor and old people.

Extract 2 (Sp2, line 194):

“we **are going to make sure** that seniors and the poor have health care coverage that they can count on”.

Obama used promising in extract 2 as a means of persuasion through the using of the verb to be (*are+going*) to deliver a promise of achieving futuristic action in order to gain audience support for his programme of health care.

In Speech 3, the commissive type was ranked second among the other types in Obama’s speech to Americans, upon the approval of the programme by the Supreme Court as it was used for 20 times. This helped Obama to present his promises as a way to gain the support of the Americans. Here, Obama also made a lot of promises which were related to improving the healthcare system for Americans.

On the other hand, he promised that the health insurance company will not be able of discriminating children who have pre-existence health issues. In extract 3, Obama promised the Americans that healthcare companies will be obliged to work fairly. This was after the approval of his healthcare programme by Supreme Court.

Extract 3 (Sp3, lines 15-16-17):

“Insurance companies **can no longer** impose lifetime limits on the amount of care you receive. They **can no longer** discriminate against children with preexisting conditions. They **can no longer** drop your coverage if you get sick”.

In extract 3, Obama is the only speaker in his speech who gave promises to reform health system as he adopted Obamacare. He used modal verb (*can +no longer*) for three times, to promise Americans that health insurance company will not be able of imposing life parameters on the quantity that they get after the approval of Obamacare. In

addition, he used it to promise that companies will not be able of dropping sick people insurance or treats them unfairly because of having certain health issues.

It is clear that Obama is used to use repetition strategy that contains group of commissive type that work all together as a flow of powerful impact that aimed to influence and change audience opinions. From examining extract 1 and extract 3, it is noticed that Obama used repetition in both of extracts to deliver promises related to improving financial and health situation in the United States. In the first extract Obama used the modal auxiliary verb (*will*) to give several promises related to enhancing economy.

Moreover, in the second extract Obama used the modal verb (*can +no longer*) thrice to give serial of promises that announce a new regulation to control unfair treatment that healthcare companies impose on patients. In the three extracts Obama used the commissive type to deliver promises that contain futuristic actions that go in harmony with Searle's (1979) concept of commissive type, in which he proposed that speaker can use the commissive type to send messages that include promising, offering, threatening, pledging and vowing (pp.14-15). Searle (1979) asserts that "Commissives then are those illocutionary acts whose point is to commit the speaker (again in varying degrees) to some future course of action" (p.14).

4.2.3 The Directive Acts

The directive type was ranked third in the total outcomes of the three speeches as it was used 41 times. Obama used this type to request, question and advise Congress, House of Democrats and health insurance companies to reform healthcare system. Obama used various interrogative formulas in questioning such as: *what, how, are, is* and *will* in order to achieve his goal through this type. In addition, he used the *negative imperative* formula to request support for his programme in Congress and House of Democrats through using: *should not* and *do not* to achieve his request. Moreover,

Obama used the modal verbs *must* and *should* in declarative sentences to request Congress members to reform health care system. Obama also used the affirmative imperative formula through the verb (*do*) to advice House of Democrats members to fix health insurance situation.

Table 4.3 shows varieties of directive acts that were used by Obama in the three speeches.

Requesting	Questioning	Advising
19	13	15

Table 4.3 Varieties of Directive type in the Three Speeches

Obama used the directive acts in the three speeches variously. The following paragraphs show these acts from the highest to the lowest, according to their occurrences in the three speeches.

In Speech 2, the directive illocutionary type was noted to rank second among the other types as it was used for 27 times. In his speech to the House Democrats, however, Obama used the directive type to address some questions about the efficiency of the available healthcare system to the members and also to encourage them to support the improvement of the healthcare offered to Americans. In extract 1, Obama asked the members of the House Democrats to vote for his healthcare programme so as to be able to offer Americans an affordable healthcare system.

Extract 1 (Sp2, lines 151-152-153-154):

But if you agree that the system is not working for ordinary families, if you've heard the same stories that I've heard everywhere, all across the country, then **help us** fix this system. **Don't** do it for me. **Don't** do it for Nancy Pelosi or Harry Reid. **Do it** for all those people out there who are struggling.

In extract 1 of speech 2, Obama used serials of utterances that contain the directive type for four times. In the first utterance, Obama used the directive type through the verb (*help*) to **request** the support of the House of Democrats to fix the health care system. In addition, he used the auxiliary verb (*do*) in the negative imperative form twice to give various **advices** to House of Democrats members that aim to provoke them to vote for his programme of health care. Furthermore, Obama used the auxiliary verb (*do*) in the affirmative imperative form to ask House of Democrats members to help people who need affordable health insurance by approving his programme.

In Speech 1, the directive type was ranked third among the other types as it was used for 12 times. This type was used by Obama in his speech to Congress where he asked the members to support his healthcare programme and also he asked the insurance companies to work according to law so as to offer affordable health insurance to Americans. In extract 2, Obama asked Congress members and the media not to spread unreal claims that the government wanted to take over the business of health insurance companies.

Extract 2 (Sp1, lines 220-221-222):

“But its impact **shouldn't** be exaggerated – by the left, the right, or the media. It is only one part of my plan, and **should not** be used as a handy excuse for the usual Washington ideological battles”.

In extract 2 of speech 1, Obama used the modal auxiliary verb (*should*) twice in the negative form to ask media and Congress not to use his plan of health care in their political conflict as a means of gaining scores.

In Speech3, the directive type was ranked fourth among the other types as it was used twice only. Speech 3 was delivered after the approval of his healthcare programme when it was turned into legislation. In extract 3, Obama asked officials to concentrate on

offering jobs, paying debts and promoting the economy so as to be more reliable for Americans.

Extract 3 (Sp3, lines 80-81-82):

And now is the time to keep our focus on the most urgent challenge of our time: putting people back to work, paying down our debt, and building an economy where people can have confidence that if they work hard, they can get ahead.

In extract 3 of speech 3, Obama used the utterance (*And now is the time*) to invite officials to work hard to pay debt and sustain economy.

In extract 4, Obama **asked** the Democrats members many **questions** through the directive type about his programme of healthcare. He used several interrogative formulas in questioning such as: (*what, how, is*) to achieve his target.

Extract 4 (Sp2, lines 45-46-47):

“**What** will this mean for the President's polls? **How** will this play out in November? **Is** this good or is this bad for the Democratic majority? **What** does it mean for those swing districts?”

It is noticed that Obama repeatedly used series of utterances that contain the auxiliary verb (*do*) in the first extract in order to provoke House of Democrats members to support his plan of health care. In addition, he used the repetition technique in the second extract twice through modal auxiliary verb (*should*) to influence on Congress members to stop using his plan of health care in their political clashes. It is clear that Obama used the directive type in the three speeches to carry out several demands. Those demands can be classified under Searle (1979) taxonomy of illocutionary acts in which a speaker can use the directive type to perform requesting, ordering, questioning, and advising as the illocutionary point or purpose of the directive type represents “attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something” (pp.13-14).

4.2.4 The Expressive Acts

The expressive type was ranked fourth in the total results of the three speeches as it was used 21 times. Mainly, Obama used the expressive type in his speeches to thank his audience through the using of the verb (*thank*) and he used certain greeting expressions to greet them. Searle (1979) proposed that this type can be used by a speaker to convey his feelings through apologizing, blaming, thanking, praising, congratulating and welcoming (pp.15-16). The following paragraphs show the occurrences of the directive type in the three speeches from the highest to the lowest.

In Speech 2, the expressive kind was ranked fourth among the other types as it was used for 15 times. Obama used the expressive type to thank and greet the members of the House of Democrats for receiving him. In addition, he used this type to express his appreciation for the efforts that the members spent to reform the healthcare situation. In extract 1, Obama expressed his thanks to the members of the House Democrats for their efforts made on the reformation of the healthcare plan.

Extract 1 (Sp2, lines 7-8):

“**thanks** for your tireless efforts waged on behalf of health insurance reform in this country”.

In Speech 3, the expressive kind was ranked third among the other types as it was used for 5 times only. Obama used the expressive type to greet Americans and to thank the Supreme Court after the approval of Obamacare. In extract 2, Obama used the expressive act in the opening of his statement to greet Americans, after the approval of his programme by the Supreme Court.

Extract 2 (Sp3, lines 1):

“**Good afternoon**”.

In Speech 1, the expressive kind was ranked fourth among the other types as it was used for 5 times only. Obama used the expressive type to thank the members of the

Congress for their efforts that they spent to legislate an affordable health care programme. Obama also thanked Americans for being patient during the critical times. In extract 3, where Obama made the speech to Congress, Obama had also expressed his gratitude to Americans for being patient during the conflict that had faced America.

Extract 3 (Sp1, lines 15-16):

I also want to **thank** the American people for their patience and resolve during this trying time for our nation.

4.2.5 The Declarative Acts

The outcome of analyzing the three speeches on health care made by President Barack Obama showed the absence of the declarative type as it is basically used in institutional contexts only (Searle, 1979, p.19).

4.2.6 Discussion of Illocutionary Types

The use of illocutionary types in the three speeches of Obama showed the appearance of the assertive, commissive, directive and expressive types while the declarative type was absent as it is used only in institutional contexts (Searle, 1979, p.19). The assertive and commissive types formed 88% of the total results.

In the current study, the assertive type was the most used type in the three speeches. Similar results appeared in the study of Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012), in which the assertive type possessed the first rank in Umaru's speech. In the study of Sameer (2014) the assertive type was the dominant type on El-Sisi inaugural speech while the commissive type in El-Sadat speech possessed the first rank of speech act types. Hashmi's (2015) study showed that half of Kerry's speech consists of commissive acts, while the majority of illocutionary acts in Bush's speech were the assertive type. Antony's (2015) study depicted that the assertive type is the most used type followed by the commissive type in Obama's speech. K& Novitasari's (2015) study showed that the assertive type is the most used type of illocutionary types in the

two speeches of the Indonesian President. The study of Bashir and Sameer (2017) showed that the most used type in Bush speech was the assertive type, while the commissive types was the most used type in Obama’s speech.

It was clear that the assertive illocutionary type had employed by Obama more frequently in all the three speeches as a strategy to reveal his opinions regarding the healthcare system and also to report on the facts related to the healthcare issue. On the other hand, the commissive type possessed the second rank in the speeches of Obama as it was used as a means of persuasion through giving promises related to improving the healthcare system for Americans in order to gain their support.

4.3 The Illocutionary Functions

The three speeches of Obama depicted the use of the illocutionary functions in various rates as illustrated in Table 4.4.

Functions Type	Occurrence	Percentage	
Collaborative	Sp1: 231	401	73.1%
	Sp2: 131		
	Sp3: 39		
Convivial	Sp1: 45	106	19.4%
	Sp2: 36		
	Sp3: 25		
Competitive	Sp1: 12	41	7.5%
	Sp2: 27		
	Sp3: 2		
Conflictive	Sp1: 0	0	0%
	Sp2: 0		
	Sp3: 0		
Total		553	100%

Table 4.4: Occurrence and Percentage of Illocutionary Functions in the Three Speeches

The illocutionary functions are examined through Leech's (1983) concept of illocutionary functions which is made in harmony with Searle's (1979) taxonomy of illocutionary acts. From examining the Table 4.4, it is clear that Obama used the several types of illocutionary functions in different degrees. The collaborative function was the most prevailing type in the three speeches as it was used for 401 times of the total functions. On the other hand, the results of the convivial function formed 106 occurrences of the used function in the three speeches. Moreover, the table showed that the results of the competitive formed 7.5% of the total functions. Finally, it is recognized that Obama never used the conflictive function in the three speeches as the results of the table reflected the absence of this type.

4.3.1 The Collaborative Function

Leech (1983) proposes that a collaborative function is used by a speaker for "Asserting, reporting, announcing, instructing" (p.104).

The collaborative function was more prevalent than other functions in the three speeches as it was used 401 times. The following paragraphs show these functions from the highest to the lowest, according to their occurrences in the three speeches.

In Speech 1, the collaborative function was ranked first. It was used mainly by Obama in conveying his message through stating and reporting to Congress members and Americans. In extract 1, Obama used the collaborative function to conclude that American economy will not recover in the next few months.

Extract 1 (Sp1, line 6):

"A full and vibrant recovery is many months away".

In Speech 2, the collaborative function also ranked first. This function revealed that Obama had employed it basically to assert his thoughts and to report on facts to the members of the House Democrats and Americans.

In extract 2, Obama used the collaborative function to state that the dispute on healthcare reformation took a long time.

Extract 2 (Sp2, line 13):

“This debate has been a difficult debate”.

In Speech 3, the collaborative function dominated on other functions. Obama had used this function to report on the approval of his healthcare programme by the Supreme Court and also to declare facts related to healthcare to Americans. In extract 3, Obama used the collaborative function to conclude that there will be a lot of debate after the approval of Obamacare related to the winner and loser in this system.

Extract 3 (Sp3, line 13):

“I know there will be a lot of discussion today about the politics of all this, about who won and who lost”.

From examining the three previous extracts through Leech’s (1983) concept of illocutionary functions, it is observed that the examples of the collaborative function are basically irrelevant to politeness as they are used basically by Obama for conveying facts and thoughts to audience.

4.3.2 The Convivial Function

Leech (1983) suggests that the convivial function includes the commissive and expressive illocutionary types. According to Leech (1983) the commissive type belongs to the convivial function as it is used by a speaker for “promising, vowing, offering” (p.106). Leech (1983) proposed that the expressive type is part of the convivial function as it is used by a speaker, for “greeting, thanking, congratulating” (p.104). The convivial function possessed the second rank of the total functions with 106 occurrences.

The commissive acts were mainly used by Obama in all the three speeches while the expressive acts were less used by Obama through this function. The following

paragraphs show these functions from the highest to the lowest, according their occurrences in the three speeches.

In Speech 1, the convivial function ranked second. It was highly used through the commissive type and rarely used through the expressive type. Obama variously used the convivial function to promise Americans that he will give them an efficient system of healthcare. In extract 1, Obama used this function to promise Americans that they can keep their own insurance.

Extract 1 (Sp1, line 102):

“It **will provide** more security and stability to those who have health insurance”.

On the other hand, he used this function to express his grateful for the Congress members for their role in the reformation of the health system. In extract 2, Obama used this function to express his thanks and bless to Congress members.

Extract 2 (Sp1, line 387):

Thank you, God Bless You, and may **God Bless** the United States of America.

In Speech 2, the convivial function was ranked second. Obama used this function to give various promises related to healthcare reformation. In extract 3, Obama promised Americans who cannot afford buying health insurance that Obamacare will cover them.

Extract 3 (Sp2, line 112-113):

“Number three, if people still can't afford it **we're going** to provide them some tax credits - the biggest tax cut for small businesses and working families when it comes to health care in history”.

On the other hand he used the expressive type to thank and greet the members of House of Democrats for their effort that they spent to develop reliable healthcare system.

Obama used the expressive function in extract 4 to express his thanks to House of Democrats for receiving him.

Extract 4 (Sp2, line 252):

“**Thank you** very much, House of Representatives”.

In Speech 3, the convivial function was ranked second. Obama variously used promises through the convivial function to propose his plan of health reformation.

In extract 5, Obama promised Americans that their life will be more secure after the approval of Obamacare by the Supreme Court.

Extract 5 (Sp3, lines 13-14):

“First, if you’re one of the more than 250 million Americans who already have health insurance, you **will keep** your health insurance”.

On the other hand, Obama used this function in extract 6 to thank Supreme Court for approving Obamacare.

Extract 6 (Sp3, lines 29-30):

“And **thanks** to today’s decision”.

From examining the three previous extracts through Leech’s (1983) concept of illocutionary functions, it is noticed that Obama essentially acts politely towards his audience in order to achieve his social goal that is embodied in the convivial function.

4.3.3 The Competitive Function

Leech (1983) suggests that the competitive function represents the directive type as it is used for “Ordering, asking, demanding begging” (p.104).

The competitive function possessed the third rank in the three speeches as it was used only 40 times by Obama. The following paragraphs show these functions from the highest to the lowest, according to their occurrences in the three speeches.

In Speech 2, the competitive function possessed the second rank. Obama used this function differently to ask the Democrats whether they think the programme is good

or bad for their party. In extract 1 he used this function to provoke them to pay attention for people's needs.

Extract 1 (Sp2, line 46):

“Is this good or is this bad for the Democratic majority?”

In Speech 1, the competitive function possessed the third rank. Obama used this function variously to convey direct and indirect questions. For instance, he asked Congress members not to stand against his programme of healthcare because of their ideological differences and shown in extract 2.

Extract 2 (Sp1, line 112-113):

“It is only one part of my plan, and **should not** be used as a handy excuse for the usual Washington ideological battles”.

In Speech 3, the competitive function was ranked third. Obama used this function to ask officials and businessmen to reform the economy. Moreover, he used it to advise officials to carry out and improve Obamacare (Extract 3).

Extract 3 (Sp3, line 76-77):

“With today's announcement, **it's time for us to move forward** - to implement and, where necessary, improve on this law”.

From Applying Leech (1983) concept of illocutionary functions on the three previous extracts, it is noticed that Obama acts politely towards his audience to achieve his social aim through ordering, asking and demanding to reduce the disagreement between the two sides.

4.3.4 The Conflictive Function

Leech (1983) proposed that the conflictive function clashes with the social aims. The results of analysing the three speeches showed the absence of the conflictive function since it represented the declarative act that was also noted to be absent in the

current study. This could be related to its use in institutional contexts only as proposed by Searle (1979, p.19).

4.3.5 Discussion of Illocutionary Functions

The use of the illocutionary functions depicted the appearance of the collaborative, convivial, competitive functions and the absence of the conflictive function that represents the declarative illocutionary type as it is only used in institutional contexts (Searle, 1979, p.19). The collaborative and the convivial functions formed 92.6% of the total functions in the three speeches as they were mainly used by Obama. Furthermore, the collaborative function was ranked first and the convivial type ranked the second. The collaborative function is the most used function in the three speeches of Obama as it was used by Obama for reporting facts and stating thoughts in order to influence on American people and officials to gain their support for his programme of healthcare. The convivial function was ranked second in the three speeches of Obama. It was rarely used through the expressive type to express his thanks and appreciations for Congress, House of Democrats and Americans. While the commissive type that belongs to the convivial function was used by Obama to give various promises. He promised that he will offer affordable healthcare programme for Americans which will not consume the American budget. Overall, Obama had used the convivial function to express his feeling towards the hard decision of Obamacare that Congress, House of Democrats and Supreme Courts achieved altogether. On the other hand, Obama used the convivial function highly to give promises related to developing healthcare system.

The results of this study showed that collaborative function was the most used type in the three speeches of Obama. The current results are similar to the results of the study that were done by K & Novitasari (2015) that examined the use of illocutionary acts in two speeches of the Indonesian President Joko Widodo. It is clear from the

result of this study and the previous study in literature that Presidents depended highly on the collaborative function to achieve their goals as it is a powerful tool of convincing through the usage of facts.

4.4 The Structure of Obama's Speeches

It is clear that Obama relied mainly on group of sentences to achieve his programme of healthcare. Those sentences contain the assertive and commissive type that formed 88% of the total acts of the three speeches. On the structural level, Obama mainly used the assertive type to report facts on healthcare and to assert his thoughts on this issue, as well as he used this type to make conclusion on healthcare situation.

On the other hand, Obama mainly used the modal verb *will* to promise through the commissive type while he used the modal verbs *should*, *must* and the auxiliary verb *do* to achieve his goal through the directive type. In addition, Obama mainly used the verb *thank* through the expressive type to express his gratitude to his audience.

4.4.1 Sentences of Similar Meanings

From reading, viewing and analysing the first and second speech of Obama, it can be noticed that he used many sentences, which have similar meaning in both speeches. On the other hand, those similar sentences were used as well in other videos of Obama on healthcare other than those used in this study.

In extract 1, Obama used sentences that served similar meaning through the first speech (lines 71-75). Moreover, he adopted the same technique in extract 2 (lines: 76-83) of the second speech. Obama used the two extracts to report the differences between the point of views of the Democrats and Republicans regarding making the health sector to be controlled by the private sector or government in order to reform it.

Extract 1 (Sp1 to Congress):

There are **those on the left** who believe that the only way to fix the system is through a single-payer system like Canada's, where we would severely restrict the private insurance market and have the government provide coverage for everyone. On the **right**, there are those who argue that we should end the employer-based system and leave individuals to buy health insurance on their own.

Extract 2 (Sp1 to House of Democrats):

Now, **there are some** who wanted a single-payer government-run system. That's not this bill. The **Republicans** wanted what I called the "foxes guard the henhouse approach" in which we further deregulate the insurance companies and let them run wild, the notion being somehow that that was going to lower costs for the American people.

From examining the sentences in extract 1 and extract 2, it is noticed that Obama used indirect language in his speech to congress when he described the Republicans as the right. In contrary, he used direct language to describe the Republicans with their title. It is clear that Obama used a formal language in extract 1 of his speech to Congress, as he tried to influence on the controversial environment that represents the Republicans, whereas he used proverb in extract 2 to his own party as he acted in friendly sphere.

Obama used sentences that served similar meaning in extract 3 of the first speech (lines: 131-133) and extract 4 of the second speech (lines: 95-99).

Extract 3 (Sp 1 to Congress):

“We will do this by **creating a new insurance exchange – a marketplace** where individuals and small businesses will be able to shop for health insurance at competitive prices”.

Extract 4 (Sp 2 to House of Democrats):

The second thing this does is it **creates a pool, a marketplace**, where individuals and small businesses, who right now are having a terrible time out there getting health insurance, are going to be able to purchase health insurance as part of a big group -just like federal employees, just like members of Congress.

It is observed that both speeches contain facts related to establishing a market of affordable health insurance in which people can find the best choice of health coverage. In extract 3, Obama used the commissive act in the first speech to convey his ideas through promises, while he used the assertive act in extract 4 to convey his ideas through facts reporting.

In addition, Obama used sentences that contain similar promises in extract 5 of the first speech (lines: 140-142) and extract 6 of the second speech (lines: 104-105).

Extract 5 (Sp1 to Congress):

“For those individuals and small businesses, who still cannot afford the lower-priced insurance available in the exchange; **we will provide tax credits**, the size of which will be based on your need”.

Extract 6 (Sp2 to House of Democrats):

“Because this year, **small businesses will start getting tax credits** so that they can offer health insurance to employees who currently don't have it...”

In both extracts Obama used the commissive type through the modal verb (**will**) to promise that government will give tax returns to people who cannot afford buying health insurance.

Furthermore, Obama used sentences in extract 7 and extract 8 that gave similar promises through the first speech (lines: 116-117) and the second speech (lines: 91-93) respectively.

Extract 7 (Sp1 to Congress):

“As soon as I sign this bill, **it will be against the law for insurance companies to drop your coverage** when you get sick or water it down when you need it most”.

Extract 8 (Sp 2 to House of Democrats):

Insurance companies **are not going** to game the system with fine print and rescissions and dropping people when they need it most, but instead **are going** to have to abide by some basic rules of the road that exemplify a sense of fairness and good value.

Obama used the directive type through the modal verb (**will**) in extract 7 to promise that Obamacare will prevent health insurance companies from dropping sick people health coverage. In addition, he gave the same promise in extract 8 through the verb to be (**are + going**) through the negative form.

4.4.2 Paragraphs of One Type of Illocutionary Acts

Obama devoted group of sentences for each type of illocutionary acts in one paragraph in order to convey emphatic message. Therefore, we might find a paragraph composed only of one of type of illocutionary acts in his speeches.

In extract 1, Obama devoted one paragraph for the commissive type, in which he gave promises related to legislating rules that oblige health insurance to work fairly.

Extract 1, Sp1, Commissive Acts:

What this plan **will** do is to make the insurance you have work better for you. Under this plan, it **will** be against the law for insurance companies to deny you coverage because of a pre-existing condition. As soon as I sign

this bill, it **will** be against the law for insurance companies to drop your coverage when you get sick or water it down when you need it most. They **will** no longer be able to place some arbitrary cap on the amount of coverage you can receive in a given year or a lifetime.

In the commissive type of the first extract of speech one, Obama used the repetition of the modal verb (**will**) to give a series of futuristic promises to Congress and Americans in order to propagandize his programme of health care.

In the second extract, Obama devoted full paragraph for the directive type to make his audience sympathize with Americans' needs and to provoke them to support his reformation of health care system. Obama used series of utterances in one paragraph that contains the directive type in the second speech to the House of Democrats as illustrated in the next example:

Extract 2, Sp2, Directive Acts:

But if you agree that the system is not working for ordinary families, if you've heard the same stories that I've heard everywhere, all across the country, then **help** us fix this system. Don't do it for me. **Don't** do it for Nancy Pelosi or Harry Reid. **Do** it for all those people out there who are struggling.

Obama used the directive type in extract 2 through the verb (**help**) and the auxiliary verb (**do**) in the affirmative and negative imperative form. He used several utterances that contain the directive type to send several advices to House of Democrats members related to voting for his programme of health care.

In the third extract of the third speech, Obama used the assertive type that formed one paragraph as illustrated below:

Extract 3, Sp3, Assertive Acts:

Earlier today, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Affordable Care Act -- the name of the health care reform we passed two years ago. In

doing so, they've reaffirmed a fundamental principle that here in America -- in the wealthiest nation on Earth – no illness or accident should lead to any family's financial ruin.

In extract 3, Obama used the assertive type report the approval of his plan of health care by the Supreme Court through the use of one paragraph in order to send fact to his audience and to assert his opinion regarding health care in the United States.

4.5 Summary

The findings of the recent study confirmed the results of the previous studies in the literature. The results showed that leaders tended basically to use the assertive and commissive acts to achieve the goals of their speeches. In addition, leaders tended mainly to use the collaborative function and the convivial function to convey their messages. The results of this study showed that the assertive type is the most used act by Obama, as he used this type for 401 times out of 548 for reporting, asserting, declaring and concluding. On the other hand, the commissive type was the second most used act by Obama with 81 occurrences.

Furthermore, Obama used the directive type 41 times in his three speeches for requesting, questioning and advising. The expressive came on the fourth rank of the used acts by Obama, as he used it only for thanking and greeting his audience. Meanwhile, the results depicted the absence of the declarative act in the three speeches as it is used only in institutional contexts only (Searle, 1979, p.19). The results of the used functions, reflected that the collaborative type is basically unrelated to politeness as it is used essentially by Obama for conveying facts and thoughts to audience for 401 times.

On the other hand, the convivial function expressed that Obama mainly acted politely towards his audience through 106 occurrences. Furthermore, the social goal of the competitive function was achieved by Obama through using it for 41 times. The

results showed the absence of the conflictive function, as Leech (1983) proposed that this function clashes with the social goal that speaker intends to convey to his audience.

Regarding the theme, Obama focused on the importance of offering affordable healthcare system for Americans in order to save them from bankruptcy and also to enhance economy and health insurance sector. Furthermore, it is noticed from the analysis process of the three speeches, that Obama devoted groups of sentences and paragraphs for some acts in order to serve emphatic purpose. On the other hand, Obama used sentences that served similar meanings in his speeches to Congress and House of Democrats as he wanted to emphasise on certain issues of healthcare.

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CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

The results of the current study are presented through this chapter. This chapter also presents the implication of this study and gives recommendations for further studies to be taken in consideration by researchers in future. As mentioned in the opening chapter of this study, the objectives of this paper were to examine the use of illocutionary acts and their functions in three selected speeches of Obama on healthcare through Searle's (1979) theory of speech act and Leech's (1983) concept of illocutionary functions respectively.

5.2 Results

This part of the research presents a summary of the research questions and the results from analysing the three speeches of Obama on healthcare.

5.2.1 Types of Illocutionary Acts in Obama speeches of Healthcare

From reading, viewing and analysing the first and second speech of Obama, it is observed that many sentences with similar meanings were used by Obama in both speeches. On the other hand those similar sentences were used in other videos of Obama on healthcare. It is clear that Obama relied mainly on groups of sentences to convey his messages' intentions through the assertive and commissive type to present his programme of healthcare.

The assertive illocutionary type was the most used type by Obama in the three speeches. Obama applied the assertive type to *report facts* for 227 times, in addition he used it to *assert* his *thoughts* for 129 times. Furthermore, Obama used the assertive type to make *conclusion* on certain cases for 34 times, as well as he used it to make *declarations* for 11 times. It is clear that Obama used the assertive type highly in his

three speeches in order to reveal his opinions regarding healthcare system and also to report facts related to healthcare issue.

The results of analysing the three speeches of Obama on healthcare showed that the commissive type possessed the second rank of the used types by Obama in the three speeches. Obama used several linguistic forms that consisted of modal verbs and verb to be, such as: *will +verb, will +be, will not+be, would+ be, can +no longer and are+ ing* to send a message that contained futuristic actions. In the first speech the commissive type possessed the second rank

On the other hand the commissive type possessed the third rank in the second speech. While in the third speech the commissive type possessed the second rank. The commissive type possessed the second rank in Obama speech to Congress and also in his speech after the approval of the programme into law by the Supreme Court. This depicted the promises that Obama gave to Congress members in his speech in order to gain their support, as well as he gave a lot of promises related to improving the healthcare system for Americans in his speech to Congress and his speech after the approval of the programme. On the other hand Obama used the commissive type in his speech to the House of Democrats only for 23 times out of total 196 illocutionary acts. This reveals that Obama tended not to use promises highly since he acted in the environment of the Democratic Party that already supported and adopted his programme of healthcare.

The directive type is the third frequently used type of illocutionary acts in the three speeches. Obama applied several *interrogative* forms in questioning such as: *what, how, are, is* and *will* to fulfill his aim through this type. Furthermore, he used the *negative imperative* forms through the use of modal verb *should+ not* and the auxiliary verb *do+ not* to carry out his goals. In addition, Obama applied the modal verbs *must* and *should* in *declarative* utterances to request reformation for health care system. In

the first speech the directive kind possessed the third rank. On the other hand the directive kind possessed the second rank in the second speech. While in the third speech the directive kind possessed the fourth rank as it is used only for 2 times that form 2.8% of the total 65 illocutionary acts. The directive type is used by Obama in his speech to Congress to ask the members to support his programme of healthcare and also to ask insurance company to work according to law to offer affordable health insurance for Americans. On the other hand in his speech to The House of Democrats Obama used the directive type to address some questions to the members about the efficiency of the available healthcare systems and also to encourage them to support the improvements that his programme of healthcare offer for Americans. While in the third speech that was delivered after the approval of his programme of healthcare into law, Obama used the directive type only twice to in order to ask the health insurance companies to offer free protective precaution for Americans and also to ask people who can afford healthcare insurance to by their insurance.

The fourth most used type of the illocutionary acts is the expressive type. Basically, Obama applied the expressive kind in his speeches to express his thanks to his audience through the using of the verb *thank*. Furthermore, he used certain salutation terms such as: *good afternoon* to greet his audience. In the first speech the expressive type possessed the fourth level. On the other hand, the expressive type possessed the fourth rank in the second speech. While in third speech, the expressive kind possessed the third rank. Obama rarely used the expressive type in the first and third speech while he used it highly in the second speech to express his thanks and appreciation for House of Democrats for support.

The results of analysing the three speeches showed the absence of the declarative type as it is used basically in institutional context Searle (1979, p.19).

5.2.2 Types of Illocutionary Functions in Obama Speeches of Healthcare

Obama used the illocutionary functions differently in the three speeches. The collaborative function is the most used function by Obama in the three speeches. In the first speech, the collaborative function possessed the first rank of the used functions. Furthermore, the collaborative function had the highest level compared to the results of the same function in the other two speeches as Obama used it to support his proposal with facts and evidences to gain Republicans support in Congress. Moreover, Obama used this function to present facts on health care system to Congress and to express his point of view regarding the solution for this case. On the other hand, the second speech depicted that the collaborative function possessed the first rank of the used functions. This function had the second level of the used collaborative numbers in the three speeches as it was used in a friendly environment of his party at House of Democrats. Obama used the collaborative function in this speech to reveal facts related to the economic situation and health care system to gain the support of House of Democrats. In the third speech the collaborative function dominated on other functions. This function showed the lowest level of the used collaborative numbers compared to the same function in the other two speeches as no more extended facts and opinions were required in the third speech in which Obama announced that Obamacare had been approved into law by the Supreme Court. The total outcome of this function in the three speeches revealed that Obama relied highly on this function to convey facts and thoughts to audience in order to achieve his programme of healthcare.

The convivial function contains the commissive act and the expressive act. The commissive act is more used by Obama in the three speeches as it is used 108 occurrences of the total 566 functions, while the expressive act is used by Obama for 25 occurrences of the total 566 illocutionary acts of the three speeches. The convivial function possessed the second rank of the used functions in the three speeches of

Obama. In the first speech, the convivial function possessed the second rank of the used function. The second speech showed that the convivial function possessed the third rank of the used functions. While the third speech showed that the convivial function possessed the second rank of the used functions. The results of this function reflects that Obama used promises highly in his speech to Congress in order to attract them to vote for his programme while he showed less tendency in using promises in his speech to House of Democrats as he acted in a friendly environment of his party that adopted Obamacare.

In addition, he rarely used promises in the third speech as the programme has been approved by Supreme Court. Meanwhile Obama rarely used the expressive act through this function as it can be used in expressing feelings while he in need to declare facts and give promises through other functions to achieve his programme.

The competitive function possessed the third rank of the used functions in the three speeches. The first speech showed that the competitive function occurred in the third rank of the used functions. On the other hand, the second speech showed that the competitive function possessed the second rank of the used functions. The third speech depicted that the competitive function possessed the third rank of the used functions with 2 utterances that form 2.8% of the total 65 functions. In general, Obama used this function less than other functions as it is used mainly by him only to ask Congress and House of Democrats to vote for Obamacare while he used it to order healthcare companies not to exploit people.

The results of analysing the three speeches showed the absence of the conflictive function since it represents the declarative act that is used in institutional context Searle (1979, p.19).

5.3 Implication of the Study

Through examining the results of this study, leaders and writers can recognize how to use speech act to achieve their goals through using certain types of illocutionary acts and their functions in speeches. We can suggest that speeches have to be composed mainly of the assertive type and secondly of the commissive type, while the functions should consist basically of the collaborative function and secondly of the convivial function in order to convey effective messages. Furthermore, speech writers need to use the repetition technique of certain type of illocutionary type in their speeches in order to make emphatic factor that influences on audience (See 4.2.2 and 4.2.3). Moreover, speech writers should avoid the duplications of thoughts and sentences in the speeches that address the same topic by the same leader to avoid redundancy and monotony. In addition, this study will participate in bridging the gap that is found in literature regarding speech act studies of Obama speeches of healthcare.

5.4 Recommendation for Further Studies

Studies that might be done in the future on presidential speeches might need to compare between the videos and the transcripts of the chosen speeches for analysis in order to have an accurate understanding of the speeches. Moreover, researchers need to investigate the topic that they intend to examine in order to find if there are any kinds of mutual repeated sentences in the speeches which will help to understand the kind of illocutionary acts that presidents focus on in order to achieve their goals.

In addition, researchers need to examine the linguistic structural units that represent each illocutionary acts in order to have a deeper understanding of the examined data.

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