The persuasive strategies in Blair's speech from socio-cognitive phonological approach

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Abstract:

The main aim of this study is revealing the tonal contours of the power abuse and manipulation in Blair's speech about legitimating the war on Iraq . Particularly, it shows the expressive tonal contour from cognitive side of the inequality , polarization and emotional utterances strategies. The major findings shows that monotonal high (H*) pitch accent tone and bitonal low with a high pitch accent (L+H*) are most commonly used in Blair's speech. These two tones are associated with a low phrase accent with low boundary tone (L-L%). The use of high pitch accent indicates that Blair used more manipulation strategies which are expressed in the form of polarization and emotional utterances as he tries to gain the sympathy of the parliament members. Specifically, Blair exposes live examples about the dangerous nature of Saddam Hussein and advise the UK parliament to act accordingly . Besides, the fall to rise bitonal tone shows his manipulation by evoking doubts on the possibility of evolving these acts of Sadam Hussien if he is left in his position. This study can help the political analysts in discovering the manipulative ways used by the politician to achieve his personal purposes since it shed lights on the types of tonal contour that reflect his characteristics in the discourse socially and cognitively .

Keywords: (polerization ,emotional utterances ,power , manipulation , CDA, AM,PIMI ,intonational contour) .

Introduction

Political language is a special way of practicing power through using language that organizes people's mind. That is to say, power is a tool used to dominate the society through persuading its members. The concepts of critical discourse analysis , Power, ideology and manipulation and their relationship need more clarification (Chartesis-Black, 2014; Chilton & Schäffner, 1997; Dahl, 1957; Foucault, 1980; Fowler, 1985; Gramsci, 1980; Kress, 1985; van Dijk, 1996, 1998, 2006; Wodak, 1989).

 Many studies examined the language of politicians since they play a significant role in their discourse(Chilton, 2004). It is important to mention that political discourse is not confined to politicians. Other members like the audience and the ordinary people play an active role in

political discourse . However, all roles of members in discourse should be examined in analyzing political discourse. (Van Dijk, 1997).

The researcher uses an eclectic model .The first one is called 'power, Ideology and manipulation Identification' (PIMI) instruments of Vadai (2017) and the second one is called Autosegmental-Metrical phonology of Pierrehumbert model (1980). So, this study deals with vadia's power and manipulation and Pierrehumbert intonational patterns. More particular, it highlights the pitch accents alignment of persuasive strategies that Blair uses in his speech to manipulate the mind of UK parliaments intending to persuade them about taking the war decision in Iraq. Generally, this study has two research questions. First :what are the power and manipulation persuasive strategies in relation to expressive speech act used by Blair? Second : What are the intonational patterns of the power and manipulation instruments in relation to expressive speech act types used by Blair?

Literature review:

In fact , there are a very few studies which applied PIMI model of Vadai (2016) in a political discourse. One of these studies is conducted by Van Dijk (2006) who analyzed Blair's speech about the war on Iraq .He found out that the instruments of power and manipulation reflect the morality of some speakers and immorality of other speakers . Hamdaoui (2015) and Yunisda & Firmansyah (2019) analyzed another kind of political speech which is the speech of Obama and Trump. They found that the deictic categories are regarded as persuasive tools to practice power abuse. Again Vadai (2017) analyzed Tony Blair's speech about war against Iraq. She found that manipulative devices are regarded as persuasive tools . In 2020, Jasim & Mustafa found out the manipulatiive devices which are positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation by comparing between the English and Arabic political speech in Trump and Salih . Qaiwer(2020) tackled similar study examines the notion of power abuse in discourse. She analyzed selected speeches of Donald Trump qualitatively using Jeffries' (2010) model of naming and nominalization, van Lewueen's model (2007) of social actors' and Leech and Short's (2007) framework in the light of van Dijk epistemic discourse analysis. The main findings showed that Trump uses positive and negative presentation as manipulative device.

  Additionally, some linguistic methods have been adopted to investigate the power, ideology and manipulation signs in political speech . Most of these studies are concerned with the political discourse and their major outcomes show the use of these devices in political speech and the way the speaker used them to persuade the audience. One of these studies that conducted by Nuriana(2019) who used theory power in discourse by Fairclough to analyze two selected interview videos with Donald Trump .He found out that Trump uses pronouns which reflect symmetric and asymmetric relations of power and the members of the interview use ways such as   interruption, coercion, clearness ,   topic control and

manufacturing hat achieving gaining power in discourse. Musleh(2020) intended to uncover the methods of manipulating the emotion in the source text(ST) and deforming the intended message in the ST. He analyzed Yasser Arafat's speech in 1974 and its English translation using deconstruction and feminism theories. The main findings is translators use translation in all linguistic levels as a way to practice power and manipulating the intention of the producers. Shigapova , Titova, Morozova ,& Sabirova (2021) used speech act theory to analyze the speech of Donald Trump on 25 September 2018 .They revealed in addition to using self-representation, Trump uses accusation, threatening, cooperation, propagation, urging, etc,as other techniques of manipulation .

According to the knowledge of the researcher , a very few studies which used AM model of Pierrehumbert (1980) in examining various studies. The majority of these studies examine different languages such as Dutch, Greek, Spanish, Italian, Japanese, Finnish, Korean, and others. Generally, the outcomes of these studies show the similarities and differences between these languages and English language regarding the placement of pitch accent and boundary tones .For example ,Chahel (2001) (as cited in Aziz, 2018) is a study which aims to investigate the language of colloquial Lebanese by using (AM) model. Selected words and sentences from Lebanese are analyzed quantitatively. The main results showed that there are three protrusion levels: lexical stress, pitch accent and nuclear accent, and three components of prosody : the intonational phrase, the intermediate phrase and the prosodic word, and prosodic boundary types. pragmatically, a corpus study is carried out by Holliday, Bishop& Kuo(2020) for examining Obamas' speeches, formal speeches in particular , which were given from 2013 till 2014. By using praat program ,they concluded that the major effect on the meaning is variation in pitch accent and especially he uses L+H* to convey negative effect.
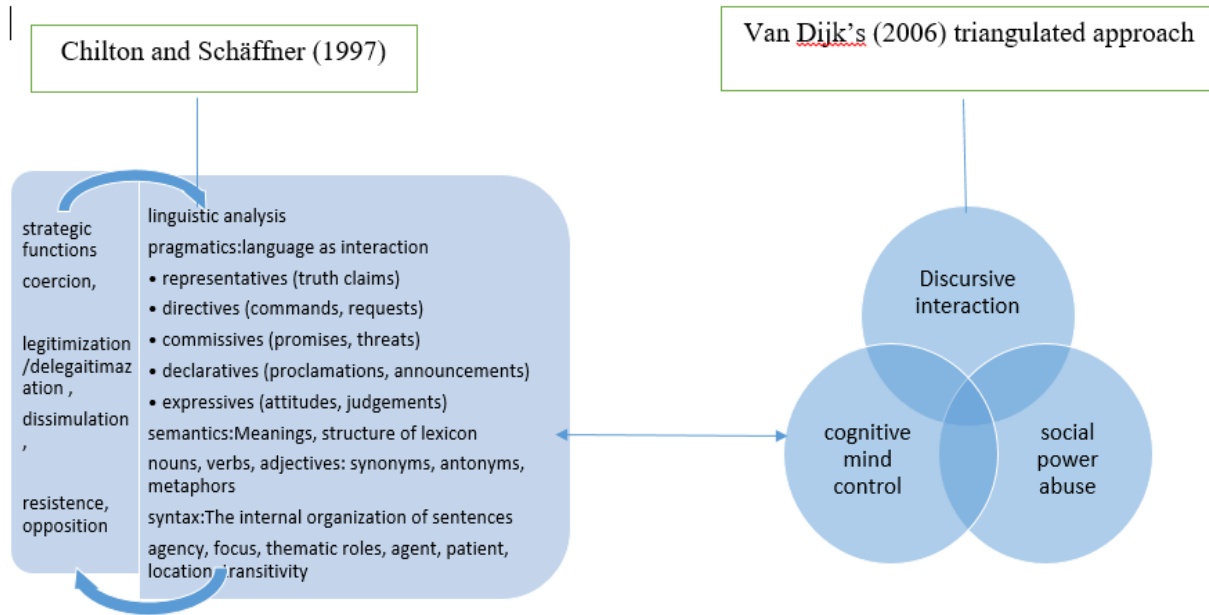
There is only one study which adopted the eclectic model Pierrehumbert (1980)MA model and Vadai (2017) of PIMI model to analyze the representative tonal patterns as a way of persuading the parliament about the war on Iraq. This study is adopted in 2022 by Abdul Kreem ,Ali and Al-Bahrani in which they used Blair's speech which is delivered in 20th of march 2003 .One of the major results of this study is that Blair used the patterns(H* L-L%) and (L+H* L-L%) to practice his power .The current study is similar to their study but it the former one fills the gap in the literature since it investigates expressive tonal contours in the course of power and manipulation instruments as a way of manipulative devices used by Blair to persuade the parliament making them to take decision about war in Iraq .

Vadai's (2016) model of power, ideology and manipulation Identification instrument

Two analytical models are combined to form Vadai's model . These models are (Chilton & Schäffner, 1997 and van Dijk, 2006) (Vadai, 2017). On one hand, Chilton and Schäffner (1997) connect between the strategic functions with the linguistic analysis of the text. On the other hand, van Dijk's framework (2006) connects between discourse, cognition, and society.

Therefore ,Dijk's framework (2006) is a triangulated model since manipulation is a social phenomenon practiced through using the communicative forms of discourse to change the mind of the listeners exploiting the social positions of the speakers(politicans) (Dijk, 2001). Figure (1) below shows the two analytical models of Chilton & Schäffner (1997) and van Dijk (2006):

Figure 1 Analytical models of Chilton & Schäffner (1997) and van Dijk (2006)

The PIMI model of Vadai (2016) merges the strategic functions and all the linguistic elements together in a triangulated approach in which all the levels in this model are arranged independently but can be treated dependently or separately . All the linguistic levels : pragmatics, semantics, and syntax can be taken into account in investigating the of power, ideology, and manipulation features.

At the pragmatic level, Vadai (2017) links the speech act categories with the power and manipulation instruments . In this regard, he points to primary and secondary signs of the power . The former one can be realized by its coercive force . The coercive force is represented by directives (begs, request, command), commissives (promises, threats), and declaratives (announcements) . The latter one can be realized by omnipotent orator polarization which is represented by representatives and expressives(truth claims and positive/negative other presentations)

Moreover , vadai mentions the signs of manipulation . These signs are polarization and dissimulation in political speech which can be realized through expressives, representatives, and commissives speech act categories. Expressives are obvious in the polarization strategies which can be seen in positive self-presentation 'our good acts' and legitimization negative other-presentation 'their bad acts' delegitimization. Representatives and commissives are evident in dissimulation. The former can be seen in the form of lying, blurring, and defocusing while the latter can be seen in the form of fake promises and threats. Table (1) below summarizes the signs of power and manipulation in political discourse according to Kata Vadia (2017):

Table 1 Signs of power and manipulation in relation of speech act types according to Kata Vadai(2017)

Instruments	strategies	Speech act types and their functions
power	coercion	Directives (begs, requests, commands)
		Declaratives (announcements)
	inequality	Representatives (assertions, truth claims)
		Expressives (Positive self/ negative other presentation)
		Commissives ((promises, threats)
Manipulation	Polarization / emotional utterances	Expressives (positive self-presentation 'our good acts' and legitimization negative other-presentation 'their bad acts' delegitimization)
	Dissimulation /fact or opinion	Representatives (lying, blurring, defcusing)
	Dissimulation	Commissives (fake promises, irrational threats)

Power is a term used in critical discourse analysis to refer to social unequal relationships. It is a tool of controlling the mind and behavior of people as a way of convincing for achieving a certain purpose through language. (Gramsci, 1980; Fowler, 1985; van Dijk, 1996).

Manipulation on the other hand is a social power abuse which is practiced against the will and interest of other people . it is the use of discourse as an illegitimate effect (Van Dijk,2006). However, power is a direct force practiced by a certain authority to do something while manipulation is an indirect way of practicing power through distorting beliefs to make the recipient to support intention of the speaker(Vadai ,2017).

It is important to mention that Van Dijk (2006) makes distinction between the manipulation and persuasion in which the first one is an illegitimate effect on the interlocutor exploiting the unknown information . So ,it serves the goal of the speaker . persuasion is a legitimate effect on the interlocutor based on known information .so, it has a certain purpose .

Pierrehumbert's (1980) model of Autosegmental-Metrical Phonology

In intonational languages, tones are aligned with pitch accents or boundary tones. Pitch accents are prominent syllables that identified metrically while boundary tones are the prosodic edges. Different theories of phonology of intonation dealt with these various tones. One of these theories is Autosegmental –metrical phonology of intonation (AM)which is developed by Janet Pierrehumbert in 1980. Pierrehumbert Hirschberg (1990)through analyzing the intonation of American Accent, suggest that the differences in the pitch accents, phrase accents and boundary tones can convey different pragmatic meanings mentioning that each of these component play different function added to the total meaning of the intonational phrase. In this regard pitch accent gives information about the speakers intention including shared knowledge , the boundary tone gives that there is a relationship among intonational phrases where as the phrase accent gives that there is a relationship amonge intermediate phrases. (Erteschik-Shir, 1997)

According to Pierrehumbert (1980), English intonation system involves tonal units . These unites which includes" pitch accent" , "phrase accent" and "boundary tone" involves two kinds of tones high (H) and low (L). pitch accent are of two kinds: monotonal or bitonal which are associated with prominent syllables. Pierrehumbert suggested six shapes of pitch accents: (H*, L*, L*+H, L+H*, H*+L, H+L*) (Ladd, 1996:79). Mainly, the star notation '*' is associated with metrically strong syllables (Prieto, 1995). Consequently, Pierrehumbert (1980) presented two types of edge tone: phrase accent and boundary tones. Phrase accents are marked by -while boundary tones are marked by %. The location of the phrase accent is between the nuclear pitch accent and the boundary tone while boundary tone is recognized at the tail of intonational phrase. In addition, phrase accents are analyzed as boundary tones

of an intermediate phrase, whereas boundary tones are analyzed as the final

tones of an intonational phrase .

The Method:

The present work focuses on exploring the intonational forms used in one of Tony Blair's speeches that are associated with the instruments of power and panipulation related to representative speech act Minister. This speech is about the war in Iraq on 24th september, 2002 in the House of Commons. This study, adopted two models which are PIMI model of

Vadai (2016) and AM model of Pierrehumbert (1980) in order to achieve the objectives of this study.

Instruments & strategies with their forms	Power	Manipulation	
Excerpts	inequality	polarization	emotional utterances
1. Thousands of children dying needlessly every year from lack of food and medicine			√
2. Four million people out of a population of just over 20 million living in exile			√
3- Just last week someone's slandering Saddam tied to a post in a street in Baghdad their tongue cut out mutilated and left to bleed to death as a warning to others			√
4- imagine not to be able to speak or discuss or debate or even question the society you live in			√
5- to suffer the humility of failing courage in the face of pitiless terror			√
6- for them the darkness was simply closed back over.			√
7- They will be left under his rule without any possibility of liberation not from us not from anyone			√
8- what will the other states who tyrannize their people the terrorists who threaten our existence?		√	
9- That the will confronting them is decaying and feeble			√
10- Of Iraqi people groaning under years of dictatorship			√
11- Tell our allies that at the very moment of action, at the very moment when they need our determination that Britain faltered			√
12- To show that we will confront the tyrannies and dictatorships and terrorists who put our way of life at risk	√		
Total %	1(1%)	1(1%)	10(14%)

A mixed method is used in this study , , qualitative and quantitative methods. It is a qualitative study since it includess sixty collected excerpts. Blair's speech is recorded from YouTube C-Spain.org website which it is lasted for 2 hours. The sixty excerpts are analyzed acoustically using PRAAT program in order to mesure the values of the pitch accents and identify their shapes as well as the boundary tones which is very important to achieve the objectives of this study. This study is quantitative study since

it is based on   percentages and frequencies of the strategies involved in power and manipulation instruments which in turn will provide a comprehensive understanding of the whole political discourse and support

the qualitative discussion in this study.

Data Analysis and Discussion

1-Signs of power and manipulation in relation to the expressive speech act

Table 4.19 : The persuasive strategies in power and manipulation instruments in relation to expressive speech act type used by Blair's speech.

In regard to expressives, it is noticed that power is very clear in the strategy of inequality while the manipulation is evident in the strategies of both polarization and emotional utterances. On one hand, the inequality strategy is represented by Positive self/negatives other presentation and its percentage is (1%). Blair contrasts between his positive attitude in taking the war decision with the negative attitude in case refusing the war decision. He emphasizes his presentation positively when he talked about helping Iraqis to achieve the peace and democracy to Iraq and to the rest of the Middle East, and pointed to others negatively who called them enemies, particularly the tyrant countries that will get benefits from this withdrawing. He asserted his intention by presenting the bad consequences that might occur when refusing such a decision. One of these consequences is the effect of getting back on the unity within the European Union, as stated in his following quote: *"(259)who will celebrate*? and *Who will weep if we take our troops back from the Gulf now*?; (361)*Will our retreat make them multilateral*. This is one way to legitimate his war decision in Iraq and it helps him reducing the magnitude of his mistakes, as pointed out by van Dijk (1995, p. 27). However, his intention is to show the protagonists represented by US and UK and the antagonist represented by terrorism and dictator regimes like Saddam(*381)To show that we will confront the tyrannies and dictatorships and terrorists who put our way of life at risk*. He used the adjectives (tyrannies, dictatorship and terrorist) that refer to the enemy and used the pronoun (our) refer to the liberators.

On the other hand, the manipulation instrument is represented by both polarization and emotional utterances. It seems that percentage of emotional utterances are more than the polarization since the value in the former is (14%) and in the latter is (1%). This reflects that Blair focuses on talking emotionally to his recipient to arouse the feelings of UK parliament and manipulate their minds by presenting Iraqis as victims and allies as enemies in case of refusing his war decision, for instance, when he says: (331) *Thousands of children dying ………… from lack of food and medicine;(332) Four million people …………. living in exile;(336) …………… someone's slandering Saddam tied to a post in a street in Baghdad their tongue cut out mutilated and left to bleed to death as a warning to others ; (342) imagine*

not to be able to speak or discuss or debate or even complain the society you live in;(344) to suffer the humility of failing courage in the face of pitiless terror; (350) They will be left under his rule without ………. of liberation not from us not from anyone;(358) That the will confronting them is decaying and feeble; (369) Of Iraqi people groaning under years of dictatorship;(377) Tell our allies ………………., at the very moment when they need our determination that Britain faltered;(349) for them the darkness was simply closed back over. However, polarization is used when Blair reflects the bad acts of terrorism toward civilized people acts: (356) *what will the other states who tyrannize their people the terrorists who threaten our existence?* .He tries to draw a bad picture about the enemy that helps the recipient to change their mind toward the speaker interest.

2. Intonational patterns of persuasive strategies in power and manipulation instruments in relation to expressive speech act type

It is noted that there are different tonal contours of expressive are used in Blair's speech. Figures (4.21 and 4.22) show the Tobi analysis of the tonal contours for the selected excerpts of the expressive in power and manipulation instruments.
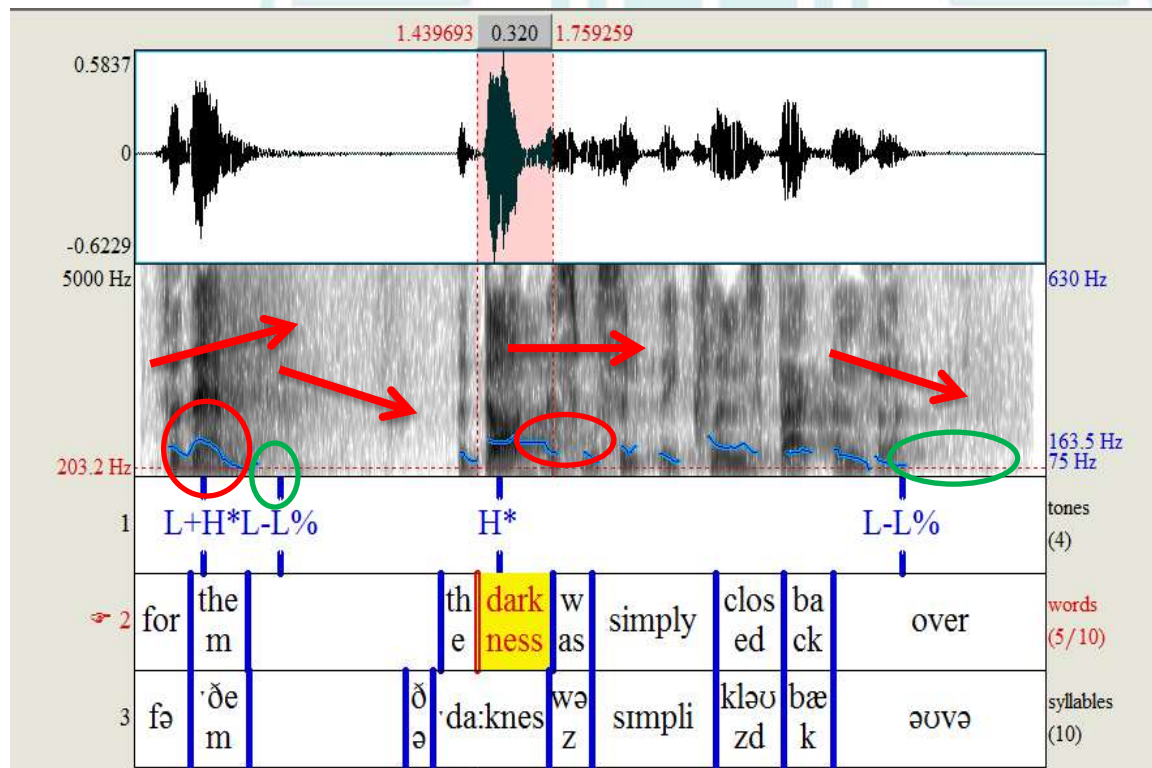

Figure 4.21 tonal representative contour of manipulation instrument with emotional utterances function) (L+H* L-L% H*L-L%) of the utterance "for them the darkness was simply closed back over".
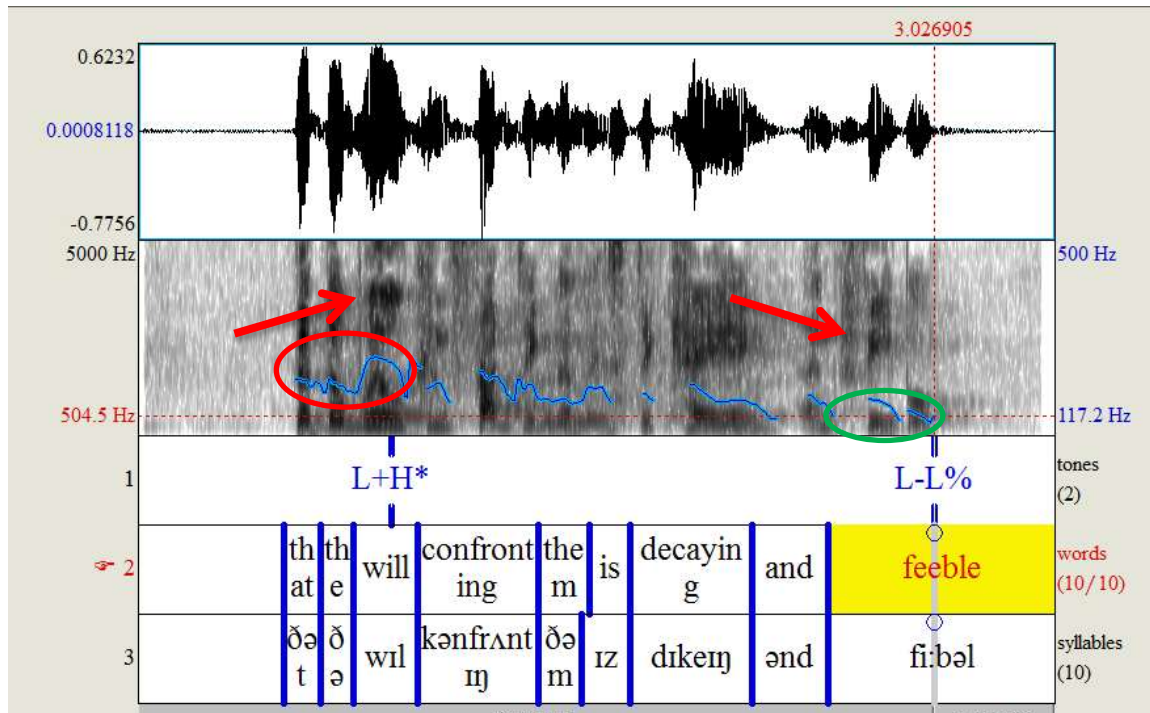
Figure 4.22 tonal representative contour of manipulation instrument with emotional utterances function) (L+H* L-L%) of the utterance "that the will confronting them is decaying and feeble".

Moreover ,Table 4.24 shows the intonational patterns of persuasive strategies in power and manipulation instruments in relation to expressive speech act type used by Blair's speech:

Table 4.24 : The intonational patterns of persuasive strategies in power and manipulation instruments in relation to expressive speech act type used by Blair's speech:

No.	Excerpt	function	Strategic type	Intonational pattern	Total
1-	To show that we will confront the tyrannies and dictatorships and terrorists who put our way of life at risk	Power	inequality (positive -self negative- other) presentation	H* L-L% H* L-L%	1 1%
1-	Thousands of children dying needlessly every year from lack of food and medicine	Manipulation	Emotional utterances	H*H-H%	10 14%
2-	Four million people out of a population of just over 20 million living in exile			L+H*L-L% L*L-L%	
3-	Just last week someone's slandering Saddam tied to a post in a street in Baghdad their tongue cut out mutilated and left to bleed to death as a warning to others			H*L-L% L*L-L% L*L-L%	
4-	But imagine not to be able to speak or discuss or debate the society you live in			L+H*L-L%	
5-	to suffer the humility of failing courage in the face of pitiless terror			L+H*H-H% H*L-L%	
6-	for them the darkness was simply closed back over			L+H*L-L% H*L-L%	
7-	6- They will be left under his rule without any possibility of liberation not from us not from anyone			L+H*L-L% H*L-L%	
8-	That the will confronting them is decaying and feeble			L+H*L-L%	
9-	Of Iraqi people groaning under years of dictatorship			H*L-H% H*L-L%	
10-	Tell our allies that at the very moment of action, at the very moment when they need our determination that Britain faltered			H*L-L% L*L-L%	
1-	what will the other states who tyrannize their people the terrorists who threaten our existence?		polerization	H*L-L%	1 1%
Total	12				

In addition, Table 4.25 shows the frequency and percentage of the intonational patterns of power and manipulation strategies in relation to expressive speech act used by Blair:

Table 4.25 :The frequency and percentage of the intonational patterns of power and manipulation strategies in relation to expressive speech act used by Blair:

Tonal alignment			power	Total %	manipulation		Total %
			Inequality		polarization	Emotional utterances	
Intonational patterns	monotonal	H* L-L%	2 (2%)	2	1 9 (9%)	6	13%
		H* L-H%			1(1%)	1	
		L*L-L%			4(4%)	4	
		H* H-H%			1(1%)	1	
	bitonal	L+H* L-L%		0%	5(5%)	5	6%
		L+H* H-H%			1 (1%)	1	

As shown in the table above, it is noted that for expressive speech act Blair uses the monotonal pitch accents (H*)and (L*)with different phrase tones and boundary tones which are(L-L%,L-H%,H-H%) .In particular the intonational pattern H* L-L% more than H* L-H%, L*L-L%, H* H-H%, to express the nature of Saddam and his bad deeds in manipulation instrument since the values are (9,1,4,1,%) respectively. He also uses the bitonal pitch accent (L+H*)with the phrase accents and boundary tones(L-L%and H-H%) namely the intonational partarn (L+H*L-L%) is higher than (L+H*H-H%) since the values are(5,1%) respectively to express the sides of conflict between good and bad ,dictatorship and democracy inequality .Generally he uses simple tones and complex tones only in

manipulation instruments since the values are (13,2, and 6,0%) respectively. The uses of simple tone, particularly (H*L-L%) belongs to the fact that Blair intends to portrait a black picture about the enemy of liberation represented by Saddam Hussien in form of polarization and emotional utterances. He also tries to frame him and terrorist regimes as the bad side and US and UK as the liberators from the oppression from such regimes .He aliens himself to the good side of this conflict,(381) *To show that we will confront the tyrannies and dictatorships and terrorists ....* In this way ,he tries to arouse the feelings of duty to end the threat imposes from such enemy not only to Iraq but to the whole world . He uses a manipulative way when he describes   the Iraqi sufferings and the deeds of Saddam against his population as well as the bad consequences of refusing his decision, *(369) Of Iraqi people groaning under years of dictatorship.*; *Tell our allies ……that Britain faltered*. He insists on his point of view concerning solving the problem of Iraq issue through military way.

It is noted that Blair use low phrase tone and boundary tone(L-L%) almostely to refer to the finality of taking the decision of war .He also uses high phrase accent and boundary tone(H-H%) and low phrase accent and high boundary tone(L-H%) very little to attract the attention to that is more sides which would be influenced by refusing the decision of war. This result is supported by Brazil(1997) who claimed that using fall-rise of referring tone is used for watching out and attracting attention.

Conclusions:

political discourse is the base of this study. It shows the strategies of power and manipulation that are practiced by parliament members. This is to show the legitimate political rhetoric principles. It further reflects that Blair intended to depict the nature of current situation in Iraq. That is why he used a number of expressive. This study highlights that Blair manipulates the recipients in some way or in another that can't be resisted. However, the powerful parliament like that of the UK accept the policy of Prime minister as a war against tyranny and terrorism. In brief, the MPs are victims of Blair's policy since they are manipulated to accept the legitimate of the war against Iraq, i.e., they effected by his way of persuading for sending troops to Iraq to put an end to the actions of Saddam Hussien. This is obvious in using emotional utterances almostly.

Accordingly, the manipulation position in Blair's speech highlighted by using two shapes of contours ,H*L-L% and L+H*L-L%. He used these shapes to express the emotional utterances. The monotonal shape (H*L-L%) means that he gives tangible examples for the brutality of Sadam System that no human can accept to persuade the parliament about taking the war decision. On the contrary, the fall to rise bitonal tone (L+H*) shows that Blair use the possible increasing of such Sadam's victims as a way to make them accept the war decision. Besides, the low boundary tone(L-L%) is used his polite way in addressing the parliament to dominate their mind and affect their decision.

 Actually, it seems that both the parliament and the opposition are hardly disagree with Blair's manipulative argument since they don't have the accurate information of WMD which enable them to accept or reject the legitimacy invasion of Iraq. In addition, there are many of those whose desire to oppose the invasion of Iraq (e.g, the Labour majority in the House, British people), but at the same time they could not reject Blair's hints about putting the Labour government at risk. This risk can extend to mean a challenge to USA which mean destroying the relationship between the UK and the USA. It is important to mention that the refusing the invasion means the parliament members help and engage Saddam Hussein in continuing his against dictatorships. So,this opposes the laws of international security.

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