A Pragmatic Study of Identity Representation in American Political Speeches

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Abstract

Identity is an influential and flexible concept in social sciences and political studies. The basic sense of identity is looking for uniqueness. In one sense, it is a sign of identification with those we assume they are similar to us or at least in some significant ways they are so. Globalization, migration, modern technologies, media and political conflicts are argued to have a crucial effect on identity representation in terms of the political perspectives specifically in the United States of America. This paper endeavors to investigate how American politicians represent their identities in speeches delivered in different periods of time namely from 2015 to 2018 in terms of the pragmatic paradigm. Three randomly selected speeches by famous American politicians are chosen for the analysis. This paper aims to answer these questions: What are the possible types of identity that are represented in the American political speeches? What are the pragmatic phenomena utilized to manifest identity in the contexts under investigation? Which pragmatic strategies are highly made use of in representing identity in the contexts under scrutiny? Data analysis shows that different types of identity representations appear in the data like the national and political identity, among others. Speech acts, reference, impoliteness and maxim breaching are the pragmatic phenomena that are utilized in the manifestation of identity in the American political speeches. The first two are the most utilized ones among the other pragmatic theories.

Keywords: American politics, identity, political speeches, pragmatic strategies

دراسة تداولية عن تمثيل الهوية في الخطابات السياسية الامريكية
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المستخلص

تعد الهوية مفهوما مؤثرا ومرنا في العلوم الاجتماعية والدراسات السياسية. والمعنى الاساس لها يتضمن البحث عن التميز. وأحدى معانيها تشير الى دمج المرء نفسه مع أولئك الذين نفترض أنهم أشباها لنا بطريقة أو بأخرى. يجري النقاش أن للعولمة، والهجرة، والتقدم التقني، والإعلام، والصراعات السياسية تأثيرا مهما في تمثيل الهوية ضمن الأطر السياسية لاسيما في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. تحاول هذه الدراسة بحث كيفية تمثيل السياسيين لهوياتهم في الخطابات السياسية الأمريكية المقدمة من ٢٠١٥ الى ٢٠١٨ وفقا للمنهج التداولي. وعليه جرى اختيار ثلاثة خطابات بصورة عشوائية لثلاثة سياسيين مشهورين لتكون بيانات للدراسة الحالية. يحاول البحث الإجابة عن الأسئلة الآتية: ما الأنواع المحتملة للهوية التي تعرضها الخطابات السياسية الأمريكية؟ وما المظاهر التداولية

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المستعملة لإظهار الهوية في البيانات قيد الدراسة؟ و أي من هذه الستراتيجيات التداولية هي الأكثر استعمالا في عرض الهوية في السياقات قيد البحث؟ . أظهر التحليل أن أنواعا متعددة من الهوية تتمظهر في البيانات مثل: الهوية الوطنية ، والهوية السياسية وغيرهما. وتعد نظريات الفعل الكلامي والإشارة ، واللاتأدب، وخرق قواعد التعاون؛ هي الستراتيجيات المستعملة لتمثيل الهوية في الخطابات السياسية الأمريكية. وتعد النظريتان الاوليتان هي الأكثر توظيفا من بين النظريات الأخرى.

الكلمات المفتاحية : الخطابات السياسية، الستراتيجيات التداولية، السياسة الأمريكية، الهوية

1. Introduction

Identity is simply defined as the features that determine who or what a person or thing is. It distinguishes us from other people (Buckingham, 2008). Our identities or the ways we see and represent ourselves shape how and what we communicate (Howarth, 2002). Politicians use language so as to fulfill their own purposes. It is argued that the language of the authoritative people affects others (Mehdi, 2020). By presenting themselves or their nationality, religion, race or culture, they intend to influence their audience and achieve their goals. As such, this paper tries to find out how identity is represented in political speeches due to the modern effects of advanced technology, globalization, media and so on. It aims to discover the types of identities that are represented in the language of the American politicians and what pragmatic strategies are employed by those politicians to represent their identities when they deliver speeches to their audience.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 The Concept of Identity

Schools of thought concerned with identity literature argue that people can talk about the personal identity or the social identity (Vignoles, 2017). The question "Who are you?" answers the meaning of personal identity. Psychologists use this term to refer to a person's self-image or to one's beliefs about the sort of person one is and how one differs from others, as Olson (2019) explained in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. The personal identity means the identity of persons and their persistence through time, as Shoemaker (2017) clarified in the online Encyclopedia of Britannica. An individual's social identity, as Howarth (2002) stated, indicates who they are in terms of the groups to which they belong. Different aspects of identity intertwine and define each other to constitute the way people construct and represent their identity.

Identities categorize people due to their roles in society. For example, students, workers, or parents are roles those people occupy in life. Thus, one may have multiple identities simultaneously. A woman can be a teacher, wife, mother or daughter. Revealing or representing one of these identities in communications is highly associated with the context of situation. For instance, in a specific context, one may highlight his political or religious identity due to certain reasons. Identity theory aims to show how the idea of various identities differs from one person to another or from one context to another and how these identities impact one's actions, feelings, thoughts, and ideas. It aims as well to reveal how these identities represent boundness, sameness, and groupness in society (Burke & Stets, 2009).

As far as the nature of people and society and their interrelationships are concerned, societies of diverse social categories are based on power and status relations. Social categories refer to the distinctive features of people and how to classify them under their nationality, race, occupation, religion, class, and so on. Such categories do not exist in isolation. Hence, power and status relations appear within communities that have greater power, status, prestige, and so on than others (Hogg & Abrams, 1998). The main argument in this paper is that identity representation in the American political contexts is related to positively evaluating one's in-groupness and negatively evaluating out-groupness.

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2.2 Types of Identity

The diversity in identity representation pays attention to the distinctions between each type and explains the differences between them. The following are some relevant distinctive types of identity:

1. Personal identity means the *self* which is distinguished by certain features like how a person views himself with respect to other members and how the others view him in different circumstances (Layder, 2004).

2. National identity focuses on group members who share the same nation (Joseph, 2004). National identity is defined by Barrett and Davis (2008, p. 72) as "a set of cognition and emotions that express an individual's relationship with a nation". It seeks to include the historical variations in the institutional forms of collective action and the distinction between territorial sovereignty and national sovereignty.

3. Racial identity deals with the physical and biological orientation like skin color and ethnic distinction (Baum, 2006). Here, Jones (1972) argued that racism is a "negative attitudes toward a person or group based upon a social comparison process in which the individual's own group is taken as the positive point of reference" (p.3).

4. Religious identity refers to "how individuals develop their own personal sense of religious and/or spiritual identity over the course of their lifetime" (Etengoff & Rodriguez, 2020, p.1).

5. Cultural identity refers to an individual's cultural features, attributes, social life, and even his educational state. It refers to the identity of a group or collective cultural identity (Gilbert, 2010).

6. Political identity demonstrates the political orientation that endeavors to shape the public's politics. Research papers on political persuasion have focused on studying how politicians' messages could have an effect on the target's (i.e., the publics) political attitudes (Brader, 2005).

7. Gender identity refers to distinctive biological features between man and woman, their behaviors, language, and attitudes (Stets & Burke, 2000). In this context, Muhammed (2020) added, being a man or woman, however, is a matter of social reality which has its effects on the different opportunities, rights and constraints gained in society.

2.3 Pragmatic Issues

Mey (2001) defined pragmatics as how humans use language in daily interactions. One important subject in pragmatic studies is that of context. Ochs (1979, p. 5) argued that "the concept of context includes, minimally, language users' beliefs, and assumptions about temporal, spatial, and social settings; prior, ongoing, and future actions (verbal, nonverbal), and the state of knowledge and attentiveness of those participating in the social interaction at hand". Aspects of power, dominance or ideology affect our choice of words in addition to the contextual factors of settings, participants and so on (Al-Hindawi & Mohammed, 2018). In the last decades, political contexts became more contented than ever. They lead to the emergence of different types of identities whether they are national, racial, religious and so forth (Eisenberg, 2009). It is clear to see how political leaders use certain markers that fit the type of identity they express in any situation. The variation in using such markers shapes their aims and draws their goals whether they are addressing national, cultural, or religious identity depending on the group's situation (Gilbert, 2010). The SPEAKING model of Hymes (1964) involves a framework for the components of any speech event: settings, participants, ends (purposes, outcomes), act sequences, key (attitudinal aspects), instrumentalities (norms and styles of speech), norms of interaction and interpretation, and genre (the discourse type). Identity is presented via some pragmatic theories. The most relevant ones are briefly presented here.

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2.3.1   Speech Acts

Austin (1962) stated that sentences have functions like making promises, suggestions, commands, etc. Speech acts are generally performed within the meaning of the utterance of a sentence. Searle (1969) formulated four affective and successful requirements for the execution of any illocution. These requirements are called the felicity conditions: propositional, preparatory, sincerity and essential. Searle (1979) developed the classification of illocutionary acts into five macro classes. Assertives try to fit the words to the world. Directives try to fit the world to the word. Commissives tends to make the speaker fit the world to the words. Expressives emphasize psychological affairs where the speaker needs to fit the words to neither the world nor the world to the words. Declarations link between the propositional content and reality.

2.3.2   Reference

People usually use language to refer to persons or things (Mey, 2001). The speaker utters his words within a certain context. He depends on some pragmatic elements to make sense for a particular reference. These are called deictic expressions. Reference is a type of verbal indication to a certain object or person that someone refers to or wishes to speak about (Carlson, 2004). Within the pragmatic framework, deixis can be classified into personal like "I, me, you", spatial like "here, there" and temporal like "now, then" (Levinson, 1983). Other linguistic expressions of reference can be proper nouns like "Shakespeare", or noun phrases like "the White House". The purpose of these expressions depends on the speaker's intention and the listener's inference (Yule, 1996). According to Korta and Perry (2011), deictic expressions are elements used to convey a piece of information, beliefs, thoughts, intentions and ideas in certain situations. For example, using "I" is an important representation for the speaker. Senft (2014) pointed out that the study of deictic expressions is strongly linked to pragmatics and psychology. Most sentences contain linguistic expressions whose reference is highly context- dependent and shifts from context to context. In terms of identity representation, one may refer to in-group identity by using expressions like "we, our, us" to denote his own identity. Or, one may use "they, their, them" to refer to others' identity or out-groups.

2.3.3 Maxims Breaching

Grice (1975) suggested that the cooperative principle and its subordinate maxims are found normally in any standard conversation. They fall under three strategies: what is said, what is implicated, and what is non-conventionally implicated. According to Mey (2001), floating any of the four maxims of quality, quantity, relation and manner appears either semantically or pragmatically. When people fail to observe these maxims semantically, they may use a word which is not accepted in general. When they pragmatically breach these maxims, figures of speech like metaphor, irony and so on may result. Making successful communication depends on the speaker's implications behind words on one hand, and on the hearer's inferences on the other (Horn, 2004). Communication is a cooperative effort which lies at the heart of the pragmatic concept. It is created by the mutual knowledge shared by participants. Hence, the speaker uses defaults as a means of relational intuition and the hearer uses defaults as he is expected to notice the obvious breach of the maxims. Inferential pragmatics attempts to clarify how the listener infers the speaker's intention produced via his words. Grice (1989) argued that implicature falls under two categories: the conventional and non-conventional implications. In the case of conventional implicatures, the lexical meaning of the words determines what is implicated besides what is said. For example, *Joe is poor but happy*. It has to do with particles like "*but, even, too, however, yet, nevertheless, moreover,* etc." that handle non-truth-conditional aspects of lexical meaning (Horn, 2004). Non-

conventional or conversational implicature, on the other hand, occurs when a hearer cannot observe one of the four maxims of the cooperative principle.

2.3.4 Impoliteness

Impoliteness can be defined as a behavioral attack that happens intentionally by a speaker, and the hearer infers that the speaker has made an offense to him. Thus, impoliteness comes as a combination of these two cases or even one of them (Culpeper, 2011). Building on Culpeper's (1996) work of impoliteness, these strategies represent the main model of impoliteness:

1. Bald on record impoliteness is performed in a clear and direct way without any ambiguity in circumstances where face is not irrelevant or minimized.
2. Positive impoliteness is designed to damage the addressee's positive face wants. For example, ignoring others or failing to acknowledge the other's presence and so forth.
3. Negative impoliteness is primarily concerned to damage the addressee's negative facial expressions. For example, to frighten, ridicule, belittle the other and so on.
4. Sarcasm or mock-politeness is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere to remain surface in realizations.
5. Withhold politeness is the absence of politeness work where it would be expected. Failing to thank somebody for doing a favor can be deliberately impolite.

Culpeper (2005) modified this model to be of two basic strategies:

1. On-record impoliteness: These strategies are designed to explicitly (a) attack the face of an interactant, (b) construct the face of interactants in a non-harmonious or outright conflictive way, and (c) deny the expected face wants, needs, or rights of the interactants, or some combination thereof. The attack is made in an unambiguous way given the context in which it occurs.

2. Off-record impoliteness: These strategies come to damage an interactant's face indirectly by means of implicature and it can be cancelled (e.g., denied or an account/post-modification/elaboration offered and the like), given the context of occurrence.

Only relevant aspects of impoliteness are included in the analytical framework which is engineered on the basis of these four pragmatic theories.

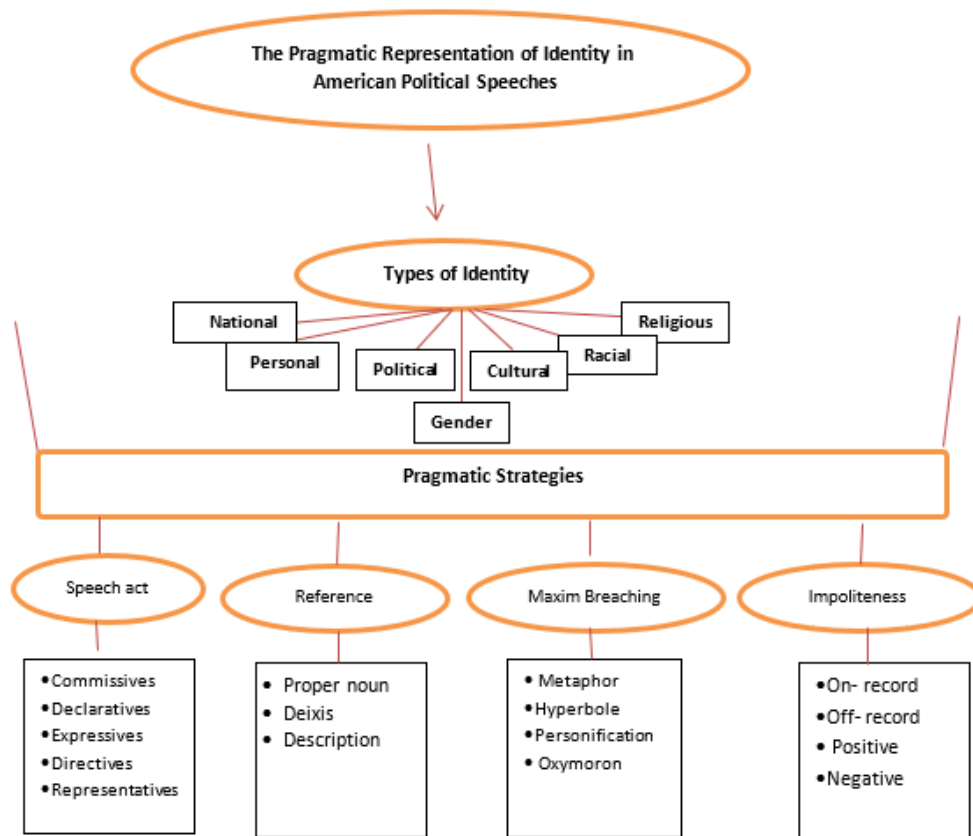## 3. The Analytical Part

3.1 Methodology of the Study

In order to analyze the data under scrutiny, four pragmatic theories are chosen to be the basic apparatus for the analysis. These are found effective to achieve the aim of the study. These theories which represent the eclectic analytical framework are speech act theory of Searle (1969), reference of Korta and Perry (2011), impoliteness of Culpeper (1996, 2005) and maxims breaching of Grice (1975).

3.2 Model of Analysis

The model of analysis suggested in this study is divided into three levels. The first is concerned with identity representation. It includes types of identity: national, personal, political, cultural, racial, religious, and gender identities. The second level examines the pragmatic components which are speech acts (following Searle, 1969), reference (following Korta and Perry, 2011), impoliteness of Culpeper (1996, 2005) and maxims breaching (following Grice, 1975). The third level introduces a more detailed scrutinization for these macro pragmatic strategies. Speech acts are divided into commissives, declaratives, expressives, directives and representatives. Reference hosts proper nouns, deixis, descriptions. Maxim breaching includes metaphor, hyperbole, personification and oxymoron. Impoliteness is classified into on- record, off- record, positive and negative impoliteness. Figure (1) engineers these details.

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Figure 1

The Analytical Framework of Identity Representation in the American Political Speeches

3.3 Data Analysis

The data consist of extracts quoted from three speeches of American politicians. The selected extracts manifest the representation of identity in American political speeches. The criteria for selecting these extracts are specified via the linguistic markers of a reference to identity exemplified by the use of deictics, a linguistic trigger which specifies the type of identity and the representation of identity that implies a positive representation for the self and negative representation for the others. Each extract consists of some utterances. Thus, the unit of analysis is the utterance. The data is confined to the years from 2015-2018. The first speech is by Hillary Clinton in 2015, the second is by Barack Obama in 2016, and the third is by Donald Trump in 2018. Those politicians are argued to be famous and affective figures in the American politics and society. Here are some extracts that are part of the qualitative analysis. The utterances of full speeches, however, are put in the quantitative analysis.

3.3.1 Clinton's Speech

The first speech is by Hillary Clinton, the Democratic presidential nominee. She delivered it during her campaign to win the presidential race. Table (1) displays the contextual factors of this speech.

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Table 1
The Contextual Factors of Clinton's Speech

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	New York. June 13. 2015
Participants	Speaker: former Secretary of the United States (Clinton)
	Audience: Assembly of New York citizens
End	Campaign speech
Instruments	A spoken form
Genre	Speech

- **Extract (1)**

"*Now, there may be some new voices in the presidential Republican choir, but they're all singing the same old song. A song called yesterday.*"

- **Analysis**

In her presidential campaign speech, Clinton reflected her **political identity** in a clear way by hinting to the other political party which is the republican. Being a Democratic candidate, she directed her supporters against her opponent, the Republican Party in an attempt to win the presidential race. She claimed that she is coming with a new program that is different from the older one.

She issued the expressive speech act of complaining against those politicians who didnot present new programs to improve and change the life of Americans. The felicity conditions of complaining are set by Olshtain and Weinbach (1987) as follows: **1. Propositional Content Condition**: Here, the hearer performs a socially unacceptable act that is contrary to a social code of the behavioral norms shared by the speaker and the hearer. **2. Preparatory Condition**: The speaker perceives the socially unacceptable act as having unfavorable consequences on himself/herself. **3. Sincerity Condition**: The speaker feels unhappy for a past act done by the hearer. **4. Essential Condition**: the speaker chooses to express his/her disappointment verbally. As such, Clinton is complaining against the other rival party due to his inappropriate actions and due to her dissatisfaction with those actions. She is highlighting a negative representation of that rival party.

The word *but* reflects the idea of comparison showing her positive political identity and the negative identity of the others, i.e., the Republican Party. Her opponents presented the same old agenda, whereas she promised indirectly a new one. Thus, an indirect speech act of promising appears in this extract (for the felicity conditions of promising, see Searle, 1969). The reference strategy is manifested by the use of the proper noun "Republican choir". In terms of impoliteness strategies, she addressed the positive face of her opponents and all those who follow them. She ridiculed their positive face saying they are singing an old song. The breaching of the maxims is represented by the word 'song'. She compared their political agenda with an old song in the sense that it is very well known, and it has been repeated thousands of times.

- **Extract (2)**

"*They shame and blame women, rather than respect our right to make our own reproductive health decisions*".

- **Analysis**

In this utterance, Clinton revealed aspects of the **gendered identity** in the American contexts. The linguistic marker is the word 'women'. She argued the idea that women in America are not respected especially when the matter is concerned with the health decisions. She rejected the abortion decision for the sake of mother and fetus health. Abortion was admitted by the Republicans which means their disrespect of women's health, right and integrity.

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The extract starts with the expressive speech act of criticizing. The felicity conditions of criticizing are set by Nguyen (2005) as follows**: 1. Propositional Content Condition**: An act performed that is considered inappropriate according to a set of evaluative criteria the speaker holds. **2. Preparatory Condition**: That is, the speaker holds that this inappropriate action might bring unfavorable consequences to the hearer or the general public or the speaker himself. **3. Sincerity Condition**: The speaker feels dissatisfied with the hearer's inappropriate action and feels an urge to make his or her opinion known verbally. **4. Essential Condition**: the speaker thinks that his/her criticism will potentially lead to a change in the hearer's future action or behavior and believes that the hearer would not otherwise change or offer a remedy for the situation without his/her criticism. Clinton criticized those who do not respect women and gave them the right to make their own decisions. She did not like their attitude and behaviour against women. She raised accordingly this issue to make it clear for the public and ask for a remedy or a change.

In terms of reference strategies, Clinton used the personal deixis (they and our). The word *"they"* makes it obvious for the listener that "they are against our rights", i.e., women's rights.

- **Extract (3)**
  "*We should ban discrimination against LGBT Americans and their families so they can live, learn, marry, and work just like everybody else.*"
- **Analysis**

Clinton tackled another societal category in the American society when she mentioned lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT), as part of the American traditional culture. Clinton reflected her **cultural identity** in an attempt to visualize the idea of victimization against this group of people by sympathizing them. This category represents the modern cultural movement in America. By advocating them, she declared that she was not against

them. The phrase "*everybody else"* implicates inequity for those people. Her hidden intention is to win others' votes, including the LGBT to win the elections. She called for stopping discrimination against LGBT and let them live and practice their normal life like others. The word *discrimination* explicates the principle of in-group and out-group, and this is based on the cultural varieties in the American society.

Clinton issued the meaning of her identity through the directive speech acts of requesting to protect this class of people. The felicity conditions of requesting are established by Searle (1969) as follows: **1. Propositional Content Condition**: The speaker always asks the hearer to do some future actions. **2. Preparatory Condition**: The speaker attempts or suggests doing something. **3. Sincerity Condition**: The speaker wants (or wishes or desires). **4. Essential Condition**: The speaker expresses his ability to perform the act of requesting and speaker has ability to do the act. As such, Clinton issued this request to ban discrimination against the LGBT hoping to make a change in this regard because she believed that this was their right. In terms of reference strategies, Clinton used the personal deixis (we) and the descriptive noun (LGBT Americans) as linguistic markers to reflect her social power, wishing to apply justice for those people who are considered as part of her society.

- **Extract (4)**
  "*Our political system is so paralyzed by gridlock and dysfunction that most Americans have lost confidence that anything can actually get done. And they've lost trust in the ability of both government and Big Business to change course*"
- **Analysis**

Clinton articulated her own vision in this campaign in order to present herself better than the Republicans. In fact, she intended to encourage the investment of America's economy, which is part of her basic bargain. It

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is to bring America back again with prosperity. Hence, she reflected the **political identity**.

Clinton presented her identity via the expressive speech act of criticizing. The felicity conditions of criticizing are set by Nguyen (2005) (see felicity conditions of criticizing in the analysis of extract (2) above). She criticized the political system, showing her dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs. She claimed that all Americans lost trust in the ability of both government and big business to change course. As far as reference strategies are concerned, she used the personal deixis (Our) to say that the American's system is helpless. In terms of breaching maxims, she described the political system with the word "*paralyzed*".

This personification violates the maxim of quality. She intended to visualize the political system of her county which is unable to present something to Americans because of the stagnation and dysfunction.

3.3.2 Obama's Speech

The second speech is delivered by Barack Obama when he was the president of the United States (2016). The contextual factors of this speech are specified in Table (2) below.

Table 2
The Contextual Factors of Obama's Speech

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	The White House. January 12, 2016
Participants	Speaker: a political leader
	Audience: Members of congress
End	Presidential campaign
Instruments	A spoken form
Genre	Speech

- **Extract (5)**

"Our unique strengths as a nation -- our optimism and work ethic, our spirit of discovery, our diversity, our commitment to rule of law-- these things give us everything we need to ensure prosperity and security for generations to come"

- **Analysis**

Obama drove the whole world's attention to the unique power of his American nation. He felt proud of being part of this nation which is different from all other nations. In these phrases: "*Our unique strengths, our optimism, our spirit of discovery, our diversity*", he created the impression of being better, different, powerful, and salient. Hence, he expressed his sense of **national identity**.

Obama expressed his national identity via the expressive speech act of praising. The felicity conditions of praising are set by Lewandowsk-Tomaszczyk (1989) as follows **1. Propositional Content Condition**: The speaker expresses a proposition in his utterance. **2. Preparatory Condition**: An act done by hearer that is evaluated positively by speaker. **3. Sincerity Condition**: The speaker expresses his/her appreciation verbally and directly to hearer. **4. Essential Condition** makes the hearer feel good and to stimulate hearer to maintain action. Obama praised his country showing appreciation for its strength, optimism, ethics, work, commitment and so on. He felt good and proud for this state of affairs and hoped to stimulate Americans to keep on the hard work to remain as the first country in the world. In terms of reference strategies, the repetition of the

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personal deixis *"our"* is the referencing trigger used in this extract. It has been repeated for emphasis.

- **Extract (6)**

"But tonight, I will keep pushing for progress on the work that I believe still needs to be done. Fixing a broken immigration system. Protecting our kids from gun violence. Equal pay for equal work. Paid leave. Raising the minimum wage."

- **Analysis**

In this extract, Obama addressed some societal problems, such as immigration, violence against children, equality, and the like to ascertain his social power. He felt that he had enough power to meet the needs of his country. Technically, he utilized the personal pronoun *"I"* as a significant authority to achieve his **personal identity**.

He issued a commissive speech act of promising and expressed his absolute confidence in doing his promises. The felicity conditions of promising are as follows: 1. **Propositional Content**: A future action is required by the speaker. 2**. Preparatory Condition**: The speaker has the authority to do the act. **3. Sincerity Condition** means that the speaker has the beliefs that his utterance is true and aims to do what is proposed by that utterance.4**. Essential Condition** produces the utterance counts as an obligation for speaker to do his act (Searle, 1969). Obama promised to fix the broken immigration system, protect American people from violence, gave people what they deserve for their work and raised minimum wages. He was publicly committing himself to these acts. In terms of reference, Obama made use of indexical expressions like the temporal deixis "*tonight*" and the personal pronoun *"I"*.

- **Extract (7)**

"Our troops are the finest fighting force in the history of the world. No nation attacks us directly, or our allies, because they know that's the path to ruin."

- **Analysis**

Obama referred to the history of the military forces in the United States saying that they are the finest forces. This phrase implies a sense of power and dominance. Those traits give the United States the guarantee to control the whole world due to the highly sophisticated military forces it has. Thus, these distinctive features support the concept of **political identity**, giving his country the right to control the world, being the powerful nation. He says that "no nation dares attack us directly". This utterance is regarded as a direct threat for any external powers that attempt to face America or their allies because they know that they will be ruined. This is direct language to the whole world and any nation that tends to attack America.

Obama sent his message through the commissive speech act of threatening. The felicity conditions of threatening can be set as follows: **1. Propositional Content Condition** is related to a future act by speaker against hearer. **2. Preparatory Conditions**: The speaker has the ability to carry out the act of threatening and the hearer believes the speaker is able to do the threat. **3. Sincerity Condition**: The speaker wants hearer to feel the threat. **4. Essential Condition**: The hearer does not want the act of threatening to be performed (Muhammed, 2018). The threatening act is issued by Obama against those who may think of attacking America. Obama had the power to issue such an act as he is aware of the military strength of his country. The reference strategies are manifested by the use of personal deixis (Our) and (them). Hence, he created the impression of being more powerful than other military forces.

- **Extract (8)**

"Anyone claiming that America's economy is in decline is peddling fiction. Now, what is true -- and the reason that a lot of Americans feel anxious -- is that the economy has been changing in profound ways, changes that started long before the Great Recession hit; changes that have not let up".

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▪ **Analysis**

In this extract, Obama glorified the country's economic recovery. He felt so proud for the progress that he made to America, but he noted that some Americans are still feeling worried about the quick changes in global economy. Thus, Obama manifested the **political identity**, addressing the positive attitude of his office during the period of the presidency and giving full defense of his economic record in his period of presidency.

Obama expressed his political identity via the commissive speech act of accusation. The felicity conditions of accusation, as cited in Andone (2013) are as follows: **1. Propositional Content Condition**: It predicts the hearer's responsibility for some state of affairs. **2. Preparatory Condition**: Here, the state of affairs is bad according to speaker. **3. Sincerity Condition**: The speaker has knowledge of the hearer's behaviors. **4. Essential Condition**: Producing the act counts as an attempt to set the hearer accuses and needs to response. Obama accused those who criticized him as being in a fiction. The reality is that America's economy

has changed in a positive way. In terms of reference strategies, Obama referred to the economy of his country using the proper noun *"America"* and specified the time of the economic growth in history by using the temporal deixis *"Now"*. In breaching maxims, Obama showed his confidence that America has the strongest economy by using the phrase "peddling fiction". This type of hyperbole violates the maxim of quality in order to tell the world that the economy of his nation is not in decline.

3.3.3 Trump's Speech

The third speech is by Donald Trump, the ex-Republican president of the United States of America. He delivered the Conservative Political Action Conference by pointing to his conservative credentials and praising the tax cut passed in December 2017. He also warned the crowd not to get complacent about the midterm elections in November 2018 and be sure to vote for Republicans. Table (3) displays the contextual factors of this speech.

Table 3
The Contextual Factors of Trump's Speech

Contextual Factors	Description
Settings	The White House. February 23. 2018
Participants	Speaker: a political leader Audience: American People
End	Conservative political action conference
Instruments	The spoken form of an utterance
Genre	Speech

● **Extract (9)**

"To secure our country, we are calling on Congress to build a great border wall to stop dangerous drugs and criminals from pouring into our country."

▪ **Analysis**

In this extract, there is a clear manifestation of the **racial identity** of Trump. He created an in-group comparison with others whom he called criminals and drug dealers. Trump reflected his racial attitude against

immigrants, asking the congress to prevent them from crossing the borders getting into America. He tried to emphasize his national identity using the phrase "To secure our country". Thus, the concept of *"Us against Them"* is depicted in a clear image through these words. He considered those immigrants as illegal persons and suggested building a wall along the border between America and Mexico.

Trump employed the expressive speech act of complaining to claim that those immigrants are a danger to his country which needs to be

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secured from them. For the felicity conditions of complaining, see Olshtain and Weinbach (1987). He issued another speech act which is that of accusation. He accused all those immigrants as being criminals and drug dealers. In terms of reference, he used personal deixis (We, Our) and the description of (criminals) to support his claim. In terms of maxim breaching, the phrase *"pouring into our country"* violates the maxim of quality. He used the word *pouring* as a metaphor to achieve his point of view. He portrayed those immigrants as the water that continuously runs or pours into a specific place. In terms of impoliteness, he addressed the negative face of those who come from behind the borders as *criminals* revealing his disrespect towards them.

- **Extract (10)**

"I want great people coming into this country. I don't want people coming in the way they do now, because I want people that contribute. So this is called "The Snake." And think of it in terms of immigration."

- **Analysis**

Trump took the opportunity to state publicly his opinion against the immigrants through his calls to stop them from coming to the United States. The whole extract shows the negative impression and the sense of (in-group vs. out-group) to support his **national identity**. He claimed that he loves his country and he wanted great people to come to it to help and participate in building it. He conveyed the idea that those immigrants are criminals and he compared them to a "*snake"*.

Trump manifested his identity via the expressive speech act of insulting. He said that those immigrants coming to his country are neither great nor good, and they are burdens on the country. They are not participating in building it. Thus, he insulted them. Following Meibauer (2016), this act has the following felicity conditions: **1. Propositional Content Condition**: What is to be expressed is any proposition or expressive meaning functioning as insult. **2. Preparatory Conditions**: The

speaker does not need to have a particular motive for insulting the hearer. Speaker may have one, however. **3. Sincerity Condition**: The speaker wants the hearer to feel insulted.**4. Essential Condition**: It counts as an undertaking to the effect that the hearer feels insulted. Trump claimed that only bad criminal people come to America. If America is to allow immigrants into the country, only great people are admitted. He aimed to insult all immigrants as he described them as snakes.

In terms of reference strategies, he made use of the personal deixis (I) to imply his social power and his willingness to stop the mass immigrations from coming to the United States. The metaphorical expression **"the snake"** is considered as a violation to the cooperative principle of truthfulness. The maxim of quality has been breached to convey the claimed national identity. In terms of impoliteness, the phrase "**the snake**" is categorized under a bald **on-record** offense, and it is a clear manifestation of aggressive attitudes towards immigrants.

- **Extract (11)**

"African American unemployment has reached the lowest level in our history. Hispanic unemployment has reached the lowest level in our history".

- **Analysis**

In this extract, Trump expressed his **racial identity** against ethnic minorities (Black and Hispanic Americans). The speech conveys sectarian implicatures, though these classes are part of the American society, but they are treated as out-group because they are not white. Trump reflected his superior status by claiming he would help them. His claim implied the sense of discrimination between the White people who are powerful and superior while the black Americans and other ethnic minorities are inferior, neglected, and unemployed.

Trump manifested his identity via commissive speech act of insulting. In terms of reference strategy, Trump used the descriptive nouns like (*African American*) and (*Hispanic*) to

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create the sense of comparison between white and black people and other color like Hispanic. The whole extract falls under the off-record impoliteness when categorizing minorities as inferior, neglected and jobless.

• **Extract (12)**

"If we can't have our military holding guns, it's pretty bad [. . .] so we want to protect our military. We want to make our military stronger and better than it's ever been before."

▪ **Analysis**

Trump highlighted the necessity to support and develop the military forces, adding that the military forces are the center of power. He emphasized having the best forces, affirming to the whole world that America is strong and able to protect its borders. Trump reflected the **political identity** that implies the sense of in-group. He wanted to convey the spirit of being salient, strong, and different from other nations.

The utterance is classified under the directive speech act of requesting to support military system. In terms of reference strategies, Trump used personal deixis like *"we, our"* to achieve the conventional meaning of his

political identity for having great troops to protect their lands. In terms of maxims breaching, he used the phrase "pretty *bad*" this word is oxymoron. It violates the maxim of quality. Using this device is to support the ideology of his identity.

3.4 Findings and Discussion

The qualitative analysis investigates the different types of identity representation that are manifested in the selected political speeches. This section aims to examine the research questions of this study, as introduced in the following Tables 4, 5 and 6. The results show that politicians emphasize both the national and political identities in their speeches. Table 5 introduces the pragmatic strategies that are used by politicians to reflect their identity. They are speech acts, reference, maxims breaching, and impoliteness. Both speech acts and reference are highly made use of in representing identity in the contexts under investigation. Table 6 shows that both expressive and commissive speech acts are the highly utilized acts in the representation of identity in the American speeches.

Table 4
Types of Identity Representation in Political Speeches

Types of Identity	National		Personal		Political		Gender		Cultural		Racial		Religious	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Clinton	1`2	41%	2	7%	11	38%	3	10%	1	3%	0	0%	0	0%
Obama	10	67%	1	7%	3	20%	0	0%	0	0%	1	7%	0	0%
Trump	5	23%	1	5%	12	55%	0	0%	0	0%	4	18%	0	0%
Total	27	41%	4	6%	26	39%	3	5%	1	2%	5	8%	0	0%

Table 5
The Pragmatic Strategies

Politician Speeches	Speech Acts		Reference		Maxims breaching		Impoliteness	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Clinton	29	100%	29	100%	2	7%	4	14%
Obama	15	100%	15	100%	4	27%	1	7%
Trump	22	100%	22	100%	9	41%	7	31%
Total	66	100%	66	100%	15	23%	12	18%

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Table 6
Speech Acts Classification

Types of Speech Acts	Expressives		Commissives		Representatives		Directives		Declaratives	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Clinton	15	52%	9	31%	2	7%	3	10%	0	0%
Obama	8	53%	5	33%	2	13%	0	0%	0	0%
Trump	15	68%	5	23%	0	0%	2	9%	0	0%
Total	38	58%	19	29%	4	24%	5	8%	0	0%

Table 7
Reference Classification

Politician Speeches	Deixis		Proper nouns		Descriptive	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Clinton	29	100%	11	38%	6	21%
Obama	15	100%	10	34%	3	20%
Trump	22	100%	11	50%	1	5%
Total	66	100%	32	48%	10	15%

Table 8
Maxims Breaching Classification

Politician Speeches	Metaphor		Hyperbole		Personification		Oxymoron	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Clinton	1	3	0	0	1	3	0	0%
Obama	3	20	4	27	0	0	0	0%
Trump	3	14%	5	23%	0	0%	1	5%
Total	7	11%	9	14%	1	2%	1	2%

Table 9
Impoliteness Strategies

Politician Speeches	On-Record		Off-Record		Positive		Negative	
	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%	Fr.	%
Clinton	2	7	0	0	1	3	1	3
Obama	0	0%	1	7%	0	0%	0	0%
Trump	3	14%	1	5%	0	0%	3	14%
Total	5	8%	2	3%	1	2%	3	5%

4. Conclusions

The analysis comes up with the following conclusions:

1. Different types of identity are represented in the American political speeches. Each type indicates the sense of comparisons, uniqueness, in-group vs. out-group, and contrast. The national and political types are the highest because the context of the political speech needs the emphasis on these two types. Politicians need to show their involvement in the nation's affairs and political sphere so that they can impress their audience and give creditability to their claims.

2. All other types of identity representation like racial, personal or cultural are less in appearance as these identities bear specific implications and the context is general.

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Political speeches are directed to the whole society.

3. Different pragmatic phenomena are manifested in representing identity in political speeches such as speech acts, reference, maxims breaching, and impoliteness. These strategies are basic to any kind of interaction. These are highly utilized in the context under scrutiny to convey the messages those politicians want to impart.

4. Expressives and commissives are highly used in representing identity in the political speeches because the first is inherent to show what one wants to reflect about himself while the second fulfil an end for the politicians. Commissive speech acts tell people about the benefits they will gain from those politicians.

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