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A Pragmatic Study of Racial Hate Speech

ABSTRACT

There has been an increasing interest in hate speech due to its impact on both individuals and societies. The term 'hate speech' covers expressions in any form deemed humiliating to any race, religion, ethnic or national group. Hate speech is connected to the freedom of expression, advocacy of hatred and incitement of violence. Thus, it has to be understood in the different contexts in which it occurs. The present study deals with racial hate speech. The main aim of this study is to identify the speech acts employed in articles published in a Rwandan newspaper called *Kangura*. In order to carry out a pragmatic analysis of racial hate speech, seven extracts have been chosen. The main conclusions arrived at is that directives are the most common ones used in the dissemination of racial hate speech and indirect speech acts outnumber the direct ones.

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دراسة تداولية لخطاب الكراهية العنصري

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الخلاصة

يرتبط خطاب الكراهية بتأثير على المجتمعات والأفراد على حد سواء فأن هناك اهتماماً متزايداً بموضوع خطاب الكراهية. يغطي خطاب الكراهية أي تعبير يعد مهيناً لأي عنصر، دين، عرق أو مجموعة من الناس. يرتبط خطاب الكراهية بحرية التعبير، تأييد الكراهية و التحريض على العنف لذا فإنه يجب أن يفهم في السياقات المختلفة التي يظهر فيها. تتناول الدراسة الحالية الجوانب التداولية في خطاب الكراهية العنصري. ان الهدف الرئيسي للدراسة هو لتحديد الأفعال الكلامية المستعملة في جريدة (كانغورا) المنشورة

في رواندا. لغرض تحقيق اهداف الدراسة فقد تم اختيار سبعة نصوص. اهم النتائج التي توصلت اليها الدراسة هي ان افعال الكلام التوجيهية كانت اكثر استخدام من بقية الانواع كما وان أفعال الكلام غير المباشرة قد استخدمت اكثر من المباشرة في خطاب الكراهية العنصري. الكلمات المفتاحية: أفعال الكلام, خطاب الكراهية العنصري, خطاب الكراهية, العنصرية

1. Introduction

Hate speech, in its simplest sense, is any spoken or written form of language that causes some offense to others. In this regard, Neisser (1994:337) mentions that hate speech refers to "all communications (whether verbal, written, symbolic) that insults a [certain] racial ethnic and political group whether by suggesting that they are inferior in some respect or by indicating that they are despised or not welcome for any other reasons." It lies in the intersection of psycho-sociology, politics, religion, ethnology, and international criminal law. It is a complex phenomenon that cannot be reduced to a single cause. So, it becomes of interdisciplinary nature.

In recent years, hate speech has become a pressing concern in democratic and deeply divided societies alike. Moreover, its unwanted consequences are clearer in deeply divided society as they represent a fertile ground for conflicts fed by clashing ideologies. Hate speech becomes a serious problem in societies especially the deeply divided ones. It covers expressions that are used to humiliate any race, religion or national or ethnic group.

Rwanda is famous with its old problem between two ethnic groups i.e., Hutu and Tutsi. The problem dates back to the revolution of 1959 when Hutu have taken power in the country. From that time on, the Tutsis try to get power back in spite of their being a minority group. The government has issued a newspaper called *Kangura*. Its role is influential in fanning the fire of hatred between the two main ethnic groups. The tension has led to genocide in 1994.

Language has often been used as a tool for communication. In addition, it

may be employed in triggering hate among the members of society in a way that may lead to violent ends. Pragmatics is seen as an act of communication. In this regard, Mey (2001:6) states that “pragmatics is the study of the way human being use their language in communication, bases itself on a study of those premises and determines how they affect and effectualize human language us.”

The topic of hate speech has received a great deal of attraction by scholars of different backgrounds. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no previous study has been carried out to show the prominent pragmatic aspects of the language employed in hate speech. The present study has set itself to bridge this gap. It attempts to show the speech acts employed by propagators of racial hate speech in Rwanda. The study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What are the speech acts that are predominant in racial hate speech?
2. What types of speech acts, direct or indirect, are highly employed in racial hate speech?
3. Which direct and indirect speech acts are more appealed to than other speech acts in racial hate speech?

The present study aims at:

1. pinpointing the speech acts employed in racial hate speech,
2. Identifying the speech act types, direct or indirect, in issuing racial hate speech.
3. Highlighting the sub-types of direct and indirect speech acts mostly used in the dissemination of racial hate speech.

In relation to the aims stated above, it is hypothesized that:

- 1) Directive speech acts are highly employed in racial hate speech.
- 2) Regarding the types of speech acts used in racial hate speech, indirect speech acts are employed more than direct speech acts.
- 3) Direct assertive and indirect expressives are appealed to more than other types of speech acts in issuing racial hate speech.

2. Hate Speech: Definition and Introduction

It seems of importance to clearly define the phenomenon of hate speech

before indulging in the analysis. In this section, different definitions of hate speech offered by a various authors will be explored .

Some definitions may be used in public debates. Within these definitions, according to the council of Europe's Committee of Ministers' Recommendation nor (97) 20, hate speech is defined as:

Covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin .

This definition above stresses the racist, nationalistic and xenophobic aspects of hate speech. Boeckman and Turpin- Petrosino (2002:23) emphasize the wounding quality of hate speech as they state that hate speech is "any form of expression directed at objects of prejudice that perpetrators use to wound and denigrate its recipient".

The exact definition of hate speech is a heatedly discorded issue and cannot be effectively defined in any certain terms (Weber, 2009: 3). More broadly, "it has been interpreted to mean speech that is disparaging of certain gender, religion, race, sexual orientation themes (Scutari, 2012: 8).

Generally speaking, hate speech means any offensive speech which causes incitement to others. Moreover, hate speech has many definitions depending on the point of departure adopted. In this regard, two main groups can be identified. The first group includes definitions that adopt a narrower view of hate speech. Benesch (2012: 11) limits hate speech to dangerous speech which has a probability of "catalyzing and amplifying violence by one group against another". The second group includes definitions which aim to capture the occurrences of hate speech in their various embodiments. Cohen-Almagor's definition of hate speech represents to this group. He (2011: 1-2) defines hate speech as:

Bias-motivated, hostile, malicious speech, aimed at a person or a group of people because of some of their actual or perceived innate

characteristics. It expresses discriminatory, intimidating, disapproving, antagonistic, and/or prejudicial attitudes towards those characteristics which include gender, race, religion, ethnicity, colour, national origin, disability or sexual orientation. Hate speech is intended to injure, dehumanize harass, intimidate, debase, degrade and victimize the targeted groups, and to foment insensitivity and brutality against them.

From the United Nations viewpoint, hate speech refers to “expressions that advocate incitement to harm...based upon the targets being identified with a certain social or demographic group” (UNESCO, 2015). In a common style of language, definitions of hate speech become broader, sometimes they extend to encompass words that are insulting those in power or derogatory to individuals who are present before the speakers of hate speech (Gagliardone et al, 2015: 8).

It is evident from the above-stated definitions that these definitions underlie one common feature that hate speech can incite harm which is based on discriminatory reasons such as race, nationality, ethnicity, etc. For the purpose of this study, the definition of hate speech adopted by the Council of Europe(1997) will be used as a working definition.

3. 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 (ibid:25) 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 ."

4.Data and Methodology

4.1 Data Collection and Description

In order to achieve the aims of this study, seven extracts that represent hate speech in racial contexts are selected . The data is taken from different issues of a newspaper called *Kangura* which is famous for its articles that have a substantial role in shaping Hutus aggressive ideology towards Tutsis before and during the genocide committed in Rwanda in which the former kill the latter together with moderate Hutus. The study covers articles representing racial hate speech disseminated by *Kangura* from November 1990 to February 1994 and published in the *International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR)*(2003). The pragmatic analysis is carried out according to the speech acts used in the selected data.

4.2 Research Methodology

This section deals with the methodology utilized in the study. It covers research design and the eclectic model adopted in the analysis. Below is a detailed account of each of them.

4.2.1 Research Design

The current study is of a mixed method of analysis. It makes use of a qualitative and a quantitative method. It is primarily qualitative because it allows deeper understanding of the language analyzed. In addition, it is also of explanatory nature which is useful in the investigation by which the pragmatic elements of hate speech can be shown. It is also considered appropriate to the analysis of human feelings and some issues related to them.

The quantitative method will also be used to quantify hate speech. It is used to present the findings arrived at in order to support the findings related to the pragmatic analysis conducted. A qualitative and quantitative analysis will be employed in order to ensure an in-depth explanation and objectivity of the results.

4.2.2 Analytical Framework of the Study

Searle (1979:16-18) presents a taxonomy of speech acts as follows:

1. Assertives: these acts commit the speaker to something being the case or to the truth of the expressed proposition, like complain, conduct, etc. The direction of fit

is words to the world.

2. Directives: these acts are attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something. The direction of fit is world to the words. For example: ask, command, request, etc.

3. Commissives: these acts commit the speaker to some future course of action. This category involves changing the world according to words. For example: promise and commitment.

4. Expressives: these acts express a psychological state about a state of affairs expressed in the propositional content. In this class, there is no direction of fit. For example, condole, welcome, deplore, etc.

5. Declarations: these acts bring about a change in the condition of the referred object. The direction of fit is words to the world. For example: declare, appoint, fire, etc.

Searle (1975: 59-60) mentions that there are certain cases in which the speaker utters a sentence and means what he says and also means another illocution with a different propositional content. In the sentence *Can you reach the salt*, two illocutionary forces of the utterance are to be distinguished: a question and a request.

To understand indirect speech act, Searle (ibid: 60-61) states that:

In indirect speech act, the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutual shared background information, both linguistic and non-linguistic together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer.

Saeed (1997: 243) adds that the hearer's knowledge used to understand indirect speech acts is combined of three elements which are "the felicity conditions of direct speech acts, the context of the utterance, and the principles of cooperation such as the Gricean maxims of relevance, quality, etc."

Finch (2005: 173) adds that "when there is a match between sentence meaning and speaker meaning" the speech act is called direct speech act.

Huang (2007: 111) attributes the distinction between direct and indirect speech

acts to the literal force hypothesis which means that "there is a direct structure-function correlation in speech acts and that sentences forms are by default direct reflexes of their underlying illocutionary forces" The language employed in the data under study is analysed according to Searle's indirect and direct speech act theory (1975) and (1979).

5. Data Analysis

The analysis will be divided into two main parts for the analyzed data. So, extracts that represent racial hate speech will be analyzed according to qualitative and quantitative (statistical) analysis. With respect to the qualitative analysis, these extracts will be presented first followed by contextual hints which present a fair idea about the events happened in their contexts in order to facilitate understanding the data under analysis. Regarding the statistical analysis, descriptive statistics which include frequencies and percentages are used in order to present the findings arrived at.

5.1 Qualitative Analysis

An analysis of extracts that represent racial hate speech will be made according to the categories of the model adopted in the analysis.

Extract (1)

People in this ethnic group, which came to Rwanda last, say that the Tutsi ethnic group-the Tutsis live like cats. When you have milk, they will come to you. The only thing that makes them better than cats - or, rather, their difference with cats is that once they've already drunk of milk, they'll try to find ways and means of taking the milk away from you to even to harm you or they will also try to rule you. So Hutus got close to the Tutsis, welcomed them as visitors, but instead of sleeping like visitors would do the bad-his bad-or their bad habits got the better of them. So the Tutsis ended up by taking over power, and the Hutus were made subservient and were used as servants, and Hutus were made subservient by the people the Hutus had welcomed to their land. (Kangura, No. 4, November,1990)

Contextual Hints

This extract presents the idea that the Tutsis are not the original people of Rwanda. Rather they are the people who come last. On the one hand, it shows that the Tutsis are portrayed as devious and dishonest whereas the Hutus, on the other hand, are portrayed as kind and innocent.

Pragmatic Analysis

A directive expressive speech act of dehumanizing is identified in *The Tutsis live like cats*. It is used to liken Tutsis to cats. A direct assertive speech act of reporting is found in *Hutus got close to Tutsis, welcome them as visitors*, it is used to report that Hutus do their best to help Tutsis. Another indirect expressive speech act of condemning is found in *Their [Tutsis] bad habits got the better of them. It is used to condemn the Tutsis because of their bad habits*. An instance of an indirect expressive speech act of protesting is found in *The Tutsis ended up by taking over power*. It is employed to protest against that the Tutsis take power after they had been welcomed by Hutus. Another indirect expressive speech act of protesting is identified in *The Hutu were made subservient*" This speech act is utilized in order to show the writer's strong disagreement to idea that Hutus, in spite of being the original inhabitants of the land of Rwanda, have been subservient by Tutsis who come last to the country.

Extract (2)

Experts on human genetics inform us that the demographic weakness Tutsi is due to the fact that they marry among themselves. People from the same family marry and procreate among themselves. If they are not careful, this search for purity may lead to their disappearance from the earth. If that occurs (and it will happen), they will be solely responsible for their demise and no one else. Will people say that Hutus decimated them? That is the message they spread everywhere, that they are few because the Hutus had decimated them with matches... We have stated that a cockroach cannot give birth to a butterfly. This is true. A cockroach gives birth to another cockroach. If there is someone contesting this fact, I am not the one. The history of Rwanda clearly depicts that a Ma Tutsi

has remained the same; he has never changed. The history of country has been characterized by their malice and wickedness. When Tutsis were still on the throne, they governed with two weapons: women and cows. These two weapons rule Hutu over 400 years. When the Tutsis were overthrown by the people's revolution in 1959, they have never slept again on their laurels. They have been doing their utmost to restore the monarchy by using their women Bizungrezi and money which seems to have replaced cows. In the past, cows were symbolic of richness.

We are not mistaken in stating that a cockroach can only give birth to another cockroach in October 1990 and those of the 1960s? They are the same. The former are the offspring of the latter. Their wickedness is the same. All these attacks sought to restore the monarchy and the feudality. (Kangura, No. 40, February, 1993)

Contextual Hints

This extract describes the Tutsis as inherently marked by malice. They have also been portrayed as biologically distinct from Hutus. It also dehumanizes the Hutus as they are compared with snakes which are mean and revengeful.

Pragmatic Analysis

An indirect expressive speech act of belittling is found in this article which states that the Tutsis are weak. This speech act is used in *Experts on human genetics inform us ...* This use aims at showing that the Tutsis keep marrying among themselves.. Another indirect assertive speech act of arguing is employed in the form of a question *Will people say that Hutus decimated them?* The sentence can be read as *Hutus have not decimated Tutsis..* So the reader is informed in an indirect way that the Tutsis are responsible for their being few by the way of marriage they choose rather than by the Hutus. An indirect expressive assertive speech act of dehumanizing is used as the writer says *We have stated that a cockroach cannot give birth to a butterfly.* According to the article writer, this means that a cockroach gives birth to another cockroach in reference to Tutsis. So he dehumanizes them by calling them so . Another indirect directive

speech act of warning is employed by the writer as he says *they [the Tutsis] governed with two weapons, women and cows*. This means that the Tutsis use women for tempting the Hutus in order to support their positions in ruling the country for a long period of time. Cows have also been used ,according to the writer, where the Rwandans depend on agriculture. So, they are used as a tool for investing lands having in mind the idea that the people in Rwanda are poor. An indirect directive speech act of warning is used by the writer as he says that *They [the Tutsis] have never slept again*. This means that they will never sleep after the revolution in 1959 unless they take power. Another indirect expressive speech act of dehumanizing is repeated as the writer states *a cockroach can only give birth to another cockroach*. In this use, the writer dehumanizes Tutsis. An indirect expressive speech act of condemning is identified in the form of a question in *Who can establish the difference between* This question is used to condemn Tutsi by giving some attributes of cockroaches to them. It is argued that there is no difference between those who attack in October 1990 and those who attack in 1960s. An indirect expressive speech act of condemning is employed as the writer says *They are the same*. So, he concludes that there is no difference between cockroaches and Tutsis.

Extract (3)

We are trying to discover the wickedness and malice of Tutsis. When you cure the eye of a Tutsi, you will be the first to be glanced at with envy. We have started with this proverb so as to warn and awaken those who are not aware of the sadism, wickedness, malice and ingratitude of Tutsis. Tutsis think they are more intelligent than whosoever is but after analysis, it is discovered that their pretentiousness conceals their wickedness. It is with malice or interest that a Tutsi establishes a relation with the majority people. When a Tutsi is in need of something from a Hutu, he is ready to sacrifice by using all the means including money, his sisters or his wife... Immediately a Tutsi gets what he wants from a Hutu, he turns his back and hurts him as if they have never had anything in common. Anyone who had any relation with a Tutsi can recall this fact and can

support what I am saying... in Kiswahili , it is stated that a small snake is a snake. So, MDR cannot convince us that the Inyenzi who have transformed into Inkotanyi are our brothers whereas they have come to exterminate us with machetes. The Hutu has been patent and now it is time to for the situation to be clarified... We know that they attacked us so as to exterminate 4.5 million Hutu particularly the literate ones as was the case in Burundi but God foiled their plans. This wickedness was obvious during the attack of 8 February 1993. (Kangura, No. 46, July,1993)

Contextual Hints

This extract emphasizes the belief that Tutsis are wicked who use money and women to affect and deceive Hutus. On the contrary, the Hutus are portrayed as vulnerable and innocent.

Pragmatic Analysis

An indirect directive speech act of warning is identified in *you will be the first to be glanced at with envy*. It is used by the writer to warn Hutus about Tutsis envy. A direct directive speech act of warning is used in *We have started with the proverb so as to warn and awaken ...* It is employed in order to warn the reader of the bad qualities of Tutsis like malice and wickedness. An example of an indirect directive speech act of warning is found in *It is discovered that their pretentiousness conceals their wickedness*. It is used to warn the Hutus that though the Tutsis are pretentious they are also wicked people. Another instance of an indirect directive speech act of warning is indentured in *It is with malice and interest that a Tutsis establishes a relation with the majority people*. It is used to warn the people about Tutsis about the bad traits of Tutsis. An indirect expressive speech act of condemning is found as the writer says *It is stated that a small snake is a snake*. This act is employed to condemn *Inkotanyis* whereas it states that the Tutsis are not the Hutus brothers at the same time. Another indirect directive speech act of warning is utilized as the writer states that *the Hutu has been patent*. This act is used in the sense of warning the Tutsis that the Hutus are still patent with them. A further instance of employing a direct assertive speech act of

criticizing is found in *We know that they attacked us so as to exterminate 4.5 million Hutus*. It is used to criticize Tutsis have the intention to exterminate Hutus.

Extract (4)

We have no concerns against those persons. However, we include them in this letter that we are sending to you. So that if the concerns about these persons become- can be proved true, that you will be able to inform the president of the republic- the prosecutor. And if anyone person is innocent, inform us with this and tell us whether the concerns about this person are not-are unfounded. And if we are doing this it is only because we seek to help you because tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow, Gisenye shall be attacked by firearms which can be found at Kajeguhakwa's house, and which we have lost all trace of. (Kangura, No. 9, January,1991)

Contextual Hints

This extract is from an article entitled" *Kangura* continues to denounce people to the intelligent service". It presents a list of names who are suspected to support the *Inkotanyis*.

Pragmatic Analysis

An indirect expressive speech act of approving is found in *We have no concerns against those persons*. It is used to show that the writer takes a satisfactory view of the Tutsis. Another example of a direct assertive speech act of stating is identified in *We include them in this letter*. It is employed to state that some of the names of Tutsis published are suspected of being accomplices for *Inkontanyi* . A further example of using an indirect directive speech act of request is found in *You will be able to inform the president of the republic of the persecutor about any information regarding the published named of the Tutsis*. It is used to request the readers to give the prosecutor any relevant information of the Tutsis persons whose names are published. Two other direct directive speech acts of request are found in *if anyone is innocent, inform us of and tell us.....* these speech acts are employed to request Hutu listeners to inform the authorities about

any innocent *Inkotanyi*. Another instance of employing a direct speech act of state is used as the writer says *We seek to help you*. It is used to state that the writer intends to help Hutus listeners in the city of Gisenye. A further example of an indirect directive speech act of warning is identified in *Gisenye shall be attacked by fire arms*. It is used to warn the people of the city of Gisenye that an attack will happen to it.

Extract (5)

Let's hope the Inyenzi will have the courage to understand what is going to happen and realize that if they make a small mistake, they will be exterminated; if they make the mistake of attacking again, there will be none of them left in Rwanda, not even a single accomplice. All the Hutus are united...(Kangura, No. 54, January, 1994)

Contextual Hints

This extract is part of an article published by *Kangura* entitled *As a Result of their Politics of lies, the Inkotanyi Regret Having Started the War*. It sets forth a number of lies which have been told to the *Inyenzis*. This extract represents the third lie. It states that the *Inyenzi* prisoners inside Rwanda will exterminated before those came from outside of the country.

Pragmatic Analysis

A direct directive speech act of suggesting is found in the form of *let's hope the Inyenzi will have the courage*. This speech act is used to show that the Hutus are eager to see the *inyenzi's* attack which, by itself, is one of the lies that are set forth by *Kangura* before the genocide committed in 1994. Another indirect commissive speech acts of threatening is shown in *they will be exterminated*. It is used to threaten *Inyenzi* that they will be exterminated in case that they attack Hutus again. An instance of indirect commissive speech act of threatening is found in *There will be none of them left in Rwanda*. It is used to threaten *Inyenzi* that they will be killed to the extent that none of them will be left. A further instance of a direct assertive speech act of stating is identified as the writer mentions that *All the Hutus are united*. This speech act is employed in the sense of stating that the

Hutus are united against any threat.

Extract (6)

Presently, these soldiers behave as if they have been sent to help the RPF to take power by force. The situation needs some clarification. If the Inkotanyi have decided to massacre us, the killing should be mutually done. The bomb must be burst. The present situation warrants that we should be vigilant because they are difficult. The presence of UN forces will not prevent the Inkotanyi to start the war (...). These happenings are possible in Rwanda, too. When the Inkotanyi must have surrounded within the country, and the rest will follow. It will be necessary for the majority people and its army to defend itself... On that day, blood will be spilled. On that day, much blood must have been spilled. Romeo Dallaire and the UNAMIR, whatever they do, must take into account this reality.

(Kangura, No. 55, January, 1994)

Contextual Hints

This extract is an article which represents a criticism of the role of United Nations forces which, as stated by the article, help the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). Accordingly, the Hutus are warned to be vigilant in order to defend themselves.

Pragmatic Analysis

An indirect expressive speech act of protesting is identified as the writer says "*The situation needs some clarifications*". Here the writer shows his protest towards the role of the soldiers of United Nations stating that this role is merely to support RPF. Another indirect directive speech act of requesting is used in ... *the killing should be mutually done*. In this way, the writer requests his readers who are Hutus to kill the *Inkotanyi* in case they decide to kill the Hutus. Another instance of using indirect directive speech act of requesting is shown in "We should be vigilant". This use can be attributed to the idea that *Inkotanyi's* are difficult fighters. So, the Hutus should do their best to combat the *Inkotanyi's*. An indirect directive speech act of warning is employed in "UN forces will not

prevent in *Inkotanyi* to start war". The Writer intends to warn Hutus that UN forces will not have their expected role in peace keeping in the country. An indirect assertive speech act of criticism is also used in *these happenings are possible in Rwanda*. It is used to criticize that it is probable for the UN forces not to prevent the expected war with *Inkotanyi*. An indirect directive speech act of warning is identified in *they will appeal to those of Mulindi*. In this speech act, the writer warns Hutus about *Inkotanyi* who will ask Mulindi for help in attacking Hutus. An indirect directive speech act of requesting is found in "*It will be necessary for the majority people and its army to defend itself.*" In this speech act, the writer requests Hutus and their army to defend themselves against *Inkotanyi*. Another indirect directive speech act of threatening is employed in *much blood must have been spilled*. In that, the writer implies that the blood of the *Inkotanyi*'s must be spilled as Hutus will defend themselves. A further example of indirect directive speech of threatening is found in *Romeo Deallaire and his UNAMAR... must take into account this reality*. The writer asks the UN forces to take the idea of Hutus readiness for war into consideration. In that, Hutus must defend themselves and spill the *Inkotanyi*'s blood in case that they attack Hutus.

Extract (7)

As happened in Somalia where about two hundred UN soldiers were killed because of their partisan stance, in Rwanda, the government will soon be formed and those who will be left out will fight against it, and so will those participating in the government but without recognizing it. The country will be teeming with opponents. The United Nations troops will continue supporting Arusha Accords because they justify their presence here. Those who reject the Accords will take it out on those soldiers and will massacre them; they will throw grenade at them and they will die each day. A time will come when those soldiers would grow weary and leave. And it is after their departure that blood will really flow. All the Tutsis and the cowardly Hutus will be exterminated. The Inyenzi would once more enlist MUSEVENTs support in attacking the Hutus, who will be tortured to death. The tragedy would be as a result of the ill-conceived accords. (Kangura, No. 56,

February,1994)

Contextual Hints

This extract represents a section entitled *How will the CW troops perish?* which appears in an editorial of *Kangura*? It explicitly refers to the Tutsi and Hutus who support them and foretells their extermination. It involves a threat to the UN soldiers to be killed by Hutus.

Pragmatic Analysis

An abundant employment of indirect assertive speech acts of predicting are found in this article. This employment is characterized by the use of the modal verb *will*. One of the uses of this verb is to predict future actions. Ten assertive speech acts of prediction are used. This use can be attributed to the fact that this article is written to state the failure of the Arushas Accords because the real problem between Hutus and Tutsis is not addressed properly. Those speech acts state the situation in Rwanda with reference to relation between government and various actors and to explore the probable happenings to the government, its opponents and UN troops. An instance of an indirect directive speech act of warning is found in *Blood will really flow* . It is used to warn the Hutu readers that there will be bloodshed. An indirect directive speech act of threatening is found in *all the Tutsis and the cowardly Hutus will be exterminated*. This represents the most important speech act as it calls for the extermination of all the Tutsis and uncourageous Hutus which represents the essence of the article.

It is used to threaten Tutsis and moderate Hutus that they will be exterminated. An indirect directive speech act of warning is identified in *attacking the Hutus who will be tortured*. It is used to warn Hutus of their suffering in their way to death. An indirect assertive speech act of attributing is found in *The tragedy would be as a result would be ill-conceived accords*. It is used to attribute that the tragedy is related to the faulty way of perceiving that problem stating that the real problem is an ethnic one.

5.2 Statistical Analysis

This section presents the statistical analysis of extracts that represent racial

hate speech. Regarding the statistical analysis, descriptive statistics which includes frequencies and percentages will be used in the analysis.

Table (1) and Figure (1) indicate that the total number of the speech act employed is (37). Directives have the highest rate (18) at (48.648%). Expressives are employed at (13) with (35.135%). These findings verify the first hypothesis which reads:

Directive speech acts are highly employed in racial hate speech.

Table (1): Statistics of the Types of Speech Acts in Racial Hate Speech

Speech Act Type	Frequency	Percentage
Assertives	6	16.216%
Directives	18	48.648%
Commissives	0	0%
Expressives	13	35.135%
Declarations	0	0%
Total	37	100%

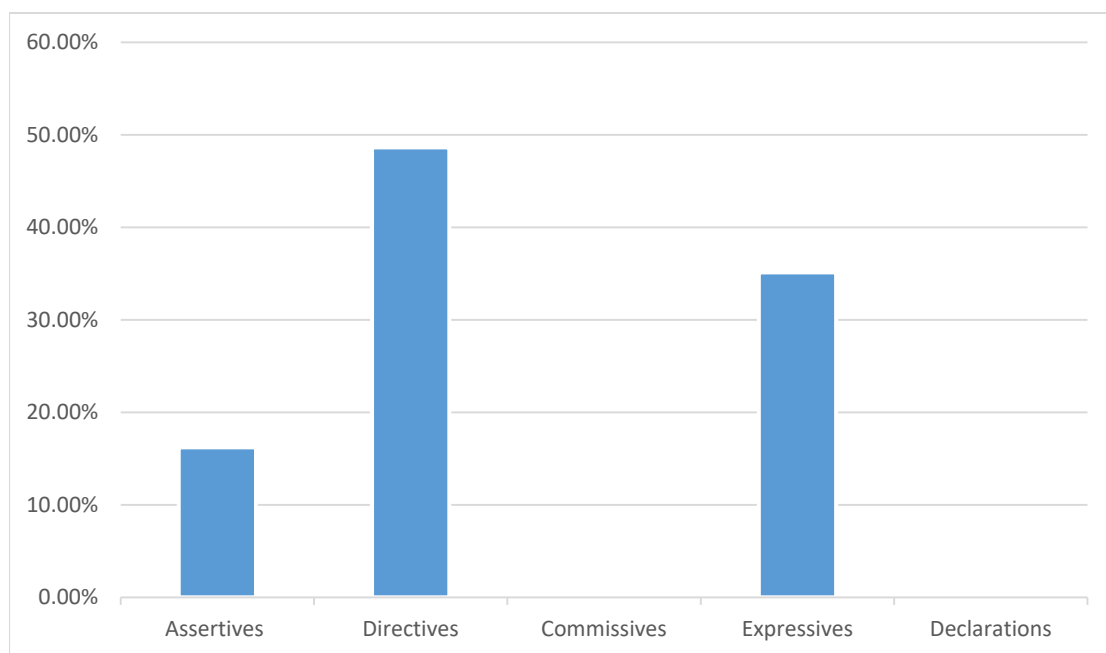


Figure (1): Rates of Speech Acts in Racial Hate Speech

Table (2) and Figure (2) show that the total number of direct and indirect speech acts used are (8) and (29) at (21.621 %) and (78.378%) respectively. These findings verify the second hypothesis which reads:

Regarding the types of speech acts used in racial hate speech, indirect speech acts are employed more than direct speech acts.

Table (2): Statistics of Direct and Indirect Speech Acts in Racial Hate Speech

Speech Act Type	Direct		Indirect		Total	
	F	P	F	P	F	P
Assertives	4	66.666%	2	33.333%		
Directives	3	16.666%	15	83.333%		
Commissives	0	0%	0	0%		
Expressives	1	7.692%	12	92.307%		
Declarations	0	0%	0	0%		
Total	8	21.621%	29	78.378%	37	100%

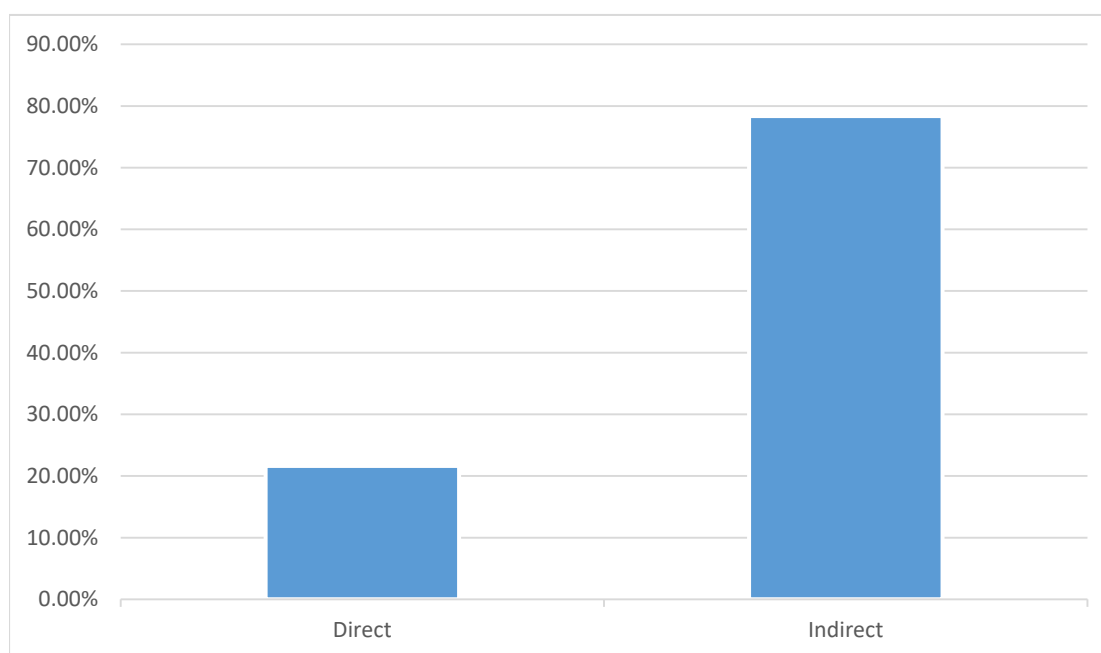
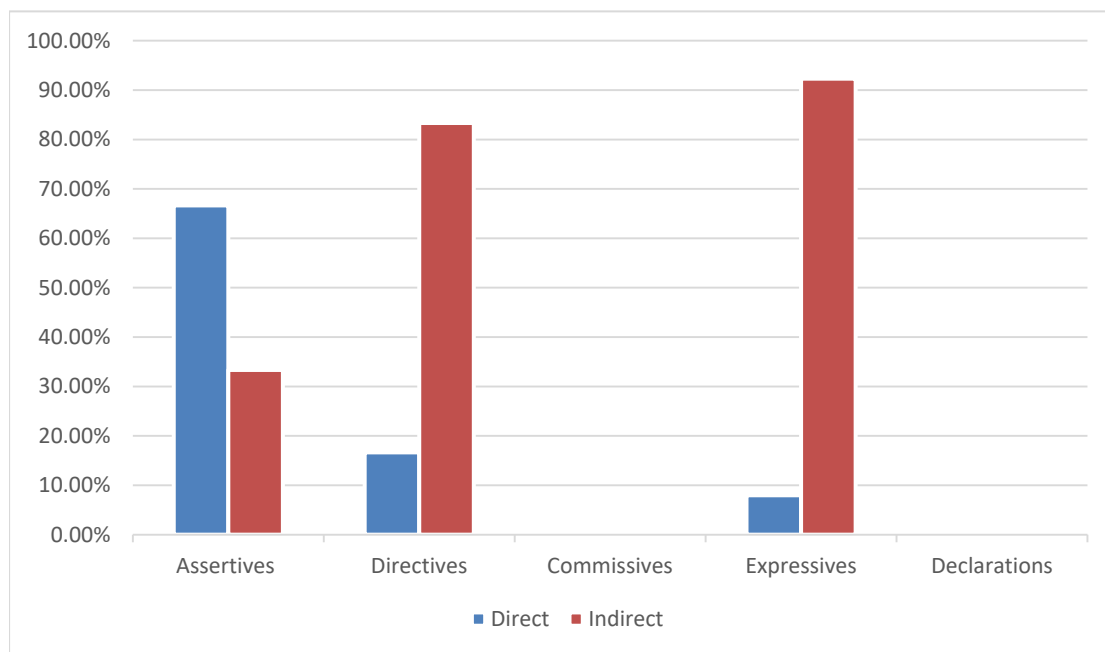


Figure (2):Rates of Direct and Indirect Speech Acts in Racial Hate Speech

Table (2) and Figure (3) also manifest that direct assertives have the highest rate (4) with (66.666%) whereas the rate of indirect assertives is (2) at (33.333%). Indirect expressives have the highest rate of (12) at (92.307%) whereas direct expressives have the rate (1) with (7.692%). Indirect directives have the rate of (15) at (83.333%) whereas direct directives have the rate (3) with (16.666%). The percentages of expressives and directives prove that there are significant differences between direct and indirect speech acts. These findings verify the third

hypothesis which states that:

direct assertives and indirect expressives are appealed to more than other types of speech acts in issuing racial hate speech.



Figure(3):Rates of the sub-types of direct and indirect speech acts used in racial hate speech

6. Conclusions

Based on the analysis carried out in the previous section, the study has come up with the following conclusions:

1. Regarding the speech acts employed in the data representing racial hate speech, directives outnumber other types of speech acts in racial hate speech. Expressives come second. This can be construed in the sense that racial hate speech propagators intend to incite Hutu people to violence and to express their negative feelings towards the Tutsis. As such, hypothesis No.1 is verified.
2. With respect to direct and indirect speech acts employed, it is found that indirect speech acts are used more than the direct ones in racial hate speech. This can be understood in light of the idea that racial hate speech propagators try to disseminate their ideas in an indirect way. Correspondingly, hypothesis No. 2 is fulfilled.

3. With respect to direct speech acts, assertives outnumber other types. This can be explained in that propagators of racial hate speech want to state facts as clear as possible. Regarding indirect speech acts, expressives outnumber other types. This can be construed in that propagators of racial hate speech try to express their ideas indirectly in order to appear as objective as possible. Accordingly, hypothesis No.3 is verified.

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