A Quantitative Speech Act Analysis of Imran Khan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's UN Speech

Benish
FAST National University of Computer and Emerging Sciences Lahore, Pakistan. benishshafiq55@gmail.com

Noreen Zamir
Visiting lecturer, University of Sahiwal, Punjab, Pakistan noreenzameer@uos.edu.pk

Bilal Asmat Cheema
Lecturer, Division of Arts and social sciences, University of Education, Lahore, Pakistan

Jahanzeb Jahan
Lecturer, Department of English Language and Literature, University of Education, Lahore, Pakistan

ABSTRACT

The study investigates the Speech Act features, in selected speeches of popular leaders used to communicate leadership and determine their function in projecting message. Political speeches often created to persuade, inspire and encourage the public. An exploratory research design was used for collecting and analyzing the data. Two speeches of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan at the United Nations were purposively selected for the study and form the basis for the data. The study is based on insights from, Austin (1962) Speech Act Theory in addition to the five categories of speech acts identified by Searle's (1969, 1979). The findings of the study revealed that representative acts have maximum occurrences and greater percentage as compared to the other speech acts as they includes assertive acts (65%), expressive acts (7%) directives (19%), commissive acts (7%) and declarative acts which account for 1.5% of the total data, which suggest that more attention has been paid to the representative role of the speeches, where the concentration of the speaker is on the reality of the spoken suggestions.

Introduction

The use of language is an innate human ability and is expressed in almost all activities that man does. Communication can be described as a mechanism for transmitting knowledge and information (Keyton, 2011). Language has the potential to transform the way people perceive or imagine terms in their minds, and study of political addresses gives an example about how thinking and language are interrelated in having a significant effect on people's attitudes (Collin, 2013). Language is not powerful on its own, rather it gains power by the way it's used by powerful people (Wodak, 2012), moving people to 'vote, debate or revolt' and thus provide a clear explanation of political stability or separation (Taiwo, 2009). The political speeches use the "power of language" (Sigelman, 1996), signalling the formal presentation of the head of state to the public (Zhou & Kazemian, 2015).Nowadays with more advanced perceptions of maturation, People are more open to political discourses as it not only reveals the leaders' communication abilities, it also demonstrates the affirmation of strategies and democratic behaviors to their addresses.

In a number of studies political language had been studied under the framework including: discourse analysis, pragmatics, linguistic stylistics, political rhetoric and CDA (Ayeomoni, 2012), most politicians are unaware of the association between

what is said, what is meant and the behavior expressed by what is said (Opeibi, 2009). In another study on political speech of President Donald Trump (Oladayo & Sarah, 2018), one of the most influential and chief theory which has been adequate and effective for the analysis, is the Speech Act theory (SAT). This current study is concerned with politics, and specifically targeting political speeches, and the analysis of speech acts which fundamentally uses realistic tactic, is expected to analyze the employed speech acts in selected speeches of Imran Khan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto at United Nations.

One of the most influential political leaders with rare acumen, and resilience, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (ZAB)'s legacy shaped the political movements of resistance in Pakistan (Junejo, 1996). Fifty years later many believe that Imran Khan (IK) has emerged as a leader who has given people the hope of building a better Pakistan in the same way that Bhutto did (Chohan & Anwar, 2018). Imran khan has influenced Pakistani politics and indeed Pakistan's future. Both the leaders showcased that they do not fear the world when saying right thing. Many in Pakistan are saying that Imran khan has reminded them of the speech of Zulfiqar Bhutto at United Nations, which was similar to this made by IK.

Language is important for politicians, any of the operations carried out by the representatives are carried out via language-based means. These include campaign, mission statement, rally, election, inauguration, governance, etc. Political speech is becoming a popular concept especially in the area of linguistic research. One could say that the concept of political speech came from the oratorical works of Greek philosophes such as Sophists, Plato Aristotle, and Socrates. This is therefore defined by Aristotle as a faculty to examine, in any situation, the means of persuasion accessible in relation to any topic (Agbogun, 2011). The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary describes political speech as a spring for political expression as "a speech or writing that is meant to persuade others; the willingness to use terms of expression or writing in a manner that influences or inspires others to do so." Thus, the primary aim of political debate is to control, teach, warn, encourage, provoke or entertain the public.

Political speeches are often created by representatives and legislators in every nation to persuade, inspire and reassure the public. Charteris Black (2005) notes that good speakers should pick topics that suit the perceptions and emotions of the audience. Language has the potential to influence the way people perceive or imagine terms in their minds, and study of political speeches provides an explanation about how thinking and language are interrelated in having a significant effect on people's attitudes (Collin, 2013).Therefore the study aimed at analyzing the selected political speeches.

Purpose of the Study

. The research attempts in general terms the analysis of Imran Khan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's UN speeches within the theory of Speech Acts. The research is thus meant to identify the speech act features of the selected speeches, to analyze the features in relation to the contexts in which the speeches were presented, and to determine how the identified features project the messages in the speeches.

Research Objective

The objective of the study is:
- To identify the speech act features of the selected speeches of ZAB and IK at United Nations.

Research Question

The study aims at answering the following research questions.

1. What are the speech acts used by ZAB and IK in their speeches at United Nations?

Theoretical Underpinning

Any linguistic research's theoretical framework serves as a tool for data analysis. The Speech Acts theory would therefore function as the spreadsheet for analyzing and evaluating the selected speeches. Selecting the theory of Speech Acts as the vocabulary basis for chosen speeches of both the politicians at the United Nations is based on that a certain act is done on the basis that people do various acts by using their words and when utterances of certain words are made; it is called the Speech Act. Dada (2004) proposes that illucoutionary acts are the basis of any theory of speech acts and provide a clear insight for the expected study. Levinson (1983) defined the act of perlocution as the expected or unintentional effects of the words of the speaker (Adeyanju, 2009). Thus the frame work presented by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) will provide inroads into the features of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan's Speeches at the United Nations.

Literature Review

Language of Politics

The primary role of language is for correspondence purposes because man interacts by words, man is distinct from animals. Language is the most important weapon in human ears. Language is therefore necessary for the introduction of effective democratic rule in any region. Language itself is not powerful, rather it gains power by the way it's used by powerful people (Wodak, 2012), moving people to 'debate, vote or revolt' and thus provide a clear explanation of political stability or separation (Taiwo, 2009). It is possible to learn more about how language affects attitudes, beliefs and personalities by researching language in situations where all its roles and differences are taken into account. Language of politics is important as it provides politicians a

ground to reach to its audience quickly. Moreover, it not only target a specific group of supporters rather, provide a broad interaction as political speeches is not a matter of daily routine but impressive use of language cam caste the attention of general public (Cohen, 1995).

Language and Power

Power is one of the most influential things to control people's view point and mind set to organize their opinion in particular. Because language is a mechanism for causing and maintaining power (Simpson & Mayr, 2010), it is important to know the connection between language and power and what force it actually is. Power is a weapon for manipulating men. In Tariq Rahman's terms, it is dominance that causes people, consciously or implicitly, to adhere to the will of people (Rahman, 2008). Bertrand Russell (2004) in his ground breaking research "Power" distinguishes humans from animals in line with their need for control and dominance over others (Russell, 2004).

It can be said as an appliance used to hold a regulator on the targeted society generally. Political speech can be used as a medium of building and retaining social interactions, expressing sentiments, and selling ideas, policies, and political ventures in any society (Chilton, 2004, p. 14). Languages and language representation ' who we are ' and we partially describe truth through our language and linguistic behavior (Wodak et al.2009). In different cases, memories are always recreated. For social relationships they are co-constructed, typically they are segmented, complex and changeable; all of them have multiple identities. Through language individual and collective, regional and transnational identities are also replicated and symbolically articulated Osuchukwu, (2019).

Political Speeches

Political speeches are often made by the leaders and politicians of any country to convince, impress and persuade the audience. The political speeches use the "power of language" (Sigelman,

1996), signaling the formal presentation of the head of state to the public (Zhou & Kazemian, 2015). Charteris Black (2005) states that successful speakers, always pick on the issues match to the attitudes and feelings of listeners particularly in political context. If listeners consider their views to be heard and accepted, the speaker has generated ties to the policy they desire to interconnect. Politicians frequently use symbols to nurture national harmony in order to attain a sense of resemblance between audience and speaker (Ball& Peters, 2000).

In political speeches thoughts, opinions, ideas and philosophies need to be communicated and transmit through words so listeners and recipients accept. Expressions and spoken words both can be used or excludes to draw a meaning from different angles. A political speech is not always being a success only because of accuracy or factual information; rather it may be substance of offering authentic arguments (Beard, 2000:18). Such political speeches require support and loyalty not only from those involved in politics, but from other members of society as well (Liu, 2012).

Speech Act Theory

The term 'speech act' was devised by the linguistic philosopher J.L. Austin (1962) and advanced by another philosopher John Rogers Searle (1969). They preserved that, when using language, people do not only make propositional announcements about matters, units, situations of concerns and so on, but they also achieve utilities such as requesting, contradicting, familiarizing, apologizing etc. (Nunan, 1993). In other words, they developed theory of speech-acting from the simple belief that expression is used for behavior. Its basic perspectives are therefore based on how concept and practice apply to language.

Austin (in Cutting, 2008) defines speech acts as the actions performed in saying something. This is similar to Yule (1996) who proposes that speech acts are actions executed via words.

Furthermore, Searle (1969) it notes that, under such circumstances, the creation or issuance of a sentence nominal is a speech act and that speech actions are the fundamental or essential units of linguistic communication. To talk a language is to execute speech actions such as making claims, issuing orders, answering questions, making commitments, etc. Seeing speech acts as the fundamental unit of communication, thus, enables Searle to directly connect speech acts with the analysis of language (its development, interpretation) and context. (Both speaker meaning and linguistic meaning) (Schiffrin, 1994)

Methodology

In this study two speeches were taken, one of Imran Khan's speech at United Nations General Assembly delivered in 2019 and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speech at United Nations Security Council delivered in 1965. The linguistic approach adopted for the study is pragmatics based on the linguistic framework of Speech Acts theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). The study applied an exploratory design as the most suitable design focusing on collecting and analyzing the data. Quantitative approach was then applied to measure the occurred number of particular speech acts and their percentages found among speeches. The sample for the study was selected purposively to identify the employed speech acts in selected political speeches and how identified speech acts project message among listeners.

The theoretical framework was informed by the Austin's (1962) speech act theory which provided the ground to analyze and   assess the speeches selected for the study based on the premise that people conduct a number of acts by the usage of phrases, and when any utterance is made, a similar act called Speech act is executed. Searle (1969) further developed the theory considering the degree to which utterances performed locutionary acts, illocutionary acts, and/or perlocutionary acts Kemmerling, (2002) pointed out that the

unexpectedly diverse outcomes when human communication was studied using the speech act theory.

The study aimed to recognize features of the speech act employed in the two chosen speeches. As the speech act analysis was the focus of a number of studies for some time now (Chung & Park, 2011; Akinkurolere, 2011; Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere 2012; Dylgjeri, 2017; Chohan & Anwar, 2018 and Tutuarima, Nuraeningsih & Rusiana, 2018). For the purpose of analyzing data, these above-mentioned studies used framework provided by speech act theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969).

Searle (1969) further enhanced on the theory by categorizing the locutionary acts into two; direct and indirect speech acts. Austin (1962 as cited in Akinwotu, 2013) categorized illocutionary acts into five classes: verdictives, exercitives, commissives, behabitives and expositives. Searle (1979) replaced the classification of Austin (1962) with an alternative taxonomy on the basis of acceptable circumstances. As for speech acts, Searle (1979) further divides them into five types: assertive/representative, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives. They are further explained as the following:

Assertive (Representative)

Searle (1979) notes that the purpose of this class is to dedicate the speaker (in different degrees) to anything that is the case, e.g., to the validity of the statement presented. The verbs relating to this grade are asserted, complained, reported, stated, concluded, etc.

Directives

These are efforts (in various degrees) by the speaker to get the listener to do anything. They may be very humble "attempts" like "I invite you to do it," or "recommend that you do it," or they may be very ferocious attempts like "I insist you do it." The verbs pertaining to this class are asking, ordering, ordering, asking, pleading, begging, praying, asking, advising, inviting and allowing.

Commissives

This type commits a speaker to some future intentional action. It reveals the intention of the speaker. It denotes to vows, threats, pledges, warranties, contracts, promises, agreements, and oaths. For example, "I promise to drink eight glasses of water every day". Thus, Searle (1979) states that the definition of commissives by Austin (1962) it just seems unexceptional to him, thus, he utilizes it as it is with the exception that some of the verbs that Austin referred to as commissive verbs do not correspond to this class at all, such as "favor," "control" and others.

Expressive

The illocutionary point demonstrated in this string is to reflect a sincere wish about some condition or situation. Examples of verbs for this class include "condole", "apologize," "congratulate", "welcome" and "deplore".

Declaratives

This good production of one of its component verbs involves communication between the substance of the proposal and fact. For instance, if anyone succeeds in naming anyone as a nominee, then he is a nominee; if the president succeeds in initiating a state of war, then there is a battle; if the judge succeeds in marrying a pair, then the pair is married.

Category	Description	Direction of fit
Assertive	Utterances that commit the speaker to the expressed truth proposition. "The cat is on the mat."	Words-to-world
Commisive	Utterances that commit the speaker to some future action. "I shall faithfully uphold the office of the president…."	World-to-words
Declarations	Utterances that bring about some change in the world. "I now pronounce you man and wife."	World-to-words and word-to-world
Directives	Utterances that consist of an attempt by the speaker to get the hearer to do something. "Please pass the salt."	World-to-words
Expressives	Expresses the speakers emotional or psychological attitude towards a	No direction of fit.

Figure 1: Searle (1979) Speech Act Taxonomy

Data Collection

The speeches were selected in order to identify the speech acts employed by the speakers under the light of the speech act theory. Speech transcripts were downloaded and analyzed under the lens of the speech act theory and classification of illocutionary acts by Searle (1979). Speech transcripts were first labeled in terms of the main categories and further in terms of the prototypes of each category separately informed by the classification of (Searle, 1979) and presented in tabular form then frequencies of the occurrences of the speech acts and percentages of the identified speech acts were calculated and shown in different tables.

Data Analysis

For the analysis of the data collected from the speech transcripts a framework developed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) was used. Speech act theory provided the classification of speech act features which helped in the thorough investigation of speech acts used and their further analysis.

The steps given below have been taken for the exploration of speech acts used.

- Selection of Searle's (1979) theory aimed at analyzing the speeches

Searle's (1979) Speech Act research system was chosen above all other charters provided by Austin, as it gives space for study of the multiple illocutionary powers. In addition, all illocutionary forces typically apply to the key categories of speech actions provided by Searle. This concept has been used by several scholars in the field of speech analysis owing to its appropriateness and versatility for the interpretation procedure (Siposova, 2011; Muhammad, 2005; Hall, 2012; & Chiluwa, 2007).

- Quantitative analysis

Quantitative analysis technique was used to classify the concentrations of various linguistic features and to calculate the amount of speech activities on the basis of a single unspeakable level. The data was provided by way of tables. After determining the number of occurrences of a particular category and total number of speech acts the percentages were then determined and also helped to define the roles of speech actions of communication and even the variations in the proportion of the frequency of speech acts used in the speeches. Moreover, overall relative frequency percentages were calculated and showed in the tables.

Results and Analysis

The data for the study were collected from ZAB and IK's Speeches at the United Nations. The analysis has been carried out on the basis of Searle's (1979) Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts. The two speeches were classified into various primary speech acts according to Searle's (1979) classifying model of speech acts (see section 3 figure 1). Table 1 presents the frequency and percentages of occurred speech acts in ZAB's speech.

Table 1: Frequency of Speech Acts in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's Speech

Speech Act	Frequency	Percentage
Representative	30	53%
Directives	16	28%
Commissive	06	11%
Expressive	04	07%
Declarative	01	02

Table 1 reveals the frequency and overall percentages of each speech act as it was used in ZAB's speech. As table shows that most frequently used speech acts are representative as they have a total percentage of 53% which shows that this speech was constructed more around facts related to representative/ assertive speech acts, while 28% of the sentences were directives with second highest percentage and commissives were the third most used with a percentage of 11%, While Expressive were 7% and declarative with least percentage were only 2%. ZAB had used mainly assertive/ representatives and directive speech acts.

Table 2: Frequency of Speech Acts in Imran Khan's Speech

Speech Acts	Frequency	Percentages
Representatives	100	70%
Directives	22	15%
Commissives	08	06%
Expressive	10	07%
Declarative	02	01%

Table 2 presents the frequency and percentages of the speech acts used in Imran Khan's speech. A statistical result in the table shows that most of the sentences of IK's speech were assertive as they were 70% in total, which is to say that Imran Khan used language to state, maintain, inform, claim, conclude and promise his subjects. Directives are the second most frequently used speech acts with a total percentage of 15%, while Expressive and Commissive were 6% and 7% respectively. Same like ZAB's speech declarative speech act were found rarely used in the speech with a low percentage of only 1%.

The data obtained from both speeches was collectively presented in table3 in order to demonstrate the illocutionary point and direction of fit identified in the speech acts used by both politicians in their speech. The illocutionary dimension of variation is shown collectively of the speech acts found in two speeches.

Table 3: Illocutionary dimensions of variation of both speeches

Illocutionary point	Direction of fit	Number of speech acts	Percentage (%)
Representative	Words to World	130	65%
Directive	World to words	38	19%
Commissive	World to words	14	07%
Expressive	none	14	07%
Declarative	Words to World & World to words	03	1.5%

Table 3 shows the illocutionary point and world to word direction of fit are abundant in the data collected from both speeches.14 sentences of the speeches were identified with no direction of fit. The number of speech acts having world to word or word to world direction of fit is greater than those having no direction of fit. The table also indicates that the representative acts have maximum occurrences and greater percentage as compared to the expressive, directive, commissive and declarative speech acts among both speeches. The presence of mainly four kinds of illocutionary points verifies Searle and Vanderveken (1985) argument that there are only a few specific forms in which an unheard point of utterance can be reached. The discovery of an illocutionary point is often necessary in order to decide the course of the accuracy of the speeches showing the connection between the material and the meaning of the words spoken.
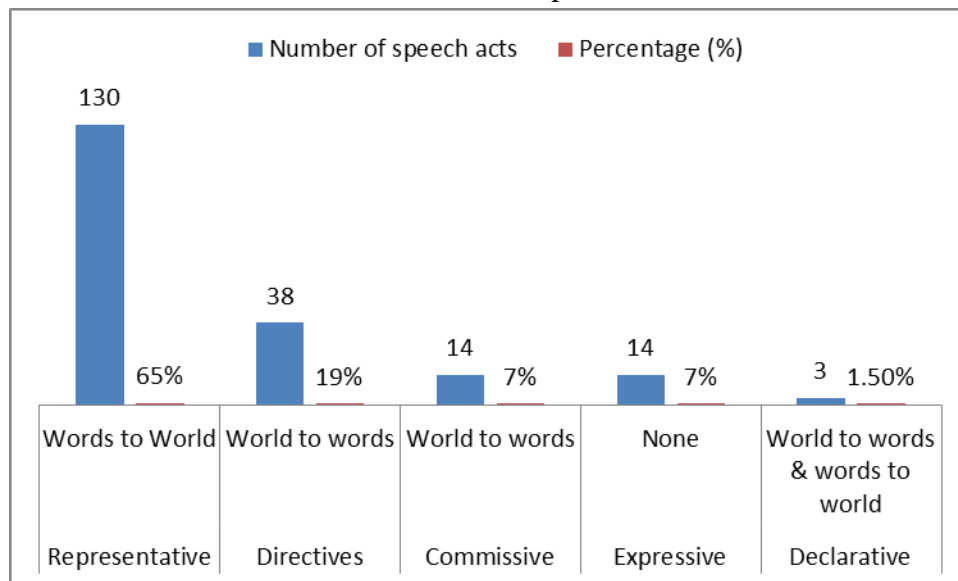

Figure 4.1 illocutionary dimensions of speech acts

The figure 4.1 illustrated the number of speech acts identified in two selected speeches collectively along with the direction of fit associated with each speech act. It can be seen that most frequent speech act used in the speeches was representative speech act. Furthermore, directives are lower than representative and commissive & expressive acts were slightly lower than the directives. Declaratives appeared as rarely occurring speech act in both speeches.

Representatives

Representative speech acts reflect what the speaker believes and does not believe in. The output of representatives was seen to be the top highest category of speech act used by the speakers. Among both speeches collectively, there were 130 representatives used out of 199 data shown in the figure, representing the highest significance performed by the speakers. The illocutionary acts that were executed by both speakers in their speech were direct and indirect (i.e., stating, complaining, claiming, describing, concluding, asserting, explaining, predicting & announcing).

Directives

The directive speech acts/ instructions are used by the leader to make it relevant to the audience. The outcomes of the directives were considered to be the second highest category of speech acts performed by the speakers; they seemed in 38 acts out of 199 in the figure above. Both speakers used direct and indirect forms of directives including; asking, questioning, instructing, reassuring, suggesting and recommending. Asking was the frequently occurred directive among the others.

Expressive

Expressive are a type of speech acts that express the speaker's feelings or psychological state, which can be gratitude, pleasure, dislike, apology, and sorrow. They appeared in 14 acts out of 199 as indicated in the figure 4.1 and thus occupied the third highest significance performed

by the speakers. The politicians used direct and indirect forms of expressive, which included blaming, apologizing, stating anger, annoying, disappointing, praising, and deploring.

Commissives

The Commissives are speech activities undertaken by speakers to dedicate themselves to subsequent behavior. Results mentioned in the figure showed that, commissives appeared in fourteen utterances out of 199. Speakers used direct and indirect forms of commissive acts; threatening, pledging, intending and refusing.

Declaratives

Declaratives are a formal or explicit statement or announcement; declarative speech acts are the least found acts in speeches and figure shows that declaratives were occurred only 3 out of 199. Which is clearly reasonable as the data observed in the study was taken from the speeches made on international forum where speakers have no authority to make such declarative acts but only to state or inform the audience with factual information.

The study sought to find out the speech acts identified in the speeches are in line with the literature and previous studies. It shows that all five categories were found in ZAB and IK's speech and the representative speech acts are predominant in both speeches as they were found 130 out of total 199 acts used in two speeches collectively. Major finding of representative speech acts suggest that as the representative speech acts have words to world direction of fit and words tell the listener what speakers have with them. The conveyed psychological condition of the representative act is the conviction; the speaker trusts the presented idea and therefore requires the listeners to accept it as claimed by (Koussouhon, 2016) in his study on speech acts.

The findings also indicated that the representative acts have maximum occurrences and greater percentage as compared to the expressive,

directive, commissive and declarative acts. Maximum frequencies of occurrence of the representative acts also support the findings in the previous studies conducted by Muskanafula (2009) and Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere (2012) confirm that representative acts are the most frequently occurring illocutionary acts in political speeches. It is necessary to note that speech acts can be intentional or accidental, because the speaker is sometimes ignorant of such speech techniques, particularly in the use of indirect illocutionary actions.

Results revealed that more attention had been put on the representative role of the speeches, where the concentration of the speaker is on the reality of the articulated suggestion. The course of the representatives' suit is often 'words to world,' where terms are adjusted to explain the state of affairs in the country also supported by the study of (Adeyanju, 2009). From the findings it can be deduced that much of the speeches 'purpose is to influence the listeners and their views about a certain proposition. The presence of a number of illocutionary points within the speeches reinforces Searle and Vanderveken (1985) comments on the illocutionary principle that there could be a variety of illocutionary forces to be understood by taking the grammatical forms into consideration. In fact, these illocutionary powers can provide a special and common starting point for the speech acts. For instance, the representative speech acts with a specific point of illocution and direction of fit can help conveying the meaning of a spoken idea in a better way. The same mechanism is true at other acts such as expressive, directive, declarative and commissive points of illocution where a variety of other illocutionary forces have been extracted.

Directive speech acts were primarily used by both the leaders to create a connection with the public sentiment; these are efforts to force the audience to do some action (Searle, 1979). The findings also indicate that 38 of the 199 actions were directives and formed the second largest group after representative speech actions as executed by the speakers, covering the 19% of collective percentages for the speech acts. These efforts may be moderate or ferocious (Leech, 1983). For instance, a proposal is a humble attempt whereas insisting is a furious attempt. The course of the suit of directives is the world to words, and the state of honesty is desire.

Commissive and expressive were found less than directive speech acts among both speeches and had similar number of occurrences in ZAB and IK's speech collectively. Rare frequencies of occurrences of the declarative speech acts also support the previous studies conducted by Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere (2012) that they are the least found acts in speeches. The lowest frequencies of declarative speech acts indicate that the speeches produced at the international conference, where the speakers have little power to render these declarative actions, instead to claim or provide the audience with accurate facts.

Conclusion

Taking into consideration the findings and observations, it can be concluded that political speeches have the power to influence thoughts, ideas and convictions. The results and findings of the study revealed that on the part of the use of speech acts in both speeches no significant difference was observed among two speeches. Representative speech acts were predominant in both speeches as 130 out of 199 which account for the 65% of the total data. The number of representative acts is large as compared to the directive, commissive, expressive and declarative speech acts which is already evident from the previous studies that representative are the most commonly and frequently occurred illocutionary speech acts in speeches as they cover the factual information.

References

[1] Agbogun, A.A. (2011). A Linguistic-Stylistic Analysis of Post- Appeal Court Victory Speeches of Selected Governors of Nigeria‟ an unpublished M.A. *Thesis of Department of English, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife.*

[2] Ayeomoni O.M. & Akinkuolere, S.O. (2012). "A pragmatic analysis of victory and inaugural speeches of President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua". *Theory and Practice in Language Studies 2 (3) 461-468.*

[3] Austin, J. L. (1962). How to do things with words. *London: Oxford University Press.*

[4] Ball, A. R. & B. G. Peters. (2000). Modern Politics & Government. *6th ed. London: Macmillan Press.*

[5] Beard, A. (2000). The Language of Politics. *London: Routledge*.

[6] Charteris-Black, J. (2005) Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor. *Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.*

[7] Chiluwa, I. (2009). News Headlines as Pragmatic Strategy in Nigerian Press Discourse. *International Journal of Language, Society and Culture, 27, 63-71.*

[8] Chohan, M. S. & Anwar, M. N. (2018). Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's Speech in United Nations' Security Council (UNSC) on September 22, 1965: Critical Discourse Analysis Perspective (2018). *Pakistan Journal of Humanities and Social Science.*

[9] Collin, R.O. (2013). "Moving political meaning across linguistic frontiers." *In Political Studies 61 (2013): 282-300.*

[10] Dada, S.A. (2004). Introduction to Pragmatics in T. Bamisaye (ed.) an Integrated Study in *Language and Society. Lagos: Majab Publishers, 141-166.*

[11] Dylgjeri, A. 2017.Analysis of Speech Acts in Political Speeches. *European Journal*

[12] *of Social Science Studies. 2 (2), 19-26.*

[13] Kazemian, B., & Zhou, Q. (2015). A Rhetorical Identification Analysis of English Political Public Speaking: John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address. *International Journal of Language and Linguistics. Special Issue: Critical Discourse Analysis, Rhetoric, and Grammatical Metaphor in Political and Advertisement Discourses, 4(1-1), 10-16.*

[14] Kemmerling, A. (2002). "Speech Acts, Minds, and Social Reality: Discussions with Searle. J. Expressing an Intentional State." *Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy, vol. 79, 2002, pp. 83. Kluwer Academic Publishers.*

[15] Keyton, Joann (2011). Communication and Organizational Culture: A Key to Understanding Work Experiences, *2 editions, Sage Publishing Inc.*

[16] Levinson,S.C.(1983). Pragmatics. Cambridge: *Cambridge University Press*.

[17] Liu, B. (2012). Sentiment Analysis and Opinion Mining, Morgan & Claypool Publishers.

[18] Ojukwu, Chika & Osuchukwu, And. (2019). *A Pragmatic Analysis of Selected Political Speeches of Nelson Mandela.*

[19] Opeibi, B.O. (2009). Discourse, Politics and the 1993 Presidential Election Campaigns in Nigeria. Lagos: *Nouvelle Communications Limited.*

[20] Rahman, Tariq. (2008). Language, Ideology and Power: Language Learning among the Muslims of Pakistan and North India.

[21] Russell, B. (2004). Power: A New Social Analysis. *Routledge.*

[22] Searle, J. R. (1969). Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language. *Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.*

[23] Searle, J. R. (1979). A classification of illocutionary acts. Language in Society, 5(1):pp. 1–23.

[24] Searle, J. R. (1979). Expression and meaning: Studies in the theory of speech acts. *Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.*

[25] Sigelman, L. (1996). Presidential inaugurals: The modernization of a genre. *Political Communication, 13(1), 81-92.*

[26] Simpson, P., & Andrea, M. (2010). Language and Power. London: *Routledge.*

[27] Taiwo, R. (2009). "Legitimization and coercion in political discourse: A case study of Olusegun Obasanjo's address to the PDP elders and stakeholder's forum". *Journal of Political Discourse Analysis. 2 (2) pp.191-205.*

[28] Tutuarima, Z., Nuraeningsih. & Rusiana. (2018)An Analysis of Speech Act Used in *London Has Fallen Movie.*

[29] Wodak, R. (2012). Language, power and identity. *Language Teaching, 45 (2), 215-233.*

[30] Yule, G. (1996). Pragmatics. Oxford: *Oxford University Press.*