

**A SPEECH ACT ANALYSIS OF TUN MAHATHIR'S
POLITICAL SPEECHES**

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FACULTY OF LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS
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A SPEECH ACT ANALYSIS OF TUN MAHATHIR'S POLITICAL SPEECHES

ABSTRACT

Tun Mahathir is undeniably one of the most prominent political figures in Malaysia. During his tenure as the prime minister, he had transformed Malaysia's economy into becoming one of the most rapid developing nations in the South East Asian region. Despite Tun Mahathir's numerous successes, very few studies were conducted on his political speeches. In order to bridge the gap in literature, this study directed its focus on Tun Mahathir's language use as an important tool in his political speeches. Speeches are a prominent form of communication. It allows a speaker to convey his/her ideologies in a larger crowd and gain more attention from the hearers. Language also plays a crucial role in assuring the speeches are delivered with great clarity to the audience particularly in political speeches. It is therefore pivotal for a political leader to understand the power on the correct use of language in his/her political speeches. This study focused on Tun Mahathir's language use in performing the speech acts to convey his messages. The study adapted Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory (SAT) to analyze the utterances of Tun Mahathir's political speeches. Moreover, the objectives of the study are to identify the types and classification of speech acts and to illustrate how the speech acts are realized in his utterances. Overall, the results show that the representative act recorded the highest frequency with 81.4%. Meanwhile, the commissive act showed the lowest frequency with 1.2% from all the five speeches.

Keywords: speech act theory, political speech, Tun Mahathir

ANALISIS LAKUAN KATA DALAM UCAPAN POLITIK TUN MAHATHIR

ABSTRAK

Memang tidak disangkal lagi, Tun Mahathir merupakan salah seorang tokoh politik tersohor di negara ini. Dalam tempoh beliau memikul tanggungjawab sebagai perdana menteri Malaysia, pelbagai anjakan paradigma telah berjaya dicapai. Nama Malaysia juga berjaya dipahatkan sebagai salah satu negara dengan kadar pembangunan terpesat di rantau Asia Tenggara. Namun demikian, hanya beberapa kajian telah dijalankan atas ucapan-ucapan politik beliau sepanjang tempoh bertugas. Bagi merapatkan jurang sastera tersebut, kajian ini meletakkan penggunaan bahasa Tun Mahathir sebagai kunci utama dalam pidato politiknya. Hal ini kerana, pengucapan yang baik merupakan kunci utama komunikasi berkesan antara penyampai serta pendengar. Tambahan pula, penggunaan bahasa yang sesuai dengan orang ramai juga perlu dititikberatkan supaya maklumat dapat disampaikan dengan jelas terutama sekali dalam situasi ucapan-ucapan politik. Oleh yang demikian, seorang pemimpin perlu peka dengan penggunaan bahasa beliau bagi memudahkan khalayak ramai menghayati perkara yang ingin disampaikan. Penyelidikan ini mengadaptasikan teori yang telah dipelopori oleh seorang ahli falsafah dari Amerika iaitu Teori Lakuan Pertuturan Searle. Objektif utama kajian ini adalah untuk mengenal pasti jenis, klasifikasi serta memberi gambaran bagaimana speech acts diguna pakai dalam ucapan-ucapan Tun Mahathir.

Kata kunci: teori lakuan pertuturan, ucapan politik, Tun Mahathir

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Original Literary Work Declaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Abstrak	iv
Acknowledgements	v
List of Figures	ix
List of Tables	x
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background of the Study	3
1.3 Problem Statement.....	5
1.4 Research Objectives.....	7
1.5 Research Questions.....	7
1.6 Significance of the Study.....	8
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	10
2.1 Introduction.....	10
2.2 Speech Acts	10
2.3 Direct and Indirect Speech Acts	14
2.4 Political Speech	17
2.4.1 Studies on Speech Acts in Political Speeches	18
2.5 Tun Mahathir’s Political Speeches	20
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	24
3.1 Introduction.....	24

3.2	Analytical Framework	24
3.3	Research Design	26
3.4	Description of Data.....	26
3.5	Sources of Data.....	29
3.6	Coding of Data.....	30
3.7	Validity and Reliability.....	34
3.8	Ethical Considerations	34
3.9	Stages of Analysis.....	35
3.10	Unit of Analysis.....	35
3.11	Sample of Analysis	36
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION		38
4.1	Introduction.....	38
4.1.1	73 rd United Nations General Assembly	39
4.1.2	74 th United Nations General Assembly	41
4.1.3	ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS)	44
4.1.4	Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit.....	46
4.1.5	Kuala Lumpur (KL) Summit.....	48
4.2	Representatives	50
4.2.1	Speech Act of Informing	52
4.2.2	Speech Act of Asserting	57
4.2.3	Speech Act of Stating a Fact	61
4.2.4	Speech Act of Emphasizing	65
4.2.5	Speech Act of Expressing Hope.....	69
4.2.6	Speech Act of Disagreeing	71
4.2.7	Speech Act of Expressing Anger.....	74
4.2.8	Speech Act of Admitting.....	75

4.2.9	Speech Act of Concluding.....	77
4.3	Directives.....	78
4.3.1	Speech Act of Suggesting.....	80
4.3.2	Speech Act of Advising.....	84
4.3.3	Speech Act of Requesting	87
4.3.4	Speech Act of Pleading	91
4.4	Expressives	92
4.4.1	Speech Act of Thanking	93
4.4.2	Speech Act of Complimenting	97
4.4.3	Speech Act of Disliking	99
4.4.4	Speech Act of Congratulating	101
4.4.5	Speech Act of Liking.....	103
4.4.6	Speech Act of Welcoming.....	105
4.4.7	Speech Act of Regretting	106
4.5	Commissives.....	107
4.5.1	Speech Act of Promising.....	109
 CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION.....		113
5.1	Introduction.....	113
5.2	Conclusion	113
REFERENCES.....		117
APPENDIX		122

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1	35
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LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Searle’s Speech Act Theory	25
Table 3.2: Tun Mahathir’s Political Speeches	28
Table 3.3: Sources of Speech	30
Table 3.4: Coding for Tun Mahathir’s Political Speeches.....	31
Table 3.5: Coding for each Utterance of Tun Mahathir’s Political Speeches.....	31
Table 3.6: Coding for Speech Act Classification.....	31
Table 3.7: Coding for Directive Speech Act Type.....	32
Table 3.8: Coding for Commissive Speech Act Type.....	32
Table 3.9: Coding for Representative Speech Act Type.....	33
Table 3.10: Coding for Expressive Speech Act Type	33
Table 3.11: Sample of Analysis	37
Table 4.1: Frequency of Speech Act Classes in Tun Mahathir’s Speeches	38
Table 4.2: Frequency of Speech Acts in the 73 rd UNGA.....	39
Table 4.3: Frequency of Speech Acts in the 74 th UNGA.....	41
Table 4.4: Frequency of Speech Acts in the ABIS Summit.....	44
Table 4.5: Frequency of Speech Acts in the NAM Summit	46
Table 4.6: Frequency of Speech Acts in the KL Summit	48
Table 4.7: Representative Speech Acts	51
Table 4.8: Classification of Representative Speech Acts.....	52
Table 4.9: Directive Speech Acts	78
Table 4.10: Classification of Directive Speech Acts	79
Table 4.11: Expressive Speech Acts	92
Table 4.12: Classification of Expressive Speech Act	93

Table 4.13: Commissive Speech Acts.....	108
Table 4.14: Classification of Commissive Speech Act.....	108

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LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: 73rd United Nations General Assembly Speech	122
APPENDIX B: 74th United Nations General Assembly Speech.....	126
APPENDIX C: ASEAN Business and Investment Summit Speech.....	131
APPENDIX D: Non-Aligned Movement Summit Speech	135
APPENDIX E: Kuala Lumpur Summit Speech.....	138

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Speeches are a special form of communication. In fact, it has become a norm for speeches to be the highlight of important occasions. Speeches contain spoken and unspoken signals in the messages they convey. A speech is an orderly set of speech acts in a systemic verbal chain spoken by a person directed to a relatively specific audience (Reisigl, 2008). Oftentimes, a speech is delivered by the key person of an organization. Moreover, it is also delivered to different types of audiences depending on the context of the situation. Thus, there are many types of speech such as nomination speech, religious speech, political speech and so on. In addition, a speech can be either informative or persuasive and in certain contexts function as both. Other than that, speeches in general, function to bring about individual and/or group change via interpersonal, group, institutional, mass and intercultural communication (Gronbeck, et. al, 1997). Furthermore, a speech may allow for discussion to take place if it touches on matters that are required to be shared with the audience.

Political speech is a type of speech delivered to an audience in a political context. It contains issues that are of political concern to the audience. Charteris-Black (2005) asserted that leaders are dependent on spoken words to encourage others to trust their leadership. He added that in a political context, a successful speaker is required to be sensitive to the emotions and attitudes of the listeners. Political speech may also be delivered to deceive and manipulate a certain situation and persuade the audience(s) to agree with the speaker's ideology and beliefs. The ability of a political leader to influence depends on the support from the audience. It is no surprise that effective speech delivery depends on an effective use of speech acts. Several studies such as Suhair Safwat (2015),

Koutchade (2017), Sameer (2017), Dylgjeri (2017) and Akinwotu (2013) have looked into speech acts in political speeches and they will be elaborated below.

Language, undeniably, plays a vital role in everyday life. This is because it allows one to express and get a message across to the intended hearer(s). In other words, language is one of the most vital aspects of communication. According to Aristotle, language is defined as speech sounds that are produced to express emotions, feelings, thoughts, and etc. However, language can still be produced without the use of speech sounds, like the sign language. Sign language is expressed through symbols articulated manually with hand gestures and facial expressions. Moreover, sign language is also considered a natural language that consists of its own grammar and lexicon (Sandler and Lillo-Martin, 2006). Nonetheless, this study puts its focus primarily on the speech sounds. Noam Chomsky (2000) asserted that language is considered as the ability of a particular native speaker to form and understand the grammatical structure of a sentence. He added that it is a set of sentences, finite or infinite ones constructed with a finite set of elements and finite length. Through its structure, language functions to allow communication to take place. Language carries communicative roles which are influenced by situation and culture (Halliday, 1985). Language is a vital tool for many types of human activities such as discussions, arguments, conversations and speeches. In the case of speeches, language acts as a tool for the speaker to convey her/his thoughts and ideas. In fact, it is also a medium for the speaker to connect with the hearer as it is similarly applied in political speeches.

1.2 Background of the Study

The study on speech acts covers many different contexts including daily conversations, interviews as well as speeches. This paves the way to better understand the exchange of words in order to achieve a meaningful communication between the interlocutors – speaker and hearer. Speech acts are widely performed in conversations whether the speaker realizes it or not. In fact, it is almost impossible that an utterance produced does not contain a speech act. The study on speeches has gained more attention from researchers over the years. Political speeches contain substantial linguistic elements which help to create a relationship between political discourse and linguistic study. A political leader plays an important role in representing a country's beliefs and values. Also, Dedaic (2006) mentioned that political speeches act as a medium for the political leader to spread her/his communication strategy, ideologies and discuss cultural differences among nations.

An utterance that is produced implies several possibilities that may or may not align with the speaker's intention. As a matter of fact, a simple utterance as 'It is already getting late' could have a few interpretations; each with a different meaning. On the surface, the utterance can simply indicate the speaker's statement of the current time. Nonetheless, when considering a given context, it could imply the speaker's request to go home. Communication that occurs on a daily basis is based on utterances that are often produced spontaneously. As a result, some utterances can be seen as more ambiguous than others, yet allow for natural but successful conversation. This is due to the knowledge shared between the interlocutors of a particular situation. It is undeniable however that every utterance is produced with the speaker's intention to convey a particular message. Moreover, every speaker has the ability to manipulate language in conveying her/his messages. It also helps to reflect on the speaker's intention and personality.

Fundamentally, words play an important role in the production of speeches. This is because words allow a speaker to direct, declare, represent and express his/her thoughts and emotions. Moreover, it also allows a speaker to convey his/her messages with the correct choice of words. As a matter of fact, words are one of the key components of a successful communication. Undeniably, communication can occur both verbally and nonverbally. Furthermore, verbal and nonverbal communications are congruent with one another. Ekman, (1965) asserted that nonverbal communication can complement or highlight a specific part of a verbal message. Despite that, it is essential that the words chosen are suitable with the context and audience. The correct choice of word would directly allow the speaker to convey his/her message and create a connection with the audience. For example, the language use of a speaker in a professional context is often more formal than a speaker in a conversational context. As a matter of fact, speakers often adapt their language use depending on the context and hearer to fit into a situation.

This study focuses on an analysis of speech acts employed by Tun Mahathir Mohamad, arguably one of Malaysia's most influential leaders, in his speeches and identify the strategies used. This analysis also aims to determine how Tun Mahathir Mohamad depicts his opinions through the language that he uses to talk about certain issues to his audiences. The analysis will be based on Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory.

1.3 Problem Statement

Linguistics offers a vast area which allows language to be analyzed from different perspectives. Some of these include the study of syntax, semantics and pragmatics. In the case of pragmatics, it is directed at the meanings of utterances with regard to the context. Similarly, Leech (1983) viewed pragmatics as the meaning of an utterance in regard to the speech. Furthermore, it also investigates the factors that govern one's language choice in social interaction and its effect on others (Crystal, 1987). Oftentimes, pragmatic analysis requires a profound understanding of the message implied and that the utterance be analyzed from various perspectives. Pragmatic studies also contain a wide variety of elements that can be investigated in relation to the context of the language. These elements include implicatures, deixis, presuppositions, as well as speech acts. The analysis of speech acts is a prominent aspect in the study of language and action. It can be employed in various speeches, including political speech. This is because political leaders often adopt several strategies to convey their ideology as well as persuade the audience to gain support.

Tun Mahathir is well-known for his dynamic characteristics and formidable leadership skills. These qualities have helped solidify his name in the political arena since his involvement in Malaysia's politics before Malaysia's pre-independence years. In his span of over 70 years in politics, he had served twice as the Prime Minister; in 1981 for 23 years and in 2018 for nearly two years. During his tenures, especially the first one, he implemented tremendous changes that saw Malaysia transform into a successful developing country. This is especially true in terms of Malaysia's modernization which includes the construction of the Kuala Lumpur City Centre (KLCC), the Kuala Lumpur (KL) Tower and the Sepang International Circuit. Additionally, Tun Mahathir is also responsible for the establishment of the Federal Territory of Putrajaya as the centre of

Malaysia's federal administrative affairs. These achievements however are not isolated from his leadership skills, which are also manifest in his speeches. Tun Mahathir is also known for his speeches as he possesses the ability to capture people's attention whenever he speaks. Somun (2003) added that Tun Mahathir speaks courageously with great composure and with magnanimity in words and thoughts. Every speech evidently reflects his stance and characteristics without prejudice towards both local and international audiences. Persuasion is indeed a prominent attribute that every leader needs to have. Tun Mahathir left an impact on Malaysia's political and economic scenes that his views are still favored by many even today. Moreover, Dhillon (2009) stated that Tun Mahathir is known as a model Muslim leader and the 'Third World Spokesman'. As a matter of fact, these stunning achievements have not yet been emulated by any other political leader in Malaysia. Tun Mahathir is bold, honest and highly persuasive which hence puts him in line with other credible leaders across the world.

Tun Mahathir's speeches are critical of the issues raised and therefore are the 'reason' for the attention gained. This can be seen through the speeches which often reflect on Tun Mahathir's attitude and stance towards a particular issue. Therefore, the listeners are able to understand his attitude and personality from his perspective. Nonetheless, this has raised several issues regarding his speeches.

Despite Tun Mahathir's success especially in the political world, not enough research has been conducted on his political speeches based on Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory. Tun Mahathir has been a prominent leader not only in Malaysia, but throughout the world. Hence, he used to have a lot of influence on other people's perspective on certain issues. However, few studies have been conducted on Tun Mahathir's speeches; past studies overwhelmingly focused on his power to influence his audience(s) but have little to say on his use of language to effectively communicate with his audiences. In addition, the

studies also often concentrate on his success and recognition, through his political discourse but neglect to recognize that the language used in it is one of the most powerful means of communication. Somehow, political speeches are rarely perceived as a form of communication, rather an expression of thought and feelings through the speaker's articulation of words. Thus, the present study seeks to analyze the speeches of Tun Mahathir by focusing on the strategies used in them. Additionally, this study also attempts to shed some light on Tun Mahathir's success as the prime minister of Malaysia.

1.4 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research are:

1. To identify the illocutionary acts performed in Tun Mahathir's speeches
2. To investigate how the speech acts are realized in the types of illocutionary acts performed

1.5 Research Questions

1. What are the illocutionary acts performed by Tun Mahathir in his speeches?
2. How are the speech acts realized in the types of illocutionary acts performed?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study will help to unravel Tun Mahathir's language use which has helped him to get things done. It will also highlight the importance of language use in political speeches. Aside from that, this study provides a greater understanding of Tun Mahathir's strong influence to the public through the use of language in his speeches. This therefore also helps to create a clearer connection between political speeches and language use. Moreover, the outcome of this study will shed some light on one of Tun Mahathir's key successes in becoming a political leader. This study will also help to carve a means for further studies on language use in political speeches not only pertaining to Speech Act Theory, but other language theories as well. This, in turn, will widen the use of Speech Act Theory, not limiting it to normal forms of communications like interviews or daily conversations, but also including political speeches. In other words, this study will address the problem of political speeches in that it is often not perceived as one of the forms of essential communication.

Moreover, this study also helps to show the use of speech acts in political speeches which highlights the importance of language structure and choice of word in order to convey the intended messages. This, in turn, will demonstrate how the speech acts can be used as a tool to manipulate and influence one's opinion. Furthermore, this study will also examine, to some extent, Tun Mahathir's success in governing Malaysia during his tenures. It will help to illustrate the most common rhetorical strategies adopted by Tun Mahathir that made him an effective prime minister. Aside from that, the research may be able to demonstrate Tun Mahathir's characteristics depicted through the speeches he delivered. Additionally, it can establish the relationship between political speeches and speech acts as well as highlight how the use of speech acts can help to convey a speaker's intended message. This will therefore allow a political leader to improve her/his strategies to influence and gain support from the public. Through the study of speech acts used in

Tun Mahathir's speeches, the researcher will also be able to interpret the importance of persuasion and speech act in political discourse involving different audiences.

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CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the theories discussed in relation to political speeches including direct and indirect speech acts as well as Tun Mahathir's chronology and successes in the political world. Lastly, the chapter presents past studies on Tun Mahathir's political speeches and identifies the gap to facilitate with the study conducted.

2.2 Speech Acts

Language is essential in our everyday lives. However, language does not only serve as a tool to express ourselves, but it is also used to enquire, command, greet, etc. Hence, language is said to also be used to perform an action. For example, 'Close the door is not just a statement, but an order from the speaker for the hearer to perform an action. When an utterance is created for an action to take place, it is known as a speech act. Many language theorists have attempted to define speech acts. It was first introduced by Austin (1962) when he defined it as an action that takes place when an utterance is produced. Furthermore, Austin (1962) distinguished three levels of communicative act which include locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary. He further defined locutionary as written or uttered words, illocutionary as the intention of the speaker and perlocutionary as the speaker's intended effect. It was further developed by Searle (1969) into Speech Act Theory. He stated that there are five types of illocutionary acts that speakers can produce: commissives, directives, representatives, expressive and declaratives. This classification allows Searle to enhance Austin's method in classifying performative verbs. In fact, Yule (1996) added that under one general classification system, there are five functions listed. Nevertheless, Searle (1969) added that in order for an act to be accepted as intended, there are certain circumstances that need to be fulfilled. These are known as

felicity conditions. There are five preconditions included; general, content, preparatory, sincerity and essential conditions. In the case where any one aspect is missing, the utterance is considered infelicitous.

However, it is said that speech acts are mainly focused on exchange of conversations. Thus, the speaker and the hearer are required to interact verbally. This nonetheless can be argued that in natural communication, the hearer's reaction can be in a non-verbal form. Speech acts also occur in a one-way conversation whereby the hearer is not required to acknowledge or react to the speaker, as in speeches. Additionally, it is said that two different speech acts can be identified from the same utterance and thus can be vague. Nonetheless, both the speech acts identified can be acceptable with reasonable justifications. This is due to the hearers' differing perception of the speaker's intended message. These can therefore cause confusion to the hearer as s/he would not be able to clearly interpret the speaker's intended message. Moreover, the types of speech act under each classification stipulated by Searle are limited. Hence current researchers are required to identify new speech acts found with reference to Searle's definition of the classifications. The analysis of speech acts also involves an in-depth understanding of the context in which the conversation takes place.

Despite that, Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory also helps to give a better understanding on the use of language to assure effective communication. Aside from that, it highlights the importance of language as well as the right choice of words in communication. This is because an incorrect choice of words may cause exchange of conversations and its intended meaning may be misconstrued.

Today, many linguistic studies have been conducted based on Speech Act Theory. Simon and Dejica-Cartis (2015) studied written advertisements in newspapers and magazines. Nine and ten advertisements were extracted and analyzed from newspapers

and magazines respectively. Results were divided into micro and macro categories based on Van Dijk's discursal speech acts. Information recorded the highest frequency while suggestion, thanking and warning recorded the lowest for micro speech acts. As for macro speech acts, persuasion recorded the highest and offer and promise had the lowest. It was concluded that linearly, written advertisements only focus on the valid traits of products to persuade the addressee to react in a certain way. However, the study only covers a minor scope of advertisements, that is the written advertisements and hence is not sufficient to provide a good generalization of advertisements per se. Other than that, Malenab-Temporal (2018) studied the speech acts performed by ESL learners in the classroom. The data was taken from four different colleges and the conversations made in a Grammar and Composition class. 30 conversation exchanges were recorded and several were chosen for analysis. Results showed that expressives recorded the highest percentage and directives, declaratives and commissives were the lowest found. It was concluded that Speech Act Theory played an influential role on the ESL learner's language comprehension. This study nonetheless only viewed speech acts from a quantitative point of view. Therefore, the results shown were not able to help readers to better understand the purpose and functions of each act performed. Yarahmadi and Olfati (2011) researched on Anton Chekhov's play, *The Seagull* to investigate on the character's complex personalities in the play based on Speech Act Theory (SAT). Results found instances for all five taxonomies. The study concluded that SAT plays a substantial role in analyzing the play meaningfully as it allowed the research to reveal the hidden intentions and motives of the characters. In spite of that, the production of speech acts did not take place in a natural setting of communication as the play was scripted.

Hiani (2015) analyzed speech acts among Moroccan EFL learners. The study looked into the students' responses in daily conversations using a Discourse Completion Test (DCT). The results were divided into two categories; appropriate and inappropriate. It

showed that congratulating had the highest appropriate responses while complaining and criticizing had the highest inappropriate responses. It concluded that methods in learning English should be revised to improve learning. The study conducted nevertheless analyzed the responses of respondents through DCT and thus was unable to accurately analyze the occurrences of conversations in a natural context. Additionally, it also mainly focused on the appropriateness of responses from the respondents in regard to common matters discussed in daily conversations. Azweed Mohamad, et. al, (2018) analyzed speech acts in the Facebook posts of an apostate. The study looked into 648 status updates by an apostate, Lily (pseudonym). Results showed that expressive is the most frequently used speech act while commissive was the least used. They concluded that the status updates acted as a medium to persuade other users and gain support. Meanwhile, Carr, Schrock and Dauterman (2012) analyzed speech acts used in Facebook messages. The analysis was conducted on 46 participants and a total of 204 messages were collected. Results found that expressives recorded the highest occurrence while effectives and verdictives recorded the lowest.

Despite the large number of studies conducted on speech acts, a great percentage of them are focused on conversations where both the interlocutors act and react to the utterance. This can be due to the lack of attention given to the impact of speech acts and language use on other discourses. It is therefore imperative for studies on speech acts to be broadened to include a wide variety of discourses including political discourse. Both studies discussed just above were directed at communication which took place on social media. Therefore, the exchange of conversation may not be in a most genuine state compared to face-to-face conversations. All in all, the past studies presented here were not conducted in an in-depth manner. They greatly focused on the categorization of speech acts and therefore only identified the categories and types for each speech act produced. As a result, these studies lack the understanding for each speech act including

its realizations. This has restricted the understanding of language use and choice of words for meaningful and effective communication.

2.3 Direct and Indirect Speech Acts

Generally, a speaker's intended message can be literally interpreted by the hearer(s) through the utterance produced. For example, when a guest tells her/his host "It's very cold in here", it acts as the guest's conveyance of information of the 'temperature' in the room. However, in a conversation, the same utterance can mean one thing in a certain context while constituting another meaning when said in a different context. Therefore, the guest's statement "It's very cold in here" could also be her/his request to turn on the heater/increase the temperature. Depending on the context, the interpretation of a spoken utterance has to fit with its purpose. This is because an utterance produced can consist of several illocutionary acts and thus it might be complicated to determine the intended meaning of the utterance (Searle, 1998). If the information conveyed by the speaker is in a declarative sentence, it consequently falls under the direct speech act. On the other hand, if it functions as a request, the utterance hence does not directly serve as a representative act despite utilizing a declarative form. It can thus be said that the context plays a primary role in determining the function of the utterance. Based on the relationship between function and sentence type, if they do not align, the utterance is therefore an indirect speech act.

In the case of a direct speech act, the relationship between function and form has to be straightforward. This amounts to a logical interpretation of the sentence due to its literal aspect. In other words, to identify a direct speech act, the relationship between three structural forms (declarative, interrogative, imperative) and the general communicative

functions (statement, question, command/request) has to be direct (Yule, 1996). Therefore, under the direct speech act, the speech acts of asserting, informing and stating a fact fall under declarative sentence, the speech acts of suggesting, requesting and advising fall under imperative sentence and the speech act of questioning falls under interrogative sentence. Additionally, performative verbs are also occasionally used for direct speech acts. The performative verbs directly indicate the performance of speech act in the utterance. For example, 'I suggest that you finish the work now' can be instantly interpreted as a suggestion under the directive act.

Oktadistio, Mazrul Aziz and Zahrida (2018) studied the use of direct and indirect speech acts in the movie *The Revenant*. The analysis was conducted based on George Yule's (1996) Speech Act Theory and results showed that both direct and indirect speech acts were utilized throughout the movie. Additionally, 13 utterances were found for the direct speech act while 9 were identified for indirect speech act. Furthermore, under the direct speech act, 2 were for the act of stating, 2 were for the acts of ordering and requesting and 6 were identified for the act of questioning. The study concluded that both the Felicity Conditions and the genre of the movie have highly affected the production of the speech acts identified. On the other hand, Ayu Imelda (2014) looked into the direct and indirect speech act utilized in an interview with Facebook's Chief Operating Officer (COO) with Harvard's Business Review magazine. The interview was entitled 'Now is Our Time' and the analysis was conducted based on Yule's (1996) Speech Act Theory. The results from the study show that both direct and indirect speech acts were identified in the interview. Moreover, the majority of the utterances were directly presented with 103 utterances found. On the other hand, only 16 indirect speech acts were utilized in the interview. From the total of 103 utterances, 101 were classified under the act of asserting while 2 were for the act of requesting. As for the indirect speech act, 14 were classified under the act of requesting with only one utterance each were found for the acts of

promising and asserting respectively. Nonetheless, these studies were conducted based on Yule's (1996) Speech Act Theory. Also, Isna Kusuma Maghfira (2014) analyzed the use of direct and indirect speech acts in the well acclaimed movie, the Titanic. More specifically, this study analyzed the conversation exchanges between the higher and lower social classes in the movie. The study was conducted based on Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory. The analysis of the study showed that there are differences in the use of direct and indirect speech acts as the conversations took place between individuals from different social classes. Hence, the study concluded that the use of indirect speech acts were applied to show politeness, pride and wealth. Contrarily, the direct speech acts were utilized in casual situations to show intimacy. Furthermore, the use of the speech acts is also related to the social background of the uneducated and liberal society. This study nonetheless, compared the use of direct and indirect from different classes instead of conversation exchanges as a whole. Additionally, the study also did not look into a real life setting as the movie is scripted.

Nevertheless, oftentimes not all speech acts can be directly determined from the utterances. In daily conversations speakers usually apply different strategies to get the message across; intentionally or unintentionally. This is usually in keeping with the politeness strategies employed by the interlocutors. Moreover, it also allows the production of meaningful conversations. Thus, it can be said that when the function and form of utterance do not have a direct relation, the speech act becomes an indirect speech act. For example, an interrogative utterance 'Do you know where the sugar is?' functions more than a question. On the surface, the hearer might perceive the question as requiring a yes or no answer. However, it acts more as the speaker's request for the hearer to find the sugar.

Language allows speakers to say one thing while meaning something else yet they can still be comprehensible to the hearer (Searle, 1993). According to Searle (1993), an utterance should be read on two different levels; literal meaning and metaphorical meaning. This is because when a hearer shares an understanding of any background information with the speaker, s/he is able to understand the speaker's real intent when an indirect speech act is used. Finally, it can be said that in order to identify the illocutionary force of an utterance, the direct or indirect nature of a given speech act needs to be considered.

2.4 Political Speech

Politics is related to governance which ultimately determines the stability of a country. It is often interrelated with people who seek power and who resolve conflicts of differing interests involving money, influence, freedom, etc. (Chilton, 2004). These people are more often known as politicians and they spread their ideology and interests with hopes to gain support from the general public. This is however done through use of language in a variety of public contexts. It is therefore apparent that politics is highly dependent on language as it is almost impossible for political activities to run without language (David and Dumanig, 2011).

This has caused the creation of language commonly used in political contexts, which is political language. In addition, political language is likely to be linked to one's use of power to influence others. Unlike other speeches, political speech is delivered with the intent to persuade the hearers to support the speaker's cause. Most politicians are aware of the critical impact of the use of persuasive language in their speeches. In fact, metaphor, parallelism, euphemism and the use of pronouns are some of the linguistic devices that

are imperative to increase the persuasiveness and effectiveness of language (Thomas, et. al, 2004). Although persuasive language plays a major role in one's success or failure to persuade, the speaker's delivery approach needs to also be convincing. Moreover, the persuasiveness of an utterance requires a catalyst that would shapes, reinforce, or change one's response. This therefore would amend the hearer's beliefs, point of view and attitude pertaining the matter discussed. Walton (2007) also mentioned that persuasion can be observed by the change in the hearer's behavior. Beard (2000) added that the success of a political speech is not only affected by the correctness of truth but also the arguments presented.

Despite that, political speeches do not always produce a positive outcome. Some political speeches are used to propagate hate. As a matter of fact, political speeches today are often misused by several political leaders. This can be seen through several instances of political leaders who irresponsibly use their power and position to spread ideologies for their personal benefit. Moreover, it has also become more rampant in political speeches to spread misleading information without justification.

2.4.1 Studies on Speech Acts in Political Speeches

The study of speech acts has been conducted in many areas of communication. These include daily conversations, interviews, and speeches. This section further explains several studies that are conducted on political speeches based on Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory.

Suhair Safwat (2015) studied John Kerry's political speeches in 2004's presidential campaign and George Bush's inaugural address in 2001. A total of 20 sentences were extracted from the speeches. It was found that the commissive act recorded the highest

use in Kerry's speech and the directive act recorded the lowest. Contrarily, the assertive act recorded the highest use in Bush's speech while the expressive act recorded the lowest. However, the commissive act was the most frequent act found in both speeches and it was deduced that both political leaders demonstrated commitment towards building a better nation. Contrary to the current study, this study had only managed to categorize the utterances based on the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts as identified by Searle. Therefore, the full categories were not attested in their data. In another study, Koutchade (2017) analyzed the speech of the President of Nigeria, Muhammadu Buhari, at the 71st session of the UN General Assembly. Results from the qualitative and quantitative study show that representatives recorded the highest frequency and declaratives the lowest. The study concluded that Buhari's extensive use of the representative speech act proved that he was committed to making truthful utterances. Sameer (2017), on the other hand, also studied speech acts in inaugural speeches in Egypt. The study analyzed two speeches by El-Sadat and El-Sisi, from two different political eras. It was found that in El-Sadat's speeches, the commissive act was used most often. However, El-Sisi used assertive acts the most and declaratives acts the least. The study concluded that speech acts were used by the two leaders to acquire support and to speak their minds.

Other than that, Dylgjeri (2017) analyzed the political speech of Edi Rama after the general election in Albania. It looked into the use of speech acts in his speech to the Albanian people. Results showed instances of directives, commissives, assertives and expressives. Commissives recorded the highest while the lowest use was found for expressives. Nonetheless, this study had a greater focus on the quantity in which each class was found instead of the use and realization of the speech acts performed. In yet another study, Akinwotu (2013) studied speech acts in nomination speeches which analyzed the speeches of the former minister of finance in Nigeria, Obafemi Awolowo,

and a Nigerian businessman, M.K.O Abiola. The total speech acts found for both speeches were calculated. Results showed that assertives recorded the highest use while declaratives recorded the lowest. The study concluded that nomination speeches are different from inaugural ones as they are often used as strategies to persuade listeners. It was found that the analysis conducted mainly involved frequency counts of the occurrences of speech act classifications and thus, the discussion on the realization of speech acts was rather limited.

2.5 Tun Mahathir's Political Speeches

The extensive use of persuasive language is practiced by nearly all politicians, including Tun Mahathir. Tun Mahathir remains one of the most prominent prime ministers of Malaysia. As a matter of fact, Tun Mahathir's immense success and exceptional rhetorical abilities have put him on par with the world's paramount leaders in the eyes of his audiences (Lynn-Sze, et, al., 2017). This is due to the unique approach used by Tun Mahathir to fully capture the hearers' attention. Moreover, Somun (2003) asserted that Tun Mahathir possesses the ability to exert his courage and composure through the magnanimity of his thoughts and words. Tun Mahathir was also able to put into practice his ideas with the public's acceptance because he convincingly presented his government's ideologies, concepts and policies through public campaigns (Jamilah Ahmad, 2010) which have proven to be successful.

Tun Mahathir's involvement in the political scene started even before Malaysia's independence. His first appointment was as a federal parliamentarian in 1964 after the general election (Wain, 2009). He then became the Minister of Education and Minister of Trade and Industry between 1974 to 1978 and 1978 to 1981 respectively. It was in 1981

that he became Malaysia's 4th prime minister to succeed Tun Hussein Onn following his retirement. Tun Mahathir remains the longest serving prime minister of Malaysia with 24 years including his second term from 2018 to 2020. He significantly contributed Malaysia's economic development during his tenures. Adshead (2009) mentioned that Tun Mahathir managed to bring a new vigor in changing the course of Malaysia's economic development. He however announced his retirement in 2003 and appointed Tun Abdullah Ahmad Badawi as the successor. Despite that, Tun Mahathir made a comeback in 2016 with a newly formed party, which is Parti Pribumi Bersatu Malaysia (PPBM), to oppose then-Prime Minister Najib Razak's alleged corruption. He then won the General Election in 2018 and served as the Prime Minister for two years before stepping down in 2020. Tun Mahathir's success over the years is well driven by the influence he has on the public. He is well-known to be opinionated in certain matters. Kamila Ghazali (2004) added that Tun Mahathir's rhetorical personality was often courageous, frank, abrasive, open and controversial regardless of the audience. He demonstrated both a strong and decisive stance in both his leadership and communication style. Tun Mahathir understands the importance of support to exercise his power and achieve his vision. Thus during his political campaigns, he is known to include wit and humor to form a bond with the people. A great communication style is mandatory for every leader who wishes to succeed. This is apparent for Tun Mahathir as his communication style has helped him to form democratic relationships with other nations.

Additionally, there have been several studies which have analyzed the political speeches delivered by Tun Mahathir. David and Dumanig (2011) analyzed the speeches based on Critical Discourse Analysis. The analysis was done on his speeches from 1982 to 2007, regarding the issue of unity among ethnic groups in Malaysia. The study concluded that his main goal in the speeches delivered was to unite Malaysians and create a sense of nationhood and oneness among them. However, David and Dumanig's study

was based on the Critical Discourse Analysis and analyzed Tun Mahathir's power through language use and ideology instead of his use of speech acts. Moreover, Alkhirbash, Paramasivam and Abdul Muati (2014) studied the persuasive language employed by Tun Mahathir in his speeches. The study analyzed two of Tun Mahathir's speeches in terms of ethos, logos and pathos. Results showed instances of all three aspects throughout his speeches. It was however discovered that Tun Mahathir had utilized his logos and pathos to stress on his ethos in gaining the audiences' trust. Due to the use of ethos, logos and pathos aspect of analysis, the outcome of the study did not comprehensively explain Tun Mahathir's language use from a Speech Act Theory perspective. Azimah Shurfa and Mohammed Shukry (2013) also looked at Tun Mahathir's speeches in challenging and showing resistance to President George W. Bush's 'war on terror' ideology. The study analyzed ten speeches from 2001 to 2003 that were related to terrorism following 9/11. In the CDA perspective, Tun Mahathir was found to use his power to define and view the event according to his own ideology. In addition, in terms of self-representation, he saw himself as a political leader and champion of human rights.

Despite numerous studies conducted on political speeches, there seems to be a lack of research on political speeches in the Malaysian context. Furthermore, few have looked into the speeches of Tun Mahathir from a Speech Act Theory perspective. This may be the result of previous researchers' greater focus on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the methodology to study the phenomenon. Moreover, the intended messages of Tun Mahathir's speeches have also not been properly studied. This can be attributed to the greater focus placed on Tun Mahathir's use of words in highlighting the great ability he possesses to persuade his audiences. Therefore, despite achieving his set agenda in persuasion, the content of his speeches is often disregarded. As a result, the distinction given to Tun Mahathir overtime as a powerful leader is mostly based on his presence rather than the messages he conveys. It is thus important that these elements are further

investigated as it can highlight the importance of language use in political speeches. Additionally, it would benefit future political leaders in presenting their speeches and ideologies.

Universiti Malaya

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analytical framework used in the study, which is Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory. It also elaborates the research design used to answer the research questions stated in Chapter 1. Moreover, the chapter will explain the corpus of the study that is Tun Mahathir's political speech in detail. Lastly, it also presents the coding of the data and stages of the analysis.

3.2 Analytical Framework

The section below describes the framework that was used by the researcher in the proposed study.

According to Searle, there are three levels of communication which comprise locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. Table 3.1 explains the illocutionary act that takes place in a conversation. Illocutionary act is the intention of the speaker in producing an utterance (Austin, 1962). The illocutionary act consists of five main categories, namely directives, representatives, declaratives, commissives and expressives. Nonetheless, Searle (1969) has added several further types of speech acts under the five major classes.

Table 3.1 Searle's Speech Act Theory

Class	Definition	Types of Speech Act	Example
Declaratives	Speech acts of utterances that change the world	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - appointment - declarations 	Priest: I now pronounce you husband and wife (Yule, 1996)
Representatives	Speech acts which state what the speaker regards to be true or not	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - statement of facts - assertions - conclusions - descriptions 	The Earth is flat (Yule, 1996)
Expressives	Speech acts that state the speaker's emotion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - thanking - apologies - appraisal - likes/dislikes 	I'm really sorry! (Yule, 1996)
Directives	Speech acts used by speakers to get someone else to do something	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - commands - orders - requests - suggestions 	Could you lend me a pen, please? (Yule, 1996)

Table 3.1 continued

Commissives	Speech acts used by speakers to commit themselves to some future action. It also expresses what the speaker intends	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- promises- threats- refusals- pledges	I'm going to get it right next time (Yule, 1996)
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Yule, G. (1996). *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

3.3 Research Design

This study employs a qualitative approach to data analysis. It was done on five speeches of Tun Mahathir delivered between 2018 and 2020. The speech acts were classified and tabulated based on the classification of the main speech acts and the different types of speech acts used. The frequency of each type of speech act found in every speech was also calculated.

3.4 Description of Data

The corpus of the study was created from Tun Mahathir's speeches in the 73rd and 74th UN General Assemblies (UNGA), the 2018 ASEAN Business and Investment (ABIS) Summit, the 18th Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit, and 2019 Kuala Lumpur (KL) Summit. All of his speeches range between 15 to 30 minutes in length. All five of Tun Mahathir's speeches; the 73rd and 74th UNGA, the 2018 ABIS Summit, the 18th NAM Summit and the 2019 KL Summit were delivered in the presence of other world leaders. All the five speeches chosen for this study were delivered by Tun Mahathir after his re-

election as Malaysia's prime minister in 2018. Similarly, all the five speeches were delivered on an international platform and attended by world leaders from every corner of the globe. In addition, the speeches selected were the five most recognized speeches delivered by Tun Mahathir. This is because these speeches were the most discussed and looked forward to by the public following his re-election. Thus, the approach taken by Tun Mahathir in delivering his speeches is similar due to the shared audience.

The 73rd United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) was the first speech delivered by Tun Mahathir at an international platform after his re-election. The speech was delivered at the United Nations (UN) headquarters in New York, with the theme of 'Making the United Nations relevant to all people: Global leadership and shared responsibilities for peaceful, equitable and sustainable societies'.

In the following year, the 74th UNGA was also held at the New York's headquarters. The theme set for that year was 'Galvanising multilateral efforts for poverty eradication, quality education, climate action and inclusion'. The 74th general assembly was held for one day on the 27th of September 2019 where Tun Mahathir delivered his speech for approximately 28 minutes.

Later in the same year, two months after the 73rd UNGA, Tun Mahathir delivered his first speech at the ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS). The summit was hosted by Singapore and held at Marina Bay Sands with attendance by members of ASEAN from 16 countries. The theme of the summit was 'Building tomorrow, connecting today'.

Nearly a month after the 74th UNGA in 2019, Tun Mahathir attended the 18th Non-Aligned Movement Summit for two days from 25th to 26th October. Held at the Baku Congress Centre in Azerbaijan, the theme presented was 'Upholding Bandung Principles

to ensure a concerted and adequate response to the challenges of the contemporary world’ where Tun Mahathir delivered his speech for nearly 21 minutes.

On the 19th of December of the same year, Tun Mahathir delivered his first speech at the first KL Summit in replacement of the annual OIC Summit. He was also the representative of the host, Malaysia. The KL Summit recorded the shortest duration of his speech at 19 minutes, on the theme of ‘The role of development in achieving national sovereignty’ which took place at the Kuala Lumpur Convention Centre, KLCC. Three of the most discussed issues in all the speeches analyzed were the annexation of Palestinian land by Israel, climate change and the world’s economy. As indicated, the length of the speeches varies in which the ABIS Summit has the longest duration and the KL Summit has the shortest. Table 3.1 below presents a brief description of the speeches:

Table 3.2: Tun Mahathir’s Political Speeches

	DATE	EVENT	TOPIC	AUDIENCE/ DURATION (MINUTES)
1.	28 th September 2018	73 rd UN General Assembly	Making the United Nations Relevant to All People: Global Leadership and Shared Responsibilities for Peaceful, Equitable and Sustainable Societies”	UN Delegates/World leaders (25.03)
2.	27 th September 2019	74 th UN General Assembly	“Galvanising multilateral efforts for poverty eradication, quality education, climate action and inclusion”	UN Delegates/ World Leaders (28.38)

Table 3.2 continued

3.	12 th - 13 th November 2018	ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS) 2018	Not available	ASEAN Member Delegates (29.00)
4.	25 th - 26 th October 2019	18 th NAM Summit	Upholding Bandung Principles to Ensure a Concerted and Adequate Response to the Challenges of the Contemporary World	World Leaders (20.56)
5.	19 th December 2019	KL Summit 2019 Keynote Address	The Role of Development in Achieving National Sovereignty	Summit Delegates/ World Leaders (19.26)
				Total: 136

3.5 Sources of Data

The data collected from this study are from two different sources. The speech delivered during the 73rd UNGA was obtained from the United Nations Library website, (www.library.un.org). The rest of his speeches, on the other hand, were retrieved from the Prime Minister's Office of Malaysia website (PMO), (www.pmo.gov.my).

Table 3.3: Sources of Speech

EVENT	SPEECH TEXT	DATE PUBLISHED
73 rd UN General Assembly	https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1654446?ln=en	28 th September 2018
74 th UN General Assembly	https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3836252?ln=en	29 th September 2019
ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS) 2018	https://www.pmo.gov.my/ucapan/?m=p&p=mahathir2&id=4425	13 th November 2018
18 th Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) 2019 Summit	https://www.pmo.gov.my/ucapan/?m=p&p=mahathir2&id=4529	25 th October 2019
Kuala Lumpur (KL) 2019 Summit	https://www.pmo.gov.my/ucapan/?m=p&p=mahathir2&id=4543	19 th December 2019

3.6 Coding of Data

The data were analyzed based on the coding scheme below. The scheme is based on the speech number as well as the utterance number. Moreover, each speech act classification and speech act types were also coded. This is to enable an efficient analysis of the data collected. Furthermore, it also acts as reference for the researcher in identifying a particular utterance from the speeches. Below are a few examples of data coding from the five speeches.

Table 3.4: Coding for Tun Mahathir's Political Speeches

Code	Meaning
SP1	73 rd United Nations General Assembly (UNGA)
SP2	74 th United Nations General Assembly (UNGA)
SP3	ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS)
SP4	Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit
SP5	Kuala Lumpur (KL) Summit

Table 3.5: Coding for each Utterance of Tun Mahathir's Political Speeches

Code	Meaning
SP1, S1	73 rd UNGA, Utterance 1
SP2, S2	74 th UNGA, Utterance 2
SP3, S3	ABIS Summit, Utterance 3
SP4, S4	NAM Summit, Utterance 4
SP5, S5	KL Summit, Utterance 5

Table 3.6: Coding for Speech Act Classification

Code	Meaning
Dr	Directive
C	Commissive

Table 3.6 continued

R	Representative
E	Expressive

Table 3.7: Coding for Directive Speech Act Type

Code	Meaning
Sg	Suggesting
Adv	Advising
Qs	Questioning
Rq	Requesting
Pl	Pleading

Table 3.8: Coding for Commissive Speech Act Type

Code	Meaning
Pr	Promising

Table 3.9: Coding for Representative Speech Act Type

Code	Meaning
St	Stating a Fact
At	Asserting
In	Informing
Cn	Concluding
Em	Emphasizing
Ad	Admitting
Dg	Disagreeing
Ea	Expressing Anger
Eh	Expressing Hope

Table 3.10: Coding for Expressive Speech Act Type

Code	Meaning
Cp	Complimenting
Cg	Congratulating
Wc	Welcoming
Lk	Liking
Dl	Disliking
Tk	Thanking

Table 3.10 continued

Rg	Regretting
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3.7 Validity and Reliability

The identification of speech acts can vary depending on the researcher's perspective. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the speech acts identified are both valid and reliable. In order to be certain of the data's validity and reliability, 50% of each speech was reviewed by a second checker, Chin Ee Wern graduated from Master of Arts (Linguistics), Universiti Malaya and compared with the researcher's analysis of the same data. The differences of identification were then further discussed to reduce the dissimilarities. The result from the comparison showed that 100% of the data given were classified with the same speech act categories. However, only 95% of the data were similarly identified with the same speech act types from the researcher's analysis. The differences were then further discussed with the second checker to resolve them.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The speeches retrieved from the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) website are considered public in nature. Therefore, the speeches do not require any permission as the data are publicly accessible. The speeches delivered by Tun Mahathir were set in formal settings with specific audiences. The contents of the summit meeting are not confidential.

3.9 Stages of Analysis

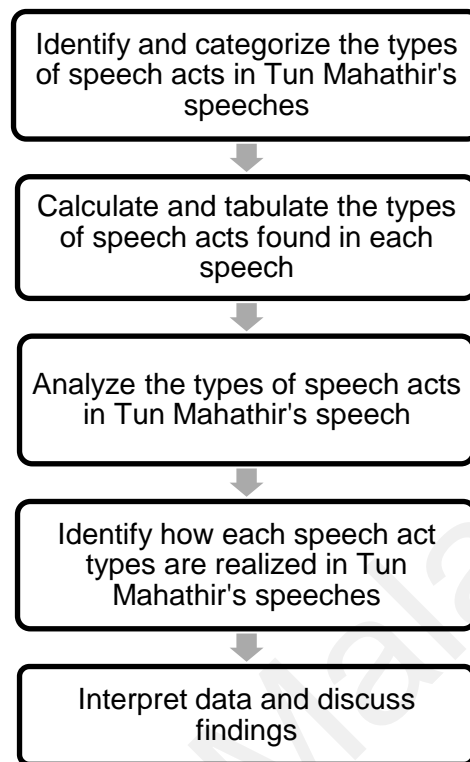


Figure 3.1

3.10 Unit of Analysis

The speeches were analyzed separately as they took place in different contexts. Also, the speeches were also mainly delivered to world leaders or members of the Summits. This allowed the researcher to thoroughly analyze each speech to further understand the strategies often used by Tun Mahathir in conveying his messages. The speeches were delivered to discuss several world crises.

3.11 Sample of Analysis

Table 3.11 below shows a few excerpts taken from Tun Mahathir's speeches. It also presents the approach taken by the researcher in classifying the excerpts. In addition, the table provides the researcher's justification for the classification given to each excerpt. The classification of each excerpt is based on Searle's (1969) categories. Additionally, the types of speech acts are determined through a logical association between the context and utterance produced. It is undeniable that certain speech acts cannot be determined directly from the utterance. Thus, it can be difficult to identify the type and class of speech act that a particular utterance belongs to. Nonetheless, Searle (1969) pointed out that the process to recognize an illocutionary force can be facilitated by an Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID). Searle and Vanderveken (1985) asserted that IFID is the linguistic element that helps to illustrate the illocutionary force of an utterance. These include performative verbs, word order, stress, and intonation of an utterance. An IFID therefore does not only serve as a reference to correctly indicate the speech act of an utterance. It also helps to avoid misinterpretation of the intended meaning within speech acts, specifically indirect speech act.

Table 3.11: Sample of Analysis

Excerpt	Speech Act Class and Type	Explanation
<i>A new Malaysia emerged after the 14th general election in May this year</i>	Representative: Speech act of asserting	Tun Mahathir made a statement regarding Malaysia's 14 th general election and added factual evidence in the statement
<i>Let there be a state of Palestine</i>	Directive: Speech act of suggesting	The utterance is represented in an indirect form of a suggestion. The verb 'let' also signifies an imperative form
<i>We will fight them</i>	Commissive: Speech act of promising	The modal verb 'will' indicates that Malaysia is committed in following the principles set by the UN
<i>I thank you, Madam President</i>	Expressive: Speech act of thanking	The modal verb 'thank you' used in the speech indicates Tun Mahathir's appreciation for giving him the platform to deliver his speech
<i>We in Malaysia, we care for the environment</i>	Representative: Speech act of asserting	The utterance is presented in a direct form of an assertion. The verb 'care' states Malaysia's actual feeling of the stated matter

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the findings and interpretation of Tun Mahathir's political speeches. The speeches of Tun Mahathir were analyzed based on Speech Act Theory (Searle, 1969). Each utterance was classified, based on its illocutionary force, according to the speech act taxonomy proposed by Austin (1962) which was further developed by Searle (1969). This will provide a general answer to the first research question. It also provides an extensive discussion on each type of the five speech act classes in the five different speech contexts. Five utterances for each speech act type will be used as examples to explain how each of them is realized in the utterances. This thus allows the researcher to answer the second research question. In the analysis, several criteria of speech acts will be observed. This includes the illocutionary force of the utterances, as well as the speaker's intention in performing the acts. Moreover, the IFID will also be referred to as a guideline to strengthen the justification of the speech acts analyzed. A comparison of the five contexts of Tun Mahathir's political speeches will also be made to discuss how the different speech contexts and audiences may have affected the production of the speech acts.

Table 4.1: Frequency of Speech Act Classes in Tun Mahathir's Speeches

Speech Act Class	Frequency/Percentage (%)
Representatives	559 (81.4%)
Directives	95 (13.8%)
Expressives	25 (3.6%)
Commissives	8 (1.2%)
Declaratives	0 (0%)
Total	687

The table above shows the number of speech acts found in all of Tun Mahathir's speeches. The study found instances for all speech act classes in Tun Mahathir's speeches. It can be seen that representatives are the most commonly used speech act class by Tun

Mahathir at 81.4%. Next, 13.8% is recorded for directives and it is then followed by expressives with 3.6%, and commissives with 1.2%. The declarative class shows the lowest percentage with only 0% as none was found throughout all the five speeches. Below, the occurrence of the speech acts was further analyzed in each speech. This is to determine the prevalence of particular types of speech acts in the different speeches and to give a more detailed answer to the first research question.

4.1.1 73rd United Nations General Assembly

Table 4.2: Frequency of Speech Acts in the 73rd UNGA

Speech Act Class	Speech Act Type	Frequency
Representative	Informing	74
	Asserting	36
	Stating a Fact	7
	Concluding	1
	Disagreeing	1
	Expressing Anger	1
	Admitting	0
	Emphasizing	0
	Expressing Hope	0
Directive	Requesting	5
	Suggesting	4
	Advising	2
	Pleading	0
Expressive	Thanking	2
	Complimenting	2
	Congratulating	1
	Disliking	1
	Liking	0
	Welcoming	0
	Regretting	0
Commissive	Promising	5

The 73rd Session of the UNGA was held at the United Nations' Headquarters in New York. The theme for the 73rd Session was 'Making the United Nations relevant to all people: Global leadership and shared responsibilities for peaceful, equitable and

sustainable societies' proposed by the President of the Session, President Maria Fernanda Espinosa. Given the background, Tun Mahathir brought up several issues including Malaysia's 14th General Election, the annexation of Palestinian land, climate change and palm oil industry, veto power, terrorism towards the Rohingyas and trade.

As for the speech act of informing it was mostly used by Tun Mahathir in explaining the dire situations of the victims of terrorism specifically the Palestinians and Rohingyas. Moreover, he also included nine statements of facts describing the terrorists' gruesome acts. This is to prove the veracity of his claims due to the misconceptions perceived by the general public concerning the situations in Palestine and Myanmar. Besides that, the results show 36 speech acts of asserting mainly focused on the terrorism acts from Tun Mahathir's perspective. One act of concluding was used to justify the poor countries' possessions of weaponry. The speech act of disagreeing shows his opposition to the veto power. Also, one utterance for each act of expressing hope, anger and confidence are identified aiming especially at the aspiration of the world in achieving world peace.

The speech act of suggesting was used four times throughout the speech which mostly touched on war and the veto power of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council: Russia, China, France, United States and United Kingdom. The suggestions were made to support Tun Mahathir's opposition to the veto power thus providing an alternative to the constitution within the Organization. Additionally, two utterances for the speech act of advising are identified. The advice given by Tun Mahathir posed as a reminder to find other alternatives to end terrorism and to show support to the Organization's tireless efforts to ensure peace. Moreover, five acts of requesting were found which carried Tun Mahathir's appeal for support for the Organization and for it to be revised in order to build a better future. In addition, it was also to give the Palestinians their liberty and right to rule their own country.

For expressives, the results show six utterances found throughout the speech. Moreover, Tun Mahathir also expressed his disdain once for both terrorists and terrorism. Furthermore, the congratulating act was utilized to applaud the dedication put in place in carrying out the Assembly. Apart from that, two utterances of complimenting were found in relation to the Organization's success for the 73rd Session.

In addition to that, five utterances of promising were found. They focused on the issue of trade to show Malaysia's faithful commitment to expand trade business and ensuring every nation's equal and fair return of profit. As a matter of fact, Tun Mahathir utilized the act of promising to cooperate with the Organization in defending human rights.

4.1.2 74th United Nations General Assembly

Table 4.3: Frequency of Speech Acts in the 74th UNGA

Speech Act Class	Speech Act Type	Frequency
Representative	Informing	95
	Asserting	45
	Stating a Fact	5
	Emphasizing	2
	Admitting	1
	Disagreeing	1
	Expressing Hope	1
	Concluding	0
	Expressing Anger	0
Directive	Suggesting	21
	Requesting	3
	Advising	3
	Pleading	2
Expressive	Disliking	3
	Thanking	2
	Complimenting	1
	Congratulating	1
	Welcoming	0

Table 4.3 continued

	Liking	0
	Regretting	0
Commissive	Promising	1

The 74th Session of the UNGA was held on September 2019 at the United Nations headquarters, New York. The theme presented for the 74th Session is ‘Galvanizing multilateral efforts for poverty eradication, quality education, climate action and inclusion’ and the meeting was presided by Mr. Tijani Muhammad Bande from Nigeria. It was Tun Mahathir’s second year attending the Assembly since his re-election. During his speech, many issues related to the theme were brought to attention. This includes veto power, origin of terrorism, climate change, trade, sanctions and capitalism and the United Nations as the way forward.

The act of informing records a total of 95 utterances in the speech and was commonly used to give new information and update on certain issues. This can be seen in his explanations and clarifications on how the terrorism act first took place, specifically regarding the Palestinian land. This therefore allowed the audience to better understand the root of terrorism. Aside from those, the act of asserting, with 45 utterances, was often used. Tun Mahathir drew attention to the issue of terrorism and veto power, presented his view points on Israel’s terrorizing activities and how the veto-power countries had frequently misused their special position. To support his claims, the speech act of stating facts was thus utilized with five utterances identified. On top of that it was also proof of Malaysia’s commitment to environmental sustainability through his discussion of the country’s palm oil industry. It was also found that one speech act of admitting was used by Tun Mahathir to promote the idea of democracy as being a more suitable form of governance than dictatorship. Two utterances on the act of emphasizing were discovered.

Not only did it reinforce Tun Mahathir's belief in the idea of democracy as the best form of governance, but it also highlighted his view of the Organization being poorly structured and becoming one of the causes of terrorism. However, the act of disagreeing expressed his negative reaction to Israeli forces' terrorizing acts towards Palestine. Finally, one utterance of the speech act of expressing hope was identified in this speech. This was evident as Tun Mahathir touched on the Organization's admirable commitment to ensure world peace. He then expressed his hope for achieving world peace without dependence on the Organization.

Under the directive speech act class, suggesting has 21 utterances. In discussing terrorism, Tun Mahathir gave several alternatives to overcome the continuing problem and thus restore peace. Other than that, he included ideas to resolve the issue of climate change which proved to be detrimental to the earth. Moreover, three acts of advising were identified throughout the speech. This can be seen through Tun Mahathir's reminder on the need to support the Organization to retain world peace. Apart from that, he made three requests in the speech. The demands were on the need for a law to be enacted as a guide for sanctions as well as for the Organization to revise the veto power granted to the five countries. There were also two utterances containing the pleading act. This highlights the issue as he appealed to the assembly to allow the palm oil industry to continue and give Malaysia the freedom to conduct trade using its own approach.

Aside from that, speech acts in the expressive class were also found. The results show three utterances containing the act of disliking. These highlight Tun Mahathir's hatred of war, and his disapproval of the lack of financial support given to the Organization especially from more powerful countries. Tun Mahathir also utilized two utterances on the speech act of thanking. While presenting the speech at the Assembly, Tun Mahathir took the chance to show his gratitude to both the President of the 74th session and the

Organization's staff members in ensuring the success of the Assembly. Other than that, Tun Mahathir offered his congratulations to the President on his election through an act of congratulating given at the beginning of the speech.

Also, one act of promising was found in a discussion on sustaining a fair ratio of natural environment to fast-paced development in Malaysia.

4.1.3 ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS)

Table 4.4: Frequency of Speech Acts in the ABIS Summit

Speech Act Class	Speech Act Type	Frequency
Representative	Informing	33
	Asserting	14
	Stating a Fact	9
	Emphasizing	1
	Concluding	0
	Disagreeing	0
	Expressing Anger	0
	Admitting	0
	Expressing Hope	0
Directive	Suggesting	29
	Advising	8
	Requesting	3
	Pleading	0
Expressive	Thanking	3
	Complimenting	3
	Liking	1
	Disliking	0
	Congratulating	0
	Welcoming	0
	Regretting	0
Commissive	Promising	1

The ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS) was held in November 2018, in Singapore. The Summit was only attended by members of ASEAN nations. In Tun Mahathir's speech during the summit, he highlighted the topics of AEC (ASEAN Economic Community) as a journey, trade and investment, ASEAN moving forward,

recommendations for the private sector and FTAs and RCEP (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership). However, since the summit was hosted for business related matters; Tun Mahathir only discussed the economic progress or regress within the ASEAN nations.

The representative class has the highest frequency with 57 utterances. In fact, 33 utterances of the act of informing were used as it highlighted Tun Mahathir's need to ensure a clear explanation of the economic condition of ASEAN nations. On the other hand, 14 utterances were found for the speech act of asserting. To explain ASEAN's trade business situation, Tun Mahathir's claim mainly touched on ASEAN's potential to improve exceptionally over the years. Tun Mahathir also added nine statements of facts to justify his claims. Also, one act of emphasizing was found where it contained the suggestion for cooperation between ASEAN-BAC with the Economic Research Institute. This proposed idea was put forward by Tun Mahathir as it would help increase the rate of growth within ASEAN.

For the directive class, 29 utterances for the speech act of suggesting were found. In discussing ASEAN's economic development, Tun Mahathir provided several of his ideas in helping the ASEAN region achieve greater success. Furthermore, eight utterances on the act of advising were identified. This is to present Tun Mahathir's idea to allow the ASEAN's trade business to prosper by learning from past mistakes. Other than that, three requesting acts were found. The discussion allowed Tun Mahathir to demand for equality and unity among members alongside cooperation from foreign countries on improving business and trade within ASEAN.

Moreover, seven utterances for the expressive class were identified. Three of them fall under the act of complimenting. In commenting on ASEAN's initiatives for economic status development, Tun Mahathir complimented the Association on its dedication to

improve the region's business scene. The results show three utterances for the speech act of thanking. As an act of courtesy, Tun Mahathir expressed his gratitude both in the beginning and at the end of the speech for being given the opportunity to present his ideas to the ASEAN forum. Tun Mahathir also showed his positive reaction through the speech act of liking. In recent years, ASEAN had taken a step further in expanding its business venture into the private sector and was well received by Tun Mahathir.

Lastly, the commissive was also used by Tun Mahathir in the speech act of promising. In relation to increasing ASEAN's trade credibility, Tun Mahathir showed his continuous support and commitment as a representative of ASEAN in dealing with the World Trade Organization (WTO) to help boost ASEAN's economic performance.

4.1.4 Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit

Table 4.5: Frequency of Speech Acts in the NAM Summit

Speech Act Class	Speech Act Type	Frequency
Representative	Informing	74
	Asserting	20
	Stating a Fact	1
	Disagreeing	1
	Emphasizing	1
	Concluding	0
	Expressing Anger	0
	Admitting	0
	Expressing Hope	0
Directive	Suggesting	7
	Advising	3
	Requesting	1
	Pleading	0
Expressive	Thanking	2
	Congratulating	1
	Disliking	1
	Complimenting	0
	Welcoming	0
	Liking	0
Commissive	Regretting	0
	Promising	1

The 18th Non-Aligned Movement Summit was held in 2019 and attended by leaders and representatives from over 160 countries. It was also the second largest state organization after the United Nations. However, in contrast to the United Nations Organization, NAM focuses on eliminating any major power and treating every member nation as equal. The theme for the 18th session is ‘Upholding the Bandung Principles to ensure concerted and adequate response to the challenges of the contemporary world’. In the speech presented by Tun Mahathir, he touched on current world affairs, the impact of trade war, criminalizing war and showing that war is not a solution to disputes, and the need for Palestine and NAM to be united.

The representative class has the highest frequency with 97 utterances found. It can be seen 74 utterances belong to the act of informing. This is shown throughout the speech when Tun Mahathir utilized the act to provide new information on several matters and to further clarify on matters that may be vague. Nonetheless, 20 acts of asserting were also shown in Tun Mahathir’s opinions regarding the relevance of the Bandung principles framed six years prior as well as his take on trade wars and terrorism. Also, Tun Mahathir utilized one utterance containing the act of stating a fact that pointed to his last attendance to the Summit in 2003. The act of emphasizing highlighted the significance of the theme to the world’s situation. One utterance contains the act of disagreeing which indicates Tun Mahathir’s disapproval of Israel’s decision to situate its embassy in Jerusalem.

For the directive class, seven utterances of the speech act of suggesting were identified. The recommendations given bring up the approach on business and trade and proper measures to end disputes that have led to war. Moreover, the results show three utterances of Tun Mahathir’s advice on the importance of NAM member nations to stay united. Other than that, one utterance under the requesting act was found in the speech. It was as an appeal to the members to consider their decision on the relocation of their embassies.

Besides that, four utterances of the expressive class were found. The act of thanking was utilized twice in response to Azerbaijan's welcome as well as Venezuela's commendable effort in conducting the Summit in the previous three years. One utterance of the speech act of congratulating was identified. It was given to the Summit's host, Azerbaijan on the success to resume its chairmanship. Finally, Tun Mahathir also showed his dislike of the vetoing countries' misuse of power; which contradicts their stated beliefs.

Apart from that, one utterance containing the speech act of promising under the commissive class was identified. This explained Malaysia's earnest support to Palestine's right to freedom.

4.1.5 Kuala Lumpur (KL) Summit

Table 4.6: Frequency of Speech Acts in the KL Summit

Speech Act Class	Speech Act Type	Frequency
Representative	Informing	104
	Asserting	24
	Stating a Fact	2
	Expressing Hope	3
	Expressing Anger	1
	Emphasizing	1
	Concluding	0
	Disagreeing	0
	Admitting	0
Directive	Advising	3
	Suggesting	1
	Requesting	0
	Pleading	0
Expressive	Welcoming	1
	Regretting	1
	Disliking	0
	Liking	0

Table 4.6 continued

	Complimenting	0
	Congratulating	0
	Thanking	0
Commissive	Promising	0

The Kuala Lumpur (KL) Summit, also known as the Perdana Dialogue was held in 2019 as its fifth edition of the summit. It is an annual event attended by 56 countries comprising 450 delegates from various backgrounds and professions. The 5th edition of the Summit was mainly focused on perception of Islam, the rise of Islamophobia, the Islamic civilization, the afterlife, and the people who are living today and governance, reforms and transformations.

The representative class is the most frequently utilized by Tun Mahathir with 135 utterances. Two of them belong to the act of stating a fact in discussing the fall of the Islamic civilization to the European powers. On the other hand, 104 utterances containing the act of informing were recorded. Also, 24 utterances of asserting were identified in Tun Mahathir's claim of Islam's deteriorating performance and the possible outcomes should there not be any changes made. The act of emphasizing was seen utilized once by Tun Mahathir to drive home the point that Muslims will only receive fruitful outcomes if they abide by the teachings in the Quran. Also, three acts of expressing hope were identified throughout the speech. This shows Tun Mahathir's profound aspirations in motivating other nations to undertake new endeavors in ensuring progress. However, Tun Mahathir is also direct in showing his dissatisfaction towards the terrorists' actions to the innocent as one utterance of expressing anger was found.

Collectively, four utterances of the directive class were identified. One of them falls under the act of suggesting that highlighted the importance of the Muslim community to

adhere to the teachings of the Quran. Moreover, three utterances containing the act of advising were also performed by Tun Mahathir. This is shown through Tun Mahathir's reminders as he mentioned several issues including the perception given towards Islam and Muslims.

Aside from that, two utterances under the expressive class were determined in Tun Mahathir's speech. There is one utterance of the welcoming act in the beginning of the speech to the Summit. Lastly, Tun Mahathir utilized the speech act of regretting in conveying his disappointment with Islam's downfall.

After describing the production of speech acts in the context of each speech, how those speech acts were created by Tun Mahathir in his speeches will be discussed next. In every excerpt discussed, the coding for speech number and utterance number for example S1:U1 helps the researcher to indicate the source of the utterance.

4.2 Representatives

The representative act is defined by the utterance produced that is intended to commit the speaker to something with the truth of expressed proposition (Searle, 1976). Additionally, this is also supported by Christison (2018) as he defined the representative act as the production of an utterance with the intention to perform the action in respect to the truth of a proposition. The representative act includes informing, stating, concluding, admitting. Thus, it can also be said that the representative act is commonly related to proposing what the speaker believes to be true.

Table 4.7: Representative Speech Acts

Speech Act Type	Frequency/ Percentage (%)
Informing	380 (68.0%)
Asserting	139 (24.9%)
Stating a Fact	24 (4.3%)
Emphasizing	5 (0.9%)
Expressing Hope	4 (0.7%)
Disagreeing	3 (0.5%)
Expressing Anger	2 (0.4%)
Admitting	1 (0.2%)
Concluding	1 (0.2%)
Total	559

According to Table 4.7, it can be seen that representative is the most frequent class of speech acts used by Tun Mahathir with 559 utterances found. As a matter of fact, it is the most frequent speech act in all of Tun Mahathir's speeches analyzed. Furthermore, 11 speech act types are distinguished under the representative class. This includes speech acts of informing, asserting, stating a fact, concluding, admitting, reiterating, expressing hope, disagreeing, and expressing anger. Moreover, the speech act of informing records the highest frequency with 380 utterances found in the five speeches. The KL Summit records the highest speech act of informing with 104 utterances found. It is then followed by the speech act of asserting with 139 utterances. Nonetheless, the speech acts of admitting and concluding are the least frequent speech act types found under the representative class with only one utterance found. It also found that the use of the BE verb like 'is' and 'are' are often performed by Tun Mahathir in performing the act of informing. This is to indicate Tun Mahathir's provision of sufficient information to support his claims. Other than that, the result also reflects Tun Mahathir's personality as a well-informed political leader. This is seen through his well-rounded knowledge on global issues. Nonetheless, Tun Mahathir often justifies his assertions with the inclusion of factual evidence that is performed through the act of stating a fact. Below are several excerpts found under the representative act.

Table 4.8: Classification of Representative Speech Acts

Excerpt	Speech Act Type	Realization of Speech Act
<i>Today, 15 years later, the world has not changed very much</i>	Speech act of asserting	The utterance is presented in a direct form. It is made by Tun Mahathir based on his observation of the world's progress. It is an indication to voice out his opinion on the condition of the world.
<i>Malaysians want a new Malaysia that upholds the principles of fairness, good governance, integrity and the rule of law</i>	Speech act of informing	The utterance is presented in a direct form of informing. The verb ' want ' signifies Malaysians' for the nation's future
<i>At the Rio Earth Summit in 1992, Malaysia pledged to maintain at least 50 per cent of its land mass under forest cover</i>	Speech act of stating a fact	The utterance is presented in a direct form of stating a fact. Tun Mahathir's claim is supported with the pledge made by him regarding maintaining a balance of urban development and preserving the forests
<i>It is therefore imperative that they, too, have such weapons</i>	Speech act of concluding	The utterance is presented in a direct form of concluding. The adverb ' therefore ' signifies Tun Mahathir's conclusion on the need for countries to own weaponries for war

4.2.1 Speech Act of Informing

The speech act of informing belongs to the representative class. It is normally used by the speaker to provide information to the hearer. Moreover, the act of informing is also performed to get the user to believe the proposition (Allen, J. F. and C. R. Perrault, 1979). Therefore, it is classified under the representative class as it states the speaker's belief to be true or otherwise (Agus Hidayat, 2016).

Example 1

73rd United Nations General Assembly

S1: U14

Malaysians want a new Malaysia that upholds the principles of fairness, good governance, integrity and the rule of law

The utterance demonstrates Malaysians' aspiration that motivated them in electing the new government during the 14th General Election. It is presented in a direct form and utilizes a declarative force of utterance. This can be seen through the direct relation of the act of informing with Tun Mahathir's utterance in the use of the verb 'want' to indicate what the Malaysians wished for. Hence, it indicates Tun Mahathir's reference to the claim of the Malaysians' desire for a new government. Additionally, Tun Mahathir's inclusion of several changes Malaysians expected from the government further highlights his clarification of the claim above. Subsequently, this conveys Tun Mahathir's motive to justify to the audience the change in Malaysia's government.

Example 2

74th United Nations General Assembly

S2: U4

The key message of that theme is "galvanizing multilateral efforts", which is what the United Nations stands for

The utterance explains the underlying aim of the presented theme of the year's UNGA. It is presented in a direct form which also utilizes a declarative force of utterance. The direct form of the informing act is identified by way of Tun Mahathir's inclusion of the information he intended to express. The use of the phrasal verb 'stands for' explains one of the United Nations' main goals upon the creation of the organization. Moreover, Tun Mahathir's inclusion of the 74th session's theme, 'galvanizing multilateral efforts' further supports his explanation on what the United Nations wish to represent for the world. Therefore, the statement above can be inferred as Tun Mahathir's intention to highlight the relevance of the General Assembly's theme with the United Nations' core mission in the world of today.

Example 3

ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS)

S3: U54

Investors look to several factors in deciding where to invest. Market size, political stability, trade facilitative and progressive regulatory framework, sound infrastructure and supply of talented human capital, are among some of these factors

The statements above explain the factors taken into account by the investors before committing to investment in the firm in question. The utterance is presented in a direct form with a declarative force of utterance. This is indicated through the apparent relation of Tun Mahathir's utterance with the act of informing. As referring to the sentence, the verb 'look' signifies Tun Mahathir's explanation on the 'investors' action in determining their investments. The act of informing performed by Tun Mahathir is also strengthened

as he incorporated several of the factors looked into by the investors. It also implies Tun Mahathir's clarification of how investors choose on their investments that would be most profitable. Hence, this presents Tun Mahathir's motive to alert on the substantial criteria which would help the ASEAN region to prepare themselves to attract the investors and therefore improve their economic status.

Example 4

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit 2018

S4: U38

*And these military operations **will proceed** even without UN's sanction*

The utterance above comments on the military's superiority over the United Nations which thus has given them the power to conduct attacks with or without the approval from the United Nations. These powerful countries, referring to those who hold veto power which include China, France, Russia, United Kingdom and the United States. It is presented in a direct form of informing while also opting for a declarative force of utterance. This is signified through the discernible relation of the utterance produced by Tun Mahathir with the act of informing. Moreover, Tun Mahathir's use of the modal verb 'will' together with the verb 'proceed' indicate Tun Mahathir's explanation of the probability of the military operations set by the veto power within the United Nations. Additionally, it is also to highlight the infinite power the countries hold over the organization which has allowed them to overrule several guidelines set to their preferences.

Example 5

Kuala Lumpur (KL) Summit

S5: U79

But Muslim are killing each other indiscriminately; killing innocent people, including fellow Muslims

The utterance explains the brutal situation faced by some Muslims that go against the teachings in the Quran. It is presented in a direct force of utterance as well as implying a declarative force of utterance. The direct form of the informing act is identified through the utterance containing the information he intended to convey to the audience of the Kuala Lumpur Summit. In addition, the use of the verb 'are killing' utilized by Tun Mahathir also shows his explanation for the detrimental situation of how Muslims are treating each other and other people that goes against the identity of Islam. Furthermore, the adverb 'indiscriminately' and noun 'innocent people' help Tun Mahathir to provide a 'clearer' picture of the declining moral of Muslims.

The result shows that the act of informing accounted for most of the representative class with 380 utterances found. Furthermore, the act of informing utilized by Tun Mahathir included the 'Subject-Verb-Object' (SVO) format. It also utilized the BE verb like 'is' or 'are' and provided the substantial information given in his speeches. Moreover, Tun Mahathir's use of the act of informing is the highest recorded. This is because informing allows Tun Mahathir to further clarify his claims and disclose information to the audience.

4.2.2 Speech Act of Asserting

The speech act of asserting is categorized under the representative class. Asserting demonstrates the speaker's claim of his belief on the matter discussed. Asserting is defined as an utterance produced that commits the speaker to that proposition being true. This is also supported as Alston (2000), claimed that asserting presents a proposition as true.

Example 1

73rd United Nations General Assembly

S1: U44

*Today, 15 years later, the world **has not changed very much***

The statement above explains Tun Mahathir's comment on the progress of countries across the world 15 years after he attended the General Assembly. It is presented in a direct form and opts for a declarative force of utterance. This can be identified through the inclusion of Tun Mahathir's view that signifies the asserting act performed. The use of the verb 'changed' presented with a negative connotation along with the adverb 'not' suggest Tun Mahathir's opinion on the progress of the world. Moreover, the claim above is solely made through his own observation on the changes made throughout the 15 years that he was absent from the General Assembly. Additionally, the declarative force has also allowed Tun Mahathir to voice out his opinion in regard to addressing the issue. Hence, the utterance shows Tun Mahathir's intent to alert the audience of the critical need for changes to be made across the world.

Example 2

74th United Nations General Assembly

S2: U13

*It is totally and absolutely **undemocratic***

The statement above comments on the veto power given to the five nations which allows these nations to overrule the laws set by the United Nations. The utterance is presented in a direct form as it also applies a declarative force of utterance that can be seen through Tun Mahathir's opinion, which signifies the act of asserting. Moreover, the use of the adjective 'undemocratic' in the utterance helps to solidify the asserting act. Additionally, it also shows Tun Mahathir's impression of the privilege given to the five countries that hold the veto power including China, Russia, United Kingdom, France and the United States. Furthermore, the adverbs 'totally' and 'absolutely' intensify his feelings about the issue. Therefore, it can be deduced that Tun Mahathir is in disagreement with the power given to the said nations and demands for equality among all countries to be given the chance to voice out their opinions.

Example 3

ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS)

S3: U93

*The South East Asian region **may claim to be** the fastest growing economies in the world*

The statement alludes to the possible rapid growth of South East Asian economies should the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) be integrated. The utterance is presented in a direct form while utilizing a declarative force of utterance. This can be seen through the evident relation of the utterance with the act of asserting through the assertion included by Tun Mahathir. The modal verb ‘may’ signifies Tun Mahathir’s subtle hint of the recognition South East Asia rightfully deserves. In addition, it also conveys Tun Mahathir’s belief in the chances of the South East Asian region to breakthrough in becoming one of the leading economies in the world. Through this claim, it shows Tun Mahathir’s opinion on the possible future of the South East Asian region should his prediction be true.

Example 4

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit

S4: U28

*Judging by what had happened especially in the Middle-East post the Iraqi invasion, **I have no doubt** that the unilateral and bloc belligerence **are still very prevalent** though the approach has become more complex*

The statement above explains the terror acts of war that are rampantly going on especially in the powerless countries. The utterance is presented in a direct form as the declarative force is opted for. The direct form of the act of asserting can be identified through the inclusion of Tun Mahathir’s belief on the situation discussed. The verb ‘judging’ conveys Tun Mahathir’s opinion of the powerful nations’ act of seizing other countries’ lands. Furthermore, the use of the noun ‘doubt’ presented with a negative

connotation shows Tun Mahathir's belief that the terror acts would not be ending soon. Thus, it can be seen that Tun Mahathir's intention is to reveal the terrifying acts happening around the world for it to recognize the severity of the issue especially on the victims.

Example 5

Kuala Lumpur (KL) Summit

S5: U8

And they are all weak and incapable of protecting the Muslim Ummah, as is their duty by their religion

The statement above discusses on the failure of Muslim countries in helping other Muslim Ummah in need. It is presented in a direct form of asserting and implies a declarative force of utterance. This can be seen due to the discernible relation of the asserting act to the utterance as shown with the adjectives 'weak' and 'incapable'. Moreover, these adjectives utilized by Tun Mahathir also signify Tun Mahathir's point of view on the inability of several Muslim countries in giving protection to the Muslim Ummah. Additionally, the act of asserting is further reinforced by Tun Mahathir with the noun 'duty' which indicates one of the obligations for Muslims to give help to other Muslims alike. Therefore, it can be said that Tun Mahathir intended to convey his point of view on the declining situation occurring in Muslim countries that require for change.

The result and analysis show that Tun Mahathir's act of asserting accounted for 24.9% of the representative class with 139 utterances found. As a matter of fact, all of Tun Mahathir's assertions are directly presented. This is because Tun Mahathir openly shared

his views regarding the issues discussed. Additionally, Tun Mahathir's assertions are realized through several approaches. For example, Tun Mahathir included the use of adjectives to help express his opinions more vividly. Furthermore, he also applied the use of the modal verbs like 'may' and 'could' to amplify his claims and beliefs through hedging. All in all, it can be seen that the act of asserting is one of Tun Mahathir's approach to respectfully share his opinions with the audience.

4.2.3 Speech Act of Stating a Fact

The speech act of stating a fact is essentially a speech act of asserting. Nevertheless, stating is often expressed in a clear and concise manner. Additionally, in stating a fact the speaker is required to include a verifiable truth to justify the assertion made. Pearson (1985), added that for the act of stating a fact, the preparatory condition includes the speaker's evidence for the truth of her/his proposition.

Example 1

73rd United Nations General Assembly

S1:U11

*A new Malaysia emerged after the **fourteenth general election, in May this year**, in which Malaysians decided to change their Government, which had been in power for 61 years, that is, since independence*

The utterance above mentions the success of Malaysians in bringing down a government which has been detrimentally corrupt over 61 years of governance. It is presented in a direct form and shows a declarative force of utterance. This can be seen as the act of stating a fact is apparent with Tun Mahathir's utterance through the inclusion

of evidence presented. Tun Mahathir's conveyance of the 14th General Election presents his factual evidence of his claim regarding Malaysia's achievement in changing the government. In addition to that, the phrase '61 years' also signifies the period in which the same political party has held power in governing the country. Eventually, it proves Tun Mahathir's intention to proclaim a revived and reestablished Malaysia that possesses a great capability of progressing further to be in line with other First World countries.

Example 2

74th United Nations General Assembly

S2: U85

*At the **Rio Earth Summit in 1992**, Malaysia pledged to maintain at least 50 per cent of its land mass under forest cover*

The utterance above states the pledge made by Malaysia in regard to conservation of the nation's forest reserve. It is presented in a direct form while utilizing a declarative force of utterance which can be established through the clear relation of the utterance with the act of stating a fact. The inclusion of the 'Rio Earth Summit' indicates Tun Mahathir's show of proof to the pledge made by Malaysia in conserving the nation's forest as well as ensuring a balanced percentage of nature to Malaysia's development. In addition, the inclusion of the year '1992' in which the pledge was made also helps to justify and solidify Tun Mahathir's truth in making the pledge. Therefore, this shows Tun Mahathir's commitment for Malaysia in protecting the environment, parallel to Malaysia's development.

Example 3

ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS)

S3: U30

In Malaysia's case, our trade with ASEAN is around 27%

The utterance above explains the progress made in the trading business between Malaysia and ASEAN. It is presented in a direct form and utilizes a declarative force of utterance which can clearly be determined with Tun Mahathir's apparent statement of fact in the utterance. Following Tun Mahathir's claim on the impact of AFTA (ASEAN Free Trade Area) on the performance of trade, the figure '27%' indicates the factual evidence to show how AFTA has positively affected the nation's trade. The declarative force is observed through his revelation of the increase of Malaysia's trade value. Hence, it can be inferred that Tun Mahathir intends to show recognition to the benefit of AFTA in ASEAN regions' trading business.

Example 4

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit

S4: U6

The last time I addressed this event was in 2003 when Malaysia was chair of the moment

The utterance above highlights Tun Mahathir's attendance of the NAM Summit 17 years ago; when the Summit took place in Malaysia. Moreover, the utterance is presented in a direct form and employs a declarative force of utterance. This can be signified with the direct relation of the act of stating a fact with the utterance as Tun Mahathir included the information needed. The year '2003' mentioned by Tun Mahathir indicates the year that he last attended the Summit. This therefore shows his inclusion of a fact to his assertion to rationalize and justify his claim of his attendance. Through this statement, it can be said that Tun Mahathir intended to clarify to the audience of his previous participation in the NAM Summit.

Example 5

Kuala Lumpur (KL) Summit 2019

S5: U24

*For a long time in the 18th to mid-20th centuries Muslim countries were all **dominated and occupied by European powers***

The utterance above refers to the monopolization of several Muslim countries by the European countries. It is also presented in a direct form and applies a declarative force of utterance, that can be determined through the apparent act of stating a fact included in the utterance. Moreover, Tun Mahathir also provided information about the European countries' monopoly over Muslim countries. This can be observed with the inclusion of the time frame provided, from the 18th to mid-20th centuries whereby the Muslim countries were defeated by European powers. Additionally, Tun Mahathir's inclusion of

the time frame helps him to rationalize the statement. The utterance therefore signifies Tun Mahathir's factual evidence in showing the truth of his claim.

The speech act of stating a fact consisted of 4.3 % of the representative class. Furthermore, all of the speech acts of stating a fact found in Tun Mahathir's speeches are directly presented. The analysis also shows that Tun Mahathir's act of stating a fact also included figures and evidence like dates, location, and agreement. Additionally, the act of stating a fact acts as Tun Mahathir's justification to support his assertions. It also helps Tun Mahathir to provide further explanation for the issue discussed.

4.2.4 Speech Act of Emphasizing

The speech act of emphasizing is classified under the representative class. This is the act of emphasizing helps the speaker to stress on a certain matter that he/she believes needs to be highlighted. Moreover it is in line with Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory which stated that the representative act is produced by the speaker to express her/his opinion on the truthfulness of their claim.

Example 1

74th United Nations General Assembly (UNGA)

S2: U23

Indeed, the structure has enabled the promotion of war within countries and between countries

The statement above talks about the creation of war by the five nations which hold the veto power to overrule a law within the organization. The utterance is presented in a direct form and utilizes a declarative force. This can be seen as the use of the act of emphasizing and the utterance produced by Tun Mahathir are clearly represented. In the previous statement, Tun Mahathir reported that 'It is that structure of the United Nations that renders it incapable of achieving its principle objectives of preventing wars between nations'. Therefore, it can be seen that the use of the adverb 'indeed' conveys Tun Mahathir's emphasis on the result of the poor structure that has been in the United Nations for far too long. Additionally, the inclusion of the outcome also stresses on the aversion Tun Mahathir has to the negative effect of the structure implemented. Through the claim, it displays Tun Mahathir's motive to prove how the veto power has caused more damage than good to the world.

Example 2

ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS)

S3: U84

*These **are indeed** initiatives which need to be accelerated in order to see higher rate of growth within ASEAN in the next few years*

The utterance above discusses about ASEAN's initiative in collaborating with the Economic Research Institute. It is presented in a direct form as well as utilizing a declarative force of utterance. This can be seen due to the apparent relation of the utterance produced with the act of reiterating. Tun Mahathir's use of the adverb 'indeed'

shows Tun Mahathir's insistence on the initiative taken by ASEAN in further developing their economic state. Furthermore, it also helps Tun Mahathir to highlight the need for ASEAN delve into such actions in the future. This is to help the ASEAN union to build more relationships and have a steadfast growth in the years to come.

Example 3

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit 2018

S4: U116

The theme of this year's Summit, 'Upholding the Bandung Principles to Ensure Concerted and Adequate Response to the Challenges of the Contemporary World' is fitting indeed

The statement explains the relevance of the year's Summit theme to everything that was happening around the world. It is presented in a direct form while opting for a declarative force of utterance. The act of emphasizing is discernible as the utterance produced by Tun Mahathir complies with an obvious relationship between the former and the latter. The use of the adjective 'fitting' conveys Tun Mahathir's opinion on the presentation of the theme and thus, also projects his approval of it. Furthermore, the adverb 'indeed' shows how it has highlighted the adjective used to appropriately illustrate the situation. Therefore this shows Tun Mahathir's intention to give support to the direction that the NAM Organization is leading towards.

Example 4

Kuala Lumpur (KL) Summit 2019

S5: U85

***Indeed**, if we abide by the teachings of Islam, our religion, good governance should result*

The statement above points out the reward(s) Muslims receive if they practice the values taught by the religion. It is presented in a direct form while utilizing a declarative force of utterance. This is apparent through the direct relation of the act of emphasizing with Tun Mahathir's utterance. The adverb 'indeed' is used to point out Tun Mahathir's acknowledgement on the importance of being a good Muslim if one wishes to be rewarded bountifully. Moreover, the adverb also helps to highlight Tun Mahathir's assertion on the reward given to Muslims should they abide by the Islamic teaching. In addition to that, the modal verb 'should' also provides support to the guarantee made to Muslims as it has been constantly reminded in the Quran. Therefore, this signifies Tun Mahathir's intention to prompt the audience to always practice good deeds amongst oneself and other Muslims.

The result shows that the act of emphasizing accounted for 0.9% of the representative class. Nevertheless, Tun Mahathir's realizations of direct and indirect act of agreeing are approached from a distinctive perception. It can be seen that Tun Mahathir utilized the adverb 'indeed' to signify the emphasis of his claims. Contrarily, it can be seen that the indirect act of agreeing adopted the use of adjectives that positively connotes his view on

the matter discussed. Therefore, Tun Mahathir's realizations are different depending on his intentions and issues expressed.

4.2.5 Speech Act of Expressing Hope

The speech act of expressing hope is categorized under the representative class. Expressing hope is used by the speaker to show her/his aspiration to the hearer regarding certain matters. This is in line with Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory where he stated that the representative act allows the speaker to state to what she/he believes as true. Nonetheless, expressing hope does not immediately benefit either of the interlocutors as it only presents an abstract idea since the act has yet to be performed.

Example 1

74th United Nations General Assembly

S2: U169

I look forward to the time when those services will no longer be needed and when countries will be able to ensure their own security

The utterance above speaks of Tun Mahathir's hope in witnessing the less powerful countries gain independence and be able to protect themselves without the aid from the United Nations as referred by Tun Mahathir in the phrase 'those services'. It is presented in an indirect form of expressing hope while utilizing a declarative force of utterance. This is because the act of expressing hope is not directly discernible through Tun Mahathir's utterance. The use of the phrasal verb 'look forward' signifies Tun Mahathir's aspiration to see those countries stand independently without the continuous help from

the United Nations to survive and further develop. Moreover, the adverb ‘forward’ also implies an action that has yet to happen, hence showing Tun Mahathir’s expectation for his aspiration to occur. Therefore, this implies Tun Mahathir’s intention to share his hope to the audience in together achieving absolute tolerance and peace so the safety of the countries does not entirely depend on the United Nations Organization.

Example 2

Kuala Lumpur (KL) Summit 2019

S5: U139

We are hoping that we will be able to spark a sense of purpose to pursue specific ventures and tangible programmes that the few nations involved can start working on them

The utterance above points to Malaysia’s goal to motivate the Summit members to venture into other business opportunities that would be beneficial to their countries. It is presented in a direct form and applies a declarative force of utterance. This can be identified due to the apparent relation of the utterance with the act of expressing hope through Tun Mahathir’s use of the progressive verb ‘are hoping’. The verb ‘are hoping’ which explains the noun ‘we’, represents all the Summit members. It also signifies their wish that the initiative taken in helping the member nations will motivate them to establish a means of their own independently. Through the utterance, it can be seen that Tun Mahathir intends to gain attention and support from the audience to help the nations’ progress and contribute to their local economy.

Throughout the results and analysis, it can be seen that the act of expressing hope records 0.7% of the representative class with four utterances identified. Moreover, all the utterances are directly presented by Tun Mahathir. Additionally, the use of the verb 'hoping' and verb phrase 'would like' clearly indicate Tun Mahathir's wish for greater possibilities in the near future. On the other hand, the indirect act performed shows the use of the verb phrase 'pray to Allah'. This therefore is more implicit as it indicates an action performed in being hopeful. Furthermore, it is used in the KL Summit where the audience comprised leaders from Islamic countries and is known to imply the Muslims' reliance on Allah in assuring the plan can be accomplished smoothly with His will.

4.2.6 Speech Act of Disagreeing

The speech act of disagreeing is part of the representative class. Normally, it is used by speakers to object to any idea or matter whether it is proposed by the hearer or otherwise. Sacks (1987) added that disagreeing is not preferred in an adjacency pair sequence as opposed to agreeing. Additionally, disagreeing imposes a great threat to the hearer's face as it puts into question the truthfulness of an utterance (Khammari, 2021). Sacks continued that it could create a situation of conflict between the speaker and hearer that jeopardizes the solidarity between both.

Example 1

73rd United Nations General Assembly

S1: U133

*They **cannot take** the moral high ground, preaching democracy and regime change in the countries of the world while they deny democracy in this Organization*

The statement above shows the irony of several practices that are against the principles of the United Nations Organization. The utterance is presented in a direct form and uses a declarative force of utterance. It is also presented with a negative connotation through the use of the modal verb 'cannot'. This helps to indicate Tun Mahathir's disagreement with the Organization's practice of favoritism to several countries. As a result, it has prevented other countries from being able to express their views and opinion on any issue discussed. Furthermore, the inclusion of the Organization's disproving actions implies how Tun Mahathir clearly objects the irony which is what the United Nations is believed to stand for - to bring peace and equality to all member nations. It can be deduced that Tun Mahathir intends to urge the United Nations to revise its principles and allow for equal treatment to all members.

Example 2

74th United Nations General Assembly

S2: U60

*There may be reasons for this action, **but it is still wrong***

The statement above touches on the offensive acts done by the Western power in Jammu and Kashmir despite the reasons given for the invasion. It is presented in an indirect form and utilizes a declarative force. This can be distinguished as the act of disagreeing is not apparent with the utterance produced by Tun Mahathir. Nonetheless, the adjective 'wrong' used by Tun Mahathir in reference to the terror acts of the Western powers indicates Tun Mahathir's differing opinion of the invasion for their narcissistic

needs. Moreover, the adverb ‘still’ also helps to emphasize his disagreement with the harm done on the helpless territories while not being given the chance to defend their own countries. Through the claim above, it shows Tun Mahathir’s motive to defy the invasion and demand for other ways to resolve conflicts.

Example 3

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit

S4: U71

*Malaysia **does not** agree with this*

The statement expresses Malaysia’s opposition to Israel’s declaration of Jerusalem as its capital as mentioned by Tun Mahatir in the previous claim. The utterance is presented in a direct form and applies a declarative force of utterance. This is because the association of the act of disagreeing is discernible through the utterance produced by Tun Mahathir. The use of the verb ‘do’ presented in a negative connotation is used to explain the verb ‘agree’ in regard to the issue discussed. Moreover, this also further indicates Tun Mahathir’s expression of disagreement with Israel’s blatant decision made on Jerusalem as its capital. Therefore, the utterance conveys Tun Mahathir’s announcement to oppose Israel’s action in order to show support to Palestine in its battle to reclaim their land.

The act of disagreeing is categorized under the representative class. Moreover, Tun Mahathir’s act of disagreeing accounted for 0.5% with three utterances found. All of the acts of disagreeing are also directly presented by Tun Mahathir. Nonetheless, the act of disagreeing strongly imposes a negative connotation by the speaker. This therefore also

imposes a high degree of face threat to the hearer and thus justifies Tun Mahathir infrequent use of the act of disagreeing. Despite Tun Mahathir's emphasis on truth, he ensured not to affect the audience's faces. Therefore, Tun Mahathir utilized modal verb 'cannot' and verb 'does not agree' to imply his opposing belief towards the issue. This allowed Tun Mahathir to sternly express his dissatisfaction yet maintain a good relationship with the member nations.

4.2.7 Speech Act of Expressing Anger

The speech act of expressing anger is classified under the representative class. Expressing anger is used by the speaker to convey her/his dissatisfaction over a situation or condition that is not acceptable to the speaker. Furthermore, Violeta (2019) asserted that expressing anger occurs when the speaker shows resentment towards an unpleasant treatment or matter. Moreover, anger can be expressed both verbally and non-verbally depending on the speaker's character. Other than that, anger exerts a higher face threat as it can affect the hearer's confidence and mood.

Example 1

Kuala Lumpur (KL) Summit 2019

S5: U38

*Yes. We are **angry and frustrated***

Following the previous utterances, it refers to Malaysia's perception of the horrifying treatment given to the Muslim Ummah. The utterance is presented in a direct form while applying a declarative force due to the apparent relation of the act of expressing anger in

Tun Mahathir's utterance. Furthermore, the use of the adjectives 'angry' and 'frustrated' signifies Tun Mahathir's disdain of the mistreatment by the Muslim Ummah towards each other that has impacted their lives. In addition, the exclamation 'yes' in the previous utterance also suggests Tun Mahathir's great concern with the terror acts of the powerful Muslim countries that have given a great impact on the lives of innocent and powerless Muslims. Hence, it can be inferred that Tun Mahathir intends to highlight the mistreatment given to the victims in hopes of gaining support from the Summit members to help them fight against terrorism.

The speech act of expressing anger shows one of the lowest speech act occurrence found under the representative class. It consists of 0.4% with only two utterances identified and are directly presented by Tun Mahathir. However, the act of expressing anger imposes a high face threat to the hearer. This has thus affected Tun Mahathir's production of the act of expressing anger due to face saving. Despite that, Tun Mahathir is straightforward as the use of adjectives 'angry' and 'frustrated' significantly shows his disappointment with the issue. This hence reflects Tun Mahathir's ability to speak his mind while showing great respect not to hurt the whole audience.

4.2.8 Speech Act of Admitting

The speech act of admitting is categorized under the representative class. It is used by the speaker to show his/her concurrence to a matter or an idea to be true. This therefore falls under the representative class as it constitutes the intention to commit the speaker with the truth of the proposition expressed (Searle, 1976).

Example 1

74th United Nations General Assembly

S2: U41

I will admit that democracy is a better form of Government than dictatorship, but democracy is not the easiest form of Government to operate

The statement above discusses democracy as one of the forms of government. The utterance is presented in a direct form as well as adapting a declarative force of utterance. This is discernible through the explicit relation of Tun Mahathir's utterance with the act of admitting. The use of the phrase 'will admit' indicates Tun Mahathir's acknowledgement of democracy as the better form of government when compared to dictatorship.

From the result and analysis conducted, it is shown that the act of admitting only consisted of 0.2% from the representative class as only one utterance is found. Moreover, it can be inferred that the less frequent use of the speech act of admitting by Tun Mahathir is due to the face threat it exerts on the speaker. This can also indirectly affect the audience's perception of the speaker. Nevertheless, the acts of admitting found in the speeches are directly presented. This is realized through Tun Mahathir's use of the verb 'admit' to indicate his intention. It is also used as a form of support to the United Nations Organization.

4.2.9 Speech Act of Concluding

The speech act of concluding is often used by the speaker to deduce something based on the assertions presented. It is also classified under the representative class (Hidayat, 2016). Furthermore, the act of concluding is a speaker's representation of the world as she/he believes to be. In order for the speaker to conclude her/his claim, the assertions concerning the issue are required to be presented in order to gain an understanding from the hearer.

Example 1

73rd United Nations General Assembly

S1: U102

*It is **therefore** imperative that they, too, have such weapons*

The statement describes the implication of several countries owning weaponry as a means of protection should there be war. It is presented in a direct form and utilizes a declarative force of utterance. This can be seen through the apparent relation of the act of concluding with the utterance produced by Tun Mahathir. In the previous claim, Tun Mahathir stated that 'Yet poorer countries are persuaded to buy them, even if they cannot afford them. They are told that their neighbors or their enemies have them'. The use of the adverb 'therefore' hence presents a logical reasoning deduced by Tun Mahathir in regard to the possession of war weapons by the poor countries. Moreover, the adverb 'too' is also used to represent the need of the poor countries to own such weapons as well much like their neighboring countries. All in all, the claim shows Tun Mahathir's motive to disclose the agenda of the persuasion imposed on these countries; that is to cajole them into believing the benefit if owning the weapons.

The act of concluding consisted of only 0.2% with only one utterance recorded. Moreover, all of the utterances identified are directly presented by Tun Mahathir. It can be seen that Tun Mahathir's direct presentation of the act of concluding utilized adverbs like 'therefore' and 'so' to draw definite inferences relating to his claims or presentation of information. On the other hand, Tun Mahathir's indirect expression made use of the present perfect tense to show the outcome of activities mentioned in his previous claims. The analysis hence proves that Tun Mahathir's use of the speech act of concluding helps to justify and support his claims which, in turn, strengthen their validity.

4.3 Directives

According to Searle (1976), the directive class of speech acts refers to utterances produced by the speaker with an attempt to make the hearer do something. Furthermore, Searle mentioned that the acts of suggesting, requesting, advising, and questioning are some of the speech acts classified under the directive act.

Table 4.9: Directive Speech Acts

Speech Act Type	Frequency/ Percentage (%)
Suggesting	62 (65.3%)
Advising	19 (20%)
Requesting	12 (12.6%)
Pleading	2 (2.1%)
Total	95

Following the representative class is directive with 13.8%, which represents 95 utterances in all five speeches. In addition, there are four speech act types identified under the directive class. These are the speech acts of suggesting, advising, requesting and pleading. Out of these, the act of suggesting records the highest frequency found with 62 utterances. 29 utterances from the total found for the act of suggesting are identified in

the ABIS Summit. This can be due to the Summit's goal which was to provide with solutions that would strengthen the economic status and relationship of the ASEAN regions. Therefore, Tun Mahathir has proposed several strategies that will further contribute to ASEAN's future developments. It is then followed by the act of advising with 19 utterances found. On the other hand, the act of pleading has the lowest occurrence with only two utterances. As a matter of fact, both utterances are identified in the in the 74th UNGA. It can be seen that the act of pleading performed by Tun Mahathir touched on Malaysia's economic development. This is regarding the issue of palm oil and Tun Mahathir's refusal to downsize the industry which has been a major contributor to Malaysia's economy. All in all, the figures presented signify Tun Mahathir's intention to be involved to the issues laid out whether they affect Malaysia or not. In addition, they also show Tun Mahathir's bold personality as he presents his ideas to the audience which also helps to portray his vision of the issue discussed.

Table 4.10: Classification of Directive Speech Acts

Excerpt	Speech Act Type	Realization of Speech Act
<i>The General Assembly should then uphold the decision with a simple majority</i>	Speech act of suggesting	The utterance is presented in a direct form of suggesting. The use of the modal verb ' should ' and the verb ' uphold ' convey Tun Mahathir's idea to allow equality to all member nations
<i>If we want sanctions, let us have a law to govern them</i>	Speech act of requesting	The utterance is presented in a direct form of suggesting. The use of the imperative form ' let us ' indicates Tun Mahathir's demand on law applied for sanctions
<i>While we encourage foreign direct investments, we should not allow ourselves to be mainly the consumers of foreign goods and expertise</i>	Speech act of advising	The utterance is presented in a direct form of advising. The use of the verb ' we should not allow ' implies Tun Mahathir's input on correctly conducting the investments

Table 4.10 continued

<p><i>If we care to honestly assess our situation, we must admit that we and our religion have become the subject of much vilification and defamation</i></p>	<p>Speech act of advising</p>	<p>The utterance is presented in a direct form of suggesting. The phrase ‘we must admit’ implies Tun Mahathir’s reminder to accept the hatred on Islam</p>
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4.3.1 Speech Act of Suggesting

The act of suggesting is classified as one of the types under the representative class. According to Rintell (1979), the act of suggesting is performed whereby the speaker requires the hearer to perform an action that benefits the hearer. Moreover, suggesting is also regarded as a face threatening act as it requires action from the hearer.

Example 1

S1: U135

73rd United Nations General Assembly

<p><i>The General Assembly should then uphold the decision with a simple majority</i></p>

The utterance above discusses the process of decision making in regard to any matter put forward within the General Assembly. It is presented in a direct form of suggesting while employing a declarative force of utterance. The direct form can be seen through Tun Mahathir’s use of the modal verb ‘should’ which illustrates his approach in expressing his opinions on the matters discussed. Following that, the use of the verb ‘uphold’ clearly shows Tun Mahathir’s idea to help facilitate a fair and just decision among the members of the General Assembly. Moreover, Tun Mahathir also included his suggestion with the idea of ‘simple majority’. The utterance further proves Tun

Mahathir's intention to demand for a fair decision made based on the majority votes from the members of the Assembly and not solely based on countries who hold the veto power.

Example 2

S2: U49

74th United Nations General Assembly

If we reduce our budgets for killing people, we will have the funds for research and preparations

The utterance suggests a solution to face natural disasters and reduce fatalities. This is in reference to his earlier claim regarding the increasing number of occurrences of natural disasters which also affect human beings due to the poor allocation given to their management. Moreover, the utterance is presented in a direct form of suggesting as the optative illocutionary force (the use of conjunction) is utilized. The direct form is signified through the apparent suggestion of Tun Mahathir which includes the phrase 'reduce our budgets'. Furthermore, use of the conditional 'if' suggests Tun Mahathir's attempt at implying the idea that more focus should be given by the members of the United Nations represented through the pronoun 'we' to finding a solution to face the natural disasters. In conclusion, the utterance explains Tun Mahathir's attempt to dissuade the audience from warring against each other.

Example 3

ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS) 2018

S3: U14

*Governments **must work** more closely with the private sector to alleviate some of the difficulties that they face*

The utterance above explains the need for each nation's government to cooperate with the private sector. This cooperation would then help to mitigate any problems faced within the private sector. It is presented in a direct form and holds an declarative illocutionary force that can be identified through the inclusion of Tun Mahathir's idea in the utterance. The use of the modal verb 'must' indicates Tun Mahathir's strong conviction in allowing the economy to further develop. Furthermore, the use of the comparative form 'more closely' highlights Tun Mahathir's proposition on the improvement needed for nations' government to increase the efficiency in conducting businesses. Therefore, this shows Tun Mahathir's intention to stress on the importance for both governments and the private sector to work together in achieving a common goal for the economy.

Example 4

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit 2019

S4: U75

We can negotiate or submit to arbitration by third parties

The utterance above shows one of the approaches that could be taken to overcome disagreements between countries and thus avoid the possibility of war. It is presented in a direct form of suggesting while exerting a declarative force which is identifiable through Tun Mahathir's inclusion of his suggestion. The phrase 'we can negotiate' presents Tun Mahathir's idea of what he believes to be a workable situation. Additionally, Tun Mahathir's use of the pronoun 'we' signify his incorporation of all the United Nations' members. This is because the phrase implies an expression of possibility; whereby the approach proposed could result in peace. Moreover, it also signifies Tun Mahathir's intention to persuade the audience to resort to a more diplomatic approach in settling disputes thus indirectly reducing the possibility of warring between nations.

All in all, it can be seen that all of the suggestions were directly presented by Tun Mahathir. Despite that, the suggestions cited do not impose Tun Mahathir's power over any of the member nations involved in the Summit. Nonetheless, his suggestions were stern and straightforward which reflected on his personality as Malaysia's prime minister. This therefore indicates Tun Mahathir's confidence in expressing his disappointments to the audience. Additionally, Tun Mahathir often used modal verbs like 'must' and 'should'. This helped to encourage the listeners to consider his suggestions.

4.3.2 Speech Act of Advising

The speech act of advising is classified under the directive class. According to Searle (1969, p.7) advising is defined as ‘telling you what’s best for you’. Similar to other speech act types under this class, advising also demonstrates how the speaker requires the advisee to do something. Therefore, Brown and Levinson, (1987) asserted that it may be face-threatening since the speaker is in control of what is good for the hearer. Nevertheless, this act gives more benefits to the hearer than the speaker as it is in the hearer’s best interest (Searle, 1969). The utterances below hence demonstrate the speech act of advising.

Example 1

73rd United Nations General Assembly

S1: U73

We need to remind ourselves that the United Nations, like the League of Nations before it, was conceived for the noble purpose of ending wars between nations

The utterance discusses the sole purpose of the creation of the United Nations. The utterance is presented in a direct form of advising and adapting an imperative force of utterance. This is shown through the use of the modal verb ‘must’. This signifies a clear indication of Tun Mahathir's attempt to give his advice to the members of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). This is also strengthened by the verb ‘remind’ which shows the advice he refers to on the fundamental reason the United Nations was established; that is to assure peace among countries across the world. Moreover, the advice was also given to the members of NAM as the act of war is continuously wide-spreading in several parts of the world.

Example 2

74th United Nations General Assembly

S2: U186

*That was our mission, and **that must remain** our mission*

The utterance above explains about the crucial need for the United Nations to keep the focus on their essential mission upon the creation of the organization. It is presented in a direct form of advising while implying an imperative force of utterance. The direct form can be seen through Tun Mahathir's use of the modal verb 'must' that highlights his advice on maintaining a peaceful world. This is aforementioned in the previous utterance which Tun Mahathir refers to with the use of determiner 'that'. Moreover, the act of advising can also be seen through the use of the verb 'remain' to remind the audience of the crucial need to prioritize their aim which has been set and agreed upon among the members of the United Nations.

Example 3

ASEAN Business and Investment Summit 2018 (ABIS)

S3: U22

*While we encourage foreign direct investments, we **should not allow ourselves** to be mainly the consumers of foreign goods and expertise*

The utterance discusses the importance of ASEAN members to not depend on foreign goods and expertise. Furthermore, it is presented in a direct form of advising and employs a declarative force of utterance. This can be identified through the direct relation of advising that was included in the utterance presented. Moreover, the modal verb ‘should’ that is presented in a negative connotation refers to the main verb ‘allow’. Tun Mahathir also reinforced his advice with the inclusion of the issue he intended to highlight, that is to be dependable on foreign goods and expertise. Thus, it indicates Tun Mahathir’s word of advice regarding the process of business with foreign countries.

Example 4

Non-Aligned Movement Summit (NAM) 2019

S4: U103

We should not give in to the powerful countries and give them the satisfaction of seeing us divided

The utterance states the importance of NAM members to stay united and fight against powerful countries. The utterance is presented in a direct form as well as utilizing an imperative force of utterance. This is indicated through the direct relation of the act to the utterance which can be seen in the use of the modal verb ‘should’ in a negative connotation. Furthermore, the phrasal verb ‘give in’ helps to emphasize on Tun Mahathir’s reminder to the members of NAM. This is to advice the NAM members not to allow the powerful nations to take control of their own countries. Additionally, Tun Mahathir’s act of advising also signifies his intention to remind the audience in fighting for their nations’ independence.

The speech of advising accounted for 20% of the directive class. The result shows that nearly 92% of the advice given by Tun Mahathir was directly presented. Moreover, the act of advising was often realized through Tun Mahathir's use of the modal verb 'must'. The modal verb 'must' acts to stress on the importance of the advice. In addition, it also helps to demonstrate a sense of urgency for the advice to be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, the use of the modal verb 'must', can also be categorized as the speech act of suggesting. The distinction between the two speech act types was identified through the utterance itself. The utterance was classified under the act of advising if it enforced a greater benefit to the listener. Furthermore, the act of advising is one of Tun Mahathir's strategies to show his concerns and involvement as one of the members of the summit. This strategy applied will also give greater recognition to Malaysia for using its voice to discuss on issues that are external to the country.

4.3.3 Speech Act of Requesting

The speech act of requesting is classified under the directive class. Furthermore, it is defined as the utterance produced by the speaker in order for the hearer to do something in the event it is not obvious whether the hearer will perform the action (Searle, 1969). He also pointed out that the act of requesting is often produced as the speaker believes the hearer is able to do the action. Moreover, Searle (1979:13) stated that requesting may be mild when the speaker invites the hearer to do it yet may also be strong when the speaker insists on the hearer doing it. Thus, it can be said that the act of requesting gives great benefit to the speaker and thus constitutes a face threatening act (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

Example 1

73rd United Nations General Assembly

S1: U71

Let there be justice and the rule of law

The utterance states the importance of fair and equal treatment given to any country, powerful or not for jurisdiction of law. It is presented in a direct form of request with an imperative force of utterance. This can be seen due to the evident relation of the utterance to the act through the use of the verb 'let'. Furthermore, it also signifies Tun Mahathir's request for the matter to be referred to so that justice and rule of law are equally given to every member nation regarding any issue faced. This is shown through the felicity condition of the utterance where Tun Mahathir requires the members to allow for the action of justice and rule of law. Therefore, the utterance counts for Tun Mahathir's attempt to get the members to accept the request made.

Example 2

74th United Nations General Assembly

S2: U149

If we want sanctions, let us have a law to govern them

The utterance expresses Tun Mahathir's need for the United Nations to allow countries to govern their own sanctions. Moreover, the utterance is presented in a direct form of

requesting with the use of a declarative force. This can be deduced through the direct relation of Tun Mahathir's request included in the utterance. Tun Mahathir's use of the verb 'let' subtly signifies a request for other member nations to be given control over their sanctions. The use of the pronoun 'us' followed by the verb 'govern' on the other hand shows Tun Mahathir's affirmative request to the members of the General Assembly. This is because the verb 'let' shows Tun Mahathir's confidence in asking for their own independence.

Example 3

ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS) 2018

S3: U90

*What we **require** is **fair and mutually beneficial trade and investment cooperation** rather than the dominance by anyone*

The utterance above states the need for ASEAN members to be given assistance in boosting their economies. The utterance is presented in a direct form and utilizes an imperative force as can be identified through Tun Mahathir's request. The use of the performative verb 'require' distinctively portrays Tun Mahathir's demand for equality from every ASEAN member in pursuance of their region's economy. Moreover, it also intensifies Tun Mahathir's suggestion of how critical the situation is. Therefore, it can be inferred that Tun Mahathir's intention is to equalize the trade and investment cooperation for every ASEAN member, thus reducing the possibility of conflict.

Example 4

Non-Aligned Movement Summit (NAM) 2019

S4: U89

We urge NAM member countries that have relocated to Jerusalem or are planning to do so to reconsider their decision

The statement concerns the Israeli government's decision to declare Jerusalem as their capital. It is presented in a direct form which opts for an imperative force of utterance. The act of requesting can be identified as the utterance includes Tun Mahathir's inquiry in showing support to Palestine. The use of the performative verb 'urge' signifies Tun Mahathir's clear appeal for NAM members to not centre their embassies in Jerusalem as it indirectly shows support for Israel to seize the Palestinian land. Furthermore, it also highlights the urgency for an immediate action to be taken as Palestine is day by day losing its land and rights to fight for itself. This thus has led Tun Mahathir to fight against Israel and provide help to Palestinians to reclaim their land.

As can be compared to suggesting, the act of requesting poses a higher face threat. Therefore, the frequency of the act of requesting is lower than that of suggesting. This is because the speeches were delivered on international platforms. Moreover, Tun Mahathir also acknowledges the importance to maintain the diplomatic relationship with other member nations. Nonetheless, the requests were performed with great respect to other member nations, hence not threatening the face of the audience. Furthermore, Tun Mahathir also frequently utilized the use of the noun and verb 'need'. This strategy applied reinforces Tun Mahathir's requests and allows the audience to recognize his consistent support in several issues.

4.3.4 Speech Act of Pleading

The speech act of pleading is categorized under the directive class. This is asserted by Grundy (2000) and Huang (2007) as it requires the hearer to do something. Normally, it is performed by the speaker to beg for a proposition or action to be taken and accepted. Additionally, pleading contains a higher level of intensity than asking as it poses a more crucial need for the speaker to be accepted. This is because according to the propositional condition of pleading the speaker expects the hearer to perform the action needed.

Example 1

74th United Nations General Assembly

S2: U144

Therefore, I ask our partners not to impoverish us by forcing us to buy what we do not need or to reduce our exports

The utterance describes Malaysia's relations with its trading partners in maintaining a fair-trading business. It is presented in a direct form and it applies an imperative force of utterance. The act of pleading is clearly shown in the utterance produced. It is further supported by Tun Mahathir's subtle appeal with the use of the verb 'ask' that implies Tun Mahathir's demand for its trading partners to consider Malaysia's trading situation before requiring the nation to unnecessarily purchase assets that are unneeded. Furthermore, Tun Mahathir's inclusion of the possible actions by the partners also shows his hope for their better treatment towards Malaysia. Additionally, the verb 'need' imposed in a negative connotation also highlights Tun Mahathir's justification of his appeal to Malaysia's trading partners. This thus shows Tun Mahathir's motive to appeal for the partners to scrutinize every aspect in making decisions on how the trading business could benefit both parties.

The result and analysis show that the act of pleading accounted for 2.1% with two utterances found. Furthermore, the acts of pleading are identified in the 74th UNGA with two utterances. As a matter of fact, the utterances are directly presented. The use of the verb ‘ask’ shows Tun Mahathir’s approach in performing the act of pleading. Nonetheless, the act of pleading poses a higher negative face to the speaker as he/she is asking for help from the hearer.

4.4 Expressives

The expressive act is described as the utterance that is produced by the speaker to express his/her psychological feeling and hold a certain objective (Searle, 1976). Furthermore, Christison (2018) also added that speakers produce expressive acts to signal to the hearer her/his emotions and attitudes.

Table 4.11: Expressive Speech Acts

Speech Act Type	Frequency/ Percentage (%)
Thanking	9 (45%)
Complimenting	6 (30%)
Disliking	4 (16%)
Congratulating	3 (15%)
Liking	1 (5%)
Welcoming	1 (5%)
Regretting	1 (5%)
Total	25

Table 4.11 above shows the frequency of speech acts according to classes in Tun Mahathir’s speeches. The results show that 3.6% is made up of the expressive act class with 25 utterances found. The expressive class consists of seven speech act types. In addition, the most frequent speech act type recorded under expressive is the act of thanking with nine utterances found. The act of complimenting is the second highest

recorded with six utterances. Two speech acts are nonetheless found to have the lowest frequency with one utterance each. These include liking, welcoming and regretting.

Table 4.12: Classification of Expressive Speech Act

Excerpt	Speech Act Type	Realization of Speech Act
<i>Firstly, I would like to thank the organisers for inviting me to deliver this address</i>	Speech act of thanking	The utterance is presented in a direct form of thanking. The phrase ' thank you ' represents Tun Mahathir's appreciation to ASEAN
<i>First and foremost, I wish to extend my heartiest congratulations to the Republic of Azerbaijan for assuming the chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and for hosting this summit</i>	Speech act of congratulating	The utterance is presented in a direct form of congratulating. The phrase ' extend my heartiest congratulations ' shows Tun Mahathir's applaud to the country in its success of hosting the year's summit
<i>As host of this meeting, I would like to welcome Your Majesties, Your Excellences, Ladies and Gentlemen to this Kuala Lumpur Summit</i>	Speech act of welcoming	The utterance is presented in a direct form of welcoming. The performative verb ' welcome ' signifies Tun Mahathir's greet to the audience of the KL Summit

4.4.1 Speech Act of Thanking

The speech act of thanking falls under the expressive class. Searle (1969) defined thanking as an illocutionary act of the speaker in response to the hearer's preceding act to the speaker that benefits her/him. Plus, Vanderveken (1990) also regards thanking as an expression of gratitude. According to Leech (1983), thanking belongs to a convivial category that is inclined to be intrinsically polite. Therefore, it exerts a low degree of face-threatening-act to the hearer.

Example 1

73rd United Nations General Assembly (UNGA)

S1: U5

*Allow me to also **pay tribute** to her predecessor, Miroslav Lajčák, for his dedication and stewardship in successfully completing the work of the seventy-second session of the General Assembly*

The utterance points to the success of the previous President of the Organization, Miroslav Lajcak, in organizing the seventy-second General Assembly. It is presented in an indirect form of thanking and applies a declarative force of utterance. The indirect form is due to the disparity of relation between the act of thanking with the utterance produced. The use of the verb ‘pay’ to explain the noun ‘tribute’ shows Tun Mahathir’s recognition of the previous President of the General Assembly in his contribution to the seventy-second session.

Example 2

74th United Nations General Assembly (UNGA)

S2: U2

I would also like to thank Her Excellency María Fernanda Espinosa Garcés for her dedication and stewardship in successfully completing the work of the General Assembly at its seventy-third session

The utterance highlights the previous President, Maria Fernanda Espinosa Garcés’ success in ensuring the success of the seventy-third session. The utterance is presented in

a direct form and applies a declarative force. This is shown through the apparent association of the utterance with the act of thanking. The use of the verb ‘thank’ expresses Tun Mahathir’s act of showing gratitude for the hard work put in by the previous president to ensure the efficacy of the General Assembly. Moreover, the nouns ‘dedication’ and ‘stewardship’ show Tun Mahathir’s recognition of Maria Fernanda’s positive quality which has allowed the General Assembly to run smoothly under her leadership. Hence, this conveys Tun Mahathir’s intention to show his appreciation to Maria Fernanda for her tireless commitment given to the success of the General Assembly.

Example 3

ASEAN Business and Investment (ABIS) Summit 2018

S3: U2

Firstly, I would like to thank the organisers for inviting me to deliver this address

The utterance demonstrates the honor Tun Mahathir received as a guest to the 2018 ABIS Summit. It is presented in a direct form and opts for a declarative force which can be determined through the discernible act of thanking shown in Tun Mahathir’s utterance. The verb ‘thank’ indicates Tun Mahathir’s acknowledgement of the ASEAN members for providing him the prestigious platform to share his views of the issues within ASEAN. Through this utterance, it can be deduced that Tun Mahathir intends to show his courtesy to ASEAN in allowing him to be involved with the discussion regarding the ASEAN member nations.

Example 4

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit 2018

S4: U6

At the same time, I wish to extend my sincere appreciation to Venezuela, for chairing and steering the work of the movement over the past three years

The utterance above acknowledges the earnest dedication of Venezuela in managing all the work of the ASEAN Organization committee for the last three years. The utterance is presented in an indirect form while utilizing a declarative force. This is due to the indirect act of thanking presented by Tun Mahathir. The use of the noun ‘appreciation’ signifies Tun Mahathir’s recognition of Venezuela in helping the organization run smoothly under her management. Moreover, the adjective ‘sincere’ intensifies Tun Mahathir’s gratitude to Venezuela for hosting the Summit. This thus conveys Tun Mahathir’s intention to express his appreciation to Venezuela’s hospitality and dedication in leading the Organization.

The act of thanking is the most frequently used speech act type by Tun Mahathir under the expressive class. The act of thanking accounted for 45% of the expressive act, equivalent to nine utterances found. As a matter of fact, five utterances are directly presented as the use of the verb ‘thank’ is observed to be utilized by Tun Mahathir. On the other hand, four utterances were indirectly presented by Tun Mahathir. This allows Tun Mahathir to ensure that his appreciation is positively perceived by the audience without risking his intention being misconstrued. Additionally, it also helps the audience to build a positive impression of Tun Mahathir and create a stronger diplomatic relationship with other member nations.

4.4.2 Speech Act of Complimenting

The speech act of complimenting is often used by the speaker to offer recognition to the hearer of her/his ability in doing something. Complimenting also belongs to the expressive class. According to Holmes (1988), complimenting is performed by the speaker through showing credit to someone, which is the hearer for her/his noteworthy skill, characteristic, possession, etc. which is expressed either implicitly or explicitly. Furthermore, it is also viewed as an intrinsically courteous gesture (Olshtain and Cohen, 1991). Hence, complimenting is less face-threatening as it gives more benefit to the hearer than the speaker.

Example 1

73rd United Nations General Assembly

S1: U7

*I also **commend** the Secretary-General and the United Nations staff for their tireless efforts in steering and managing the Organization's activities globally*

The statement addresses the staff of the United Nations Organization's earnest dedication in running the activities within the Organization. The utterance is presented in a direct form and opts for a declarative force. This is because the complimenting act is apparent in Tun Mahathir's production of the utterance. Additionally, the verb 'commend' suggests Tun Mahathir's compliment directed at the Organization's steadfast commitment in ensuring that its activities are well administered across the globe. Moreover, the adjective 'tireless' also conveys Tun Mahathir's perception of the staff's admirable work ethics which have allowed this massive Organization to operate efficiently and smoothly. Therefore, it can be deduced that Tun Mahathir intends to offer

his recognition to the staff that might as well be considered the Organization's unsung heroes.

Example 2

ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS) 2018

S3: U83

*I also **commend** the proposed collaboration between ASEAN-BAC and Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA) to formulate national level priorities for the reduction of non-tariff measures to support 10% reduction in trade costs by 2020*

The utterance expresses Tun Mahathir's positive reaction to the proposed collaboration between ASEAN-BAC and Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA). It is presented in a direct form while adapting a declarative force of utterance. The presentation of direct form can be seen through the apparent relation of the utterance and the act as Tun Mahathir has adapted the use of the verb 'commend'. This evidently indicates Tun Mahathir's impression of the idea put forward by the collaboration in reducing trade costs.

The act of complimenting accounted for 30% of the expressive class. Moreover, five utterances of the act of complimenting are directly performed by Tun Mahathir and only one is performed indirectly. It can also be seen that Tun Mahathir's act of complimenting utilized verbs like 'commend' and 'laud'. The use of these verbs therefore strongly signifies Tun Mahathir's positive response to the accomplishment or success made by the individual in which the compliment is directed to. Moreover, it also shows Tun Mahathir's principled personality as he often assures that his judgments are

commensurate with the Summit's accomplishments or failures. This also helps to strengthen his reputation as one of the members of the organization.

4.4.3 Speech Act of Disliking

The speech act of disliking is categorized under the expressive class. This is as it expresses the speaker's psychological state or attitude like joy, sorrow, like and dislike (Searle in Huang, 2007). It is normally used by the speaker to show her/his resentment towards an idea or action done. Opposite to liking, expressing one's dislike is often considered as impoliteness as it disregards the other person's proposition or approach.

Example 1

74th United Nations General Assembly

S2: U94

*It is **ridiculous** to hang a murderer for killing one person and yet glorify those who are responsible for the deaths of millions of people*

The statement points to what appears to bring injustice towards the perpetrators for the crimes they committed. The utterance is presented in an indirect form while also utilizing a declarative force of utterance. This is because the act of disliking cannot be directly identified through the utterance. Nonetheless, the use of the adjective 'ridiculous' helps to present Tun Mahathir's resentment towards the Israeli forces' choice to heavily punish those with minimal crime committed while praising those who have incarcerated the lives of innocent people. Moreover, the inclusion of the authorities' reactions towards both crimes also highlights Tun Mahathir's effort to represent those who do not have a voice.

This thus shows Tun Mahathir's aim to raise awareness to the public of the authorities' bigotry in handing out punishments and require for the laws to be revised.

Example 2

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit 2018

S4: U98

*It is **unfortunate** that a world organization set up by powerful nations now see those very people ignoring the resolutions of that world body*

The statement talks about the malpractice of the members within the organization that are opposed to the core values on which it was created. It is presented in an indirect form while a declarative force is used. This is since the act of disliking is not discernible through Tun Mahathir's utterance yet is identifiable with his implied language use. The use of the adjective 'unfortunate' helps to indicate Tun Mahathir's dissatisfaction with the negative that was taking place within the organization. Additionally, Tun Mahathir's mention of the change also shows his disapproval of the violation upon the power that has been entrusted to the powerful nations. It can therefore be seen that Tun Mahathir intends to show his regret about how the organization has been led astray from its core values.

Disliking also imposes a high face threat to the hearer. This is because it reflects the speaker's disapproval towards an action taken or motion proposed. Furthermore, 16% of the expressive class is categorized under the act of disliking as four utterances are found. Nonetheless, Tun Mahathir's unfavorable reactions to the issues discussed do not threaten

the audience's faces yet firmly signify his position. This can be seen through Tun Mahathir's ongoing disapproval of the Israeli forces' acts of terrorism that are boldly expressed in all of the Summits.

4.4.4 Speech Act of Congratulating

The speech act of congratulating is also part of the expressive class. Usually, congratulating is performed by the speaker to the hearer as an offer of respect for the success attained by the hearer in the past. Moreover, it is defined as expressing delight upon acknowledging the hearer's good fortune (Searle, 1969). Brown and Levison (1987) added that congratulating is also regarded as one of the strategies of positive politeness.

Example 1

73rdUnited Nations General Assembly

S1: U1

I would like to join others in congratulating the President of the General Assembly at its seventy-third session

The utterance above addresses the President's success in convening the seventy-third session of the General Assembly of one the biggest world organizations. It is presented in a direct form and utilizes a declarative force. This can be seen through the direct relation of Tun Mahathir's utterance with the act of complimenting. The verb 'congratulating' conveys Tun Mahathir's appraisal to the President in ensuring that the General Assembly was able to run smoothly without any disputes between countries.

Example 2

74th United Nations General Assembly

S2: U1

I would like to join the others in congratulating Mr. Tijani Muhammad Bande on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its seventy-fourth session

The utterance above highlights the appointment of Mr. Tijani Muhammad Bande as the President of the seventy-fourth session General Assembly. The utterance is presented in a direct form while opting for a declarative force. The direct form of congratulating is identified by Tun Mahathir's inclusion of the verb 'congratulating'. This therefore helps to indicate Tun Mahathir's support for Mr. Tijani Muhammad Bande, the President, for being entrusted to manage one of the most prestigious events as it involves hundreds of countries across the world. Furthermore, the phrase 'would like' in explaining the verb 'join' suggests Tun Mahathir's sincere pleasure in commending Mr. Tijani's presidency. Through this utterance it can be deduced that Tun Mahathir intends to honor on the Organization's election of the President for the seventy-fourth General Assembly.

Example 3

18th Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit 2018

S4: U2

First and foremost, I wish to extend my heartiest congratulations to the Republic of Azerbaijan for assuming the chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and for hosting this summit

The utterance highlights the Republic of Azerbaijan's election as the host and chairman of the 18th Non-Aligned Movement Summit (NAM). The utterance is presented in a direct form whilst utilizing a declarative force. This is discernible through the evident relation of the act of congratulating with the utterance produced by Tun Mahathir. The use of the noun 'congratulations' implies Tun Mahathir's acknowledgement of the Republic of Azerbaijan for gaining the trust from the committee members to host and become the chair for the next three consecutive years from 2019 to 2022. Additionally, the adjective 'hearty' presented in the superlative form also conveys Tun Mahathir's high level of sincerity in applauding the country's success. This, therefore, suggests Tun Mahathir's motive in giving the country the recognition and trust to host the Summit impeccably.

All in all, it can be seen that Tun Mahathir's act of congratulating are significantly utilized in the beginning of his speeches. Furthermore, all 15% consisting of three utterances of Tun Mahathir's act of congratulating are directly presented. This is to openly present his delight to the audience. Aside from that, it is also to ensure the audience is able to clearly perceive his acknowledgement for the hard work and dedication given by the presidents in conducting all of the Summits. Moreover, the use of the verb 'congratulate' is repeatedly applied in all of his utterances as it allows Tun Mahathir to show his appreciation. The use of the act of congratulating in the beginning of his speeches also signifies his need to show courtesy to all the organizers.

4.4.5 Speech Act of Liking

The speech act of liking is categorized under the representative/expressive act. According to Searle in Huang (2007) the expressive act shows one's psychological attitude or state like joy, sorrow, like and dislike. The speech act of liking is used by the

speaker to convey her/his fondness of a particular idea or action. Additionally, it imposes a higher degree on positive politeness as it gives a positive reaction to the said matter.

Example 1

ASEAN Business and Investment (ABIS) Summit 2018

S3: U79

I am glad to see that ASEAN now is actively engaging the private sector

The statement presents Tun Mahathir's opinion on ASEAN's attempt to venture into the private sector. It is presented in a direct form and employs a declarative force of utterance which can be distinguished due to the direct relation of act of liking with Tun Mahathir's utterance. The use of the adjective 'glad' conveys Tun Mahathir's approval of ASEAN's move to expand its business opportunities and venture into the private sector. Additionally, it also shows Tun Mahathir's pleasant reaction to see the growth of ASEAN in expanding its business prospects. All in all, this signifies Tun Mahathir's motive to give recognition and support to ASEAN's effort for further innovation.

The result and analysis show only one utterance found under the speech act of liking. Moreover, it only accounts for 5% of the expressive act. In addition, the act of liking performed by Tun Mahathir is directly presented. It is realized through Tun Mahathir's use of the adjective 'glad' which signifies his strong endorsement of the initiative taken by ASEAN. Nevertheless, Tun Mahathir's infrequent use of the act of liking is due to the issues discussed in all of the Summits. Through the analysis it can be seen that the Summits often discussed negative issues like the misuse of veto power, terrorism and the

need for nations to continuously participate in the betterment of the economic development.

4.4.6 Speech Act of Welcoming

The speech act of welcoming is classified under the expressive class. Welcoming is described as an expression to address the hearer's attendance. It is also considered as an act of courtesy to show appreciation in welcoming the hearers. Moreover, the act of welcoming falls under the expressive act as it helps to express the speaker's psychological state (Agus Hidayat, 2016). Searle and Vanderken (1985) mentioned that welcoming is an expressive act that serves as a 'courteous indication of recognition' towards the hearer. In addition to that, welcoming is for the sole benefit of the hearer.

Example 1

Kuala Lumpur (KL) Summit 2019

S5: U1

As host of this meeting, I would like to welcome Your Majesties, Your Excellences, Ladies and Gentlemen to this Kuala Lumpur Summit

The utterance above points to the attendance of the Summit members to the first ever KL Summit held in 2019. The utterance is presented in a direct form while utilizing a declarative illocutionary force. This can be seen as the act of welcoming is apparent with Tun Mahathir's utterance. The use of the verb 'welcome' implies Tun Mahathir's greeting and appreciation to the audience and members for their willingness to join the Summit. All in all, it demonstrates Tun Mahathir's motive to offer a warm hospitality to the Summit members on their attendance to the Summit.

The act of welcoming is seen to be utilized once by Tun Mahathir which accounts for 5% of the expressive class. The act of welcoming utilized is also directly presented. In the utterance performed by Tun Mahathir, it can be seen that it utilizes the verb ‘welcome’. Oftentimes, the act of welcoming is performed by the speaker in which he/she acts as a host for a particular event. This is thus performed by Tun Mahathir in the KL Summit as Malaysia hosted the summit in 2019. The act of welcoming reflects on Tun Mahathir’s intention to depict his acceptance and thus helps to paint a positive image on him as the prime minister of Malaysia.

4.4.7 Speech Act of Regretting

The speech act of regretting is an expression of disappointment or sadness as asserted by Sirwan and Yulia (2017). It can also be expressed in a verbal manner whereby the speaker would lament about their regrets, or loss (Austin, 1975). This is in line with Searle’s (1969) expressive act as the speaker shares his/her psychological state to the hearer.

Example 1

Kuala Lumpur Summit

S5: U24

We lament the decline and the fall of the great Islamic civilization

The utterance above mentions the downfall of the Islamic civilization that is currently dominated by the powers from European countries. It is presented in a direct form while utilizing a declarative force of utterance. This is discernible with the apparent relation

between Tun Mahathir's utterance with the act of regretting. The use of the verb 'lament' by Tun Mahathir strongly suggests his disappointment with the failure of the Islamic civilization to continue to evolve. This is due to the success of Muslims some time ago with their advanced technologies and development especially in sciences and engineering. Furthermore, the verb 'lament' also signifies Tun Mahathir's regret of the failure of Muslim Ummahs to stand as tall with other successful countries. This refers to several Muslim countries are now dependent on their colonial masters for aid and protection due to the regression faced by the country.

The act of regretting is one of the speech act types under the expressive act. Moreover, it accounted for 5% of the expressive act as only one utterance is identified. The act of regretting is also presented directly by Tun Mahathir in the Kuala Lumpur Summit. The verb 'lament' used by Tun Mahathir indicates his great regret for the fate of the Muslim Ummah. The low frequency of the act of regretting is due to the negative connotation the act poses. As a matter of fact, it is used to discuss on the downfall of the Muslim Ummah. Therefore, it is only discussed in the Kuala Lumpur Summit as the audience comprised of representatives from Muslim countries. All in all, it can be seen that Tun Mahathir intended to protect the reputation of the Muslim Ummah.

4.5 Commissives

Commissive are speech acts that commit the speaker to a future action. As a matter of fact, Searle (1976) further explained that commissive acts are utterances produced in reference to the future. Therefore, the commissive act commits the speaker to an action that is forthcoming. Some of the commissive acts include promising, pledging, refusing and threatening.

Table 4.13: Commissive Speech Acts

Speech Act Type	Frequency/ Percentage (%)
Promising	8 (100%)
Total	8

Table 4.13 shows that only 1.2% represents the commissive class with eight utterances found. Five utterances are found in the 73rd UNGA, the highest frequency for the commissive act. Meanwhile, the remaining three utterances are found in the 74th UNGA, ABIS Summit and NAM Summit with one utterance each respectively. Furthermore, there is one speech act type identified under the commissive class. This refers to the act of promising. It demonstrates Tun Mahathir's commitment in showing support for Palestine and in protecting a balanced biodiversity of Malaysia's forests. This will be elaborated below.

Table 4.14: Classification of Commissive Speech Act

Excerpt	Speech Act Type	Realization of Speech Act
<i>Malaysia will not clear more forests for palm oil plantation</i>	Speech act of promising	The utterance is presented in a direct form of promising. The use of the modal verb ' will ' indicates a future action to be taken by Tun Mahathir as a vow to preserve Malaysia's forests
<i>The Malaysian Government is ready to take the leading role through our active participation in the negotiations at the WTO level to ensure that the WTO remains a rules-based, open, and non-discriminatory platform for meaningful progress towards the development agenda of the developing countries and Least Developed Countries (LDCs)</i>	Speech act of promising	The utterance is presented in a direct form of promising. The phrase ' The Malaysian Government is ready ' conveys Tun Mahathir's assurance of Malaysia's ability to participate into the WTO as describing the roles that partake in it

Table 4.14 continued

<p><i>On our part, Malaysia will open an embassy accredited to Palestine</i></p>	<p>Speech act of promising</p>	<p>The utterance is presented in a direct form of promising. The use of the verb ‘will open’ conveys Tun Mahathir’s future act and commitment to continue showing support to Palestine</p>
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4.5.1 Speech Act of Promising

The speech act of promising is normally used by speakers to commit to a future action (Searle, 1969). This act usually benefits the hearer more as it requires the speaker to do something for him or her. Furthermore, Searle (1969) added that a promise is also viewed as an obligation of the speaker to fulfil to the hearer.

Example 1

73rd United Nations General Assembly

S1: U20

*It is within that context that the new Government of Malaysia **has pledged** to ratify all remaining core United Nations instruments related to the protection of human rights*

The statement presents Malaysia’s stand with regard to the United Nations’ objective in protecting human rights. It is presented in a direct form as the act of promising is evident in the utterance. Furthermore, this can be seen through the use of the verb phrase ‘has pledged’ which implies the promise Malaysia has given to the United Nations. It also shows Malaysia’s agreement with the United Nations’ core of protecting human rights.

All in all, it can be seen that Tun Mahathir intends to show his strong support to the United Nations in assuring that every human is equally treated and protected by the organization.

Example 2

74th United Nations General Assembly

S2: U83

*Malaysia **will not clear** more forests for palm oil plantation*

The utterance above addresses the deforestation activity that is happening in Malaysia and its effect on the country's ecosystem. It is presented in a direct form and utilizes the declarative force of utterance. This is discernible through the direct relation of the utterance with the act of promising in the utterance. The use of the modal verb 'will' in the negative connotation indicates Tun Mahathir's assurance in reducing the deforestation activities which have in fact contributed to the country's economy. In addition to that, it also shows Malaysia's earnestness in keeping to its words. Ultimately, this has conveyed Tun Mahathir's intention to prioritize Malaysia's ecosystem over one of its main sources of economy.

Example 3

ASEAN Business and Investment Summit (ABIS)

S3: U49

The Malaysian Government is ready to take the leading role through our active participation in the negotiations at the WTO level to ensure that the WTO remains a rules-based, open and non-discriminating platform for meaningful progress towards the development agenda of the developing countries and Least Developed Countries

The utterance indicates Malaysia's commitment to fair treatment of the countries mentioned by the WTO (World Trade Organization). It is presented in a direct form while utilizing a declarative force. This can be determined through the discernible relation of the utterance with the act of promising. The declarative force in the phrase 'The Malaysian Government is ready' shows Tun Mahathir's assurance of Malaysia's commitment to ASEAN in ensuring that the WTO remains fair to every nation. Furthermore, Tun Mahathir's inclusion of Malaysia's reasoning in the claim also conveys that the country is committed to changing the trading situation of the countries mentioned. Through the statement it can be deduced that Tun Mahathir has shown his determination to allow recognition of Malaysia's potential to help develop other disadvantaged countries.

Example 4

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Summit 2018

S4: U73

*On our part, Malaysia **will open** an embassy accredited to Palestine*

The statement above concerns the announcement of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. It is portrayed in a direct manner where a declarative force is utilized due to the apparent act of promising portrayed in the utterance. The use of the modal verb 'will' suggests Tun Mahathir's intention to bring honor to Palestine by opening Malaysia's embassy there. Additionally, it also signifies a future act of Tun Mahathir's commitment of Malaysia's support to return Palestine's right of the land. This is thus to remind everyone of Malaysia's support for Palestine in the situation discussed. This therefore shows Tun Mahathir's determination to go against the Israeli forces and demand for them to grant justice to the Palestinians.

Throughout the analysis, it can be seen that the act of promising accounts for 100% of the commissive class. Nevertheless, a majority of the acts of promising are directly presented with the use of the modal verb 'will'. The modal verb 'will' indicates Tun Mahathir's confidence in assuring the promise to be fulfilled. Moreover, promising also acts as a form of assurance to the audience which would help to build their trust towards Tun Mahathir's leadership. Additionally, Tun Mahathir's direct promise is also one of his strategies to show the audience that Malaysia is a trustworthy nation. This is because, in order to make a promise in a public setting, the speaker needs to ensure the promise is fulfilled to avoid embarrassment.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of findings and discussion collected throughout the study of Tun Mahathir's political speeches analyzed. Moreover, this chapter also addresses Tun Mahathir's use and realization of direct and indirect speech acts to the audiences in conveying his intended messages. Last but not least, this chapter also concludes Tun Mahathir's prominent characteristics reflected through his speeches and use of speech acts as one of the most recognized political leaders in the world.

5.2 Conclusion

To conclude, the speech act class most often used by Tun Mahathir throughout the five speeches is the representative act with 559 utterances. Furthermore, the act of informing is the highest speech act type obtained within the representative class with 308 utterances, which constitutes 68.0% of the overall speeches. This is, however, followed by directives (13.8%), expressives (3.6%) and lastly, commissives at only 1.2%. Nevertheless, throughout the five speeches only four speech act classes were found; representative, directive, expressive and commissive. None of the utterances were thus classified under the declarative act. This is due to the condition in which the speeches were delivered, that is to other country leaders.

Additionally, to create the illocutionary forces intended, Tun Mahathir used a mixture of both direct and indirect types of speech act. The direct speech act nonetheless was more frequently used by Tun Mahathir especially within the representative class. This was to fulfil his need to ensure that the information shared, and issues raised by him in the speeches with the listener(s) were clearly conveyed. Furthermore, it also helped the listener(s) to have a deeper understanding of Tun Mahathir's intended meaning. As a

result, his assertion regarding the issues discussed was likely to be supported. Aside from that, all the acts of suggesting were directly presented by Tun Mahathir. This shows Tun Mahathir's bold nature and enthusiasm to share his suggestion and be part of the solution to the issues.

The credibility and strong leadership skills of a leader help to determine the strength of a country. The five speeches delivered by Tun Mahathir thus reflect his values and characteristics that have shaped him into an effective leader. Throughout all the speeches, Tun Mahathir used appropriate choices of words that allowed him to directly elucidate his opinions and ideas to the listeners. In doing so, he used strong words that were stern and straightforward. The use of the modal verbs like "should" and "must" as part of his suggestions is a prime example that shows the urgency of his messages. Tun Mahathir's approach was firm but without imposing any threat on other nations. This demonstrates Tun Mahathir's professionalism in contributing his suggestions to be a part of the solution to world problems. Furthermore, under the speech act of requesting, Tun Mahathir was unequivocal and adamant about the requests made. For example, the repetitive use of the verb "let" in "Let the Palestinians return to reclaim their land. Let there be a State of Palestine. Let there be justice and the rule of law" shows Tun Mahathir's persistent demand to grant Palestine freedom. This illustrates his firm stance on the country's right to sovereignty. This can also be seen in Tun Mahathir's consistent mention of the situation in Palestine in all his speeches.

In addition, one of the most prominent traits of an effective leader is his ability to keep abreast of the current issues. This includes issues from other countries as it proves his value for a diplomatic relationship with other countries. A credible leader like Tun Mahathir always shows his concerns for other countries and is often acquainted with the issues in the fast-paced scene the world is growing into. This is shown through the high

frequency of the act of informing which also shows his great knowledge on the issues discussed. Also, it allowed Tun Mahathir to evaluate and provide his insights to the issues. As a matter of fact, Tun Mahathir often shared his viewpoints as seen in the frequency recorded for the act of asserting. However, Tun Mahathir ensured that the claims were made with justification and logical reasoning. In supporting the claims Tun Mahathir often included evidence through his statement of facts. For example, in discussing on the downfall of Muslim countries in the KL Summit, Tun Mahathir included the period in which the countries were dominated by European powers to support his claim. This proves Tun Mahathir's honesty and sincerity in overcoming the issues and not to deliberately bring shame to other countries. Aside from that, his honesty also helped him to gain trust and support from the audience.

Furthermore, Tun Mahathir is known to be fair on his judgments in regard to any issue as reflected through his comments and acknowledgements given to any nation or organization which has contributed to the betterment of the country or organization. Tun Mahathir was bold whenever he expressed his dislike or disagreement and was not afraid to be criticized by any nation leaders. During the 74th UNGA Tun Mahathir brought up the UN's failure to end war between nations and commented on the wrongful action taken by them to turn a blind eye on the warmongers. Nonetheless, he also applauded the UN for its progress in terms of healthcare, education, etc. This allowed Tun Mahathir to justify to the listener(s) and thus allowed them to comprehend his point of view.

The five speeches delivered by Tun Mahathir share a similar context whereby they were delivered to country leaders or representatives from across the world. Therefore, the setting of the speeches was more formal and professional compared to informal speeches like interviews or everyday conversations. Additionally, the listener(s) also play a prominent role to the approach taken by Tun Mahathir in delivering his speeches. Despite

the differing issues discussed in every speech, Tun Mahathir's speech delivery was made in the same style. Tun Mahathir was generally very direct in performing the speech acts and used bold words that helped him to convey his messages clearly to his listener(s). Moreover, he told the truth without fear in receiving backlashes from country leaders that were more powerful and influential than himself.

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