WHY DO POLITICIANS PRAGMATICALLY RESORT TO THE SPEECH ACT OF PROVOKING?

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Abstract: In certain circumstances, politicians resort to the use of the act of provoking for personal and/or for public benefits, particularly when this act is sent by a person and/or even an animal to act with bad-tempered or to make them angry by annoying them continuously (Longman's Dictionary of Contemporary English,2020, s.v. provoke). Provoking is often seen as a social complex phenomenon which is still under researched. Being a complex and newly, provocation seems to lack a common understanding of what is meant by the concept in modern and other social sciences (Tumskiy, 2019: 644). Thus, this study aims at identifying the use of speech act of provoking by political figures and illustrating its function by analyzing two Americans and two Arabic political speeches. Utilizing Searle's (1969, 1975) model in correlation with Bukharin, Tsyganov and Bochkareva (2013) is made to account for the pragma-linguistic investigation of provoking in the selected data. A qualitative method is followed to account for the data and results analysis. The study concludes that the speech act of provoking seems to be negatively intended act in political arena and that the consequences of the delivered act can be for the benefit of the provoker rather than the provokee. Socially and politically, the indirect way of performing provoking might be stronger than the direct one. However, this leads the audience or action-gazer to be threatened or more aware for what it can be assumed by a political figure.
Key words: pragmatics, speech act, provoke, provoker, provoke

INTRODUCTION

The study of language and politics aims at understanding the role of linguistic communication in the functioning of social units, and how this role shapes language itself. For Joseph (1992: 347) "politics is the art, and language is the medium, whereby… [people] position themselves to get what they need, and beyond that, what they want.". Mazrui (1975: 170) defines politics as the continuous search for ways through which the "conflicting interest" can be resolved. Language can be put in an interdependency relationship with action and thought. The deepest part of language is to create social and political relationships. In some particular situations, language helps to evoke the roles of individuals who are involved in these relationships. On the other side, language also helps to depict the users' ideology (particularly of politicians). The use of language in general and particularly in political discourse tells about the ideas and the way by which these ideas have been shaped. More specifically, the use of language in the texts of politics helps to identify the ideologies of those who have been creating the texts (Beard, 2000:18).

Provocation may be defined as a type of social interaction. There seems to be a lack of understanding of this phenomenon in modern science, sociology and other social sciences due to the fact of being under-researched and complex (Tumskiy, 2019: 644). When considering the concept of provocation, it becomes necessary to refer to this complex phenomenon in other fields. The concept has been perceived in legal contexts as a mean of weakening the reputation of rivals. This however can be done with the help of actions and the obscure target that appears to be the 'victim'.

In philosophy and linguistics, the perception of the provocative act seems to be based on the fact that this act is employed to bring about an emotional impact on the rival. When the action aims at depriving the opponents of thinking in a rational way and use, some triggers (emotional triggers) influence the actors by means of humiliating, insulting, disrupting morality; this can refer to the action of provocation in philosophy (Dmitriev, 2016: 7-17). In philosophy, it has been also discussed and analyzed through provocative speeches and discourses. It is used to

unveil all the information vis-à-vis refusing to divulge (Zaretskaya , 2002 as cited in Tumskiy, 2019: 645).

From what has been stated by linguists and how they have analyzed the concept of provocation, it is established that there is an instrumental factor in the implementation of provocation. In other words, emotions can be used to prevent the objects from the rational way of thinking. According to linguists, emotions are based on the impulsive actions that have been programmed and calculated by the provocators (Tumskiy, ibid: 646).

In their study, Dmitriev and Zadorozhnyuk, confirm that the aim of provocation is to encourage particular actors, organizations and social groups to perform ravaged actions that can destroy somebody. On the other hand, in sociology, more specifically in sociological contexts, it should be taken as an individual or social group action with the aim of performing different beneficial actions for themselves (2016: 20-35). By understanding how provocation is considered in social sciences, scholars perceive it as an intentional action. In it, provocators (particularly politicians) plan their purposes precisely and to do so that may include multiple stages. As with other acts, in provocation, in order for the object to be trigged into action by the doer, there should be a direct and indirect interaction. In this situation, there is a need to give an overview of pragmatics.

Pragmatics

By looking at language as a performative tool by which people can achieve what they need, this however helps many researchers to look at "pragmatics" as one of the vital and inevitable linguistics' terms that can be tackled in every field of life. As an actual use of language, "pragmatics", worthy to be mentioned here, was first coined by the well-known scholars; namely Morris, Carnap, and Pierce during1938s.

From another angle, pragmatics has been applied as a branch of inquiry. According to Leech (1983: 6), pragmatics is more attached to the study of language's users. It refers to the study of the actual meaning that any utterance has in respect to the situation in which that utterance is inserted (ibid). In accordance with Leech's point of view, Levinson (1983: 12) argues that pragmatics helps to encode certain aspects of meanings outside the semantic theory. In relating to language users, some scholars view pragmatics as relating to the performance of users of language along with the context of language use. Among them, Katz (1977: 19) points out that "pragmatic theories explicate the reasoning of speakers and hearers in working out the correlation in a context of a sentence token with a proposition. In this respect, a pragmatic theory is part of performance". Then, it can be said that pragmatics is considered by Katz and many others as 'context-dependent'. The idea belongs to the fact that 'context' helps to determine the ambiguity of sentences and seeks the meaning of those ambiguities.

Within their interactions, people sometimes rely on the use of implicit forms of language to achieve what they have in mind. That means, instead of the explicit way of using the language, they intend to use the implicit one. This however encourages one to consider some views of pragmatic as a study of act.

In correlation with the above views, Sperber and Noveck (2004: 3) contend that pragmatics has a lot to do with people knowledge (knowledge of language) and context. More precisely, how the two (knowledge and context) permit people to what someone told them, encoding ambiguities, grasp the direct and indirect given strings of words (content of a sentence), and recognize the force of a given act (ibid). Briefly, pragmatics refers to "the study of contextual meaning – how the meaning is influenced by how speakers organize what they want to say in accordance with who they are, where, when and under what circumstances; and how more gets communicated than is said, that is, how listener can make inferences about what is said in order to interpret the speaker's intended meaning" (Basim, 2013: 866).

From another angle, pragmatics stands opposite to truth-conditional, context-independent, conventional, and descriptive meaning. Contrary to that idea, it deals with the

functionality of meaning (functional aspects of meaning), non-conventional, context-dependent, and zero-truth conditional (Cruse, 2006: 136). Levinson points out that in the general theory of language use, co-operative principles, conversational maxims, implicature, presupposition, and speech acts have been given the central important topics in pragmatics (1983: 236). Among them and in relating to this study, the focus is on the speech acts theory in general and provocation as a directive speech act in particular, as used in political speeches.

Pragmatics in Arabic on the other hand has been tackled by scholars since pre-Islamic times. The branch however, has been taken under rhetoric. Therefore, unlike pragmatics in English, in Arabic pragmatics cannot be considered as a recent one (Salih, 2010: 8). Abdul-Raof (2006: xiii) describes the Arabic rhetoric as the analysis which is concerned with the syntactic, semantic, pragmatic deviation, conversational implicature, and linguistic structuring.

In addition to the semantic meaning, the utterance meaning is considered by Arab rhetoricians as an integral part to study the meaning of pragmatics. The Arabic theory of speech has been built by rhetoricians on the basis of using the pragmatic meaning of an utterance, "the speaker's intention, the hearer's comprehension and the context of situation". Another perspective to be mentioned here, for some linguistic issues, the rhetorical analysis takes into consideration the hearers and their verbal and non-verbal interaction (Salih, 2010:8).

The choice of one structure or one lexical item over another is also discussed by الجرجاني (1983) (cited in Salih, 2010: 9). According to him, the only difference between what stated earlier and the truth-conditional and lexical point of view lies in the morphological point of view. Therefore, in this attempt, implicature is also considered and expressed besides the illocutionary act. When it comes to the study of Arab rhetorical pragmatics, Salih, asserts that pragmatics studies "the literal encoding of a given semantic configuration. It deals with the pragmatic and contextual analysis of the features of utterance's structure in Arabic at the inter-clausal and intra-clausal levels in terms of informativity, contextual, conformity, persuasiveness and intelligibility" (ibid).

Abdul-Raof sees pragmatics as a branch focused on the function of the language as used by its users, other aspects such as communicators, context's influence, the communicative function of a given act and the psychological impact the sentence has upon the addressees (2006: 291). Moreover, Salih extends his explanation saying that the contextual constraints and the syntactic features what specifies the Arabic rhetorical theory i.e. pragmatics (2010: 9). Therefore, it can be said that to study pragmatics is to focus on the way an utterance is interpreted in terms of what is meant to be conveyed by the speaker, how the hearer relies on the interpretation of the received intended function given by the speaker and the type of the action performed by the encoded message. Therefore, it becomes necessarily to consider the speech act as an important part of studying pragmatics.

Speech Acts Theory

It has been totally agreed by all linguists and philosophers that the theory of speech act dates back to J. L. Austin's posthumously work, *How to Do Things with Words (1962)*. It is highly demanded to consider what this theory is all about. Speech acts have been treated as the "reasonably accurate approximations of the prototypical instances of verbal behavior describable by means of English verbs used as labels" (Verschueren, 1999: 132). Levinson (1983: 226) confirms that speech acts theory attracted many anthropologists, philosophers, psychologists, literary critics and linguists. With no doubt it has become their central core of interest. In this regard, it is necessary to consider the following question; "Why is this theory important?" Searle corroborates that studying the speech act theory and resorting many scholars to give it a special interest is due to the fact that "all linguistic communication involves linguistic acts" (1969: 16). Along with what was stated earlier by him, Searle testifies that the speech act theory implies the production of sentences which happen under specific conditions. Therefore, what was suggested by Searle is that the speech acts "are the basic or minimal units

of linguistic communication" (ibid). He extends his explanation to specify speech acts as the function of the sentence's meaning (ibid: 18).

From time to time, people resort to saying something far away from what they mean. They do this trying to achieve goals in mind. Concerning the purpose people have with their utterances, Mey exhibits speech acts as they can be seen as actions (happening actions) in the world. Those actions help to bring about changes in the existing given state (state of affairs) (1993: 111-2). Kearns in her study "Structure and Speech Acts" looks at speech acts and linguistic acts as two interchangeable concepts. She points out that the acts which can be performed and used by users of languages intentionally and meaningfully are called speech acts (1999: 50). Concerning what was stated by Kearns, it can be said that all the intended and meaningful production of acts by the means of communication i.e. the language is a speech act.

The seeds of developing the speech acts theory by Austin and Searle have widen the understanding of readers and specialists of what speakers intended to perform by means of communication. As the lines above show, the speech acts are basically intended actions by users of the language, among which is provoking act which will be discussed in the following section.

To consider the speech act theory in Arabic, السكاكي (1980: 26) asserts that there are three components to be carried out while studying linguistic, namely: morphology, syntax, and meaning and rhetoric (which take into account the utilization of various ways linguistically and non-linguistically in order to arrive at the clear meaning of utterance). Arab linguistic books such as مفتاح العلوم and الكتاب present some systematic studies and offer the way people can utilize in their written or spoken forms of language. In those books and some others, the speakers' intended meanings and the semantic meaning of an utterance are the two required meaning and the two recognized meaning. Arab grammarians, jurisprudents and rhetoricians have treated and tested the speech act differently. Each of them has their own purposes so different studies of speech act by different scholars have been conducted (Al-Hindawi et al., 2014: 31). Meticulously, it should be mentioned here that most of the studies in Arabic which are given to speech act seem to be established within the scholastic theory and by doing so; this results in difficulty to identify the speech act in Arabic accurately (Matloob, 1986: 86).

Speech Act of Provoking

Before embarking on the concept of provoking as an act, it is importantly to shed light on its origin and meaning. Looking to its history in English, the concept of provoking traces back to Aristotle's Nicomachean (Ashworth, 1967: 292). Further, he adds that acts of provoking "proceeding from anger are rightly judged not to be done of malice afterthought; for it is not the man who acts in anger but he who enraged him that starts the mischief." (ibid). As cited in Basim (2013: 860), Horder (1992) points out that the term of provocation and its defense dates back to 17th century in which its evidence has been accepted in rebuttal of malice (ibid). Generally, *Longman's Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1987: 835) defines provocation as an act or it is a reason for being provoked, or to provoke is to send a person and/or even an animal to act with bad-tempered or to make them angry by annoying them continuously, for example when a student tries to provoke his/her teacher into losing his temper.

Along with threatening, frauding etc., the act of provoking can also be expelled in verbal, physical actions or in both ways. The act of provoking has been discussed and explained exhaustively and extensively in the courts of law and this can be related to the physical aspect of the mentioned act. On the other hand, the verbal aspect of provoking seems to lack the logical nature of the concept and its role that may be applied to diminish the culpability of the accused (Basim, 2013: 872). From a different angle, Tumskiy, (2019: 644) pictures provocation as a social complex phenomenon which is still under researched. Being a complex and newly, provocation seems to lack a common understanding of what is meant by the concept in modern and other social sciences (ibid).

Within his classification of speech acts, Austin (1962) observes that some utterances employ actions by saying them, in contrast to making statements. By giving an utterance consists on 'provocation', we consider that the speaker tries to seek the result from what s/he said. In other words, provocation can be conceived as a performative act for the fact that when someone utters words implies provocation, s/he is not trying to make assertion or stating something, rather than that, s/he aims at bringing out what is in his/her mind. In accordance with Austin's three subtypes of acts, namely: 1- locutionary, 2- illocutionary, and 3- perlocutionary acts (1962: 109), the speech act of provocation can be explained as having the three subtypes of acts as follows:

a/ It is a locutionary act because when the provoker utters his/her words in a meaningful way. And by doing so, s/he uses a certain sense and reference i.e., to have a special function to perform.

b/ It is Illocutionary act because the provoker is saying his/her words with certain force. More specifically, the force refers to the action intended by the provoker to fulfill. In sum, the illocutionary act of provoking is the act performed in uttering something. Practically, it refers to affronting someone and resulting in specific effect.

c/ It is a perlocutionary act since the provoker achieves or brings about the thing s/he needs by uttering the words. It actually relates to the effects the act has on the provoker. The perlocutionary of provocation is to make others' blood boiling and cost the provoked to commit an offence.

Treating 'provoking' as a pragmatic speech act, this requires to consider three major factors. First, the actual uttered utterance, second, the context in which the utterance was given, and third, the background information the interactancts have upon each other as well as the relationship between them (Basim, 2013: 872). In his study, Basim introduces a special characteristics of provoking. According to him, Provocation is a willful act given by someone who uses the language purposefully to enrage, irritate, so that the addressee infuriates and/ or lose self-control (2013: 872).

For Searle (1979: 12-17), provoking can be considered as a directive speech act as it carries the illocutionary point of being attempts by the provokers to get the addressee/s to do something rather than making a statement. In accordance with Searle's direction of fit (as an axiom for the illocutionary point which he introduces while classifying speech acts), the direction of fit in the act of provoking is world to words and the sincerity conditions is desired (ibid: 12- 19).

Being a socially conditioned act, provokers can highly prone to offer their act of provoking in a rational way to achieve their benefits. For Basim, tradition, social values, norms, sectarian, social structure and religion can influence and determine the verbal as well as the physical action (2013: 873). In his study, Basim (ibid: 873-5) validates some important facts. According to him, there should be an essential involvement for the psychological attitude when studying provoking. This, however, results from the hearer's reaction towards the spoken instigated words given by the speaker. It is clear that what might provoke an Arab ordinary person might not provoke an American ordinary person. Then, provoking is a socio-linguistic aspect which is context-dependent. This however results from the fact that pragmaticians assume that to understand the intended meaning of any given utterance can only be understood correctly if situational context for which that utterance has given is clear (ibid).

It is worthy to refer to provocation here as a social act. More precisely, it seems logical to look at it from a political point of view. From the available literature, provocation in political science has been discussed differently by scholars. For some, it has been characterized as a phenomenon with a negative embodiments, an intended action aimed at impelling the opponent committing deeds that are harmful to them, a destructive act (destructive in nature) which can lead to grave the consequences of provocation's object. It can also be considered as an action which is used to instigate others to deeds that can be harmful to them. An act of provocation

can be regarded as a "tool to undermine an actor's social position or even a means of political fight" (Tumskiy, 2019: 644).

For others, like Pashenstev (2014, as cited in Tumskiy ,2019: 644), usually, the international provocation constitutes programming the reactions of opponents to the events' escalation which leads to the fact that there are plenty of factors that have to be taken into account by the provocators while considering the stages and tools involved in the process of provocation. In their study, Gubin, Zolotilov and Petinova (2015: 283-6, cited in Tumskiy 2019: 159) mention a number of issues which they consider as the target of the political provocation. Thus, escalating violence, destabilizing the situation, misleading of the public opinion, and sometimes discrediting the political course of state/s, appears to be the target of the political provocation.

The idea of a 'complex, multi-stage phenomenon' has been given to the act of provocation by Bukharin, Tsyganov and Bochkareva (2013: 14-20) in their study ''*Provocations in the information confrontation, Information wars*''. This idea comes from the fact that the result meticulously depends on the elaboration of each stage. A very astonishing fact has been given to provocation by Kuznetsov. According to him, a spontaneous action is hardly to be classified as a provocation even if it is beneficial to its initiator. A provocation act can be considered as an employed technology that is given with intention to get use of the available information and disseminate it for political purposes (2004: 197- 211).

From the above lines, it can be said that to carry out the suggested act implies setting a strategy of interaction and communication, as well as the personal motivation, targets and interest. In other words, the users of provocation match their actions with their intentions (Tumskiy: 2019: 645). In sum, the provocation in political field can have the following features: 1- It is an intentional and meticulously planned phenomenon with a number of stages, 2- It has a vast impact in warfare. In other words, most often, it has been considered as an instrumental factor in information warfare. 3- by giving provocation, it aims at jeopardizing the opponents and letting them at risk which in turn becomes detrimental to the object of the act of provocation.

Before closing the section, it is highly demanded to throw few words on the concept of provoking in Arabic. According to Ibnu Mandhoor, (2005: 84), Al-Zamakhshari, (1979: 341), Al-Fayroozabadi, (1964: 193), the Arabic word 'Istivzaz' استفزاز (i.e. provocation) has been derived from 'istafazza' أستفز (i.e. provoke). This however means to annoy someone, to agitate someone, instigate scare, deceive and gull. However, provoking in both Arabic and English pragmatically behaves in the same way.

Overlap with Related Acts

Because all directives share the preparatory condition that the listener is capable (physically and mentally) of implementing the action required by the propositional content of the directive he is asked to do, then there must be a kind of an overlap between provoking and other directive speech acts (such as *exhorting, urging, inciting* and *encouraging*). Further, like other directives, provoking has the sincerity condition that "the speaker desires/wants the hearer to comply with his speaker's (Searle and Vanderveken, 1985: 55ff).

Focusing on the contrast between *exhorting* and *provoking*, Weiss (2012:192 ff) argues that exhortation signifies giving solid advice or warning, urge strongly, *provoke* or encourage. Exhortation is the act or process of making a strong urging or appeal. An example of an exhortation is an emotional speech that inspires people to act. An exhortation is a persuasive or inspirational speech or text that strongly advises the audience how to feel or act about a certain subject. To make a strong exhortation, one needs to call to one's needs and desires.

For *urging*, it is repeatedly issued as a strong directive which has made a particularly brilliant career in modern English (Nevalainen and Traugott, 2012: 442). In this act, there is a sort of an implied psychological persuasion, yet one important thing is that there is no inference

that speakers will participate in the act that they are urging on others. That is, one can urge people to do something heroic or dangerous, and then stand and watch. *Encouraging*, on the other hand, tends to lead from the front, or at least be mixing in there with their addressee, in a way, there is a presupposition that if A encourages B to do something, he/she is already well on the way to having committed him/herself to doing it .

For inciting, what one usually *incites* people to is an act and it is sometimes bad (i.e. create violence or unwanted behavior). For example, the sentence 'Bill ***incited*** Barry to speak to Astrid' entails that by talking to her, Barry violated some rule or did something nasty to Arstid. Obviously, there is nothing basically nasty in the sense of 'speak', nor is it an essential condition of *inciting* that it is bad (Hanks, 2013: 123). Nevertheless, one can incite people to good things, but recently, in English becomes more usual to incite them to do unpleasant things. Publically, *incitement* has an influence on the rest of society whether it is for bad or good purpose. It is unclear whether the negative axiological importance or negative semantic prosody that distinguishes English *incite* from English *encourage* and *urge*.

Encouraging is an act of talking or behaving in a way that gives someone confidence to do something (Phúc , 2011:12). Or, as Wright (1988: 177) puts it, encouraging entails to give courage to another person, i.e. "to inspire with courage, give spirit or hope, spur on, or stimulate; to put strength into someone's hands, arms, or body so he or she can handle pressure". Encouraging someone is the manner of believing in him or her. Wright (ibid: 18) elucidates that encouraging means urging forward or persuading, or stimulating another person to the ordinary duties of life. To sum up, provoking involves the use of a number of illocutionary acts such as, making statements, promises, and requests, but not one act which may be glossed as 'to provoke'.

Felicity Conditions of Provoking

The speech act of *provoking* is an attempt to exhort, incite or urge listener to do something he/she identifies as appropriate. For the instigation of the illocutionary act of provoking suitably, there must be certain conditions with which this speech act can be accomplished happily. They must be part of some well established procedures, which must also be implemented completely and appropriately (Gramley and Pätzol, 2004:170-171). Searle (1975: 70) articulates four felicity conditions that illocutions must satisfy. With reference to the related speech act verbs of "urge" "exhort", "incite" and "encourage', the researchers propose the following felicity conditions for the appropriate execution of *provoking*

Propositional content condition:

In the case of provoking, the speaker predicates a future act that must be attained by the hearer himself. The speech act provoking must have some direct or indirect reference to a future act potentially performable by the hearer or by unidentified hearers, and not necessarily the appropriate action by the hearer.

Preparatory condition

This condition involves those situations that are crucial for the approval of the illocution as the intended illocution. The hearer would not do the specific act in the normal course of affairs without being provoked. It is not obvious to the speaker that the hearer would do the act without being motivated, and provoking counts as an attempt to stimulate the hearer to perform the act.

Sincerity condition

It specifies the speaker's attitude or his intent towards the act. In the case of provoking, the speaker wishes the hearer to do the act that he has indented to achieve through his utterances. The hearer has to believe in the trustworthiness of the speaker.

Essential condition

It is concerned with the state of separating **provoking** from other speech acts. The speaker wants that his utterance will count as provoking somebody**.**

METHODOLOGY

Methodology in this paper involves two subdivisions. The first is encompassed the method followed in data analysis and results analysis, and the sample selected. The second comprises the proposed model for the analysis of speech act of provoking in the selected data.

Method and Sample

The researchers make use of a qualitative procedures in their research to describe and examine the selected data and gain results. The data are assembled from four political speeches (two American and two Iraqi)

Model of Analysis

The model selected for the pragmalinguistic analysis of provoking is based on amalgamation of two sub-models (Searle, 1969, 1975) and Bukharin, Tsyganov and Bochkareva (2013). The first step in the analysis involves utilizing the context in which the speech is introduced, then identifying the speech act of provoking in terms of felicity conditions and eliciting the behavior and the function that this act reveals. Finally, the syntactic and semantic realization of this act is identified, i.e. the structure in which this act is expressed is explored. The following figure illustrates the proposed model.
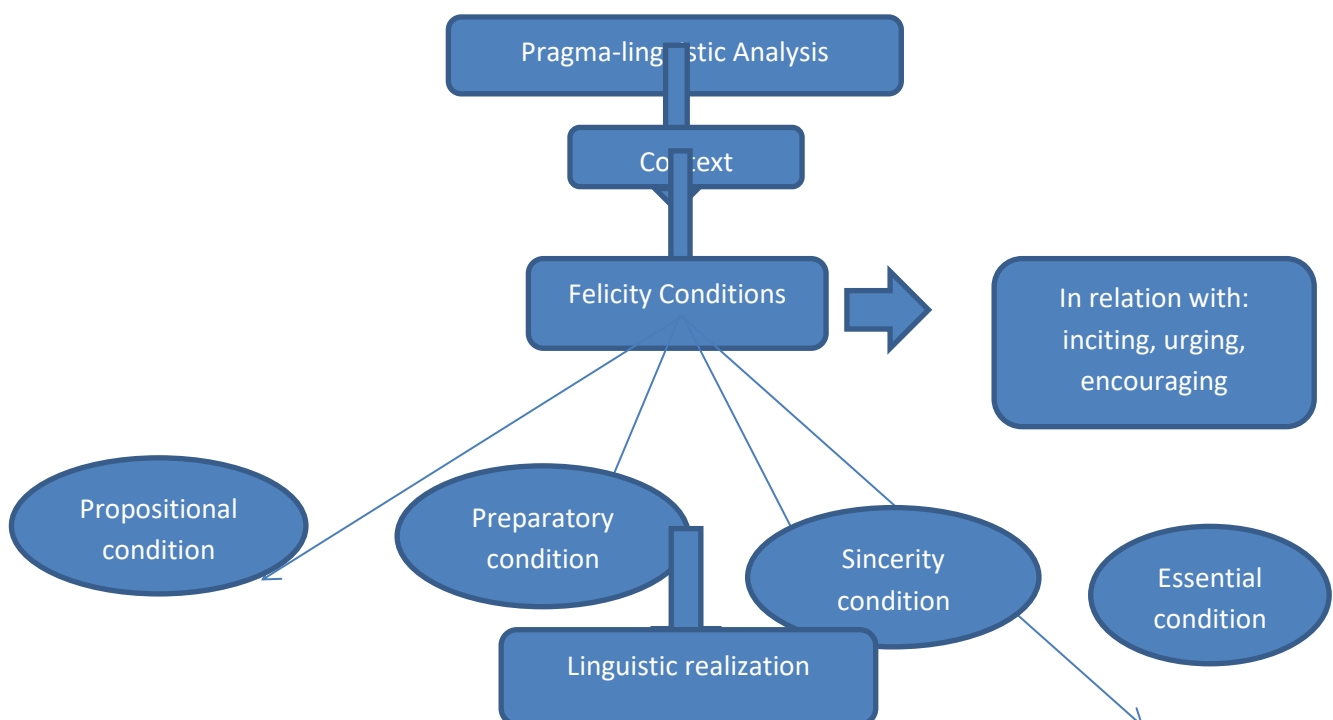
Pragma-linguistic Analysis

Context

Felicity Conditions

In relation with: inciting, urging, encouraging

Propositional condition

Preparatory condition

Sincerity condition

Essential condition

Linguistic realization

1166

Figure 1: Model of Pragmalinguistic Analysis

English Data Analysis

"Walk down to the Capitol. You will never take back our country with weakness."
https://www.vox.com/21506029/trump-violence-tweets-racist-hate-speech

The above words are imputed to US president Donald Trump. His speech is given by him on the day that the Congress counted the electoral votes that certified President-elect Joe Biden's victory. Preti Patel and some other politicians believe that Trump opened up the US Capitol to an insurrection. However, the above given speech led to encouraging political violence and hate groups. It can be said that Trump's behest has encouraged his throngs to descend to Washington to dispute the results of the president election which Trump continued to falsify it. An importantly fact to be mentioned here is that after giving his remarks, the Capitol building was breached by his supporters and one member of the mob had been shot and fatally wounded. In other words, it can be said that Trump has used his words to provoke his supporters and the throngs. In other words, it seems clear that he wanted them to interpret his words as a provocative act and then to fulfill his desire.

By giving his speech, Trump tries to escalate the situation and to incite his supporters. From another angle, Trump intends to provoke them to take back their country. His following utterance: "*Walk down to the Capitol. You will never take back our country with weakness.*" can be pragmatically interpreted as a provocation for the fact that Trump's words cause a violation by his followers resulting in three dead persons and others get wounded. Therefore, it can be said that the act of provoking is indirectly fulfilled.

From the situation, it can be understood that Trump has lost the presidential elections. By losing his position, Trump cannot believe in this. In other words, this bad situation has encouraged him to provoke his supporters. By doing so, he believes that they can take his country back (metaphorically speaking, he meant his position). Therefore, Trump's act can be realized as that he has predicated a future act from his supporters. In other words, his utterances increased the expected violence by climbing the steps of the Capitol building and busting through its doors. And by acting in that way, the protesters gave some references for Trump's expected violence towards the results of the elections (propositional condition). From what has happened, the preparatory condition seems to be clear from the fact that without uttering *"Walk down to the Capitol. You will never take back our country with weakness"* Trump's upholders would not escalate the violence and cause the death of innocents. Additionally, the sincerity conditions here can be interpreted as that Trump wishes his utterance to be understood as an urge or incite for his protagonists and because of this he said *"Walk down to the Capitol. You will never take back our country with weakness".* Therefore, according to him, they have to understand his demand and order to walk down the Capitol to get back their country. Moreover, the speaker by uttering his sentence *"Walk down… weakness"* wants the followers to take into account the utterance as a provocative act, and accordingly take an action (essential condition).

*"If you're a white person, you're getting to the perimeter, you're putting your body on the f****** line right now!"*
https://www.npr.org/2020/09/22/913094440/black-protest-leaders-to-white-allies-it-s-our-turn-to-lead-our-own-fight?t=1610121429486

Before embarking on the analysis of this extract, it is important to recall the death of George Floyd on May 2020. That black man was killed in Minneapolis while being arrested for allegedly using a counterfeit bill. The white police officer, Derek Chauvin arrested Fluid and knelt on Floyd's neck for nine minutes and half till he lost his breath. The above text is ascribed to an American black leader. She gave her speech to white demonstrators in Rochester, N.Y. The demonstrators and police clashed violently, with marchers shouting and coughing as officers in riot gear fired pepper balls at the crowd. In this occasion, the black leader has openly uttered her above words to encourage (or in other words to provoke) the demonstrators to be one league to stand against the violence of the police. Hence, as a black leader she might try to stand against the racist action that has been taken towards George Floyd and might continue towards Niggers.

Considering the given speech, the leader tries to incite the white protesters to stand against police and forming a line with homemade shields. The above text can be seen as conveying the speaker's provocation. Pragmatically speaking, the act can indirectly be utilized to indicate indirect provocative act, highlighted by his saying *"If you're a white person, you're getting to the perimeter, you're putting your body on the f****** line right now!"*

By perceiving the situation and practicing the violence towards both the previous situation (killing Floyd) and the current situation towards the protesters, the leader wishes his words would be taken to attain a future action. In her speech, she aims at preventing any violence against the demonstrators and to demand the white protester to hustle forward and make a line with homemade shield to prevent gas and pepper balls (propositional condition). And by responding to her speech, there are some references to what is expected by the black leader. It seems that, without the leader's words, the white demonstrators would not gather and stand against the violence with homemade shields (the preparatory condition). The leader's utterance *"If you're a white person, you're getting to the perimeter, you're putting your body on the f****** line right now!"* expresses her desire that the white demonstrators take her word seriously and to react to her words. In other words, by saying *"If you're a white person, you're getting to the perimeter, you're putting your body on the f****** line right now!"* this gives an indirect message to urge them forward to form a line against the police and their gas balls. In this sense, they should interpret her words properly and hustle forward while the tear gas fogged the intersection (the sincerity condition). The essential condition can be maintained as that the leader wants her words to be interpreted by protesters as a provocative act to be executed by them, i.e. an action against oppressing blacks.

Arabic Data Analysis

"لا بد من ازاحة الكهنة المبتدئين الذين يعتقدون أنهم يملكون ناصية العلم باستعمال الوسائل السلمية والملائمة، فهؤلاء يحركهم طموحهم المفرط وغرورهم بأنفسهم وتكبرهم وعصبيتهم".

https://www.achkayen.com/148032/.html

This text is uttered by Khalid Nizar, the previous minister of Algerian ministry of defense, to his Army followers. It is said that Khalid has literally aggravated the leaders of Algerian army to revolt against the current Chief of Staff of Army Ahmed Kaed Salih. The above speech was delivered by Khalid to (as he called them). In fact, the above utterance was given because of the unsettled situations in Algeria. In a long speech, Khalid has demanded the leaders of the army to change the current situation, which leads Algeria and its people to the end. Apparently, what is meant is to encourage the leaders of the army to revolt against Ahmed Kaed Salih. In other words, the speaker wants his words to be interpreted as a provocation due to the bad situation which let Khalid and others suffer from the current status.

By giving and using some expressions, the act can be taken as a provocative act. It can pragmatically be utilized to indicate indirect provocation highlighted by some utterances. In that speech, Khalid tries to warn his fellows from the current situation which might lead Algeria to the end because of Ahmed.

Implicitly, Khalid tries to predicate a future act (namely a revolution). In his speech, the speaker maintains some indirect references to a future act expected by his fellows. By doing so, the provoker wishes that the provokees to understand his message behind his words in order to achieve his goal i.e. to revolt against Ahmed (propositional condition). From the above given words, we can say that the leaders or the speaker's fellows would not do the required act (to revolt) without being provoked by Khalid. It is not clear for Khalid whether they can revolt without being motivated by his words (preparatory condition). The provoker wishes to reach at his goal (moving the current Chief of the army). Therefore, he intends to achieve that by saying (sincerity "لا بد من إزاحة الكهنة المبتدئين الذين يعتقدون أنهم يملكون ناصية العلم باستعمال الوسائل السلمية والملائمة") condition). In other words, the provoker wants his utterance to be understood as a provocative act and hence to have his followers fulfill his desire and revolt against the current Chief i.e. Ahmed (essential condition).

ii- علياً، حيث كان "ما حصل كان محاولة لاغتيال الوزير صالح الغريب، ومحاولة اغتيال وزير بالدولة اللبنانية لا تتم من دون أوامر هناك كمين مسبق الإعداد المهم ان يتحرك القضاء وان يذهب بأتجاه القاتل الحقيقي."
http://www.lebanonfiles.com/articles/

The above text is ascribed to the previous Lebanese minister We'aam Wahab, after a failure attempt to kill the Lebanese minister of Emigrants' Affairs Salih Al-Ghareeb. In that attack two were killed as well one person wounded. Therefore, We'aam has accused Waleed Janbalat, (the chief of the Socialistic Advanced Party) of trying to kill Al-Ghareeb. According to We'aam, Janbalat is responsible and he is the one who urged and ordered to shut down the roads. In a long speech given by We'aam, what has been committed by Janbalat is what has led to this consequence.

Considering the above given extract, We'aam tries to incite and urge Al-Ghareeb when the latter was about to be killed by Janbalat. From another angel, by referring to an earlier remarks, We'aam attempts to provoke him and the judgeship to take their responsibility towards Janbalat.

From a pragmatic point of view, the act of the We'aam can be utilized to indicate an indirect speech act of provoking by which the provoker expresses his act utilizing words of provocation, claiming that المهم ان يتحرك القضاء وان يذهب بأتجاه القاتل الحقيقي."

In accordance with the above statement, the speaker tries to predicate a future justice to sentence Janbalt who tried to kill the minister. The provoker has given implicit signs to urge the judgeship and Al-Ghareeb to fulfill the right authority towards Janbalat. Thus, he uses some indirect references to the expected future act by saying المهم ان يتحرك القضاء وان يذهب بأتجاه القاتل الحقيقي."(propositional condition). Without giving explanations and remarks towards the real accused person (Janbalat), the judgeship would not move towards the real accused person. In other words, the speaker tries to give an attempt to stimulate the judgeship (preparatory condition). By saying المهم ان يتحرك القضاء وان يذهب بأتجاه القاتل الحقيقي." We'aam wishes the provokees to get his utterance as an act of provoking in order to fulfill the justice that he intends his utterances reveals (sincerity conditions).

FINDINGS

The paper arrives at the following findings:
1. In correlation with other related speech acts, the researchers are able to establish the felicity conditions by which the speech act of provoking can be felicitously achieved.
2. In both American and Arabic political fields, the speech act of provoking has been realized in a declarative sentence and implicitly in a way that the provoker would not to get trapped in the situation by which s/he provokes someone.

3. Socially and politically, the indirect way the act of provoking someone to take an action might be stronger than the direct one. However, this leads the audience or action-gazers to be more aware for what it can be suggested by a political figure.

4. The speech act of provoking seems to be a negatively intended act in political arena. This however leads to the fact that the consequences of the delivered act can be for the benefit of the provoker rather than the provokee.

5. The act of provoking in both English and Arabic political domain requires three pillars in order to be established:

6. Provoker (the one who has been hurt and is able to provoke someone)

7. Provokee (who has received the act and might be able to do something for the benefit of the provoker)

8. An action, i.e. the past event which hurts the provoker and leads him/her to utter his/her words.

9. In both English and Arabic data, the language used is characterized by simplicity and clarity but condense in meaning.

10. The examples above reveal that the interpretation of the speech act of provoking is based on previous knowledge and mutual knowledge between the provoker and audience which can be based on the ongoing events.

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