



**THE STUDY OF SPEECH ACTS ON BARACK OBAMA'S AND
HILLARY CLINTON'S CAMPAIGN SPEECHES**

THESIS

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**ENGLISH DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
JEMBER UNIVERSITY
2016**



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HILLARY CLINTON'S CAMPAIGN SPEECHES**

THESIS

presented to the English Department,
Faculty of Humanities, Jember University as one of the requirements
to achieve the award of Sarjana Sastra Degree in English Studies

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to:

1. my beloved parents, H. Abd. Rohim and HJ. Siti Rohmah, who always support and encourage me;
2. my lovely brother, M. Sulton who always motivates and advises me emphatically;
3. my beloved boy, Ahmad Fawaid who always supports, cares and advises me in every condition;
4. my best friend Cici, Dianita, Winda, and all of my friends in academic year 2011 for the happy and unforgettable time we have spent together;
5. my alma mater, Faculty of Humanities, Jember University.

MOTTO

“The problem posed by indirect speech acts is the problem of how it is possible for the speaker to say one thing and mean that but also to mean something else.”

(John Searle)

“Leadership is the capacity to translate vision into reality”.

(Warren G. Bennis Psychologist)

Accessed from <http://izquotes.com/author/john-searle> and
http://www.quotehd.com/topic/leadership-quotes/8_25

DECLARATION

I hereby state that the thesis entitled “**The Study of Speech Acts on Barack Obama’s and Hillary Clinton’s Campaign Speeches**” is an original piece of writing. I declare and certify that the analysis and the research described in this thesis have never been submitted for any other degree or publication.

Jember, 31 October 2016

The Writer,

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Jember, 31 October 2016

Nurul Idawati

SUMMARY

The Study of Speech Act on Barack Obama's and Hillary Clinton's Campaign Speeches; Nurul Idawati, 110110101080; 2016; 106 pages; English Department, Faculty of Humanities, Jember University.

The phenomenon of speech acts is seen in the campaign speeches conducted by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. It is found that they used different strategies in conveying their campaigns that influence the result of the election in 2008. Barack Obama became the winner of the election, while Hillary Clinton became the lost side at that time. Moreover, either Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton have communicative purposes expressed through their campaign speeches. Hence, the present study would like to find out the strategies used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches through understanding the types and the most dominants speech acts used by them. Besides, it also want to reveal the intended meaning of some speech acts used by them. To analyze the data, this research applied quantitative and qualitative method. The data are in the form of written text that is speech transcripts by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. There are 199 utterances produced by Barack Obama in his campaign speech and there are 304 utterances produced by Hillary Clinton in her campaign speech but the writer only takes 30 utterances that contain of speech acts either in Barack Obama's or Hillary Clinton's campaign speeches that will be analyzed.

The first step in processing the data was sorting 30 speech acts utterances, classifying the utterances into types of speech acts by using the theory proposed by Searle (1983), making table for counting the most dominant speech acts and the last, analyzing the intended meaning of speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton with speech act theory proposed by Austin (1962) and and the theory of context of situation by Brown and Yule (1983).

The findings show that there are four types of speech acts produced either by Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton. Those are commissives, representatives, directives, and expressives. In Barack Obama's campaign speech, the highest of speech acts produced by him is commissive with the percentage 53%. Representative and directive respectively follow commissive with the percentage 27% and 13%. The lowest percentage of speech acts is expressive with the percentage 7%. While in Hillary Clinton's campaign speech, the highest of speech acts produced by her is representative with the percentage 41%. Then, the second speech acts produced by her is commissive with the percentage 33%. The next rank is directives and expressives. Both of them have the same percentage that are 13%. The result above shows that in Barack Obama's speech commissive appears as the dominant speech acts. While, in Hillary Clinton's speech representative appears as the dominant speech acts.

This study found that the main intended meaning from Barack Obama's utterances are committing himself to future acts and also convincing the audience about his seriousness to be the President of United States of America through conveying his great programs that will be run in his period of governance. While, the main intended meaning from Hillary Clinton's utterances are expressing the truth or facts to the audience referring to the case of crisis economy in the United States at that time.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The introduction provides some information about the background of doing the study. The background gives some information regarding the phenomenon to be investigated and also explains the reasons why the research problem is going to be observed. It is followed by the research topic, the research problem, the research questions, the goals of the study, the significance of the study, the scopes of the study, and the organization of the thesis.

1.1 Background of the Study

Language is the most essential thing in social environment since it is used by people not only as a means to communicate with others but also as a tool to do things. It means that they use their utterances to do certain actions such as requesting, promising, refusing, thanking, etc. In the study of language, what people do by saying something is called speech acts. Speech acts is the study which deals with how to do things with words. When people say something, they may do something. The utterance “Gimme a cup of coffee. Make it black” (Yule, 1996: 54) is an example of the act of requesting. It shows that the utterance not only gives information to the hearer but also asks the hearer to do something. Austin (cited in Levinson 1983: 236) suggested that in uttering a sentence, a speaker is generally involved three different acts: “locutionary act, illocutionary act, and perlocutionary act”. First, it is locutionary act (an act of producing an utterance) which merely delivers the literal meaning of utterances. Second, it is illocutionary act (an act in saying something) which sets a function to perform the intended meaning in utterances. Third, it is perlocutionary act (a certain effect of utterances may have on the hearer) which is the effect of illocutionary act.

Related to the Austin’s theory of speech acts and the three elements of act above, this study analyzes speech acts on Barack Obama’s and Hillary Clinton’s campaign speeches. The phenomenon of speech acts is not only found in the

conversation, but also in the campaign speech. Campaign speech is considered as the persuasion step of the candidates in order to get public's impression. In this case, it is used by the presidential candidates as a way to declare and to explain their great vision and mission for the next period of governance if they are elected to get public's attention. In the other words, campaign speech offers the best opportunity for the candidates not only to declare their long-term goals but also to persuade public to agree with their point of view. Related to those explanations, campaign speech is interesting to be analyzed in this study because it has some purposes in the political field. Moreover, the campaign speech that was conducted either by Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton can be a good example of speech acts because it represents the complex case of speech acts in order to find out what they do by saying something.

Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton are chosen as the object of the study because they belong to the same party that is Democratic Party. In fact, in the election in 2008, Barack Obama became the winner of the election, while Hillary Clinton became the lost side at that time. One of the great factors that influence the result of the election in 2008 is the strategies used by them in their campaign speeches. It is regarded as the influential thing in the campaign speech because it is used as a tool to attract public's attention. The fact above lead the writer to assume that they use different strategies in their campaign speeches which influence the result of the election. Here, different strategies mean that they performed different acts through their utterances in their campaign speeches. Moreover, either Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton has communicative purposes expressed through their campaign speeches. In the other words, they have some intended meaning in the speech acts utterances performed by them. Hence, the present study would like to find out the strategies used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches through understanding the types and the most dominants speech acts used by them. Besides, it also want to reveal the intended meaning of some speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton by using Pragmatics.

Austin's (1962) theory of speech acts is applied in this study as the major theory. The theory is needed as tools to analyze and describe the types and the most dominant of speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. This study is also used Searle's (1983) theory to describe the types of speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. Then, Brown and Yule's (1983) theory is used to reveal the intended meaning of the speakers use speech acts according to the context of situation.

1.2 Research Topic

The topic of the study is about speech acts. This study focuses on analyzing speech acts on Barack Obama's and Hillary Clinton's campaign speeches in order to find out the types and the most dominant of speech acts used by both politicians. It also wants to find out the intended meaning of some speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.

1.3 Research Problem

The presidential candidates seemingly perform different strategies in conveying their campaign which influence the result of the election in 2008. Here, different strategies mean that they performed different acts in their campaign speeches. Moreover, either Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton has communicative purposes expressed through their campaign speeches. In the other words, they have some intended meaning in the speech acts utterances used by them.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What types of speech acts are found in Barack Obama's and Hillary Clinton's campaign speeches?
2. What are the most dominant speech acts frequently used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches?
3. What are the intended meanings of the speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches?

1.5 The Goals of The Study

1. To know the types of speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches.
2. To know the most dominant speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.
3. To reveal the intended meaning of the speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches.

1.6 The Significances of the Study

1. The study will help the readers to understand that campaign speeches that are conducted by presidential candidates have several purposes and they have particular meanings.
2. For the students, the study can give additional inputs to improve their ability to analyze speech acts in spoken or written discourses.

1.7 The Scopes of the Study

The limitation of the thesis is needed to avoid too broad discussion. In this study, the discussion is focused on analyzing the types of speech acts produced by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches. It is also focused on analyzing the most dominant speech acts frequently used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. Then, the analysis above leads to the analysis of the intended meaning of the speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.

1.8 The Organization of the Study

This thesis consists of five chapters. They are; introduction, theoretical review, research method, analysis and discussion, and conclusion. The first chapter begins with the introduction. It presents the background of the study, the research topic, the research problems, the research questions, the goals of the study, the significance of the study, the scopes of the study, and the organization of the thesis. The second chapter consists of some previous studies and theoretical

review. Previous studies deal with the study which is conducted by another researcher in the same research area, while theoretical review deals with the supporting theories that are used to analyze the data. The third chapter is research method which contains the way of collecting and analyzing the data. Next, chapter four is the result and discussion. In this part, the data analysis and the discussion of the research findings are presented. The last, chapter five is the conclusion of this thesis. It contains the conclusion of the analysis of the study.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides the previous researches and the theoretical review of this study. The previous researches are needed in this study in order to find out the gap. Meanwhile, the theories are used to support the analysis of the data in this study.

2.1 Previous Researches

The first research was written by Hashim (2015) who conducted a study about speech acts in political speeches. It examined selected political speeches of John Kerry in presidential campaign in 2004 and George Bush Inaugural address in 2001 since they have same purposes as pieces of discourse with specific goals. The purpose was to find out the locution, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts of the speeches and the meaning of utterances based on the context of the speaker. The research applied the speech act theory proposed by Austin (1962) and Searle's (1969) classification of speech acts. This study applied both quantitative and qualitative research. The quantitative was used to count the percentage of illocutionary act found in both speeches, while the qualitative was used to describe the most dominant illocutionary act found in the speeches and the function of it. The findings showed that the overall relative frequency percentages for the selected speeches are: commissive 40 %, assertive 35%, directive 20%, and expressive 5%. The results showed that Kerry relied more on sentences that performed commissive acts than other speech acts since he committed to some future actions, and he promised to make the world fit the words. Whereas, Bush used sentences with assertive acts more than other speech acts since the assertive has a truth value which can only enhance the effect of the asserted proposition.

The second previous research was written by Akinwotu (2013) who conducted study about speech acts analysis of the acceptance of nomination speeches of Chief Awolowo and chief Abiola. It examined selected political speeches conducted by Chief Awolowo as a Presidential candidate of the Unity

Party of Nigeria in 1979 and Chief Abiola as Presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Party in 1993. The purpose was to find out the acts performed in the acceptance of nomination speeches of presidential candidates in Nigeria. It applied Austin (1962) speech acts theory and five categories of illocutionary act by Searle (1969, 1976). This study applied both quantitative and qualitative research. The quantitative one was used to count the percentage of illocutionary act found in both speeches, while the qualitative was used to describe the intention of illocutionary act used by Chief Awolowo and chief Abiola. The findings showed that the overall relative frequency percentages for the selected speeches are: assertive acts 27.3%, expressive acts 22.70%, commissive acts 22.70%, directive acts 18.2% and declarative acts 9.1% of the total data. That research revealed that the acceptance of nomination speeches are characterised by preponderance of assertive, expressive and commissive acts that are mostly used as mobilization strategies, especially in political campaigns, where it is essential for candidates to persuade their listeners to win elections. The acts performed either by Chief Awolowo and chief Abiola in their speeches are essentially similar; however, they were encoded more explicitly by Chief Abiola than Chief Awolowo.

The previous researches above enrich the writer's knowledge about pragmatic study especially in speech acts. The first previous research helps to find out the the theory that will be used to analyze the data because the research concerned in the same topic with this study. It also helps in the methodology of research that is used to process and to analyze the data. While, the second previous research also helps to enrich the theory of speech act since it also concerned in the same topic with this study. The difference between both of the previous researches with this study is laid on the object of the study. The first previous research used campaign speeches by John Kerry and George Bush and the second one used the acceptance of nomination speeches by Chief Awolowo and chief Abiola, while this study uses Barack Obama's and Hillary Clinton's campaign speeches. Those objects are chosen in this study because there is a pragmatic phenomenon found in it. It is found that they perform different

strategies in conveying their campaign which influence the result of the election in 2008. Here, different strategies mean that they performed different acts in their campaign speeches. Moreover, either Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton has communicative purposes expressed through their campaign speeches. It means that they have some intended meaning in the speech acts utterances performed by them.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Pragmatics

Language is a means of human communication. It is used by person to communicate and convey meaning to others. Generally, language has several functions based on the purpose of its use. Some of its use is not only for descriptive purposes but also as performative ones. Performative is doing something by speaking. Austin (1962: 5) states that performatives utterances are statements in which they do not report or describe anything, is not true or false, but they involve actions. In this case, to understand the language use we need pragmatics as a tool. As Yule (1996: 4) states that “the advantages of studying language via pragmatics is that one can talk about people’s intended meaning, their assumptions, their purposes or goals, and kinds of actions that they are performing when they speak”.

Levinson (1983: 21) states that pragmatics is the study of the relations between language and context in term of understanding the language. It can be concluded that pragmatics and context have a strong relation in which the meaning of the utterances can be expressed according to the context. The definition about pragmatics above has a relation with Yule’s statements. Yule defines pragmatics as the study of contextual meaning (1996: 3). It means that this type of the study necessarily involves the interpretation of what people mean in the particular context and how the context influences what is said. It also requires a consideration of how speakers organize what they want to say in accordance with who they are talking to, where, when, and under what circumstances.

According to him, pragmatics also investigates about how listeners can make inference about what is said in order to be understandable and about the speaker's intended meaning. Moreover, it explores how a great deal of what is unsaid is recognized as a part of what is communicated.

Pragmatics as a study of language used has many domains. In this case, speech acts belongs to the domain of pragmatics. It is derived from the basic belief that language is used to perform actions. Here is the example of speech acts utterances used by Barack Obama in his campaign speech:

[1] *I'll help small businesses get back on their feet by eliminating capital gains taxes and giving them emergency loans to keep their doors open and hire workers.*

[2] *And I will create jobs and growth fund to help states and local governments save one million jobs and pay for health care and education without having to raise your taxes.* (Barack Obama's speech cited in <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2008/obama/10.20.08.html>)

The statements above show that Barack Obama has an intended meaning in uttering those statements. He not only informs about his future planning to the audience through his utterance but he also commits himself to do some actions in the future. In the first utterance, Barack Obama is going to help small businesses which have been insolvent in Tampa Bay, Florida by providing emergency loan for them and reducing their capital gains taxes. Emergency loan here is loan which give debtors a period of time to pay from the first time they get loan. This way will help them to rebuild and to keep their businesses still running after having lost it and they can also hire their workers. While in the second utterance, Barack Obama intends to say by providing emergency loans for the small businesses in Tampa Bay, Florida, it will not only help them to hire their workers but also to recruit new employees in their companies. This way is regarded that will help the local governments to save one million jobs. Moreover, by lending fund's state to the small businesses in Tampa Bay, Florida, it will produce profit

for the government. The profit is the interest rates that should be paid by them can be used to pay for their healthcare and education without having to raise their taxes. Those explanations above show that Barack Obama uses language is not only to give some information to his audience but he may use it to persuade others. In this context, the function of his utterances are not only to commit himself to some future actions but also to convince the audience that he can be a good leader to develop their country. In the study of language, what people do by saying something is called as speech acts. As Austin (1962: 5) states that “there are utterances in which they do not report or describe anything, is not true or false, but they involve actions”.

The explanation above represents that speech acts belongs to the study of pragmatics. The theory is needed in this study to describe and to analyze the contextual meaning of Barack Obama’s and Hillary Clinton’s utterances on selected utterances in their campaign speeches. The theory is also used to reveal the intended meanings of speech acts’ utterances used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton which are the meanings of the language that can be expressed according to the context.

2.2.2 Context

In studying pragmatics, context has an important role to get a better understanding in language. As Levinson (1983: 21) states that pragmatics is the study of the relations between language and context in term of understanding the language. He argued that in understanding an utterance, it involves making an inference that will connect to what is said to what is assumed or what has been said before. As Halliday and Hasan (1989: 4) defines context as the words and the sentences before and after the particular sentences. It means that to understand the meaning of particular sentences, it needs to be connected to the previous or to the next sentences.

Mallinowski (cited in Haliday and Hasan, 1989: 4) argues that people need a term which expresses the total environment, but also including the situation in which the text uttered. The explanation refers to context of situation. According to

him context of situation is the environment of the text. Actually, the terms context of situation was coined by an anthropologist namely Malinowski in the 20th century and it has been developed by numbers of others, such as Firth (1935), Halliday (1973), and lately Brown and Yule (1983). Brown and Yule (1983: 35-45) states that context of situation as the physical environment of a text. This includes the place, time, and other physical condition in a certain situation. It means that in order to know the meaning of certain utterances conveyed by speakers, we have to consider the place, time, and condition in certain situation; how can be those utterances are made by the speakers. They also state that the role of context of situation is limiting the range of possible interpretation since an utterance may have different interpretations when it is uttered in different context of situations. Another role of context situation is as a consideration in finding what the speakers mean or intended by their utterances but not stated in the utterance. The features of context of situation will be described in the following scenarios:

a) Speaker: a young mother, hearer: her mother-in-law, place: park, by a duck pond, time: sunny afternoon in September 1962. They are watching the young mother's two-years-old son chasing ducks and the mother-in-law has just remarked that her son, the child's father, was rather backward at this age. The young mother says:

"I do think Adam's quick"

b) Speaker: a student, audience: a set of students, place: sitting round a coffee table in the refectory, time: evening in March 1980. John, one of the group has just told a joke. Everyone laughs except Adam. Then Adam laughs. One of the students says:

"I do think Adam's quick"

(Brown and Yule, 1983: 36)

From the first scenario (a), we can assume that Adam is being compared with his father. By considering the context of situation, the word "quick" here can be interpreted as "quick in developing". While in the second scenario (b), Adam is being compared with other students, and the word "quick" here can be interpreted as "quick to understand the joke or react". In fact, by considering the context, the

word “quick” does not mean as it used to be. It can use to implicate the opposite meaning that Adam is rather backward. Thus, the utterance “I do think Adam is quick” may have different interpretations when it is stated in different context of situation.

Here, the study applies Brown and Yule (1983) theory of context of situation because it is used to reveal the intended meaning of speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches.

2.2.3 Speech Acts

Pragmatics includes the study about speech acts. Speech acts is a part of language behavior. The study of speech acts was introduced by the British philosopher Austin in the 1960s, and it has been developed by a number of others, notably the philosopher Searle (1983). We can find speech acts in our daily conversation. Searle states that “speaking a language is performing speech acts, such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises, and so on. It means that the speech acts are performed in the using of language.

Yule (1996) states that speech acts are action performed via utterances. The purpose of this definition is that when someone says something he does not just produce words that have meaning, but he also performs a particular act behind his utterances. While, Levinson (1983:243) states that:

“all utterances not only serve to express proposition, but also perform action. In uttering some linguistic expression a speaker was doing something, there is one privileged level of action that can be called the illocutionary act or more simple, the speech acts”.

From those definitions, it can be concluded that in the study of speech acts, the utterances produced by speakers are used not only to express proposition, but also to perform certain actions. In addition, Austin (1962:94) states that to say something may be to do something. It means that when someone produces utterances he also performs some acts through his utterances. He also states that people are actually doing three actions at once when he utters something, such as:

1. Locutionary act is the act of saying something in the full sense of say.

2. Illocutionary act is an act performed in saying something.
3. Perlocutionary act is the act performed by or as a result of saying something.

Here the researcher will give a clear definition of those three actions of speech acts.

1. Locutionary act

Austin (1962:94) states that “locutionary act is a simple act of saying something in the full normal sense to do something. The full normal sense includes the utterance of certain noises, the utterance of certain words in a certain construction, and the utterance of them with a certain meaning in the favorite philosophical sense of those words with a certain sense and reference. Yule (1996: 48) states that “locutionary act is the basic act of utterance, or producing a meaningful linguistic expression”. It means that locutionary act refers to the factual meaning of the sentence which is the literal meaning of the actual words.

Here are the examples of three elements of speech act:

[3] Act (A) or Locution

He said to me, ‘shoot her!’ meaning by shoot and referring by ‘her’ to her.

Act (B) or Illocution

He urged (or advised, ordered, etc.) me to shoot her.

Act (C) or Perlocution

He persuades me to shoot her or he got me to shoot her

(Austin, 1962:102)

The examples [2] are three elements of speech acts. The main focus here is to clarify the example of locutionary act. The utterance (A) “‘shoot her!’ is locutionary act. The speaker is thereby performing the locutionary act of producing those sounds and saying ‘shoot her!’. It is clear that the utterance ‘shoot her!’ is an act of pronouncing sound with a certain intonation. Shortly, it can be concluded that locutionary act is an actual utterance with its obvious meaning. Therefore, a locutionary act is used to select what utterances in their campaign

speeches that belong to speech acts. And it is also used to know the literal meaning of the speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches.

2. Illocutionary act

When people perform a locutionary act generally they also perform an illocutionary act because they have some intentions in producing an utterance. Austin (in Horn and Ward, 2004: 54-55) states that illocutionary acts are acts done in speaking, including and especially that sort of act that is the apparent purpose for using a performative sentence: christening, marrying, and so forth. It can be said that illocutionary act is the act in saying something which relates with speaker's intended meaning by uttering a sentence such as asking, promising, requesting, permitting, and etc.

There are some kinds of acts which are widely accepted as illocutionary act, for example: ordering, promising, advising, alarming, etc. Illocutionary act refers to the function of utterances we make. Illocutionary act can be successful if the speaker's intention is recognized or understandable by the listener.

For example, a speaker may say:

[4] "Open the door!"

The speaker intends the hearer to understand this utterance as an order, and further he or she intends the listener to open the door.

[5] "I've just made some cookies"

This kind of utterance may not only mean a statement, but the speaker can perform an offer. In sum, speech act theory provides an account of language use as intentional action.

Searle (in Levinson, 1983: 240) classifies five types of utterances, those are:

1. Representatives, which commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition, e.g., stating, claiming, reporting, announcing, etc. It represents the speaker's belief of something that can be evaluated to be true or false. Briefly, A sentence was only labelled as a Representative speech act if the writer explicitly expressed his belief.

For example: *[a] The earth is flat.*

[b] It was a warm sunny day

(Yule: 1996, 53)

2. Directives, which are attempted by the speaker to get the addressee to do something as a response. For example, the speaker may ask a question, make a request, invitation, giving advice, and etc. In this case, the speaker wants the hearer to do something.

For example: *[a] Could you lend me a pen, please?*

[b] Gimme a cup of coffee. Make it black.

(Yule: 1996, 54)

3. Commisives, which commit the speaker to some future course of actions, e.g., promising, threatening, swearing. In this case, the speaker will perform an action in the future.

For example: *[a] I'll be back.*

[b] I'm going to get it right next time.

(Yule: 1996, 54)

4. Expressives, which express a psychological state, e.g., thanking, apologizing, welcoming and congratulating, etc. It represents the psychological expression of the speaker.

For example: *[a] I'm really sorry!*

[b] Congratulations!

(Yule: 1996, 53)

5. Declaratives, which effect immediate changes in the institutional state of affair and tend to rely on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions, e.g., excommunicating, declaring war, christening, firing from employment. In this case, the speaker has to have a special institutional role, in a specific context, in order to perform a declaration appropriately.

For example: [a] *Priest* : *I now pronounce you husband and wife.*

[b] *Referee* : *You're out!*

(Yule: 1996, 53)

This study adopts Searle's classification (1983) to find out the types of speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches. Moreover, the theory of illocutionary act is used to analyze the intended meaning of speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.

3. Perlocutionary act

Perlocutionary act is defined as the effect of the utterance made by the speaker to the addresser. As Austin (as cited in Sadock, 2004: 55) states the meaning of perlocutionary act as:

Perlocution act is what someone does by saying it. The effect of the act being performed by speaking is generally known as the perlocutionary effect. As the name is design to suggest, perlocutions are acts performed by speaking. He also explains that perlocutionary acts consist in the production of effect upon the thought, feelings, or actions of the addressee(s), speaker, or other parties.

It means that the utterances which are stated by speaker often have the effect or capacity to influence hearer. The effect of this capacity can occur because of intentional or unintentional utterances by speakers. In short, the effect which is produced by uttering something is called perlocutionary act. For example, in the utterances:

[6] "It's cold here" (Paltridge, 2000: 15)

The speaker's utterance contains such a double meaning. It may mean that the speaker informs that the temperature is cold, but for the hearer it may perform an act as request to do something, such as close the door.

In conclusion, the perlocutionary act refers to the effect of the utterance has on the thoughts or actions of the other person. Therefore, it is needed to describe the expected effect of the speech acts produced by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.

CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains the methodology which is used to do the research. Method is a guideline to analyze data accurately and to produce the good results. This chapter consists of four parts which include the type of research, the data collection, the data processing and the data analysis. Those parts will be discussed further as follows:

3.1 The Type of Research

This research applies quantitative and qualitative research. “Quantitative research is a type of research that deals with the quantification of data and some sort of numerical analysis” (Mackey and Gas, 2005:2). This type of research is used to count amount and percentage of the types of speech acts produced by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches. Qualitative research is a research in which the analysis is interpretative (descriptive). In addition, Denscombe (2007:248) states that qualitative research tends to be associated with description. The qualitative method is used to describe the types of speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton and to analyze the intended meaning of the speech acts used by both politicians. Both types of research are useful for the researcher to get validation in analyzing the data.

3.2 The Data Collection

In this study, documentary technique is used to collect the data. According to Blaxter *et al* (1996:141) “documentary technique is used for collecting data by using documents or written materials as the basic resource of research”. Furthermore, Denscombe (2007:230) argues that “documents can be obtained from the internet such as website pages, home pages, or email and they can be treated like online documents”. In this study the data are in the form of written text that is speech transcripts by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. Then, the data are taken from ir 18 in the website pages;

<http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/campaign2008/obama/10.20.08.html> and <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=77087>.

Here, the data are taken by using purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is the term which is applied to those situations where the researcher already knows something about the specific people or events and deliberately selects particular ones because they are seen as instances that are likely to produce the most valuable data (Denscombe, 2007:17). There are 199 utterances produced by Barack Obama in his campaign speech and there are 304 utterances produced by Hillary Clinton in her campaign speech but the writer only takes 30 utterances that contain of speech acts either in Barack Obama's or Hillary Clinton's campaign speeches that will be analyzed. The specific utterances in their campaign speeches are going to be analyzed because they are relevant with the topic of the investigation.

3.3 The Data Processing

There are some steps to process the data:

1. Sorting 30 speech acts utterances that are found either in Barack Obama's or Hillary Clinton's campaign speeches.
2. Classifying the utterances into types of speech acts by using the theory proposed by Searle (1983).
3. Coding the types of speech acts proposed by Searle (1969) with using abbreviation "rep" for representatives, "der" for directives, "com" for commisive, "exp" for expressive and "dec" for declaration.
4. Making table for counting the most dominant speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton.
5. The last, analyzing the intended meaning of speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton with speech acts theory proposed by Austin (1962).

3.4 The Data Analysis

The following steps to analyze the data:

1. After knowing the most dominant speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, this dominant will be explained to know the purposes of it.
2. Then, to reveal their intended meaning in using some kinds of speech acts, the theory of speech acts by Austin (1962) and the theory of context by Brown and Yule (1983) is applied.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

Speech acts is important not only to reveal the intended meaning of the speaker using language but also to reach certain communicative goals by performing acts through the use of language. Speech acts concerns with the people who utter a language by looking at the context. It is not only meanings of the utterance what people utter but it also performs some acts behind those utterance.

In this study there are three conclusion that are proposed by the researcher. The first conclusion is aimed to answer the first research problem about the types of speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches. This study found that there are four types of speech acts produced either by Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches. Those are commissives, representatives, directives, and expressives.

The second conclusion is aimed to answer the second research problem about the most dominant speech acts used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches. This study analyzes 30 utterances either in Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton's campaign speeches. It is found that the most dominant speech acts produced by Barack Obama is commissive with the percentage 53% or 16 utterances. It consists of 1 offering utterance and 15 promising utterances. Representatives and directives respectively follow commissives with the percentage 27% or 8 utterances and 13% or 4 utterances. The representative consists of 2 asserting utterances, 3 stating utterances, 2 announcing utterances and 1 urging utterance. While the directive consist of 4 requesting utterances. The lowest percentage of speech acts is expressives with the percentage 7%. It consists of statements of proud and hopeful feeling. Whereas, the most dominant speech acts produced by Hillary Clinton is representative with the percentage 41% or 12 utterances. It consists of 3 complaining utterances, 4 asserting utterances, 2 stating utterances, 1 announcing utterance and 2 reporting utterances. The second rank is commissive with the percentage 33% or 10 utterances. It consists of 10 promising utterances. The next rank is directive and expressive. Both of them have the same

percentage that are 13% or 4 utterances. The directive consists of 4 requesting utterances, while the expressive consists of 1 statement of proud, 2 statements of apologizing and 1 statement of thanking feeling.

The result above shows that in Barack Obama's speech commissives appears as the dominant speech acts. In using the commissives, the speaker undertakes to make the world fit the words. It means that the speaker wants to make the condition or the situation as what he has planned. In this case, Barack Obama uses mostly commissive speech acts in his presidential campaign to commit himself to do some future actions and convince the audience about his programs that will be conducted in his period of governance if he is elected. While, in Hillary Clinton's speech representatives appear as the dominant speech acts. In using the representative, the speaker makes the words fit the world (of belief). It means that the speaker believes that her opinions fit to the situation or condition. In this case, Hillary Clinton uses mostly representative speech acts in her presidential campaign to complain, assert, state, announce, and report. It shows that she wants to explain something true or false and to express her opinion referring to the case of crisis economy in the America at that time.

The last conclusion is aimed to answer the third research problem about the intended meaning of the speech act used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches. This study found that the main intended meaning or performative purposes from Barack Obama's utterances are committing himself to future acts and also convincing the audience about his seriousness to be the President of United States of America through conveying his great programs that will be run in his period of governance. By looking at whole promising and offering utterances that he conveyed to the audience, he always makes commitments with a great considering to the facts that exist. Here, he pay more attention to middle to lower class people because the percentage of middle to lower class is bigger than upper class people that is 71%. This fact makes him stating and asserting his opinions that middle to lower class people need some changes to make their life prosperous. To get their prosperous life, he urges them to cooperate under his governance. In order to make them to stay under his

governance, he uses directive speech acts to ask them politely to give their vote to him. In order to support it, he also uses expressive speech acts to show his respect to the audience. By using that kind of speech acts, he will be got good impression by the audience. Whereas, the main intended meaning from Hillary Clinton's utterances are expressing the truth or facts to the audience referring to the case of crisis economy in the United States at that time. By looking at the types of representative speech acts used by her, she wants to convey some information about the weaknesses of the previous governance that was not satisfactory enough to lead America. Through reporting those weaknesses, she wants to assert to the audience that she is able to fix those bad conditions. Here, it can be seen that she makes promises from the weaknesses of the previous governance. In order to ask them to stay under her governance, she uses her third type of speech acts that is directive. By using it, she requests them politely to give her a chance to be their president. It also supported by her fourth type of speech acts that is expressive. By using it, it helps her to get a good impression from the audience because it can show her respect to them. Knowing the different strategies between Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches, it showed that the American people are more attracted to Barack Obama's programs which show innovative plans to develop America than Hillary Clinton's programs which only want to fix the previous governance problems.

By this finding the researcher finds that speech acts is very helpful as a tool to find out the strategies and the patterns used by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their campaign speeches. Then, it is also effective to reveal the intended meaning of their utterances in the political campaign. Through understanding the types of speech acts used by both Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, the audience know clearly how the ways the presidential candidate persuade public to agree with their point of view.

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APPENDICES

Transcript of Barack Obama's Speech on the Presidential Election in Tampa Bay, Florida on October 20, 2008

Notes : The numbers below refer to the total utterances.

Campaign Stop in Florida

Hello, Tampa! And congratulations to your Rays! It's great to be back in the Sunshine state. And in just 15 days, you and I can begin to bring some badly-needed sunshine to Washington DC. That's the good news. But we're going to have to work, and struggle, and fight for every single one of those 15 days to bring our country the change we need. (6)

I am hopeful about the outcome. We were thrilled yesterday when a great American statesman, General Colin Powell, joined our cause. But we cannot let up. And we won't. (10)

Because one thing we know is that change never comes without a fight. In the final days of campaigns, the say-anything, do-anything politics too often takes over. We've seen it before. And we're seeing it again today. The ugly phone calls. The misleading mail and TV ads. The careless, outrageous comments. All aimed at keeping us from working together, all aimed at stopping change. (18)

It's getting so bad that even Senator McCain's running mate denounced his tactics last night. As you know, you really have to work hard to violate Governor Palin's standards on negative campaigning. (20)

But we're not going to be distracted. We're not going to be diverted. Not this time. Not this year. Our challenges are too great for a politics that's so small. (25)

Now, more than ever, this campaign has to be about the problems facing the American people - because this is a moment of great uncertainty for America. The economic crisis we face is the worst since the Great Depression. Businesses large and small are finding it impossible to get loans, which means they can't buy new equipment, or hire new workers, or even make payroll for the workers they have. (28)

115,000 workers lost their jobs in Florida this year, more than any other state in this country. Wages are lower than they've been in a decade, at a time when the cost of health care and college have never been higher. It's getting harder and harder to make the mortgage, or fill up your gas tank, or even keep the electricity on at the end of the month. At this rate, the question isn't just "are you better off than you were four years ago?", it's "are you better off than you were four weeks ago?" (33)

So I know these are difficult times. I know folks are worried. But I believe that we can steer ourselves out of this crisis because I believe in this country. Because I believe in you. I believe in the American people. (38)

We are the United States of America. We are a nation that's faced down war and depression; great challenges and great threats. And at each and every moment, we have risen to meet these challenges - not as Democrats, not as Republicans, but as Americans. With resolve. With confidence. With that fundamental belief that here in America, our destiny is not written for us, but by us. That's who we are, and that's the country we need to be right now. (45)

But Florida, I know this. It will take a new direction. It will take new leadership in Washington. It will take a real change in the policies and politics of the last eight years. And that's what this election is all about. (50)

Now, my opponent has made his choice. Senator McCain's campaign actually said a couple of weeks ago that they were going to launch a series of attacks on my character because, they said, "if we keep talking about the economy, we're going to lose." And that's a promise John McCain has kept. He's been on the attack. That's what you do when you are out of ideas, out of touch, and running out of time. Well, I can take a few more weeks of John McCain's

attacks, but the American people can't take four more years of the same failed policies and the same failed politics. That's why I'm running for President of the United States. (58)

We have tried it John McCain's way. We have tried it George Bush's way. It hasn't worked. It's time for something new. It is time to turn the page on eight years of economic policies that put Wall Street before Main Street but ended up hurting both. We need policies that grow our economy from the bottom-up, so that every American, everywhere, has the chance to get ahead. Not just the person who owns the factory, but the men and women who work on its floor. Because if we've learned anything from this economic crisis, it's that we're all connected; we're all in this together; and we will rise or fall as one nation - as one people. (66)

The rescue plan that passed Congress was a necessary first step to easing this credit crisis, but if we're going to rebuild this economy from the bottom up, we need an immediate rescue plan for the middle-class - and that's what I'll offer as President of the United States. (67)

Last week, I laid out a plan that will jumpstart job creation, provide relief to families, and rebuild our financial system. It's a plan that will also help struggling homeowners stay in their homes - something that's particularly important here in Florida, where foreclosures are up 30% over the last year. All across this state, there are families who've done everything right, but who are now facing foreclosure or seeing their home values decline because of bad decisions on Wall Street and in Washington. (70)

The other week, Senator McCain came out with a proposal that he said would help ease the burden on homeowners by buying up bad mortgages at face value, even though they're not worth that much anymore. But here's the thing, Florida. His plan would amount to a \$300 billion bailout for Wall Street banks. And guess what? It would all be paid for by you, the American taxpayer. That might sound like a good idea to the former bank lobbyists running my opponent's campaign. But that's not the change America needs. (77)

Look, we must act quickly to end this housing crisis. That's why last March, I was calling for us to help innocent home buyers. And that's why I fought to make sure the recent rescue package gives Treasury the responsibility and authority to help homeowners avoid foreclosure. But we should not put your tax dollars at unnecessary risk. We should not let banks and lenders off the hook when it was their greed and irresponsibility that got us into this mess. We should not be bailing out Wall Street - we should be restoring opportunity on Main Street. And that's what I'll do when I'm President of the United States. (84)

If the American people are going to put up \$700 billion to rescue our financial institutions, we should make sure those institutions are doing their part for the American people. That's why I've called for a three-month moratorium on foreclosures. If you are a bank or lender that is getting money from the rescue plan, and your customers are making a good-faith effort to make their mortgage payments and re-negotiate their mortgages, you will not be able to foreclose on their home for three months. Now, we've also put in place long-term measures to restore our credit markets and help families refinance their mortgages, but until those measures start working, we need to help homeowners stay in their homes, and that's what this foreclosure freeze will do. (88)

And while we're at it, there's another step we can take to help innocent homeowners that won't cost taxpayers a dime. Right now, if you own only one home, you're not allowed to write down your mortgage in bankruptcy court. But if you own more than one home - if you own, say, six or seven homes like my opponent - you are allowed to write down your mortgage. That might help Senator McCain sleep easier at night. But it isn't right, and it will change when I'm President of the United States. (93)

But understand, if we're serious about restoring opportunity for our middle class, it's not enough to help people refinance their mortgages. It's not enough to protect your homes from foreclosure. We have to help the hardworking families who are living in those homes with shrinking paychecks and rising costs. (96)

That starts with tax relief. There's been a lot of talk about taxes in this campaign. And the truth is, my opponent and I are both proposing tax cuts. The

difference is, he wants to give a \$700,000 tax cut to Fortune 500 CEOs. I want to put a \$1,000 tax cut in the pockets of 95% of American workers. That's right - 95%. My opponent doesn't want you to know this, but under my plan, tax rates will actually be less than they were under Ronald Reagan. (103)

It's true that I want to roll back the Bush tax cuts on the wealthiest Americans and go back to the rate they paid under Bill Clinton. John McCain calls that socialism. What he forgets is that just a few years ago, he himself said those Bush tax cuts were irresponsible. He said he couldn't "in good conscience" support a tax cut where the benefits went to the wealthy at the expense of "middle class Americans who most need tax relief." Well, he was right then, and I am right now. (108)

And let me be crystal clear: If you make less than a quarter of a million dollars a year - which includes 98% of small business owners - you won't see your taxes increase one single dime. Not your payroll taxes, not your income taxes, not your capital gains taxes - nothing. That is my commitment to you. (111)

To create more American jobs, I've proposed a tax credit for each new employee that companies hire here in the United States over the next two years. And I'll stop giving tax breaks to companies that ship jobs overseas and invest in companies that create good jobs right here in Florida. (113)

I'll help small businesses get back on their feet by eliminating capital gains taxes and giving them emergency loans to keep their doors open and hire workers. And I will create a Jobs and Growth fund to help states and local governments save one million jobs and pay for health care and education without having to raise your taxes. (115)

These are the steps that we must take - right now - to start getting our economy back on track. But we also need a new set of priorities to grow our economy and create jobs over the long-term. (117)

If I am President, I will invest \$15 billion a year in renewable sources of energy to create five million new, green jobs over the next decade - jobs that pay well and can't be outsourced; jobs building solar panels and wind turbines and

fuel-efficient cars; jobs that will help us end our dependence on oil from Middle East dictators. (118)

I'll also put two million more Americans to work rebuilding our crumbling roads, schools, and bridges - because it is time to build an American infrastructure for the 21st century. And if people ask how we're going to pay for this, you tell them that if we can spend \$10 billion a month in Iraq, we can spend some money to rebuild America. (120)

If I am President, I will finally fix the problems in our health care system that we've been talking about for too long. This issue is personal for me. My mother died of ovarian cancer at the age of 53, and I'll never forget how she spent the final months of her life lying in a hospital bed, fighting with her insurance company because they claimed that her cancer was a pre-existing condition and didn't want to pay for treatment. If I am President, I will make sure those insurance companies can never do that again. (124)

My health care plan will make sure insurance companies can't discriminate against those who are sick and need care most. If you have health insurance, the only thing that will change under my plan is that we will lower premiums. If you don't have health insurance, you'll be able to get the same kind of health insurance that Members of Congress get for themselves. And we'll invest in preventative care and new technology to finally lower the cost of health care for families, businesses, and the entire economy. That's the change we need. (129)

And if I'm President, we'll give every child, everywhere the skills and the knowledge they need to compete with any worker, anywhere in the world. I will not allow countries to out-teach us today so they can out-compete us tomorrow. It is time to provide every American with a world-class education. That means investing in early childhood education. That means recruiting an army of new teachers, and paying them better, and giving them more support in exchange for higher standards and more accountability.(134)

And it means making a deal with every American who has the drive and the will but not the money to go to college. My opponent's top economic advisor actually said that they have no plan to invest in college affordability because we

can't have a give away to every special interest. Well I don't think the young people of America are a special interest - they are the future of this country. That's why I'll make this deal with you: if you commit to serving your community or your country, we will make sure you can afford your tuition. No if, and or but. You invest in America, America will invest in you, and together, we will move this country forward. (139)

Florida, it's time for a change. I know it, you know it, and the American people know it. The other week, I was in Ohio, and I went to this small town called Georgetown. Now, I was hungry and I needed a snack. So I asked where I could find the best pie in town. And folks pointed to this diner. So I went there, and as I'm waiting for a pie, some of the employees said, "Senator, can you please take a picture with us because the owner is a die-hard Republican and we want to poke him a little." (146)

And just then, the owner comes out. And I said, "Sir, I understand you're a die-hard Republican." He said yes. And I said, "Well, how's business?" He said, "Not so good because my customers can't afford to eat out right now." So I said, "Well, who do you think has been running the economy for the last eight years?" And he said, "The Republicans." Well, I said, "If you keep hitting your head against a wall and it starts to hurt, at some point don't you stop hitting it against the wall?" (154)

Maybe you should try the Democrats for a change. (155)

Now, make no mistake: the change we need won't come easy or without cost. We will all need to tighten our belts, we will all need to sacrifice and we will all need to pull our weight because now more than ever, we are all in this together. (157)

At a defining moment like this, we don't have the luxury of relying on the same political games and the same political tactics that are used every election to divide us from one another and make us afraid of one another. With the challenges and crises we face right now, we cannot afford to divide this country by class or region; by who we are or what policies we support. (159)

There are no real or fake parts of this country. We are not separated by the pro-America and anti-America parts of this nation - we all love this country, no matter where we live or where we come from. There are patriots who supported this war in Iraq and patriots who opposed it; patriots who believe in Democratic policies and those who believe in Republican policies. The men and women from Florida and all across America who serve on our battlefields may be Democrats and Republicans and Independents, but they have fought together and bled together and some died together under the same proud flag. They have not served a Red America or a Blue America - they have served the United States of America. (164)

We have always been at our best when we've had leadership that called us to look past our differences and come together as one nation, as one people; leadership that rallied this entire country to a common purpose - to a higher purpose. And I am running for President of the United States of America because that is the country we need to be right now. (166)

This country and the dream it represents are being tested in a way that we haven't seen in nearly a century. And future generations will judge ours by how we respond to this test. Will they say that this was a time when America lost its way and its purpose? When we allowed the same divisions and fear tactics and our own petty differences to plunge this country into a dark and painful recession? (170)

Or will they say that this was another one of those moments when America overcame? When we battled back from adversity by recognizing that common stake that we have in each other's success? (172)

This is one of those moments. I realize you're cynical and fed up with politics. I understand that you're disappointed and even angry with your leaders. You have every right to be. But despite all of this, I ask of you what's been asked of the American people in times of trial and turmoil throughout our history. I ask you to believe - to believe in yourselves, in each other, and in the future we can build together. (178)

Together, we cannot fail. Not now. Not when we have a crisis to solve and an economy to save. Not when there are so many Americans without jobs and without homes. Not when there are families who can't afford to see a doctor, or send their child to college, or pay their bills at the end of the month. Not when there is a generation that is counting on us to give them the same opportunities and the same chances that we had for ourselves. (184)

We can do this. Americans have done this before. Some of us had grandparents or parents who said maybe I can't go to college but my child can; maybe I can't have my own business but my child can. I may have to rent, but maybe my children will have a home they can call their own. I may not have a lot of money but maybe my child will run for Senate. I might live in a small village but maybe someday my son can be president of the United States of America. (190)

Now it falls to us. Together, we cannot fail. And I need you to make it happen. If you want the next four years looking like the last eight, then I am not your candidate. But if you want real change - if you want an economy that rewards work, and that works for Main Street and Wall Street; if you want tax relief for the middle class and millions of new jobs; if you want health care you can afford and education that helps your kids compete; then I ask you to knock on some doors, make some calls, talk to your neighbors, and give me your vote. In Florida, starting today, you can vote early right here, and right now. To find out how, just go to voteforchange.com. And if you stand with me, I promise you - we will win Florida, we will win this election, and then you and I - together - will change this country and change this world. (198)

Thank you, God bless you, and may God bless America. (199)

**Transcript of Hillary Clinton's Speech on the Presidential Election in
Furman University, South Carolina on January 24, 2008**

Notes : The numbers below refer to the total utterances.

Remarks on Solutions for the American Economy

January 24, 2008

Thank you! Thank you all so much! Thank you. You know, I am so happy to be back here at Furman. I was at Furman with Dick and Chucky Riley back in 2003 for a speech and a question and answer program there, and I had such a wonderful time. It's great to be here again; I've been at one of the extension buildings of the university in this campaign, but to be back and talking about the economic challenges facing our country is a great honor. (6)

I am so sorry to be late. I apologize for that. Some of it was us off to a late start, but there were other things we had to deal with, and some of it was delays in air travel, but I appreciate your patience and your willingness to be here. I apologize for everybody stuck outside; we have a long, long line of people who can't get in. I'm not sure that everybody thought a speech about the economy would draw such a big crowd. So, I apologize to all of you as well. (12)

And of course, I want to thank Dick Riley for his years of service to the state of South Carolina and to our country. He is such a unique public servant and a wonderful, great man. (14)

And I want to thank Frank Holleman who was out speaking here with you before, and Lottie Gibson. State Representative Fletcher Smith, who I'm proud to have supporting me. I want to thank the conference center here and Kay Cornelison, who is the director and all of you who have come. (16)

I particularly want to thank a group of veterans who are traveling throughout the state on my behalf. We have them all over the state. We have

several of them here today, led by Hershel Gober, the former Secretary of Veteran Affairs; Hank Naughton, an Iraq veteran and a state representative from Massachusetts; Pat Lewis, another veteran; Reverend Tim Brown, another supporter. I'm very honored to have the support of so many of our veterans. (20)

We have a lot of work to do on that front, and if you want to know the details talk to Hershel and the veterans who are here, because they can give you chapter and verse about what we need to do to keep faith with our veterans. 21

But I want to turn to the economy. (22)

You know, in just a few days, on Monday night, President Bush will give his final State of the Union Address. (23)

It's enough to make you want to burst out in song. Don't worry, I'll spare you. You don't have to listen to me sing. (26)

After seven years of inattention, neglect and denial, this Monday night, President Bush may well actually discuss the serious economic problems we face. And it's about time. (28)

You know, we didn't hear from him when the typical family incomes dropped \$1,000 over the past seven years -- \$2,600 for African American families. As health care premiums nearly doubled, gas prices more than doubled, and college costs here in South Carolina rose 124% since 2000, the fastest increase in America. (30)

We didn't hear from him as more than two million foreclosure notices went out -- 11,000 properties right here in South Carolina are in some stage of foreclosure. That's 11,000 families that are facing the potential loss of the American dream. (32)

We didn't hear from him as unemployment reached a two year high last month, with South Carolina having the third highest unemployment rate in America, or as nearly five million Americans fell back into poverty -- 33,000 in South Carolina alone. (33)

But now, finally, the President may acknowledge what the American people have known for years: that the economy is not working for middle class and working families. And I welcome the president to this conversation. Because

it's a conversation that Americans have been having and that I've been having with so many people every day for years. I've listened to the voices of so many Americans as I've traveled the country. The voices of people who work hard all day – then sometimes additionally on the night shift – but it's still not enough. People who whisper to me about the mortgages they can't afford and the homes they're losing, about medical bills that wiped them and their savings out. About tuition costs that have cut short the hopes they had about sending a child to college. Many people are simply overwhelmed by the economic conditions they confront every day. (41)

I've heard from plenty of people who also tell me, "I'm OK right now, but what about next year – or even next month? The way things are going with people losing jobs and homes, what if my family is next?" (43)

This is a time of uncertainty and growing anxiety. We didn't wind up here by accident. As President Kennedy once observed, "Economic policy can result from government inaction as well as governmental action." We're here in part because the President failed to listen to the voices of people who are hurting, failed to get involved in the actual work of running the government, and failed to act. Instead, he has stayed at a comfortable cruising altitude, well above the realities of people's lives, delegating responsibilities to his advisers, hoping the buck would stop somewhere else—anywhere else. (48)

In just seven years, this Administration has taken us from record surpluses into a large and growing deficit, from a projected \$5.6 trillion surplus to a \$9 trillion debt. We have seen our growing, thriving economy that created 22.7 million jobs in the 1990s pushed to the brink of recession. (50)

And we're seeing the ripple effects around the world. This week, many countries saw their largest one-day stock market declines since September 11, 2001. (52)

In this new century, the stakes have never been higher. The challenges have never been bigger or more urgent. But the opportunities are also there, if we get about the business of seizing them. (55)

Now, our economic problems are admittedly complex. But there is one thing we know for sure: the problem with our economy is not the American people. Instead, the problem is, in part, the bankrupt ideas that have governed us for the last seven years. They have rewarded the very few at the expense of the many. (59)

The American people are actually the solution to our economic problems. Americans are the hardest working people in the world – our productivity goes up every year. That means we work harder and harder and produce more. People are innovators, they are entrepreneurs, they take risks, they start small businesses. They are constantly thinking about the future. The factory worker and the CEO, the farmer or the small business owner, the scientist in the lab, or the teacher in the classroom, everybody who gets up every day and gets their job done, supports their families – that is the strength of the American economy. (65)

And it's time we finally had a president who worked as hard for you as you work for America every single day. (66)

Because, in the end, it is all about people. It is all about the woman in Columbia who grabbed my hand and said that her child was sick and the insurance company wouldn't pay for the treatment that was necessary. It's all about the man in Florence some months ago who came up to me some months ago and said, "I just keep working harder and harder and I feel like I'm falling further and further backwards. But I have a small business; I depend on transporting my goods, and the cost of energy just keeps going up." It's about the real lives of real people right here in South Carolina. (71)

The presidency matters more now than ever. We need a president who will run the government and manage the economy. American people don't hire a President to talk about our problems but to solve them, to set a vision for the future, and then to roll up our sleeves and get about fulfilling it. (74)

It's time for a President who believes that leading an economic comeback is a fulltime, hands-on job. Who renews our commitment to a strong and prosperous middle class and brings business, labor and government together to restore America's competitiveness in a fast changing world. A president who has a

vision for a twenty-first century economy based on shared prosperity. Where we measure our success not by the wealth at the very top but by how broadly wealth is shared. (78)

You know, with all due respect to a lot of my friends on the other side of the aisle, I do not believe it is rich people who made America great. I believe it is the hard working people of America who made our country great. (80)

We want to get back to rewarding hard work. We want the American Dream to be within everyone's reach. We want to make investments in one another that allow us, particularly our children, to live up to our God-given potential. (83)

These are not just economic issues, these are moral issues about our common purpose as a nation. Whether people can provide for their families, whether they can share in the blessings of this great country – that speaks to who we are as a people and what we value. (85)

The way we bring our country together is by acting on our values. True unity can only be achieved by finding real solutions for the American people, and then delivering them. Without real solutions, division and disappointment, not unity, will be the result. We've been there before. President Bush promised to be a uniter, not a divider. And we know how well that turned out. (91)

Because unity comes from taking on the tough challenges, asking us to be bigger than ourselves, summoning up to greatness, again. And that is what I intend to do as President, on day one. I will bring the voices of the American people back to the White House. I will ask all of us to be involved in solving our problems. (95)

Otherwise, here is what I fear. Most of us, as I look around this room, with the exception of the students who are crowded into the foyer and spilling out the door, we have been the beneficiaries of the sacrifices that came from previous generations- from parents and grandparents, from people who fought the wars, and built big businesses, and did the labor, who created the extraordinary success of that America is. We have to keep faith with all that came before us. I don't think any of us want to be part of the first generation of Americans to leave our

country worse off than when we found it. That would be such a breach with what American history has meant to all of us. (100)

So the time for waiting is over and the time for talk is over. Too many families are paying the price of inaction, right here and right now – so I think we need to begin acting, and we can't wait until January 20, 2009. (102)

We need both an immediate, short-term plan to jumpstart the economy – and a long-term economic vision with strategies to keep the economy going well into the future. (103)

So let's start with the short-term. If I were President right now, I would work with the Congress to jumpstart the economy by immediately addressing the housing crisis, creating new jobs, and getting money back into the pockets of the American people. (105)

We know that the loss of a home is devastating and so many families across our country are facing that. But it's not only those who are actually losing their homes I worry about. Because of this mortgage crisis, every home owner is losing value in our homes. The American people have lost more than \$1.3 trillion worth of value in our homes in the last year – that's nearly half the size of the entire United States government budget. And African American families are especially hard hit – subprime loans are five times more common in predominantly African American neighborhoods than predominantly white ones. (110)

But this is not just an economic crisis, it is truly an American dream crisis. Your home isn't just your only greatest source of wealth – it's your greatest source of security. It's what anchors us to our neighborhoods and communities. It's where we raise our kids, celebrate birthdays and holidays, and make memories together. I have visited with so many people in their homes and I know what our homes mean to us. I know the feel of refuge and security I feel when I walk into my own home. I know what it's like to sit in homes where families haven't had the money to buy all the furniture they need but they're so proud to show off their new home. (117)

And nearly a year ago, I called for immediate action to address this mounting mortgage crisis. Less than two weeks after that, the Bush administration told Congress that what I was calling for wasn't necessary- that the problem was contained. Several months later, the President assured us that there would be a soft landing for the housing market. But now we know better. So all of last year, I proposed policies to help families keep their homes. I wrote to the regulators urging them to take their heads out of the sand and do something for the millions of families at risk of foreclosure. I introduced legislation to crack down on abusive lending practices and give states the resources to help at-risk families avoid losing their homes. (124)

The result? A plan from President Bush that lets banks off the hook and leaves homeowners to fend for themselves. In the words of one expert, the President's plan was "the bank lobby's dream." This Administration has delivered a foreclosure notice on the American Dream. (127)

The President's plans to fix our economy would do next to nothing about the foreclosure crisis. And they said that my insistence on stopping foreclosures just doesn't make sense. Well I'm sorry to disagree. The housing crisis is contributing to rising unemployment. Construction jobs are disappearing— and I see a few hard-hats here in the audience. South Carolina alone lost 2,800 construction jobs in 2007. It's erasing families' wealth, jeopardizing consumer spending, which constitutes two-thirds of our economy. It's caused \$100 billion in losses to banks, making them less likely to offer credit to businesses and families that need it. (135)

That's why my plan to fix the economy starts by doing everything possible to ensure that we don't lose any more homes and that we stabilize the economy when it comes to the mortgage crisis. (136)

I want to start with a 90-day moratorium on foreclosures. If the bank is about to foreclose on your home, you should have some breathing room to restructure your mortgage. I'm calling for freezing the monthly rate on adjustable rate mortgages for at least five years or until the mortgages have been converted

into loans that families can afford. If you have an adjustable mortgage that's about to skyrocket, you'll have the chance to pay it off with affordable payments. (140)

People say well isn't this rewarding people who maybe got in over their heads? Well to some extent it is trying to stop what is happening that will affect all of us. If we don't help these families work out their mortgages now we will have more empty homes because the housing market is so low right now, nobody is buying. Then we'll have deteriorating neighborhoods, then we'll have decreasing tax revenues for cities and towns- it becomes a vicious cycle. (144)

That's why I also would also create a \$30 billion fund to help hard-hit communities and distressed homeowners weather the foreclosure crisis. We need to be sure to shore up our communities so that they don't begin to also deteriorate in the face of a loss in the home market. I also would include direct tax rebates to working and middle class families. We need to target it to those who are most in need. (148)

The Democratic leadership in the House and Senate along with the White House appear to be nearing a deal and I am heartened to hear that they are planning to extend assistance to the tens of millions of working Americans who need it the most. That's what I have been calling for and that's what I think we have to do. But I also want to target the needs of working families that are really facing tough choices. We need relief from skyrocketing energy bills. We need expanded unemployment insurance for those who are struggling to find a job. (153)

But I want to think about the future, that's why I would take immediate steps to spur "green collar" job growth: High-wage, renewable energy jobs that are good for our environment and cannot be outsourced. (154)

I would do this immediately through a crash weatherization program that would put people to work, helping to insulate homes, and give green collar job training initiatives to help prepare people. (155)

I would also implement my Green Building Fund to rebuild and renovate schools and other public buildings to help make them more energy efficient. We

can create millions of new jobs in America through clean, renewable energy. I know we can do it because I've seen what other countries have done. (158)

Germany decided a few years ago to make a big bet on solar power. They creating tax incentives, they created training programs to take construction workers and others to know how to install solar panels. They have created several hundred thousand new jobs in three short years. They have a smaller economy than ours. If we got serious about this, I know we could do the same. I really hope that as part of this recovery package, we start getting serious about the future. We have to stop the crisis but then we have to plan for an economy that will keep generating good new jobs, and clean energy is our best bet. (165)

But jumpstarting the economy in the short-term is just the beginning. We need a long-term vision to build a strong, prosperous economy for the next generation. I think it was Winston Churchill who said that, the difference between a politician and a statesman is that the politician thinks about the next election, while the statesman thinks about the next generation. We've got to start thinking about the next generation. We can't do this piecemeal; we've got to start helping people more. (170)

Maybe you want to start saving for retirement, but you can't do it because your taxes are too high and your wages aren't high enough. Maybe you want to go back to school, but your health care premiums are too high so you can't afford tuition. (172)

We live in a complex, interconnected, global economy. All of our challenges are all together now. We can't just put band-aids on one and expect to solve our problems. What we have to do is have a plan to create good jobs and restore fairness to the economy. We need to renew the promise of America that if you work hard, you can get ahead. We need to return to fiscal responsibility, so that Washington once again lives within a budget, just like you and your family has to do. (178)

I believe solving the jobs crisis over the long run starts with solving the energy crisis. That's why I will create a \$50 billion Strategic Energy Fund to jumpstart investments in clean energy technologies. We will create a green

revolution with investments in biofuels, wind, solar, geothermal, all of the clean energy and energy efficiency changes we need to make. And as we create these new job possibilities for the next generation we will pay for it by eliminating the tax subsidies for the big oil companies and require them to pay into the Strategic Energy Fund, or invest in alternative energy themselves. They have made record profits in recent years. Now it's time they did their fair share. (184)

I also know that we won't get any of this done until the two oil men leave the White House but as soon as they do, we will start to work on this long-term vision. (185)

We also help create jobs by modernizing and rebuilding our crumbling infrastructure. The tragic bridge collapse in Minnesota this past summer, a recent levee break in Nevada, and what happened with the levees in New Orleans are painful reminders that our infrastructure is in dangerous disrepair. (187)

Every billion dollars that we spend fixing crumbling infrastructure creates 48,000 new jobs. I have a Rebuild America Plan to invest \$10 billion over ten years in an "Emergency Repair Fund." We need to modernize our ports, our rail systems, our airports, our public transit systems, our bridges, our tunnels, our roads. We need to expand access to broadband across America, particularly to rural areas. (191)

We need to end this Administration's war on science and restore America to its rightful place. As the innovation nation, I will increase investments in basic and applied research at the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health and our other government agencies and universities. We became so successful after World War II because business and science worked hand in hand with government. Our great universities like Furman were on the cutting edge of discoveries that we translated into better outcomes for people. (195)

But creating jobs is just the beginning. We need to empower our workers and ensure that our tax system is fair. That's the second piece of a long-term plan. (198)

For the past seven years, the oil companies, the predatory student loan companies, the insurance companies, the drug companies have had a president

who stands up for them. I intend to be a president who stands up for you every single day about how we make America work better for you. (200)

During the 1950s and 60s which many of us look back at with great appreciation because the economy worked so well, for so long, for so many, we had a much higher percentage of our workforce unionized. Now it is much lower. (202)

We need to make sure people can organize and bargain for good wages and safe working conditions. (203)

We need to be sure that we restore fairness to the economy by restoring fairness to the tax code. Right now, some of the people I represent in New York City, Wall Street investment managers, making \$50 million a year pay just 15% on their earnings – while a teacher making \$50,000 pays 25%. I don't think that's right and I've been calling to raise the taxes on those people at the top. (206)

As corporate profits have skyrocketed, the percentage of taxes paid by corporations has fallen. We have richly rewarded people and I am all in favor of incentivizing people to do well. That is part of what America stands for. But it isn't right that the wealthy and the well-connected have gotten so many more benefits than the middle class and working people have. (210)

We need to extend middle class tax cuts, including the child tax credit, marriage penalty relief. We need to reform the Alternative Minimum Tax to ensure it doesn't hit middle class families with higher tax rates. It was never supposed to do that. We need to expand the Earned Income Tax Credit and raise the minimum wage to ensure that work pays for all Americans. No one who works full time should live in poverty. If you're working full time you shouldn't be in poverty. (216)

We need to give people the tools and support they need to succeed in today's complex economy. That starts with recommitting ourselves to making college affordable for our young people. That's especially important here in South Carolina, the average student debt upon graduation is \$20,000. So you start in a big hole before you ever go to work on the first day. And you know what's happened which is really troubling to me—America's higher education system

which was the envy of the world, we had an open system, the highest percentage of young people who went to get degrees, but now from Japan to South Korea to Canada and Ireland, other countries are educating their young people at a higher rate than here in America. The reason for that is the cost has exploded. It is more expensive today than it was thirty years ago to send a child to college. (223)

That's why I've outlined a comprehensive plan to open the doors of college to young people. It includes a new \$3,500 college tax credit that will cover more than 50% of the typical cost of public colleges and universities or the full cost of tuition and fees for community colleges. (225)

I also want to increase the size of Pell Grants, something that former Secretary Riley mentioned. I want to strengthen community colleges, invest \$500 million to support innovative, on-the-job training and apprenticeship programs for those who don't go to college. (227)

We also have to ensure that every American has quality, affordable health care. Here in South Carolina alone, 672,000 people are uninsured. I want to ask you—how many of you know someone here in South Carolina who is uninsured? How many of you know somebody who may have insurance but it just doesn't pay for what the doctor or the hospital says you need? (230)

We have two problems—we have the problem of the uninsured and the problem of the underinsured. My American Health Choices Plan would insure every single person for what they need. (232)

It's simple: If you have insurance you like, you keep it. There is no disruption. If you have a good policy through your business or through a union or through a municipality, nothing changes. But if you don't have insurance – or you don't like the insurance you have – you can choose from the same menu of private plans available to members of Congress. And we will provide tax credits to help you afford it. (237)

My plan also bans insurance company discrimination, so you will never be denied coverage because of pre-existing conditions or risk factors that you might have. And we don't require small business to do anything but it does provide tax

credits to help small businesses if they choose to afford to buy health care for their employees. (239)

Finally, we have to help more Americans save for a secure retirement. Right now, fewer than half of all Americans have any retirement savings account at all. When I'm President, I want to provide every single American with an easy, automatic opportunity to save for the future through "American Retirement Accounts." These accounts will take the best of the 401k plans and make them available to every working family. And we'll give families up to \$1,000 in tax cuts to help them save. And finally we've got to return to fiscal responsibility. (245)

Year after year, the President has increased spending at more than double the rate of the previous administration and handed tax cut after tax cut to multi-millionaires, oil companies and other interest groups. And how has he paid for all of this spending? By borrowing money from foreign countries like China. When people ask me, why is it hard to get tough on China and enforce our trade agreements, I tell them: because they're our bankers. We owe them. How can we truly enforce the trade laws against a country like China, when our economy depends on China's massive loans to us? Think about it this way, we borrow money from China to buy oil from the Saudis. That is a dead-end strategy for America. And I'm going to end that strategy if I have the good fortune of becoming your president. (254)

Because I want America to regain control of its destiny by moving back toward a balanced budget and a surplus. That's why I've worked throughout this campaign to show exactly how I would pay for every initiative that I have just mentioned. Not just how I'll run my campaign, but run our country as well. (257)

You know, today, some people around the world and even some here at home are basically saying, "Well, we can't go back to the kind of economy we had before." They act as though the 1990s was ancient Rome. It worked well in the 1990s. The average American family had a \$7,000 gain in income in the 1990s. (261)

Well, every election is about the future but I do think there are lessons we need to learn from the past. Because right now, we are on the wrong track. We are

undermining our security at home and around the world. We are undermining the American dream here at home. 261

You know, great presidents have always understood the greatness of the American people. Think about President Franklin Roosevelt. Faced with a Depression, grave threats to America's freedom, he responded with bold solutions. Yes, they were sometimes controversial, but we rose from economic chaos and despair and at the time he died we were months away from winning a World War. He didn't paint a rosy scenario. He didn't ignore the tough challenges. He urged us to confront them. "We have a great many problems ahead of us," he said. "And we must approach them with realism and courage." He believed we could tackle our greatest challenges, and I believe exactly the same. We have to overcome the fear and fatalism that President Bush has used to divide us and set us against one another. (272)

When I sometimes hear the President or the Vice President, I don't hear America talking. You know, "we can't solve the energy crisis without wrecking our economy; we can't provide affordable quality healthcare without wrecking our healthcare system; we can't have an economy anymore that creates a rising standard of living for everybody willing to work hard." (274)

Since when did America become the can't-do country? That is not the America we know and love. We are going to face the future with our optimism, with our faith, our belief that we can overcome any challenge. I am optimistic. I know we are facing some tough, tough issues. I think about it every day. I'm asking the people of South Carolina to take a chance on me, just like I asked the people of New York to take a chance on me back in 2000. I came and said, "If you will give me a chance, I will work my heart out for you. You will have someone who gets up every day, thinking about you. I am not a show horse, I'm a work horse; and I will go to work for you." (284)

But I'm not going to do it alone. I can't do it alone. We all have to be in this together. You know, when I talk about a clean, green renewable energy future, I'm going to ask all for you to be more energy efficient, to think about what it means when you keep the lights on, when you drive more than maybe you need

to, making three trips to the mall instead of one sensible one. I want you to think about every time you fill up the gas tank, or leave those lights on, you're sending money to oil companies and oil producing countries that don't always have our best interests at heart. (289)

When I say we need a new approach to healthcare that provides quality, affordable healthcare for every American, I'm going to ask you to take better care of your health and the health of your children. Because we can have the best health care system in the world but we've got to be healthier. We've need a system of wellness, not one that just intervenes with sickness. We've got to be once again the American people that are on the front lines of change and progress together. (293)

We are the oldest democracy in the world for a reason. Because whenever times are tough, whenever the challenges are big and the stakes are huge. We always respond. (296)

Now, Winston Churchill also said that the American people finally get around to doing the right thing after trying nearly everything else. Well, we've tried nearly everything else over the last seven years, and I think we've learned our lesson. So now what we need to do is face the future realistically, courageously, confidently, and optimistically. (299)

I know we can do this together. I need your help in the primary on Saturday. I need you to vote not just for me but for yourselves, your family, and your future. I am ready to lead on day one, and if you give me that opportunity, we will restore pride and progress in our country together. (303)

Thank you all very, very much. (304)