



ILLOCUTIONARY ACT ANALYSIS OF JOKOWI THREE PERIODS ON CNBC NEWS 2022: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Benny Dele Bintang Ananta*

English Education Department, Faculty of Teacher Training and
Education, University of Muhammadiyah Malang, Indonesia

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*Correspondence:
bennydele7@webmail.umm.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the highly controversial issue of postponing the 2024 elections. The postponement of the election was replaced with the discourse of extending President Joko Widodo's leadership term. The major objective of this study is to categorize various illocutionary acts and provide a concise description of how they are used by speakers in CNBC news content. In this investigation, the author uses descriptive qualitative research techniques to collect and dissect information from writing with the title "Dokumen Indonesia Maju Bocor, Benarkah Jokowi 3 Periode?". The analysis of the data revealed that the language employed by speakers in CNBC news predominantly consists of representative speech acts across three terms. These categories encompass representative, directive, commissive, declarative, and expressive elements within the news discourse. The researcher also found that speakers used 40% representative, 20% commissive, 20% expressive, 10% directive, and 10% declarative in the news. In addition, the speakers' speech in the news is explained from the five categories that most of the speakers use: representative, commission, and expressive. However, the three-period issue has a lot of unfavorable implications for President Jokowi because it can create unwanted chaos in the political environment for those who agree or disagree with the issue.

Keywords: *Critical Discourse Analysis; Illocutionary Acts; Jokowi 3 periods*

ABSTRAK

Tulisan ini membahas isu yang sangat kontroversial mengenai wacana penundaan pemilu tahun 2024. Penundaan pemilu tersebut digantikan dengan wacana perpanjangan masa jabatan kepemimpinan Presiden Joko Widodo. Tujuan utama dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengkategorikan berbagai tindak ilokusi dan memberikan deskripsi ringkas tentang bagaimana tindak ilokusi tersebut digunakan oleh para pembicara dalam konten berita CNBC. Dalam investigasi ini, penulis menggunakan teknik penelitian kualitatif deskriptif untuk mengumpulkan dan membedah informasi dari tulisan dengan judul "Dokumen Indonesia Maju Bocor, Benarkah Jokowi 3 Periode?" Analisis data mengungkapkan bahwa bahasa yang digunakan oleh pembicara dalam berita CNBC sebagian besar terdiri dari tindak tutur representatif di tiga istilah. Kategori-kategori ini mencakup elemen representatif, direktif, komisif, deklaratif, dan ekspresif dalam wacana berita. Peneliti juga menemukan bahwa penutur menggunakan 40% representatif, 20% komisif, 20% ekspresif, 10% direktif, dan 10% deklaratif dalam berita tersebut. Selain itu, tuturan penutur dalam berita dijelaskan dari lima kategori yang paling banyak digunakan oleh penutur yaitu representatif, komisif, dan ekspresif. Namun, isu tiga periode ini memiliki banyak implikasi yang tidak menguntungkan bagi Presiden Jokowi karena dapat menimbulkan kegaduhan yang tidak diinginkan di lingkungan politik bagi mereka yang setuju atau tidak setuju dengan isu tersebut.

Kata Kunci: *Analisis Wacana kritis; Jokowi 3 Periode; Tindakan Ilokusi*

INTRODUCTION

The Indonesian government operates under the constitution. The ability of a state to limit its governmental power in such a way as to create a healthy balance between the interests of state administrators and its citizens is one of the constitutional characteristics of a state. Ahead of holding the regional elections, the political landscape in Indonesia is full of various highly controversial issues, one of which is postponing the regional elections until 2024. Whether extending President Joko Widodo's term of office or maintaining his leadership, it has shifted focus to postponing the regional elections. The reason is that the Indonesian constitution does not allow the postponement of elections under any circumstances. Instead of suspending officials, there is talk of extending his term, which is seen as a realistic alternative. As a result, the Indonesian president has two options to serve an additional term or follow the constitution, even if officials and the public want it.

Law Number regulates the presidential and vice-presidential term durations in Indonesia. As stipulated in Article 169, Section N, of the Constitution, the tenure of the president is overseen by Law No. 7 of 2017, also known as the General Elections Law. Article 169 of the Constitution specifically addresses the election of the head of state and deputy head of state. A candidate for president or vice president must comply with the following requirements, as stated in Article 169, letter n, of the Election Law: "They may not have served as president or vice president for more than two terms in the same office." The petitioners also look at Article 227, a letter I, which states that in order to be registered, prospective Candidate Pairs must first fulfill the following requirements, as mentioned in Article 226: the claim that he has never served more than two (two) terms as either president or vice president. In addition, Article 7 of the Constitution, ratified in 1945, stipulates that both the President and the Vice President must serve in their respective offices for five years before becoming eligible for reelection, but only for a single term. Because it is already indicated in Indonesian law, the three-period debate should be put to rest. Indonesia's constitution, which is a collection of rules, governs the country's judicial system.

Language is the primary tool that serves as the basis for all forms of human connection and commerce. Because of the development of language and the facilitation of communication, humans are able to form bonds, gain knowledge from one another, and convey all that is on their minds. Speech acts are essential to communication (Faturrochman et al., 2021). As a result, humans can never be separated from using spoken language in speech acts when interacting and communicating with the community. In simple terms, language is a socially accepted code of expression that conveys concepts by using symbols and combinations of symbols according to a set of rules. (Edward et al., 2018). The role of human language in society is crucial since it is the primary means of communication between humans. It is only through the use of language that we can interact and communicate. Generally, people will act on what they say by doing what they say when told something, as Austin stated (in Ediwarman 2020). Deeply concerning Edward et al. (2018), Language is supposed to have evolved due to early human social contact and the adaptation of their communication to conduct social engagement. Language has become firmly embedded in people's lives, away from its function in communication and information sharing, since it is a highly complex-

complicated aspect of the human brain. Language's evolution reflects the evolution of humans in this sense. As a result, it is vital to master the language both inside and externally—its structure and usage. Exploring the significance of language within a speech community and the variables shaping varying interpretations of a single utterance is essential. This endeavor offers a clearer insight into how language contributes to social phenomena and developmental processes.

Pragmatics is a field of language science that examines the interplay between language and the context in which it is used. Pragmatics is a linguistic field that examines the utilization of language units as linguistic components in communication from an external perspective. Pragmatics is about analyzing speech acts and using language appropriately in communication to make sure that the intended meaning and message is conveyed to the interlocutor (Song, 2020).

Speech acts, such as the nomination of presidential candidates in Indonesia, are common in moral and financial political campaigns. Even so, in this case, the state apparatus voiced or supported the idea that the term of office of President Jokowi would become three terms. By declaring this, the state apparatus has its interests served so that the three-period discourse occurs. However, some argue that the state apparatus should not be involved in political campaigns. They argue that the state apparatus should be neutral and not show any support for any particular candidate. This would create a level playing field for all candidates and allow the voters to make an informed decision without undue influence.

Speech acts are any actions or intentions expressed verbally or in writing. When used correctly, language accomplishes what it is intended to accomplish. The following meaning, which listeners infer, needs to be made clear. In speaking a language, many speech acts are considered part of the act of speaking, including requests, promises, assertions, and questions. Each of these acts has a specific purpose and function and can be used to communicate an idea effectively. Each speech act can also be used to influence the listener's interpretation of the speaker's words. (Searle, in Annahlia et al., 2020). Likewise, Chaer and Leonie claim that illocutionary acts are speech acts in which a speaker states something in the sense of saying something, or, in simpler terms, they are speech acts that are meaningful and understandable (Hariati et al., 2020). Searle calls it a prepositional act instead of an illocutionary act. This is due to the fact that communicating something's meaning is separate from doing so. Both the literal sense and the pragmatics of a sentence constitute illocution. On the other hand, Searle's theory needs to clarify how we can convey indirect meaning. For instance, we do not convey the sentence's literal meaning when we say, "I'm fine," even though it is obvious that we are not fine. We're saying something completely different. The context and cultural implications we can use to convey indirect meaning are not considered by Searle's theory, which only considers literal meanings. This is why it's important to consider context and the literal meaning to comprehend what someone is trying to say fully.

Western linguists developed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in the following decade. In society, CDA is used to examine language and power structures. It is used to understand the relationship between language and social, political, and economic issues. CDA is used to uncover how language is used to oppress marginalized groups. This point of view has evolved with input from numerous disciplines, including

sociology, psychology, and semiotics. They've been combined into a comprehensive conceptual method that blends text analysis with a social focus. By exploring language and the ideologies latent in it, CDA attempts to demonstrate the unequal power dynamics and prejudices that form the discourse. This will expose the dialogue's inequities, biases, and prejudices (Wang, 2021). Sarfo and Krampa have also examined critical political discourses in Haroon et al. (2020). In general, researchers view carefully selected language expression qualities as components of political discourse. The goal is to make an impression on the listener.

The findings have been the subject of previous research. The illocutionary speech acts that make up central java governor speech can be broken down into form and function. Through analysis, one can arrive at this conclusion. This research identifies eleven unique categories of illocutionary speech behaviors and the forms they take (Siregar, 2021). The performance is used as part of the speech's analysis. The results are examined regarding emoticons' roles on Malaysian digital communication platforms and how people living in multicultural cultures might use emoticons to foster community and appreciation for one another's customs and traditions (Shaari, 2020). The examination of this document can also encompass the exploration of Illocutionary Acts. The author delved into and deliberated upon thirteen instances of illocutionary behavior. The objective of the study is to utilize this research to scrutinize the employment of illocutionary acts within the discourse of the 2016 presidential election. The data includes the subsequent divisions of illocutionary speech acts: assertive (six instances), directive (three instances), expressive (three instances), and compliant (one instance) (Rosyidi et al., 2019). Not only Based on this research, we can also say that The Jakarta Post employs four distinct nomination procedures. Using this method, the author sidesteps monotonous repetition while establishing Mr. Terawan's centrality and detailing his professional activities. Its performance as health minister during the COVID-19 outbreak could have been better (Anggraeni & Amalia, 2020). Even though illocutionary acts and critical discourse analysis (CDA) have been the subject of significant study, researchers still need to comprehensively examine illocutionary acts within internet news discourses concerning election postponement.

The researcher plans to employ speech acts and pragmatic theories to investigate illocutionary communication Vanderveken, cited by Yandra et al. (2018), asserts that illocutionary acts are essential because they function as the primary Meaning components in spoken and written language. According to Austin (1970), illocutionary acts bring attention to the fact that words imply actions. This research aims to classify the various illocutionary acts employed in CNBC news articles featured on the CNBC Indonesia.com website. The study seeks to present an overview of the illocutionary speech acts in CNBC news utterances during the coverage of "*Dokumen Indonesia Maju Bocor, Benar Jokowi 3 Periode*" by CNBC Indonesia.

METHOD

The study utilized a descriptive-qualitative approach. Qualitative research will define words based on collected data. According to Moleong (2004), Bogdan and Taylor reported that researchers obtained descriptive qualitative data through oral or written means. This study utilizes quotes from the CNBC News article titled

"Dokumen Indonesia Maju Bocor, Benarkah Jokowi 3 Periode?" This study is qualitative as it employs non-numerical data. Moreover, the analysis is characterized by its descriptive nature, as it aims to provide a neutral interpretation of the observed facts.

This study used both critical discourse analysis (CDA) and discursive strategy theory to interpret the data. The CDA approach focused on the underlying power structures of the data, while the discursive theory sought to understand how the participants' beliefs and values were expressed in their discourse. The two approaches were then compared and contrasted to yield a more comprehensive interpretation of the data. An instrument used for the research was a document that was used as a means of data collection. Observational researchers obtain public and private materials from a variety of sources, such as the Internet or from research participants. It is possible to find newspaper stories, meeting minutes, personal notebooks, and letters in both public and private collections (Creswell, 2012). The main data source for this study was CNBC news items, which comprised the majority of the study's samples. The data analysis process in this study consists of the following steps: identification, classification, analysis, and conclusion based on Theo van Leeuwen's theory (Tenriawali, A.Y., 2019). Upon analysis of the data, it was necessary to interpret and explain the form and meaning of the news text that presented the pros and cons of suggesting that Jokowi serve 3 terms as president on the CNBC Indonesia online news site, in order that at the end it revealed the representation of the speakers proposing three terms of office in the news article. The first step in the research was to seek out a news story about Jokowi's three terms of the Government in an attempt to find some news about him. Additionally, the researchers discovered that CNBC News covered pertinent stories. CNBC News published the stories in this collection on April 15, 2022. Following this, the data is analyzed using Theo Van Leeuwen's theory. This theory states that data is inherently connected to physical objects, such as people or places. It suggests that data must be interpreted in the context of its physical environment to be meaningful. Additionally, this theory emphasizes the importance of understanding the political implications of data. Finally, the researchers summarize their findings by stating that data must be viewed holistically, taking into account its physical, political, and social contexts. This requires a deep understanding of the implications of data and its use, as well as a recognition that data is linked to our physical world. As such, it is important to consider the impact of data on society as a whole.

FINDINGS

Speech Act Illocutionary Act

Theoretically, speech acts are about how we operate as language. Austin defines speech acts as "saying something and doing something" (Santoso, RB, 2017). Searle developed five distinct categories of speech actions due to his reworking of Austin's theory. Each category of speech acts can be broken down further into subcategories. These categories include declarative, expressive, representatives, directives, and commission. Each of the categories of speech acts has distinct characteristics and implications. Some experts explain and depict illocutionary deeds. The researcher found that speakers in the news utilized 40% representation,

20% commissives, 20% expressive, 10% directives, and 10% declarative. As a result, the speaker's representatives are employed more frequently than others.

Table 1. Types, Amounts, and Percentages of speech illocutionary act

No	Types of Illocutionary act	Amount	%
1	Representative	4	40
2	Directives	1	10
3	Commissive	2	20
4	Expressives	2	20
5	Declarative	1	10

DISCUSSION

1. Representatives :

As the definition of a representative reveals, an act is something that expresses what a speaker intends to say and what the speaker believes to be true based on utterances that he makes. In terms of representative actions, there are a number of keywords associated with them: stating, claiming, suggesting, assuming, asserting, explaining, and reporting (Haucsa, G.M et al., 2020).

"If suddenly someone says that we are the people asking for this, the DPR processes, political parties process all kinds of things, until the MPR because of the situation ... We postpone it for a day, a year, or two years, three years, that's fine," he said."

In this context, Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan as Indonesia's Coordinating Minister for Maritime Affairs and Investment says " *If suddenly someone says that we are the people asking for this,*" which means Luhut is stating an opinion with the word "if." Then he says, "*Suddenly someone says that we are the people asking for this,*" which means to strengthen his opinion of the people. " *the DPR processes, political parties process all kinds of things, until the MPR because of the situation ...*" was the next sentence. Luhut is still stating an opinion because the situation is legislative. And the following sentence, " *We postpone it for a day, a year, or two years, three years, that's fine,*" means that Luhut claims it can be postponed for a day to three years because there is no problem.

In this sense, Luhut Binsar Pandjaitan's sentence, in which he contemplates a potential postponement of the legislative process in response to perceived public demand, is in line with rational choice theory. This theory, which is used to understand individual and collective behavior in social and economic contexts, states that decision-makers such as Luhut assess potential outcomes and choose options in accordance with a rational evaluation of preferences (Ogu, 2013). In this scenario, Luhut's consideration to delay the process demonstrates a rational assessment of consequences and preferences, consistent with the principles of rational choice theory.

"We must understand what is called aspiration, aspiration should not be rejected, especially since Golkar's Parties voice is the voice of the people, therefore such a position," Airlangga said..

In this context, Airlangga Hartarto as Coordinating Minister for the Economy says, " *We must understand what is called aspiration,*" which means Airlangga is explaining about aspiration because anyone who wants to enter politics should understand aspiration. Following that, " *aspiration should not be rejected, especially*

since Golkar's voice is the voice of the people " denotes that Airlangga is a people. asserts that aspirations to enter politics should not be denied to anyone who wishes to do so, because it is the people who have the greatest amount of sovereignty over their government. Then comes the sentence " *therefore such a position,*" in which Airlangga explains their position again.

Airlangga's assertion aligns with theories of political legitimacy, highlighting that a government's authority rests on the consent and support of its citizens. His emphasis on representation and consideration of aspirations serves to bolster Golkar Party's legitimacy by showcasing a commitment to the people's interests. Overall, political legitimacy revolves around justifying a government's right to enforce laws through coercion, intricately tied to why individuals are obliged to adhere to a specific governing body's laws, with fairness and effectiveness providing partial grounds for compliance, but not sole validation for the government's coercive enforcement.

"I have often heard such shouts. But what is clear is that our constitution is clear. We must obey, must obey the constitution," said Jokowi.

In this particular setting, President Jokowi said that he had frequently heard people shouting about the three terms he had been granted as president. However, the constitution in Indonesia must be obeyed, and the constitution specifies that the president of Indonesia can only serve for a maximum of two terms in office.

Throughout this statement, President Jokowi emphasizes the clarity and importance of the Constitution in line with constitutional theory. In addition to focusing on the powers exercised by the state, constitutionalism cannot adequately ensure the legitimacy of decisions made by private parties (Suzor, 2020). The constitutionalism movement emphasizes, in addition, that the power of governments should be limited by a constitution that outlines the structure of governments, the distribution of powers, and the rights of citizens. By emphasizing the need to "obey the constitution," Jokowi highlighted the supremacy of the constitution as the basic legal document that defines the limits of his power.

"I need to explain this so that speculation will not arise that the issue circulating in the community is that the government is trying to postpone the election or speculation about extending the three-term presidency. We agree that the election is set for February 14 and the Pilkada for 2024," he said.

In this context, President Joko Widodo says " *I need to explain this so that speculation will not arise that the issue circulating in the community is that the government is trying to postpone the election or speculation about extending the three-term presidency.*" means President Joko Widodo explained again because there is a lot of speculation or discourse that appears in society, many people question it. In addition, the fact that the government is attempting to delay the election or the discussion on increasing the presidential term limit to three terms in order to serve its own personal interests is one of the factors that contribute to the deterioration of the situation. Then the line " *We agree that the election is set for February 14 and the Pilkada for 2024*" signifies In spite of this, President Joko Widodo has made it

abundantly clear that the elections will take place on February 14 and that regional elections will take place in 2024.

President Joko Widodo's response to prevailing speculation and concerns within society regarding potential government actions, such as election postponement or extending presidential term limits, exemplifies crisis communication's evolving role. Just as crisis communication as an academic discipline is expanding beyond, Widodo's statement reflects a growing emphasis on transparent and comprehensive communication in a global context. By addressing misinformation and reaffirming the scheduled election and regional elections, he underscores his commitment to democratic processes, stability, and dispelling potential distrust (Barkley, 2020). This convergence underscores the parallel development of crisis communication as a dynamic and internationally relevant field, aligned with the principles of transparent communication and effective democratic governance.

2. Directives:

Directive speech act has the same preceding condition or purpose, which is to "attempt to induce someone to do something" Throughout the discourse, the speaker maintains the assumption that the addressee is capable of carrying out any actions that the speaker tells him to carry out. (Searle et al., 1985) The speaker's intention includes an effort to affect the listeners' actions Directives make use of words such as "request," "order," "challenge," "ask," "beg," "suggest," "permit," "invite," "implore," "dare," "command," "pray," and "advise." (Srikandi, 2020; Wierciska, 2021).

"Has our Constitution ever been amended? That is not a taboo, right? The taboo [amended] is the preamble. That's taboo, the holy book taboo," Tito said separately.

In this situation, Tito Karnavian, Minister of Internal Affairs, asks, "Has our Constitution ever been amended?" Tito is asking if the Constitution has ever been changed. Because the Indonesian Constitution has been changed four times. "That is not a taboo, right?" Tito questioned whether it was or was not taboo. In the statement, the word "taboo" refers to questioning the changes made. Following that, the sentence "The taboo [amended] is the preamble. That's taboo, the holy book taboo" means that Tito advised that what was amended about the Constitution's preamble was taboo because the opening of the Constitution was made into a holy book. After all, it was the origin of statutory law in Indonesia.

The degree of constitutional rigidity is marked by the higher de jure barriers required for its amendment compared to ordinary legislation. These barriers, often more stringent than those for passing regular laws, vary across different constitutions. This variability potentially contributes to differences in amendment rates (Tarabar & Young, 2021). Tito Karnavian's initial inquiry into the history of amendments to the Indonesian Constitution aligns with the theory of constitutional change, which delves into the processes and consequences of modifying a constitution over time. His question underscores the importance of comprehending the historical context and implications of constitutional amendments for Indonesia's legal and political framework

3. Commissives:

The term "commissive" refers to an act of illocutionary or rhetorical action that obligates the speaker to act in the future. In order to convey meaning, speakers use them. An individual or a group can make a promising, threatening, refusing, pledging, offering, vowing, and volunteering (Yule 1996; Zulianti. H, 2018).

" I emphasize, I have no intention. There is also no interest in becoming a three-term president," said Jokowi, last Monday (3/15/2022).

Referring to his unwillingness to run for president three times, President Jokowi states, "*I emphasize, I have no intention*" in this context. However, many still support President Jokowi serving three terms in office. The statement "*There is also no interest in becoming a three-term president*" indicates that President Jokowi promised he had no intention of seeking a third term in office. Since President, Jokowi will continue to adhere to the constitution.

In developing nations, a notable absence of confidence in the government has led to reduced effectiveness among the general populace. It is intriguing to observe that the scale and effectiveness of the public sector are closely linked to this trust level. Those most inclined to endorse heightened public spending and champion the supply of enduring communal assets are individuals who hold a certain level of faith in the government (Ardanaz et al., 2023). It is possible to view this phenomenon through the lens of political communication and trust building. The relationship between trust and public spending suggests that effective communication strategies can contribute to an increase in public confidence in government resource allocation, as President Jokowi has clearly communicated his intention to foster trust by addressing public concerns and dispelling speculation. Communicating transparently and honestly is important in both contexts in order to build trust, both in terms of leadership commitment and in terms of the effectiveness of public spending in meeting people's needs.

"I am a product of direct elections based on the post-reform 1945 Constitution. My position is clear: I do not agree with the proposal for a three-term presidency. The proposal plunges me," he said.

President Jokowi Jokowi also discussed the possibility of extending the president's term on his official Instagram account, writing, "*I am a product of direct elections based on the post-reform 1945 Constitution.*" This means President Jokowi guarantees that the Indonesian people directly elected him in the general election based on the 1945 Constitution after it was reformed. Then the sentence "*My position is clear*" means President Joko Widodo guarantees that his position is evident because he has complied with the procedures contained in the 1945 Constitution. "*I do not agree with the proposal for a three-term presidency,*" the sentence that follows says. "*The proposal plunges me*" means President Joko Widodo refused the proposed three-term presidency issue because it engulfed him in contentious matters.

President Joko Widodo's resolute rejection of a third-term presidency, grounded in his direct election through the reformed 1945 Constitution, exemplifies a staunch commitment to democratic values and constitutional integrity. This unwavering stance communicated transparently and personally, resonates with

theories of political communication and legitimacy. It underscores his alignment with the principles of democratic accountability, allowing the public to hold him answerable for adhering to constitutional constraints. By leveraging social media for direct communication, President Widodo exemplifies the contemporary significance of communication channels in shaping public opinion and fostering trust. This dovetails with the exploration of democratic accountability, wherein the correlation between citizens' assessments of government performance and their contentment with the government is studied, especially concerning economic matters. Effective economic voting is deemed a hallmark of democratic accountability, with countries regarded as excelling in this aspect when citizens express robust support for the government during economic prosperity and diminished endorsement during downturns (Just, 2018). In essence, President Widodo's resolute stance and open communication exemplify the fusion of constitutional principles, democratic norms, and effective communication strategies, forming a comprehensive picture of democratic governance and leadership accountability.

4. Expressives:

It is well known that Yule (1996) believed that expressive acts are the means of communicating the speaker's feelings by using words in order to convey their thoughts. The speaker is able to convey a portion of their internal emotional state of mind through the use of expressive speech. The expression is sometimes used in a courteous manner. The polite way of expressing ourselves is when we greet someone, thank them for something, or congratulate them for something. In contrast, blaming and accusing someone goes against that politeness. When a speaker employs expressive language, he attempts to match his words to the world of emotion through illocutionary acts. An expression of the speaker's inner state is expressed through expressive speech. Some performative verbs can describe an expressive act: greet, surprise, like, fear, apology, thank you, regret, compliment, blame, praise, complain, lament, protest, deplore, and boast. (Peneva, 2018; Tabassam et al., 2020)

"There should be no more voices on the matter of postponing the extension. No, you don't. Stop creating polemics in the community, focus on working on handling the difficulties we face," he said.

In this context, President Jokowi's statement, "*There should be no more voices on the matter of postponing the extension,*" means President Jokowi blamed his ministers for rolling out the discourse on extending the presidential term and postponing the 2024 election. President Jokowi expressed dissatisfaction with his ministers for engaging in the discourse, which could be seen as an attempt to extend his presidential term and delay the 2024 election. He asserts that the ministers should refrain from engaging in this discourse. The sentence "*No, you don't. Stop creating polemics in the community,*" means President Jokowi regrets the ministers' actions in proposing three terms and postponing the 2024 election to create polemics in society. It is like trying to put out a fire with gasoline—the ministers' actions only fuel the situation and worsen it. The following sentence, "*focus on working on handling the difficulties we face,*" means that President Jokowi hopes that the ranks of ministers will return to work in dealing with the difficulties we are facing. The ministers' actions have been unhelpful in resolving the situation, and

President Jokowi hopes the ministers will focus on working together to address the issues.

A historical record can be used to assess charismatic and social movement leaders' charismatic appeals and leadership outcomes by applying rhetorical leadership theory. Researchers are able to examine the historical records of widely recognized charismatic leaders in order to determine the consistency and contradictions among these individuals. As well as improving our understanding of charismatic leadership, this approach illuminates the evolution of charismatic leadership over time (Bligh & Robinson, 2010). Using rhetorical leadership theory to analyze President Jokowi's communication further deepens our understanding. Through the use of direct and emphatic language, such as "No, you don't" and "focus on dealing with the difficulties we face," he effectively conveys authority and urgency. These deliberate rhetorical choices motivate his ministers to refocus their efforts on addressing challenges and discourage divisive discussions. We can gain a deeper understanding of President Jokowi's rhetorical strategy by using this theoretical lens..

"One, they want to slap me in the face, they want to find face knowing that I already have face, or they want to plunge me," Jokowi said when talking to reporters at the Merdeka Palace, Presidential Palace complex, on December 2, 2019.

President Jokowi's statement, "One, they want to slap me in the face," in this context, suggests that he was upset with some authorities looking out for his interests and the blunders that led him to tolerate Joko Widodo's decisions. "Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me," as the ancient adage goes. President Jokowi was dissatisfied with his mistake of trusting Joko Widodo and was eager to end future errors by those around him. The expression "*They want to find face knowing that I already have face*" suggests that Joko Widodo deplored the apparatus's conduct for pursuing profit by doing something to get praise or flattery. Joko Widodo, for example, was accused of utilizing the media to garner recognition for his efforts to improve the situation in Indonesia, even though he had already done enough to merit acclaim. President Joko Widodo, on the other hand, managed to crack a joke with the words, "*knowing that I already have face.*" "*or they want to plunge me*" shows that the President was annoyed that a few officers had forced him into a three-term speech plan that could lead to conflicts and rejection from the public, which could cause problems within the administration.

Jokowi's candid remarks reflect his dissatisfaction with certain authorities, who may be seeking to gain personal recognition or gain personal gain at his expense. These remarks illustrate his cautious approach to avoiding past mistakes. In referring to the adage "Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me," he emphasizes his resolve to avoid making the same mistake again. A concern about self-serving behavior is expressed by Jokowi's frustration with officials' efforts to gain recognition, even though he has already achieved acclaim. As well as conveying his awareness of the situation, his lighthearted humor conveys a sense of humor. In addition, the phrase "or they want to plunge me" conveys his frustration at being coerced into a potentially divisive three-term speech plan by a few officers. As Jokowi navigates intricate dynamics within his administration, concepts of power and dynamics are pivotal in understanding the challenges grassroots leaders face

when attempting to effect change. In addition to emphasizing the importance of transparent communication and strategic decision-making, these concepts reflect the multifaceted nature of leadership and change-making efforts (Kezar, 2011).

5. Declarative:

Cutting defines declarative as words or expressions spoken by a speaker that change the world; for example, the words "I declare war" at political context, or "I sentence you to prison" in a court of law. These words hold power and authority and can have long-lasting effects on those involved. Researchers found uncertain declarative elements in the news but in a different pattern (Cutting, 2002; Yandra et al., 2018)

"After Eid, we will declare [support for President Jokowi to serve three terms]," said Apdesi.

In this context, *Asosiasi Pemerintah Desa Seluruh Indonesia* (Apdesi) says, "After Eid," which means Apdesi will announce events in the near future. Then Apdesi shows the declaration: "We will declare support for President Jokowi to serve three terms." The sentence implies that Apdesi totally supports President Joko Widodo to serve as president for three terms. Apdesi has declared its support for President Joko Widodo in his bid for a third term as president, indicating that they believe he is the best choice for the position. This follows their announcement that they would be holding events in the near future, showing that they are actively engaging with the political landscape.

Olson (1982) posited that in well-established communities characterized by order and continuity, the presence of organizational liberty leads to the proliferation of special interest groups. This proliferation has the potential to exert a detrimental influence on economic well-being and growth. According to Olson's theory, Apdesi demonstrates the dynamics of interest group development as a collective interest group representing village administrations (Coates et al., 2007). Their goal of championing President Jokowi's reign reflects Olson's observations, in which interest groups congregate around shared goals. Apdesi's support for Jokowi's third term, like Olson's, demonstrates how interest groups like theirs actively engage in influencing political discourse and decisions, highlighting parallels with the dynamics Olson identified in the context of special interest groups' potential influence on societal outcomes.

CONCLUSION

Based on this outcome, 40% are representative, 20% are commissioners, 20% are expressive, 10% are directives, and 10% are declarative. Typically, representatives make the majority of utterances in a conversation, followed by commissioners, expressive directives, and declarative. This shows that representatives are the most common form of communication in utterances. Speakers use representative, commission, and expressive words to convey their message. This is like a pyramid, where the structure's base is the largest, representing the highest frequency of use. As you move up, the frequency of use decreases, creating a tapering effect. As a result, only a small percentage of people use declarations or directives when they speak.

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