



ANALYSIS OF SPEECH ACTS AND THEIR POWER DYNAMICS IN PRESIDENT MNANGAGWA'S UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY SPEECHES

Faizan Qadus
khanfaixii10@gmail.com

MS English Linguistics Scholar, Department of English,
Kohat University of Science and Technology (KUST),
Kohat, KP, Pakistan.

Dr. Said Imran
saidimran@kust.edu.pk

Assistant Professor, Department of English, Kohat
University of Science and Technology (KUST), Kohat,
KP, Pakistan.

Nasim Gul
naseemgul2016@gmail.com

Lecturer, Department of English, Kohat University of
Science and Technology (KUST) Kohat, KP, Pakistan.

Abstract

This study explores the intersection of language, power, and ideology in the political speeches of Zimbabwean President Dr. Emmerson Mnangagwa, specifically those delivered at the 78th and 79th sessions of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). Drawing upon Austin's Speech Act Theory and Fairclough's Three-Dimensional (3-Ds) Model of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the research identifies and categorizes locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts within these speeches, treating them not as isolated linguistic functions but as actions strategically shaped by underlying structures of power. In this context, power operates as a super meta structure, an overarching force that governs the production, distribution, and interpretation of speech acts within political discourse. While Speech Act Theory accounts for how language performs actions, Fairclough's model situates these acts within the ideological, institutional, and socio-historical systems that sustain authority and dominance. This dual analytical lens reveals how President Dr. Mnangagwa's speech acts are embedded within and responsive to postcolonial power relations and national identity negotiations. The study addresses a key gap in existing literature by integrating micro-level pragmatics with macro-level critical discourse, offering a deeper understanding of how political leaders from the Global South utilize international platforms to construct narratives of sovereignty, resistance, and global alignment. In doing so, the research contributes to political linguistics and CDA by demonstrating that speech acts in such contexts are not merely communicative events, but deliberate mechanisms for enacting and reinforcing power, ideologies, and hegemonic struggle in international platform.

Keywords: *3-Ds Model, CDA, Illocutionary Acts, Locutionary Acts, Perlocutionary Acts, Power Dynamics, Speech Acts*

Corresponding Author: Nasim Gul (Lecturer, Department of English, Kohat University of Science and Technology (KUST), Kohat, KPK, Pakistan).
Email: naseemgul2016@gmail.com

1.Introduction

Language is a vital tool for human communication across diverse contexts, including political, academic, ceremonial, legal, and religious settings. It is essential for expressing thoughts, sharing ideas, and disseminating information in real-life scenarios. Simanjuntak et al. (2022) describe language as a social fact, a combinatory system of communication, and an expression of identity. Additionally, language acts as a system of traditional vocal signs that allows individuals to express emotions, fulfill needs, and communicate desires (Hussain, 2021).

Communication, defined as the process of creating and sharing information to interact with others, involves using language to make utterances specific to particular situations (Caroline et al., 2021). The study of these utterances falls under Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis. Pragmatics, a subfield of linguistics, explores the relationship between utterances and their contexts (Simaremare et al., 2021). It examines how meanings conveyed by speakers or writers are interpreted by listeners or readers in various contexts, focusing on contextual rather than literal meanings (Mutiadi & Respati, 2019).

Among other theories like politeness, deixis etc., Speech Act theory (1962) is one of the significant theories in the domain of Pragmatics. This theory explains speech acts as the actions performed by the speakers, during their sayings or doing something (Miranda & Dharmawan, 2024). According to Yule (1996), the actions performed through utterances are called speech acts because the fundamental or smallest unit of linguistic conversation is performed in a speech act (Dwiyanti et al., 2019). Likewise, Austin (1962), there are three types of speech acts, namely; locutionary acts, illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts. The illocutionary act is the center of his theory. Locutionary act is the actual utterance and its literal meaning, while the

illocutionary act is the speaker's intention in saying it, like promising, ordering, warning. The effect of on the listener is called the perlocutionary effect (e.g., persuading, frightening, convincing) (Ahmed et al., 2020).

On the other hand, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) covers not only language studies, but many others like media discourse, public discourse, organizational studies, and political discourse. Various linguists have proposed models and theories to carry out the CDA. Fairclough's Three-Dimensional model (3-Ds) of CDA is significant in this respect. The model treats language as a social practice (Fairclough, 1989). It helps to analyze the ways text and talks reflect the play of social and political power in discourse with an interdisciplinary approach. Fairclough (1989) claims that every linguistic usage reflects ideological perspectives and regards speech as a type of social practice. Power is everywhere; it is not an institution, not a structure, or a specific force that people possess. Power is not possessed but practiced within a field where many positions strategically relate to one another and constantly undergo shifts. The analysis of power draws attention to the exercise of authority and resistance (Foucault, 1980). Furthermore, Power can be manifested in varied forms incorporating economic, social, and political and it helps in achieving different goals such as influence and domination over the other. Power exists in various modalities and political discourses are one of the important sites for negotiating and exercising power (Waqar et al., 2025).

The researcher in this study explores the types of speech acts by using Austin's model of speech acts which give the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts in the speeches and then Fairclough's 3-Ds model of CDA will analyze those speech acts in order to sort the power dynamics. The Fairclough's 3-Ds model is a theoretical framework used to analyze discourse and power relationships. Developed by Fairclough, the model consists of three dimensions: text, discourse practice, and social practice. The text dimension examines the language and structure of a particular discourse, while the discourse practice dimension analyzes the processes of text production and consumption. The social practice dimension considers the broader social context in which the discourse happened, including power relationships, social institutions, and cultural norms. By examining these three dimensions, the Fairclough's 3-Ds model provides a comprehensive understanding of how discourse of speech acts shape and is shaped by social reality.

1.1. Problem Statement

Presidential speeches at global forums like the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) are strategic instruments that extend beyond mere communication; they play an

essential role in influencing international relations, shaping public perception, and asserting national and ideological positions (Baturu & Gray, 2024). The political speeches are not only based on the lateral discourse but also, they are shaped through proper political conventions. In the case of Zimbabwe, a nation navigating complex political, economic, and postcolonial challenges, and the political speeches have significant rhetorical events. These speeches of President Mnangagwa reflect the interplay between language, power, and ideology, as they are crafted to address domestic and international audiences while negotiating Zimbabwe's position on the global stage. However, there is a lack of comprehensive research examining the functional aspects of language and the underlying power dynamics in Dr. Mnangagwa's discourse. Existing studies on political rhetoric often fail to combine micro-level linguistic analysis with macro-level critical analysis to uncover the full spectrum of meaning and intention behind such speeches (Bhatia, 2002). This creates a gap in understanding how language is used not only to perform speech acts but also to construct and reinforce power relations in global political discourse. This study seeks to address this gap by analyzing the types of speech acts in President Dr. Mnangagwa's UNGA speeches using speech act theory and examining the power dynamics behind these speech acts through Fairclough's 3-Ds model of CDA. The analysis of speech acts in the speeches will not only adhere the structuralist realities of linguistic codes but will concern the systemic functional realities due to its CDA implemented tools like the power dynamics. Power dynamics is a complex concept affecting varied dimensions of life such as ideology, identity, and social justice (Rouhana, 2011).

1.2. The Significance of the Study

This study is significant because it offers a comprehensive analysis of the political speeches of Dr. Mnangagwa, focusing on his speeches at the 78th and 79th sessions of the (UNGA). By employing speech act theory, this research investigates how language is strategically used to perform actions such as asserting, authority, persuading international audiences, and justifying national policies. Simultaneously, the integration Fairclough's 3-Ds model of CDA allows for exploration of power dynamics, ideologies, and socio-political structure underpinning these speech acts.

The research holds theoretical significance as it bridges the gap between linguistic pragmatics and CDA. While speech act theory provides a framework for understanding the functional aspects of language at the micro-level, Fairclough's 3-Ds model of CDA situates these speech acts within broader socio-political and ideological context. This dual not only enhances the depth of linguistic analysis but also

demonstrates how language serves as a tool for exercising and negotiating power. This innovative combination of theories contributes to the growing body of interdisciplinary research in political linguistics and critical discourse studies, offering a replicable model for analyzing political speeches.

In addition, this study is particularly relevant because UNGA speeches are global platforms where leaders address international concerns, construct their nation's image, and negotiate their position within global dynamics. Analyzing President Dr. Mnangagwa's speeches provide insights into how Zimbabwe navigates its post-colonial identity and representation, and respond to domestic and international challenges. This focus on African political discourse adds to the limited research in this area and highlights how African leaders engage with and challenge global narratives.

1.3. Rationale of the Study

In contemporary applied linguistics, particularly within CDA, there is a growing emphasis on moving beyond surface-level interpretations of political discourse. While previous studies have employed Pragmatics to analyze speech acts in political contexts (Tuti et al., 2025; Batool et al., 2024; Habib et al., 2024; Samar et al., 2025; Gul et al., 2024), many fail to capture the deeper socio-political realities embedded in such discourse. This study bridges that gap by integrating Speech Act Theory with a CDA perspective, enabling a more nuanced analysis of language, power, and ideology.

The focus on President Dr. Mnangagwa's UNGA speeches stems from their strategic use in addressing critical global issues, such as sanctions, climate change, and sustainable development, and their rhetorical complexity. As a leader of a historically significant nation, Mnangagwa's discourse not only reflects Zimbabwe's foreign policy orientation (Luo, 2021) but also positions the country within broader global and regional dynamics. Zimbabwe's active role in SADC, the African Union, and its advocacy for the Global South further amplify the diplomatic weight of these speeches.

This study contributes to Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis by exploring how a leader from the Global South leverages international platforms to construct national identity, engage with global power structures, and assert sovereignty through linguistic strategies. By examining Mnangagwa's discourse, the research aims to reveal how language is employed to navigate and negotiate power at multiple levels within the UNGA setting.

1.4. Contribution of the Study

This study provides a significant contribution to language research by offering insights into the pragmatic dimensions of political discourse. Furthermore, this research would enhance not merely the common functions of speech acts but would also bend its realities in term of CDA which is suitably confirmable for unfolding the psychological, archeological and historical realities behind those utterances. Correspondingly, from the perspectives of CDA, these speech acts will take into consideration the cause-effect tone which will further dig the raw institutions, conventions among others owing to which these acts were performed. Furthermore, the research will not only restrict to the pragmatic detection of speech acts which is the usual conventions of day-to-day researches but will go deep by switching the speech acts towards the Critical Discourse Analysis where the speech acts will be treated on the basis of power dynamics. Fairclough's 3-Ds model of CDA will treat the speech acts in the critical social laboratory where the speech acts will take advantage of all the concerned specificities like; discursive, inter-discursive and social appropriations.

1.5. Limitation of the Study

This study focuses on analyzing the speeches of President Dr. Mnangagwa delivered at the 78th and 79th sessions of the UNGA. The study is limited to the speech acts and their power dynamics employed by President Mnangagwa, delivered at 78th and 79th sessions of the UNGA.

1.6. Research Objectives

- To identify the types of speech acts in the speeches of President Dr. Mnangagwa delivered at 78th and 79th sessions of the United Nations General Assembly.
- To explore the power dynamics behind the speech acts in the speeches of President Dr. Mnangagwa delivered at 78th and 79th sessions of the United Nations General Assembly.

1.7. Research Questions

- What types of speech acts are employed by President Dr. Mnangagwa in his speeches delivered at 78th and 79th sessions of the United Nations General Assembly?
- How are power dynamics employed by these speech acts in the speeches of President Dr. Mnangagwa delivered at 78th and 79th sessions of the United Nations General Assembly?

2.Literature Review

This chapter synthesizes key theoretical and empirical contributions to Speech Act Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), with emphasis on their intersection in exploring power dynamics in political discourse. Austin's (1962) tripartite model and Fairclough's (1989) 3-Ds CDA framework serve as the analytical foundations. Recent literature is incorporated to highlight the research gap and demonstrate the evolving focus on language as a tool of action and power. Speech Act Theory explains how language functions not just to convey information but to perform actions, depending on speaker intention and listener interpretation (Almas et al., 2023; Gul et al., 2023). Austin (1962) introduced the foundational model comprising *locutionary*, *illocutionary*, and *perlocutionary* acts, emphasizing the performative nature of speech. Searle (1969) expanded this by categorizing illocutionary acts into five types and introducing constitutive and regulative rules to clarify how speech acts operate within social contexts. Bach and Harnish (1979) further developed the theory by stressing the importance of mutual recognition and shared knowledge in achieving communicative success.

2.1. Searle's Approach to Speech Act Theory

Searle (1969, 1979) advanced Speech Act Theory by refining Austin's (1962) foundational model into a more systematic, rule-based framework. He focused primarily on illocutionary acts, arguing that speech is a form of social action governed by constitutive rules—which define what counts as an act and regulative rules which guide behavior. Searle classified illocutionary acts into five types: assertive, directives, commissive, expressive, and declarations, based on their direction of fit, psychological state, and communicative intent. His work highlighted how successful speech acts depend on felicity conditions and the speaker's intentional state, thus embedding language deeply within institutional, social, and normative structures. Searle's contribution significantly influenced discourse analysis, pragmatics, and related fields by showing how language enacts reality and organizes social interaction.

2.2. Bach and Harnish's Approach to Speech Acts

Bach and Harnish (1979) offered a cognitively grounded model of speech acts, emphasizing that communicative success relies on mutual recognition of intentions, shared context, and rational inference. Unlike models that focus solely on linguistic

form, they argued that the illocutionary force of an utterance stems from the speaker's intention and the hearer's recognition of that intention. They introduced a distinction between successful and failed speech acts, depending on whether mutual understanding is achieved. Their theory situates communication as a rational, cooperative act, and extends Speech Act Theory into areas such as cognitive science and artificial intelligence. By integrating social cognition and ethical dimensions, their model provides a nuanced account of how meaning is co-constructed in real-time interaction.

2.3. Austin's Model of Speech Act Theory

Austin (1962; 1975) conceptualized speech as action, introducing a three-part model: locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts. A locutionary act refers to producing a meaningful utterance, which itself comprises three layers: phonetic (sound production), phatic (linguistic structuring), and rhetoric (semantic and referential meaning). This shows that speech is more than structured language it involves intention and reference.

The illocutionary act is the core of Austin's theory, representing what is performed in saying something, such as asserting, warning, or promising. Illocutionary acts are governed by conventional rules, rely on speaker intention, and require certain felicity conditions to be effective. Austin argued that utterances are not only descriptive (constative) but performative, thus shifting the focus from truth-value to function within social contexts.

Finally, the perlocutionary act concerns the effect an utterance has on the listener, such as persuading, scaring, or encouraging. Unlike illocutionary acts, which are socially regulated, perlocutionary acts depend on actual psychological or behavioral outcomes and can occur with or without the speaker's intention. Austin distinguishes between perlocutionary objects (intended effects aligned with the illocution) and perlocutionary sequels (unintended or unexpected consequences), highlighting the complex causal power of speech. In summary, Austin's theory positions language as action embedded in context, where meaning emerges not just from linguistic form, but from intention, social conventions, and real-world effects.

2.4. Power in Speech Action

Language operates as a form of social action, embedded in power structures. Despite its significance, the linguistic study of power remains underexplored. Liberal perspectives often normalize existing power structures, while Marxist views overly restrict power to dominance (Fairclough, 1989). This study adopts a more nuanced

stance, viewing language as both a reflection and a vehicle of power. By analyzing speech as both micro-level interaction and macro-level ideology, the study engages with how communicative acts maintain or challenge social hierarchies. Language is thus not merely a neutral medium but a strategic resource in the enactment and negotiation of power.

2.5. Conceptions of Power

Understanding how speech act theory engages with power requires clarifying what "power" entails. Although existing literature often glosses over its definitions, three major conceptions, Weberian, Marxist, and Foucauldian, offer distinct yet influential perspectives that can meaningfully inform linguistic analysis.

2.6. Max Weber's Approach to Power

Weber (1978) defines power as the probability that an actor can realize their will despite resistance. He distinguishes between power, authority, and discipline, categorizing legitimate authority into three types: *legal-rational*, *traditional*, and *charismatic*. Each type depends on different sources of legitimacy and can be reflected in different linguistic registers. Power, in this view, is tied to individual agency, rational social action, and institutional roles. It is exercised through the speaker's social status and institutional backing, and thus influences language through formality, hierarchy, and norms of politeness. While not directly focused on language, Weber's framework has been foundational for later models that link speech and social power (e.g., Brown & Levinson, 1987).

2.7. Karl Marx's Approach to Power

In contrast, Marxist theory sees power as inherently structural, rooted in class struggle, and reproduced through ideology. Power functions not through overt commands but by presenting dominant class interests as natural or inevitable. While Marx did not explicitly define power, his work implies two interpretations: one structural (linked to production relations) and one instrumental (power as a tool of ruling class interests) (McQuarrie & Spaulding, 1989). Later Marxist thought highlights how language and discourse serve ideological functions, masking inequality and reinforcing dominance. Unlike Weber, Marxist approaches view language not as a tool of individuals, but as a medium through which objective class structures and false consciousness are maintained.

2.8. Michel Foucault's Approach to Power

Foucault (1978; 1982; 1983) reconceptualizes power as productive, rather than repressive. Power, for Foucault, does not merely limit or coerce—it constitutes subjects, knowledge, and discourse. It is diffuse, relational, and embedded in everyday practices, especially within institutions like schools or clinics. Rather than being possessed by individuals or classes, power is enacted through "power games"—strategic interactions that shape behavior and identity. Foucault's notion of *pouvoir-savoir* (power-knowledge) argues that what we accept as truth is always shaped by power dynamics (Foucault, 1979; Gul et al., 2023; Khan et al., 2025). His framework shifts linguistic analysis toward uncovering how discourse produces realities, legitimizes knowledge, and regulates subjectivity. Resistance, in this view, is not external to power but embedded within its operation.

2.9. Power: A Holistic View

Wolf (1990) proposes an integrative framework that brings together different conceptions of power by identifying four distinct forms operating at different analytical levels. The first form is individual power, understood as an actor's capacity or attribute, drawing on Nietzschean ideas. The second aligns with Weber's concept, focusing on the ability of actors to assert their will over others within social interactions. The third form, organizational or tactical power, refers to controlling the conditions or contexts in which interactions occur. Finally, structural power encompasses the ability to shape and coordinate the broader social arenas and the very "field of possible actions" available to individuals, thus extending Marxist and Foucauldian insights (Wolf, 1990). Notably, Wolf includes symbolic power within this structural dimension, emphasizing that symbols themselves do not hold inherent meaning or power but acquire significance through social actors' active selection and contextualization processes (Leezenberg, 2002). This perspective challenges earlier symbolic anthropology that treated symbols as governed by internal cultural logic. Wolf also highlights the fragile nature of power, arguing that even organizational and structural power must be continually reaffirmed and remains susceptible to challenge and disruption (Scott, 1986).

2.10. Language and Power

Building on this holistic view, language emerges as a critical site where power is both enacted and contested. Linguistic practices do not merely reflect social hierarchies; they actively construct and reproduce them through discourse choices, style, and institutional language use. Formal language often functions to legitimize authority and dominance, while marginalized groups may resist and reshape dominant narratives through alternative linguistic forms. Consequently, language is not neutral or simply a

tool for communication but a mechanism through which authority, control, and resistance are negotiated. Recognizing these dynamics is essential for a critical understanding of how meaning and social influence are shaped and contested within society.

2.11. Power and Performativity

Power's role in ritual and performative action, notably in Goffman's (1981) "interaction ritual," raises whether rituals create social facts and what power enables this. Speech act theory, pioneered by Austin (1975), highlights performative language but largely neglects detailed analysis of power's acquisition or legitimacy, treating power relations as stable. Searle (1969, 1995) frames institutional facts as collectively accepted "status functions," legitimizing power through consensus but downplaying coercion or contestation. Historical acts like the U.S. Declaration of Independence illustrate power's unilateral assertion beyond consensus (Searle, 1995). The retroactive creation of felicity conditions (Sbisà & Fabbri, 1980) suggests a dynamic power-performance link still underexplored.

Butler (1990, 1997) reframes identity as performatively constituted through repeated linguistic acts, emphasizing language's role in reinforcing or subverting norms, drawing on Derrida's (1982) concept of iterability. Bourdieu (1991, 1998) introduces symbolic power as language's capacity to shape social reality, rooted in the speaker's social position rather than language alone. While initially tying symbolic power to economic dominance, he later acknowledges symbolic processes' formative role in social structures. Butler (1999) critiques this, arguing language actively constructs social categories rather than merely reflecting power.

2.12. Power in Communicative Action

Habermas (1986, 1989) situates power in communication through a Weberian lens, distinguishing instrumental from communicative rationality. His early work historicizes rational communication as tied to bourgeois interests, exposing how the public sphere evolved into a domain of domination. Later, Habermas universalizes communicative rationality as a normative, ideal discourse free of power distortions, focused on consensus and mutual understanding. This shift minimizes power as an inherent social force, framing it instead as interference.

His ideal discourse presumes equal, unconstrained interlocutors, emphasizing reasoned consensus. However, this liberal model risks overlooking power's constitutive

role in language and interaction, limiting its ability to address conflict, resistance, and domination embedded in discourse.

2.13. Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model of CDA

Fairclough (1989) developed a pioneering three-dimensional framework for CDA designed to reveal the often-hidden connections between language, power, and ideology. His model aims to expose the ways discourse sustains social inequalities and empower marginalized groups by making these power dynamics visible and open to challenge. The model comprises three interrelated stages:

- **Description:** This initial stage involves a detailed analysis of the formal linguistic and semiotic features of a text, such as vocabulary, grammar, and visual elements. Analysts select the most relevant features according to their data and research goals, focusing on the text itself as a tangible product of communication.
- **Interpretation:** The second stage shifts focus to the processes of text production and reception, situating the text within its discursive context. This includes examining the situational context (the specific time, place, and circumstances of communication) and the intertextual context (how the text relates to other texts and discursive practices). This stage explores how texts are shaped by and influence social interactions and discourse networks.
- **Explanation:** The final stage situates the discourse within broader sociocultural practices and power structures. It seeks to uncover the ideological underpinnings that shape discourse and maintain or challenge social hierarchies. This stage critically examines how language both reflects and reproduces social relations of power at institutional, cultural, political, and economic levels.

Fairclough highlights that each stage involves a distinct mode of analysis text analysis (description), processing analysis (interpretation), and social analysis (explanation)—which are mutually supportive and interdependent. Researchers can begin with any stage but must integrate all three for a comprehensive understanding of discourse. Central to Fairclough's model is the view of language as social practice: language is not separate from society but actively shaped by and shaping social structures. He distinguishes between text (the concrete linguistic product) and discourse (the processes of production and interpretation surrounding texts), emphasizing the dynamic relationship between micro-level linguistic features and macro-level social

contexts. His approach balances micro-analysis, examining the linguistic details, participants, and immediate context, with macro-analysis, which considers the wider institutional, cultural, and ideological frameworks influencing discourse. The concept of discursive practice functions as a bridge connecting textual analysis with social structures, revealing how discourse both reflects and shapes societal power relations.

Ultimately, Fairclough's model enables researchers to move beyond surface-level interpretations of language ("what is said") to critically interrogate the ways language is used ("how it is said") and the ideological motives behind it ("why it is said"). This framework has become a cornerstone for investigating how discourse operates as a mechanism of power and social change.

Kwasau and Abdulrasheed (2025) examine speech acts in Nigeria's 2023 presidential campaigns, finding commissive (30.7%) and assertive (~30%) to dominate, with fewer directives and expressive; while methodologically sound, their analysis lacks a discourse-based power perspective that your research could contribute. Anwar, Abdul Khaliq, Nawaz, and Munir (2025), applying Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA to Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif's UN speeches, demonstrate how metaphor, analogy, and repetition articulate ideological positioning, though they overlook systematic categorization of speech acts—a gap your work can address. Similarly, Rouabhia and Jomaa (2023) analyze Trump's farewell address through Fairclough's framework, revealing how repetition, narrative, and exaggeration reinforce national identity and ideological unity, yet without mapping specific speech act types. Ashraf, Naz, Ullah, and Khan (2024) apply Fairclough's CDA to the 2024 U.S. presidential debate, illustrating how lexical framing and metaphor embed power, particularly in assertive and directives, though again without explicitly charting speech act use. Complementing these, Danescu-Niculescu-Mizil et al. (2011) highlight how linguistic coordination and stylistic mirroring expose power imbalances in unscripted group discourse, suggesting that repetition and alignment of act types may signal power hierarchies beyond explicit content offering a useful perspective for your analysis(see Gul et al., 2023(a) and Gul et al., 2023(b)).

While many studies use Speech Act Theory to categorize political speech acts like asserting or promising, they often remain superficial, neglecting the deeper power dynamics and ideological forces shaping these acts especially in politically charged contexts. This research addresses that gap by not only identifying speech acts in President Mnangagwa's UNGA speeches but also analyzing how they function as tools of power using Fairclough's 3-Ds CDA model. By unpacking the hidden political and

ideological layers embedded in discourse, it goes beyond mere categorization to reveal how language performs and sustains power on the global stage.

3. Research Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative research design employing textual analysis to examine political discourse. The focus is on uncovering both the speech acts and the underlying power dynamics in President Dr. Mnangagwa's addresses at the 78th and 79th sessions of UNGA, delivered on 21 September 2023 and 25 September 2024, respectively.

An interdisciplinary analytical framework is used, combining Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory with Fairclough's (1989) 3-Ds Model of CDA. Austin's model facilitates a micro-level linguistic analysis by identifying locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts, thereby revealing how language functions within the speeches. To extend this analysis beyond the textual level, Fairclough's 3-Ds model is employed to explore how these speech acts are situated within broader discursive and sociocultural practices, enabling the study to expose power relations, ideological positioning, and institutional influences embedded in the discourse.

The speeches were selected through purposive sampling from the UN's official repository, focusing on the most recent addresses to ensure relevance. The integration of these two analytical lenses allows for a multi-layered understanding of how President Mnangagwa's discourse operates not only as a communicative act but also as a strategic tool for asserting political authority and shaping Zimbabwe's international image.

4. Analysis and Discussion

4.1. Speech 1

Excerpt 1:

"It is imperative that we recommit to the Charter of the United Nations, multilateralism, solidarity, justice and the peaceful settlement of disputes for sustainable development and a shared future."

Speech Act Analysis

The utterance “It is imperative that we recommit...” performs a locutionary act by clearly stating a normative appeal grounded in widely accepted global principles. As an illocutionary act, it functions as a directive—issuing a call to action that carries authority and urgency. The use of “imperative” signals not just recommendation but obligation, enacting the speaker’s authority within a formal setting. The perlocutionary effect aims to inspire moral responsibility and collective action, seeking not passive agreement but active recommitment to the ideals named.

Power Analysis via Fairclough’s CDA Framework:

Through Fairclough’s CDA framework, the utterance reveals embedded power. At the micro level, strong deontic modality and the inclusive “we” enact synthetic personalization, subtly guiding the audience toward compliance. At the meso level, intertextual references to global norms (e.g., UN Charter) bolster legitimacy and align the speaker with institutional authority. At the macro level, the discourse draws on hegemonic ideologies—justice, solidarity, sustainability—to naturalize the speaker’s stance as ethically superior. In doing so, the speaker reproduces dominant narratives and wields discourse as an instrument of power.

Excerpt 2:

“We demand that the unjustified unilateral sanctions be unconditionally lifted, including those imposed on countries like Cuba.”

The phrase “We demand...” performs a locutionary act by stating a strong, explicit position against “unjustified unilateral sanctions,” emphasizing their illegitimacy and calling for their unconditional removal. As an illocutionary act, it functions as a directive, using the assertive force of “demand” to compel action and signal urgency. The perlocutionary aim is to mobilize support and create moral pressure for sanction removal, fostering solidarity with affected nations. Through Fairclough’s CDA, the statement enacts power at the micro level via deontic modality and synthetic personalization; at the meso level by legitimizing the claim through globally accepted justice norms; and at the macro level by embedding the discourse within dominant

ideologies, thereby reinforcing the speaker's authority and framing their position as morally superior.

Excerpt 3:

"Partners and investors are welcome, guided by our own vision and national priority areas."

The locutionary act presents a clear invitation, "Partners and investors are welcome," while embedding a condition: alignment with Zimbabwe's "own vision and national priority areas." As an illocutionary act, it functions as an offer or invitation, signaling openness yet emphasizing controlled engagement. The speaker asserts that investment is welcome only on Zimbabwe's terms. The perlocutionary effect aims to attract foreign interest while affirming national agency, encouraging collaboration that supports Zimbabwe's developmental agenda. Using Fairclough's CDA, at the micro level, the conditional phrasing reflects selective openness and asserts discursive control. At the meso level, invoking national priorities frames the discourse within sovereignty and state-led development. At the macro level, this positioning resists external dominance, reinforcing Zimbabwe's ideological commitment to self-determination and challenging global power asymmetries.

Excerpt 4:

"Zimbabwe has been under the illegal, unilateral economic sanctions for 23 years, imposed by some Western countries."

The locutionary act delivers a clear statement: Zimbabwe has faced "illegal" and "unilateral" sanctions for 23 years, imposed by "some Western countries." This frames the sanctions as unjust and prolonged. The illocutionary act performs a declarative grievance, not just informing but expressing disapproval and asserting victimhood. The perlocutionary effect aims to evoke sympathy, discredit the sanctioning states, and rally international support for lifting the sanctions. Using Fairclough's CDA, the micro-level reveals strategic word choices that question legitimacy and emphasize injustice. At the meso-level, the appeal gains authority by invoking international norms, reinforcing Zimbabwe's alignment with global standards. The macro-level embeds this stance in

broader anti-hegemonic ideologies, positioning Zimbabwe as a sovereign actor resisting Western dominance.

Excerpt 5:

“We are recording unprecedented development and economic success milestones... Zimbabwe became a net exporter of wheat.”

The locutionary act presents Zimbabwe’s economic progress, notably becoming a “net exporter of wheat,” as evidence of development and self-sufficiency. The illocutionary act functions declaratively, highlighting this milestone to assert national resilience and achievement. The perlocutionary effect is to reshape international perceptions and attract investment by framing Zimbabwe as a capable, upward-trending economy. Through Fairclough’s CDA, the micro-level emphasizes success with terms like “unprecedented” and “milestones,” reinforcing authority. The meso-level situates Zimbabwe within global economic norms, legitimizing its progress. At the macro-level, the discourse aligns with ideologies of self-reliance and development, reinforcing Zimbabwe’s image as a sovereign actor asserting its growth narrative.

Excerpt 6:

“Alongside each of these water points are commercial nutritional gardens for the empowerment of women and youth.”

The locutionary act describes the establishment of commercial nutritional gardens near water points, aimed at empowering women and youth—framing it as a dual development intervention. The illocutionary act functions as a performative declaration of inclusive policy implementation, presenting the gardens as tools of social transformation. The perlocutionary effect seeks to build domestic confidence and international credibility by aligning Zimbabwe’s actions with global development values like gender equity and youth empowerment. Fairclough’s CDA reveals power embedded in language: at the micro-level, terms like “empowerment” and “nutritional gardens” frame the government as a capable change agent. The meso-level links the initiative to global development discourses, enhancing Zimbabwe’s legitimacy. At the macro-level, the discourse reinforces hegemonic ideologies of equity and progress, positioning Zimbabwe as a modern, responsible actor in global governance.

Excerpt 7:

“The Security Council is often criticized for being a tool of the West... Zimbabwe stood by the African Union’s Ezulwini Consensus...”

The locutionary act presents a critique of the UN Security Council as biased toward Western interests and affirms Zimbabwe’s support for the African Union’s Ezulwini Consensus on reform. The illocutionary act functions as both a condemnation of Western dominance and a political declaration aligning with pan-African demands. The perlocutionary intent is to foster African unity and pressure for structural reform, challenging the legitimacy of current global power configurations. Fairclough’s CDA reveals layered power dynamics: at the micro-level, evaluative terms like “tool of the West” contest Western hegemony and reposition African voices. The meso-level links Zimbabwe’s stance to broader continental discourses, amplifying its authority through alignment with the AU. At the macro-level, the statement invokes postcolonial ideologies of sovereignty and justice, framing the call for UN reform as part of a broader anti-imperialist struggle.

Excerpt 8:

“It is imperative that we reform these structures to ensure they are more inclusive, equitable, and reflective of the diverse realities... particularly, the Global South.”

The locutionary act asserts the urgent need to reform international structures to be more inclusive and equitable, particularly for the Global South. The illocutionary force is a directive, using “imperative” to frame reform as a moral and political necessity. The perlocutionary aim is to mobilize solidarity among marginalized nations and provoke institutional change through collective pressure. Fairclough’s CDA reveals multi-level power dynamics: at the micro-level, modal verbs and inclusive language assert normative authority and challenge exclusionary systems. The meso-level aligns this discourse with broader Global South movements seeking multipolar governance. At the macro-level, the statement ideologically contests Western hegemony by invoking justice and fairness, reframing reform as a universally valid demand and a vehicle for structural transformation.

Excerpt 9:

“Allow me to reaffirm that Zimbabwe is open for business... reaffirming Zimbabwe’s commitment to the... United Nations Charter... Let us restore human dignity,

peace, security and stability... for the shared prosperity of present and future generations. Together... we are stronger."

At the locutionary level, the speech is grammatically clear and formal, focusing on national development and global cooperation through references to "Innovation Hubs" and "Agenda 2030." The illocutionary analysis reveals performative intentions: asserting economic progress, committing to global norms, and urging collective action. The perlocutionary dimension highlights its persuasive goals boosting investor confidence, fostering diplomatic alignment, and inspiring national pride.

Using Fairclough's CDA framework, the micro-level shows deliberate lexical choices that construct Zimbabwe as progressive and globally engaged. At the meso-level, the speech acts as a strategic diplomatic performance aligned with international discourses, targeting both global and domestic audiences. On the macro-level, it reflects Zimbabwe's broader ideological repositioning from a history of isolation to one of reform, economic openness, and international reintegration. Overall, the speech functions as a tool of soft power, leveraging language to reshape Zimbabwe's national image and geopolitical stance.

4.2. Speech 2

Excerpt 1:

"Allow me to extend my heartfelt congratulations to you, Your Excellency, Mr. Philemon Yang, on your election as President of the 79th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. ... Please, be assured of Zimbabwe's unwavering support, throughout your tenure."

The locutionary act conveys formal congratulations to Mr. Philemon Yang on his election as President of the 79th UN General Assembly, alongside Zimbabwe's courteous assurance of unwavering support. The illocutionary act serves as both a formal greeting and a diplomatic pledge, strengthening Zimbabwe's commitment to international cooperation and respect for UN protocols. The perlocutionary act aims to foster goodwill, build trust, and encourage collaboration between Zimbabwe, the President, and other UN member states. Through Fairclough's CDA framework, at the micro-level, polite and respectful language asserts both deference and confidence, aligning with diplomatic norms. At the meso-level, the formal UN context shapes the message to affirm Zimbabwe's supportive stance to a broad international audience. At the macro-level, the message reinforces the hierarchical power structures and cultural

norms of international diplomacy, emphasizing Zimbabwe's commitment to multilateralism and global cooperation.

Excerpt 2:

"In an increasingly polarized and insecure world, dialogue and diplomacy are indispensable. Our world is besieged by numerous global challenges, both natural and man-made."

The locutionary act presents the world as increasingly divided and insecure, stressing the urgent need for dialogue and diplomacy to address global natural and man-made challenges. The illocutionary act diagnoses these issues and calls on the international community, especially UN member states, to engage in collective action through established diplomatic channels. The perlocutionary act aims to foster a sense of urgency and mutual responsibility, encouraging collaboration to tackle global tensions. Using Fairclough's CDA framework, at the micro-level, strong, urgent language highlights the critical importance of dialogue and diplomacy. At the meso-level, the formal UN context shapes the message's tone to appeal to a global diplomatic audience. At the macro-level, the statement reinforces multilateralism and cooperation, aligning Zimbabwe with UN values and reflecting established international power dynamics and diplomatic norms.

Excerpt 3:

"We must prioritize the most vulnerable... addressing root causes of conflict, chief among them poverty, inequality, intolerance, resource scarcity exacerbated by climate change, and unwarranted external interference."

The locutionary act explicitly identifies key causes of conflict such as poverty, inequality, climate change, and "unwarranted external interference," presented in a firm yet diplomatic tone. The illocutionary act urges the international community to address these root causes collectively, asserting Zimbabwe's position on sovereignty, justice, and development within global peacebuilding discussions. The perlocutionary act aims to inspire reflection, solidarity, and a shift in global priorities, especially among Global South nations. Using Fairclough's CDA framework, at the micro-level, the phrase "unwarranted external interference" critiques foreign meddling as illegitimate, linking it to broader systemic issues. At the meso-level, this discourse asserts Zimbabwe's sovereignty and aligns with international norms on non-intervention, positioning Zimbabwe as a principled global actor. At the macro-level, the statement challenges

unequal global power structures, drawing on post-colonial ideas of autonomy and justice to promote equitable governance and solidarity with the Global South.

Excerpt 4:

“Zimbabwe fully supports the proposed SDG stimulus so as to reinvigorate the implementation of these crucial goals...”

The locutionary act clearly states Zimbabwe’s strong support for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) stimulus using assertive language, projecting certainty and diplomatic clarity. The illocutionary act serves as an official endorsement, signaling Zimbabwe’s commitment to global development and multilateral cooperation, aimed at UN agencies and development partners. The perlocutionary act intends to foster international collaboration and resource mobilization, portraying Zimbabwe as a responsible and proactive participant in achieving the SDGs. Using Fairclough’s CDA framework, at the micro-level, assertive terms like “fully supports” emphasize Zimbabwe’s authoritative stance. At the meso-level, the discourse reflects formal diplomatic norms within global development forums, shaped by the international audience. At the macro-level, Zimbabwe asserts agency as an active contributor to global development, aligning with dominant ideologies of sustainability and multilateralism while adhering to diplomatic conventions of partnership and respect.

Excerpt 5:

“Our SADC region has been affected by the El Niño-induced drought... the SADC Heads... launched an international humanitarian appeal amounting to \$5.8 billion...”

The locutionary act reports that the SADC region is suffering from an El Niño-induced drought, prompting a \$5.8 billion international humanitarian appeal, using precise language to stress the crisis’s severity. The illocutionary act both informs about the situation and calls for urgent global support, framed formally for donor nations and humanitarian organizations. The perlocutionary act aims to mobilize international aid while enhancing Zimbabwe’s and SADC’s leadership image in regional crisis management. Using Fairclough’s CDA framework, at the micro-level, lexical choices highlight urgency and coordinated response with a clear declarative tone. At the meso-level, the discourse follows diplomatic norms targeting a global audience to inform and appeal for assistance. At the macro-level, the message reflects power dynamics in international relations, promoting regional solidarity and multilateral cooperation within established diplomatic hierarchies.

Excerpt 6:

“Our comprehensive social protection frameworks ... reductions in poverty levels and disease burdens. ... The Government ... devolution policy ... ‘Leaving no one and no place behind.’”

The locutionary act highlights Zimbabwe’s achievements in social protection, poverty reduction, and public health, emphasizing the government’s devolution policy for inclusive development. Key phrases like “comprehensive” and “Leaving no one and no place behind” underscore progress and inclusivity. The illocutionary act serves as a strategic affirmation of Zimbabwe’s developmental progress and commitment to inclusive governance, aligning with global development goals. The perlocutionary act aims to boost Zimbabwe’s image as a capable and legitimate state, inspiring confidence among both international partners and domestic audiences. Through Fairclough’s CDA framework, at the micro-level, lexical choices construct a narrative of effective and equitable governance. At the meso-level, the discourse is shaped to resonate with international development actors, reinforcing government credibility. At the macro-level, the message asserts government legitimacy by aligning with global ideologies of inclusion and decentralization, positioning Zimbabwe positively within international development discourse.

Excerpt 7:

“...we call upon those that have maintained illegal and unjustified sanctions on Zimbabwe, to remove these unwarranted measures, immediately and unconditionally. ... Zimbabwe stands in solidarity with ... Cuba ... We call for the immediate lifting of this stifling embargo...”

The locutionary act demands the immediate and unconditional removal of sanctions on Zimbabwe, describing them as “illegal,” “unjustified,” and “stifling,” while also expressing solidarity with Cuba’s call to lift the U.S. embargo. The illocutionary act functions as a strong assertion of sovereignty and rejection of economic coercion, aligning Zimbabwe and Cuba in their opposition to sanctions. The perlocutionary act aims to pressure sanctioning countries to lift the sanctions and to rally international support and solidarity against what is portrayed as unjust and immoral economic aggression. Using Fairclough’s CDA framework, at the micro-level, the speaker’s use of strong negative language and urgent imperatives highlights moral condemnation and assertiveness. At the meso-level, the discourse appeals to international law and justice to influence sanctioning powers and build solidarity with like-minded nations. At the macro-level, the statement challenges Western economic dominance, framing sanctions

as imperialist tools and promoting an ideology of sovereignty, justice, and anti-imperialism that seeks to reshape international power relations toward equity.

Excerpt 8

“My country remains committed to supporting the self-determination of both the people of Palestine and Western Sahara. ... We call upon the Security Council to fulfil its mandate ... support efforts towards a two-state solution ... peace and security challenges ... Eastern DRC, and Cabo Delgado...”

The locutionary act reaffirms Zimbabwe’s support for the self-determination of Palestine and Western Sahara and calls on the UN Security Council to act on peace and security issues in the Eastern DRC and Cabo Delgado. The formal, declarative language emphasizes diplomatic commitment and expectation. The illocutionary act functions as both a political endorsement of self-determination and a call for the Security Council to fulfill its peacekeeping mandate, reaffirming Zimbabwe’s role in international solidarity and conflict resolution. The perlocutionary act aims to influence international discourse by encouraging collective action on self-determination and conflict resolution, enhancing Zimbabwe’s reputation as a principled diplomatic actor. Using Fairclough’s CDA model, at the micro-level, formal diplomatic terms and assertive modality establish authority and highlight key conflict areas. At the meso-level, the speech adheres to UN diplomatic norms, targeting the Security Council and international community to legitimize Zimbabwe’s stance. At the macro-level, it aligns Zimbabwe with decolonial and multilateral ideologies, advocating for sovereignty, international law, and cooperative global governance.

Excerpt 9

“Information communication technologies ... prudent ... global digital governance Framework ... Zimbabwe is fully committed ... harnessing the good ... combating the negative aspects ...”

The locutionary act acknowledges the transformative role of ICTs and affirms Zimbabwe’s commitment to a balanced global digital governance framework. The formal and declarative language highlights a cautious but proactive stance. The illocutionary act functions as a formal declaration of Zimbabwe’s readiness to participate responsibly in international digital policy-making, aligning global digital governance with national priorities. The perlocutionary act aims to position Zimbabwe as a forward-thinking and cooperative player in the global digital economy, encouraging international collaboration and recognition of its role in shaping ethical and inclusive digital norms.

Using Fairclough's CDA model, at the micro-level, strategic lexical choices and a declarative tone express Zimbabwe's firm commitment and cautious approach. At the meso-level, the discourse aligns with international digital governance forums, targeting global stakeholders to assert Zimbabwe's active participation. At the macro-level, the statement challenges Western dominance in digital governance, advocating for digital sovereignty, inclusivity, and equitable technology use within the evolving global power structures.

5. Finding

The analysis reveals that Zimbabwe's speeches at the UNGA strategically use language not just to inform but to perform political actions as asserting sovereignty, demanding justice, and fostering international cooperation. Through formal and authoritative locutionary acts, the speeches communicate Zimbabwe's diplomatic positions and development priorities. The illocutionary acts function as calls to action, pledges of support, and demands for fairness, positioning Zimbabwe as a proactive and principled actor on the global stage. Perlocutionary acts aim to mobilize international solidarity, influence policy, and assert Zimbabwe's agency amid global power asymmetries. Applying Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis shows that, at the textual level, linguistic choices reinforce authority, inclusion, and resistance. At the discursive level, the speeches align with diplomatic norms and global narratives, such as sovereignty, multilateralism, and sustainable development, thereby legitimizing Zimbabwe's stance and marginalizing opposing views. At the broader socio-political level, the discourse both challenges and engages dominant global power structures, reflecting Zimbabwe's dual role as a cooperative participant in multilateral frameworks and a vocal challenger of unilateral coercion and historical inequalities.

Overall, the speeches articulate Zimbabwe's nuanced diplomatic identity: one that embraces global cooperation and development goals while asserting its sovereignty and contesting unjust global power dynamics.

6. Conclusion

President Mnangagwa's speeches at the 78th and 79th UNGA sessions strategically use language to assert Zimbabwe's sovereignty, challenge global injustices, and advocate for reforms in international governance. Analyzing these speeches through

Austin's Speech Act Theory and Fairclough's 3-Ds model of CDA model reveals that language functions not just as communication but as a powerful tool to shape international discourse and influence policy. The locutionary acts deliver formal diplomatic content, illocutionary acts express key intentions like demanding sanction removal and promoting equity, while perlocutionary acts aim to sway global perceptions and garner support. Fairclough's framework highlights how linguistic choices reinforce authority (micro-level), align with diplomatic norms (meso-level), and negotiate global power relations by positioning Zimbabwe as both a cooperative partner and a defender of Global South interests (macro-level).

Ultimately, the study shows that diplomatic language is deeply entwined with power and identity construction. Mnangagwa's use of the UN platform illustrates how political leaders transform rhetoric into action by performing national identity, asserting agency, and reshaping narratives of marginalization on the world stage.

6.1. Recommendations for Future Researchers:

This research offers several avenues for future exploration within applied linguistics;

Expand the use of Speech Act Theory and Fairclough's 3-Ds model of CDA to different political contexts, genres, or languages for comparative insights. Corpus-assisted methods to analyze larger datasets of speeches and identify broader patterns in language use over time. Explore multimodal discourse by analyzing non-verbal elements (e.g., tone, gesture, visuals) alongside speech to capture the full communicative act. Combine CDA with other theoretical frameworks (e.g., framing theory, stance theory) to enrich the analysis of ideological positioning in political speech

References

- Ahmed, H. R., Amir, S., & Ahmad, F. (2020). A Speech Act Analysis of the Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan's Speech at UNGA with respect to Islamophobia. *International journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3775482>
- Almas, R; Asma, K; Muhammad, M. (2023). A Pragmatic Analysis of Dominant Illocutionary Speech Acts in Imran Khan's Minar-e-Pakistan Jalsa Speech.

University of Chitral Journal of Linguistics and Literature,
<https://jll.uoch.edu.pk/index.php/jll/article/view/303>

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

Austin, J.L. (1975). How to Do Things with Words. (2nd edition). *Harvard University Press*, ISBN: 0674411528, 9780674411524

Bach, K., & Harnish, R. M. (1979). Linguistic Communication and Speech Acts. *MIT Press*. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/44453940>

Batool, Zehra & Khalil, Lubna & Islam, Muhammad. (2024). A Speech Act Analysis of Pakistani Prime Ministers' Maiden Speeches. 02. 1805-1818.
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/387790747>

Baturo, A., & Gray, J. (2024). Leaders in the United Nations General Assembly: Revitalization or politicization? *The Review of International Organizations*.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-023-09524-1>

Bhatia, V. K. B. (2002). Applied Genre Analysis: a multi-perspective model. *DOAJ (DOAJ: Directory of Open Access Journals)*.
<https://doaj.org/article/14e30e86bb124220aea214f382b40298>

Bourdieu, P. (1991). Language and symbolic power. *Harvard University Press.*

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Acts of resistance* (Vol. 30). *New York: New Press.*

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage. *Cambridge University Press.*

Butler, J. (1990). Gender trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. *Routledge.*

Butler, J. (1997). Excitable speech: A Politics of the Performative. *Psychology Press.*

Butler, J. (1999). Performativity's social magic. In: David Shusterman. *Oxford: Blackwell.*

Caroline, R. T., Sitorus, U., Sinurat, B., Herman, & Silalahi, D. E. (2021). An Analysis on the Speech Act of Mark Zuckerberg in English Speeches YouTube channel. *Deleted Journal*. <http://zienjournals.com/index.php/zjssh/article/view/113>

- Derrida, J. (1982). Signature Event Context. In: "Margins of Philosophy," Transl. from French by Alan Bass. *Chicago: University of Chicago Press*. ISBN9781003060444
- Dwiyanti, D., Laila, M., & Hum, M. (2019). Analysis of Directive Utterances in the Movie 'the Theory of Everything by Jane Hawking.' *Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta*. <http://eprints.ums.ac.id/id/eprint/76276>
- Fairclough, N. (1989). Language and Power. London: *Longman*.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). Language and Power. London: *Longman*.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. <https://bds.unb.br/handle/123456789/763>
- Fairclough, N. (2001a). Language and power. *Pearson Education*.
- Fairclough, N. (2001b). The dialectics of discourse. *Textus*. <https://doi.org/10.1400/23485>
- Foucault, M. (1978). The history of sexuality: The Will to Knowledge. Transl. from French by Robert Hurley. *New York: Random House*. ISBN 0-394-41775-5
- Foucault, M. (1979). Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison. (Trans A. Sheridan). Harmondsworth: Penguin. <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/1980-70596-000>
- Foucault, M. (1980). Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977. *Pantheon Books*. ISBN 0-394-51357-6
- Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. *Critical Inquiry*. <https://doi.org/10.1086/448181>
- Foucault, M. (1983). The subject and power. In H. Dreyfus, & P. Rabinow (Eds.), Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics. *Chicago, IL: University of Chicago*.
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Gul, N., Ali, A., Hassan, S. S. U., & Rasheed, A. (2023(a)). An Investigation into the Politics of English Language Assessment in Pakistan. *Journal of Policy Research*, 9(4), 84-93. <https://doi.org/10.61506/02.00130>.

- Gul, N., Hassan, S. S. U., & Wasti, A. T. (2024). A Study of Language in English Language Classroom Discourse (ELCD) in Pakistani Context: From Theory to Practice. *Shnakhat*, 3(2), 236-246.
- Gul, N., Imran, S., & Wasti, A. T. (2023(b)). A Study of the Bidirectional Causality Relationship Between English Language and Environment: Looking Through the Lens of Ecological Discourse Analysis (EDA). *Journal of Development and Social Sciences*, 4(4), 114-125.
- Habermas, J. (1986). Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and Rationalization of Society (Vol. 1). Transl. from German by Thomas McCarthy. *Cambridge: Polity Press*. (Original edition): *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns. Bd. 1. Handlungsrationalität und gesellschaftliche Rationalisierung. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, (1981). ISBN 0-8070-1506-7*
- Habermas, J. (1989). The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere. Transl. by Th. Burger. *The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts*.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203020166-5>
- Habib, A., Ali, M., & Gul, N. (2024). An Analysis of Politeness Strategies in the Speeches of King Abdullah II of Jordan at the United Nations General Assembly. *International Journal of Social Science Archives (IJSSA)*, 7(3).
- Hussain, A, Anwar M N Mian M Z. (2021). Politeness Strategies in Imran Khan's Maiden Speech as Prime Minister of Pakistan. *Pakistan social sciences review*, 5(2),908-924, [http://doi.org/10.35484/pssr.2021\(5-II\)71](http://doi.org/10.35484/pssr.2021(5-II)71)
- Khan, M. A. H., Ayaz, N., Shahab, M., Ali, A., Gul, N., & Khan, A. (2025). Westernization vs. Indigenous Traditions: A Critical Study of Culture Wars through the Lens of Cross-Cultural Communication and Pragmatics. *Annual Methodological Archive Research Review*, 3(4), 327-339.
- Kwasau, H., & Abdulrasheed, R. (2025). A Pragmatic Analysis of Speech Acts In 2023 Nigerian Presidential Campaign Speeches of Tinubu and Obi. *International Journal of Arts, Languages, Linguistics and Literary Studies*, 14(1). Retrieved from <https://jolls.com.ng/v2/index.php/jolls/article/view/175>
- Leezenberg, M. (2002). Power in communication: implications for the semantics-pragmatics interface. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 34(7), 893–908.
[https://doi.org/10.1016/s0378-2166\(01\)00067-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/s0378-2166(01)00067-4)

- McQuarie, D., & Spaulding, M. (1989). The Concept of Power in Marxist Theory: A critique and Reformulation. *Critical Sociology*, 16(1), 3–26. <https://doi.org/10.1177/089692058901600101>
- Miranda, T., & Dharmawan, Y. (2024). An analysis of perlocutionary Speech acts: case study in the 2024 presidential candidate debate. *Indonesian Journal of Social Development*, 2(3), 13. <https://doi.org/10.47134/jsd.v2i3.3378>
- Mutiadi, A. D., & Respati, D. A. (2019). Deiksis dalam novel rahwana karya anand neelakantan. *Fon*, 14(1). <https://doi.org/10.25134/fjpbsi.v14i1.2165>
- Rouabhia, R., & Jomaa, N. J. (2023). Ideology and power dynamics in President Trump's farewell address: Acritical discourse analysis. *Malaysian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 1, 41-54. <https://doi.org/10.32890/mjoal2023.1.4>
- Rouhana, N. N. (2011). Key issues in reconciliation: Challenging traditional assumptions on conflict resolution and power dynamics. In D. Bar-Tal (Ed.), *Intergroup conflicts and their resolution: A social psychological perspective*. Psychology Press.
- Samar, S., Ali, M., & Gul, N. (2025). ANALYSIS OF DEIXIS IN THE SPEECHES OF PAKISTANI POLITICIANS AT UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. *Journal of Applied Linguistics and TESOL (JALT)*, 8(1), 1238-1251
- Sbisá, M., & Fabbri, P. (1980). Models (?) for a pragmatic analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 4(4), 301–319. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166\(80\)90027-2](https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(80)90027-2)
- Scott, J. C. (1986). Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance. *World Development*, 14(5), 675. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750x\(86\)90141-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750x(86)90141-5)
- Searle, J. R. (1969). Speech Acts: An essay in the Philosophy of Language. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139173438>
- Searle, J. R. (1979). *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts*. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511609213>
- Simanjuntak, N., Simaremare, R. M., Saputra, N., Ngongo, M., & Herman, H. (2022). ‘We all are perfectly imperfect’: An interpersonal metafunction of munibamazari’s speech in a case on systemic functional linguistics. *English*

Review: Journal of English Education, 10(3), 793-800.
<https://10.25134/erjee.v10i3.7087>

Simaremare, Y. N., Nainggolan, W. C., & Herman. (2021). Pragmatics analysis on conversational implicature used in *Mulan* (2020) movie. *Middle European Scientific Bulletin*, 15, 64-74. <https://doi.org/10.47494/mesb.2021.15.696>

Tuti, N., Ilinawati, N., & Dharma, Y. P. (2025). The study of Speech acts of Joko Widodo's speech in Annual Session People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) 2024. *English journal of Indragiri*. <https://doi.org/10.61672/eji.v9i1.2864>

Van Dijk, T. (1995). *Discourse analysis as ideology analysis*. Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing, 41–58. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203984994-7>

Van Dijk, T. A. (1989). Structures of discourse and structures of power. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 12(1), 18–59. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.1989.11678711>

Van Dijk, T. A. (1996). *Discourse, Power and Access*. In *London: Routledge* (pp. 65–84). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-07299-3_3

Waqar, H., Noor-E-Ayshea, N., & Khan, S. A. (2025). Analyzing Power Dynamics in Pakistani Political Discourse: a CDA-Based study. *Qlantic Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 6(1), 38–50. <https://doi.org/10.55737/qjssh.vi-i.25280>

Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*. Transl. from German by E. Fischoff. *Berkeley: University of California Press*.

Wolf, E. R. (1990). *Facing Power—Old insights, new questions*. In *University of California Press eBooks*. <https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520223332.003.0028>

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