

## A Pragmatic Analysis of Racist and Oppressive Political Discourse

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تحليل تداولي للخطاب السياسي العنصري والقمعي

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### Abstract

The main purpose of language is to communicate with other people and to convey people's ideas and thoughts. However, not all the ideas were meant to be constructive; as some are destructive to a great extent. In simple words, the language that is directed at other people in a negative manner is known as racist speech. Differences in some human characteristics, such as race, class, nationality, gender, or religion, drive racist speech. Trump, the 45th U.S. president used a great deal of racist speech in his political speeches. The concept of racist oppressive speech is studied in this research. This study focuses on how words are weaponized to affect the general public and to attack opponents personally as well as their arguments. Utterances are examined from: as arguments and as speech acts. In this study, pragmatics is used to be an effective method for studying political speech.

المستخلص

الغرض الرئيسي من اللغة هو التواصل مع الآخرين ونقل أفكارهم وآرائهم ومع ذلك ليست كل الأفكار موجهة نحو البناء؛ حيث أن بعضها مدمر إلى حد كبير. ببساطة، اللغة التي تُوجه إلى الآخرين بطريقة سلبية تُعرف بالخطاب العنصري. الاختلافات في بعض الخصائص البشرية، مثل العرق، الطبقة، الجنسية، الجنس، أو الدين، هي التي تدفع الخطاب العنصري. استخدم ترامب الرئيس الخامس والأربعون للولايات المتحدة، قدرًا كبيرًا من الخطاب العنصري في خطابه السياسية. تتم دراسة مفهوم الخطاب القومي العنصري في هذا البحث. يركز هذا الدراسة على كيفية استخدام الكلمات كسلاح للتأثير على الجمهور العام وللإساءة إلى الخصوم شخصياً وكذلك إلى حججهم. يتم فحص الأقوال كحجج وكأفعال خطابية. في هذه الدراسة، يتم استخدام البراغمة كطريقة فعالة لدراسة الخطاب السياسي.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

Mey (2001: 320) says that in order to understand the different functions and interpretations of language, it is necessary to consider how it functions in society. Language use is of course a combination of social and cultural factors and linguistic variables. It is important to realize that the social parts of pragmatics are concerned with how we use language and the power we give to our speech. As a result, we may examine how language is used in society and take a critical look at issues such as prejudice, injustice, and rudeness, among others (Ibid). Racist oppressive speech (Henceforth ROS) is reprehensible throughout the ages and different people, civilizations and traditions. Being blameworthy, that gives a person the ability to blame and criticize it. According to (Yule, 2016: 289) pragmatics is the study of the speaker's meaning. It is the study of the "invisible meaning" regardless to what is said or written (Mey, 2001: 289) insists pragmatists "need to integrate their practical endeavors toward a better use of language with a theory of language use." According to (Melefa & Chukwumezie, 2014: 157) critical pragmatics emphasizes the idea that pragmatics is a tool for social conflict. It aims to explore and understand the social functioning of language and the use of its different expressions.

### 1.2 The Problem of the Study

In light of this, the problem of this research is to analyze racist speech in American Debit debates using a pragmatic approach, in addition to identifying the motivations behind its use. This research seeks to identify suitable responses to the following questions:

1. What practical goals does Trump want to achieve by using racist oppressive speech?
2. Is racist speech excused as the ends justifies the means?
3. What is the manner of racist oppressive speech?

### 1.3 The Aims of the Study

This study sets the following aims

1. Identifying the concept of pragmatic in linguistics.
2. Exploring the expressions of racism in American speeches.
3. Inspecting Trump's use of ROS speech in many of his political speeches.

### 1.4 Procedures of the Study

This study is conducted depending on the following procedures:

1. Providing a suitable theoretical background in pragmatics, and racist oppressive speech theories.
2. Using pragmatic model in the analysis including Searle's taxonomy, implicature by Grice 1975 and presupposition by Yule 2010.
3. The model adopted is an eclectic one.

### 1.5 Hypotheses

This study hypothesizes the following:

1. The use of ROS is to attract attention of American people.
2. ROS is intentionally produced.
3. ROS is a sharp verbal language that has negative effects in political speeches.

### 1.6 Limits of the Study

This study is limited to the analysis of ROS in Trump's political speeches. Three extracts are chosen for the data under scrutiny. The modal adopted is an eclectic one.

### 1.7 Value of the Study

The value of conducting a pragmatic approach of ROS in Trump's political speeches lies in its potential to provide insights into the nature and effects of racist speech in political discourse. This research can help us understand how racist speech is used by politicians to mobilize their base and appeal to certain voters, as well

as how it can contribute to the normalization of discriminatory attitudes and behaviors in society. By applying a pragmatic lens to the analysis of Trump's political speeches, the study can also help uncover the underlying motivations and strategies behind the use of racist speech in political communication. This can contribute to a better understanding of the role of language in political power dynamics and provide a foundation for developing more effective strategies for countering racist speech and promoting more inclusive and respectful political discourse. Overall, this research can have significant value in enhancing our understanding of the ways in which racist speech can impact public opinion and shape political outcomes, as well as the broader social and cultural implications of racist speech in contemporary society.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Introduction

#### Introduction

Pragmatics is a field of linguistics dedicated to the study of the connection between linguistic forms and the context of their use. Pragmaticians observe how meaning is produced, understood, and co-constructed among speakers in and across social contexts to achieve specific communicative purposes. For example, when a speaker says "It's pouring rain", they might be simply describing the current weather or suggesting that they should cancel a hike they planned. Because of this, utterances like the example above have conventional implicatures, which one can interpret depending on a particular context. The speaker's meaning and the addressee's understanding and interpretation of what the speaker says depend on their shared context. Pragmatics therefore also involves the study of how context contributes to evaluations of meaning, and related discrepancies between what both the speaker and the recipient think was said. Sec Pragmatics is a field of linguistics dedicated to the study of the connection between linguistic forms and the context of their use. Pragmaticians observe how meaning is produced, understood, and co-constructed among speakers in and across social contexts to achieve specific communicative purposes. For example, when a speaker says "It's pouring rain", they might be simply describing the current weather or suggesting that they should cancel a hike they planned. Because of this, utterances like the example above have conventional implicatures, which one can interpret depending on a particular context. The speaker's meaning and the addressee's understanding and interpretation of what the speaker says depend on their shared context. Pragmatics therefore also involves the study of how context contributes to evaluations of meaning, and related discrepancies between what both the speaker and the recipient think was said.

### 2.2 The Concept of Oppression

Oppression as a concept in linguistics and especially in pragmatics is not a popular one. Hence, some space is needed, to highlight its meaning and connotations using different points of view that can help designate its nature. The term oppression is used in literary texts especially the novels that are concerned with the suffering of minority groups. Consequently, it seems evident to show the literary aspect of this term. According to *Oxford Dictionary of English*, oppression is a mass noun. It means a cruel or injustice in the treatment of others. The verb of oppression is *oppress*, the past and the past participle of which is *oppressed* (first known in USA) and its present participle is *oppressing*. Additionally, the derivatives of oppression includes *oppressor* (countable noun as agent who oppresses people), *oppressive* (descriptive adjective in which the act of oppression is included), *oppressiveness* (noun), and *oppressively* (adv). Etymologically, according to *Online Etymological Dictionary*, the noun 'oppression' comes from Middle English *oppressioun* adopted from Old French *oppressiōn* (stem of *oppressiō*) which means pressing down and equivalent to oppress (Web Source 1). Other derivations of the term are from Latin *oppressionem* (nominative *oppressio*) which means "pressing down; and violence", noun of action from past participle stem of *opprimere* ("to press down"). The verb *oppress* is from Old French "*opresser*." The origin of the adjective *oppressive* is attributed to late 16<sup>th</sup> century: from medieval Latin (*oppressivus*). Coming to its definition, oppression can be defined as "social degradation of individuals as they belong to certain social group" (Charlton, 1998: 8). It comes from ideological domination and subordination where superiority and inferiority are conducted (ibid). Additionally, (Mc Gowan, 2009: 390) defines oppression as a "social arrangement that systematically disadventages people in virtue of their membership in a socially marked group. Many different groups are socially marked for oppression" (e.g. blacks, women, gays, and the obese). Oppression is viewed to be a systematic act. It means that the act of degradation is not haphazardly called oppression. For example, the degrading of women by men is called oppression not the vice versa. It is governed by the social structures of that society (Ruth, 2006: 117). Moreover, according to (Cudd, 2006: 90), oppression usually involves a social threat situation in which members of the dominant group make a threat to the oppressed group.

### 2.3 Oppression and Social Groups

According to (Young, 1990: 40-53), oppression is defined as “structural phenomenon that immobilize or diminish a group.” It is not a haphazard subordination that any injustice or discrimination addresses any group can be an act of oppression. There should be a specified social identity group that the speech is addressed toward to be an act of oppression. Those groups are called the oppressed or marked groups. The social group is not only a collection of people. More importantly, it shares special identities or “affinities (experiences and way of life), cultural form, history and practice”. As such, the members of the social groups are associated with these aspects. Examples of oppressed social groups are women, age groups, racial groups, religious groups and so on. Before (Young, 1990), (Sher, 1987: 256) defines the social group in terms of “aggregates that share a sense of identity not a set of attributes.” For instance, African Americans (AAs) are classified as so not in relation to their skin colour but in terms of their history, social status, and self-identification. Hence, the social group is 'forms of relations' not 'substances' (May, 1987: 22-23). Additionally, social identity group is a group that shares common characteristics by which they are identified as socially constructed boundaries as race, religion, age, etc (Brazzel, 2012: 170). The identification of social group, it does not occur haphazardly. Sometimes, the social groups identify themselves as so while other social groups find themselves as related to that identification due to the policy imposed on them through history (Young 1990: 44-45). For instance, AAs are identified as black people as they share the same skin colour. The identification also attributes to the relationship between the members of the community as it is subjected to the sociopolitical conditions (Haslanger, 2004:110). For instance, gays and lesbians are classified as homosexual groups as they share the sociopolitical barriers. Accordingly, such identification is subjected to change due to the sociopolitical conditions. It means that the characteristics that shape the social group as so are subject to change by time as the policies differ. What differentiates groups for example as racial is “the inequality of power, resources, prestige, and presumed worth”. Hence, the basic reason of their differentiation is power that is derived from superior members, technology, weapons, property, or economic resources. The superior members are called the dominant groups (majority group). They are powerful groups which are characterized by their various social characteristics. They include race, ethnicity, religious preferences, and age (Eitzen and Baca-Zinn, 2003: 209).. The dominant groups (DGs) are viewed to be the oppressors in Young's (1990: 60) system of oppression. A DG member is called the oppressor as s/he has the power over the minority group members (the oppressed group) who are called the oppressed. Basco, et. al (2016: 99) defines the minority social group as “a group of people within a community or country, differing from the main population in race, religion, language, or political persuasion.” The idea of minority does not mean being less in number but it is seen in terms of lower social status (Russell, 2004: 214). The minority groups are called the oppressed group (OG) according to Young (1990: 41) and the marked group according to Ramsey (2013: 79). According to Haslanger (2004: 111), OGs are characterized by their history of domination; they are subjected to force and unjust subordination socially and economically. Although they are subjected to prejudice and discrimination, their historical oppression is different. For example, some groups are oppressed linguistically like Latinos and others who are oppressed religiously like Muslims while others are oppressed only because of their skin colour like AAs.

1. There is a white female patient who has not come out and said it, but lets me know that my accent bothers her . . . I called another patient, an elderly woman who was a little ways from me, and she did not hear me. The first patient, in a rather aggressive way, said to me, “Who is going to understand you with that accent of yours?” (Cobas and Feagin, 2008:17) According to Dummett (2004: 28), belonging to a certain group means at least one of the person's parents is a member in that social group. That is to say, the AA member is called so because both his parents are either black or one of them is so. However, this is not the only criterion by which members are characterized. He adds that members can be classified in terms of “geographically, religiously and by appearance.” In relation to the participants, the act of oppression can be found with or without oppressors. If the oppression is achieved with oppressor, it is called agent oppression as Haslanger suggests. That is to say, it is obvious who the oppressor is. According to her, this kind of oppression as she denotes that someone, as s/he has some power, can oppress another, as s/he is suffering from the unjust hurt because of the wrong exercise of power. She adds that the agent oppression does not only concern an individual from DG oppresses another from OG. However, the agent oppression includes DG oppressing OG, DG member oppressing OG, and DG oppressing OG individual (2004: 98-99). On the other hand, Haslanger (2004: 14) adds that sometimes oppression comes to happen without a specific oppressor. It means there is no obvious individualistic hand that can be the agent of that oppression in spite of the fact that the oppression can be intentional. This kind of oppression is called structural oppression, which is not like the individual or agent oppression in the sense that

it expresses the personal attitudes and beliefs. However, this kind represents institutional 'subordination' of the marked group. (McGowan ,2009: 390) presents an example of such kind of oppression which is as follows:

2. An employer in a certain company wants new employees who have a valid license to drive while the job does not require it. He tells a black man that you are not permitted to have the job. The license is restricted to the whites as the non-whites cannot obtain such job as they are poor to do so.

In this case, the employer systematically disadvantages the AA so it is racial injustice. Additionally, the employer is not the oppressor but the policy that operates the company is so. Accordingly, the oppression here is structural that happens without a specific agent.

Haslanger (2004: 108) states that what makes a group based oppression as racial or gender oppression is the existence of two conditions. Firstly, there is a misallocation of power that causes wrongful harm. Secondly, how such harm is attributed to the members of that group.

#### 2.4 Levels of Oppression

As mentioned earlier in social group, oppression involves two social groups: the oppressor and the oppressed. The oppressed social group receives different levels of oppression.( Hardiman, et al 2007: 58) defines oppression in terms of a system that asserts certain characteristics of specific social group that operates intentionally and unintentionally on three levels: cultural, institutional, and individual. According to Ruth (2006: 129), cultural oppression or social oppression, as (Hardiman, et al 2007: 58) calls it, consists of the beliefs, values, assumptions, and norms that are reflected in history, literature, medias, stories and stereotypes that can be used to maintain a DG over another that reflects a kind of superiority. He adds that this level of oppression controls the other levels: personal and structural or institutional oppression. Ruth states that the institutional oppression comes from the social institutions, laws, polices, and practice of economic and political systems that are in a favor of the DG. For example racism in America occurs as white people have the privilege over the AAs and people of colour (Boutte, 2016: 52). At the individual level, (Ruth, 2006: 129) states that such a level consists of the negative attitudes, thoughts and behaviour that subordinate the oppressed groups.(Boutte, 2016: 35) adds that the individual oppression denotes the acts of prejudice, ignorance, and hatred made by persons from the DG. An example of the individual oppression is the stereotypes, which are presented by DG individuals against the OG . Such stereotypes may represent negative ethnic attitudes that denote classism (Van Dijk, 1987: 53). Consequently, such racial policy of individuals, as Bell (1992: 7) denotes, results from the individual practice. For example, two white students are talking about AA people. One of them said, “people of colour are criminals” (Montmarquent and Hardy, 2000: 342)

#### 2.5 Oppressive Speech

Oppression is an authoritative speech act that verbally enacts permissibility facts via the speaker's exercising of his/her authority over the realm in question (McGowan, 2009:7). It represents a “blow” (a powerful stroke) in the targets' face (minority groups) through presenting speech that oppresses. That is, such a speech denotes implicit action toward the minority group and consequently, it is like a physical fight that injures and harms as it may denote an exclusion of the minority from either their rights or their humanity. Such a speech is called oppressive speech. It can be defined as that class of speech which denotes inferiority that subordinates, dehumanizes, demeans, or inferiorizes another person on the basis of that person's membership in a marked group (Ramsey, 2013: 79). Looking at the type of oppressive speech in the utterance, it is identified in accordance with the type of oppression from which the social minorities, which the speech may be directed to, are suffering. Within this respect, Browman (2005: 157) classifies the types of oppression into three main categories, each of which has its own sub-classification. His classification depends on the reasons behind minority groups' oppression. They are as follows:

1. Oppression due to inability: stupidity, weakness or body illness.
2. Oppression due to circumstances: race, gender, class, and age.
3. Oppression due to choice: religion and political conventions.

Brazzel (2013: 170) states that the idea of oppression includes all of the “-isms” where prejudice is identified with the use of power like racism, ageism, classism, etc. Oppression is based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, political or national, age, physical or mental disability, religion, and other factors. Poindexter and Valentine (2013: 30) support Brazzel's (2013) idea in that the act of oppression goes by many means like racism, religious discrimination, sexism, and ageism. Consequently, oppressive speech can be racist, sexist, homophobic, etc according to the type of oppression of the minority group to which the utterance is directed. Accordingly, it is obvious that there are different types of oppressive speeches that differ in terms of the type of oppression that certain social oppressed group are suffering from. As such, there will be different types of

oppressive speeches like sexist speech, ableist speech, religious speech, and racist speech; which will be the main concern of this study.

### 2.5.1 Racist Oppressive Speech

According to Haslanger (2004: 122), racism includes all the barriers to the racial justice that may include thoughts and practices that denote bigotry, hatred, and subordination. In this respect, the racist speech is one of the tools used to have racism. Several definitions have been presented in relation to the racist speech. Starting with Matsuda et. al. (1993: 32-36), they define it as a rigid speech that shows historical agreement upon the violence and degradation of OG who do not have the ability to replay. She compares the racist speech to a move in physical fight in that it represents a 'blow' toward its target. Curry (1995: 19) also defines racist speech as the belief in the inherent superiority of one group over another as OGs are under the limitation of authority of superior groups. Additionally, Dummett (2004: 28) defines it as prejudice thoughts that are related or not related to OG. In this definition, the word prejudice includes any form of "hostility and hatred attitudes" against the marked social group or what the DG calls "the others" (ibid). Finally, Zastrow and Krist-Ashman (2013:275) view the racist speech as stereotyping and generalization of negative characteristics depending on the people's race. In this respect, the racist oppressive speech is stereotypical or prejudice beliefs that are directed toward minority social groups (OGs) which subordinates, dehumanizes, and inferiorizes them on the basis of their racial origin as blacks, Jews, Latinos, etc. Consequently, the racist oppressive speech is subordinating speech toward its target that leads to an environment that is conducive to racist violence. It marginalizes people of color and makes their environment not only "uncomfortable" but unsafe (Khan, 2015: para 15). Langton (1993) (cited in Maitra, 2012: 99) argues that a speech constitutes and can be an act of subordination when "it constitutes norms that help to construct the social reality for the subordinated group." That is to say, first it specifies the social status of the target group; second, it designates what power and rights that those groups have; third, those norms are viewed to be acceptable behaviour in the society. The subordinating speech is said to be an authoritative speech. That is, the speaker must have the authority to enact such speech. In this case, the ordinary people do not have the ability to oppress their targets while this is not the reality. As a solution, Maitra (2012: 99-117) argues that the speaker does not only have positional authority, i.e s/he has a position in the society that enables him/her to subordinate. However, she suggests that the speaker may have authority granted by those who have the positional authority or have historical authority.

#### 2.5.1.1 Aspects of Racist Oppressive Speech

Young (1992) publishes an article about the aspects of oppression. She presents criteria through which one can trace the act of oppression being enacted toward the minority social groups. According to her, oppression is traced through marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, or violence practiced toward the minority groups. Throughout the researcher's investigation, it is found that the racist oppressive speech designates such aspects along with the situation in which it is used. This means that the racist oppressive speech carries different underpinning like the aspects presented by Young (ibid: 39).

##### 2.5.1.1.1 Violence

Young (2004: 61) defines violence as the act of haphazard and instigated 'attack' that the members of a social group may suffer from. This type of attack is designed to degrade, humiliate and destroy individuals. She (ibid) adds that such violence is practiced by DGs against the minority ones. What makes violence as an act of oppression is its systematic nature as well as the injustice that results. In other words, instigating the DG directly and indirectly to shed blood in order to be superior and be controllable against the minorities. Violence is not only limited to physical hurt but exceeds toward speech also. Matsuda (1993) (cited in Langton, 2012: 76) denotes that "speech which assaults is like a move in the physical fight." As such, speech does not only denote violence but it is an act of violence in the sense that it is used to attack people of minority groups. West (2012: 234) adds that the racist hate speech is the obvious expression of the act of violence. It is used to instigate the audience for violence (Woodward and Denton, 2014: ٧٢). Such type of violence may be represented through speech in a form of threats toward individual minority social groups. Additionally, the words have an important role in this violence as to convey the desired effect on the intended audience and they are called "fighting words" (Matsuda, 1993: 36, Kyambazinthu and Moyo, 2000: 5-6). For example, the use of the words like baboons<sup>(1)</sup>, thugs or rebels, killers, fools, criminals and the like (ibid). Accordingly, the use of abusive language is viewed to be a form of violence that racially oppresses minority groups if it is directed toward them.

##### 2.5.1.1.2 Marginalization

Marginalization is defined by Young (1990: 52) as the exclusion of members of minority social groups from the active participation in the society. That is, assigning certain social groups to a lower social status in the society (Young, 2004: 2). This occurs as people are marked by their race as inferior by DG. What makes marginalization an act of oppression is the prejudice thinking that excludes or dehumanizes minority social groups as they are related to that race like AAs or Indian Americans, Latinos, and eastern Europeans or North Africans, and Asians in America. The act of marginalization can be achieved but also by actions in that people deal with in an inferior way. However, Dworkin and MacKinnon (1985) cited in (Saunders, 2003: 78) denote that speech can marginalize people to whom it targets specifically the racist one. Thus, marginalization in speech designates the racial inferiority that humiliates the minority groups. Consequently, it will degrade and persecute the target. This does not apply only to racist speech but it also includes sexist speech as it marginalizes women.

### 2.5.1.1.3 Powerlessness

According to Marxist theory of socialism, people are divided into those with power and others without power. Fairclough (2001: 38) defines power as the capacity of members of DG to control and constrain the non-powerful social groups. Racist oppressive speech denotes unequal relation of power. Oppressors do have power or what is called the authority to oppress. This power is positional, granted, societal or historical authority that enables DG to oppress. At the same time, the oppressed people are considered to lack such power. Concerning power in the racist speech, it is not related to individual speakers. However, Butler (1997) [cited in (Applebaum, 2010: 68)] denotes that the injurious capacity of racist speech comes from its ability to recall the accumulated force that OG have received through history. Such type of injure is either physical when it agitates people to harm others (racist hate propaganda) or mental in that people will be hurt psychologically through insulting them. Additionally, she argues that the power of words that wound in hate speech is not only attributed to individual speakers yet it advocates history of norm. That is to say, the use of such speech is conventionally used to oppress people.

## 2.6 Speech Acts Theory

Speech act theory is concerned with the ways in which utterances can be used to carry out actions. It was developed originally by Austin in the 1930, and published after his death in a work entitled "How to do things with words" in 1962 (Malmkjaer, 2002). Later, Searle, who was a student of Austin, refined, systematized, and advanced speech act theory into the form in which it is now known. Searle refined Austin's ideas regarding what speech acts are and how they function. Simply stated, the central tenet of this theory is that the uttering of a sentence is an action within the framework of social institutions and conventions (Huang, 2007: 93). The theory of speech act is inherently a pragmatic theory, since it involves an intention on the part of the speaker and an inference on the part of the hearer. In order to know how we are able to understand a speaker's utterance, we must ask how it is that we know what sort of act the speaker intended to perform by means of this utterance (Briner, 2013: 175).

### 2.6.1 Searle's Classification of Speech Acts

Huang (2007: 133) mentions that Searle taxonomy, speech act are universally grouped into five categories along with four dimensions: (i) illocutionary point or Purpose of the type of act (ii) direction of fit or relationship between words and world (iii) expressed psychological state, (iv) propositional content. They are explained below:

**1. Assertives** (representatives), assertives commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition: asserting, concluding, etc). Assertives have a word-to-world direction of fit, i. e the addressee fits his words to the world in order to express a belief through the established proposition. This class includes verbs such as 'state, assert, complain, affirm, report, conclude, etc.

**2. Directives**, they are attempts by the speaker to get the addressee to do something (requesting, questioning), the illocutionary point of this act is to direct the addressee towards doing (or not doing) something. Therefore, they designate a world-to-words direction of fit. Directives include verbs such as: 'ask, order, request, demand, advise, warn, etc. For example: Open the door.

**3. Comissives**, are those kinds of speech acts that commit the speaker to some future course of action. They express the speaker's intention to do something. Such as: promise, vow, commit, threaten, pledge etc. Ex. I will be there tonight' -He threatens me.

**4. Expressives**, they express the psychological state of the speaker such as: pleasure, pain, likes, dislikes'. They have no direction of fit for this type of speech act. This class comprises verbs like 'apologize, thank, congratulate, welcome, condole etc. Ex. She is so happy.

**5. Declaratives**, this class of illocutions have both words-to world and world-to-words directions of fit, therefore, they change the world via their utterance. There is no psychological set expressed by declaration. Verbs denoting declarations are 'declare, name, appoint, nominate, quit, etc.

For Example: I declare the meeting is delayed.

### 2.7 Racism

The phenomenon of racism is a social one that can be attributed to certain social and personal factors. The concepts of race and racism remain among the most controversial issues in social sciences. Berson and Matheson (1993:5) explain that a commonly accepted definition of race relates to people who have, or are supposed to have, common ancestors. It also relates to those with similar distinguishing features such as skin colour and physiognomy, common social or community heritage, and similar religious practices. Jakubowicz et al (1994:27) mention that racism can be understood as the set of values and behaviors associated with groups of people in conflict over physical appearance, genealogy, or cultural difference. It contains an intellectual/ideological framework of explanation, a negative orientation towards 'the other' and a commitment to set of actions that puts these values into practice. More importantly, the categories of people can be hierarchically ordered and ranked in terms of a scale of superiority /inferiority. The theory empowers those deemed as superior to develop paternalistic policies, and practice of domination over 'inferior races'. Over the years, the concept of race has become a lot more fragile and understood as more of a social construct than a scientific 'fact' (Jayasuriya, 1999:3). According to Jayasuriya the shift from old to new racism indicates a new level of racist ideology. Racial hate speech should have three characteristic features: (i) a message of racial inferiority; (ii) being directed at a historically oppressed group; and (iii) being persecutory, hateful, and degrading (Mastada cited in Shwartzman, 2002:427). (Platt,2008:370) defines racism as behaviour that uses physical markers of differences such as skin colour as the basis of assumed inferiority and a justification for less favorable treatment, whether through verbal or physical abuse (racial harassment), through denying employment or by obstructing access to opportunities of services." The term racial discrimination, according to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination(UNCERD), means: Any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social cultural or any other field of public life. (Law, 2010:2) defines race as" the social and cultural significance assigned to a group of people who are recognized as sharing common physical or physiognomic characteristics and/or a common lineage of descent." Regarding the elements of racism, Law (ibid:3) adds that racism is comprising of "two core elements in all historical and geographical situations; it presupposes that some concepts of race are being mobilized and involves negative attribution of a signified racial group ."

### 2.8 Sexism

Sexism is the use of language to discriminate against women and to belittle and trivialize those activities associated with women. Sexism is defined as "the practices whereby someone foregrounds gender when it is not the most salient feature". It, just like racism and other discriminatory forms of language, stems from larger societal forces, wider institutionalized inequalities of power and conflict over who has rights to certain positions and resources. Accordingly, sexism is an index of ongoing conflict between men and women (Mills,2008:1). The term sexism is also used to categorize a set of stereotypical beliefs about women which cannot be directly related to a certain set of linguistic usages or features. Following (Vetterling-Braggin,1981: 2), a statement is sexist if it contributes to, encourages, causes, or results in the oppression of women.

#### 2.8.1 TYPES OF SEXISM

##### i. Overt Sexism (direct)

Accordingly, (Mills, 2008: 11-12), is a type of usage which can be straightforwardly identified through the use of linguistic markers, or through the analysis of terms which are associated with the expression of discriminatory opinions about women, signaling to hearers that women are seen as an inferior group in relation to males.

##### ii. Covert Sexism (indirect)

According to Sara Mills, she said that indirect sexism is ironising sexism. Since it both challenging overt sexism and keeps it in play. Benwell (2006) terms this type of indirect sexism 'new sexism'. She also adds that it's very reminiscent of, it is not identical to past forms of sexism which clearly shown. It differentiates of the way overt sexism and indirect sexism is used. This type of new sexism is bring the outdated notions of sexism become new term one. That is why Williamson also called this new type of sexism as 'retro-sexism'. The fact that the humor and irony are used when being sexist does not change the nature of sexism itself, but it just only

interpreting simply and different way of respond the new sexism. This term of sexism used to categorize a set of stereotypical beliefs about women which cannot be directly related to a certain linguistic usage or features. (Mills, 2008:10).

### 3.METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Research Design

The researcher employed a descriptive qualitative method in this investigation. According to Yin, qualitative research has the attraction of allowing the researcher to conduct a variety of topics while also giving them more freedom in selecting a certain topic (2011: 6). Meanwhile, qualitative research is defined by Vickie and Clinton (2012:255) as "a dedication to examining anything in its natural state to the extent possible within the constraints of the research arena.

##### 3.1.1 Length

Speeches are chosen to find out how ROS is shown in the American context. This entails that they vary in length. A speech, on the one hand, may be longer than one utterance . On the other hand, chosen extracts are included in the analysis where one, two, three or more utterances are scrutinized under investigation to set the idea comprehensive and to show how ROS are conveyed via language in each extract.

##### 3.1.2 Form

The utterances under scrutiny are transcribed versions of the spoken form as far as speeches are concerned. The choice of the written forms comes from the fact that they make the analysis easier and more convenient. The video-recordings of the speeches , however, are consulted just to make sure that decided-upon interpretation concerning the specific utterance is an aspect of ROS.

##### 3.1.3 Themes

Utterances related to immigration, refugees and minorities affairs, foreign and domestic policies, or elections are chosen to be under scrutiny. These are the themes where ROS is expected to include.

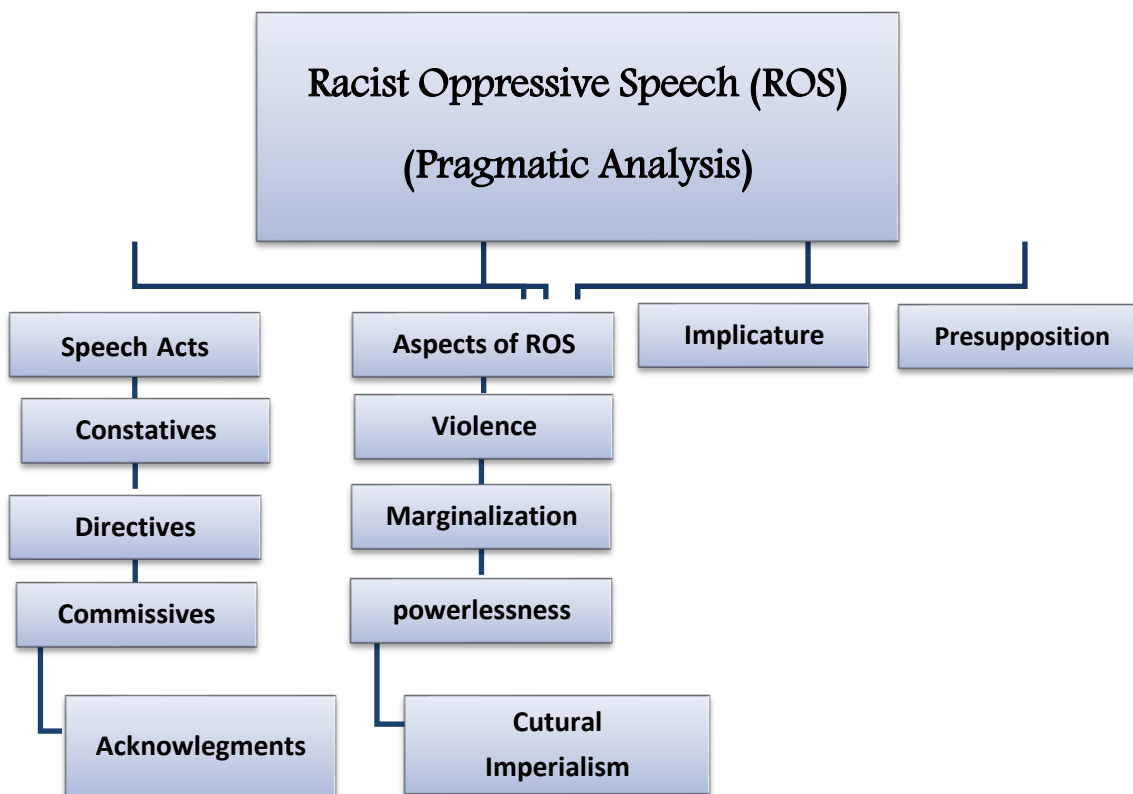


Figure (1) The Eclectic Model of the Current Study

### 3.2 Data Description

This study developed a three-stage eclectic model for pragmatic analysis of ROS in three excerpts from <sup>(1)</sup> Trump's October 9, 2016 Debate Transcript Presidential Debate at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri October 9, 2016 <sup>(2)</sup> Trump: Such a nasty woman <sup>(3)</sup> Trump on Twitter in 2019, criticizing former Democratic Rep. Elijah Cummings that his district, where more than half of residents are Black, was a "disgusting, rat and rodent infested mess" making use of three mechanisms: stance, critique, and reproduction. Stance deals with the attitude towards ROS as a negative phenomenon that has harmful effects on people and society. This model is a basic apparatus for the qualitative analysis of the data. It is explained as follows: ROS can be best manifested via language. Due to its criticality, it is investigated in terms of pragmatic. It is motivated by the concept of being different in certain aspects. ROS, thus, is invoked by a difference in race, class, religion, nationality, or gender. This is the first stage which represents the motivation behind ROS. The data are three extracts taken from American Debates that have been examined to explore the manifestation of ROS. These are the pragmatic representation of ROS. This is the second stage which represents the pragmatic representation of ROS. ROS manifests itself in language via some pragmatic theories. These are Speech acts (Searle, 1976), Presupposition, and Implicature (Grice). ROS has many effects on its targets, like leaving them silent, isolated, excluded or discriminated. These negative utterances should be reproduced by providing alternative utterances. This is achieved by employing the last mechanism in pragmatic, which is reproduction. It aims to minimize or avoid ROS. Throughout the analysis, the above mechanisms operate simultaneously.

### 3.3 Data Collection

The data have been chosen from Trump's speech according to certain criteria, they should contain racism which is our concern in this study. The first extract has been taken from:

[https://ballotpedia.org/Presidential\\_debate\\_at\\_Washington\\_University\\_\(October\\_9,\\_2016\)](https://ballotpedia.org/Presidential_debate_at_Washington_University_(October_9,_2016))

The second extract has been selected from:

<https://youtu.be/Q2KOOZ0Zd0?si=yA4a9VgvnXlBmchh>

and the last one chosen from :

<https://newspaper.albaathmedia.sy/>

### 3.4 Data Analysis

#### 1. Excerpt One:

During October 9, 2016 Debate Transcript Presidential Debate at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri October 9, 2016 Trump made the statement, " Well, you're right about Islamophobia, and that's a shame. But one thing we have to do is we have to make sure that—because there is a problem. I mean, whether we like it or not, and we could be very politically correct, whether we And we have to be sure that Muslims come in, Horribly wounded. They'll never be the same. Go outside and look at radical Islamic terrorists. He don't use the term —radical Islamic terrorism. Now, to solve problem, She won't say the name, and President Obama won't say the name. But the name is there . It is radical Islamic terror. And before you solve it, you have to say the name'. In this speech, Trump describes the Islamic as a terror, and he says 'we could be very politically correct, whether we". i) Speech Act:

In this statement, Trump calls Islam extremist terrorists, and he says " Islamophobia" that means dislike of or prejudice against Islam or Muslims, especially as a political force. He also insists that they be politically correct and that Muslims will come with horrific injuries, and this indicates his hatred and racism towards Islam or Muslims.

#### ii) Implicature:

Trump uses the phrase "it's radical Islamic terror" this is a clear and deliberate accusation by Trump against Muslims, as he says "He won't use the term —radical Islamic terrorism. Now, to solve a problem, She won't say the name, and President Obama won't say the name. But the name is there. It's radical Islamic terror" this is evidence of his insistence on incitement and racism against Muslims.

#### iii) Presupposition:

This statement presupposes that United States could be very politically correct, which is an assumption that is not necessarily shared by all Americans. Additionally, Trump presupposes that Muslims come in, Horribly wounded. They'll never be the same, which is a controversial assumption.

#### 2. Excerpt Two

During the third presidential debate 19 October 2016, Donald Trump called Hillary Clinton a "such as a nasty woman" while she was talking about social security and raising taxes. In this statement, Trump shows his hatred towards woman.

Speech Act:

In this statement, Trump disparages the woman, he calls Clinton "such a nasty woman" on the debate stage , and so he shows his despise against woman.

Implicature:

Trump's use of the word "nasty" against woman on the debate stage, it bears emphasizing that this kind of behaviour is not normal on the presidential debate stage. Normally, candidates may disagree, criticize, and get in some zingers, but direct insults like Trump's are just weird.

iii) Presupposition:

This statement presupposes that the woman has no right to blame a man, especially since this man is influential like Trump, which is an assumption that is not shared by all Americans. This assumption is a controversial.

### 3. Excerpt Tree

Trump on Twitter in 2019, criticizing former Democratic Rep. Elijah Cummings that his district, where more than half of residents are Black, was a "disgusting, rat and rodent infested mess."

Speech Act:

In this statement, Trump criticizes former Democratic Rep. Elijah Cummings because, he allowed black residents ( African American ) to coexist in his district. He likens them to rat and rodents. Thus, with these words, he insults and despises black residents and their president.

ii) Implucture:

Trump's use of the simile words like "rat and rodents" indicates that Trump is a racist detractor person toward African Americans, and he does not welcome their presence at all.

iii) Presupposition:

This statement presupposes that during Trump's presidency, there were no black people in his district. This assumption is a controversial.

### 3.5 Findings

In all three excerpts analyzed above, Trump uses ROS to reveal the extent of his hatred and racism against Muslims in the USA during his statement "**He won't use the term —radical Islamic terrorism. Now, to solve a problem, She won't say the name, and President Obama won't say the name. But the name is there. It's radical Islamic terror**", racism against a woman where he interrupted Hillary Clinton a "**such as a nasty woman**" while she was talking about social security and raising taxes, and racism against race through his tweet on Twitter in 2019, criticizing former Democratic Rep. Elijah Cummings that his district, where more than half of residents are Black, was a "**disgusting, rat and rodent infested mess.**". These three different situations constitute the core of racism in the USA, as reported by many previous studies, such as Salem et al (2021), Al-Aadili (2020), and Zahra (2019). Former President of the United States of America, Donald Trump, has a history of controversial statements and actions that are widely seen as increasing concern about the issue of racial discrimination in the United States of America. Trump is the most racist president in modern American history.

### 4. Conclusion

Racism is the belief that a certain group is superior to another group. Racism can be expressed overtly in the form of racist jokes, slurs or hate crimes. It can be more rooted in stereotypical attitudes, values and beliefs. Sometimes people don't realize they have these beliefs. Racism harms not only those who suffer from it, but also the entire society. It deepens suspicions, casts a shadow of suspicion on all sides, and tears apart the fabric of society. racism and xenophobia. Racial discrimination doesn't stem from the skin, but rather from the human mind, and therefore the solution to racial discrimination, alienation from others, and other manifestations of inequality must, first and foremost, address the mental illusions that have produced false notions, over thousands of years, about the superiority of one race over another. Humanity.

Racial discrimination can be eliminated by following one of the following solutions:

- i. Recognizing all forms of racial discrimination.
- ii. Fighting negative racial discrimination laws.
- iii. Continue to combat racial discrimination.

Through Pragmatic approach, we have analyzed three excerpts from the 2016 United States presidential election debates in which ROS was used by then-candidate Donald Trump. The use of ROS can also create implicatures and presuppositions. that reinforce negative attitudes towards certain groups, such as Muslims. This can have a detrimental effect on society and religion, leading to increased polarization and division. Therefore, it is important to recognize the impact of ROS and to work towards promoting a more inclusive , respectful and neutral political discourse. It actually conclude that the entire world is suffering from the hatred

and racism that President Trump deals with at the level of the American internal situation or the foreign policies of the United States of America 75 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the fight against racism and racial discrimination remains urgent. Every day, each of us can stand up against racial bias and bigoted behaviours. Let us build a world free from racism and discrimination in which we can all exercise our human rights. Be champions of human rights. Based on data analysis and the results that we have reached in the current study all the hypotheses which are set up in section one are verified.

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