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**Mnohoaspektový přístup k britskému politickému
diskursu**

Dizertační práce

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V Olomouci dne 15. srpna 2011

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Abstract

The Multifaceted Nature of British Political Discourse

The dissertation presents empirical research in the field of British political discourse (face-to-face interviews) focusing on the exploration of (macro)-communication strategies used by the interviewer (J. Paxman) and interviewees (C. Kennedy, T. Blair, M. Howard and G. Galloway). The overall framework of the study is inspired by Vachek's view of language as a 'system of systems'. Thus, the dissertation aims to explore how the pragmatic perspective of language, defined mostly by maxims and principles, is interconnected with segmental planes of language. Not only does the study describe individual (macro)-communication strategies such as indirectness, irony, politeness, vagueness and others, it also aims to show their interplay with the interviewer's and interviewees' macro-communication intentions. By applying the interdisciplinary approach, stressing mainly the pragmatic perspective, and testing several theoretical approaches, the study aims to develop a type of comprehensive analysis that could also be applicable to other types of discourse, and thus useful for e.g. journalists or other specialists involved in the analysis of speakers' (macro)-communication strategies.

Key words: (macro)-communication strategies, macro-communication intentions, political discourse, pragmatics, indirectness, vagueness, irony, politeness

Abstrakt

Mnohoaspektový přístup k britskému politickému diskursu

Dizertační práce prezentuje empirický výzkum v oblasti britského politického diskursu (interview tváří v tvář), který se zaměřuje na výzkum (makro)-komunikačních strategií používaných jak reportérem (J. Paxmanem) tak dotazovanými politiky (Ch. Kennedym, T. Blairem, M. Howardem a G. Gallowayem). Obecný přístup k výzkumu je inspirován Vachkovým pohledem na jazyk, který je definován jako 'systém vzájemně se ovlivňujících systémů'. Jedním z cílů dizertace je tedy ukázat, jak je pragmatická perspektiva, která je definovaná především maximami a principy, propojena se segmentální úrovní jazyka. Tato studie se tedy snaží nejen o popis jednotlivých (makro)-komunikačních strategií jako jsou: nepřímost, ironie, zdvořilost, vágnost a další; ale zároveň se také snaží ukázat jejich propojení s makro-komunikačními záměry reportéra a politiků. Aplikací interdisciplinárního přístupu, který zdůrazňuje zejména pragmatickou perspektivu a testováním několika teoretických přístupů se tato studie snaží rozpracovat komplexní analýzu, kterou by bylo možno aplikovat také na jiné typy diskursu a využít např. novináři popřípadě jinými odborníky, kteří se zabývají analýzou (makro)-komunikačních strategií mluvčích.

Klíčová slova: (makro)-komunikační strategie, makro-komunikační záměr, politický diskurs, pragmatika, nepřímost, vágnost, ironie, zdvořilost

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation presents an interdisciplinary approach to the various facets of the language used in one type or genre of British media discourse – political discourse (pd), more specifically the face-to-face political interview. Thus, the thesis draws on studies of media discourse (i.e. the language of news, talk radio shows, political debates, panel discussions or interviews), conversational analysis (CA) (cf. Hutchby, 2006; Clayman & Heritage, 2002), and critical discourse analysis (CDA) (cf. Fairclough, 1995), which are theoretically anchored in sociology. It also employs approaches such as discourse analysis (DA), which can be looked upon as a part of text linguistics or pragmatics, which in turn is connected with language philosophy (cf. Grice, Searle). And since it was Searle's and Grice's studies that gave rise to the original research, it is of no surprise that this dissertation originated as a study of indirectness.

Indirectness was examined in two of my pilot studies – one of them drawing on Searle's speech act theory, and the other one drawing on Grice's concept of the Cooperative Principle and implicatures. The first pilot study focused on identifying instances of indirect speech acts (ISAs) in interviewers' (IRs') utterances, while the second pilot study focused on interviewees' (IEs') non-observance of conversational maxims in political interviews (PIs) in both respective languages (Adámková, 2009).

These pilot studies were conducted in order to find out whether it is possible to reveal a general tendency to indirectness in political discourse (pd) in both respective languages. As the results showed that such an objective cannot be achieved, I was advised and helped by my tutor prof. Tárnýiková to modify the topic of my dissertation. Thus, the interest in indirectness has remained one of the focuses of this study, but the way it is looked upon, as well as the goals and assumptions of this study, have changed.

The overall approach to the study is inspired by Vachek's modification of the Saussurean (1976: 313) view of language as a system of systems "which implies...the existence in language of a number of levels or planes, each of which is characterized by its own specific structure and its own specific problems (the most important planes being denoted phonic, grammatical and lexical). ...each of such planes is more or less closely interlinked with the other planes."

One of the aims of this dissertation is to use Vachek's view of language in order to show the way in which Leech's communicative regulative language means (CRLM) are interlinked with the communicative constitutive language means (CCLM). In other words, it aims to explore how the pragmatic perspective of language, defined mostly by principles and maxims, is interconnected with segmental planes of language. The study uses both a bottom-up approach proceeding from 'form to function', inspired by Leech (1983), as well as the reverse approach going from 'function to form', inspired by Mathesius (1975).

To put the above-mentioned approach into practice, the study aims to explore the (macro)-communication strategies (MCSs), especially those closely related to indirectness, used by both the interviewer (IR) – the journalist, and the interviewees (IEs) – the politicians. The analyses of the interviewer's (IR's) and interviewees' (IEs') (macro)-communication strategies (MCSs) constitute the basis of a further aim of the study, which is the development of a type of analysis that may be termed a comprehensive analysis (CMA) – an analysis relating the interviewer's (IR's) and interviewees' (IEs') macro-communication strategies (MCSs) to their macro-communication intentions (MCIs) with respect to the interview macro-structure.

The study is divided into two main parts: the theoretical part consists of Chapters 1 and 2, and the analytical part includes the remaining Chapters 3 – 7. A brief outline of each chapter is offered in the following lines.

Chapter One outlines the British political interview as one of the media discourse genres and lists its characteristics with respect to Halliday's triad (1978). It also includes a section dealing with the role played by context in the analyzed political interviews (PIs).

Chapter Two introduces the data, approaches, macro-communication intentions and goals of the study. It focuses on the summary of distinct linguistic approaches employed in the study and it outlines the basic IRs' and IEs' macro-communication intentions (MCIs) and goals of the study.

Chapter Three on indirectness is the most extensive chapter of the dissertation. It aims to give an insight into the theories dealing with indirectness, and attempts to put the individual approaches towards indirectness into practice, i.e. to apply them to the excerpted language data, to verify how the theories work in practice and to describe their possible limits. This chapter serves as the basis of the whole study, and forms a foundation for other chapters dealing mostly with (macro)-communication strategies (MCSs) closely related to indirectness.

Chapter Four on irony and politeness is looked upon as a natural extension of the preceding chapter. It first focuses on examples of irony found in IR's turns, then proceeds to the presentation of IR's disputable examples of politeness, followed by an analysis of quality hedges in IEs' turns.

Chapter Five on vagueness, similarly to some sections of Chapter Three on indirectness, was published as an individual study in 2010. Its content, however, has been slightly modified for the purpose of this dissertation. Vagueness (similarly to irony and politeness) is looked upon as a macro-communication strategy (MCS) closely related to indirectness. The inspiration for dealing with vagueness with regard to indirectness came from Cheng and Warren's article *Indirectness, Inexplicitness and Vagueness Made Clearer* (2003) delineating the three respective terms; and from seminal work on *Vague Language* by Channell (1994). The chapter aims to present instances of vague language items (VLIs) used by the IR and the IEs, and it also tries to show and describe how these VLIs are deliberately used by the speakers to achieve distinct communication effects.

Chapter Six on miscellaneous communication strategies is based on the study of empirical data only, i.e. it has no theoretical framework, and it thus presents those communication strategies (CSs) whose occurrence was relatively frequent in the studied material. The chapter also aims to present other communication strategies (CSs), in order that the study can develop the topic to an extent befitting the title of the dissertation: *The Multifaceted Nature of British Political Discourse*. The chapter is divided into two parts: the first one focusing on IR's challenging and re-asked turns and the second one dealing with IEs' rival attacks and delineation strategy.

Chapter Seven on comprehensive analysis and macrostructures is the final chapter of the analytical part of the study and combines two main goals. First, it aims to show that most of the approaches to the phenomena described so far are applicable to practical research. Thus, it aims to present a type of a comprehensive analysis using all the approaches and results presented in Chapters 3-6. The analysis of this chapter is based on different material (a four-minute post-election interview between Jeremy Paxman and George Galloway). Secondly, this chapter focuses on the interplay between (macro)-communication strategies (MCSs) described in the comprehensive analysis (CMA) and macro-communication intentions (MCIs) resulting in IR's and IE's particular questioning/answering style.

In summary, the study does not claim to present an exhaustive listing of (macro)-communication strategies (MCSs) used by IR's and IEs in British face-to-face political

interviews, as the material studied is too narrow to achieve such an objective. Rather, the study attempts to present those (M)CSs that are closely related to indirectness. Not only does the study aim to show the mutual relationship of indirectness, irony, politeness and vagueness, but it also seeks a way to confirm their interconnection using the excerpted examples. The dissertation also describes other CSs that are less directly connected with indirectness; and finally searches for a way of relating the findings described in Chapters 3-6 to IR's and IEs' macro-communication intentions (MCIs) and to the macrostructure of the interview, thus resulting in a form of a comprehensive analysis (CMA) that could be useful and applicable for other types of discourse.

Abbreviations used throughout the study:

CA – conversation analysis

CCLM – communicative constitutive language means

DA – discourse analysis

CDA – critical discourse analysis

CEs – communication effect(s)

CMA – comprehensive analysis

CP – Cooperative Principle

CRLM – communicative regulative language means

CS(s) – communication strategy (strategies)

FPA(s) – face preserving act(s)

FTA(s) – face-threatening-act(s)

FTM – field, tenor, mode

GCI(s) – generalized conversational implicature(s)

IE(s) – interviewee

IF – illocutionary force

ISA(s) – indirect speech acts

IR(s) – interviewer

MCI(s) – macro-communication intention(s)

MDA – media discourse approach

MM – manner maxim

PI(s) – political interview(s)
PCI(s) – particularized conversational implicature(s)
pd – political discourse
PF – pragmatic force
PP – politeness principle
Qh(s) – quality hedge(s)
QnM – quantity maxim
QtM – quality maxim
RF – rhetorical force
RM – relevance maxim
SA – speech act
SAT – speech act theory
Sc – sincerity condition
SCIs – scalar conversational implicature(s)
VLI(s) – vague language item(s)
Vnq(s) – vague numerical quantifier

Transcript symbols:

ChK – Charles Kennedy

GG – George Galloway

MH – Michael Howard

JP – Jeremy Paxman

TB – Tony Blair

[] – overlaps

underlined italics – indicate the example in question

() – paralinguistic comments

↑ – rising intonation

↓ – falling intonation

PART 1

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Chapter One

THE POLITICAL INTERVIEW

This chapter aims to characterize the British political interview (PI) as one of the media discourse genres. It briefly shows the historical roots of the genre (1.1) and outlines its characteristics in terms of Halliday's (1978) triad (1.2). Section 1.3 deals with the role played by context with respect to the analyses and the interpretation of the findings.

1.1 The character of the British political interview

The frame of British political programmes up to the 1960's was fairly different from the one we can see nowadays. The following quotation shows that it involved certain limitations: "Until this point (1960s), the formal neutrality and impartiality, legally imposed on British broadcasting had been achieved through IRs' polite, deferential and carefully scripted questioning of powerful members of the British establishment with the purpose of eliciting information, opinions and beliefs in a way that treated these as facts" (Emmersten, 2006: 571, in: Clayman & Heritage, 2002).

The roots of the news interview as it is known nowadays are connected with Robin Day, a pioneer of news interview techniques. The appearance of ITV (Independent Television) as a serious competitor for the BBC in the 1960's led to a considerable change in the frames of political programmes. Thus, one of the natural consequences of this TV competition was the shift from scripted to unscripted, more spontaneous and lively political interviews that were broadcast on the BBC (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). Through the highly aggressive questioning styles of Robin Day, David Frost or Jeremy Paxman, British political interviews acquired the argumentative, critical and challenging character which is so typical of them nowadays.

The selected PIs were chosen for this study with these characteristics in mind. They abound in various instances of different IRs' and IEs' (macro)-communication strategies (MCSs) and effects, whose closer description and exploration is the subject matter of this study.

1.2 Political interviews seen in terms of Halliday's triad

In this study the political interview is looked upon as a type of speech situation that can be described in terms of Halliday's (1978) triad, i.e. field, tenor and mode (FTM). This triad shows what we need to know about the context of political interviews (PIs) in order to predict the possible linguistic features that may be associated with them. This study applies the triad to PIs in order to show how the speech situation (consisting of FTM) influences participants' possible choice of (macro)-communication strategies (MCSs) and hence also language means.

1.2.1 Field

“Field refers to the institutional setting in which a piece of language occurs and embraces not only the subject matter in hand but also the whole activity of the speaker or participant in a setting [we might add: ‘and of the other participants’]” (1978: 33).

For the present study it is political discourse (pd) in its broad sense that represents the field. Political interviews (PIs) are a type of programme representing political discourse (pd). They provide information on current domestic and foreign affairs. Journalists and politicians participating in PIs are supposed to be acquainted with the history of political developments as well as having profound background knowledge of current affairs, as for both of the participating parties this knowledge constitutes an essential condition for doing their jobs successfully.

1.2.2 Tenor

“Tenor...refers to the relationship between participants...not merely variation in formality ...but ...such questions as the permanence or otherwise of the relationship and the degree of emotional charge in it...” (1978: 33). Thus, in accordance with this quotation, for the purpose of this dissertation tenor includes the roles, goals and constraints of the IRs and IEs.

1.2.2.1 The roles of interviewers (IRs) and interviewees (IEs)

The relationship of journalists and politicians in PIs is referred to as asymmetrical (Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Čmejrková, et al., 2003). This asymmetry follows from the distinct roles that IRs and IEs play in PIs. Journalists act as interviewers (IRs) who conduct the whole interview by choosing the topic, asking questions and deciding about the time provided for the politician to answer. Thus, from the technical point of view, their social role within the interview is higher as they conduct the whole interview. Their social status role is, however, lower than that of politicians’.

On the other hand politicians act as interviewees (IEs), who are supposed to answer the questions and respond in a relevant way (Hutchby, 2006), which means that their social role within PIs is subordinated to that of IRs’. They, however, seem to have higher social status role which enable them to influence the content of the interview to a large extent.

Thus, the clash of the IRs’ and IEs’ social roles and social status roles contributes to their dynamism. Based on those views, I decided to use for the analyses the interviews with Jeremy Paxman whose social status role is comparable to that of politicians’ (he is very famous in Britain), and thus it can be expected that his influence on the content of the interview will be significant.

It should not be forgotten that PIs are broadcast for the audience. Thus, “the rules and practices of news interview interaction shape the conduct of the participants in ways which meet basic institutional demands that are made of broadcasters and their organizations. ...the talk should be managed as “talk for overhearers” ...so that the audience feel that the interview is conducted for their benefit” (Clayman & Heritage, 2002: 96-97). Thus, we can illustrate the model of talk for overhearers as follows (Čmejrková, et al., 2003):

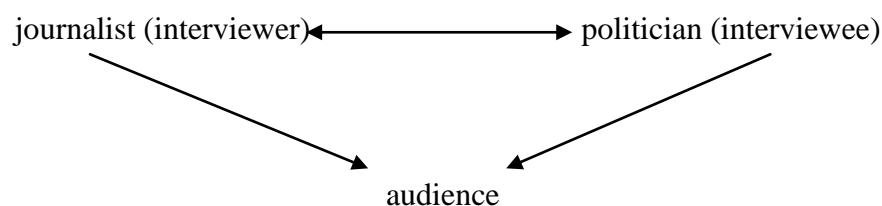


Figure 1 Talk for overhearers

Though this study focuses primarily on the relationship between the journalist and the politicians, it is clear that the IR as well as IEs take the audience into consideration when formulating their questions/answers and thus choosing appropriate (macro)-communication strategies (MCSs).

1.2.2.2 The goals of IRs and IEs

The asymmetry of IRs' and IEs' relationship is also reflected in the distinctiveness of their communication goals, which is illustrated in the following quotation: “*Záměrem moderujícího novináře bývá přimět osobnost veřejného života, zejména politika, k formulaci jednoznačné odpovědi na zadanou otázku a k zaujetí stanoviska k bodu často velmi spornému, zatímco politik, kdyby záleželo jen na něm, by zpravidla rád využil příležitosti interview k tomu, aby plédoval pro svoji politickou stranu a pronesl projev na téma, jež se mu jeví výhodné.*” (Čmejrková, et al., 2003: 84). [The interviewer mostly aims to make the public personality – especially a politician – answer the question directly and to express his/her opinion on often disputable matters; whereas the politician, if it depended on him/her only, would use the interview in order to present his/her political party and speak about the topics that he/she considers advantageous].

Thus, though the goals of journalists and politicians are conflicting, both participating parties are expected to cooperate in order to provide information to the audience – the TV viewers.

1.2.2.3 The constraints of IRs' and IEs' roles

The distinctiveness of IRs' and IEs' roles and goals are also connected with the fact that both IRs and IEs are perceived to be subject to "legal pressures and professional norms" (Clayman & Heritage, 2002) that constrain what they may or may not say.

Thus, interviewers restrict themselves to asking questions and should "(i) avoid the assertion of opinions on their own behalf and (ii) refrain from direct or overt affiliation with (or disaffiliation from) the expressed statements of interviewees" (Clayman & Heritage, 2002: 126). Interviewees then should "respektovat moderátora jako toho, kdo uvede posluchače do kontextu, kdo celý rozhovor řídí, neměl by klást otázky, měl by se zdržet nevyžádaného komentáře" (Čmejrková et al., 2003: 90). [respect the interviewer as somebody who contextualizes the audience, who conducts the whole interview; They should not ask questions and should refrain from unsolicited commentaries].

1.2.3 Mode

"Mode refers to the channel of communication adopted: not only the choice between spoken and written medium, but much more detailed choices [we might add: 'and other choices related to the role of language in the situation']..." (1978: 33).

Mode is closely interconnected with the above-presented roles and goals of the interactional participants. PIs are characterized as institutionalized forms of conversation: "V základu vymezení instituionálního rozhovoru stojí kriteérium, že tu jednotliví účastníci zastávají určité role a jejich chování (tedy i chování jazykové) má tuto roli naplňovat" (Čmejrková et al., 2003: 88). [The institutionalized conversation is based on the fact that the individual participants play certain roles and their behaviour (including language behaviour) is to fulfil the role].

News interviews are very often described as a genre with fuzzy boundaries. On the one hand there is adherence to conventions associated with the roles of IRs and IEs, on the other hand the unscripted nature or the impossibility of predetermining the course of the interview gives it a spontaneous, lively and in a sense dangerous quality (Clayman & Heritage, 2002). Thus, PIs are designed not only to inform the audience but also to entertain, and hence are nowadays perceived as an "infotainment" genre.

The above-mentioned features of PIs, as well as the role of context, which is the subject matter of the following section, are considered to be crucial with respect to the analyzed data and the interpretation of the findings.

1.3 The role of context

The role of context in the analyses conducted throughout the study is crucial. It is important to state that without keeping in mind the characteristics of the PIs outlined in section 1.2 and without taking into consideration the role of context, it would be impossible to analyze and interpret the studied data. Thus, referring to Tárnyiková (2007: 63-67) there are five types of contexts:

1) *Linguistic (verbal) context*, also called co-text by Yule (1998: 21) or Thomas (1995: 138), refers to the linguistic material or rather the semantic and structural properties of the surrounding material in which the utterance occurs.

2) *Situational context*, also known as co-situation or setting, is a configuration of circumstances in which communication takes place. The interpretative contextual cues are retrievable from the overall communicative situation. See also Halliday's three relevant features of situation presented in Chapter 1.2 to describe the nature of political interviews.

3) *Pragmatic context* is a context of shared (background) knowledge of the world and our experience activated in the process of communication. Since I share the view of pragmatics as being rather a perspective present at all levels of language representation than being a separate level of language in its own right, I should (following Tárnyiková, 2007: 66) draw a distinction between *external pragmatics* (shared knowledge of the world) and internal pragmatics, also called *pragmalinguistics* (our experience with language data and their use).

4) *Social context* refers to the social relationships among participants in communication, their social roles, and expectations associated with these roles. As this dissertation adopts Halliday's view (Chapter 1.2), the social context is considered to be an integral part of the linguistic context.

5) *Cognitive context* comprises participants' beliefs, intentions, plans, attitudes, their overall communicative goals, and plans for performing their communicative tasks.

To sum up, the interpretation of findings is a highly context-sensitive matter. Thus, whenever 'context' is mentioned in the commentaries to the presented examples, it is the

interplay of linguistic, situational and pragmatic contexts that is meant. Social context is seen here following Halliday (1978) as part of social semiotic that is the social interpretation of language and meaning.

Cognitive context involves phenomena that lie beyond the scope of this study (with the exception of attitudes and overall communicative goals, which can be reflected in and directly connected with the speaker's point of view, and which are deducible from the interplay of the three already mentioned contexts); this study does not claim to present any evidence of speaker's intentions, plans or beliefs. These are rather the subject matter of cognitive linguistics, whereas the present dissertation focuses on the analysis of the meaning that is "publicly available for interpretation and does not make any claims about what is going on privately in someone's head" (Leech, 1983: 34).

Chapter Two

DATA, APPROACHES, MACRO-COMMUNICATION INTENTIONS AND GOALS OF THE STUDY

This chapter introduces the data, approaches, macro-communication intentions and goals of the study. It focuses on the summary of distinct linguistic approaches employed in the study and it outlines the basic IR's and IEs' macro-communication intentions (MCIs) and the goals of the study.

2.1 Data

The materials used for the analyses presented in this dissertation are downloaded solely from the official website of the BBC. To meet the goals of the analyses with respect to the interdisciplinary approaches described in this chapter, the following criteria were taken into consideration when choosing the appropriate material:

- 1) Programmes presenting one-to-one interviews with Jeremy Paxman and a politician were chosen;
- 2) The online accessibility and availability of the transcript, and the possibility of downloading or webcasting of the respective political interview, were taken into account.

At the beginning of the data-gathering stage, I decided to excerpt at least 3 hours of material. However, this idea of gathering the data with regard to the time duration of the individual interviews soon appeared to be inadequate, as the time duration is not decisive in terms of how much is actually said. Thus, I decided instead to excerpt a certain amount of material measured according to the overall number of turns obtained from the interviews. Three hundred turns, i.e. 300 IR's questions and 300 politicians' answers, seem to provide material rich enough for the objectives of this dissertation.

Since I wanted to analyze especially interviews with Jeremy Paxman (who is a very famous journalist in the UK), I finally decided to focus my attention on interviews that would be mutually comparable with respect to the conditions in which they took place.

Thus, the material used for the analyses was downloaded from the BBC programme Newsnight, which is a current affairs programme providing in-depth analysis and commentary on domestic and foreign affairs. Jeremy Paxman first began working on the programme in 1989 and soon became a very prominent interviewer, as people liked his direct style of interviewing.

The transcribed texts for the analyses are taken from three interviews specially prepared for the pre-election period in 2005, in which the traditional format of Newsnight was changed to a one-to-one interview. Thus, Chapters 3 – 6 are based on the analyses of the following three pre-election interviews:

- Jeremy Paxman (JP) – Charles Kennedy (ChK), 2005, 28 minutes, 104 turns
- Jeremy Paxman – Michael Howard (MH), 2005, 28 minutes, 105 turns
- Jeremy Paxman – Tony Blair (TB), 2005, 28 minutes, 91 turns

Chapter Seven is based on the analysis of one four-minute post-election interview between Jeremy Paxman and George Galloway (GG). Thus, the last interview differs not only in its length but also in the time and place of broadcast. While the three interviews are structured as face-to-face interactions in the TV studio, the interview between JP and GG takes place via a live link from JP in the studio to GG who is outside the studio, in Bethnal Green and Bow. Thus, their interview takes place via the screen.

Though an objection could be raised as to whether the material analyzed could not be more current or broader in its extent, I would like to state that for the purpose of this study the age or the length of the material studied does not seem to play a significant role in terms of the possible misinterpretation of the results.

2.2 The interdisciplinary approach to the study

The research presented in this dissertation falls within an interdisciplinary field of study. It aims to explore the (M)CSs used by both interviewers (IRs) (journalists) and interviewees (IEs) (politicians), as both participating parties play fairly distinct roles and pursue distinct goals within PIs, as described in Chapter One.

Since the study deals with the interconnectedness of language means that are used to manifesting the underlying individual (M)CSs, this section focuses on outlining the approaches and methods which were either employed by the study or which inspired it.

2.2.1 The pragmatic approach

Since the crucial chapter of this study is Chapter Three on indirectness, the study of which falls within the domain of pragmatics, the crucial perspective of the study is pragmatic. This means that the analyses conducted throughout the study are viewed mainly from the functional pragmatic perspective, i.e. they not only describe the (M)CSs and the language means that are used to express them, but they also try to determine the communicative purposes for which the IR's and IEs use them.

The pragmatic turn in linguistics took place in 1960s – 1970s and is connected mainly with language philosophers such Austin, Grice and Searle. The growing interest in the various types of “relationship of signs to their interpreters” (Morris, 1938: In Tárnayiková, 2000) soon led to a rapid development of the field. In its early stage pragmatics used to be denigrated as a ‘waste basket’ of linguistics due to its undefined field of study and terminology; and for some linguists it remains at this stage even now.

Whether pragmatics is a ‘waste basket’ of linguistics, whether it is an independent linguistic discipline or rather a perspective on language (present at all language levels), is still a matter of linguistic dispute nowadays. The truth is, in my opinion, that pragmatics defined as an interdisciplinary approach is extremely popular, brings a lot of new exciting ideas, and thus enables us to see language from a different (functional) perspective, which enriches and widens the field of its study.

To conclude, for the purpose of this dissertation, pragmatics is looked upon as a perspective present at all levels of language (in accordance with the view taken by my supervisor Prof. Tárnayiková). Thus, the analyses conducted within the research are the result of an interdisciplinary approach drawing on all the approaches described below and defined more specifically in the respective chapters (3-7). It is also important to state that for the purpose of this dissertation, pragmatics is used here in its wider sense, i.e. as ‘an umbrella term’ for the approaches defined in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.3.

2.2.2 Sociolinguistic, media discourse and conversational analysis approaches

The approaches mentioned in the heading of this subchapter meet at one point, which is their common theoretical basis within the field of sociology. As mentioned in Chapter One, this study employs Halliday's sociolinguistic approach because the political interview is perceived as a type of speech situation that constrains the participants' use of language in it.

The study further employs the media discourse approach (MDA) (Hutchby, 2006; Čmejrková et al., 2003; Clayman & Heritage, 2002), as it deals with political interviews – one of the genres of media discourse.

Though this study does not concentrate on the 'unfolding interactional game' and the ways in which questioning and answering activities are realized, which is the subject matter of conversational analysis (CA) (Clayman & Heritage, 2002; Hutchby, 1999), knowledge of CA is viewed as a prerequisite of authentic language data analysis. This study therefore also uses some terms traditionally associated with CA, such as role asymmetry or role constraints.

2.2.3 The discourse analysis approach

This study works with transcripts as well as with audiovisual recordings of the PIs. Since the study focuses on the segmental level of analysis, it uses the recordings alongside the transcripts in order to gain more precise results. Thus, although the study does not attempt a full analysis of the suprasegmental level (prosody, paralinguistic elements), it does take some account of this level.

The methods of DA are seen as being more appropriate for this study than the methods of CA, as the study aims to explore PIs in terms of their microstructure, formed by the string of individual themes presented by the IR, as well as in terms of their macrostructure, i.e. with respect to the whole interview. Though such an approach (the division of an interview into smaller topics) is openly criticized by Clayman & Heritage (2002) and referred to as inappropriate for spoken authentic language data, for the purposes of my research I still consider it better than the CA methods suggested and applied by the respective authors. CA seems to narrow the scope of study particularly to the organization of the turn-taking mechanism, and bases its findings mainly on very detailed transcripts.

Since this study aims to describe both IR's and IEs' CSs, the analyses will generally follow these steps:

- 1) Division of the PIs into smaller sections according to the individual smaller topic-based sections within each PI;
- 2) Analysis of the IRs' turns → questions with their background comments (various types);
- 3) Analysis of the IEs' turns → answers with new topic-provoking questions;
- 4) IRs' questions and IEs' answers seen with respect to the macrostructure – the whole interview, i.e. as adjacency pairs within the macrostructure.

The following picture illustrates our global view of analysis.

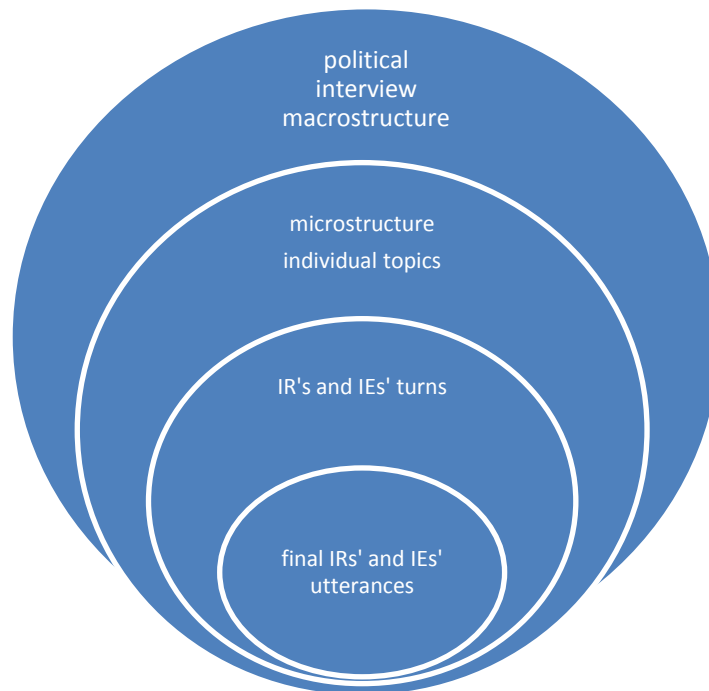


Figure 2 Steps of the analysis

2.2.4 The overall approach – Vachek's 'system of systems'

The study is inspired by Vachek's modification (1976: 313) of Saussurean view of language as a system of systems "which implies...the existence in language of a number of

levels or planes, each of which is characterized by its own specific structure and its own specific problems (the most important planes being denoted phonic, grammatical and lexical). ...each of such planes is more or less closely interlinked with the other planes.”

Vachek’s idea of the interconnectedness of language planes is one of the cornerstones of this dissertation, as my study aims to show the way in which Leech’s communicative regulative language means (CRLM) are interlinked with communicative constitutive language means (CCLM). In other words, it aims to explore how the pragmatic perspective of language, defined mostly by principles and maxims, is interconnected with segmental planes of language and with presupposed suprasegmental support – which, however, is not the focus of my attention here.

The study is formally organized according to the approach proceeding from ‘function to form’, inspired by Mathesius (1975). The practical research, however, was very often carried out in the reverse direction, from ‘form to function’ – the bottom-up approach inspired by Leech (1983). The following figure illustrates the interplay of the pragmatic perspective of language (represented by the CRLM) and the semantic plane of language (represented by the CCLM):

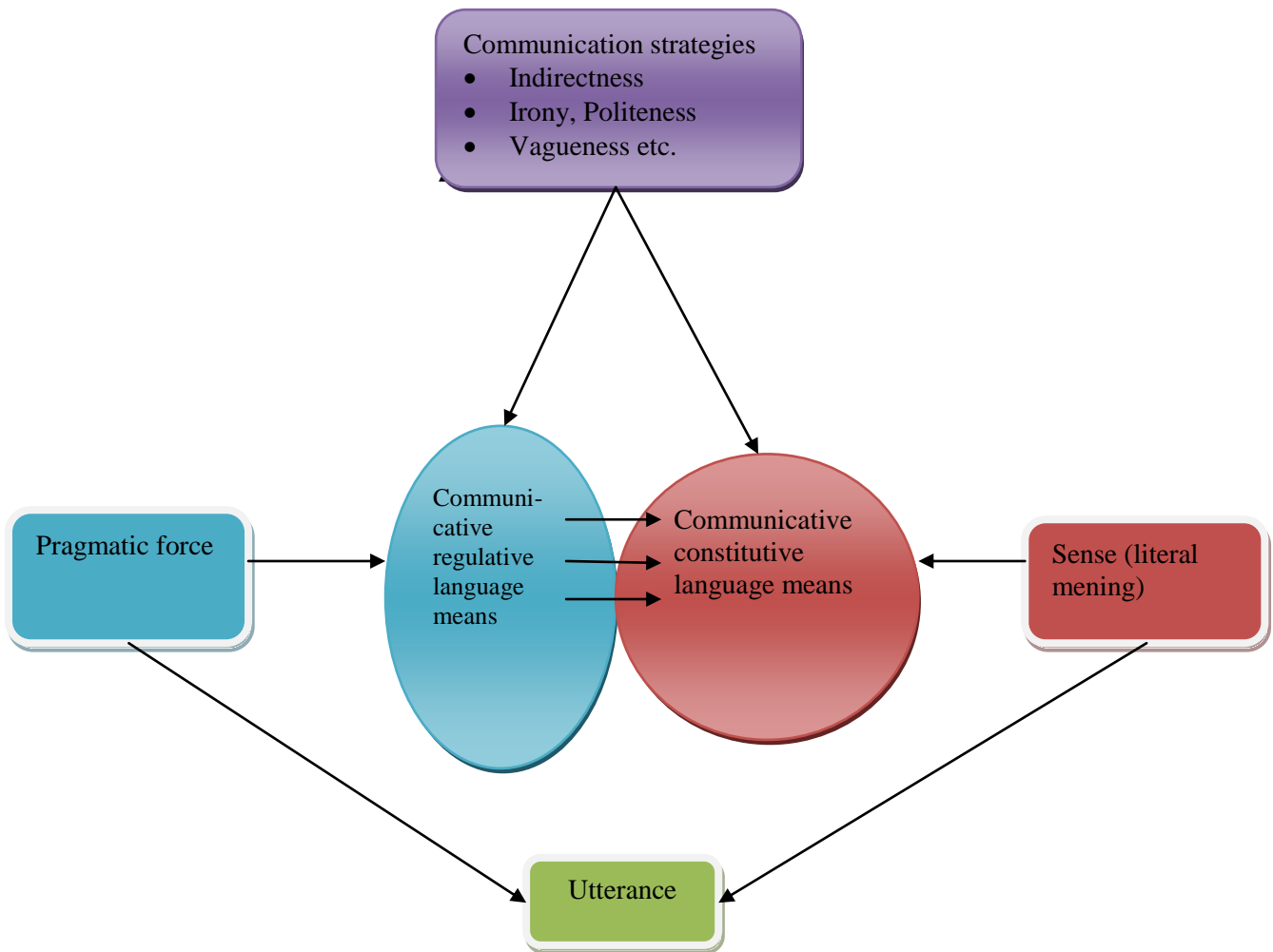


Figure 3 The interplay of communicative regulative language means and communicative constitutive language means

As the figure shows, a particular utterance is looked upon as being always the result of the interplay between the pragmatic force and literal meaning.

2.3 Macro-communication intentions (MCIs)

Before presenting the assumptions and goals of the entire study, it is important to introduce one very important aspect of the whole analysis: macro-communication intentions (MCIs), which are connected with the assumptions presented in the following section 2.4.

MCI's are defined for the purpose of this study as those aspects of communication that naturally result from Halliday's FTM triad presented in section 1.2.

Thus, considering the role, goals and constraints connected with the IR's position within the PI, it can be assumed that IR's main macro-communication intentions are connected with performing face-threatening acts (FTAs) while respecting journalistic constraints, i.e. using macro-communication strategies such as indirectness.

Considering the role, goals and constraints connected with the IEs' position within the PI, it can be assumed that the IEs' macro-communication intentions are considered to be connected with performing face preservation acts (FPAs) while respecting the IEs' constraints, i.e. using macro-communication strategies such as indirectness (avoiding answering questions via maxim non-observance) or vagueness. The following figure illustrates the IR's and IEs' MCIs.

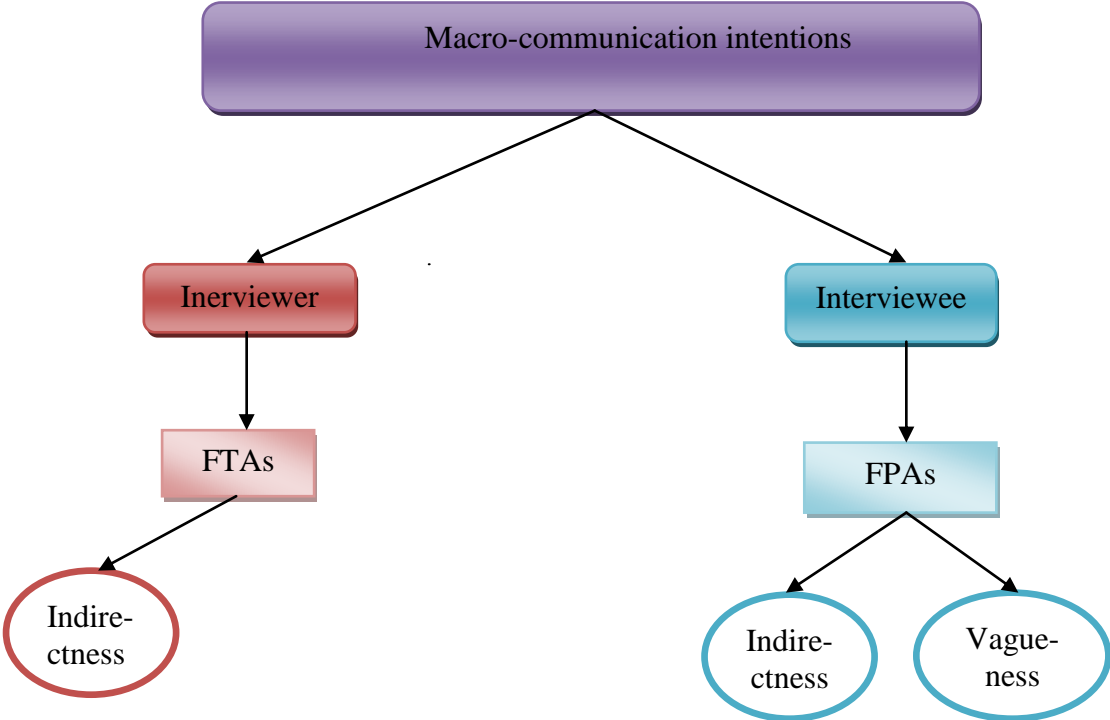


Figure 4 A basic view of macro-communication intentions

At this stage of the study, it is important to emphasize again that the types of FTAs and FPAs defined above are based on my assumptions. One of the overall goals of the study is

to find out whether there are other types of FTAs and FPAs connected with the IR's and IEs' macro-communication intentions. The complete model of the types of FTAs and FPAs that were revealed in the analyzed material is the subject matter of Chapter Seven.

Also a theoretical note should be made here on the definition of notions such as (macro)-communication strategy (MCS), communication effect (CE), and macro-communication intention (MCI). For the purpose of this study, the notion macro-communication strategy (MCS) refers to complex strategies such as indirectness, irony, politeness and vagueness. I call them MCSs since speakers often use them in order to employ other communication strategies (CSs) or to achieve certain communication effects (CEs). Thus, the relation between the three notions is of hierarchical order, as illustrated below.

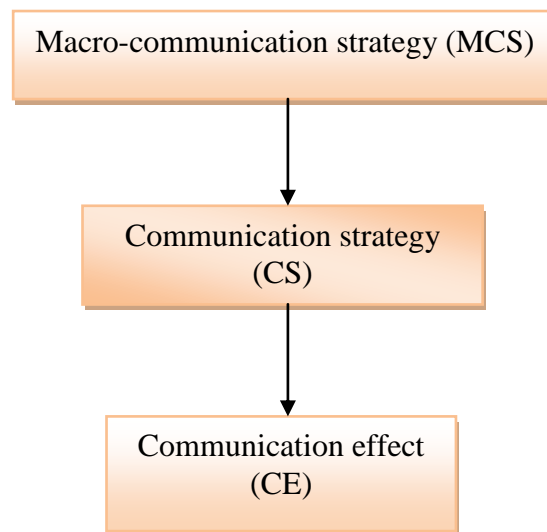


Figure 5 The relation between macro-communication strategy, communication strategy and communication effect

2.4 Overall assumptions and goals

Besides the assumptions and goals defined specifically in each chapter (3 – 7) with regard to the individual phenomena analyzed in the respective chapters, the study is also based on the overall assumptions and goals common to all of the chapters as a whole.

The basic assumptions and goals of the entire study are associated with my original pilot studies on indirectness (see Introduction). More precisely, they are the result of the

failure of the pilot studies when it was found that the results were insufficient to continue with the originally planned research. After changing the focus of the study to the research of IR's and IEs' (macro)-communication (MCSs) as well as communication strategies (CSs) in PIs, I came to the conclusion that it must be possible to develop a type of analysis that would be appropriate for the type of research aiming to reveal the IR's and IEs (M)CSs. Thus, to define the assumptions more precisely, I assume the following:

1) that it is possible to develop my own type of analysis – which may be termed a comprehensive analysis (CMA) – that would be appropriate in searching for (macro)-communication strategies, especially for those connected with indirectness within media discourse.

2) that the CMA could be helpful and useful for journalists dealing with political as well as other types of media discourses.

Taking into account the assumptions above, the study aims:

1) to show the interplay between the pragmatic perspective of language and the segmental planes of language.

2) to explore the MCSs and CSs closely related to indirectness in order to develop a map of MCSs and CSs used by the IR and IEs in the PIs by means of using the interdisciplinary approach to the analyses with a focus on the pragmatic approach.

3) to relate the IR's and IEs' (M)CSs to their macro-communication intentions and the macro-structure of the PIs, and thus to develop my own type of analysis (CMA) that would be appropriate for practical application (e.g. for journalists dealing with pd, or for other specialists dealing with communication strategies in practice).

These are the assumptions and goals common to all of the analytical chapters (i.e. Chapters 3 – 7) of this study. As has been already stated at the beginning of this section, each of the Chapters 3 – 7 has its own specific assumptions and goals. Chapters 3 – 6 are, however, united in one aspect, i.e. they all try to find out for which communication strategies (CSs) the IR and IEs use a particular macro-communication strategy.

This section on assumptions and goals concludes the theoretical part of the study. Since the study focuses primarily on practical research, the theoretical backgrounds of the following chapters that are included in the analytical part are presented only to the extent necessary for the analyses.

PART 2

ANALYTICAL PART

Chapter Three

INDIRECTNESS

This chapter is the most extensive chapter of the dissertation. Not only does it aim to give an insight into the theories dealing with indirectness, but it also attempts to put the individual approaches towards indirectness into practice, i.e. to apply them to the excerpted language data, to verify how the theories work in practice and to describe their possible limits.

Thus, this chapter starts by defining the assumptions and goals of the analyses (section 3.1). Section 3.2 offers a definition of the notion of indirectness and delineates it with respect to implicitness and vagueness. The chapter then continues by outlining individual approaches to indirectness, such as the Speech Act theory proposed by Austin and developed by Searle (3.3.1, 3.3.2); Grice's Cooperative Principle, conversational maxims and implicature (3.3.3); Leech's approach combining Searle's and Grice's views (3.3.4, 3.3.6); and a definition of types of implicatures (3.3.5).

The practical analyses focusing on the examples of indirectness found in the IR's and IEs' turns are the subject matter of section 3.4. The results of the analyses presented with respect to the assumptions and goals stated in section 3.1 are stated in the final concluding section 3.5.

3.1 Assumptions and goals

This section presents the crucial assumptions with which the study works as well as the goals that are naturally connected with them.

1) Following the results of my pilot studies (referred to in the Introduction), I consider examining indirectness, as a macro-communication strategy (MCS), a topic worth focusing on, not only with regard to its natural and thus expected occurrence in the political interviews (PIs), but also in view of the complex character of the MCS as such.

2) I assume that it is the complex character of indirectness that enables the IR and IEs to use it in order also to employ other communication strategies (CSs) and effects (CEs) (other than indirectness itself) to achieve their communication goals, which are connected with their macro-communication intentions (MCIs).

3) Following the result of my pilot studies, I assume that using a synthesis of three approaches towards indirectness (Searle's, Grice's and Leech's) will be more effective for this study than applying one theory alone. These approaches mutually support each other, and thus can be used to verify the plausibility of the findings.

4) Though applying the combination of the three approaches seems to be the most effective approach (as described in the previous point), I consider the weak point of these approaches to be the fact that they mostly work with invented examples of utterances. They are not applied to authentic language data on a wider scale. Thus, it can be expected, and therefore has to be assumed, that the analyses will be in this sense limited and may show only tentative results.

5) One of the main problems in my previous pilot studies was the overlap of the maxims and the difficulty of drawing distinctions between types of their non-observance. This study, in accordance with Leech's suggestion, expects overlaps, as (1983: 8):

- a) Principles/maxims apply variably to different contexts of language use.
- b) Principles/maxims apply in variable degrees, rather than in an all-or-nothing way.
- c) Principles/maxims can conflict with one another.
- d) Principles/maxims can be contravened without abnegation of the kind of activity which they control.

I assume that the acceptance of such flexibility of principles and maxims will enable me to present the results in a tentative way rather than in a 'black or white' manner.

Taking into account the assumptions mentioned above, the study aims:

1) To apply a combination of approaches to indirectness stemming from Grice's, Searle's and Leech's models of analysis.

2) To identify examples of indirectness in IR's and IEs turns.

3) To find out how indirectness is manifested on the segmental level of language.

4) To find out and describe what communication strategies (CSs) and effects (CEs) other than indirectness the IR and IEs use indirectness for.

5) To describe the possible limitations of the analyses regarding the approaches used.

3.2 Implicitness, vagueness and indirectness

This section focuses on the delineation of indirectness with respect to implicitness and vagueness. It also defines the notion of indirectness and presents the way in which it is to be applied in this study. It does so in order to prevent possible confusions that may arise due to the inconsistent use of terminology in pragmatic studies, which is probably the result of the interdisciplinary character of pragmatics.

Implicitness or indirectness are terms used to describing the mismatch between the expressed meaning, or '*what is said*', and the implied meaning, or '*what is meant*' (Thomas, 1995; in Tarnyiková: Rudiments of English Linguistics, 2000). However, for the purpose of this study implicitness is used only as an umbrella term in accordance with Verschueren's (1999, in Tarnyiková: Rudiments of English Linguistics, 2000) suggestion, to include:

- 1) Presupposition
- 2) Entailment
- 3) Conventional implicature
- 4) Conversational implicature

The first three types of implicitness are referred to as conventional means of implicitness. The last one is non-conventional and has become the cornerstone and subject matter of many pragmatic studies so far.

Conversational implicature is the core topic of this chapter. It can be defined in terms of Leech's (1980: 30) view according to which "Utterance consists of a certain literal meaning (described by means of a semantic representation) and pragmatic force (PF) (consisting of the illocutionary force and rhetorical force), which is expressed by means of a set of implicatures" that convey additional, i.e. indirect, meaning.

Thus, the set of implicatures can be looked upon in terms of the types of conversational implicature (CI): generalized CI (GCI), particularized CI (PCI) developed by Grice (see section 3.3.3), and scalar CI (SCI) added by Levinson (see section 3.3.5).

For the purpose of this study, indirectness is looked upon as a complex macro-communication strategy (MCS) resulting from the use of implicature (or indirect speech acts, see section 3.3.2.) which, when used, carries the indirect meaning and is assumed to enable IRs and IEs to employ also other communication strategies (CSs) with respect to their communication goals.

There is another notion with which indirectness appears to be connected, and this is vagueness (a more detailed view of which can be found in Chapter 5). We can say that vagueness “covers a closed set of items which are inherently imprecise and which the participants interpret based on an understanding that the speaker is indicating, through the choice of vague language, that what is said is not to be interpreted precisely” (Cheng and Warren, 2003: 394). Vagueness in this sense applies to certain categories of lexical expressions such as numerals or items like *thing*, *whatsit* or the suffix *-ish* in colloquial English. The ‘meeting point’ of vagueness and indirectness is considered to be scalar implicature, defined as a type of vagueness by Channell (1994).

The following figure demonstrates the relation of the three respective notions as delineated for the purpose of this study. It is also referred to in section 3.4.3 (figure 11) and in Chapter Five on vagueness.

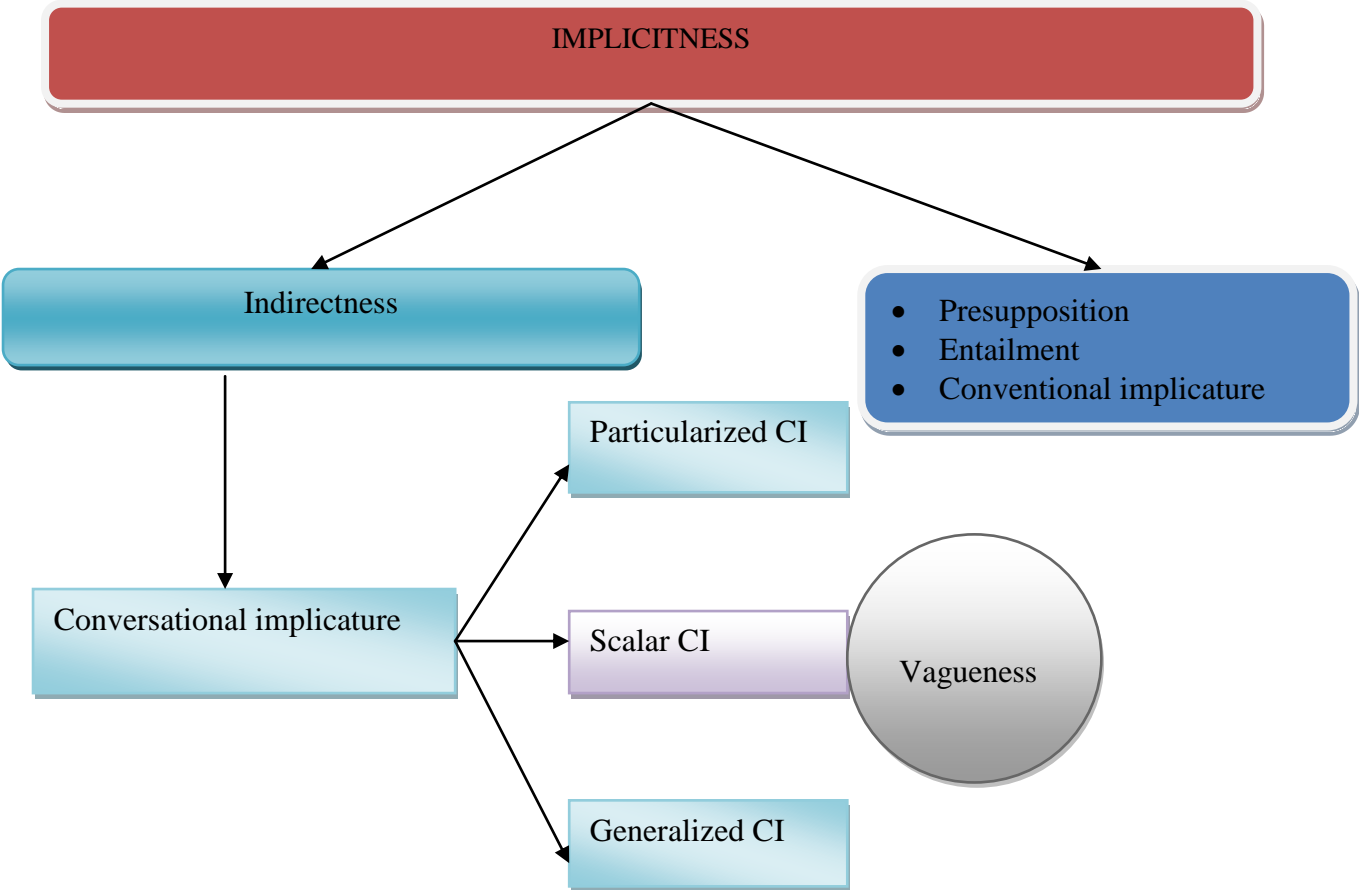


Figure 6 Implicitness, Indirectness, Vagueness

3.3 Approaches to indirectness

The notion of indirectness, as described in the previous section, has become the subject matter of many studies and approaches, though it has been discussed under different names. Before describing Searle's, Grice's and Leech's traditional approaches, which are presented in the following sections (3.3.1 – 3.3.6), a brief note about other approaches should be made.

In present-day linguistics there are two main streams developing the study of implicit meaning. First, there are those linguists who develop and advance the matter more towards cognitive linguistics, such as Sperber and Wilson (1986), followed nowadays by e.g. R. Carston (2009). Second, there are followers of the traditional Gricean theory – the so-called Neo-Griceans, such as Levinson (2000) or Bach (2004). These two main streams, however, do not exclude combined views of experimental pragmatics, as presented e.g. by Garret and Harnis (2009) in their article *Q-Phenomena, I-Phenomena and Implicature: Some Experimental Pragmatics*.

As far as this dissertation is concerned, the particular reasons that made me choose to work with Searle's, Grice's and Leech's approaches are based on the fact that these approaches are considered to be fundamental, and – thanks to Leech – also very well interconnected with linguistics as such; thus they are appropriate for a study whose main perspective is pragmatics.

Since this study places emphasis primarily on the analytical part of the research, the present section does not attempt to give an exhaustive description of the three approaches to indirectness (Searle's, Grice's, Leech's) to the last possible detail. Its aim is rather to present those features of the theories that seem to be crucial for the purpose of this study. All the approaches are accompanied by figures that were developed for the purpose of this study in order to highlight their core principles. The matches of the individual notions are indicated by the respective colours.

3.3.1 Speech act theory (SAT) – Austin

The introduction of speech act theory is associated with Austin's work *How to Do Things with Words* (1962), in which language, besides being referred to as a tool for

communication, is also defined as a tool for doing things. Austin subcategorizes utterances into *constative* and *performative*; the first differ from the latter by their truth value. Whereas what is said in constatives can be true or false, performatives lack such a property, as they are utterances in which something is *done* that changes the world and thus they cannot be true or false. There are certain conditions that must be met in order to interpret performatives as performatives, i.e. felicity conditions (the procedure must be conventional, with appropriate people under certain conditions etc.), as well as other conditions such as that the performer is in the 1st person singular, indicative mood of the verb, present tense and active voice; there should also be the possibility of inserting *hereby* into the utterance.

Since this subcategorisation of utterances seemed very problematic, Austin later on developed the idea of all utterances having the properties of constatives and performatives; and presented his three-fold distinction of the speech act (SA):

- a) Locutionary act = the act of saying something (i.e. producing a meaningful linguistic expression).
- b) Illocutionary act = what is done in saying something (i.e. producing an utterance with some intention in mind, e.g. making a promise)
- c) Perlocutionary act = what is done by saying something (i.e. our intention as recognized by the addressee) (in Tarnyiková: Rudiments of English Linguistics, 2000: 289-291).

The following figure depicts the three-fold nature of the speech act.

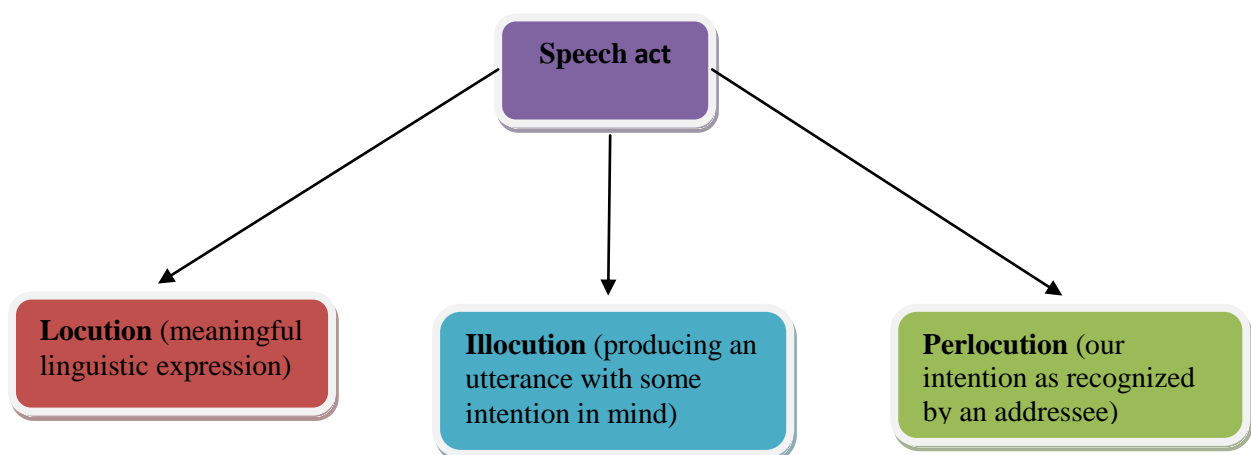


Figure 7 Austin's view of the speech act

Austin further introduces his classification of illocutionary acts into *Verdictives*, *Exercitives*, *Commissives*, *Expositives* and *Behabitives*. This taxonomy was later criticized and redefined by the American philosopher John Searle.

3.3.2 Searle's elaboration of the SAT

Searle says that: "Speaking a language is engaging in a (highly complex) rule-governed form of behavior ... speaking a language is performing speech acts, acts such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises and so on;..." (1969: 12, 15). He developed and elaborated Austin's conception of SAT in four main ways:

1) After claiming that in Austin's taxonomy of illocutionary verbs "there is a persistent confusion between verbs and acts... there is too much overlap of the categories...there is no consistent principle of classification" (Searle, 1975: 11-12), Searle presents his own classification of speech acts, dividing them into five categories: *Assertives*, *Directives*, *Commissives*, *Expressives*, *Declarations* (Searle 1979: 12-17).

2) Searle develops Austin's concept of felicity conditions and states that for the performance of a speech act four kinds of conditions should be met:

a) Propositional content conditions – require that the words of the sentence be conventionally associated with the speech act intended, e.g. while *I now pronounce you husband and wife* is conventionally associated with the ceremony, *I declare you husband and wife* is not.

b) Preparatory conditions – require a conventionally recognized context (e.g. a wedding ceremony).

c) Sincerity conditions – require the speaker to be sincere (e.g. in uttering the declaration).

d) Essential conditions – require that the involved parties intend to perform an act (e.g. to create a marriage bond) (in Tarnyiková: Rudiments of English Linguistics, 2000: 293).

3) Similarly to Austin, Searle presents his three-fold distinction of speech acts:

a) Uttering words (morphemes, sentences) = performing *utterance acts*.

b) Referring and predicating = performing *propositional acts*.

c) Stating, questioning, commanding, promising etc. = performing *illocutionary acts*.

(Searle 1969: 24)

The following figure illustrates Searle's view of SA.

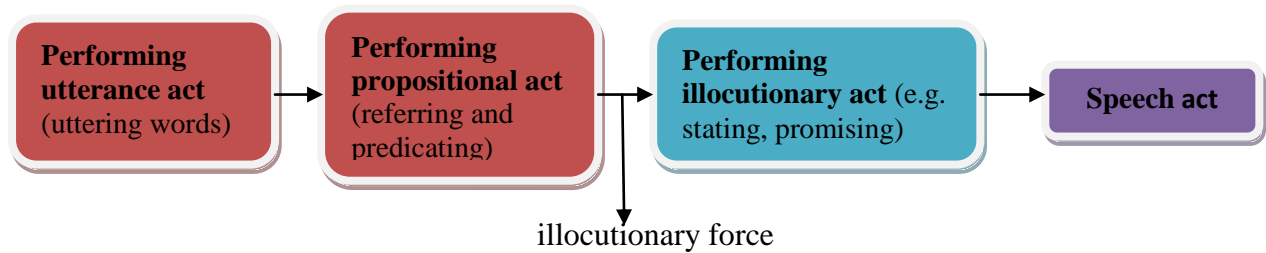


Figure 8 Searle's view of the direct speech act

Comparing Searle's view of a speech act with that taken by Austin, we can see that Searle's view, by contrast to Austin's, is illustrated in a linear model which seems to depict it more properly. It is important to realize that Austin's notion of 'perlocution' has no adequate and separate counterpart here. Searle presupposes (1975: 32) "an ability on the part of the hearer to make inferences", and Austin's perlocution can be seen as being part of the illocutionary force that underlies the relationship between utterance act, propositional act and illocutionary act. Thus, Searle's theory of meaning is referred to as 'speaker-oriented'.

4) Searle's findings in the field of SAT culminate in his conclusion that "the speaker's utterance meaning and the sentence meaning come apart in various ways." He then distinguishes two types of this mismatch:

1) These include "cases in which the speaker may utter a sentence and mean what he says and also mean another illocution with a different propositional content. *Can you pass the salt?* – the speaker does not mean it as a question but as a request" (1975: 30). Instances of this mismatch between the sentence form and utterance meaning are referred to as indirect speech acts 1 (ISAs1) in this study.

2) These are "cases in which the speaker utters a sentence, means what he says, but also means something more. *I want you to do it* – request made by way of making a statement." Instances of this type are referred to as indirect speech acts 2 (ISAs2) in this study.

Searle defines indirect speech acts (ISAs) as "acts in which one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another" (1975: 31). The figure below illustrates Searle's view of indirect speech acts.

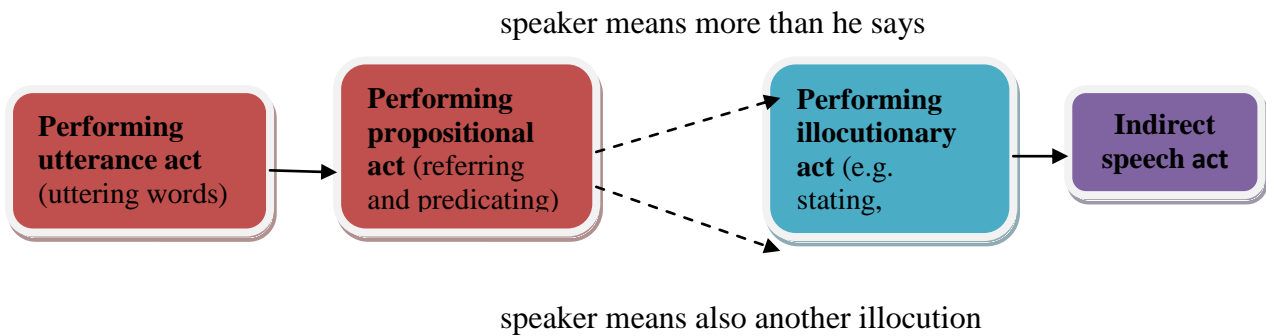


Figure 9 Searle's view of the indirect speech act

To explain the way in which an ISA works, Searle says that we have to use the following apparatus, which includes “a theory of speech acts, certain general principles of cooperative conversation (some of which have been discussed by Grice (1975)) and mutually shared factual background information of the speaker and the hearer, together with an ability on the part of the hearer to make inferences” (1975: 32). Thus, ISAs are said to be “based on ‘short-circuited’ conversational implicature which is calculable, i.e. the meaning can be derived from a particular context” (in Tarnyiková, *Rudiments of English Linguistics*, 2000: 296). This view interconnects Searle's speech act theory with Grice's Cooperative Principle and implicatures, which will be the subject matter of the following section 3.3.3.

3.3.3 The Cooperative Principle and implicatures

In his well-known article *Logic and Conversation* (1975), the British philosopher H. P. Grice presented a concept of conversation and the principles by which it works. He introduced into pragmatics one of its most important, subsequently widely studied and further elaborated concepts: the Cooperative Principle (CP) and implicatures. Grice points out that “discourse has certain important features: for instance, it is connected, it has a purpose, and it is a co-operative effort” (Grice, 1975: in Baker, 1999: 225).

To quote the CP precisely: “Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Grice, 1975: 45). Assuming that such a general principle as CP genuinely operates in conversation, Grice also presents his four specific

maxims (inspired by Kant's categories of Quality, Quantity, Relation and Manner) that are supposed to be observed by the participants in interaction.

1 QUANTITY relates to the quantity of information to be provided and within it fall the following maxims:

a) Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).

b) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

2 QUALITY – 'Try to make your contribution one that is true'; within this fall two more specific maxims:

a) Do not say what you believe to be false.

b) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

3 RELATION – 'Be Relevant.' Make your contributions relevant to the current exchange.

4 MANNER is related not to what is said but, rather, to how what is said is to be said. 'Be perspicuous'. Here fall various maxims such as:

a) Avoid obscurity of expressions.

b) Avoid ambiguity.

c) Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)

d) Be orderly. (Grice, 1975: 45-46)

Grice points out that not all the maxims are equal "...the importance of the maxim of Quality is such that...other maxims come into operation only on the assumption that this maxim of Quality is satisfied" (Grice, 1975: 46). To back up his theory Grice further points out that it is a reasonable course of action for us to follow the CP and its maxims, referring to the fact that "it is much easier, for example, to tell the truth than to invent lies... In any case, one feels that the talker who is irrelevant or obscure has primarily let down not his audience but himself" (1975: 48-49).

Grice then shows the connection between the CP, its maxims and conversational implicature (CI). In his view CI is generated by the fact that a participant in conversation fails to fulfil a maxim in one of the following ways (1975: 49):

1) He may unostentatiously VIOLATE a maxim.

2) He may OPT OUT from the operation both of the maxim and of the CP.

3) He may be faced with a CLASH: He may be unable to fulfil the first maxim of Quantity (be as informative as is required) without violating the second maxim of Quality (Have adequate evidence for what you say).

4) He may FLOUT a maxim; that is he may BLATANTLY fail to fulfil it.

5) EXPLOITATION of a maxim, i.e. a procedure by which a maxim is flouted for the purpose of producing a conversational implicature by means of something of the nature of a figure of speech.

The problem of overlapping maxims and types of their non-observance has become the target of numerous criticisms, and is also mentioned in section 3.1 of this chapter with respect to assumptions of the analyses.

Grice also presents a model according to which we can find out whether CI is present. In order to do so, a hearer must rely on the following data (1975: 50):

1) the conventional meaning of the words used, together with the identity of any references that may be involved;

2) the CP and its maxims;

3) the context, linguistic or otherwise, of the utterance;

4) other items of background knowledge;

5) the fact (or supposed fact) that all relevant items falling under the previous headings are available to both participants and both participants know or assume this to be the case.

Grice distinguishes between two types of conversational implicature (already mentioned in section 3.2):

1) Particularized conversational implicature (PCI); to decode this we have to know “special features of the context.”

2) Generalized conversational implicature (CGI); no context knowledge is needed to decode this (Grice, 1975: 56).

The way Grice looks upon implicature with respect to meaning can be illustrated in the following figure.

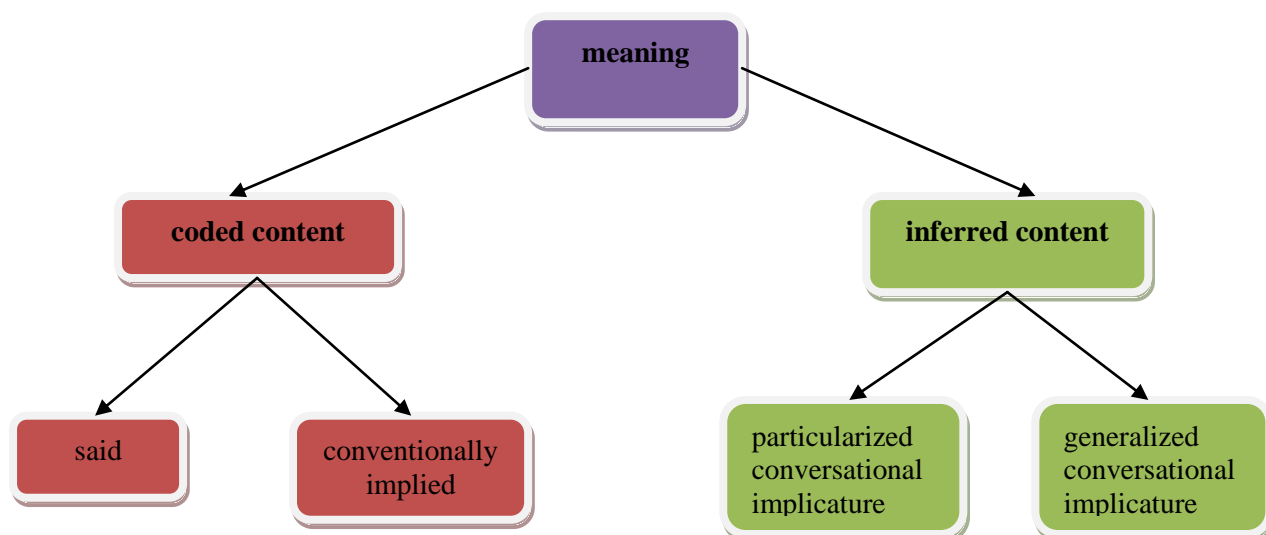


Figure 10 Grice's inferred content

Comparing Grice's and Searle's view of 'indirect meaning' (figure 9), it can be concluded that they differ in their points of view. While Searle's model lacks the Austinian perlocutionary dimension (figures 7, 8), Grice's inferred content represents the perlocutionary dimension, i.e. the way in which the addressee understands the message. Thus, by contrast to Searle, Grice's concept of meaning is referred to as 'hearer-oriented'. The illocutionary dimension of Austin's and Searle's models is explained by means of the CP and maxims.

Both Searle's and Grice's theories have served as the basis of much work in pragmatics. They have their followers as well as opponents. The main problem with these theories seems to be connected with the difficulty of distinguishing clearly between the individual types of maxims, types of non-observance or types of ISAs (Thomas, 1995: 90, 96).

Searle's and Grice's theories have become fundamental for the work of the British linguist Geoffrey Leech, who draws on both of them. He combines the theories and presents his own view of CP, SAT and mainly indirectness with respect to the politeness principle (PP).

3.3.4 Geoffrey Leech's concept of indirectness

As has been mentioned above, Geoffrey Leech combines Searle's and Grice's approaches in his *Principles of Pragmatics* (1983). He explores indirectness in respect of the Cooperative Principle (CP) and the Politeness Principle (PP). He sees these principles as regulative factors that ensure that the conversation will not be fruitless. Thus, it is essential "to distinguish between illocutionary force of an utterance (IF) and its rhetorical force (RF) (meaning it conveys regarding the speaker's adherence to rhetorical principles)" (Leech, 1983: 17). In Leech's view an utterance consists of a certain literal meaning (described by means of a semantic representation) and a pragmatic force (PF) (consisting of the IF and RF), which is expressed by means of a set of implicatures (Leech, 1983: 30) that convey additional (we can say indirect) meaning. The following figure illustrates Leech's view:

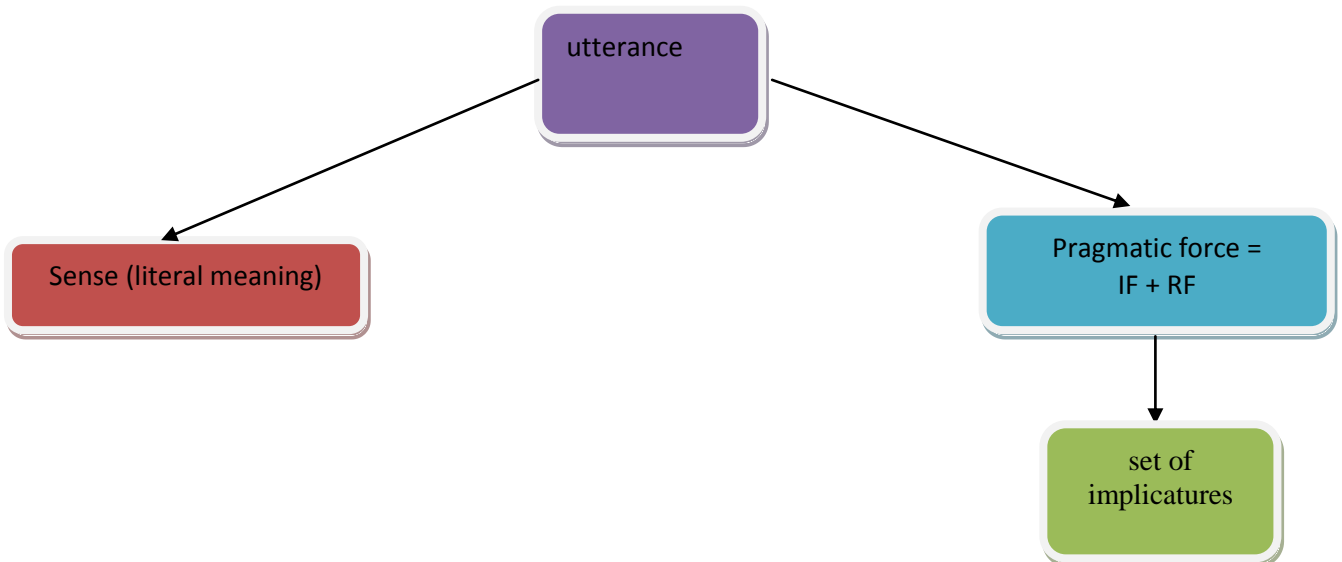


Figure 11 Leech's concept of indirectness

Since Leech works with the notion of pragmatic force, which is associated with the second aspect of the speaker meaning, the first one being utterance meaning (Thomas, 1995: 21), the figure depicts it in blue and the implicatures in green, as they are seen as a result of the interpretative process of the hearer. Unlike Searle, Leech does not attempt to solve the problem of speaker intention, since "We cannot ultimately be certain of what a speaker means by an utterance" (Leech, 1983: 30). On the other hand he admits that "The observable

conditions, the utterance and the context are determinants of what *s* means by the utterance *U*; it is the task of *h* to diagnose the most likely interpretation” (Leech, 1983: 30).

Leech also claims that indirectness is a matter of degree. This idea seems to be very worthwhile for the purpose of this study. It enables me to perceive indirectness in terms of a scale on which each type of implicature has its own position. Thus, the following section sums up the view of implicature and presents the scale of indirectness.

3.3.5 Implicatures

The concept of Grice’s generalized and particularized conversational implicature (GCI and PCI) was supplemented by Levinson’s scalar conversational implicature (SCI) (1983) and an illustrative view of the types of CIs was given in Yule (1996: 41 – 44). Thus, this study works with the following three types of CIs:

(1) Generalized CI – no special knowledge is required in the context to calculate the additional (indirect) conveyed meaning.

(2) Scalar CI – the basis of scalar implicature is that, when any form in a scale is asserted, the negative of all forms higher on the scale is implicated.

(3) Particularized CI – in order to calculate the additional (indirect) conveyed meaning we need to know the specific context in which the conversation takes place.

Taking into consideration Leech’s view, the scale of indirectness can be illustrated as follows:

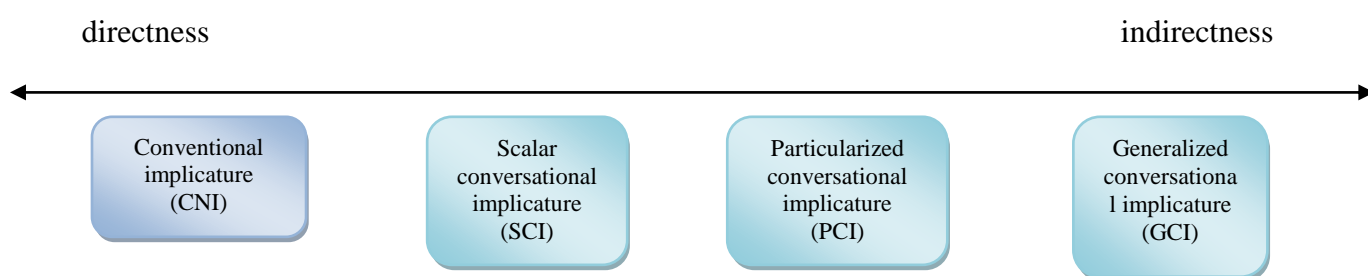


Figure 12 The scale of indirectness

The position of the individual types of implicature is identified with respect to the extent to which they can be derived from the segmental level of language. Conventional

implicature is looked upon as being the closest to directness, because its indirect (additional) meaning is conveyed by means of specific words, whose number is limited. In my opinion conventional implicature is, by its nature, to a certain extent close to Searle's indirect speech act 1 (ISA1), which works with the mismatch between the sentence form and utterance meaning (e.g. *Can you pass the salt?* – a question meant as a request).

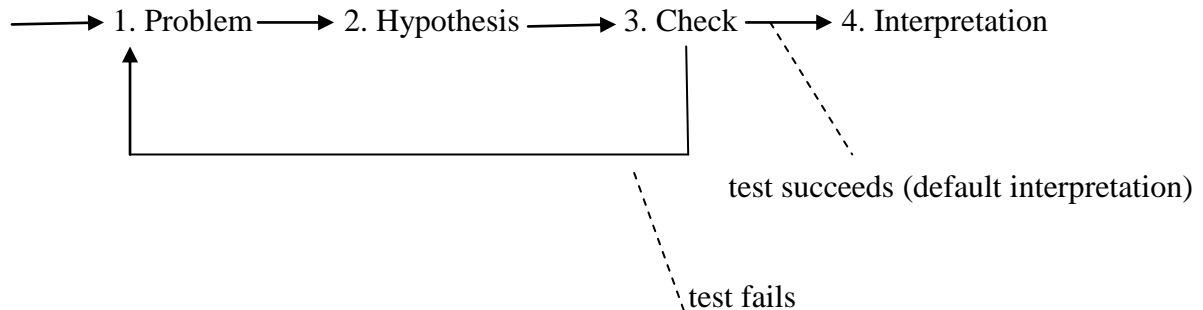
Scalar implicature, whose additional meaning is conveyed by negation of a higher form in a scale than that which is directly used (e.g. when I say *I've read some of the books* I implicate that *I haven't read all of them*, as the scale goes <all, most, many, some, few>), is also close to conventional implicature, as there is a limited number of scales to which the principle of SCI can be applied. However, not all the expressions of the scales are always used to indicate SCI. Thus, the presence of SCI in the studied data has to be proved by analyzing each particular instance, as is the case with PCI and GCI.

The two remaining types, PCI and GCI, differ in the role played by context, which seems to be essential for the interpretation of the indirect meaning of the former but not of the latter. PCI and GCI seem to have the closest position to indirectness, as their presence in the text may be, but need not necessarily be, indicated on the segmental level of language. PCI also seems to be closely connected to ISAs, in accordance with Tárnayková's observation, quoted also in section 3.3.2, that "ISAs are based on 'short-circuited' conversational implicature which is calculable, i.e. the meaning of which can be derived from a particular context" (2000: 296). I would only add that for the purpose of this study PCI is close to ISA2. To reveal PCI or GCI we have to analyze the particular instance in question according to the models given by Grice (section 3.3.3.), or Leech (which is the subject matter of the following section).

3.3.6 Leech's problem solving strategy

This section shows how Leech interconnects his view of implicatures and indirectness with that introduced by Grice and Searle. Leech suggests the method of heuristic problem solving, which "consists in trying to identify the pragmatic force of an utterance by forming hypotheses and checking them against available evidence. If the test fails a new hypothesis is formed. From a sense of what is said, together with background information (about context) and background assumptions (that *s* is observing the usual principles) *h* forms a hypothesis

about the goal(s) of the utterance” (Leech, 1983: 41). The figure below illustrates the whole problem solving strategy.



(after Leech)

Leech then suggests this simplification, in which P is a symbol for a proposition:

- A) *s* says to *h* [that *P*] = Searle’s propositional content rule
- B) *s* means [*h* to be aware [that *P*]] = preparatory rule
- C) *s* believes [that *P*] Maxim of Quality = sincerity rule and the preparatory rule
- D) *s* believes [that *h* is not aware [that *P*]] Maxim of Quantity
- E) *s* believes [that it is desirable that *h* be aware [that *P*]] Maxim of Relation (no correspondence to Searle) (Leech, 1983: 41-42).

“The acceptance of the initial and most likely interpretation is called the DEFAULT INTERPRETATION. That is it is the interpretation that is accepted *in default of* any evidence to the contrary. The statement regarding the goals of *s* (B above) will be called the MINIMUM ILLOCUTIONARY ASSUMPTION, and the implicatures derived from that (e.g. C, D, E) will be called CORROBORATIVE CONDITIONS” (Leech, 1983: 42). Following this model, it can be stated that implicatures will arise when corroborative conditions are not observed.

The analysis described in the following section 3.4 draws on the three approaches to indirectness described in sections 3.3.2 – 3.3.6.

3.4 Analysis

The analysis formally follows the steps described in section 2.2.3. It uses all three approaches to indirectness mentioned so far. The approaches towards the data will, however, differ slightly with respect to the IR's and IEs' roles in the political interviews. Jeremy Paxman is supposed to ask questions, provide neutral comments and feedback for the audience, and as a journalist he is supposed to remain unbiased. For the analysis of his turns, particularly Searle's SAT (3.4.1.1, 3.4.1.2) is used. Section 3.4.1.3 also shows the interconnection of Searle's and Grice's approaches.

The analysis of politicians' turns is primarily based on their non-observance of the Gricean maxims, i.e. the Relevance maxim (RM) (section 3.4.3), the Quantity maxim (QnM) (section 3.4.3.2) and the overlapping examples presented in section 3.4.3.3. Section 3.5 offers the conclusions of the whole study of indirectness with respect to the assumptions and goals stated in section 3.1.

It is also important to recall here the crucial role played by context in the interpretation of the findings as described in section 1.3. Though the role of context is also emphasized in the interpretation of indirectness by all three theories mentioned above (see section 3.3.2 for Searle, section 3.3.3 for Grice and 3.3.4 for Leech) all of them work with invented examples of utterances that can be interpreted differently in different contexts. Thus, such utterances seem to be invented on purpose, i.e. in order to confirm that the theories are plausible. The absence of application of these theories to authentic language data has not only made the theories a target of numerous criticisms, but in the case of my dissertation it has shown the necessity to interpret the findings within the context.

3.4.1 Examples of indirectness in Interviewer's (IR's) turns

This section presents and describes the examples of indirectness found in IR's turns. For this purpose it mostly uses Searle's two types of indirect speech act described in section 3.3.2. Thus, this section is divided into two subsections: one of them presenting examples of indirect speech acts 1 (ISA1) (section 3.4.1.1) and the second focusing on examples of indirect speech acts 2 (ISA2) (section 3.4.1.2).

To diminish the possible overlap between the two types (as the boundary between them is not very clearly defined by Searle) I consider the examples of ISAs1 to be those in which there is an apparent mismatch between the sentence form and its utterance function. ISAs2 constitute examples in which there is no mismatch between the sentence form and utterance function, but some additional meaning is present. Within both types of ISAs, examples of their individual subtypes are presented. The individual subtypes are divided into A-B groups.

ISAs1 constitute examples of declaratives functioning as questions (group A), and declaratives functioning as questions starting with 'so', 'well', 'and' (group B). ISAs2 constitute examples of interrogatives functioning as questions with additional meaning (group A) and declaratives functioning as statements with additional meaning (group B).

Section 3.4.1.3 describes the examples of generalized (GCI) and particularized conversational implicature (PCI) and shows the connection of Searle's SAT to Grice's CP. All the instances are accompanied with comments analyzing them. *Underlined italics* indicate the example in question.

3.4.1.1 Indirect speech acts 1 (ISAs1) in IR's turns

This section presents examples of ISAs1 that are divided into two subtype-groups (A-B). The division follows from the occurrence of the individual subtypes of ISAs1 in the studied material as well as from the need to capture and delineate the subtle differences that exist among the ISAs1.

A) Declaratives functioning as questions

(1) Discussion on congestion charging

30. JP: *Okay. Let's look at something like congestion charging. I think, according to your manifesto, you are in favour of congestion charging.*

ChK: We certainly are.

(2) Discussion on the number of asylum seekers

57. JP: Well what is] your idea Prime Minister.

TB: What, what you. Hang on, what you can say is, how many people are applying for asylum, month by month. How many people are you [removing

JP: Prime Minister

TB: And] what is the back log, and we are dealing with all of those issues.

58. JP: Prime Minister, you have really no idea of how many failed asylum seekers there are illegally in this country.

TB: I can't[...

(3) Discussion on tax cuts

20. JP: You are guaranteeing four billion pounds worth.

MH: We are guaranteeing four billion pounds.

21. JP: Although, overall, on your watch, taxes would go up.

MH: Well it depends whether you're talking about tax rates or the tax burden. Both [the ...

22. JP: The burden of tax will go up by what, about twenty billion pounds.

MH: Well it will be lower under the Conservatives than it will be under [Labour but yes

Comments: All the three examples above clearly illustrate the mismatch between the sentence form and the utterance function. They are all declaratives functioning within the respective context as questions, and they are also understood as such by the politicians.

In the first example, Paxman uses the ISA1A as a part of the turn introducing a new topic, in which it follows the background information part. Such use of ISA1A is fairly common in the studied data. The second example shows a typical occurrence of ISA1A i.e. in the middle of some discussed topic. It is usually preceded by several questions that are not answered satisfactorily. Paxman then uses ISA1A to repeat the whole question in a different way in order to elicit the answer. The last example presents a triplet in which the first two turns (20, 21) of ISA1A serve Paxman to verify the information just given. Paxman pushes the conversation further by the 22nd turn when mentioning the estimated number.

The subtype ISA1A was definitely expected to be found in the data. It is very close to the following type B presented below but less frequent.

B) Declaratives with initial 'so', 'well', 'and' functioning as questions

(1) Discussion on taxes

44. JP: [So there

TB: a catch up] in the health service, but you know it [that was necessary

44. JP: there could be any old report] coming along after this election, which will necessitate you raising taxes again.

TB: I think the Health Service is a special case, but look, in, in the end people again are going to have to make a judgement about it. I can't, I can't sit here and write the budget for every year of a, of a Labour government. What [I can say to people...

45. JP: You are going to have to raise taxes after the election aren't you↓

TB: No, you, you can't say that on the basis of the spending plans we have [those

46. JP: Well] you can't give us a commitment, you won't.

TB: Well and actually I didn't, if, if you remember we had precisely the same discussion before, and not just in relation to National Insurance, but other taxes too. And what I said to you then, and I say it to you now, is the spending proposals that we have are adequately catered for, by the tax plans that we've got.

47. JP: And there is no question on your watch, of a local income tax ever being introduced.

TB: No. I mean I – well. We, we have a review in to the council tax and what's the right way to replace it, so you can't as it were foreclose options but for, for me the local income tax has always been a problem...

48. JP: So no local income tax on your watch.

TB: Well, as I say, we've got a review, so I'm not going to, I can't start closing everything off but what I can say to you is personally, and I think I've said this on many occasions, I think there are big problems of local income tax.

Comments: I chose to present this complex example to show the way in which ISAs1B tend to occur in the data. They are usually close together and form triplets or at least doublets. Similarly to the second example presented above, ISAs1B occur in the middle of the discussion on a certain topic, and Paxman uses them to summarize, conclude and verify the ideas just discussed.

Now, the question can be asked whether it is necessary to distinguish ISAs1A from ISAs1B, and I think it is. Besides the fact that ISAs1B are twice as frequent in the data than ISAs1A, utterances starting with *so*, *and*, *well* can be considered as marked with respect to those lacking these cohesive devices in their initial position. As such the ISAs1B probably tend to attract the audience's attention more intensively than their ISAs1A counterparts. And drawing the audience's attention seems to be one of Paxman's goals in the role of the interviewer. This could also explain the difference in the frequency of occurrence between the two subtypes.

3.4.1.2 Indirect Speech acts 2 (ISAs2) in IR's turns

This section presents two subtypes of ISA2. Subtype A constitutes examples of interrogatives functioning as questions with additional meaning, and subtype B constitutes examples of declaratives functioning as statements with additional meaning.

A) Interrogatives functioning as questions with additional meaning

(1) Discussion on the age of adultery

55. JP: Let's look at some of the other policies] that you don't draw a great deal of attention to. You're proposing apparently that 16 year olds be able to visit sex shops. Is that a serious policy?

ChK: Well, 16 year olds at the moment, er, are able to get married, so we do have a rather inconsistent approach to the age [of maturity

(2) Prisoners' right to vote

63. JP: Well, what] you choose to tell the public is another matter isn't it]

ChK: No, it's not. Every party does this Jeremy, for heavens sake. Every party has reams of policy, reams of reactions to the issue of the day, over the course of four years. You can't possibly if you're sensible, consolidate that. And then you quite rightly ask me, well given this plethora [of...

(3) Iraq war

3. JP: All right, let's look at Iraq. When you told parliament that the intelligence was 'extensive, detailed and authoritative', that wasn't true was it]

TB: No, it was true. There was no doubt [about it

Comments: As the three examples above show, there are two subtypes of ISA2A. The first example presents Yes/No questions, the other two examples include question tags. In the first example (turn 55) Paxman implies that he cannot believe the proposal about 16 year-olds, and wants to make sure whether this proposal is meant for real by the Liberal Democrats. By this implication he draws the audience's attention to this matter. I dare say that Paxman relies here on the fact that the public mostly do not read party manifestos before elections, so he intentionally chooses topics to which he easily draws attention by means of ISA2.

As the examples 2 and 3 above show, typical interrogatives functioning as questions with additional meaning in the PI are question tags. Their intonation pattern carries additional meaning, as it suggests what kind of answer is or is not expected. As such, question tags are a

powerful linguistic means that enable Paxman to push the politician to answer the question in a certain way, or at least they suggest the expected answer. Politicians, however, very often break from the expected pattern of the answer, as is seen in both examples above (in which the expected answer should have been positive).

Interrogatives functioning as questions with additional meaning in the form of question tags are far more frequent than their yes/no question counterparts in the studied data.

B) Declaratives functioning as statements with additional meaning

(1) Discussion on why people should vote for the Conservatives

1. JP: Michael Howard, why would anybody want to bring you back in to government.

MH: Because we will take action on the things which matter to the country and the things which matter to people, and that's why we've been spelling out our plans to bring to this country school discipline...

2. JP: But we know what you're like in government. You were the man who brought us the Poll Tax, you were part of the Cabinet that presided over that embarrassing fiasco with the ERM.

MH: Urm. Well let's, let's talk about those things. The ERM was indeed a terrible mistake. When we went in to the ERM, we were supported by the Labour Party, the Liberals, the TUC, the CBI, and we are the only party that's learned our lesson[...]

(2) Discussion on immigration

53. JP: Let's look at immigration.

MH: Erm.

53. JP: That's another area in which you've changed. You're proposing a total limit on immigrants to this country including asylum seekers. What's the number.

MH: We haven't got a number yet [that's because

54. JP: What do you mean you haven't] got a number.

MH: I'm just about, [I'm just about ..

55. JP: You're asking, you're asking us to

MH: To tell you.

55. JP: You're asking us to make you a government next month.]

MH: .. Yes. And I'm just about to tell you why because we will ask parliament every year, to set a limit on the number of people who can come in to this country.

(3) Discussion on the intelligence concerning Iraq

7. JP: *They said it was limited, you said, 'it was extensive, detailed and authoritative'.*

TB: They also made it clear that there was extensive intelligence about Saddam. They said however, of course it's necessarily limited; intelligence always is.

Comments: Declaratives functioning as statements with additional meaning are very frequent types of ISA2. In the first example Paxman dismisses most of the message that Howard tries to pass on his audience in his first answer. By enumerating past political failures of the Conservatives, Paxman doubts Howard's words and implies that it will not be that easy to persuade him or the public to vote for the Conservatives. Thus, ISA2 helps Paxman to take a clear stance towards Howard without threatening his face much. Thus, this example shows Paxman using indirectness with respect to his macro-communication intentions (MCIs) (section 2.3) and respecting journalistic constraints.

The second example shows Paxman's disbelief at Howard's unwillingness or inability to give a precise number, though he is supposed to do so as a politician who wants to get elected. The third example implies a strong contradiction of the claims made by T. Blair and the Joint Intelligence Committee when evaluating the character of the intelligence in respect of the war in Iraq. By implying this contradiction in turn 30, Paxman attacks Blair's credibility concerning his decision about entering the Iraq war.

Declaratives functioning as statements with additional meaning are less frequent in the studied material than questions with additional meaning. This tendency, in my opinion, is due to the IR's role, i.e. to ask questions.

3.4.1.3 Examples of the GCI and PCI

By presenting examples of generalized and particularized conversational implicatures, this section aims to put into practice Grice's CP (section 3.3.3). The section also aims to demonstrate the complementary character of Searle's, Grice's and Leech's approaches summarized in section 3.4.2.

(1) Introductory part

1. JP: Hello, welcome to the second of three interviews with the leaders of the three big parties, who want our votes on May 5th. On Friday, it's Michael Howard, this evening I'm in Leeds, with the Prime Minister, Tony Blair. *Prime Minister, is there anything you'd like to*

apologise for?

TB: Well if, if you want me to apologize for the war in Iraq, I'm afraid I can't say that I'm sorry we removed Saddam, no, if, if you're asking me other things that I've got wrong over the past eight years, I've already said there are certain things that any government gets wrong; I suppose I've had my share of those.

(2) The beginning of the interview

1. JP: Hello, this week I'm going to be interviewing the leaders of the three biggest political parties in Britain... tonight, here in the Albert Dock in Liverpool, Charles Kennedy, Leader of the Liberal Democrats. He's the only one of the three campaigning with a promise of new taxes, higher income tax for higher earners, and a local income tax for everyone... He's also just taken delivery of his first child, last week, the exhaustion of which he blames for a less than perfect grasp of detail, at the launch of his manifesto. (video of Kennedy's fluff)

2. JP: Charles Kennedy are you fit to be Prime Minister?

ChK: Yes, I think so. I think that fitness and politics isn't just about personal well being, but I think it's fitness in terms of a direct approach with people, established over many years, and I hope people feel I have that.

(3) The end of the interview

103. JP: When you look at your campaign, immigration, private sector in the health service, talk of tax cuts and so on, are you thinking what I'm thinking?

MH: Er, well I've no idea what you're thinking Jeremy.

104. JP: I'm thinking it reminds me of William Hague, and we know what happened to him.

MH: Well we've been talking about a range of issues as you know. We have five commitments, cleaner hospitals, school discipline, more police, controlled immigration, lower taxes. We've also been talking about pensions. We've been [putting forward

Comments: All three examples above illustrate cases of PCI. Paxman's question in this first example is the very first question asked in the interview. In 2005 Blair was facing harsh criticism for entering the war with Iraq. Though it cannot be stated that the question itself implies something, it is the context in which it is asked, and Blair's responsibility for the decision over the war, that makes us understand the question as containing a particularized conversational implicature.

If we considered this question from the point of view of SAT, we would classify it as ISA2A (section 3.4.1.2) i.e. as an interrogative functioning as a question with additional meaning. The difference between the ISA2A and PCI lies in the fact that the term 'additional

information' does not imply only the information derived from the context, whereas in the case of PCI it is fairly clear that the implication is derived directly from the context. In other words, the vague character of the term 'additional meaning' enables the analyst to cover a wider range of instances of indirectness under the ISA2A, B than under PCI only.

The second example illustrates the necessity of the context to interpret the data. Apparently a direct question changes into a PCI when being considered with respect to the first turn of the interview, which finishes with a video showing Kennedy fluffing when asked about the details of the Liberal Democrat manifesto. By asking the question in the 2nd turn, Paxman aims to cast doubt on Kennedy's abilities as well as his credibility. Moreover, considering the character of the beginnings of all three analyzed interviews, I would say that Paxman uses the first questions of the interviews to disconcert the politicians as well as to overtly manifest the power of his position in the PI, i.e. he takes advantage of role asymmetry (see section 1.2.2.1).

Thus, this example is an illustration of the fact that Paxman uses indirectness not only when performing FTAs and respecting journalistic constraints, but also when he performs the FTAs in which he takes advantage of the role asymmetry existing between the IR and IE in the PI.

In the third example Paxman uses the first question (turn 103) to prepare the floor for the following PCI. To be able to reveal the implicature the audience has to know the specific context, which in this case is the name of William Hague, who was the leader of the Conservative Party in the 2001 election and became known for being the first Conservative leader who did not become Prime Minister since Austin Chamberlain in the early 1920s. By mentioning his name, Paxman strongly implies Howard's possible election defeat. Paxman here violates the maxims of quality, quantity and manner. Though he is a journalist, and thus supposed to be unbiased, Paxman did not manage to refrain from expressing his personal opinion of the chances of the Conservative Party in the election, and implied that they would be defeated. This example also shows that Paxman uses indirectness to perform FTAs in which he disrespects journalistic constraints.

(4) Discussion on health care

46. JP: Well any, anything else you want to privatize?

MH: Well, neither of those things are privatization. [These are

47. JP: Taking money straight out of the public sector in to the private sector.

MH: These are, these are,] these are things which will give people in this country a better

deal. They involve fair play for people who've paid their taxes, who've paid for the cost of their NHS operations. Who've paid for the cost of their education. For heavens [sake

(5) Discussion on prisoner's right to vote

57. JP: Well talking about voting, you also want prisoners to be able to vote.

60. JP: *So Ian Huntley, Rose West, all those people should have a right to take part in our election.*

ChK: Well, well one of the things that if you're serious about penal policy in this country, you've got to be serious about punishment for people who've offended. But you've also got to try...

61. JP: *So that's a yes is it?*

Comments: The fourth example illustrates one of the basic features of implicature, which is non-detachability. This means that “no matter how much you reword an utterance the implicature remains” (Thomas, 1995: 79), as it is not the part of semantic meaning. In our example Paxman rewords ‘privatization’ as ‘taking money out of the public sector in to the private sector’, which in fact still allows the same interpretation: privatization of the NHS. The GCI here seems to result from the violation of the MM.

The last example shows the way in which several features of indirectness are interconnected and overlap. First of all Paxman's turn 60 functions as a ISA1B. The presence of the quantifier ‘all’ contributes to the indication of indirectness in the form of scalar implicature in the turn. Paxman uses it to verify that this is a serious proposal of Kennedy's policy. This is also reflected in Kennedy's answer, which is evasive, and thus Paxman reinterprets it in his following question 61 in the form of another ISA1B.

3.4.2 Summary

Section 3.4.1 presented 15 manifestations of indirectness in IR's turns. The first two above-mentioned sections analyzed the data in accordance with Searle's SAT. The last section used Grice's CP as a basis for the analysis.

Not only have the findings confirmed the close interconnection and overlap of the approaches, they have also indicated their strengths and weaknesses. Thus, while SAT seems fairly convenient for the classification of ISA1A,B, where the interpretation of indirectness depends on the mismatch between the sentence form and its function, the instances of

ISA2A,B can also be looked upon as GCI or PCI (e.g. using Leech's problem solving strategy in the case of the three examples of ISA2B we encounter the non-observance of corroborative condition D – the Quantity maxim). Thus, here I recall the quotation from section 3.3.2, stating that ISAs are said to be “based on ‘short-circuited’ conversational implicature which is calculable i.e. the meaning can be derived from particular context” (in Tárnyiková: Rudiments of English Linguistics, 2000: 296). Here the question arises whether the particular context is meant as a particular context of the interview or the particular context of the information given within the interview.

Thus, the type ISA2A,B could be easily referred to as GCI, PCI describing the same phenomenon. From the point of view of the analyst, Searle's SAT is very useful with respect to the already mentioned ISA1A,B. Taking into consideration ISA2A,B, I have to say that the interpretation of indirectness here is a matter of a wide range of possibilities hidden beyond the vague term ‘additional meaning’, which forces the analyst to base the interpretation of the analyzed examples mainly on the context. In the case of Grice's CP the analyst has the maxims at his/her disposal to help him/her to see the non-observance.

The analysis has further shown that Paxman uses indirectness in order to employ other CSs. Thus, ISA1A, B are mainly used for verifying and concluding the information just given. ISA2A, B then help Paxman to attack or doubt politicians' credibility, to manifest the power of his social role in the interview, and to express his personal views. The motivation for using indirectness in order to attack or doubt someone's credibility is connected with the politeness phenomena which will be the subject matter of Chapter 4.

To summarize the overall findings, it is necessary to state that no matter which approach (from those described in this chapter) towards indirectness is used, we arrive at the conclusion that indirectness is present in about 45% of IR's turns. The relevance of this number will be interpreted at the end of the whole chapter, when the results of the analysis dealing with the indirectness in IEs' turns will be known.

3.4.3 Examples of indirectness in interviewees' (IEs') turns

This section focuses on presenting examples of indirectness in politicians' turns with respect to Grice's Cooperative Principle and its maxims. It mainly describes examples of

non-observance of the maxims of Relevance (RM) (section 3.4.3.1) and Quantity (QnM) (section 3.4.3.2). The examples of non-observance of the maxim of Manner (MM) are included only in the section dealing with the examples in which there is an overlap of several non-observed maxims (section 3.4.3.3). This is due to the fact that most of the examples of breaking the MM are included in Chapter 5 on vagueness, as the vague expressions described in this chapter are looked upon in this study as devices by which the MM is broken. Thus, after the QnM whose non-observance results in triggering scalar implicature (SCI), the MM appears to be the second of Grice's maxims that connects indirectness to vagueness, as depicted in the following figure, the core of which is taken from figure 6 in section 3.2.

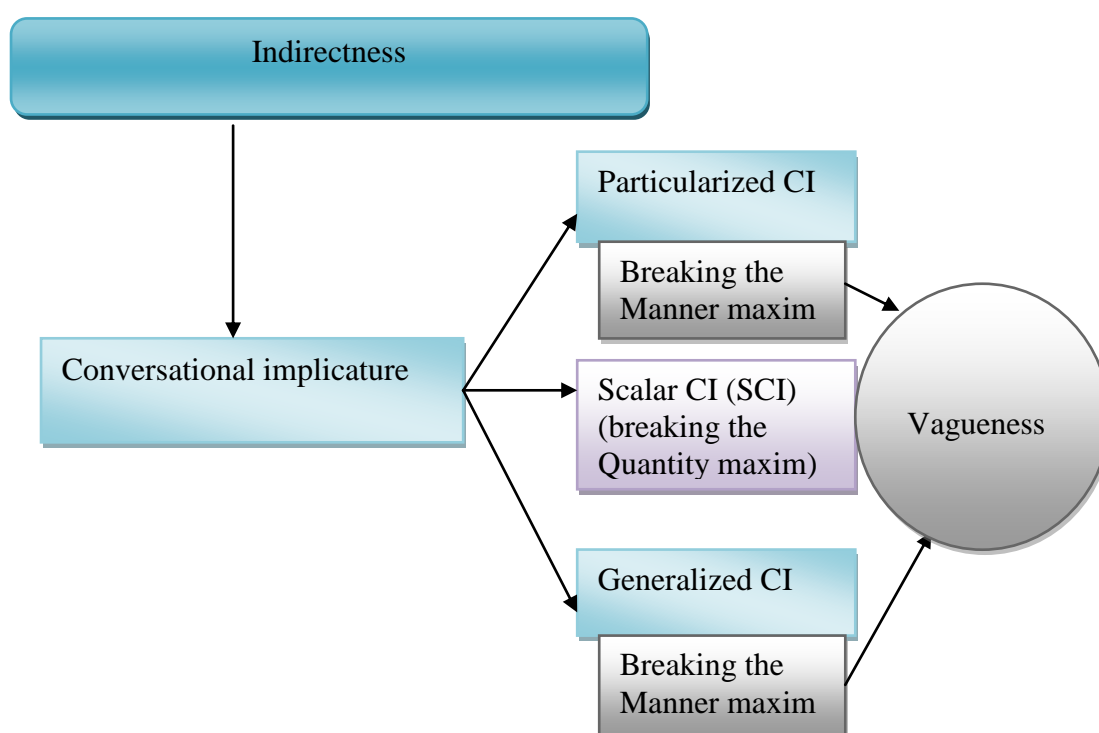


Figure 13 The close relation of indirectness and vagueness

The section does not deal with non-observance of the maxim of Quality, as this maxim is looked upon as the most prominent of all the maxims, which “come into operation only on the assumption that this maxim of Quality is satisfied” (Grice, 1975:46, see also section 3.3.3.). Though this study does not assume that politicians are keen on telling the whole truth in the interviews, it works with the assumption that it would be very risky and costly to invent lies during ‘the online process of negotiation of meaning’ that is going on in the interview.

Moreover, breaking the Quality maxim, i.e. lying, could also threaten politicians' face if revealed by the interviewer.

The analysis does not distinguish the individual types of non-observance of the maxims as suggested by Grice (1975: 49; see section 3.3.3.), as these may overlap and their distinction does not seem to be crucial for the purpose of the study. The summarized view of the examples of indirectness in IEs' turns is presented in section 3.4.4.

3.4.3.1 Breaking the Relevance maxim (RM)

Though it is not easy to reveal examples of politicians' turns in which only one maxim is broken, I decided to locate such examples. Thus, below there are four examples of breaking the RM, revealing the communication strategies and effects for which the politicians break this maxim. The first two presented examples occur very frequently in the studied data; examples 3 and 4 constitute a fairly exceptional use of RM breaking as compared to those presented in examples 1 and 2.

(1) Wind farms

40. JP: Let's look at something else then. You want 20% of electricity in this country to come from renewable sources, and 50% by the year 2050.

ChK: Urm.

40. JP: How many wind farms do you want to build?

ChK: Well, again, we see potential for wind farms. We actually see greater London term potential, actually, for off-shore harnessing of energy. And we look as any ...party, any set of representatives should where wind farm proposals are concerned, on the merits of each case. But I think [we should...]

(2) Iraq war

11. JP: Despite the fact] there were no weapons of mass destruction.

TB: Yes,[because

12. JP: And you told us there were.]

TB: the, the legal case was the, the breach of United Nations resolutions, the evidence from the Iraq Survey Group, is that he was indeed in breach of UN resolutions, and incidentally, it wasn't just us in Britain that concluded. No, hang on a minute. It wasn't just us in Britain that concluded he had WMD, the entire United Nations concluded that, which is why they passed

resolution 14.41.

Comments: These two examples represent the most common CSs and CEs found beyond the breaking of the RM. The first example, in which Kennedy talks about everything except the merits of Paxman's question, i.e. the number of wind farms, shows an evasive escape strategy. This strategy enables the politician either to gain time in order to think about his answer more carefully, or to produce an answer that is very often connected with the politicians' attempt at changing the topic – as is also visible in the example above. The second example shows Blair ignoring Paxman's argumentative comments on the presence of weapons in Iraq (which was one of the arguments that Blair used to persuade the public about the UK entering the Iraq war) and continuing his defensive strategy by answering the previous question instead of focusing on Paxman's responses in turns 11 and 12.

(3) The end of the interview

104. JP: I'm thinking it reminds me of William Hague, and we know what happened to him.

MH: Well we've been talking about a range of issues as you know. We have five commitment, cleaner hospitals, school discipline, more police, controlled immigration, lower taxes. We've also been talking about pensions. We've been [putting forward

105. JP: You need a miracle to win this election.

MH: Serious] proposals to deal with the problems facing the country, and with the problems which people are interested in being dealt with. We will act to deal with those problems, that's why I'm actually very confident about the outcome of this election.

Comments: Breaking the RM in these two connected examples enables Howard to ignore the obvious implied meaning from the Paxman's particularized CI (described in section 3.4.1.3, example 3) as well as to ignore his unbiased comment about the 'election miracle'. Instead of responding to Paxman's turns, he breaks the RM and uses the last moments of the interview to sum up the main points of the Conservative policy that he wanted to deliver to the audience during the interview. Thus, in my opinion, Howard in fact exploits his non-observance of the RM; this seems to be, with respect to his goals, a far more fruitful CS than simple adherence to the RM.

(4) Role of the private sector in the NHS

49. JP: Apart from] the health, the health sector and now education, any other areas you think that should be a greater role for the private sector in?

MH: I, I don't approach these things as a matter of ideology or dogma. If, if I'm persuaded If I'm persuaded [that there are

50. JP: I'm not asking why you do it...

MH: I'm answering your question.

50. JP: ...I'm asking whether, whether you think] there are other areas.

Comments: The example above shows that the RM can be broken as a result of assumed implicature, inferred here by Howard from Paxman's question. Howard seems to have understood the question as Paxman's attack on the Conservatives' policy, which among other things emphasizes the role of the private sector in the NHS, schools etc. Thus, Howard answers the implied meaning, not Paxman's intended meaning – which also follows from Paxman's response in turn 50. Thus Howard breaks the RM, though probably unintentionally.

3.4.3.2 Breaking the Quantity maxim (QnM)

This section presents six examples of breaking the QnM. The first three examples are breaks triggering GCIs. Examples 4-6 present breaks of the QnM resulting in SCIs that are also partly discussed in Chapter 5 on vagueness, as SCIs seem to constitute (together with MM) the mutual connection between indirectness and vagueness (as stated in section 3.4.3). As it is mentioned in section 3.3.5, the basis of SCI is connected with scales; the assertion of one form implies the negation of all forms higher up the scale.

(1) Immigration

60. JP: Well the Prime Minister is quite able to tell us roughly what number of economic migrants we need. He's told by business, perhaps it's a hundred and thirty thousand. Now if business come to you and say we need a hundred thousand, two hundred thousand perhaps, economic migrants a year, you would deny them would you↑

MH: *We would talk to them. We wouldn't necessarily accept what they say, we would have a dialogue with them; that's what consultation means. We want to find out what [they think.*

(2) Local income tax

4. JP: All right, well let's go through some of the details of your proposed local income tax. Are you being entirely frank with people, in suggesting that the only people who are going to be at a disadvantage, should it come in, are the rich?

ChK: *Well, we're saying 25% of people, and this is the Institute of Fiscal Studies that's looked at this. 25% of people are going to contribute more than they do under the Council Tax. 50% of households, will be better off, 25% will be unaffected. Now that's being very*

direct because the power to tax, and the power to make everybody better off, is not a power known to politicians in all of history, and we're not trying to hoodwink people on that.

(3) Wind farms

47. JP: Do you want a lot] of wind farms or not.

ChK: I think inevitably you will see more wind farms across the country. But I think alsof...

48. JP: My question was] whether you wanted to see a lot of wind farms.

ChK: I think that it's a desirable form of energy myself, providing, /er...

Comments: As the examples above show, the QnM can be broken also in a different way than just by mentioning one of the expressions from a certain scale. The first example illustrates a very common feature of Howard's answering style, i.e. pleonasm – we would 'talk' to them – we would 'have a dialogue' with them – that is what 'consultation' means. Howard's answers abound in the use of pleonasm and tautologies. In my opinion Howard's answer here proves that he does not bother with Grice's Quantity maxim: "make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purposes of the exchange" (Grice, 1975: 45).

The second example illustrates the smokescreening strategy. At first sight, Kennedy seems to be answering the question. He is, however, only giving a description of how many people would or would not be affected by the local income tax, should it be introduced. He does not answer the question whether the affected people are going to be only the rich. Thus, he adheres to the RM but breaks the QnM, as he does not make his contribution as informative as is required with respect to the question.

In the last example Kennedy partly answers the question by suggesting that he would like to see more wind farms. It is, however, obvious that he somehow tries to widen or shift the topic to focus on discussing energy. By this attempt at shifting the topic Kennedy's turn resembles example 2 from the previous section 3.4.3.1.

(4) Iraq war

8. JP: So was the JIC, the Joint Intelligence Committee Report wrong.

TB: No, they weren't wrong in what they reported at the time, they were absolutely right. But later it transpired [that

9. JP: It wasn't true.]

TB: some, not all of that intelligence was wrong. But the decision I had to take at the time was whether, as a result of that intelligence, we could conclude Saddam was in breach of

United Nations resolutions, and I concluded he was, and I may say the evidence is that he indeed was in breach of UN resolutions.

(5) Iraq war

27. JP: Why should they] believe you again.

TB: Because in the end, people have got to make a judgement about this. This was not an easy decision to take, it was a hard decision.

JP: Yes.

TB: I took the decision I thought was right, and if I had not taken that decision, then what. You'd have Saddam Hussein and his sons still running Iraq, you wouldn't have eight million Iraqis going out voting at the polls, you wouldn't have change spreading across the Middle East, as it is. *There has been a lot* that has happened on the other side of the argument that *just occasionally*, we should also pay attention to.

(6) Tax cuts

26. JP: And you're going to remove all of those are you?

MH: No. We're going to cut [taxes

JP: Right.

MH: By four] billion pounds in our first budget. I wish that we could undo *all the damage* which Labour have done in the last eight years at one fell swoop; we can't do that. We can – we are only making promises we know we can keep. That's why we will cut taxes by four billion pounds in our first budget.

Comments: Examples 4-6 present breaks of the QnM resulting in triggering SCI. In the fourth example Blair reveals the core of the implicature *some*, meaning *not all*, in order to make sure that Paxman will 'read' his answer in the correct (i.e. Blair's intended) way. In my opinion Blair also stresses the 'reading' of his words in order to show Paxman that he is not the only one in the interview who can play with words. Thus, here Blair performs a FPA by which he tries to balance the role asymmetry between the IR and IE in the PI (see Chapter 7). Another reason for doing so is connected with the importance of the issue of the UK's entry into the Iraq war, for which Blair was heavily criticized in the 2005 election campaign.

The fifth example is connected with the previous one in its topic and the type of implicature triggered. While in the previous example Blair was at the beginning of his defence concerning the Iraq war, in turn 27 the topic culminates and Blair again uses scalar expressions to back up his arguments. He pinpoints the positive changes in Iraq resulting from

the British invasion and by using the scalar expression ‘*occasionally*’ he manages to support his ‘truth’ with slight irony.

The last example shows Howard referring to the Labour government as having caused ‘*all the damage*’ in the budget. By using *all* Howard not only attacks his political rival but also creates the impression that nothing good was done by the previous government. This enables him to stress and strengthen the positive change his party is about to bring into the politics if they are elected.

3.4.3.3 Maxim overlaps

The instances of overlapping non-observance of maxims are far more frequent in the studied data than their ‘isolated’ counterparts presented above. There are three examples of breaking the QnM and RM and one example of breaking the Qn, RM, and MM in this section.

(1) Tax cuts

22. JP: The burden of] tax will go up by what, about twenty billion pounds.

MH: *Well it will be lower under the Conservatives than it will be under [Labour* but yes

23. JP: Yeah, but it will go up.

MH: Yes. Yes,] because that's what happens. *The three, that question shows Jeremy, let me deal with this, it's very important. That question shows that you understand three things about what a Conservative government would bring about. First of all, we'll bring about a growing economy, because the tax burden goes up under [a growing economy*

Comments: The underlined lines in italics show how Howard exploits the RM. He starts the 22nd turn by contrasting the Conservatives’ proposed tax burden with that of Labour – without having been asked about that issue at all. Then Howard accepts Paxman’s view of the increased tax burden, which is also reasserted in the 23rd turn, and makes Paxman listen to three completely irrelevant things in order to promote Conservative policy and change the topic. This strategy of starting the turn by breaking the RM, followed by the mere acceptance of IR’s view and then continuing with irrelevant comments, is applied with respect to the audience’s attention, which is focused at the beginning of the turn and at the end of it. This seems to be natural, as at the beginning of politicians’ turns we expect the answer and at the end some conclusion. Put very simply, this CS increases Howard’s chances of delivering not

the answer to Paxman's question, but instead the message Howard wants the audience to listen from him.

(2) Death of Dr David Kelly

17. JP: Do you accept any responsibility at all for the death of Dr David Kelly.

TB: *Aah it was a terrible, terrible thing to have happened. I don't believe we had any option however, but to disclose his name, because I think had we failed to do so, that would have been seen as attempting to conceal something from the committee that was looking in to this at the time. And [again*

Comments: In this example Blair does not answer the question at all. He is only describing the circumstances and results of what happened, and breaks the RM and QnM. It can be seen as a part of a postponing strategy, as he may hope that he would not be asked the same question again (though the chance of this is minimal considering Paxman's questioning style). He is, however, wrong, and the whole discussion then culminates in Blair's claiming that he does not look upon the question as a yes-or-no matter.

(3) Asylum seekers

65. JP: Do you think that limit is going to be] in the tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands.

MH: I think it will be less than the number of people who come in to the country today, which is, which is about a hundred and fifty thousand, *which has gone up three times under Labour, it's tripled under Labour without anybody being consulted. [Without anybody being asked*

Comments: The 65th turn is the point at which the discussion about asylum seekers culminates and Howard finally (after 12 turns) mentions some number, though very vaguely. At the same time, however, he tries to change the topic, attacking the Labour Party for having had greater numbers of asylum seekers during their time in government. Attacks on Labour are a very common and fruitful way of topic change for Howard.

(4) Possible privatization

32. JP: What are the current services provided by the state that you think the state shouldn't provide.

MH: *Well, there are things which the state does at the moment, which we think it doesn't do well, and which we think we can do better in a different way. [Now there are*

Comments: I consider the last example a good illustration of breaking the three maxims Qn, R and M. Howard's answer is only an empty filler, saying nothing whatsoever

about the question asked. In my opinion, Howard feels that he should adhere to the Quality maxim, but at the same time he is not able to answer the question right away. Thus, he chooses to answer it by breaking the other maxims and gaining some time to think about the question again – supposing (quite correctly) that he will be asked that question again.

3.4.4 Summary

Section 3.4.3 presented 14 manifestations of indirectness in IEs' turns. The whole analysis was based on Grice's CP and non-observance of its maxims of Relevance and Quality. The maxim of Manner is mentioned only in the last examples in section 3.4.3.3 due to the reasons stated in section 3.4.3 – also corresponding to Leech's problem-solving strategy, which does not include MM (as Leech connects the MM primarily with the politeness principle). It can be also stated that analyzing the data in accordance with Grice's maxims does not differ from an analysis adopting Leech's approach. Thus, in Leech's terminology we would refer to the above-presented examples as the non-satisfaction of corroborative conditions D and E.

The analysis has further shown that politicians use indirectness (in the form of breaking the RM and QnM) in order to employ the following CSs: time gaining, evasive escaping, topic shifting, postponing and smokescreening. Breaking the maxims is very often connected with politicians' effort to answer only those parts of questions that enable them to reinforce their points of view or sometimes with the effort not to answer the question at all without making this effort too obvious.

To summarize the section, I can state that non-observance of Qn, RM and (as Chapter Five shows) also MM is fairly frequent in IEs' turns. Moreover, (as the example 3 in section 3.4.3.1 shows) for politicians non-observance of maxims sometimes seems to be more fruitful than simple adherence to them. This fact, as well as other observations, will be included and developed in the forthcoming section 3.5, which draws conclusions from both practical sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.3 with regard to the assumptions and goals of this entire chapter.

3.5 Conclusions

The study has presented 15 manifestations of indirectness in IR's turns and 14 manifestations of the same phenomenon in IEs' turns. The estimated overall number of such examples in the whole of the studied data is about 40% in IR's turns and 30% in IEs' turns. The number of 'indirect' IEs' turns has to be counted together with the examples of vagueness (which are considered to be breaks of the MM), and we thus arrive at an approximate number of 45%.

I am, however, fully aware of the fact that these numbers are only tentative. This follows from the assumption 4 stated in section 3.1, and at the same time it confirms the limitations of the analyses. Moreover, the tentative results of the analysis are also a reflection of the nature of the interpretative process on which the analyses are based.

In both cases (IR's and IEs' turns) the results are not surprising. They confirm the existence and importance of journalists' and politicians' macro-communication intentions (MCIs) described in section 2.3, i.e. the IR's effort not to threaten a politician's face too much in order to be able to remain unbiased, and the politicians' efforts to preserve their faces in order to present their ideas and ultimately get elected. Thus, indirectness as well as the other CSs ensuing from it serve their users to fulfil their MCIs fairly well.

The results can be achieved irrespective of the approach to indirectness used, as the analyses confirmed that Searle's, Grice's and Leech's approaches work complementarily. The results of this study further show not only the limitations of the theories, but also the fact that we can question their principles. If we can find ISAs or maxim breaks in about 40-45% of examples, does Grice's CP really work in practice, taking into account Grice's idea of the fact that the maxims are supposed to be observed in order for a conversation to be fruitful? Based on the presented findings, this study (similarly to other studies) seems to have come to a different conclusion. The non-observance of the maxims in conversation is almost as common as their observance. Moreover, in many cases the non-observance can be much more productive for the speaker from the point of view of his/her communication goals than simple adherence to the maxims.

Thus, I would consider the approaches (Searle's, Grice's and Leech's) to indirectness to be useful devices for perceiving the language used in conversation. When using the theories in practical research, however, it must always be borne in mind that they can only show tentative results and as such should not be used in large-scale analysis resulting in

quantification of the data. This is not the case of our study focusing on the (M)CSs in British political discourse, which among other things aims to describe the MCSs (such as indirectness, politeness or vagueness) used to implement other ‘smaller’ CSs and CEs as well as to show the interconnection of MCSs with IR’s and IEs’ macro-communication intentions (MCIs).

Chapter Four

IRONY AND POLITENESS

Since the previous chapter on indirectness is looked upon as the core theme providing a foundation for the other chapters, the study now naturally proceeds to phenomena of irony and politeness – which are (according to the results of the analyses) worth discussion as they clearly show the profound connection between indirectness and politeness, and thus also justify Leech's and Brown and Levinson's (1990) views connecting these two phenomena together.

It is also necessary to state that this chapter is more focused on the analysis of IR's turns. This is due to the fact that irony is considered to be connected with IR's face-threatening macro-communication intentions (MCIs). Since the IEs' macro-communication intentions (MCIs) are connected with their performance of face-preserving acts, I presume that this chapter would have nothing to offer with regard to irony employed by IEs. Though irony could be used as a powerful means of self-preservation, I have found only one example of this phenomenon in the IEs' turns (see section 3.4.3.2, example 5) in the studied data. In my opinion, this could be caused by the fact that it seems enormously effortful for the politicians to make straightforward ironic comments in their answers, as well as by the fact that using irony seems to be risky for politicians, since this would mean threatening the IR's face to an extent which would be in breach of politicians' social constraints.

The analyses of politeness in IR's turns are particularly focused on examples whose interpretation seems to be disputable with respect to the previous chapter on indirectness. Since all chapters of this study present analysis of both IR's and IEs' turns, and in an attempt to keep the study balanced, this chapter also presents a small analysis of IEs' turns focusing on a few examples of quality hedges inspired by Brown and Levinson's study as well as by Miššiková's article (2007) *Maxim hedges in political discourse*.

Due to the coherence of the topic, this chapter first focuses on irony in IR's (section 4.1), as this phenomenon is closely related to implicatures dealt with in the previous section. Section 4.2 offers IR's disputable examples of politeness, and is followed by section 4.3 offering an analysis of quality hedges in IEs' turns.

4.1 Irony

Leech claims that irony “enables the speaker to be impolite while seeming to be polite, it does so by superficially breaking the CP, but ultimately upholding it” (1983: 142). The Irony Principle (IP) is formulated as follows: “If you must cause offence, at least do so in a way which doesn’t overtly conflict with the PP, but allows the hearer to arrive at the offensive point of your remark indirectly, by way of implicature” (1983: 82).

Thus following Leech’s view of irony, this section can be looked upon as a bridge between indirectness and politeness phenomena. Similarly to Chapter 3 (which presents examples of implicature resulting in the speakers’ use of indirectness, which is then used for other communication strategies), this section offers examples of implicature resulting in the speakers’ use of irony causing humorous and mocking communication effects (CEs). Thus, this section is an extension of the previous chapter on indirectness.

4.1.1. Examples of irony in IR’s turns

This section presents five examples of irony used by Jeremy Paxman.

(1) Discrepancy of party policy and Liberal Democrat manifesto

71. JP: *That presumably is also true of your policy to ban all animals except horses and dogs from circuses.*

ChK: This would be correct.

72. JP: *Do you ever think you're slightly out of kilter with public opinion.*

ChK: No I don't. I think one of the stories if you like, of this parliament, that has just come to an end, and this election campaign now underway, is the extent to which people have seen and are seeing the Liberal Democrats as actually being most in tune with public priorities, and those public priorities have ranged in the international level and the opposition in the war to Iraq, to the domestic level, the priorities that we're putting in front of people.

Comments: These two turns are taken out of 15 turns (57-73) dealing with several small topics embedded in one macro topic – the discrepancy between what the Liberal Democrats say to the public and what they really want to promote in practice. Turn 71 enables Paxman to verify the plausibility of the Liberal Democrat proposal regarding animals in circuses. Paxman uses ISA1 with the hedging adverbial ‘presumably’, which functions in two

ways. First, it indicates the presence of some form of indirectness, and second, it contributes to the ironic reading of the turn.

Turn 72 then shows the irony principle in practice, as this question somehow escalates the whole point about what the Liberal Democrats promise to the public in their manifesto. The hedge adverbial *'slightly'* enables Paxman to mitigate the illocutionary force of his utterance, but at the same time it supports the ironic reading, and thus enables the hearer (ChK, audience) to understand the point. By using irony, Paxman in fact threatens Kennedy's face, but at least he does so in a 'hedged mitigated' way that helps him to respect the journalistic neutrality to which he is supposed to adhere.

(2) Casinos

51. JP: And what was it in your analysis of what was wrong with Britain that convinced you that what this country needed was forty super casinos.

TB: Well the question is, do you prevent that happening. It's not a question (interject) of do you think it's, this is what the country needs, the question [is

(3) Asylum seekers

66. JP: Does the fact that you're unable or unwilling to tell us, indicate that you have in fact lost control of our borders.

TB: No, it doesn't indicate that cos no government has ever been able to say that. What you are able to say however, is here are the measures that we're taking to control it properly, to deal with the abuses, and you are also able to say, which I can say to you very clearly, cos we keep the proper statistics of this, is the numbers that are claiming now and the numbers that we're removing, and the way to get asylum figures down, so that it's only genuine refugees you're taking is, is to do precisely what we've done...

Comments: Examples two and three show Paxman using irony in its very natural form. Without any mitigating hedges, he overtly exploits the information given in turn 51 and bases the irony of his question on the obvious contradiction of the idea of the forty casinos that Britain was supposed to be in need of. Turn 66 is then similar to turn 72 from the first example, as it humorously escalates the discussion on the number of asylum seekers – the number that Blair did not want to reveal during the interview.

(4) Economic migrants

60. JP: Well the Prime Minister is quite able to tell us roughly what number of economic migrants we need. He's told by business, perhaps it's a hundred and thirty thousand. Now if business come to you and say we need a hundred thousand, two hundred thousand perhaps,

economic migrants a year, you would deny them would you↑

MH: We would talk to them. We wouldn't necessarily accept what they say, we would have a dialogue with them; that's what consultation means. We want to find out what [they think.

61. JP: *I thought you were the party] of business.*

(5) Asylum seekers

81. JP: Hang on where would you put these people.

MH: .. refugees. I'm, I'm going] to explain that to you Jeremy, you just have to be patient for a moment or two. Only two out of ten of the people who apply for asylum in this country today are genuine refugees, so we want to break the link between people who have to come to the country illegally, who have to trick their way in, in order to apply for asylum...

82. JP: You've now had a minute or two and you still] haven't told us where is this place, where are they going to be.

MH: That's because you keep interrupting, if you didn't interrupt I'd have got there [by now.

83. JP: *Look it's very simple, name a place.*

MH: Yeah,] if those people, if there are people who come in to this country and who apply for asylum, we would look for overseas processing [centres

Comments: Examples 4 and 5 are taken from the long stretch of turns dealing with economic migrants in the first case and asylum seekers in the second case. Both of these ironical comments are connected with Paxman's enormous effort to elicit the answers to his questions on the number of economic migrants and on the possible place of stay for the asylum seekers. In both cases Howard avoids answering the questions and forces Paxman to use other strategies to gain the information he wants. Thus, the ironic comments that cause the mocking effect in turn 61 and the humorous effect in turn 83 can be looked upon as certain escalation points.

Unlike the hedged and mitigated irony shown in the first example, the irony in examples 4 and 5 is overt. Thus, these two examples show Paxman skating on very thin ice: he is not in conflict with the PP (he threatens IE's face to the extent allowed by the constraints of his social role in the PI) and he ultimately upholds the CP (the superficial break is reflected only in the level of mismatch between the form and function – ISA1A,B), and at the same time he finds himself rather on the edge, with the journalistic constraints forcing him to be unbiased and neutral. Thus, these types of ironical comments seem to be Paxman's 'edge' communication strategy (CS) and can be looked upon as a very smart communication

manoeuvre. I term it an ‘edge’ CS, as crossing the critical border results in IR’s failure in one of the three mentioned areas (CP, PP, journalists’ constraints).

(6) The end of the interview

100. JP: And secondly, on the Trans Atlantic Alliance. *What sort of a Conservative leader is it, who finds the gates to a republican White House closed to them.*

MH: A sort of Conservative leader who's not afraid to criticise the Prime Minister of this country when he thinks that those criticisms are justified. I've made criticism of Mr Blair's conduct of the war in Iraq, and I, I will carry on making those criticisms where justified, and er, you know, if that offends certain people, that's though.

101. JP: *So the choice at this election between you and Mr Blair is between a leader who supports a war and has sway in the White House, and a leader who supported the war and has no sway in the White House.*

MH: I would have a perfectly good working relationship with, with President[..

102. JP: *They wouldn't even let you in] through the door!*

MH: Bush. Look, if I'm the Prime Minister of this country, and I – and President Bush needs to work with me, which he does, of course we'll work together, of course we'll have a good working relationship. Britain and the United States have many things in common, common interest, common values, and I would have a very effective working relationship with President Bush...

Comments: The last complex example illustrates three turns in which irony is manifested to different extents. Irony in turn 100 has a typical mocking effect, but is hedged with the question hedge ‘*sort of*’ supporting the ironic nuance. Turn 101 shows a slightly escalated form of irony following from the two contradictory ideas expressed in the form of ISA1B, also resulting in a mocking effect. These two turns are similar to those presented above (examples 2-5).

The last turn deviates from the ironic examples presented so far. It is in total breach of journalistic constraints as Paxman here expresses his own opinion and disbelief of Howard’s answer. Paxman crosses the critical border of the ‘edge’ strategy described in the previous comments and threatens Howard’s face to an extent for which he is not empowered as the interviewer. Therefore, the last turn can be perceived as harsher than the rest of the examples shown above, and thus could be classified either as a harsh irony or, with respect to the following section, as an example of IR’s bald-on-record strategy.

4.1.2 Summary

Thus, based on the results of all the analyzed examples, it can be stated that similarly to indirectness, irony can be viewed as a matter of degree. A simple figure of the irony scale based on the results of the analysis can be illustrated as follows:

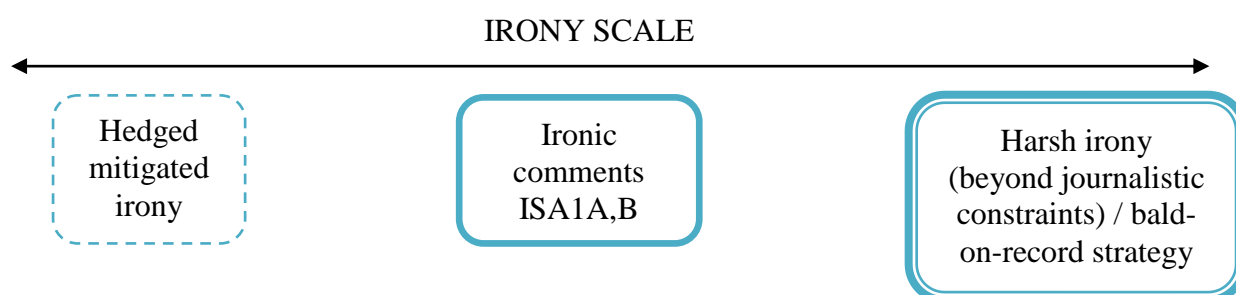


Figure 14 Irony scale

Thus, the analysis of authentic language data has shown and confirmed the nature of the close ties existing between indirectness, irony and politeness as illustrated above.

4.2 Politeness

The phenomenon of politeness is one of the central concerns of present-day pragmatics. There are many studies devoted to this phenomenon, and this study looks upon politeness (in accordance to Leech, Brown and Levinson) as a phenomenon closely related to indirectness. From the point of view of politeness, indirectness is classified as politeness off-record, since face preservation is seen by Brown and Levinson as the most important motive for being indirect (1987: 217). The conclusion of section 3.5 has shown this premise to be plausible with respect to IR's and IEs' macro-communication intentions (MCIs).

The analysis of politeness phenomenon is based on Brown and Levinson's model of politeness (1987) describing four super-strategies (bald-on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record) for doing face-threatening acts. This section focuses on the examples of bald-on-record strategy (section 4.2.1) and examples of *Can/Could you...* ISAs with respect to negative politeness and SAT (section 4.2.2).

4.2.1 Examples of bald-on-record strategy in IR's turns

Bald-on-record strategy is entirely opposite to the indirectness discussed in Chapter 3, as it refers to “speaking in conformity with Grice’s maxims” (Brown, Levinson, 1987: 94). Brown and Levinson state that this strategy is used “whenever S wants to do the FTA with maximum efficiency *more than* he wants to satisfy H’s face, even to any degree” (1987: 95). There are two basic types of bald-on-record usage:

- 1) Those where the face threat is not minimized, where face threat is ignored or irrelevant.
- 2) Those where in doing the FTA baldly on record, S minimizes face threats by implication (e.g. see the examples of irony in section 4.1).

This section aims to present four examples of the first of the above-mentioned uses.

In fact, the examples presented below gave rise to this entire section. When analyzing the data, I first classified them as disputable examples, since it was difficult to decide whether they are ISAs2B or direct speech acts in which the speaker breaks the politeness principle.

(1) Discussion on the intelligence in Iraq

4. JP: *It wasn't] extensive, it wasn't detailed and it wasn't authoritative.*

TB: I'm sorry, it was. And the great thing about this now for any member of the public is that thanks to the Butler Report, and remember we've had four separate enquiries in to whether this intelligence was misused or not, each of them have come to the same conclusion and people can actually go and look on the web site and they can go and study the Joint Intelligence Committee Reports that I [got

(2) The beginning of the interview

2. JP: But we know what you're like in government. You were the man who brought us the Poll Tax, you were part of the Cabinet that presided over that embarrassing fiasco with the ERM.

MH: Urm. Well let's, let's talk about those things. The ERM was indeed a terrible mistake. When we went in to the ERM, we were supported by the Labour Party, the Liberals, the TUC, the CBI, and we are the only party that's learned our lesson[...

3. JP: *It's about judgement Mr Howard.*

MH: No, no – just let me] finish. Indeed it is, it is about judgement. We are the only party that's learned our lesson from that. We're the only party that isn't going to take the country in to the Euro which[...

(3) Prisoners' right to vote

57. JP: Well talking about voting, you also want prisoners to be able to vote.

ChK: That's not something that's in our [manifesto.

58. JP: *Doesn't matter] whether it's in your manifesto. It's your policy.*

ChK: No, it's, it's a Liberal Democrat [policy...

(4) The discussion on circumstances of entering the war in Iraq

26. JP: *The problem is Prime Minister, that the next time the Joint Intelligence Committee come to you and say, we have extensive, authoritative intelligence of a threat or possible threat to this country, we urge pre-emptive action, you won't be able to sell it to the public.*

TB: Well let's wait and see if that ever happens and I hope it never does. But I think that people, actually when they look at this, despite all the stuff, because continually this is, this argument[is conducted

Comments: All these four examples above are direct speech acts – assertives functioning as statements. Their occurrence within the interview is interesting in its own right, as it follows from the role of IRs within the PIs described in 1.2.2.1, i.e. that IRs conduct the interview by asking questions. Thus, the only neutral way of using statements in the PIs is when the IR wants to push the conversation to another topic, otherwise the occurrence of statements can be perceived as marked, i.e. deviating from the IR's usual format pattern.

The four turns above are similar to the last example of the previous section 4.2.1. (turn 102). However, they do not carry mocking and ironic effects. They clash overtly with the idea of unbiased impersonal comments to which the IR is subjected to by journalistic constraints. Not only do these examples show Paxman expressing his own opinion, but they also show that the higher regulative role of the PP, i.e. “maintaining the social equilibrium and the friendly relations” (Leech, 1983: 82), is not observed. Having said this, the question can be raised to what extent the maintenance of a friendly atmosphere would be functional in terms of the political interview, as it was already proved by this study that politicians would not answer the question without being pushed by the interviewer. These bald-on-record comments also show that, though a professional, Jeremy Paxman is only a human being for whom it is naturally very difficult to refrain from occasional personal comments.

From the analyst's point of view such examples are very difficult to deal with. Their presence in the studied data has clearly illustrated and confirmed the close ties between indirectness and politeness phenomena. It is also necessary to state that it would be impossible

to interpret the data without taking into account the role of context and the importance of using not only the transcripts but also the recordings for the analyses.

4.2.2 Examples of *Can/Could you...?* – negative politeness in IR’s turns

This section presents four examples of all IR’s *Can/Could you...* turns that were found in the analyzed material. According to the four FTA strategies mentioned in section 4.2., the examples belong to negative politeness, which “is redressive action addressed to the addressee’s negative face: his want to have his freedom unhindered and his attention unimpeded”. Negative politeness “performs the function of minimizing the particular imposition that the FTA unavoidably effects” (Brown, Levinson, 1987: 129).

The examples presented below were originally part of Chapter 3 on indirectness, and were (similarly to the examples from section 4.2.1) adjudged to be disputable. Later it transpired that it would be more appropriate to place them here and discuss them with regard to both indirectness and politeness phenomena.

(1) Discussion on the number of asylum seekers

53. JP: *Can you tell us how many failed asylum seekers there are in this country?*

TB: No, I can't be sure of the numbers of, of people who are ur, illegals in this country. For the same reason that the previous government couldn't. Urm, what I can say is that the asylum system has been toughened up and tightened up hugely...

54. JP: *Can you give us a rough idea of how many there may be?*

(2) Discussion on possible election

80. JP: Prime Minister, if you are returned to Downing Street on May 6th, *can you at least give us a guarantee that within say twelve months of your handing in your cards as Prime Minister, there would be a General Election?*

TB: Well I've said I'll service a full term, and you know again I mean I've been over this, [and

(3) Discussion on congestion charging

36. JP: So in summary, you support congestion charge except in those places where there's any danger of it either being extended or indeed introduced in the first place.

ChK: No, except in those places where the homework has not been done, and the ground work [has not been put in.

37. JP: Could you tell us] a city where you do support it?

ChK: I think it's up to cities, and city representatives [to decide

(4) Discussion on sun set on regulation

50. JP: Can we move on to another] of your contradictions then? Your manifesto for business promises, quote, "to let the sun set on regulation". You also propose an equality act, an environment responsibility act, a carbon tax, an animal welfare act..., Rigorous schemes of labelling and traceability for GM foods, and the implementation of the EU directive on corporate environmental liability. That is letting the sun set on regulation, is it↑

ChK: Well, I think what you've got to do, and each of that check list you go through, I think any reasonable person, including any reasonable business person, would acknowledge that those are good practices which good business should be aspiring [to

Comment: These five turns were chosen to illustrate two things. First, when discussing them with respect to the SAT presented in Chapter 3 (section 3.3.2), we could easily consider them to be copy-book examples of the ISA1A in which the interrogative is used to function as a request. However, with the exception of turn 80, I do not think that Paxman means these questions as requests, since it follows from his social role that he is supposed to ask questions to which a politician's answer is expected. Thus, we encounter here the problem which is mentioned in section 3.1 on assumptions and goals, i.e. the fact that the approaches to indirectness are somehow limited with respect to their lack of application to authentic language data. Though all of these approaches mention the role of context as being one of the indicators of indirect meaning, they mostly do not work with it, and yet – as the examples above show – it is absolutely crucial for the distinction between SAs and ISAs here. Following the view presented above, we have to consider these turns to be direct speech acts, i.e. interrogatives functioning as questions.

Second, discussing these examples in terms of negative politeness, they should be classified as conventionalized forms of ISAs (questions functioning as requests). Brown and Levinson (1987: 133) say that the reading as requests depends on whether the expectation about the nature of the activity in which this utterance is embedded makes such a reading probable, i.e. similarly to SAT, they take the specific context into account. However, even in their study we encounter only the traditional examples usually listed in many books mentioning this topic.

Following the views presented here, I can only state that the examples above illustrate that *Can/Could you...?* IR's questions in the context of the studied data are used here contrary

to expectations – not as requests but as questions. The only exception seems to be turn 80, where the request interpretation would be possible with respect to the context.

By presenting these examples, I have tried to show that though the role of context is not omitted in the above-mentioned approaches to indirectness and politeness, it does not seem to be emphasized to a sufficient extent. The examples presented in all chapters of this study made it obvious enough that the interpretation of the authentic language data is impossible and useless without taking into account the crucial role of context.

4.3 Hedges in IEs' turns

Originally, Chapter 4 was supposed to focus fully on the analysis of IR's turns with respect to irony and politeness. After analyzing the data, however, I found that a small section focusing on hedges found in the IEs' turns is desirable. First, it extends the scope of Chapter 4 dealing with irony and politeness, in which hedges are already mentioned in the comments on the examples presented in section 4.1.1. Second, this section can be also looked upon as a natural completion of sections 3.4.3.1 and 3.4.3.2 focusing on presenting the examples of RM and QnM breaks.

Taking into account the views expressed in the previous paragraph and the fact that there are many studies dealing with hedges (i.e. “a particle, word, or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or noun phrase in a set; it says of that membership that it is partial, or true only in certain respects, or that it is more true or complete than perhaps might be expected...” (Brown, Levinson, 1987: 145)), I decided to focus on quality hedges only.

However, for the reasons already stated in section 3.4.3, this section does not aim to determine whether the Quality maxim is broken and present the respective examples. It instead follows Brown and Levinson's idea of hedges addressed to Grice's maxims which “emphasize that the cooperative condition is met, or serve notice that it may not have been met, or question whether it has been met” (1987:164). Thus, this section presents examples of quality hedges (Qhs) as presented by Brown and Levinson (1987: 164-166) found in IEs' turns and used in all the above-mentioned ways. The cooperative condition is understood to be Searle's sincerity condition (Sc), which corresponds to Grice's Quality maxim (QtM) (see section 3.3.6).

4.3.1 Quality hedges in IEs' turns

The examples of this section are divided into two different groups: quality hedges (Qhs) emphasizing the sincerity condition (Sc) (group A); and quality hedges indicating that the sincerity condition may not have been met, or questioning whether the sincerity condition has been met (group B).

A) Qhs emphasizing that the Sc is met

(1) Asylum seekers

78. JP: You'd still have] an enormous back log wouldn't you.↓

MH: *I don't think so [at all].*

(2) Local income tax

18. JP: But people don't live in generalities. People live in particular times and particular places.

ChK: *Absolutely.*

(3) Local income tax

48. JP: So no local income tax on your watch.

TB: Well, as I say, we've got a review, so I'm not going to, I can't start closing everything off but *what I can say to you is personally, and I think I've said this on many occasions, I think there are big problems of local income tax.*

Comments: All three examples above show that speakers try to stress that they believe in what they say, i.e. they fulfil the Sc. In the first example M. Howard uses the adverbial 'at all' to stress his claim, while in the second example C. Kennedy chooses to answer only with the adverbial 'absolutely', which does not admit any doubts about his opinion. T. Blair supports the belief in his claims by the adverbial 'personally' and the scalar expression 'many'. All these adverbials, combined with the quality hedges *I think/ I do not think*, emphasize that the Sc is met. In other words, there are no indications of breaking the maxim of quality (QtM) in their answers.

B) Qhs indicating that the Sc may not have been met or questioning whether the Sc has been met

1) Nuclear deterrent

31. JP: You're committed to

TB: independent deterrent.

JP: continuing independent] nuclear deterrent.

TB: *I believe* that is the right thing for the country, *I think* it's important that however we look at all the different aspects of it, any decision hasn't yet been taken.

(2) Congestion charging

37. JP: Could you tell us] a city where you do support it?

ChK: *I think it's up to cities, and city representatives [to decide*

38. JP: Do you have any cities in mind?]

ChK: I, that is a matter for local Liberal Democrats to decide. And it's not a matter [for me...

(3) Conservative policy

11. JP: But apart from the ERM

MH: We do.

JP: The Major government] basically was right was it↑

MH: *I, I think we did, we did a lot of very good things.*

(4) Local income tax

11. JP: Let's take one of your top target seats, Cardiff Central.

ChK: Right

11. JP: Would the nurse and the fireman living there, be worse off or better off.

ChK: *Well, as you say, and as we say ourselves* on our own figures, they will pay a net increase in their contributions.

Comments: These four examples illustrate how difficult it is to decide whether the Qhs in these turns indicate that the Sc has not been met or question whether the Sc has been met. Comparing the above-mentioned examples to those presented in section 4.2.1 (bald-on-record strategy) of this study, I would classify them as disputable as well.

The first example illustrates the most common type found in the material. The quality hedges '*I think, I believe*' may indicate here that TB does not want to accept full responsibility for the truth of his utterance (Brown, Levinson, 1987: 164). Examples 2-4 differ from the first one. Though they also include quality hedges such as '*I think,*' '*as you say*', which may indicate that there is something wrong with QtM, they also include other cues that keep the hearer alert with respect to CP adherence.

The second example shows Kennedy's non-observance of the Relevance maxim (RM), as his answer is absolutely evasive and does not respond to the question asked. The third example illustrates one of Howard's most typical answers, in which he uses the combination of scalar expressions '*a lot of very good*' and vague expression '*things*'

combined with the quality hedge *I think*. From the perspective of this study, Howard's answer in turn 11 can be referred to as marked, as it is flooded with indicators of vagueness and indirectness. Howard uses it as a self-defence strategy in response to Paxman's ironic question. The last example illustrates that the non-observance of the Manner maxim (MM) is in question, as Kennedy simply says the same thing as Paxman but uses different words.

Quality hedges in IEs' turns are not as frequent as their quantity counterparts (referred to in Chapter 5). The occurrence of types A and B is fairly comparable. Examples from group A show that Qhs are used to indicate the 'correct' reading with respect to QtM. The examples from group B, however, illustrate that it would be very difficult to state that Qh can indicate that the QtM is not observed.

First, this is due to the very nature of the Quality maxim, which is connected with speakers' belief in what is or is not true, which is in turn connected with their intentions – which are difficult to prove. Thus, we encounter the circular character of Grice's theory, i.e. the fact that the CP is simply based on the presumption that speakers tell the truth otherwise the conversation would be fruitless. And it is this presumption, as well as the circularity of Grice's theory, that has made it a target of numerous criticisms.

Second, the examples above have shown that quality hedges are in many cases found in answers in which other maxims are not observed. Taking into account the idea stated in the previous paragraph, we can conclude that speakers themselves tend to observe the Quality maxims and break other maxims instead. This confirms Grice's idea of the QtM being a 'higher-order' maxim with respect to the rest of its counterparts.

4.4 Conclusions

This chapter can be looked upon as an extension of the previous chapter on indirectness, as irony and politeness are phenomena naturally connected with it. The chapter presented five manifestations of irony in IR's turns, which have clearly shown and confirmed the close ties between indirectness and politeness, in which irony can be seen as their meeting point. It has also shown that similarly to indirectness, irony is best described in terms of degree, illustrated on the irony scale (section 4.1.1., figure 14).

The chapter further focused on the manifestations of politeness in IR's turns, dealing with its two types: bald-on-record strategy (4 manifestations) and negative politeness (5

manifestations), which constitute disputable examples of the politeness phenomenon with respect to indirectness as described in Chapter 3. The analysis has revealed that the role of context in the interpretation of the data is absolutely crucial and, in my opinion, the theories on politeness and indirectness do not emphasize the role of context sufficiently.

The last section of this chapter presents seven manifestations of quality hedges in IEs' turns and examines them in accordance with Brown and Levinson's ideas. This small-scale analysis has confirmed Grice's views of the Quality maxim and the operation of the CP. It has also shown the application limits of such a theory with respect to authentic language data and confirmed again the key role played by the context in the interpretation of the data.

Chapter Five

VAGUENESS

This chapter dealing with vagueness looks upon this phenomenon, similarly to irony and politeness, as a macro-communication strategy (MCS) closely related to indirectness as shown in figures 6 and 13 (sections 3.2 and 3.4.3). The inspiration for dealing with vagueness with regard to indirectness came from Cheng and Warren's article: *Indirectness, Inexplicitness and Vagueness Made Clearer* (2003) delineating the three respective terms, and from seminal work on *Vague Language* by Channell (1994). Not only does this chapter aim to present examples of vague language items (VLIs) used by the IR and IEs, but it also tries to show and describe the way in which these VLIs are deliberately used by the speakers in order to employ other communication strategies (CSs) and communication effects (CEs).

This chapter, similarly to some parts of Chapter 3 on indirectness, was published in 2010 as a pilot study. For the purposes of the dissertation, the chapter has been slightly modified (especially section 5.5.1).

5.1 Assumptions and goals

The assumptions that gave birth to the analysis are twofold:

1) I assume that it is worthwhile examining vague language items (VLIs) in the case of PIs, as their occurrence is expected to be fairly frequent especially in politicians' turns. On the other hand, a discrepancy can be expected in the frequency of VLIs with respect to IR's and IEs' turns. This stems from the difference in the roles played by the IRs and IEs within PIs (see section 1.2.2.1), and it should thus be connected with the different macro-communication intentions (MCIs) for which they are used both by journalists and politicians.

In other words, vagueness in politicians' turns is expected to be connected with MCIs by means of which IEs employ the FPAs¹ (see section 2.3 and Chapter 7). Based on the findings of the previous chapter on indirectness, I also assume that it will be in IEs' turns that the close ties between indirectness and vagueness will be revealed.

In the case of IR's turns, vagueness is expected to occur exceptionally since IR's use of this MCS seems to be in breach of journalistic constraints. Thus, I assume that if there are any examples of vagueness in IR's turns, Paxman will use them to perform FTAs² (see Chapter 7) by means of which he disrespects journalistic constraints.

2) Channell finishes her seminal work by identifying 10 uses of VL such as: Giving the right amount of information, Deliberately withholding the information, Using language persuasively, Lexical gaps, Lacking specific information, Displacement, Self-protection, Power and politeness, Informality and atmosphere, Women's language (1994: 173-194). Some of the names of the uses of VL inspired the names of CSs I use in my dissertation, and especially in this chapter.

Channell also states that "...many examples show a number of different conversational effects, and it is often impossible to sort out quite what the effect is" (1994: 165). In my opinion, Channell could not distinguish the effects more clearly because of the great variety of data that she used for her analysis; she worked with the COBUILD database and with written texts as well. Therefore, I assume that narrowing the scope of the study to the transcripts of PIs may help me to overcome the problem of identifying the individual communication effects.

Thus, based on the assumptions mentioned above, this chapter aims:

- 1) To identify the instances of VLIs in IR's and IEs' turns.
- 2) To describe what kind of CSs other than vagueness the IR and IEs use VLIs for.
- 3) To compare to what extent the VLIs occur in the analyzed interviews and to explore their context-sensitive function.

5.2 Analysis

The analysis is inspired by the vague language skeleton suggested by Tárnayiková (2009: 122) on the basis of Channell's study (1994). The following figure presents my modified version of the network reflecting the findings in the studied data. While the skeleton of vague reference to quantity matches the original, the skeleton of vague reference to semantically empty nouns and context-recoverable nouns – which occurred in the sample frequently – replaced the original vague reference to placeholder names (i.e. *whatsisname* or

thingy) and time (*always, often*) and the vague reference to structures of exemplar + tag (e.g. selling flowers *and things*).

Vague reference to non-numerical quantity seems to encompass sets of items (e.g. <a bit, somewhat, quite, very, extremely>) from which speakers select one item, thus breaking the maxim of quantity and triggering SCI – the meeting point of indirectness and vagueness, described also in Chapter 3 on indirectness (see sections 3.2 and 3.4.3.) The bold characters in the figure below indicate the focus of the analysis.

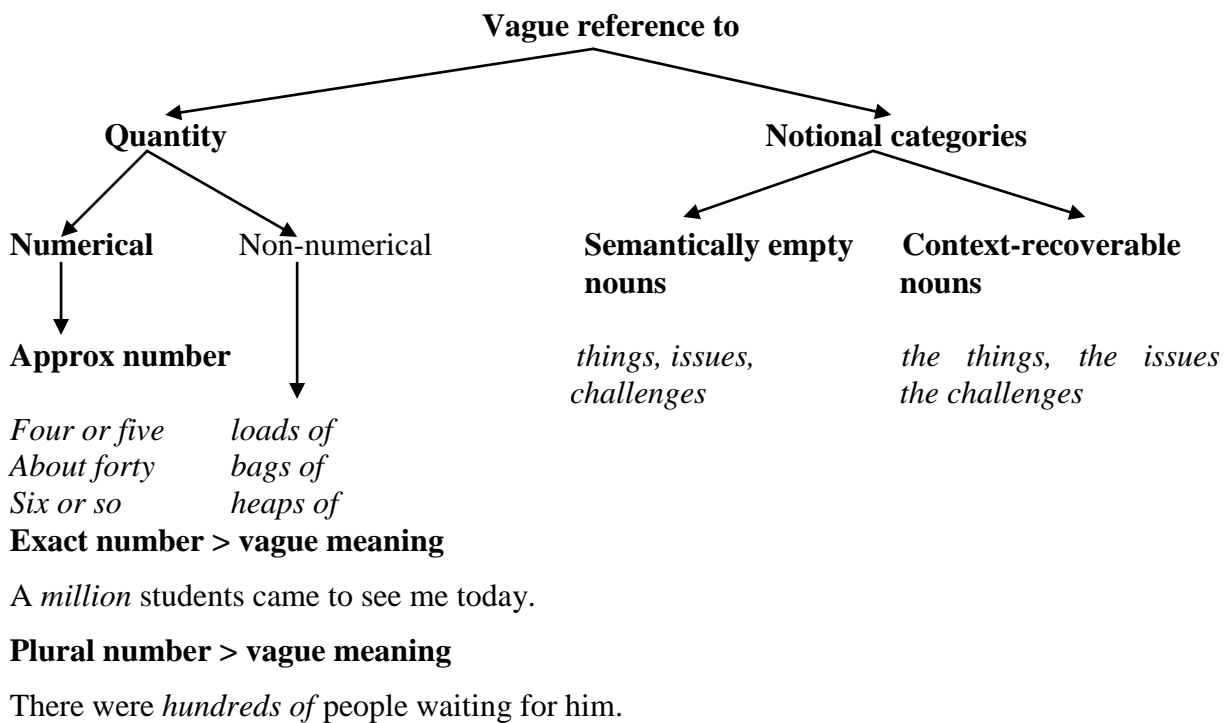


Figure 15 Vague language skeleton

As the figure above shows, the concept that is being referred to here as vagueness embodies a great variety of language items. This study focuses on the IR's and IEs' use of vague reference to numerical quantity (numbers with approximators, exact and plural numbers with vague meaning) and vague reference to notional categories – semantically empty nouns and context-recoverable nouns.

The following sections present first the examples of the IR's use of vague reference to numerical quantity (5.3) and then vague reference to semantically empty nouns and phrases (5.4). These sections are followed by the examples of the same phenomena found in IEs' turns

(5.5, 5.6). Thus, though the sections have clear focus on the analysis of IR's or IEs' turns, the comments on the respective counterpart are sometimes included as well.

5.3 Vague reference to notional categories in IR's turns

As was already mentioned above, the occurrence of VLIs in IR's turns is expected to be infrequent with respect to his social role and goals within the PI, from which it naturally follows that he should speak to the point. The expectation of the frequency of VLIs was met in this section. Though there is only one example that can be presented in this section, I consider it fairly interesting especially because it illustrates the way in which vague nouns such as *'things'* or *'problems'* co-occur with scalar expressions and throws light on its CE.

(1) Discussion on what is *'Howardism'*

4. JP: We all know what Blairism is, we knew what Thatcherism was. What is Howardism.

MH: Howardism, if, if you want to use that word is a, a practical programme for dealing with the challenges facing this country. For changing the direction of the country and for putting in place things which really matter to ordinary people in their lives. That's why for example, we're talking today about crime, crimes gone up, crimes out of control. People need a government that's going to get a grip on the problems facing the country, and we're spelling out exactly how we're going to do that.

5. JP: No one denies of course we need a government that would *get a grip on the country's problems*. But as you've already conceded, it is a matter of judgement and you've been wrong on *so many issues* haven't you↓

MH: Well I've been I've been right on *very many issues* I[– I mean let's talk about it.

16. JP: So if you've been wrong on] *all these things* in the past, we don't have the slightest guarantee you'll be right on anything in the future?

MH: Well you, you know we can, we can talk about the past, you can – about the time that...

Comments: The IR's use of the vague noun *'problems'* is only an echoing strategy, by which he repeats part of MH's answer; this foregrounding enables him to prepare the real question, in which the combination of the scalar expression *'many'* (implying not all, see section 3.3.5) and the vague noun *'issues'* seem to attack Howard's credibility. JP's adherence to his MCS can be seen in the use of *'so'*: on the one hand this emphasizes the scalar expression *'many'*, but at the same time JP seems to be careful here about threatening

Howard's face too much, as he does not say *'all issues'*. It is also interesting to see Howard's response to that question, as he also partly echoes JP, and by turning his words into *'I've been right on very many issues'*, Howard uses JP's own echoing strategy to make his point and even praise himself by emphasizing the scalarity of *'many'* via the use of another scalar expression, *'very'*.

The 16th turn is a very illustrative example of how JP works with words within the interview. The turn is semantically connected to the 5th one and shows how JP's attack on Howard's credibility escalates. Here we can see the vague noun *'things'* accompanied by the scalar expression *'all'* – which is at the end of the scale and thus definite. The combination of scalar and vague expression is fairly common in the interviews, as well as the escalation strategy used by JP which will be also illustrated in the following section.

5.4 Vague reference to numerical quantity in IR's turns

The lines below present two extensive examples of the use of vague reference to numerical quantity of all three types (i.e. number with an approximator, exact number with vague meaning and plural number with vague meaning) that are presented in figure 15 in section 5.2.

(1) Discussion on the local income tax

5. JP: Do you know what the average earnings of a fireman are?

ChK: The average earnings of a fireman, I – not off the top of my head. I can tell you the average earnings of a typical individual in this country, which is in the region of 23, 24 thousand pounds.

6. JP: The average earnings of a fireman are about 24 thousand pounds. Do you know the average earnings of a nurse?

ChK: Average earnings of a nurse, I would say, in about the same region.

7. JP: They're about 20 thousand pounds.

ChK: Yeah.

8. JP: Now a couple, a fireman and a nurse, key workers[...]

ChK: Yeah.

8. JP: ...in our society.]

ChK: This is 20% of households you're talking about by the way, not the other 80%, but important.

8. JP: Key workers[...]

ChK: Yes, absolutely essential workers.]

8. JP: Net income, the two of them, therefore average 44 thousand[...]

ChK: Yeah.

8. JP: Living in] a Band D house, how much worse or better off would they be?

ChK: You will find that the majority of people under our proposals, individuals, will not be paying much more in the main than 10 pounds extra. But, what you've got to do, and this is where we're also being straight about people, is to say, what else apart from the local income tax proposals you get with the Liberal Democrat package. And I hope we can get on to that [as well.

9. JP: Those are] of course, other points. But specifically on the funding of local government, according to calculations done for us by the Institute for Fiscal studies, they'd be about a hundred and three pounds worse off and of course people will be significantly worse off wouldn't they in many of your target seats.

Comments: The IR's use of a vague number with the approximator 'about' is a good example of his elaborated questioning style. He first asks a direct question about the average earnings and then starts foregrounding his question (turns 6-8), which reaches its peak in Paxman's excited statement about how much worse off the fireman and the nurse could be.

Besides the escalation strategy – which has also been shown in the previous section – another CS for which JP uses approximated numbers is that of persuasion. Paxman withholds the information about the calculator and the final figure until the moment at which the audience are already pre-prepared by JP's foregrounding and have some idea about the possible impact of the local income tax on their lives. This withholding makes JP's final statement sound even more dramatic. By withholding the information he is breaking the QnM referred to in section 3.4.3.2.

(2) Discussion on immigration

53. JP: Let's look at immigration.

MH: Erm.

53. JP: That's another area in which you've changed. You're proposing a total limit on immigrants to this country including asylum seekers. What's the number.

MH: We haven't got a number yet [that's because

58. JP: You say there's going to be a] numerical limit. You say you don't know what that limit will be. And yet you said did you not, in an advertisement in the Sunday Telegraph, a matter of a few weeks ago, it would be *somewhere between ten and twenty thousand*.

MH: No no, that was, that was for asylum seekers. That, [that for genuine refugees

60. JP: Well the Prime Minister is quite able to tell us roughly what number of economic migrants we need. He's told by business, *perhaps it's a hundred and thirty thousand*. Now if business come to you and say we need *a hundred thousand, two hundred thousand perhaps*, economic migrants a year, you would deny them would you↑

MH: We would talk to them. We wouldn't necessarily accept what they say, we would have a dialogue with them; that's what consultation means. We want to find out what [they think.

65. JP: Do you think that limit is going to be] *in the tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands*.

MH: I think it will be *less than* the number of people who come in to the country today, which is, which is *about a hundred and fifty thousand*, which has gone up three times under Labour, it's tripled under Labour without anybody being consulted. [Without anybody being asked

66. JP: So it's *less than a hundred and fifty thousand* but what

MH: At all.]

66. JP: *more than a hundred thousand?*

MH: I can't give you a precise figure. *Less than a hundred and fifty thousand*. [We will consult...

Comments: These five turns were taken out of the total of nineteen turns in which Paxman and Howard are dealing with immigration. Paxman starts the section on immigration by asking a direct question about the number of immigrants that Howard would allow to enter the country if he was in the government. After five unsuccessful attempts to elicit the answer (turns 53-57), Paxman uses Howard's own vague estimate presented in the newspaper to attack him using Howard's own words. Since Howard still does not give any number, Paxman refers to the third source – the Prime Minister's estimate in the 60th turn – and gives Howard two alternatives 'a hundred thousand, two hundred thousand perhaps' to make Howard speak, but again unsuccessfully.

In the 65th turn Paxman's use of vague language escalates by using the most vague estimate of all used so far – 'in the tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands', by which he again suggestively gives Howard two numerical options. Finally, Paxman manages to get

some number from Howard and immediately tries to make him answer more precisely, offering him two concrete estimates *'less than a hundred and fifty thousand but more than a hundred thousand'*.

To sum up, it can be stated that this example does not confirm my assumption stated in section 5.1, i.e. that Paxman would use vagueness in order to employ FTA2 (disrespecting journalistic constraints, see Chapter 7). As the example above shows, Paxman uses the vague numerical quantifiers (Vnqs) in order to stress his need to speak to the point, and thus uses it as FTA1 (respecting journalistic constraints, see Chapter 7).

First, he uses Vqns as a means enabling him to attack Howard via reference to Howard's own words (turn 58) and via reference to the third source of information (turn 60). Then, by using them as suggestive alternatives (turns 65, 66) in which the vagueness of the numerical quantifiers escalates, he tries to make Howard reveal at least some number. The evident gradation of the turns, which is shown also in the previous example, is a part and parcel of Paxman's thoroughly elaborated questioning style. Though this section is devoted to IR's CS, I add the comments on MH's CS as it seems to be easier to follow here than in another section.

The fact that MH is attacked using his own estimate from the Sunday Telegraph is interesting in itself. Politicians mostly avoid mentioning numbers or estimates as a part of their self-defence strategy, precisely to avoid being attacked for saying this or that number. Thus, here Howard's strategy failed and he remained evasive for eleven turns. It is only in the 62nd line that he gives a very careful estimate for the first time, and at the same time he tries to shift the topic further by attacking his rival – Labour. The fact that he postpones answering the question to the last possible moment, at which he says *"I can't give you a precise number"*, also indicates that he not only wants to evade answering the question, but also keeps the audience and the interviewer artificially in suspense. He deliberately withholds the information – even the estimate and – breaks QnM many times within the 19 turns devoted to the discussion on immigration.

5.5 Vague reference to notional categories in IEs' turns

This section presents examples of politicians' use of semantically empty nouns: *'thing(s)'*, *'issue(s)'*. It is followed by a subsection (5.5.1.) devoted to the special way in which M. Howard uses the same nouns in a context-recoverable way in order to create long stretches of woolly phrases.

(1) Discussion on how many asylum seekers there are in the UK

57. JP: Well what is] your idea Prime Minister.

TB: What, what you. Hang on, what you can say is, how many people are applying for asylum, month by month. How many people are you [removing

JP: Prime Minister

TB: And] what is the back log, and we are dealing with *all of those issues*.

66. JP: Does the fact that you're unable or unwilling to tell us, indicate that you have in fact lost control of our borders.

TB: No, it doesn't indicate that cos no government has ever been able to say that. What you are able to say however, is here are the measures that we're taking to control it properly, to deal with the abuses, and you are also able to say, which I can say to you very clearly, cos we keep the proper statistics of this, is the numbers that are claiming now and the numbers that we're removing, and the way to get asylum figures down, so that it's only genuine refugees you're taking is, is to do precisely what we've done. Clean up the system, remove the, the tiers of appeal, make sure that people can't destroy their documentation when they come here and improve the removal system. We're doing *all of those things*.

Comments: These two turns are taken out of the total of 22 (turns 53-74) in which JP is trying to elicit a precise number of failed asylum seekers that are in the country. Paxman uses a similar strategy to the one described in section 5. 4, example 2, with MH.

Though the occurrence of VLIs of this type is not very frequent in TB's interview (compared to the interview with MH), this particular example shows the combination of the scalar expression *'all'* with vague nouns *'issues'* and *'things'* (also described in section 5.3, example 1). TB uses the VLIs in both cases as a concluding remark summarizing all that has been said about the problem so far. This helps TB to assure the audience and the IR that the issue of asylum seekers is being dealt with carefully. A similar example can be found in the interview with C. Kennedy in discussion on congestion charging in turn 35 of the respective transcript.

(2) The discussion on prisoners' right to vote with C. Kennedy

60. JP: So Ian Huntley,] Rose West, all those people should have a right to take part in our elections.

ChK: Well, well one of the *things* that if you're serious about penal policy in this country, you've got to be serious about punishment for people who've offended. But you've also got to [try...

(3) The discussion on Howard's past

7. JP: You opposed the national minimum wages.

MH: Well hang on. We, we won't...

7. JP: You said it would cost two million jobs.

MH: ... we won't just talk about *things*

7. JP: It hasn't has it↓

MH: We won't start *things* and not finish them. We won't pussy foot about, we'll actually do *the things* we're promising.

Comments: These two examples illustrate one of the CEs described by Channell – displacement, which speakers use when they are uncertain about what they want to say, which is mostly when they are talking about the past or the future (1994: 186). The repetition of the noun 'things' in Howard's case creates a certain emphasis in his message, which is interesting as we mostly do not tend to emphasize semantically empty words because they lack precise information.

(4) On foreign affairs with TB

34. JP: Just while we're on foreign affairs, there's a new Pope appointed. Do you agree that

TB: Now that's one election I can't comment on I'm afraid.

JP: Do you agree that condoms prevent the spread of AIDS.

TB: Yes I do.

35. JP: Would you be prepared to tell the Pope that.

TB: Jeremy, I mean, you know, I've, I don't know. If I ever have this conversation with him, I'm sure we will talk about how we can do lots of *things* to help the world, but I, I don't want to, I've got enough *issues* in my own election, without getting in to his.

Comments: Several false starts with discourse markers in Blair's first utterance show how much taken aback he is by the IR's question. The semantically empty noun 'thing' and the very general plural 'issues' help him to cope with this surprising and unexpected question.

Though VLIs are very often used for this ‘gap-filling’ effect, in the case of Blair’s interview such use is fairly exceptional.

5.5.1 Michael Howard’s context-recoverable reference to notional categories

It was the frequency with which M. Howard uses VLIs that triggered off the idea of devoting an entire subsection to this particular interview. Besides using all types of semantically empty nouns described in the previous section, Howard uses context-recoverable nouns, i.e. semantically empty nouns with a definite article (e.g. ‘*the things*’). These enable him to flood his answers with stretches of woolly phrases in which he cataphorically refers to the matters he names, leaving the impression of an empty message. The extensive example below serves to show the way in which M. Howard is able to use context-recoverable nouns.

(1) Various topics

1JP: Now, Michael Howard, why would anybody want to bring you back in to government.

MH: Because we will take action on *the things which matter to the country* and *the things which matter to people*, and that’s why we’ve been spelling out our plans to bring to this country school discipline, clean hospitals, more police, controlled immigration, lower taxes; *the things that people really do care about* and *the things that are important for the country’s future* and unlike Mr Blair who talks a lot but does very little, we will carry out the promises we make.

4. JP: We all know what Blairism is, we knew what Thatcherism was. What is Howardism.

MH: Howardism, if, if you want to use that word is a, a practical programme for *dealing with the challenges facing this country*. For changing the direction of the country and for putting in place *things which really matter to ordinary people in their lives*. That’s why for example, we’re talking today about crime, crime’s gone up, crimes out of control. People need a government that’s going to get a grip *on the problems facing the country*, and we’re spelling out exactly how we’re going to do that.

12. JP: So if we vote for you, we get what, Major Part Two.

MH: No, if you vote for the Conservatives at this election, you’ll get a government that will take action on *the challenges that face the country* and *on the things that really matter to people* and I’ll give you one example – crime. Let me give you another example – clean hospitals...

105. JP: You need a miracle to win this election.

MH: Serious] proposals to *deal with the problems facing the country*, and *with the problems which people are interested in being dealt with*. We will act to deal with those problems, that's why I'm actually very confident about the outcome of this election.

Comments: In all four turns above, Paxman's turns give Howard enough space to express himself and he makes use of it. As this extensive example shows, Howard exploits the vague character of the nouns '*the things*', '*the problems*' and '*the challenges*' by repeating them in the same structures, which creates the impression of learned phrases that are deliberately used as easily remembered slogans for the audience.

Thus, by using this type of vagueness, Howard employs CSs such as woolliness and smokescreening. These CSs enable Howard to create the impression of saying seemingly a lot while the opposite is actually true, and at the same time allow him to create short, easily remembered slogans for the audience. In the case of turns 4 and 12 the time-gaining strategy is present, as Howard first uses the empty structures and only after that does he develop his answer further. Howard's answers also violate Grice's QnM and MM (discussed in section 3.4.3) and also enable him to preserve his face, as their information load is so low that they seem to be completely harmless and neutral. Thus, this example confirms that the assumption about IEs' use of vagueness being connected with IEs' employing FPAs1 (respecting the social constraints they have upon them within the PIs) is correct.

The figure below shows 12 phrases (10 of which are from the example above) on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes divided into two groups according to the content of the message specified in the syntagmas. The numbers in brackets indicate the turn from which the phrase is excerpted.

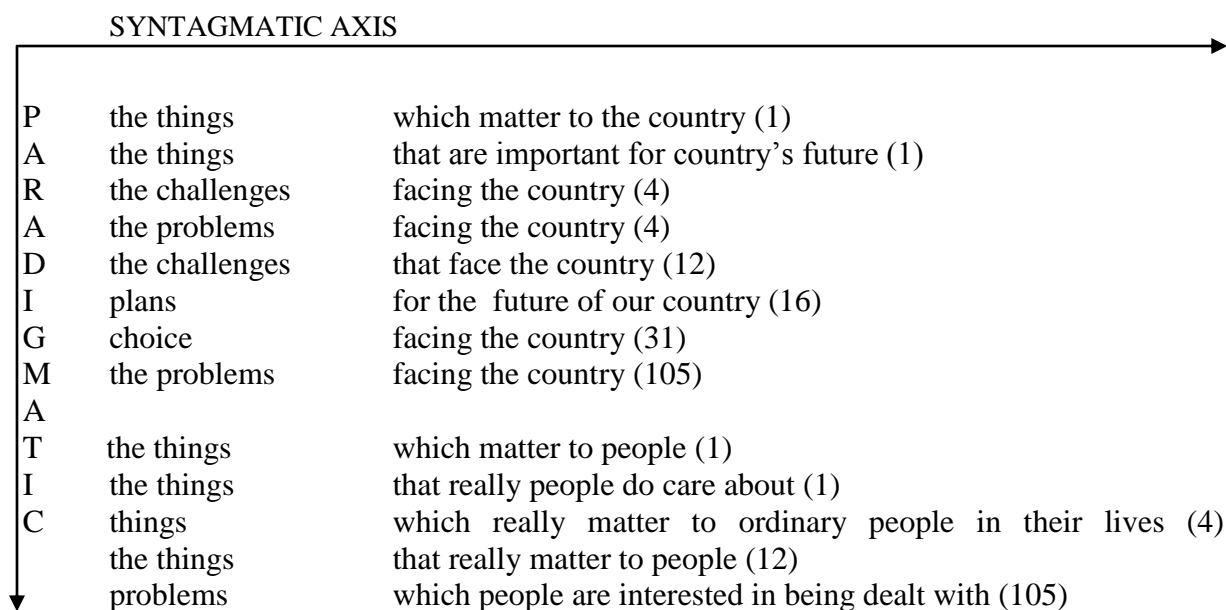


Figure 16 Paradigmatic and syntagmatic axes

In the case of the first group the paradigmatic axis shows Howard's effort to modify the message by using different nouns, which range from semantically emptier (such as '*the things*', '*the problems*') to more specific ('*the challenges*', '*plans*' and '*choice*'). However, as the message communicated via the syntagmas is in fact always the same, the change in the paradigmatic axis does not help Howard to make his message sound less woolly.

The message of the structures in the second group sounds even vaguer as there is only one slight modification of the noun '*the things*' and '*the problems*' on the paradigmatic axis. The syntagmas remain the same with a slight change of the relative pronouns.

There are also two more phrases that attracted my attention, besides those described above, as they are also repeated several times. These are: '*we've been spelling out our plans*' in turns 1, 4 (modified here), 28 and 31; and the second is: '*to learn our lesson*' in turns 2, 3, 8, 9, 15, 61 with slight modifications.

The above-mentioned context-recoverable woolly phrases occur very frequently especially in the first twelve turns of the interview, in which JP asks questions about Howard's and the Conservatives' past actions and compares them with their present electoral manifesto. Thus, considering the interview from this macrostructural perspective, the density of VLIs found in these first twelve turns is definitely connected with Howard's effort to employ FPAs1 and thus protect himself while respecting the social constraints.

5.6 Vague reference to quantity in IEs' turns

Discussions in which JP asks about numbers are frequent in all three interviews. The topics related to the numbers ranges from *wind farms, taxes to economic migrants and asylum seekers*. This section presents only examples illustrating those CSs and CEs that are not mentioned in the previous section 5.5.

(1) Talking about MH's past actions

6. JP: Well I mean, let's look at...

MH: When I was] Home Secretary, crime fell by 18%. It hadn't happened before, ever, it hasn't happened since; so I've proved that I can get a job done and that's what we will do. That's one of the ways in which we'll be different. We[...

Comments: In this turn Howard uses the approximate number to praise himself and promote his success gained in the position of Home Secretary. This self-promotion is closely connected with the goals that he wants to achieve in the interview as a politician (see section 1.2.2.2).

(2) Talking about Iraq with TB

27. JP: Why should they] believe you again.

TB: Because in the end, people have got to make a judgment about this. This was not an easy decision to take, it was a hard decision. I took the decision I thought was right, and if I had not taken that decision, then what. You'd have Saddam Hussein and his sons still running Iraq, you wouldn't have eight million Iraqis going out voting at the polls, you wouldn't have change spreading across the Middle East, as it is...

28. JP: Although those of course are not the grounds on which you told us we should go to war at the time.

TB: The grounds were, the legal case was breaches of UN resolutions. He was in breach of UN resolutions, but again, if I may say, this again has been completely rewritten afterwards. I spoke about the regime and the nature of reign, regime, continually, because what I said to people was, this is a difficult situation, but let us, if we have to remove them, remove them with a clear conscience, because this is a man responsible for hundreds of thousands of deaths.

Comments: These two turns show examples of precise numbers with vague meanings and plural numbers with vague meanings. TB uses them in both cases to make his argument

sound persuasive. In the case of the 28th turn the persuasion is intensified by the end-focus position of the number itself.

(3) Discussion on National Insurance with MH

28. JP: In fact you could increase National Insurance contributions couldn't you↑

MH: What we can do – well, let me deal with that. I'm, I can tell you, as I just have done, with certainty what we're going to do in our first budget, and we're going to cut taxes *by four billion pounds* in our first budget. Labour, by contrast, all the independent commentators say, will have to increase taxes *by ten or eleven billion pounds*. But if you're asking me what I'm – I'll be able to do three or four years out, then in truth, although we've spelled out our plans, although our plans certainly don't need us to increase taxes at all, I can't foresee exactly what the position is going to be in three or four years time. I, I – there may [be unforeseen events].

Comments: Howard uses two approximate plural numbers to show the difference between Conservative and Labour policy – of course in his own favour. Rival attacks conducted via this contrasting strategy, using either number or comparative adjectives, are fairly frequent in the interview.

The sections above (5.3 – 5.6) presented various CEs achieved by the IR and the IEs via using the MCS – vagueness by means of vague reference to notional categories and to numerical quantifiers. The examples were chosen in order to show all the CSs and communication effects that I was able to identify in the data.

5.7 Conclusions

This section summarizes the entire study of vagueness and draws conclusions with respect to the assumptions and goals defined in section 5.1. The results of the study show that the search for vagueness (i.e. VLIs used for its manifestation in PIs) is a fruitful area of research. It also confirms the expectation about the distinct frequency of occurrence of VLIs in IR's and IEs' turns in favour of the latter.

In all three interviews politicians used VLIs more frequently than Jeremy Paxman. There were 26 VLIs found in JP's turns out of the total of 300 turns. In the case of politicians' turns the number was 118 turns out of the same total 300 turns. The 'vaguest' interview in terms of the frequency of VLIs is the one with M. Howard, who uses VLIs very often, as was described in section 5.5.1. The least vague of all three politicians is C. Kennedy. T. Blair is

somewhere in the middle between the two. The most frequent VLIs seem to be *'(the) things'* and numbers with approximators. These results confirm the first assumption of the study not only with respect to the frequency of VLIs but also with respect to the IR's and IEs' macro-communication intentions (MCIs), which influence the extent to which both of the participating parties employ VLIs in the PIs, and thus achieve the respective communication effects.

Discussing the results with regard to the second assumption (the problem of identification of various CSs and communication effects) is somewhat more complex. The study describes various communication effects and strategies for which JP and all three politicians employ VLIs, such as: persuasion (5.3), escalation (5.3), withholding the information (5.4), gap-filling (5.5), woolliness (5.5.1), smokescreening (5.5.1), time-gaining (5.5.1), self-defence (5.5.1), self-promotion, rival attacks (5.6).

I must, however, admit that the study has only succeeded partly in solving the problem of the identification of individual communication effects. Narrowing the scope of study together with the previous assumption about IR's and IEs' MCSs does not seem to provide a measure sufficient enough to help me to delineate the whole range of the individual CSs and communication effects that can be found in the PIs. In my opinion this is caused by the complexity of the studied data, in which the communication effects tend to co-occur naturally and thus become traceable to a partial extent only. Therefore, I am far from presenting an exhaustive description of the CSs and CEs achieved by the IR and IEs. Thus, it seems that more successful results with respect to identification of various CSs and CEs could be gained when applying this type of research to very narrow and precisely specified material.

However, with regard to the main goal of the whole study on the *multifaceted nature of political discourse*, which is founded on presenting the distinct CSs used in PIs, this study on vagueness seems to have succeeded. Not only has the chapter shown and described the wide range of CSs and communication effects for which IR's and IEs' use vagueness, it has also confirmed very close ties between indirectness and vagueness, as referred to in sections 3.2 and 3.4.3.

Chapter Six

Miscellaneous communication strategies in IR's and IEs' turns

Chapter Six is based on the study of empirical data only, i.e. it has no theoretical framework, and thus presents those communication strategies (CSs) whose occurrence was relatively frequent in the studied material. Similarly to the previous chapters of this study, the present chapter is also connected to the central Chapter 3 on indirectness, though the connection is looser. Unlike the previous chapters 3-5, it does not address any macro-communication strategy (MCS). It instead addresses communication strategies (CSs) that seem to be specific for either IR's or IEs' turns, and thus tries to develop the topic of the study in accordance with the initial title: *The Multifaceted Nature of British Political Discourse*.

This chapter is divided into two parts: the first focuses on the IR's challenging and re-asked turns (6.1), and the second deals with IEs' (6.2) rival attacks (already mentioned in Chapters Three and Five) and 'delineation' strategy. Terms such as 'challenging turns' and 're-asked turns (questions)' found their inspiration in the article *Interviewers' challenging questions in British debate interviews* by S. Emmertsen (2007) and in the study by Clayman and Heritage (2002).

6.1 IR's challenging and re-asked turns

I think that the idea of focusing on IR's challenging and re-asked turns is not surprising with respect to the examples presented so far. It naturally follows from the fact that Jeremy Paxman made his reputation through an adversarial or even aggressive questioning style (Clayman, Heritage, 2002: 30). Paxman also became famous for his interview with M. Howard broadcast on 13 May 1997 in which he re-asked the same question 14 times. For this formidable performance he subsequently won an award from the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (Clayman, Heritage, 2002: 200).

Thus, the following section offers examples of challenging turns that, in my opinion, do not directly indicate the adversarial character of JP's questioning style, but rather provoke and force politicians to preserve their face, i.e. to stay well-balanced and patiently answer the

questions asked. The section further proceeds to re-asked turns and their functions within the interview.

6.1.1 Examples of IR's challenging turns

This section presents the three most frequent types of challenging turns found in the material.

(1) Local income tax

16. JP: and indeed there's] a very helpful calculator on your website which enables you to work out whether you'd be better or worse off. And they would in fact, be 429 pounds worse off. That's enough to take a holiday.

ChK: Well, I think again, you've got to pitch this in the overall totality of what you're trying to achieve with the local income tax. If you take pensioners, for example. Now we know many of those are being hit the hardest by council tax increases. Six million pensioners are going to be taken out of local taxation altogether. Now, you can say to me "here's one set of financial losers", and you're correct. I can say, there's one set of financial gainers and [that is...

17. JP: The point is...

ChK: ...correct too.

17. JP: ...that these are] not rich people who are going to be worse off.

ChK: No but, no but again we'll come back, I hope, to other policies in a moment. The fact of the matter is, however, that if you're setting an up-front agenda with people, you've got to be honest and say, yes, some people gain, some people lose, but is the generality of the policy better than what we've got at the moment, and we believe it is.

21. JP: But they are hardly] wealthy people.

ChK: No, you made this point, and I'm not saying that they are, which is why we want to help that couple in other ways. If they are having a first child for example, the woman involved for that first child will receive a much higher level of maternity support, a hundred and seventy pounds under our proposals, than they do at the moment.

Comments: This complex example shows that IR's challenging turns are very often found in triplets developing one another. These triplets that can consist of ISA1B or direct statements – as they do here (though they very often include implicatures and irony), enabling Paxman to exert high pressure on politicians and to make them answer the question asked.

The example also shows how Kennedy defends himself in lines 16 and 17 when using the same argument about “*financial losers and gainers*” in the 21st turn, in which the topic escalates by Paxman’s overtly aversive statement. Kennedy immediately says that he has never said that the only people affected by the local income tax are the rich.

(2) Casinos

51. JP: *And what was it in your analysis of what was wrong with Britain that convinced you that what this country needed was forty super casinos.*

TB: Well the question is, do you prevent that happening. It's not a question (interject) of do you think it's, this is what the country needs, the question [is

52. JP: Well,

TB: isn't it] sensible to have an overhaul of the gambling laws. We'd [had

Comments: Since irony used in IR’s turn is by its very nature challenging, I could not help presenting at least one example of it. In this 51st turn Paxman combines two things. First, he uses it in order to change the topic and second to provoke Blair. This example illustrates the connection of challenging turns with previous Chapters 3 and 4 on indirectness and irony.

(3) David Kelly

17. JP: *Do you accept any responsibility at all for the dead of Dr David Kelly.*

TB: Aah it was a terrible, terrible thing to have happened. I don't believe we had any option however, but to disclose his name, because I think had we failed to do so, that would have been seen as attempting to conceal something from the committee that was looking in to this at the time. And [again

18. JP: *Do you] accept any responsibility [at all.*

TB: No, I, I, I,] I've said what I've said, and I feel desperately sorry for his family and indeed for the terrible ordeal that they were put through but as I said at the time, and again this has been gone in to time and time again, I, if we had concealed the fact, cos this whole row was about, erm, the information that as you know, we've been over this many many times, had been given to the BBC reporter, he had then come forward and said to his superiors, this is me, I think it's me who's responsible for having given this story. There was a Foreign Affairs Select Committee Report going at the time, I think if we'd concealed that from people, we would have been subject for a different to [a different type of allocation.

Comments: The third type of challenging turns constitute direct questions that may be re-asked, thus they combine both phenomena discussed in this section. These direct re-asked

questions usually occur in doublets and, like the other examples presented above, they may become a real challenge for the politician when they must be answered. In this particular case, we can say that this question was very uncomfortable for Blair to answer.

6.1.2 Examples of IR's re-asked turns

This section presents one complex example of re-asked turns from the interview with Charles Kennedy.

(1) Wind farms

40. JP: Let's look at something else then. You want 20% of electricity in this country to come from renewable sources, and 50% by the year 2050.

ChK: Urm.

40. JP: *How many wind farms do you want to build?* (1)

ChK: Well, again, we see potential for wind farms. We actually see greater London term potential, actually, for off-shore harnessing of energy. And we look as any ...party, any set of representatives should where wind farm proposals are concerned, on the merits of each case. But I think [we should...

41. JP: You want] 20% from renewables by 2010. *How many wind farms?* (2)

ChK: You can't be prescriptive about how many wind farms, because this will have to [be...

42. JP: Well you're prescriptive] about being, wanting 20% and then 50% by 2050.

ChK: Yes, and we've got to get there as a society, if we're serious [about the...

43. JP: *Well, how many wind farms] is that?* (3)

ChK: You can't sit here and predict what will be the number of individual wind [farm developments.

44. JP: Well you know] how much electricity you want to generate.

ChK: Yes, we do. And indeed[...

45. JP: *How many] wind farms do you require to do it?* (4)

ChK: Well, in fact, if you look at wind farm technology, as a means of electricity generation, you would have to cover a very large tract of mainland Britain to achieve that[...

47. JP: *Do you want a lot] of wind farms or not.* (5)

ChK: I think inevitably you will see more wind farms across the country. But I think also[...

48. JP: *My question was] whether you wanted to see a lot of wind farms.* (6)

ChK: I think that it's a desirable form of energy myself, providing, [er...

49. JP: *But you can't tell us how many.* (7)

ChK: ...it is relevant to the] I can't tell you how many because I don't even know how many potential applicants would be in the pipeline in another [five years...

Comments: The re-asked turn about the number of wind farms, asked seven times with slightly different variations, is an illustrative example of Paxman's typical questioning style. It can be found in all three analyzed interviews (ChK turns 8,11,13-15,19 on local income tax; MH turns 79-84 on asylum seekers, 92-95 on withdrawal from the UN resolution). A rather more complicated structure of the re-asked turns can be found in the interview with T. Blair in which within 22 turns (53-74) on asylum seekers there are three types of re-asked turns and comments: turns 53, 54, 67, 68,70 are asking about the numbers of asylum seekers in the UK; turns 56-58, 62, 64, 69 comment that TB has no idea about the number; and turns 59-61 say that TB does not know the number (see transcripts).

The high frequency of re-asked turns in all three interviews make this communication strategy part and parcel of Paxman's questioning style. Not only do they enable Paxman to drive politicians into a corner (I would say that sometimes they drive them even mad, though they know what to expect from JP), they also help him to take advantage of the role asymmetry existing between the IR and IE within the interview, and thus perform FTAs3 (see Chapter 7).

6.2 Rival attacks and delineation strategy in IEs' turns

This section addresses those communication strategies (CSs) that are specific for the IEs' turns only. First, it focuses on attacking rivals; though the studied material consists of three face-to-face interviews between IR and one politician only, attacks against rival politicians are found in the analyzed material.

Second, it focuses on what I call delineation strategy, i.e. the strategy by which politicians try to delineate their own space with respect to the IR within the PI. The idea of focusing on these two particular CSs is based on their frequent occurrence in the studied data, which makes them worth noticing.

6.2.1 Examples of rival attacks

The section presents 5 examples of rival attacks that can be subdivided into direct attacks (examples 1-3) and indirect attacks (examples 4 and 5).

(1) Taxes

26. JP: And you're going to remove all of those are you↑

MH: No. We're going to cut [taxes

JP: Right.

MH: By four] billion pounds in our first budget. *I wish that we could undo all the damage which Labour have done in the last eight years at one fell swoop; we can't do that.* We can – we are only making promises we know we can keep. That's why we will cut taxes by four billion pounds in our first budget.

(2) National income

13. JP: What proportion of the National Income, do you think should be taken up with government spending.

MH: We've said that by 2011, government spending will be 40% of national income. *Labour, under Labour it will be 42% of [national income.*

(3) Taxes

44. JP: So the there could be any old report] coming along after this election, which will necessitate you raising taxes again.

TB: I think the Health Service is a special case, but look, in, in the end people again are going to have to make a judgment about it. I can't, I can't sit here and write the budget for every year of a, of a Labour government. What [I can say to people

JP: No.

TB: is] overall our taxes are actually lower than the European average, *and they're lower as a proportion of our national income, than most of the years that Margaret Thatcher was in power.*

Comments: The first two examples show Howard's direct attacks against Labour. The first one, dealing with taxes, is quite aggressive; Howard indicates that there was probably nothing good done during the Labour government, and thus aims to discredit the party. The rival attack in the second example enables Howard to promote his proposal and preserve his face at the expense of his main rival the Labour Party.

The third example can be classified as “transitional” between the two main types described at the beginning of this section (6.2.1). Blair bases his self-defence on an attack against the previous very famous conservative leader M. Thatcher, not against the leader at the time of the interview, M. Howard. Thus, the attack in this example is not as direct as in the previous two, but at the same time it cannot be classified as fully indirect like the examples below.

(4) Asylum seekers

71. JP: But it gives us] no indication of the, of, of the backlog of course. Can we look [a

TB: Well, no sorry,] it does give me an [indication

72. JP: No it doesn't.]

TB: No, no, – no Jeremy, excuse me. You can say what the backlog is of claims. The backlog of claims I think is down to round about ten thousand, *that's down from sixty thousand that we inherited, right.* In respect of removals, there were one in five asylum seekers who failed, were being removed. [It's now half of them that are being removed.

(5) The experience with the Conservatives

7. JP: You opposed the national minimum wages.

MH: Well hang on. We, we won't...

7. JP: You said it would cost two million jobs.

MH: ... *we won't just talk about things*

7. JP: It hasn't has it↓

MH: *We won't start things and not finish them. We won't pussy foot about, we'll actually do the things we're promising.*

Comments: These two examples illustrate two indirect rival attacks. First, Blair only incidentally notes that his government “*inherited*” a higher number of asylum seekers from the previous governments and uses this argument to preserve his face on this sensitive question of asylum seekers.

The second example shows how Howard makes use of the nature of contrastive stress which enables him to attack his political rival indirectly. Howard’s statements ‘*we won’t start...*’, ‘*we won’t pussy foot about*’, stressing the attitudes of the Conservatives, automatically indicate the contrastive interpretation ‘*we won’t... but they (i.e. the other party) will*’, i.e. Labour or the Liberal Democrats. However, with respect to the whole interview it is likely to have been the Labour Party that was meant.

This small section proves what was already indicated in Chapter 3, i.e. the existence of close ties between rival attacks and indirectness.

6.2.2 Delineation strategy in IEs' turns

This section offers two types of delineation strategy. First, it focuses on the cases in which politicians delineate themselves with respect to time (i.e. they ask to be given enough time for their answers; examples 1-4). Second, there are cases in which the politicians delineate themselves with respect to the very nature of the IR's questions (examples 5 and 6).

(1) Congestion charging

33. JP: And they don't?

ChK: And we have, not they do have problems, but what they don't have are the alternative systems for people to make use of. All the indications show that the public will use public transport, if it's reliable, if it's affordable, and if it's safe. There wasn't adequate alternative method of transportation in both those cities at the time. The ground work could not be done. Contrast and Compare[...]

JP: So...]

ChK: Just let me finish the example if I may. Contrast and compare with London where we supported the principle of congestion charging [...]

35. JP: So that's another example...

ChK: No, it's not.

35. JP: of where you say one thin and do another.

ChK: Let me finish.] The reason that we supported the principle in London and we argued it, and supported Ken Livingstone in this, at a time when Tony Blair was not, remember, was because, as he recognised, and I think he was quite brave about doing it, providing you put in the additional resource for public transport, which he did in terms of buses, people will make more use of that alternative. Now, that's the right way to go about things.

(2) Iraq

12. JP: And you told us there were.]

TB: the, the legal case was the, the breach of United Nations resolutions, the evidence from the Iraq Survey Group, is that he was indeed in breach of UN resolutions, and incidentally, it wasn't just us in Britain that concluded. No, hang on a minute. It wasn't just us in Britain that

concluded he had WMD, the entire United Nations concluded that, which is why they passed resolution 14.41.

(3) Taxes

23. JP: Yeah, but it will go up.

MH: Yes. Yes,] because that's what happens. The three, that question shows Jeremy, *let me deal with this*, it's very important. That question shows that you understand three things about what a Conservative government would bring about. First of all, we'll bring about a growing economy, because the tax burden goes up under [a growing economy

(4) Asylum seekers

80. JP: No, where would you put them. Where would they be.

MH: *I'll come to it.] Just let me, let me tell you how*, how we get to where we want to be. At the moment, we have a system that is desperately unfair and inhumane. The people who benefit from it are not genuine refugees, they are the people who pay the people smugglers to come to this country. [Genuine

82. JP: You've now had a minute or two and you still] haven't told us where is this place, where are they going to be.

MH: *That's because you keep interrupting, if you didn't interrupt I'd have got there [by now.*

Comments: The examples above are chosen with respect to the most common expressions and ways used by politicians to gain more time for their answers. They range from simple 'let me finish', or 'hang on a minute' to the more elaborate structures illustrated in the last examples, which could be almost classified as Howard's provocation and mastery of evasiveness.

Taking into account the previous section on rival attacks, attention should be also drawn to the turn 35 in the first example. It is the only example of rival approval found in all three interviews. It is also worth noticing that the interview with Kennedy was the only one in which no rival attack was found.

(5) David Kelly

19. JP: So, the short answer to the question] is you don't accept any responsibility.

TB: *Well it's, it's not a question of not accepting responsibility, It is a question of simply explaining the [circumstances.*

20. JP: It's a question] to which you could give a yes or no answer Prime [Minister.

TB: *Yeah,] but it's maybe not a question you need to give [a yes or no answer to.*

(6) Asylum seekers

56. JP: But] you have no idea.

TB: *Well it's not a question of having no [idea.*

Comments: Examples 5 and 6 show another way by which politicians try to delineate themselves with respect to IR's question. They often refer to the nature of the question asked. Similarly to the previous type of delineation, this type may serve to evade answering questions or obstruct the interview. Both of these types of delineation are probably also used by politicians to balance the asymmetry of the IRs' and IEs' roles (section 1.2.2.1) in which politicians find themselves in the subordinate position. Thus the delineation strategy is used to perform FPA3.

6.3 Conclusions

This chapter presented three manifestations of IR's challenging turns and one complex manifestation of re-asked turns. Challenging turns are connected to indirectness and irony. The frequent occurrence of challenging and re-asked turns in the studied material (more than 50% of IR's turns in each of the analyzed interviews) confirms that they are part and parcel of Paxman's questioning style. The analysis has also revealed that challenging and re-asked turns enable Paxman to take advantage of the role asymmetry existing between IRs and IEs within the interview, and thus are connected with FTAs3 (see Chapter 7).

The chapter further presented 5 manifestations of rival attacks and 6 manifestations of a communication strategy of delineation. The frequency of both these strategies is almost equal in the studied material; they occur in about 15% of the turns. Both rival attacks and the delineation strategy are most frequently found in the interview with M. Howard. The interview with C. Kennedy is quite the opposite – no rival attacks and only two examples of delineation strategy were found in the interview. Blair's interview is somewhere in the middle, with four rival attacks and nine examples of delineation CS.

Besides the frequency data, we can also state that a close connection between rival attacks and indirectness was confirmed, as was previously indicated in Chapter 3. The analysis has also revealed that the delineation strategy may enable politicians to balance the asymmetry of IR's and IEs' roles, in which politicians find themselves in the subordinate position.

All the strategies described in Chapter Six revealed that there is another type of IR's FTA and IEs' FPA connected with their macro-communication intentions (MCIs). The position of the new FTA and FPA within the final model of MCIs is the subject matter of the following chapter.

Chapter Seven

Comprehensive analysis and macrostructures

Chapter Seven is the final chapter of the whole study and combines two main goals. First, it aims to show that the study of most of the phenomena described so far is applicable to practical research, i.e. it aims to present a comprehensive analysis (CMA) taking into account all the approaches and results presented in Chapters 3-6. Thus, the analysis of this chapter is based on different material (a four-minute post-election interview between Jeremy Paxman and George Galloway).

Second, this chapter focuses on the interplay between communication strategies (CSs) described in the comprehensive analysis (CMA) and macro-communication intentions (MCIs) (section 7.2.1) resulting in IR's and IE's particular questioning / answering style.

7.1 Comprehensive analysis

This section presents the CMA of the four-minute interview mentioned in the introductory part of this chapter. It addresses most of the (macro)-communication strategies (MCSs) described so far, and thus illustrates the possible use and application of the approaches and findings presented in Chapters 3-6. The CMA is further developed with respect to its interplay with the macro-communication intentions (MCIs), which is the subject matter of section 7.2.1.

The following section 7.1.1 presents the whole transcript of the four-minute interview between Jeremy Paxman and George Galloway accompanied by an analytical commentary. It is also important to note that the analysis is best followed with respect to figures 19 and 20 in which the MCIs and the interplay of MCIs and MCSs are given.

7.1.1 Jeremy Paxman vs. George Galloway

The interview presented below was fairly concisely introduced on the BBC website as follows: “For anyone who missed it overnight, the tussle between George Galloway and Jeremy Paxman was one of the highlights, which came shortly after his victory over Labour's Oona King.” Underlined italics indicate the analyzed phenomena.

Topic 1: Black women in Parliament

1JP: We're joined now from his count in Bethnal Green and Bow by George Galloway. Mr Galloway, are you proud of having got rid of one of the very few black women in Parliament.

GG: What a preposterous question. I know it's very late in the night, but wouldn't you be better by – starting by congratulating me for one of the most sensational election results in modern history... (smiling)

2JP: Are you proud of having got rid of one of the very few black women in Parliament.
(monotonous)

GG: I'm not – Jeremy – move on to your next question.

3JP: You're not answering that one↓

GG: No because I don't believe that people get elected because of the colour of their skin. I believe people get elected because of their record and because of their policies. So move on to your next question.

4JP: Are you proud[

GG: Because] I've got a lot of people who want to speak to me. (smile)

5JP: You [proud

GG: If you ask] that question again, I'm going, I warn you now. (pointing finger)

6JP: Don't try and threaten me Mr Galloway, [please! (frowning, dislike)

GG: You're the one] who's trying to badger me!

7JP: I'm not trying to badger you, I'm merely trying to ask if you're proud at having driven out of Parliament one of the very few black women there, a woman you accuse of having on her conscience 100,000 people. (raised voice)

GG: Oh well there's no doubt about that one. There's absolutely no doubt that all those New Labour MPs who voted for Mr Blair and Mr Bush's war have on their hands the blood of 100,000 people in Iraq, many of them British soldiers, many of them American soldiers, most of them Iraqis and that's a [more important issue than the colour of her skin.

8JP: Yes,] absolutely, because you then went on to say including a lot of women who had

blacker faces than her (removing glasses dramatically)

GG: Absolutely right, absolutely right. So don't try and tell me I should feel guilty about one of the most sensational election results in modern electoral history [because (smiling)]

Topic 2: Nick Raynsford (former MP)

9JP: I put it to you Mr Galloway] that Nick Raynsford had you to a tea when he said you were a demagogue.

GG: I'm sorry?

10JP: Nick Raynsford. You know who I mean? Nick Raynsford? Labour MP?

GG: No, I don't know who you mean.

11JP: So, you've never heard of him↓

GG: No, I've never heard of Nick Raynsford, no.

12JP: What else haven't you heard of↓ (frowning)

GG: Well, I've been in Parliament a long time...

13JP: ↑He was a Parliamentary colleague of yours until very recently↓

GG: Well, most of them just blend one into the other, Jeremy, they're largely a spineless, a supine bunch.

Topic 3: Tony Banks

14JP: Have you ever heard of Tony Banks↓

GG: Yes I have, yes.

15JP: Right, Tony Banks was sitting here five minutes ago, and he said that you were behaving inexcusably, that you had deliberately chosen to go to that part of London and to exploit the latent racial tensions there.

GG: You are actually conducting one – even by your standards – one of the most absurd interviews I have ever participated in. I have just won an election. Can you find it within yourself ↑to recognise that fact↑ To recognise the fact that the people of Bethnal Green and Bow chose me this evening. Why are you insulting them↑ [Why are you...

16JP: I'm not] insulting them, I'm not [insulting you

GG: You are], you are insulting them, they chose me just a few minutes ago. Can't you find it within yourself even to congratulate me on this victory. (smiling)

17JP: Congratulations, Mr Galloway. (frowning, dislike)

GG: Thank you [very much (Waves, removes microphone)

18JP: Have you proposed...]

Since the comments to this interview include analysis of both the IR and the IE, I have decided to present the comments with respective interview figures in the individual subsections.

7.1.1.1 Analysis of Paxman's turns

The examples of strategies (described in Chapters 3-6) and found in the IR's turns of the respective interview are illustrated in the following figure (see the introductory part for the abbreviations).

Topic 1: Black women in Parliament

1: SCI (very few black women) → 2: re-asked (1) → 3: ISA1 → 4,5: attempt to re-ask (1) →

6: bald-on-record → 7: re-asked (1), SCI, Vq → 8: SCI →

Topic 2: Nick Raynsford

9: bald-on-record → 10: → 11: ISA1B → 12: irony → 13: →

Topic 3: Tony Banks

14: → 15: challenge via 3rd source, re-asked (1) → 16: FPA → 17: irony

Figure 17 Paxman's turns

As figure 17 shows, Paxman starts his interview with a question containing SCI implying that there will be a very small number of black women left in Parliament. By asking such a question right at the very beginning of the interview, Paxman introduces its challenging atmosphere. Taking into consideration the previous analyzed interviews, it can be stated that provocative and challenging questions asked in the very first turns of the interview belong among Paxman's basic CSs, as he uses them to show the role asymmetry between the IR and the IE, and benefits from doing so (see also section 3.4.1.3, comments to examples 1-3).

The first turn also contains a PCI whose meaning is revealed in the 15th turn. Paxman's initial question becomes a cornerstone of the interview as it is re-asked in turns 2, 4, 5, 7 and 15, where we can find a reformulated version of the question in which Paxman finally reveals the merits of the PCI. The chain of re-asked turns again belongs among Paxman's basic premeditated CSs. Since Paxman is not satisfied with Galloway's evasive and

bald-on-record answers, he smartly makes use of the third source reference to Tony Banks and asks the same question again in the 15th turn. Considering Galloway's response, he is more than taken aback by Paxman's reformulated version of the first question. The 15th turn is in fact the second and at the same time the final climax of the whole interview.

The first climax comes in the 6th bald-on-record turn, which was however only a response to Galloway's bald-on-record threat made in the 5th turn. As such it could be considered, together with Paxman's initial utterance from the 7th turn (*'I'm not trying to badger you'*), as an example of Paxman's self-defence strategy to preserve his face. Such a strategy is also found in turn 16. I find these examples worth mentioning since the instances of Paxman's face preservation acts (FPA) were very scarce in the 3 interviews analyzed in Chapters 3-6. Thus, the occurrence of two IR's FPAs within such a short interview shows how tense its atmosphere is.

Besides the two climaxes discussed above, there are also two examples of ISA1 (turns 3, 11) and two examples of irony (turns 12, 17) that respond to Galloway's breaking of RM (turn 12) and bald-on-record answer (turn 17).

To sum up the analysis of IR's turns, there are many examples of CSs that can be considered to be on the fragile boundary that lies between the strategies respecting the journalistic constraints and those whose use is beyond this limit. A more detailed view of this subject matter is presented in section 7.2.1.

7.1.1.2 Analysis of Galloway's turns

To complete the interview analysis, this subsection focuses on the comments of IE's CSs that are illustrated in the following figure:

Topic 1: Black women in Parliament

1: delineation → 2: delineation → 3: delineation → 4: SCI (a lot of people) → 5: bald-on-record (a threat) → 6: bald-on-record → 7: MR, Vq → 8: delineation

Topic 2: Nick Raynsford

9: → 10: → 11: → 12: MR → 13: MR

Topic 3: Tony Banks

14: → 15: bald-on-record, MR → 16: bald-on-record → 17: bald-on-record

Figure 18 Galloway's turns

Galloway's answers are very strictly delineated from the very beginning. This fact could be caused by Paxman's harsh opening, already described in the previous section. However, Galloway is already skating on thin ice in his very first answer, in which he tells Paxman what to do: *'congratulate me for one of the most sensational election results in modern history.'*

Galloway continues his delineation by his bald-on-record comment *"move on to your next question"*, repeated in turns 2 and 3. This kind of comment reflects Galloway's effort to balance the IR's and IE's role asymmetry, and can thus be understood as a response to Paxman's effort to benefit from this role asymmetry. Galloway, however, seems to find himself beyond the boundary respecting the constraints upon him in his role as the IE in the interview. His evasiveness regarding Paxman's initial question is also reflected in the use of SCI in the 4th turn, in which Galloway implies that he is very busy, and it culminates in the 5th turn with an open threat. Since Galloway knows that Paxman is able to repeat one and the same question again and again, he resorts to this open face-threatening act and forces Paxman into a defensive position. Galloway responds to Paxman's defence with another bald-on-record comment and the first climax of the interview is overcome by the 7th turn in which Galloway breaks the RM and uses the vague numerical quantifier in order to focus and answer only that part of the question which is convenient for him.

Galloway's evasiveness, achieved by means of breaking the RM, is also reflected in turns 12 and 13, in which he is asked about the MP N. Raynsford. The second and final climax of the interview comes in the 15th turn when Paxman smartly returns back to the initial question of the interview (black women in Parliament). Not expecting to be asked that question again, Galloway fails to control himself and shouts at Paxman about the inconvenience of his question. Galloway continues in a reproachful mood and finishes again by telling Paxman what to do (*'to congratulate me'*), thus again crossing the fragile boundary between respecting and disrespecting the IE's constraints.

To sum up the analysis of IE's turns, it can be stated that most of the strategies used by George Galloway are beyond the fragile boundary respecting the IE's constraints within

the interview. The following section presents the view of the interplay between (M)CSs discussed in the previous two subsections (7.1.1.1, 7.1.1.2) and the MCIs.

7.2 Macro-communication intentions (MCIs) – the results of the analysis

This section interconnects the findings of the analysis carried out for this particular chapter with those achieved in Chapters 3-6. Thus, in section 2.3 the MCIs are defined as those aspects of communication that naturally result from Halliday's FTM triad presented in section 1.2. At the beginning of this study it was assumed that IR's MCIs would be connected with his performance of FTA respecting the journalistic constraints, i.e. that JP would use MCSs such as indirectness.

It was also assumed that IEs' MCIs would be connected with their performance of FPA that respect the IEs' constraints within the PI, i.e. that politicians would use MCSs such as indirectness and vagueness for this purpose (see figure 4 of the respective section 2.3).

Based on the findings of the current analysis carried out in this final chapter and the analyses presented in Chapters 3-6, this section (following section 2.3 in this respect) aims to present a model (figure 19, section 7.2.2) of IR's FTAs and IEs' FPAs types found in the analyzed material and their connection to particular (M)CSs.

7.2.1 The interplay of MCIs and (M)CSs in IR's turns

Thus, considering the role, goals and constraints connected with the IRs' position within the PI, I can state that based on the analyses of the IR's turns, his main macro-communication intentions seem to be connected with performing the following types of FTAs:

1) FTAs1 by means of which the IR respects the journalistic constraints and uses MCSs such as indirectness, vagueness and irony to achieve this goal.

2) FTAs2 by means of which the IR disrespects the journalistic constraints and uses MCS – politeness, more precisely the bald-on-record strategy, that respect the CP at the expense of PP.

3) FTAs3 by means of which the IR takes advantage of the role asymmetry existing between IRs and IEs (see section 1.2.2.1) for the benefit of IRs and uses communication strategies such as challenging questions and comments and re-asked questions and comments to achieve his goal.

It is crucially important to state that the description of the types of MCIs regarding the IR's use of the respective (M)CSs is based on the IR's most common use of the respective FTA in order to employ a particular (M)CS. Besides the typical examples of the IR's use of indirectness as FTA1 (e.g. see section 3.4.1.2, example 3), there are also those that show how the IR can use indirectness in order to perform FTA2 (see section 3.4.1.3, example 3) as well as FTA3 (see section 3.4.1.3, example 2). Thus, the classification always depends on the particular example in question. I can only state here that most of the examples of IR's use of indirectness in the studied data were connected with performing FTAs1.

Further, it must be noted that the boundary between irony, which is connected with the FTA1, and the bald-on-record strategy, which is connected with the FTA2, is very fuzzy (as illustrated in figure 19 below), i.e. the classification always depends on the particular analyzed example (see the irony scale in Chapter 4, section 4.1.1, example 5).

The FTAs3 seem to be also closely connected to irony and bald-on-record strategy (see the figure 19 below), as the IR's effort to take advantage of the role asymmetry for his benefit seems to be sometimes in breach of journalistic constraints.

7.2.2 The interplay of MCIs and (M)CSs in IEs' turns

Considering the role, goals and constraints connected with the IEs' position within the PI, I can state that based on the analyses of the IEs' turns, their main macro-communication intentions seem to be connected with the following types of FPAs:

1) FPA1 by means of which IEs respect the constraints connected with their position within the PI, i.e. they use MCSs such as indirectness (avoiding answering questions via maxim non-observance), vagueness or rival attacks in order to achieve their goals.

2) FPA2 by means of which IEs disrespect role asymmetry and the IEs' constraints, i.e. they use the bald-on-record MCS (that respects the CP at the expense of PP) to achieve their goals.

3) FPA3 by means of which IEs try to balance the role asymmetry for their benefit, i.e. they use delineation CS.

Similarly to the previous section 7.2.1, here too it is important to state that the description is based on the most common IEs' use of the respective FPAs by means of which in they employ a particular (M)CS. Thus, though indirectness is mostly used by IEs as FPA1, there may be cases (see section 3.4.3.2, example 4) in which e.g. Blair uses indirectness to perform FPA3.

As the figure 19 below illustrates, the boundary between the bald-on-record strategy (being the means for performing the FPA2) and the delineation strategy (which is the means of performing the FPA3) is very fuzzy. In this way FPAs2 and FPAs3 are similar to the first two types of IR's FTAs1 and FTAs2 described above. Thus, it is necessary to emphasize that every particular example has to be analyzed individually.

The whole concept of the interplay between the MCIs and (M)CSs in IR's and IEs' turns described above is illustrated in the following figure.

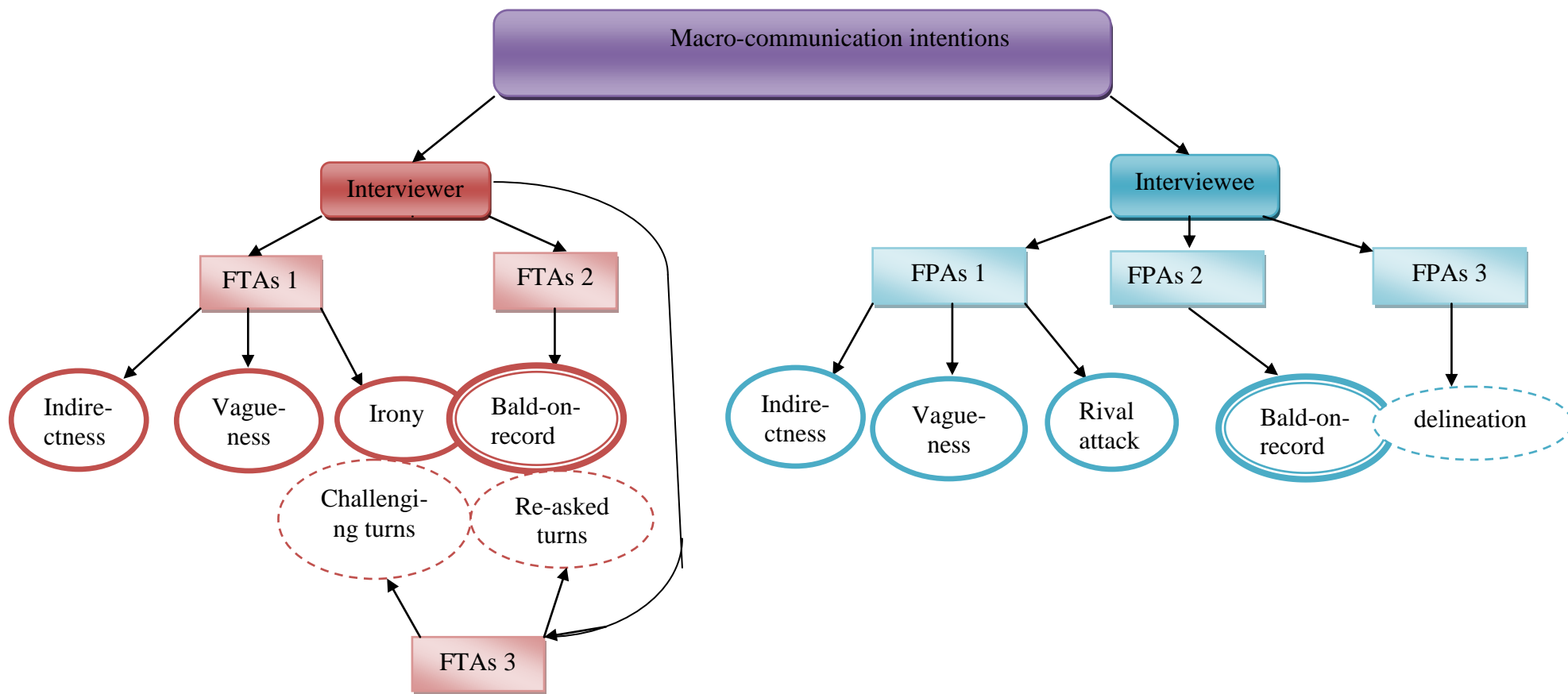


Figure 19 The interplay of macro-communication intentions (MCIs) and (macro)-communication strategies (MCSs)

The concept of MCIs illustrated in figure 19 above represents one of the final results of the analyses carried out in Chapters 3-7. Besides the original assumption presented in section 2.3, which dealt only with FTAs1 and FPAs1, the study has also shown that FTAs in which the IR disrespects the constraints or at least takes advantage of his role asymmetry are fairly common phenomena. The same is true about FPAs2 and FPAs3 found in IEs' turns, though the second type is rather scarce, as it was found only in the last four-minute interview in the turns of George Galloway.

Let us now focus on the interplay between MCIs and (M)CSs addressed with respect to the idea of macrostructures in the following section.

7.3 Macrostructures

The idea of the interplay between MCIs and (M)CS seen with respect to the interview macrostructure is inspired by van Dijk's study *Macrostructures* (1980). Macrostructures are "large-scale (overall) structures of the text(ure) of which any extracted sample ... is supposed to be a logically coherent part displaying lexical and grammatical cohesion" (Tárnyiková, 2007: 69).

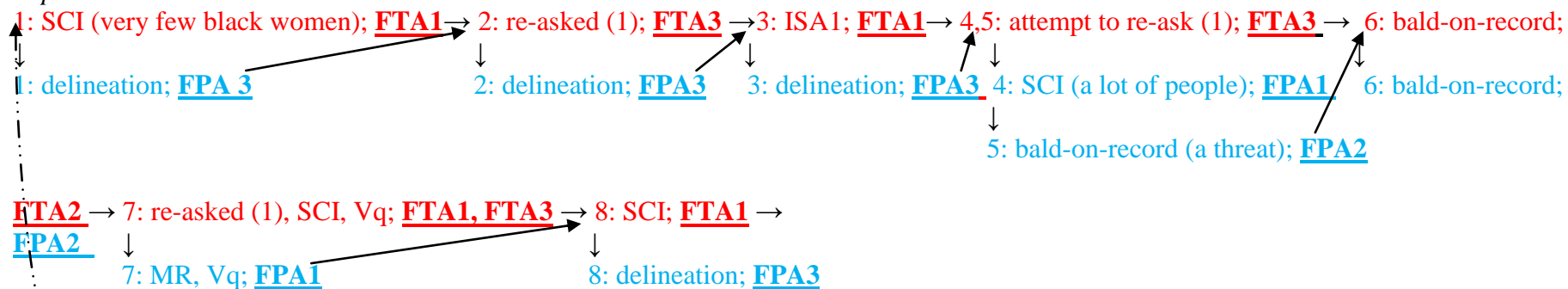
Van Dijk distinguishes two kinds of macrostructures. First, there are *semantic global* structures (global structures of meaning) that pertain to the content of the discourse via such notions as theme, topic, upshot or point (T. A. van Dijk, 1980: 5). Second, there are *superstructures* (global structures of form) that are connected with such notions as outline, argumentative structure of a lecture or schematic ordering of a psychological paper (T. A. van Dijk, 1980: 5).

Thus, besides the phenomena already mentioned, this chapter aims to show the mutual interplay of global structures of meaning represented by the (M)CSs that reveal the IR's and IEs' point and global structures of form that are connected with macro-communication intentions (MCIs) and result in IR's and IE's particular questioning / answering style.

The analysis is based on figure 20 (derived from figures 17 and 18 given in subsections 7.1.1.1 and 7.1.1.2) presented below, which is followed by respective comments.

IR: Jeremy Paxman IE: George Galloway

Topic 1: Black women in Parliament



Topic 2: Nick Raynsford



Topic 3: Tony Banks

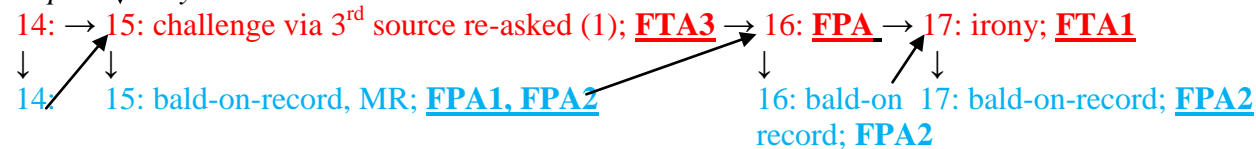


Figure 20 The interplay of macro-communication intentions (MCIS) and (macro)-communication strategies (MCSs) with respect to interview macrostructure

Comments: As the figure above shows, the IR's turns include 7 FTAs1 (turns 1, 3, 7, 8, 11, 12, 17), 2 FTAs2 (turns 6 and 9), 5 FTAs3 (turns 2, 4, 5, 7, 15) and finally one FPA (in turn 16). As we can see, there are only 3 turns out of 17 (10, 13 and 14) that do not belong to any of the three FTA types. The fact that there are 5 re-asked turns, 2 instances of irony and 2 instances of bald-on-record strategy makes the interview sound if not adversarial then, I would say, very challenging. This impression is even intensified by the occasional occurrence of the IR's FPA found in turn 16. Thus, based on figure 20, I can define Paxman's questioning style used in this interview as highly challenging or even adversarial at times.

Galloway's answering style corresponds to Paxman's questioning one. As the figure shows, there are 5 FPAs1 (turns 4, 7, 12, 13 and 15), 5 FTAs2 (turns 5, 6, 15 – 17) and 4 FPAs3 (turns 1-3, 8). Turns 9-11 and turn 14 do not belong to any of the mentioned FPA types. If Paxman's leading CS is the strategy of re-asked turns, then Galloway's answers, responding to Paxman's challenging questioning style, abound in delineation and bald-on-record strategies that blend together. Thus, Galloway's answering style can be perceived as very offensive, driven by his effort to balance the role asymmetry for his own benefit.

To sum up, the analysis not only shows the mutual interplay between IR's and IEs' MICIs and (M)CSs, but it also confirms that the types of IRs' FTAs and IEs' FPAs can be the basis for the derivation of global structure of form (so called superstructure), i.e. the IRs' questioning and IEs' answering style. Thus, not only does the macrostructural view extend the scope of the analyses carried so far, it also makes them complete.

7.4 Conclusion

To sum up, the CMA not only shows the mutual interplay between IR's and IEs' MCIs and (M)CSs, but it also confirms that the types of IRs' FTAs and IEs' FPAs can be the basis for the derivation of global structure of form (so called superstructure), i.e. the IRs' questioning and IEs' answering style.

By means of the CMA using most of the approaches and findings described in Chapters 3-6, this chapter shows and confirms that such an analysis is applicable to authentic language data, and thus is vital. The extension of the analysis to macrostructure level not only shows further use of the data gained from the CMA, but also offers an overall view that contributes to a more comprehensive analysis.

Chapter 8

Summary and Conclusion

This final chapter is divided into two parts: a summary, presented in section 8.1, and conclusions, theoretical contribution and prospects of the study, presented in section 8.2. Since the detailed conclusions are presented at the end of each respective chapter, the summary section focuses on presenting only those aspects of the research findings of the individual chapters that are relevant with respect to the macro-communication intentions (MCIs) stated in section 2.3 and the overall assumptions and goals stated in section 2.4. The concluding section 8.2 offers concluding remarks on the whole study as well as on its theoretical contribution and prospects.

8.1 Summary

This section offers summaries of the chapters (3-7) presented in the second (analytical) part of the study. The chapters on indirectness, irony and politeness, vagueness and miscellaneous IR's and IEs' CSs represent the core areas of the study. They verified the suggested theoretical approaches in practice and their findings resulted in the fulfilment of one of the main goals of the dissertation, i.e. to develop a type of comprehensive analysis (CMA) that would be applicable and useful e.g. for journalists (or other specialists) dealing with (macro)-communication strategies (M)CSs in practice. Thus, the following lines are devoted to subsections briefly summarizing Chapters 3-7.

8.1.1 Indirectness

The research on indirectness as MCS revealed that indirectness is very frequent in IR's (45%) as well as IEs' turns (40-45%). By means of searching and examining the functions of ISA1,2A,B; PCI, SCI and GCIs in IR's turns or the maxim breaks in IEs' turns, this chapter managed to present and describe the interplay between the pragmatic perspective and the segmental level of language.

It was also confirmed that indirectness is used by both IR and IEs in order to employ other communication strategies (CSs) and effects (CEs) directly connected with IR's and IEs' macro-communication intentions (MCIs).

Thus, based on the results of the analysis and on its application by means of a comprehensive analysis (CMA) in Chapter 7, it can be stated that in the vast majority of examples the IR uses indirectness in order to perform FTAs¹ respecting journalistic constraints (e.g. section 3.4.1.2, example 3). There are, however, also examples that show the IR using indirectness in order to perform FTAs² disrespecting journalistic constraints (e.g. by means of attacking or doubting politicians' credibility, section 3.4.1.3, example 3); or examples showing the IR using indirectness in order to manifest the power of his social role within the PI, and thus perform FTAs³ (e.g. 3.4.1.3, example 2).

To conclude, it can be stated that the research findings on indirectness confirm the assumption stated in section 2.3, i.e. that the IR uses indirectness mostly to perform FTAs¹.

8.1.2 Irony and politeness

Since this chapter mostly deals with IR's turns, let us first focus on the interpretation of the findings from this perspective. Besides the fact that the results of the analysis of the authentic language data confirmed the close ties between indirectness, irony and politeness, this study has also shown how these MCSs are manifested on the segmental level of the language. Thus, irony and politeness seem to be the result of the interplay of the context reading and hedge signals, which clearly show their connection to indirectness.

Based on the findings illustrated in figure 19 (section 7.2.2), irony is mostly used by the IR to perform FTAs¹. This is plausible for the examples of hedged, mitigated irony (section 4.1.1, example 1) and ironical comments manifested by means of ISA^{1A,B} (section 4.1.1, examples 4,5). It was also found (though such an occurrence is scarce within the studied data) that the IR uses irony also in its harsh form, and thus performs FTA² (section 4.1.1, example 5) and finds himself in breach of journalistic constraints, which can result in possible critical comments concerning his unprofessionalism.

Harsh irony is closely related to the bald-on-record strategy – one of the politeness strategies presented within this chapter. The bald-on-record strategy differs from harsh irony by its lack of mocking effect. The examples of this strategy within IR's turns confirm that

FTAs² have their own place within the model of interplay between CSs and MCIs (figure 19). However, at the beginning of the study it was not assumed that Paxman would use MCSs or CSs that would be in breach of journalistic constraints.

The chapter further focused on exploring the quality hedges in IEs' turns and showing the interplay between the pragmatic function of hedges which are the segmental manifestations of the pragmatic force of utterances. Based on the findings of the analysis, it can be concluded that the goals stated in section 2.4 and 2.3 were achieved.

8.1.3 Vagueness

Unlike the previous chapter on irony and politeness, devoted mostly to IR's turns, this chapter on vagueness is more focused on its counterpart – the IEs' turns. It stems from the assumption that if IR uses vagueness, it will be only to perform FTA². This assumption was, however, not confirmed, as it was found that though IR uses vagueness, i.e. vague language items, rarely (only 26 examples out of 300 turns), he uses them mostly to perform FTA¹ (section 5.3, example 1) employing such CSs as persuasion or escalation (5.3).

The analysis of IEs' turns are a clear illustration of the interplay of the segmental level manifested by the VLIs found in the data and the pragmatic perspective represented by IEs' use of vagueness to employ other CSs, such as smokescreening, woolliness, time-gaining (5.5.1), withholding the information (5.4), and rival attacking (5.6). The findings have confirmed that both IR and IEs use vagueness to perform FTA¹ or FPA¹, as illustrated in figure 19 in section 7.2.2. In conclusion, the research findings show that the overall goals of the study were achieved in this chapter.

8.1.4 Miscellaneous communication strategies

By presenting the analyses of four CSs (IR's challenging and re-asked turns; IEs' rival attacks and delineation strategy), this chapter can be looked upon as a transitional point between Chapters 3-5 and the final Chapter 7. On one hand it shows close ties between IR's challenging turns and IEs' rival attacks with the main MCS of the study – indirectness; on the

other hand IR's re-asked turns and IEs' delineation strategy indicate the connection to the *superstructure* (see Chapter 7, section 7.3), i.e. IR's questioning and IEs' answering styles.

The analyses have also revealed that challenging and re-asked turns are used by the IR to perform FTAs³ by means of which he takes advantage of the role asymmetry within the PI. Similarly to these findings, the analysis of IEs' turns revealed that politicians use the delineation strategy in order to perform FPAs³ by means of which they try to balance the role asymmetry within the PI. Rival attacks are used similarly to indirectness, to which they are naturally connected, to perform FPAs¹ as illustrated in figure 19 (section 7.2.2). To sum up, the findings of the analyses conducted in this chapter confirmed that all three goals stated in section 2.4 were achieved.

8.1.5 Comprehensive analysis and macrostructures

The final chapter represents the climax of the whole study, as it applies most of the approaches and findings described in Chapters 3-6 in one final comprehensive analysis (CMA) that aims to connect IR's and IEs' (M)CSs with particular MCIs in order to reveal and confirm the IR's questioning and IEs' answering style.

While the first part of the chapter dealing with the application of the CMA uses the results of the all analytical chapters (3-7) and presents them in figure 19 in section 7.2.2, section 7.3 dealing with macrostructures is focused only on the four-minute interview analyzed in this final chapter and presented in figure 20. This distinction is the result of the demanding character of the analysis which takes into account the macrostructural view.

This does not, however, mean that it would not be possible to conduct such an analysis in the three interviews analyzed in Chapters 3-6. It has only confirmed the suggestion made in section 2.2.3 that for this type of analysis, the interviews would have to be divided into several thematic parts first (as suggested in section 2.2.3), and then the results of the analysis of the individual parts should be put together in order to draw conclusions.

To conclude, based on the summaries presented in 8.1.1 – 8.1.5, I would state that the study appears to have succeeded in all three overall goals stated in section 2.3. A question can be raised whether the study succeeded also with respect to the two assumptions stated in the same section.

Thus, the plausibility of the first assumption on the possibility of developing a CMA that would fulfill the respective goals of the study was, in my opinion, confirmed. However, it should be borne in mind that the suggested CMA has its limitations, closely connected with the limitations of the approaches chosen and described in the respective chapters.

The second assumption, connected with the possible use of the CMA and its connection to the macrostructural view by journalists or other specialists dealing with (M)CSs, was in my opinion also confirmed, as the suggested approach seems to be useful. The character of the CMA, however, is quite demanding, not only with respect to the application itself but with respect to the analyst. Thus, it seems that such an analysis can be appropriately used only by those who achieve a certain level of linguistic expertise.

8.2 Conclusion, theoretical contribution and prospects of the study

The study has shown that the genre of political discourse, i.e. face-to-face political interviews, is worth exploring since it abounds in instances of various types of (macro)-communication strategies (MCSs) and communication effects (CEs).

The choice of the interdisciplinary approach to the study of (M)CSs seems to be justified and successful with respect to the fact that most of the goals of the study were achieved.

The study has also confirmed the validity of the distinction between Leech's communicative constitutive language means (CCLM) and communicative regulative language means (CRLM). It has showed their mutual interplay in political discourse (pd), and thus has achieved the intended goals.

Though the dissertation was originally based on individual studies of indirectness and vagueness, it finally developed into a study presenting a unified view of various (macro)-communication strategies closely related to indirectness.

The dissertation contributes primarily to the development of pragmatic studies, since it presents a thorough and integrated view of phenomena such as indirectness, irony, politeness or vagueness, as manifested in contemporary British political discourse.

Though these phenomena seem to be the common subject matter of manifold pragmatic studies, they tend to be studied and presented in an atomized an isolated way,

which I consider inappropriate – especially recalling the results of this empirical study which confirmed their close mutual ties.

The attempt to develop the comprehensive analysis connecting the interviewer's (IR's) and interviewees' (IEs') (macro)-communication strategies (M)CSs with their macro-communication intentions (MCIs) and the overall macrostructure of the interview, in my opinion, potentially represents a contribution to the development of discourse analysis and also shows the limitations of the approach considering its application to spoken language data – i.e. the necessity to divide the interviews into individual thematic parts in order to achieve the desired goals.

The study can be developed in various possible ways in the future. One of them could be the enrichment of the analysis to include an analysis of suprasegmental and paralinguistic levels, which would provide me with more precise information, and thus enable me to draw more concrete conclusions than those that I was able to draw when relying on the analyses based on the segmental level, in which the role of context has proved to be a necessary condition for the interpretation of the data.

The research could also move to a completely different perspective – the domain of cognitive linguistics, and thus focus more on the principles according to which the speakers' intentions work.

To conclude, the presented study on the *Multifaceted Nature of British Political Discourse* has met my own expectations. It helped me learn not only to work with various sources and terminology, thus helping me to develop my own system of abbreviations, but it also helped to derive methods of analysis of authentic language data which, in my opinion, can be applicable to any kind of discourse. Also the actual process of writing the dissertation proved to be educational in its own right, and I think that the most important benefit for me is the fact that I seem to perceive and understand the intuitive domain of language in a way that I would hardly ever have been able to do before.

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Corpus

The transcripts as well as the interviews between: Jeremy Paxman and Charles Kennedy, Jeremy Paxman and Tony Blair, Jeremy Paxman and Michael Howard can be found at the following address:

< http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/newsnight/newsnight_election_2005/4421655.stm >

The transcript as well as the interview between Jeremy Paxman and George Galloway can be found at:

< http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/mpapps/pagetools/print/news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/politics/vote_2005/blog/4519553.stm >

Transcripts

TRANSCRIPT 1

Newsnight, 18 April 2005, 28 minutes, 104 turns

IR: Jeremy Paxman **IE:** leader of the Liberal Democrats Charles Kennedy

This transcript was supplied by an external organisation. The BBC is not responsible for its content.

1. JP: Hello, this week I'm going to be interviewing the leaders of the three biggest political parties in Britain. It will Tony Blair on Wednesday, Michael Howard on Friday, but tonight, here in the Albert Dock in Liverpool, Charles Kennedy, Leader of the Liberal Democrats. He's the only one of the three campaigning with a promise of new taxes, higher income tax for higher earners, and a local income tax for everyone. He talks of being the "real opposition", and claims this election could be a break-through. He's also just taken delivery of his first child, last week, the exhaustion of which he blames for a less than perfect grasp of detail, at the launch of his manifesto. (the video record of Kennedy's fluff)

2. JP: Charles Kennedy are you fit to be Prime Minister?

ChK: Yes, I think so. I think that fitness and politics isn't just about personal well being, but I think it's fitness in terms of a direct approach with people, established over many years, and I hope people feel I have that.

3. JP: But wasn't the most worrying thing for you over last week's huge embarrassment, when you didn't have control of the details of a key part of your manifesto, that so few people were surprised?

ChK: I don't know about that. The reaction quite frankly, out and about in the country, subsequently, amongst many many people, including people that you just happen to come across in the street is, "how are you getting on Charles, have you managed to catch up your sleep? Don't worry, the first eighteen years are the worst." All these kinds of comments. I think every person who's become a first time father has probably found they've had to go out and do something work-wise and not been as on top of it as they would have wished.

4. JP: All right, well let's go through some of the details of your proposed local income tax. Are you being entirely frank with people, in suggesting that the only people who are going to

be at a disadvantage, should it come in, are the rich?

ChK: Well, we're saying 25% of people, and this is the Institute of Fiscal Studies that's looked at this. 25% of people are going to contribute more than they do under the Council Tax. 50% of households, will be better off, 25% will be unaffected. Now that's being very direct because the power to tax, and the power to make everybody better off, is not a power known to politicians in all of history, and we're not trying to hoodwink people on that.

5. JP: Do you know what the average earnings of a fireman are?

ChK: The average earnings of a fireman, I – not off the top of my head. I can tell you the average earnings of a typical individual in this country, which is in the region of 23, 24 thousand pounds.

6. JP: The average earnings of a fireman are about 24 thousand pounds. Do you know the average earnings of a nurse?

ChK: Average earnings of a nurse, I would say, in about the same region.

7. JP: They're about 20 thousand pounds.

ChK: Yeah.

8. JP: Now a couple, a fireman and a nurse, key workers[...]

ChK: Yeah.

8. JP: ...in our society.]

ChK: This is 20% of households you're talking about by the way, not the other 80%, but important.

8. JP: Key workers[...]

ChK: Yes, absolutely essential workers.]

8. JP: Net income, the two of them, therefore average 44 thousand[...]

ChK: Yeah.

8. JP: Living in] a Band D house, how much worse or better off would they be?

ChK: You will find that the majority of people under our proposals, individuals, will not be paying much more in the main than 10 pounds extra. But, what you've got to do, and this is where we're also being straight about people, is to say, what else apart from the local income tax proposals do you get with the Liberal Democrat package. And I hope we can get on to that [as well.

9. JP: Those are] of course, other points. But specifically on the funding of local government,

according to calculations done for us by the Institute for Fiscal studies, they'd be about a hundred and three pounds worse off and of course people will be significantly worse off wouldn't they↑ in many of your target seats.

ChK: Well, what we're doing here is we're putting forward a proposition of fairness, in terms of what you contribute locally. At the moment, everybody knows it is not fair because it's not related to your ability to pay. Now that's an argument of the principle we've got to win in the course of this [election.

10. JP: Absolutely] but you have to be frank with people, [don't you↓

ChK: And we are.]

11. JP: Let's take one of your top target seats, Cardiff Central.

ChK: Right

11. JP: Would the nurse and the fireman living there, be worse off or better off.

ChK: Well, as you say, and as we say ourselves on our own figures, they will pay a net increase in their contributions.

12. JP: So they will be worse off.

ChK:[But...

13. JP: Do you] know by how much?

ChK: But, but do remember please, and you take Cardiff Central as an example of this. An awful lot of students there, an awful lot of students are going to benefit by our proposals for scrapping top up fees and tuition fees.

14. JP: Yes, but the, this couple, a nurse and a fireman, average earnings, Band D house.

ChK: Yes.

14. JP: Do you know by how much they will be worse off?

ChK: Well, by definition, a local income tax is precisely that. We've given [...

15. JP: Do you] know by how much they'll [be worse off?

ChK: ...the thing, it will] depend on the local circumstances.

16. JP: Well, actually, yes they do depend precisely upon local [circumstances

ChK: Yes.

16. JP: and indeed there's] a very helpful calculator on your website which enables you to

work out whether you'd be better or worse off. And they would in fact, be 429 pounds worse off. That's enough to take a holiday.

ChK: Well, I think again, you've got to pitch this in the overall totality of what you're trying to achieve with the local income tax. If you take pensioners, for example. Now we know many of those are being hit the hardest by council tax increases. Six million pensioners are going to be taken out of local taxation altogether. Now, you can say to me "here's one set of financial losers", and you're correct. I can say, there's one set of financial gainers and [that is...

17. JP: The point is...

ChK: ...correct too.

17. JP: ...that these are] not rich people who are going to be worse off.

ChK: No but, no but again we'll come back, I hope, to other policies in a moment. The fact of the matter is, however, that if you're setting an up-front agenda with people, you've got to be honest and say, yes, some people gain, some people lose, but is the generality of the policy better than what we've got at the moment, and we believe it is.

18. JP: But people don't live in generalities. People live in particular times and particular places.

ChK: Absolutely.

19. JP: Take that constituency of Cardiff Central. Would more people be better off or more people worse off.

ChK: You would have to break down the number [of households...

20. JP: You don't know, do you↑]

ChK: No, not off the top of my head. You'd have to break off the, break down the number of households you're talking about. But the kind of couple that you're giving me, represent 20% of households, and I wouldn't imagine in Cardiff Central, it is [that...

21. JP: But they are hardly] wealthy people.

ChK: No, you made this point, and I'm not saying that they are, which is why we want to help that couple in other ways. If they are having a first child for example, the woman involved for that first child will receive a much higher level of maternity support, a hundred and seventy pounds under our proposals, than they do at the moment. If they have elderly parents that they're caring for there will be a much better – generous package of measures. And, if they've got children, whom they want to go to university in Cardiff or elsewhere, they will of course

not be facing top fees and tuition fees. Now there's the package, and that's what we invite people to consider.

22. JP: We've looked at your top seven target seats and in every one of them people will be worse off if they were living in a Band D house, that couple, a nurse and a fireman.

ChK: Inevitably, we're not pretending this, we're saying a quarter of all council tax payers will find themselves paying more. We're not hiding [behind that.

23. JP: Yes, but that's a generality] spread across the country.

ChK: Yes, and that means it's spread across every constituency in the country too, whether [they're top...

24. JP: Equally?]

ChK: Er, not equal. But of course not, but whether they're top target seats [for the...

25. JP: That is the whole point isn't it↑

ChK: ...Liberal Democrats] or other less top target seats for the Liberal Democrats, we're not framing our policy just on that. Because that shouldn't be the way political parties go about the national interest.

26. JP: This matters because you would like us to think that you could form a government, and it matters whether you're frank with us[...

ChK: Yes.

26. JP: ...when] you're seeking our vote to form a government. The only example we've got to go upon is where you have been in government in Scotland. And if we look at something like your attitude, for example, to GM foods there.

ChK: Yes.

26. JP: Where you promised consultation before any more crops were planted, and then when you got into government, that didn't happen.

ChK: I don't subscribe to that view.

27. JP: It's a process which you described [yourself.

ChK: Yes.

28. JP: There] is a difference between what you can say in opposition, and then when the facts are presented to you, you've got to decide administratively, when you're holding ministerial office.

ChK: And you've got legal constraints upon you as a Minister as well.

29. JP: Wouldn't it be simpler just to say, we'll say anything to get elected, and do something different afterwards.

ChK: No, I think that's a great mistake and I don't want ever to see us going down that route. If you look at the position which you sight the example you sight of GM crops in Scotland, there is not going to commercial exploitation, and that I think is correct. But there was a legal advice given to the ministers, the Liberal Democrat ministers in the Scottish Executive, as to what the constitutional and legal requirements were upon them, and they adhered to that.

30. JP: Okay. Let's look at something like congestion charging. I think, according to your manifesto, you are in favour of congestion charging.

ChK: We certainly are.

31. JP: Why are you against it then in Edinburgh and in Bristol?

ChK: Because in both cases, different sets of circumstances, but in both cases the scheme, the timing, and what was in place we did not view as a party, were the correct schemes to put in place.

32. JP: But your manifesto says you want it extended to cities which have a problem of congestion.

ChK: Yes, we certainly do.

33. JP: And they don't?

ChK: And we have, not they do have problems, but what they don't have are the alternative systems for people to make use of. All the indications show that the public will use public transport, if it's reliable, if it's affordable, and if it's safe. There wasn't adequate alternative methods of transportation in both those cities at the time. The ground work could not be done.

Contrast and Compare[...]

JP: So...]

ChK: Just let me finish the example if I may. Contrast and compare with London where we supported the principle of congestion charging[...]

34. JP: And now] you oppose its extension.

ChK: And we're not happy with this extension as is currently [being proposed.

35. JP: So that's another example...

ChK: No, it's not.

35. JP: of where you say one thin and do another.

ChK: Let me finish.] The reason that we supported the principle in London and we argued it, and supported Ken Livingstone in this, at a time when Tony Blair was not, remember, was because, as he recognised, and I think he was quite brave about doing it, providing you put in the additional resource for public transport, which he did in terms of buses, people will make more use of that alternative. Now, that's the right way to go about things.

36. JP: So in summary, you support congestion charge except in those places where there's any danger of it either being extended or indeed introduced in the first place.

ChK: No, except in those places where the homework has not been done, and the ground work [has not been put in.

37. JP: Could you tell us] a city where you do support it?

ChK: I think it's up to cities, and city representatives [to decide

38. JP: Do you have any cities in mind?]

ChK: I, that is a matter for local Liberal Democrats to decide. And it's not a matter [for me...

JP: Okay.

ChK: ...to dictate] from the centre.

39. JP: All right let's [look...

ChK: That's what] a devolved party is about.

40. JP: Let's look at something else then. You want 20% of electricity in this country to come from renewable sources, and 50% by the year 2050.

ChK: Urm.

40. JP: How many wind farms do you want to build?

ChK: Well, again, we see potential for wind farms. We actually see greater London term potential, actually, for off-shore harnessing of energy. And we look as any ...party, any set of representatives should where wind farm proposals are concerned, on the merits of each case. But I think [we should...

41. JP: You want] 20% from renewables by 2010. How many wind farms?

ChK: You can't be prescriptive about how many wind farms, because this will have to [be...

42. JP: Well you're prescriptive] about being, wanting 20% and then 50% by 2050.

ChK: Yes, and we've got to get there as a society, if we're serious [about the...

43. JP: Well, how many wind farms] is that?

ChK: You can't sit here and predict what will be the number of individual wind [farm developments.

44. JP: Well you know] how much electricity you want to generate.

ChK: Yes, we do. And indeed[...

45. JP: How many] wind farms do you require to do it?

ChK: Well, in fact, if you look at wind farm technology, as a means of electricity generation, you would have to cover a very large tract of mainland Britain to achieve that[...

JP: Precisely.

ChK: ...for wind] farms alone.

46. JP: Precisely [and indeed...

ChK: That's why you've] got look [at other things

ChK: ...no, you've got to look...

46. JP: ...this is another example where, for example, when they're] proposed in Devon, the Liberal Democrats opposed them. They were proposed in Durham, the Liberal Democrats opposed them. I mean it's another case of you saying one thing, and then doing another.

ChK: I don't think you will find on any of the kinds of issues that you're perfectly reasonably raising, that this political party does any more than any elected political party does, which it has it's national policies it aspires to, and then it judges the merits, as indeed planning applications have got to do, which are independent of central government, [remember.

47. JP: Do you want a lot] of wind farms or not.

ChK: I think inevitably you will see more wind farms across the country. But I think also[...

48. JP: My question was] whether you wanted to see a lot of wind farms.

ChK: I think that it's a desirable form of energy myself, providing, [er...

49. JP: But you can't tell us how many.

ChK: ...it is relevant to the] I can't tell you how many because I don't even know how many potential applicants would be in the pipeline in another [five years...

50. JP: Can we move on to another] of your contradictions then? Your manifesto for business promises, quote, "to let the sun set on regulation".

ChK: Urm.

50. JP: You also propose an equality act, an environment responsibility act, a carbon tax, an animal welfare act, an act to ensure manufacturers dispose of difficult to recycle products, mandatory standards and labels for buildings, machinery, vehicles and appliances to cut energy use. Rigorous schemes of labelling and traceability for GM foods, and the

implementation of the EU directive on corporate environmental liability. That is letting the sun set on regulation, is it↑

ChK: Well, I think what you've got to do, and each of that check list you go through, I think any reasonable person, including any reasonable business person, would acknowledge that those are good practices which good business should be aspiring [to.

51. JP: They may well be] but it's not letting the sun set on regulation is it?↓

ChK: It, it's not already indeed in many cases, implementing. I don't think you'll find the CBI would disagree with that sentiment that I've just expressed. When we talk about letting the sun set come down, on so much of the red tape and the bureaucracy that's on business, you will find the number of senior business personnel in this country, where Europe gets blamed, actually turns round and says it's the so called gold plating that goes on at a Whitehall level, where they add to European directives, ideas and schemes, that governments have come forward with and civil servants have promoted over the years. That's where we've got to take a much more hawkish line.

52. JP: So to be clear about this, that list that I just recited to you, that very long list of regulations, that is apparently consonant with the sun setting on regulation.

ChK: That will have to be implemented in dialogue and in a working relationship with business.

53. JP: You would consider that the sun setting on regulation, that list.

ChK: No, I would consider other things in terms of red tape and bureaucracy that are stifling so much of business at the moment to be worthy of the term, sun setting on business. Now that's going to be our approach. Look, we're sitting in a city here in Liverpool, great city, run by Liberal Democrats, and one of the things you hear every visit I make to this city, you hear business, who for years operated under municipal leadership for Labour, saying thank goodness we've got the Liberal Democrats on the city, it's prospering, you just need to look at the construction going on. That's because where Liberal Democrats have power, we work sensibly with the business community.

54. JP: That is being frank with the electorate, is it↓

ChK: Ask the electorate here.

JP: Okay.

ChK: They will tell you [that this has been...

55. JP: Let's look at some of the other policies] that you don't draw a great deal of attention to. You're proposing apparently that 16 year olds be able to visit sex shops. Is that a serious policy?

ChK: Well, 16 year olds at the moment, er, are able to get married, so we do have a rather inconsistent approach to the age [of maturity

JP: Right.

ChK: ...in this country.] We're not recommending it as a course of action for 16 year olds, but what we're saying is that at the moment this country, in terms of the way the laws have evolved over many years, does have a rather inconsistent approach to what age you are allowed to be considered an adult, and what age you're not.

56. JP: Go to pubs at 16?

ChK: No. We're not proposing that you should be able to purchase alcohol at the age of sixteen, no we're not. We would however like to see, for example, another area, we'd like to see a lowering of the voting age. I think that people are now mature enough at an earlier age to be able to vote at an earlier age also.

57. JP: Well talking about voting, you also want prisoners to be able to vote.

ChK: That's not something that's in our [manifesto.

58. JP: Doesn't matter] whether it's in your manifesto. It's your policy.

ChK: No, it's, it's a Liberal Democrat [policy...

59. JP: Thank you.

ChK: ...that was passed at,] er, an earlier conference in the course of this parliament. But as [you know...

60. JP: So Ian Huntley,] Rose West, all those people should have a right to take part in our elections.

ChK: Well, well one of the things that if you're serious about penal policy in this country, you've got to be serious about punishment for people who've offended. But you've also got to [try...

61. JP: So that's a yes is it↓

ChK: ...for when,] it is a yes. You've got to try that when people are incarcerated quite rightly, when they come out, they don't become part of the dismal reoffending rates, and that means trying to make them more responsible members of society, and if giving them a sense

of participation in the political process helps that, I'm not against it. But I do say when I make the decisions along with colleagues about what we put in our manifesto for the next parliament, of course I don't include each and every item for the last four years that's been passed by the Liberal Democrats or we'd publish War and peace. So I take the things that [really matter and that's...

62. JP: Yes, but they're still party...

ChK: ...not one of them.]

62. JP: Yeah, but it's still party policy.

ChK: It's party policy, but it's not something we're putting forward in our manifesto to promote in government in the next [parliament.

63. JP: Well, what] you choose to tell the public is another matter isn't it]

ChK: No, it's not. Every party does this Jeremy, for heavens sake. Every party has reams of policy, reams of reactions to the issue of the day, over the course of four years. You can't possibly if you're sensible, consolidate that. And then you quite rightly ask me, well given this plethora [of...

64. JP: You would do it] though, wouldn't you↑

ChK: ...no we wouldn't, we're saying [specifically we're not...

65. JP: Oh, you wouldn't do it?

ChK: ...including it,] in this manifesto. If we were in [government.

66. JP: So a liberal,] a liberal government would not give prisoners the right to vote.

ChK: That is not something [that...

67. JP: Despite the fact] it's party policy.

ChK: Yes, we can't do everything [that's...

68. JP: Isn't that precisely] what we were talking about earlier.

ChK: No. We've got to make priorities of what we have from the, the wealth of accumulated decisions of the party, then put those priorities to the public.

69. JP: To the public.

ChK: Yes. So that they know if they get us in government, what it is they get, and they can refer to our manifesto which tells them.

70. JP: You'd like to do it, but you might not have time to get around to it.

ChK: On top of everything else that's already in the manifesto, that's one of the reasons it's not in the manifesto.

71. JP: That presumably is also true of your policy to ban all animals except horses and dogs from circuses.

ChK: This would be correct.

72. JP: Do you ever think you're slightly out of kilter with public opinion.

ChK: No I don't. I think one of the stories if you like, of this parliament, that has just come to an end, and this election campaign now underway, is the extent to which people have seen and are seeing the Liberal Democrats as actually being most in tune with public priorities, and those public priorities have ranged in the international level and the opposition in the war to Iraq, to the domestic level, the priorities that we're putting in front of people.

73. JP: Identity cards?

ChK: Well, look at Australia. In Australia when it was [first...

74. JP: No, let's not] look at Australia, here – all the evidence is, [no all the evidence is, I'm talking about public opinion here

ChK: All right.]

74. JP: all the evidence here is that most people think it's either an acceptable idea, or a good idea, or a very good idea.

ChK: Yeap. And in [Australia...

75. JP: And you] don't.

ChK: ...when it was muted[in principle...

76. JP: You don't.]

ChK: We don't in principle and in practice 80% of people in Australia at the beginning of this debate, thought yes and 20% were against. By the end of it, those positions had reversed.

Why? People looked at the practicalities of identity cards. The costs to the individual involved. The curtailment of liberties and the sheer personal hassle involved in operating a scheme [of identity cards. That's why.

77. JP: When the most senior policeman] in Britain, Sir Ian Blair, says he favours identity cards, he's wrong. You somehow know better, do you↑

ChK: Well we are not persuaded now. Sir Ian has become persuaded. I think he also said in

the course of [that weekend...

78. JP: He's the senior policeman in Britain.

ChK: ...that he wasn't originally] in favour, er, he's developed his view and that's something that we have to take account of but [we...

79. JP: So you can develop your] view to come round to it, presumably, [will you↑

ChK: ...well, no,] no we're not proposing to do that at all. We have said that we're [against identity cards..

80. JP: You're not capable] of evolution on this matter.

ChK: We are, no, we have said that we are against [in principle...

81. JP: And yet he is a practising policeman.

ChK: ...for civil libertarian] grounds, identity cards, compulsory national identity cards, but also and I've been asking the Prime Minister about this, on many occasions over the course of the last six months or so, when you get in to the detail of what it means for you, and for me. Having to go to a test centre, having to pay out a significant amount of money. Problems for old people, the government not even being able to tell us, despite the fact they introduced to this extent, how the system will work and exactly how much it will cost. I think it's a responsible opposition party that at that point says, hold on a minute, this is not a route we should be going down. We'd be far better putting more police on the streets.

82. JP: Have you asked Sir Ian Blair why he's in favour of it?

ChK: I have actually, er, on a social occasion, had exchanges with Sir Ian Blair about this, and also my colleague Mark Oaten, who speaks on Home Affairs with us, and he knows well where we're coming from. At the end of the day,[the policeman...

83. JP: Have you asked him] why he's in favour [of...

ChK: No, I haven't asked him] that direct question, cos I haven't seen him since his weekend interview. Well, we're in the middle of an election campaign at the moment, and what I don't want to do is draw senior police figures any more in to the politics of the election, than some who've been criticising them for being already, although we haven't been among them.

84. JP: Let's look at another area. You're against detention without trial. You are, for the sake of argument in Downing Street, and the security services come to you and say, we believe a terrorist attack in this country is imminent. We do not have the evidence to charge or secure a conviction. What would you do?

ChK: Well, we've been through the argument towards the end of this parliament and the government were putting up precisely arguments like that to favour things like the detention without trial, and as you well know, the House of Lords and a substantial view in the House of Commons, wasn't going to [have it

85. JP: What would you do.

ChK: because it was] overturning an awful lot our traditional liberties and ways of going about things. What they've now got at their disposal and it's going to be reviewed.

86. JP: No, what would you do in Downing Street?

ChK: Well, what I would do quite obviously, is look at the existing powers that are there and say, can such individuals, being such a major cause for concern, can they be brought in and questioned and can we go through it. What you can't do [as a politician...

87. JP: So you would say,] you can detain them without trial.

ChK: No, I'm not saying detain them without trial, certainly not. But what I'm saying is, we've got to establish whether the evidence is there, and you can only do that properly if these people are apprehended under the existing provisions open to the police and the security services, and that's what should take place. But what [I won't do...

88. JP: But then they'd be let free.

ChK: What. Nno that must be the decision for the judge, sitting properly in a court to make that decision. Not the decision for me as the politician. That's a very slippery slope to go down.

89. JP: You're absolutely confident that you could keep this country safe operating a policy like that?

ChK: Yes, because I believe that we've been able to keep this country safe operating that approach as a policy for a very long time, and I believe that providing we maintain our institutions and our vigilance, and provide the public keep the sense of proportion that they have, through generations upon generations, we can continue in that fashion.

90. JP: You mentioned the Iraq war earlier, massive demonstrations in this country, the biggest ones in the history of this country.

ChK: Sure.

90. JP: Huge opposition to it, and you were the only big party that really took a stand against

the war. People should be flocking to you in droves and they're not, are they↑

ChK: Well, we didn't just do it for those reasons, that's the first thing.

91. JP: I didn't suggest that.

ChK: You know, we did it on ground of principle. And secondly, people don't just make judgements in this or any other general election on one single issue, however big an issue it may be. There will be a whole variety. But what you've seen I think, over the last couple of years, largely as a result of our stance in Iraq, by no means exclusively, is a lot of people having a higher regard for the Liberal Democrats than perhaps they did before, and finding us attractive in many other ways. Now, we've got two and a half weeks of this campaign to go, we are at our highest ever standing that we've ever been as a party, in a General Election, and I think that the credibility of our stance in Iraq has been a big contributory factor to that. And an awful lot of people, as you know, have been filling the newspaper columns in recent weeks saying, for the first time ever, I'm going to vote Liberal Democrat and one of the key reasons has been their stance, and their continuing approach over Iraq.

92. JP: But isn't the difficulty that people don't see you as having the killer instinct.

ChK: You mean me as a person [or...

93. JP: Yes, you personally.

ChK: ...the Liberal Democrats] as a party. No, I don't think that's the case. I think that if you look at the achievements of the party over the last five years, it's not just down to me but the leader must have something to do with it. It has been a story of steadily growing influence, importance, stature and credibility. And I think this campaign is a big big opportunity to make significant strides further forward... How far I do not know.

94. JP: In that case, why didn't you capitalise more on the opposition to the war?

ChK: Well, I think that we conducted ourselves constructively, and in the way in which I like to conduct my politics. Not just by name calling, by making the rational case for opposition, and as we now are in this election, maintaining it by being the only one of the three parties saying, with the United Nation's mandate expiring at the end of this calendar year, we should now be working and planning towards the phase withdrawal of the British troops, as part of that occupying force, and bringing our forces home.

95. JP: By when would you have them home?

ChK: Well we should be working to the UN expiry of the mandate, which is the end of this calendar year, obviously.

96. JP: By the end of 2005 you would have withdrawn all British troops.

ChK: I very much hope so, yes.

97. JP: But you can't be certain, of course.

ChK: Well you can't obviously be certain about the development of the security situation in Iraq, but you can be certain that there's a UN mandate that runs out [and...

98. JP: And you would] withdraw them even if you were advised not to withdraw them, would you↓

ChK: Well, advised by whom? I think [that...

99. JP: If the Iraqi government said "we need you here".

ChK: Well, we are not bound by what the Iraqi government does, it would be ridiculous for us to say that we want an Iraqi government taking more of its own responsibility for its country, [having...

100. JP: That's a yes, Mr Kennedy, isn't it↓

ChK: ...and then,] and then saying, that we're going to simply accede to anything they do, when we ourselves are a sovereign country, that can't be right. I would like to see those troops home in line with the expiry of the UN mandate and that's what we're arguing strongly as a party. So, incidentally, are people like Robin Cook and Douglas Hurd from other parties.

101. JP: On this question of your personal failure to capitalise on this widespread opposition to the war do you think it is to some degree because people look at you and they see an affable man, but they see a man who failed to turn up to the budget debate last year, who spoke openly about the need to change his lifestyle and they don't feel entirely confident.

ChK: No, I don't think so. I think that if you look at the the measures of public opinion, about myself, about the party as a whole, they are positive. I think the biggest single question that I've always faced, that the party has always faced, is "can these people win, and then if they win, can they deliver?" Now, step by step, city by city, constituency by constituency, region by region, we're demonstrating that we can win, we're showing what Liberal Democrats are

like when given authority, and people are approving of that. This election, this whole campaign, is about moving that on to a much higher level, and I think the conditions are there, and I think the party and myself are in good shape for that challenge.

102. JP: Have you changed your lifestyle, I mean is your doctor happy about how much you smoke and drink?

ChK: Yes, my doctor is actually rather approving. He would like to see me not smoke at all, but it has drastically come down since the turn of the year, and I'm determined that it's going to be phased out altogether, particularly with the arrival of the new one.

103. JP: You talk about the arrival of the new one, of course it changes everybody's life.

ChK: Sure.

103. JP: You must look at your life and you think you've been, what, 20 years at this game, you've never really done anything else. Tony Blair has decided he's not going to go on and on and on. Are you?

ChK: I hope so, that's my intention. I want to be in the next parliament, leading our much much bigger parliamentary party for the Liberal Democrats. I don't know how far our ambitions can go because we've got a very perverse voting system when it's three party politics as it is in this election. But I think it can be substantially bigger, the opportunity in the next parliament is substantially greater and when you've devoted your working life towards that objective, heavens above, you don't want to shirk off that opportunity. I'll be in there with enthusiasm, particularly as I do really genuinely feel, probably like every parent in history that ...that all the things I've argued for, I've now got this additional stake in the future, that I didn't have until a week ago.

104. JP: So you expect to fight the next election too?

ChK: Oh, I very much hope so yes, that's my intention.

105. JP: Charles Kennedy, thank you.

ChK: Jeremy, thank you.

TRANSCRIPT 2

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IR: Jeremy Paxman

IE : Tony Blair

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1. JP: Hello, welcome to the second of three interviews with the leaders of the three big parties, who want our votes on May 5th. On Friday, it's Michael Howard, this evening I'm in Leeds, with the Prime Minister, Tony Blair. Prime Minister, is there anything you'd like to apologize for?

TB: Well if, if you want me to apologize for the war in Iraq, I'm afraid I can't say that I'm sorry we removed Saddam, no, if, if you're asking me other things that I've got wrong over the past eight years, I've already said there are certain things that any government gets wrong; I suppose I've had my share of those.

2. JP: But do you accept that there is a trust issue, and that the reason opposition parties can talk about wiping the smirk off your face, is because you can't any longer say, look at me, I'm a pretty straight kind of guy.

TB: Well, trust is an issue. But then people are going to have to decide you know, are we to be trusted when we say we've run a strong economy, and we'll continue to do so with low interest rates and low unemployment and low inflation. I said that we would put investment in to the public services, we've have. You go and look at any school or hospital, you look at this city here, and how it's been transformed in the past few years. Look at the investment in, in the local regeneration of an inner city such as, as Leeds. Now, if you're talking about Iraq, yes, there's an issue because people, some people feel they were misled over the war and some people powerfully disagree with the, the reason why we went to war.

3. JP: All right, let's look at Iraq. When you told parliament that the intelligence was 'extensive, detailed and authoritative', that wasn't true was it↓

TB: No, it was true. There was no doubt [about it

4. JP: It wasn't] extensive, it wasn't detailed and it wasn't authoritative.

TB: I'm sorry, it was. And the great thing about this now for any member of the public is that thanks to the Butler Report, and remember we've had four separate enquiries in to whether

this intelligence was misused or not, each of them have come to the same conclusion and people can actually go and look on the web site and they can go and study the Joint Intelligence Committee Reports that I [got

JP: Right.]

TB: And see the intelligence that was given to us.

5. JP: Okay, but you know don't you↓ that just two weeks before you made that statement, the Joint Intelligence Committee said that 'intelligence remains limited'.

TB: Of course intelligence always is limited [but

6. JP: Well therefore] it's not extensive, detailed and authoritative is it↑

TB: No, it – I'm sorry, their judgement was absolutely clear. Look the one, the one thing you, you can do is go and read it. It said that Saddam [Hussein

JP: I have done.]

TB: had chemical and biological weapons. That he could manufacture new stocks of VX and sarin agent within months of doing so. That he could use those weapons against, not just military targets but strategic targets; you can go and read it.

7. JP: They said it was limited, you said, 'it was extensive, detailed and authoritative'.

TB: They also made it clear that there was extensive intelligence about Saddam. They said however, of course it's necessarily limited; intelligence always is.

8. JP: So was the JIC, the Joint Intelligence Committee Report wrong.

TB: No, they weren't wrong in what they reported at the time, they were absolutely right. But later it transpired [that

9. JP: It wasn't true.]

TB: some, not all of that intelligence was wrong. But the decision I had to take at the time was whether, as a result of that intelligence, we could conclude Saddam was in breach of United Nations resolutions, and I concluded he was, and I may say the evidence is that he indeed was in breach of UN resolutions.

10. JP: So when you wrote in the forward to the dossier ' that the threat from Saddam was serious and current', it wasn't↑ and indeed your own Chief of Staff, Jonathan Powell, had said that the dossier did nothing to demonstrate a threat.

TB: No, I'm sorry, the evidence that we presented was absolutely clearly set out in the Joint

Intelligence Committee Reports. You've had four enquires in to this. We subjected ourself, ourselves as a government, me as a Prime Minister, to a more extensive enquiry than any government has ever given, and what I'd simply ask people to do, instead of continually attacking my integrity over Iraq, I've never disrespected people who've taken a different point of view. But I had to take a decision in the best interests of the country. I took that decision, I cannot, I'm afraid apologise for having taken it, I believe still it was the right thing to do. [I understand the fact that I disagree with

11. JP: Despite the fact] there were no weapons of mass destruction.

TB: Yes,[because

12. JP: And you told us there were.]

TB: the, the legal case was the, the breach of United Nations resolutions, the evidence from the Iraq Survey Group, is that he was indeed in breach of UN resolutions, and incidentally, it wasn't just us in Britain that concluded. No, hang on a minute. It wasn't just us in Britain that concluded he had WMD, the entire United Nations concluded that, which is why they passed resolution 14.41.

13. JP: Did you see the Foreign Office legal advice which said, 'that military action against Iraq would be illegal without a further UN resolution'?

TB: No, I had the Attorney General's advice to guide me. But again, this is, this thing has been built in to [you know a

14. JP: Did you see] you didn't see that Foreign Office advice saying that an invasion would be illegal without a second UN resolution.

TB: No, because I had the Attorney General's advice.

15. JP: You didn't see it.

TB: Yes. I didn't see it. But I had the Attorney General's advice, and the Attorney General, made it absolutely clear that provided that we could show that there were breaches of the United Nations resolutions.

16. JP: The Attorney General is a political appointment Prime Minister, shouldn't you have seen the Foreign Office legal advice?

TB: But the Attorney General's advice is, is the advice he gives us, as the Law Officer. He acts in an independent way in doing that.

17. JP: Do you accept any responsibility at all for the death of Dr David Kelly.

TB: Aah it was a terrible, terrible thing to have happened. I don't believe we had any option however, but to disclose his name, because I think had we failed to do so, that would have been seen as attempting to conceal something from the committee that was looking in to this at the time. And [again

18. JP: Do you] accept any responsibility [at all.

TB: No, I, I, I, I,] I've said what I've said, and I feel desperately sorry for his family and indeed for the terrible ordeal that they were put through but as I said at the time, and again this has been gone in to time and time again, I, if we had concealed the fact, cos this whole row was about, erm, the information that as you know, we've been over this many many times, had been given to the BBC reporter, he had then come forward and said to his superiors, this is me, I think it's me who's responsible for having given this story. There was a Foreign Affairs Select Committee Report going at the time, I think if we'd concealed that from people, we would have been subject for a different to [a different type of allocation.

19. JP: So, the short answer to the question] is you don't accept any responsibility.

TB: Well it's, it's not a question of not accepting responsibility, It is a question of simply explaining the [circumstances.

20. JP: It's a question] to which you could give a yes or no answer Prime [Minister.

TB: Yeah,] but it's maybe not a question you need to give [a yes or no answer to.

21. JP: All right,] you keep referring to these enquires. The enquiry that you set up under Lord Butler concluded that what went wrong there, was partly the consequence of your style of government, so called 'sofa government.' Will your next government, if you have one, be any different?

TB: I don't run a sofa style of government. There were over twenty cabinet discussions of the Iraq war. (JP: sighs loudly)

22. JP: Lord Butler said, 'we are concerned that the informality and circumscribed character of the government's procedures, which we saw in the context of policy making towards Iraq, risks reducing the scope for informed, collective, political judgement.' Are we going to see a different style of government in future, if you are in government?

TB: We have a government that involves people fully. I'm sorry, I don't accept that we did not discuss Iraq in a proper way. We did.

23. JP: How many times did the Ministerial Defence and Overseas Policy Committee meet in the run up to war.

TB: It didn't have to meet [the whole

24. JP: It didn't meet at all] did it↓

TB: Well hang on, it didn't have to meet Jeremy, because we had an ad hoc committee of ministers that were meeting virtually daily at points.

25. JP: And that is precisely what Lord Butler criticised.

TB: No, he doesn't criticise that actually, that's completely different from the so-called, 'sofa style' of government. Look, I, look I want to make this point to you.

Because you can go on, over and over and over. About these events that have happened. In the end, I had a decision to make back in March 2003. We had two hundred and fifty thousand UK and US troops now there. We had Saddam not in compliance with UN resolutions. I tried desperately hard to get a second UN resolution. I couldn't get one. Now I had a decision to make, I had a decision to make as to whether to leave Saddam there, in breach of UN resolutions, and end up in a situation with the international community humiliated, him emboldened, or to remove him. I decided to remove him. Now, you can go through these issues about my integrity, my character, the legal advice, cos the legal advice actually, the legal issue was exactly the same as the political issue, or you can accept that in the end, a decision had to be taken; there was no middle way, there was no fence to sit on. I took that decision. Now I know people strongly disagreed with it. I'm sorry, in the end, I had to take the decision as Prime Minister, that I thought was right for the country and I did so.

26. JP: The problem is Prime Minister, that the next time the Joint Intelligence Committee come to you and say, we have extensive, authoritative intelligence of a threat or possible threat to this country, we urge pre-emptive action, you won't be able to sell it to the public.

TB: Well let's wait and see if that ever happens and I hope it never does. But I think that people, actually when they look at this, despite all the stuff, because continually this is, this argument[is conducted

27. JP: Why should they] believe you again.

TB: Because in the end, people have got to make a judgement about this. This was not an easy decision to take, it was a hard decision.

JP: Yes.

TB: I took the decision I thought was right, and if I had not taken that decision, then what. You'd have Saddam Hussein and his sons still running Iraq, you wouldn't have eight million Iraqis going out voting at the polls, you wouldn't have change spreading across the Middle East, as it is. There has been a lot that has happened on the other side of the argument that just occasionally, we should also pay attention to.

28. JP: Although those of course are not the grounds on which you told us we should go to war at the time.

TB: The grounds were, the legal case was breaches of UN resolutions. He was in breach of UN resolutions, but again, if I may say, this again has been completely [rewritten

JP: Fine.

TB: afterwards.] I spoke about the regime and the nature of reign, regime, continually, because what I said to people was, this is a difficult situation, but let us, if we have to remove them, remove them with a clear conscience, because this is a man responsible for hundreds of thousands of deaths.

29. JP: This matters also Prime Minister because during your time in office, you have committed British forces to battle on five separate occasions. On past form, we can expect if you're returned to Downing Street, they might be committed another couple of times in another Blair government. You haven't given George Bush any undertakings about anywhere else in the world, have you?

TB: I haven't given him any undertakings about anywhere, and I don't make the decision according to what the President of the United States might want. I make it according to what I think are in the interests of this country, and if you look at the military action we've taken, in respect of Kosovo, right, well we could have opted out of that too, but look what happened in the early 1990s when hundreds of thousands of people died in the Balkans. We took military action in Afghanistan, look at the democratic election that's happening there. We took the action in Iraq and I explained that already. We took the action in Sierra Leone where we saved a country's democracy from a gang of murderous gangsters, you know and, and am I going to do – no, I'm sorry, I, I think we can be proud of what the magnificent British Armed Forces have done, and those decisions, some of them, particularly Iraq, were very difficult.

30. JP: While we're on defence Prime Minister, the British independent nuclear deterrent is going to need replacing, probably a decision that has to be taken in the next government that

takes office after May 5th. Will you replace it?

TB: Well we've got to retain our nuclear deterrent, and we've had an independent nuclear deterrent for a long time. Now that decision is for another time, but in principle, I believe it's important [to retain our own

31. JP: You're committed to

TB: independent deterrent.

JP: continuing independent] nuclear deterrent.

TB: I believe that is the right thing for the country, I think it's important that however we look at all the different aspects of it, any decision hasn't yet been taken.

32. JP: And the billions of pounds that are involved, you're prepared to make available.

TB: Well we have to see. Cost is, is one aspect to it. But I think it's important this country retains a strong defence at all times.

33. JP: Would cost convince you not to go ahead with it?

TB: You just, look, there's no point in speculating about that at the moment, cos we're a long way off taking the decision.

34. JP: Just while we're on foreign affairs, there's a new Pope appointed. Do you agree [that

TB: Now that's one election] I can't comment on I'm afraid.

35. JP: Do you agree that condoms prevent the spread of AIDS?

TB: Yes I do.

36. JP: Would you be prepared to tell the Pope that?

TB: Jeremy, I mean, you know, (laughs) I've, I don't know. If I ever have this conversation with him, I'm sure we will talk about how we can do lots of things to help the world, but I, I don't want to, I've got enough issues in my own election, without getting in to his.

37. JP: All right.

TB: Okay.

JP: Let's look at tax.

TB: Urm.

38. JP: Before the last election, you made exactly the same promise you're making this time. No increase in the basic rate of tax, no increase the higher rate of tax. No commitment at all on National Insurance. You spoke to us very kindly before that election, and I suggested to you that any reasonable person would therefore conclude that after the election, you would raise the basic rate of National Insurance. You said that we shouldn't make such an assumption, and then you did it. You're not expecting us to fall for that the second time are you↓

TB: Well it wasn't a question of falling for it the first time. The fact [is

JP: Well we did.]

TB: .. ur, after [the

39. JP: We took you at your word.]

TB: No. Hang on a minute. I was asked the question, is there a reason why, in the government's proposal you should raise National Insurance. I said you shouldn't make any assumption about that at all.

40.JP: Urm, 'wouldn't any reasonable person suppose that you therefore propose to increase National Insurance contributions?' that was me – you, 'they shouldn't.'

TB: Yeah.

41. JP: And you [did.

TB: for exactly the] reason I've just given.

42. JP: And you did.

TB: Yeah but the therefore was, you were saying to me as I recall it look your spending proposals, mean that you're going to have to put up taxes. Now the reason why we ended up putting a 1% on National Insurance, was because subsequent to the election, we got a report on the National Health Service that said, you're going to have to raise spending by more than you had thought, in order to make sure that you get a proper and full erm, financing of the National [Health Service.

43. JP: But Prime Minister],

TB: So the actual commitments

43. JP: you had committed] before the election to raise the National Health spending to the European average. You made that commitment before the election.

TB: Exactly. And in the manifesto, what we said was that the commitments we had could be financed by the taxes that had been set aside. What happened after the election was, we got a report that said, no actually, if you want to reach the European Union average, the figures aren't as you supposed they are, you're going to have to raise it further, in order to do that. And that's why we did it, and that's why we've got the 1% National Insurance. Now that [was

44. JP: So the

TB: a catch up] in the health service, but you know it [that was necessary

44. JP: there could be any old report] coming along after this election, which will necessitate you raising taxes again.

TB: I think the Health Service is a special case, but look, in, in the end people again are going to have to make a judgement about it. I can't, I can't sit here and write the budget for every year of a, of a Labour government. What [I can say to people

JP: No.

TB: is] overall our taxes are actually lower than the European average, and they're lower as a proportion of our national income, than most of the years that Margaret Thatcher was in power.

45. JP: You are going to have to raise taxes after the election aren't you↓

TB: No, you, you can't say that on the basis of the spending plans we have [those

46. JP: Well] you can't give us a commitment, you won't.

TB: Well and actually I didn't, if, if you remember we had precisely the same discussion before, and not just in relation to National Insurance, but other taxes too. And what I said to you then, and I say it to you now, is the spending proposals that we have are adequately catered for, by the tax plans that we've got.

47. JP: And there is no question on your watch, of a local income tax ever being introduced.

TB: No. I mean I – well. We, we have a review in to the council tax and what's the right way to replace it, so you can't as it were foreclose options but for, for me the local income tax has always been a problem because it's all very well for the Lib Dems to say get rid of the council tax and everyone says, well that's fantastic, but if you're a two earner or three earner household, you're going to pay a lot more money under local income tax.

48. JP: So no local income tax on your watch.

TB: Well, as I say, we've got a review, so I'm not going to, I can't start closing everything off

but what I can say to you is personally, and I think I've said this on many occasions, I think there are big problems of local income tax.

49. JP: You've promised assistance to those people at the Rover works who will lose their jobs. What is the moral difference between those people losing their jobs and the tens of thousands of civil servants you propose should lose their jobs?

TB: Well one is happening as an immediate redundancy, I mean they've actually been handed their redundancy notices. The other will happen over time and actually [we've still

50. JP: They've still got mortgages to pay]

TB: Of course.

50. JP: families to support?

TB: Exactly. Which is why it's being structured over a period of time, so that we can help people, retrain and get other jobs, and the one thing we've done as a government, I think quite successfully, is where ever there are large scale job losses, but Rover is different, you've got six thousand jobs going immediately; jobs in the supply chain going immediately, you should go there and try and support them and and give some support to the infrastructure.

51. JP: And what was it in your analysis of what was wrong with Britain that convinced you that what this country needed was forty super casinos.

TB: Well the question is, do you prevent that happening. It's not a question (interject) of do you think it's, this is what the country needs, the question [is

52. JP: Well,

TB: isn't it] sensible to have an overhaul of the gambling laws. We'd [had

52. JP: Despite you] know, you know the social damage that is caused by addictive gambling.

TB: Yeah, but the question, that's not the question. We actually are setting up for the first time a gambling commission that will look in to these issues and make recommendations. People think you can go down the street now and gamble. You can gamble your mortgage away on putting money on a, on a horse or a, you know, take a bet, you can take a bet in the election and do it. The point is, is this type of larger casino, which is a big leisure complex, properly run, is it a disaster for the country; I don't think so. I think that if you look at the evidence of where these large scale casinos have been introduced, it doesn't bear out the opponents case at all, and I might just point out to you that until, certainly the newspapers started running a campaign on this, virt – virtually everyone was in favour of these proposals.

53. JP: Can you tell us how many failed asylum seekers there are in this country?

TB: No, I can't be sure of the numbers of, of people who are ur, illegals in this country. For the same reason that the previous government couldn't. Urm, what I can say is that the asylum system has been toughened up and tightened up hugely, and according to the United Nations Commission for Refugees, and not us, asylum figures have fallen by more than a half in the past two or three years.

54. JP: Can you give us a rough idea of how many there may be?

TB: I have no point in speculating on that. What I do know is [that

55. JP: Is it tens of] thousands, hundreds of thousands? Millions?

TB: I've said, I don't think there's any point in speculating [I

56. JP: But] you have no idea.

TB: Well it's not a question of having no [idea.

57. JP: Well what is] your idea Prime Minister.

TB: What, what you. Hang on, what you can say is, how many people are applying for asylum, month by month. How many people are you [removing

JP: Prime Minister

TB: And] what is the back log, and we are dealing with all of those issues.

58. JP: Prime Minister, you have really no idea of how many failed asylum seekers there are illegally in this country.

TB: I can't[...

59. JP: You] don't know.

TB: Because people are here [illegally

60. JP: You don't know.]

TB: It is difficult, for the very [reason that

61. JP: You don't know.]

TB: Hang on, for the very reason that the previous government gave, you cannot determine specifically, how many people [are here illegally.

62. JP: You have no idea.]

TB: What you can say is, here are the number of people that are [actually

JP: Yes.]

TB: currently applying for asylum this is the backlog of claims that you're dealing with. And

these are the people who are being removed from [the country.

63. JP: Do] you. Do people not come to you and say, we think Prime Minister there may be a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand or fifty thousand, or five hundred thousand.

TB: We it, they, they don't come and say that, [what they

64. JP: So you have no idea.]

TB: No, hang on a minute. You have an idea of the numbers that are claiming, the backlog, and the numbers that are being removed. Some of those asylum seekers when they fail, and their claim fails, they will go back voluntarily. Now, in the long term [if you want to deal

65. JP: What's your working] assumption.

TB: I don't make a working assumption about it, what I do is I concentrate on the bits that are absolutely vital to concentrate on, which is – hang on, just let me finish, which is the numbers who are coming in, the numbers we're removing and the backlog. The only long term way of dealing with this issue however, is to introduce the proper controls of borders through an electronic visa regime, and the other thing is identity cards.

66. JP: Does the fact that you're unable or unwilling to tell us, indicate that you have in fact lost control of our borders.

TB: No, it doesn't indicate that cos no government has ever been able to say that. What you are able to say however, is here are the measures that we're taking to control it properly, to deal with the abuses, and you are also able to say, which I can say to you very clearly, cos we keep the proper statistics of this, is the numbers that are claiming now and the numbers that we're removing, and the way to get asylum figures down, so that it's only genuine refugees you're taking is, is to do precisely what we've done. Clean up the system, remove the, the tiers of appeal, make sure that people can't destroy their documentation when they come here and improve the removal system. We're doing all of those things.

67. JP: And just one final time. You have no figure that you can give us for the number of refused asylum seekers who are in this [country.

TB: I'm] giving you the information that I've got, and I've answered [that question

68. JP: A figure] you can't give us any kind of figure.

TB: The, the reason is because some people will return after their asylum claim has failed.

JP: Right.

TB: So, what you can say[...

69. JP: So you have no idea.]

TB: Well it's, what you have is an idea of the numbers that are coming in and claiming, and the numbers that you're removing. Now, those are the two important things to concentrate on.

70. JP: Well, what is that number.

TB: The numbers that are coming in now, it's fallen to just over about two thousand a month who are claiming asylum, and that's down from at its height it was round about eight thousand month. And actually, that is lower than the figure in, [in March 1997

71. JP: But it gives us] no indication of the, of, of the backlog of course. Can we look [a

TB: Well, no sorry,] it does give me an [indication

72. JP: No it doesn't.]

TB: No, no, – no Jeremy, excuse me. You can say what the backlog is of claims. The backlog of claims I think is down to round about ten thousand, that's down from sixty thousand that we inherited, right. In respect of removals, there were one in five asylum seekers who failed, were being removed. [It's now half of them that are being removed.

73. JP: All right. Let's look at]

TB: And the answer that I have given to you on the numbers of illegals here, is precisely the answer we have always given, and the last government gave.

74. JP: Although you've not given us a number.

TB: Well I, I – I've just explained [to you why it's impossible to do that

JP: Well, let's look at

TB: why it's impossible to do that

JP: all right]

TB: But what you can do is give numbers [for the other things

75. JP: Let's look at economic migrants.] Is there an upper limit to the number of economic migrants who should be allowed in to this country.

TB: Well there's a, a, an arbitrary limit or a quota in my view, but there's going to be a limit set by what your economy needs.

76. JP: Well what does our economy need?

TB: And the points. And the points system that we, we're introducing will make sure that only people get work permits, who actually come in and we need for our economy.

77. JP: What does our economy need.

TB: Well, at the moment, I think – well, I, I haven't got the exact figure off the top of my head but I think it's round about a hundred and thirty thousand come in with work permits, but most of those people will come in, work for a time, and go again.

78. JP: Your previous Home Secretary, David Blunkett told us that he saw no obvious upper limit.

TB: No, what he's saying is exactly the same as me. There's no point in setting an – the Tories say, you set a quota and what they say is that parliament will set the quota. Supposing you get a major company that says, I mean here we are, company of law offices here, which is actually connected with a, an American company, supposing they need someone to come in from abroad for a short time. Why, why shouldn't you have them in. The point is to make sure that you have strict controls that mean the only people your economy needs to come in to this [country

JP: Well,

TB: Come in] to this country.

79. JP: But you have predictions of the economic growth of this country. You know roughly what's going to happen with the labour market. Why are you so shy of just putting a rough figure on it?

TB: Well you can take the figures now. I don't think the figures on work permits have changed that much in the past erm, few years. But the reason I shouldn't put a figure on it, is that I don't run every business in the country. Supposing you get a business in the City of London that says, actually, we need fifty people in this specialty, to come in and work here for six months. You'll do tremendous damage to your economy if you start taking out all migrant labour. Or for, even more absurdly for the parliament to come along and say, we parliament suddenly know what the, the, the needs of employers are in the country, it makes no sense to do that.

80. JP: Prime Minister, if you are returned to Downing Street on May 6th, can you at least give us a guarantee that within say twelve months of your handing in your cards as Prime Minister, there would be a General Election.

TB: Well I've said I'll service a full term, and you know again I mean I've been over this, [and

81. JP: But] people are entitled to know what [they're voting for aren't they]

TB: Yeah, absolutely that's why I've said...

81. JP: Or what they're going to get.

TB: ...I'll serve] the full term. Yes, exactly. And they'll get New Labour.

82. JP: So that means, by the time there's a new American President coming on his first visit to Britain in 2009, you will still be in Downing Street.

TB: Well if people elect me, but I haven't won the election yet.

83. JP: But if you're elected, you will still be in Downing Street in 2009.

TB: I've said I'll serve the full term, and exactly what situation happens then and how you hand over, well you can leave that to a later time. But it's not unknown you know for, for – there are countries with fixed term [parliaments

JP: Oh absolutely.

TB: There are] other Prime Ministers who've said, look, this is my, you know this – I'll serve this term but I won't serve another term. I mean it's not, its – I think the public actually has a very clear and sensible view of this.

84. JP: Have you told Gordon Brown when you're going to stand down?

TB: No, I've said to Gordon the same as I've said to everyone, urm, if you elect the Prime Minister, you serve the term.

85. JP: So if there is any deal between the two of you, it's a deal just in Gordon Brown's mind.

TB: The, you don't do deals about jobs like this. And Gordon and I have actually been working extremely closely together. It's been a great partnership. I hope it's also been a good partnership for the country. I mean we've known each other – for twenty years, and he's been a magnificent Chancellor. He's produced tremendous economic strength in this country, and you know, we can be proud I hope of what we've achieved for the country.

86. JP: So this deal is just in his mind.

TB: Well I think you going on about what is in his mind, as far as I'm aware, as I think he was saying this morning, as we sat on the sofa together, that er, you know we were there together to serve as Prime Minister and Chancellor.

87. JP: When you look at your time in Downing Street. You came in 1997, you were a young man, [you were talking about the

TB: (unintelligible) show the old pictures are you↓]

88. JP: No. None of us can really survive that.

TB: (unintelligible)

89. JP: But you came in, you came in, a young Prime Minister, talking about a young country. Now they talk about how you've got a fake tan. You haven't got a fake tan I take it.

TB: I haven't got a [fake tan as a matter of fact...]

JP: Right.]

TB: ... you look you look as if you've been sitting out in the sun as well.

90. JP: Well, actually I haven't no. I know that's your story but[...]

TB: (laughing)

91. JP: Hang on, here you are, you can't make that claim any more that you're a young man in a young country. Isn't there a point where you think, God it's going to be great to be shot of all of this.

TB: Well I erm it's not at the moment cos I still think we've got things to do. I'm not saying the, the irony of this job is that you're less popular as you go on, but in some ways you're better equipped to do the job. And I feel that, that we're just really poised on the Health Service, Education reform, a lot of the stuff we're doing on Law and Order. I think with the economy, there's a whole new series of things we've got to do about science, technology, apprenticeship, vocational skills and you know there's masses for me to do. And that's what gets you up in the morning. It's, it's recognising that whatever ghastly stuff is appearing from time to time in the media, you've still got the energy and the determination to do the job, and then I've limit on, my, my time doing it and then it's for somebody else to take on the batten and and and run with it. But I still feel there's things we've got to do and, and, and I think we can accelerate the change, drive it faster in, in this third term, but we've got to get elected first.

92. JP: Tony Blair thank you.

TB: Thank you.

TRANSCRIPT 3

Newsnight, 22 April 2005, 28 minutes, 105 turns

IR: Jeremy Paxman **IE:** leader of the Conservatives, Michael Howard

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1. JP: Good evening. In the third of our interviews with the leaders of the big three parties in British politics, tonight we're talking here in London Docklands to Michael Howard of the Conservatives. The Tories have been out of power since they went down to that crashing defeat eight years ago. Are we going to be willing to bring them back on May 5th. Now, Michael Howard, why would anybody want to bring you back in to government.

MH: Because we will take action on the things which matter to the country and the things which matter to people, and that's why we've been spelling out our plans to bring to this country school discipline, clean hospitals, more police, controlled immigration, lower taxes; the things that really people do care about and the things that are important for the country's future and unlike Mr Blair who talks a lot but does very little, we will carry out the promises we make.

2. JP: But we know what you're like in government. You were the man who brought us the Poll Tax, you were part of the Cabinet that presided over that embarrassing fiasco with the ERM.

MH: Urm. Well let's, let's talk about those things. The ERM was indeed a terrible mistake. When we went in to the ERM, we were supported by the Labour Party, the Liberals, the TUC, the CBI, and we are the only party that's learned our lesson[...]

3. JP: It's about judgement Mr Howard.

MH: No, no – just let me] finish. Indeed it is, it is about judgement. We are the only party that's learned our lesson from that. We're the only party that isn't going to take the country in to the Euro which[...]

JP: All right ...

MH: Is the] ERM writ large with no exit signs.

4. JP: We all know what Blairism is, we knew what Thatcherism was. What is Howardism.

MH: Howardism, if, if you want to use that word is a, a practical programme for dealing with the challenges facing this country. For changing the direction of the country and for putting in

place things which really matter to ordinary people in their lives. That's why for example, we're talking today about crime, crimes gone up, crimes out of control. People need a government that's going to get a grip on the problems facing the country, and we're spelling out exactly how we're going to do that.

5. JP: No one denies of course we need a government that would get a grip on the country's problems. But as you've already conceded, it is a matter of judgement and you've been wrong on so many issues haven't you↓

MH: Well I've been ur, I've been right on very many issues I[– I mean let's talk about it.

6. JP: Let's

MH: I- I mean let's talk about] f you, you want to talk about the past I'm very happy to do so [...

6. JP: Well I mean, let's look at...

MH: When I was] Home Secretary, crime fell by 18%. It hadn't happened before, ever, it hasn't happened since; so I've proved that I can get a job done and that's what we will do. That's one of the ways in which we'll be different. We[...

7. JP: You opposed the national minimum wages.

MH: Well hang on. We, we won't...

7. JP: You said it would cost two million jobs.

MH: ... we won't just talk about things

7. JP: It hasn't has it↓

MH: We won't start things and not finish them. We won't pussy foot about, we'll actually do the things we're promising.

8. JP: You opposed the extension of paid maternity leave, from six weeks to fourteen weeks. You said it would cost many many women's jobs, it hasn't↓ You see that's just two examples.

MH: And we've learned [lessons.

9. JP: To say nothing] of the Poll Tax. To say nothing of the ERM.

MH: Well I, we've talked about the ERM. We're the only party to have learned our lesson from that. We'll talk – I'll tell you about the Poll Tax if you like.

10. JP: What did Major get wrong, apart from the ERM.

MH: The ERM was was the biggest mistake that government made and we were in government, although everybody else supported that decision, you're, you're right to say, we

were in government, we have to accept the responsibility for that [and ...

11. JP: But apart from the ERM

MH: We do.

JP: The Major government] basically was right was it↑

MH: I, I think we did, we did a lot of very good things.

12. JP: So if we vote for you, we get what, Major Part Two.

MH: No, if you vote for the Conservatives at this election, you'll get a government that will take action on the challenges that face the country and on the things that really matter to people and I'll give you one example – crime. Let me give you another example – clean hospitals. Five thousand people a year die in our country from hospital acquired infections – as many people as die on Britain's roads. We have an action plan, which will deal with that problem, which would bring it under control. There's no reason why in this country of ours, we should have that problem worse than it is in almost any other country in Europe.

13. JP: What proportion of the National Income, do you think should be taken up with government spending.

MH: We've said that by 2011, government spending will be 40% of national income. Labour, under Labour it will be 42% of [national income

14. JP: You see that's] another area in which you've changed isn't it↓

MH: We've, we've – yes, it is. [Yes I have, I have

15. JP: You used to] say 35% [didn't you↓

MH: Yes I have] changed my mind. I think it's important to learn lessons as life goes on and to look at things again, and I, and that's right. [I have changed my mind about that

16. JP: So if you've been wrong on] all these things in the past, we don't have slightest guarantee you'll be right on anything in the future?

MH: Well you, you know we can, we can talk about the past, you can – about the time that ur, that, that I brought in the Poll Tax, Tony Blair was a member of CND, he was opposing all the reforms to the trade unions that we brought in. He was describing our plans to give trade union members the right to vote for their leaders as scandalous. So we can argue about the past to your heart's content. I think most people watching this programme are interested in our plans for the future of our country.

17.JP: Absolutely. Well let's look at tax then.

MH: Very good.

18. JP: Are you going to cut taxes?

MH: Yes. We're going to cut taxes by four billion pounds in our first budget.

19. JP: That's a guarantee is it↑

MH: That's a guarantee.

20. JP: You are guaranteeing four billion pounds worth.

MH: We are guaranteeing four billion pounds.

21. JP: Although, overall, on your watch, taxes would go up.

MH: Well it depends whether you're talking about tax rates or the tax burden. Both [the ...

22. JP: The burden of] tax will go up by what, about twenty billion pounds.

MH: Well it will be lower under the Conservatives than it will be under [Labour but yes

23. JP: Yeah, but it will go up.

MH: Yes. Yes,] because that's what happens. The three, that question shows Jeremy, let me deal with this, it's very important. That question shows that you understand three things about what a Conservative government would bring about. First of all, we'll bring about a growing economy, because the tax burden goes up under [a growing economy

24. JP: It shows we understand that you will...

MH: It shows, it shows that we un...

24. JP: ...increase taxes...

MH: ...it shows that we ...

24. JP: ...that's all.

MH: .. no, no, no.] We, you we're going to cut taxes. The tax burden goes up when when an economy grows.

25. JP: Right you talk about sixty sixty is it↓ Sixty six Labour stealth [tax

MH: Sixty six tax rises]

26. JP: And you're going to remove all of those are you↑

MH: No. We're going to cut [taxes

JP: Right.

MH: By four] billion pounds in our first budget. I wish that we could undo all the damage which Labour have done in the last eight years at one fell swoop; we can't do that. We can – we are only making promises we know we can keep. That's why we will cut taxes by four billion pounds in our first budget.

27. JP: Will you guarantee to reverse the rise in National Insurance contributions.

MH: No. I, I'm not making any promises that I can't keep. There are lots of things I'd like to do, lots of things I'd love to do[...

27. JP: Yeah.

MH: but]

28. JP: In fact you could increase National Insurance contributions couldn't you↑

MH: What we can do – well, let me deal with that. I'm, I can tell you, as I just have done, with certainty what we're going to do in our first budget, and we're going to cut taxes by four billion pounds in our first budget. Labour, by contrast, all the independent commentators say, will have to increase taxes by ten or eleven billion pounds. But if you're asking me what I'm – I'll be able to do three or four years out, then in truth, although we've spelled out our plans, although our plans certainly don't need us to increase taxes at all, I can't foresee exactly what the position is going to be in three or four years time. I, I – there may [be unforeseen events.

29. JP: So you might] raise National Insurance.

MH: Well, our plans don't require us to do that. But I can't sit here [today

30. JP: That is exactly] what Blair said before the last election.

MH: And they increased National Insurance one year later.

JP: [Precisely.

MH: We, they weren't talking about three or four years on. Now, I'm telling you what we're going to do in our first [budget we're

31. JP: So, three or] four years out you might raise it.

MH: I can't tell you what the position is going to be three or four years – you, you may have foresight. You may [be able to predict

JP: No, I'm not

MH: Jeremy] with great precision, what's going to happen in three or four years time. Now let me explain. We've spelled out our plans, we've set out our spending plans for the next six years. If no unforeseen events occur, we will be able to deliver that spending without

increasing taxes. But I can't put my hand on my heart and say that I can predict exactly what's going to happen over the next three or four years and if some extraordinary, unforeseen event occurs, then I can't say what we would have to do as a responsible government, to deal with that. But I'm making a very firm promise, which we will keep about what we'll do in our first budget. We'll cut taxes by four billion pounds, Labour will increase taxes by ten or eleven billion pounds, they'll have to; that's the clear choice facing the country at this election.

32. JP: What are the current services provided by the state that you think the state shouldn't provide.

MH: Well, there are things which the state does at the moment, which we think it doesn't do well, and which we think we can do better in a different way. [Now there are

33. JP: So what should be taken out of the state exactly.

MH: Right. Well we're going to – as you know, we're going to abolish things like the Regional Health Authorities. We don't think they add anything, we don't think they, they bring any money to the front line; so we will save a very substantial amount of money by cutting out the Regional Health Authorities. We'll scrap the Regional Assemblies; we think they are a completely unnecessary layer of bureaucracy. We'll scrap the New Deal, that's a tough decision, that's something which we think is not working well. We think there are better ways of getting people back in to work than the new deal, so we're going to scrap that. We're going to scrap the Small Business Services – most people I meet who run small businesses, have never heard of the Small Business Service, they don't think it's helping them much. So those are example of things we are going to scrap in order to give tax payers value for money. Some of them are quite tough choices, but government is about tough choices. But not just about talking about tough choices, it's about making tough choices, [that's what we'll do.

34. JP: Let's look, let's look] at the Health Service. You seek a greater role for the private sector in the Health Service. Correct?

MH: Well we think that, we think two things about the Health Service. We, we think first, first of all we think that everybody should have more choice. That means that any NHS patient should have the choice of going to any NHS hospital. Secondly, we think that if the private sector can provide health care, at the same cost as the NHS, then it should have the right to supply those services, and patients should have the right to go to the private sector for those services, and thirdly, we think that ur, people have paid their taxes, they've paid for the

cost of their NHS treatment. If they choose to go private, the NHS should pay half of what it would have cost the NHS to pay for those operations, er, towards the cost of their treatment in [the private sector.

35. JP: Right]. And that latter proposals takes 1.2 billion pounds, out of the Health Service and straight in to the private sector.

MH: Well these are people [who've paid their taxes.

36. JP: Yes or no. It does doesn't it↓

MH: Yes, well, it

37. JP: Yes it does.

MH: it takes...

38. JP: 1.2 billion straight out of the National] – the publicly funded National Health Service, and put in to the private sector.

MH: it's being spent on. It's being spent on people's healthcare This present government is spending hundreds of millions of pounds in the private [sector. I believe

39. JP: But the short] answer to the question is, [yes it is.

MH: yes, yes,] I believe that if people have paid their taxes, have paid towards the cost of their NHS treatment, but find for whatever reason that they have to, or want to go private [it's right

40. JP: They should be subsidized] by the state to do so.

MH: It's right and fair for the NHS to pay a cost. Look, these people could have cluttered up the NHS waiting list. That would have added to the NHS waiting list. If they choose to go private, for half the cost to the NHS, they're allowing someone else to come up the waiting list to get their operation sooner. They're saving the NHS money because the NHS is [only contributing half of what

41. JP: So if you're rich enough to have private health insurance,] you propose that the state should then make it easier for you to go privately.

MH: Two hundred,[two hundred...

42. JP: Correct?

MH: Two hundred and twenty

42. JP: Correct or not.]

MH: Yeah, but let me, let me explain something to you.

43. JP: Thank you.

MH: Two hundred and twenty thousand people last year, without any health insurance, people who were not by any stretch of the imagination rich, people who in many cases had to borrow, which they could ill afford to do, to pay for their operation, went in to the private sector. They've paid their taxes, they've paid towards the cost of NHS treatment. I think they deserve a better deal.

44. JP: That's Howardism isn't it↓

MH: Well you can call it what you like. I think it's fair play. I think it's common sense, and I think it's fair play. These people have all paid their taxes. They've paid towards the NHS. I think it's right that if they shorten the waiting lists on the NHS, if they enable the NHS to treat someone else, it's right that the NHS should pay a proportion of what it would have cost the NHS to treat them.

45. JP: Well by [that principle the state should pay parents who want to send their children to

MH: I met, I met someone]

45. JP: the state should pay parents who want to send their children to private schools.

MH: Well we, only if the private school can, can, can provide the education at the same cost as the state sector can.

46. JP: Well any, anything else you want to privatize?

MH: Well, neither of those things are privatization. [These are

47. JP: Taking money straight out of the public sector in to the private sector.

MH: These are, these are,] these are things which will give people in this country a better deal. They involve fair play for people who've paid their taxes, who've paid for the cost of their NHS operations. Who've paid for the cost of their education. For heavens [sake

48. JP: Who happen to be able to afford private insurance.

MH: If a private, if a private,] if a private – no, many of them can't afford private insurance. I'm, I was with someone in Bolton a couple of days ago, who'd had to pay, borrow eight thousand pounds to get an operation which he couldn't get on the Health Service. He could, he was not rich by any stretch of the imagination. That's the sort of thing that is happening today, and for heavens sake, if the private sector can come up with education at the same level as, as the state sector, why shouldn't someone be able to choose that private, a private [sector school.

49. JP: Apart from] the health, the health sector and now education, any other areas you think

that should be a greater role for the private sector in?

MH: I, I don't approach these things as a matter of ideology or dogma. If, if I'm persuaded If I'm persuaded [that there are

50. JP: I'm not asking why you do it...

MH: I'm answering your question.

50. JP: ...I'm asking whether, whether you think] there are other areas.

MH: And I'm answering that question. If, if I am persuaded that there are areas where the private sector can deliver a better service for people in this country than the state can, I'm in favour of it. I'm not, I'm not wedded to any ideology. [What I'm interested in

51. JP: To any ideology?

MH: I'm not, I'm not...

52. JP: Well presumably you wouldn't privatize the armed forces would you↑]

MH: No I wouldn't because I think the private sector couldn't do that job. I want people to get the best deal they can in this country. Everyone in this country. And if they can get it from the private sector rather than the state, then I think they should be allowed to. All I'm interested in is getting the best deal for the people of Britain and I think if you ask people what they're interested in, they'll tell you they want the best service they can get. They want the best health care they can get.

JP: Right.

MH: They want the best education for their kids. That's what they're interested in. And they're not fussed about where it comes from. They want it to be free, quite rightly, and so do I.

53. JP: Let's look at immigration.

MH: Erm.

53. JP: That's another area in which you've changed. You're proposing a total limit on immigrants to this country including asylum seekers. What's the number.

MH: We haven't got a number yet [that's because

54. JP: What do you mean you haven't] got a number.

MH: I'm just about, [I'm just about ..

55. JP: You're asking, you're asking us to

MH: To tell you.

55. JP: You're asking us to make you a government next month.]

MH: .. Yes. And I'm just about to tell you why because we will ask parliament every year, to set a limit on the number of people who can come in to this country.

56. JP: What is your [recommendation

MH: Parliament

56. JP: For the] parliamentary limit for 2005.

MH: Just let me finish the answer Jeremy. Parliament will set the limit after there's been consultation. There will have to be consultation with the CBI and other employer's organisations, so that we can get the right number of people coming in to this country with skills, which we need, as economic migrants. We will set a number for family reunion, and we'll set a number for genuine refugees, and in that way we will arrive at the annual limit and let me tell you about limits because there are people who think this is [an outrageous idea.

57. JP: No, let's not] go on to the principle of it, just yet I just [want to

MH: Well why not get on to the principle.

57. JP: I'm going to get on to the, I'm going to get on to the principle

MH: It's the principle of it, it's the principle of it

JP: Oh yes

MH: That's important.

57. JP: We'll deal with the principle, don't you worry↑

MH: It's the principle of it that's the difference between us and Mr Blair.

58. JP: You say there's going to be a] numerical limit. You say you don't know what that limit will be. And yet you said did you not, in an advertisement in the Sunday Telegraph, a matter of a few weeks ago, it would be somewhere between ten and twenty thousand.

MH: No no, that was, that was for asylum seekers. That, [that for genuine refugees

59. JP: Oh so in addition to that we'd have...

MH: for genuine refugees.

59. JP: ...economic migrants in addition to that.]

MH: Yes of course you would. Of course we would.

60. JP: Well the Prime Minister is quite able to tell us roughly what number of economic migrants we need. He's told by business, perhaps it's a hundred and thirty thousand. Now if business come to you and say we need a hundred thousand, two hundred thousand perhaps, economic migrants a year, you would deny them would you↑

MH: We would talk to them. We wouldn't necessarily accept what they say, we would have a dialogue with them; that's what consultation means. We want to find out what [they think.

61. JP: I thought you were the party] of business.

MH: Well, well we want to find out what they think. We will talk to them, we will ask them to take in to account when they're considering how many people are needed. Please let me finish when, when we're asking them to consider how many people we need, we'd ask them to take in to account the fact that there are millions of people in the new accession countries of the European Union, who are entitled to come here; so bearing in mind that, you look at what Ireland has done, Ireland taken, taking in to account the number of people who can come here from Eastern Europe, has reduced the number of work permits it gives out, from fifty thousand a year to two and a half thousand a year. I think there may be lessons we can learn from Ireland on this.

62. JP: Have you not had that conversation yet?

MH: No. When we, [when we

63. JP: Mr Howard] you're ask – you are seriously telling us that in two weeks time, you could have been the victor in this election, and you haven't even had this conversation or what you say is an absolutely critical matter of public policy.

MH: Of course not. We'll have the conversation when we're in government. We'll be set – we'll be asking [parliament

64. JP: So

MH: at some point] in the year to set a limit for 2006. And we will have ample time to consult the CBI [and the employer's organisations

65. JP: Do you think that limit is going to be] in the tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands.

MH: I think it will be less than the number of people who come in to the country today, which is, which is about a hundred and fifty thousand, which has gone up three times under Labour, it's tripled under Labour without anybody being consulted. [Without anybody being asked

66. JP: So it's less than a hundred and fifty thousand but what

MH: At all.]

66. JP: more than a hundred thousand?

MH: I can't give you a precise figure. Less than a hundred and fifty thousand. [We will

consult...

67. JP: Shouldn't you have] done a bit more homework on this.

MH: Not at all. The, the argument between us and Mr Blair is the point of principle. [Mr Blair doesn't believe

JP: All right

MH: There] should be any limits on immigration in this country; I do. That's the point of principle, that's what people will have to decide at the election.

68. JP: The real question of high principle here is the question of asylum seekers, the rest is a matter of economics and economic necessity isn't it.↓

MH: [No, no.

69. JP: On the question of]

MH: No, no no. There's a principle about whether you should have a limit. It's a very important [difference

70. JP: Whether you're prepared] to constrain the economy.

MH: No, no I don't believe it would constrain the economy at all [for the reasons

JP: Okay.

MH: I've given. Let me

71. JP: All right, let's look at the question of

MH: Let, let's deal with this for the moment ..

71. JP: let's look at the question of asylum seekers cos that's the one area you have put a number on isn't it↓

MH: No, no no – let's deal with this – no, no, I'll come to that], but let's deal with this point of principle for just one more moment because this is, this is the point on which we're being attacked. This is the difference. We say there should be a limit. Now, I have in my pocket a quotation from the Patron Saint Of Liberalism, Roy Jenkins, and this is what Roy Jenkins said about immigration, this is from Roy Jenkins. He said, 'there is a clear limit to the amount of immigration this country can absorb'

JP: Yeah.

MH: 'and it's in the interests of the minorities themselves to maintain a strict control'. That's what I think. It's not what Mr Blair thinks. That's the difference in principle between us.

72. JP: Let's look at this question of asylum because you are prepared to talk numbers there aren't you↓

MH: We've given illustrative [figures.

73. JP: Yeah, you say] ten to twenty thousand.

MH: We haven't, we haven't [decided.

74. JP: Ten to twenty thousand.]

MH: But that's an illustrative figure yes.

75. JP: And you have made great play of the fact that you yourself come from refugee stock.

MH: I come from immigrant stock actually, not refugee stock, if you want to be strictly accurate. I do come from immigrant stock.

76. JP: I thought I heard you say you came from refugee stock.

MH: No you've, you've, no, that's not true. My father came to this country to do a job. He was an economic migrant if you like. He was not a, he was not a refugee.

77. JP: But if you set the limit, let's say upper limit twenty thousand, and the twenty thousand and first person to present themselves on the shores of this country is a say a white farmer from Zimbabwe who's been tortured by Mugabe's thugs, you're quite happy to turn around to him and say, I'm sorry mate, don't unpack go back.

MH: No. No, it wouldn't work like that. Let me, shall I explain to you how it would work. When we have a limit, we would phase obviously sensibly the rate at which we would accept genuine refugees over the year, and we would aim to get the twenty thousand in over the period of a year. So we would have the twenty thousandth, as you, as you describe I suppose arriving some time in December, and if someone arrived, someone wanted asylum in the circumstances that you've described, we would say, you'll have to wait a little while, and we'll put you in to next year's quota, it would work very simply and very effectively [in that way.

78. JP: You'd still have] an enormous back log wouldn't you.↓

MH: I don't think so [at all.

79. JP: These people], where would these people actually physically be.

MH: Well what we'd like to, to work towards is, is the following system. At the moment, let's start with describing where we are at the moment[...

80. JP: No

MH: At the moment you

80. JP: No, where would you put them. Where would they be.

MH: I'll come to it.] Just let me, let me tell you how, how we get to where we want to be. At the moment, we have a system that is desperately unfair and inhumane. The people who benefit from it are not genuine refugees, they are the people who pay the people smugglers to come to this country. [Genuine

81. JP: Hang on where would you put these people.

MH: .. refugees. I'm, I'm going] to explain that to you Jeremy, you just have to be patient for a moment or two. Only two out of ten of the people who apply for asylum in this country today are genuine refugees, so we want to break the link between people who have to come to the country illegally, who have to trick their way in, in order to apply for asylum. We would take a number of genuine refugees from the UNHCR and if people arrived in this country and wanted[to claim asylum we would

82. JP: You've now had a minute or two and you still] haven't told us where is this place, where are they going to be.

MH: That's because you keep interrupting, if you didn't interrupt I'd have got there [by now.

83. JP: Look it's very simple, name a place.

MH: Yeah,] if those people, if there are people who come in to this country and who apply for asylum, we would look for overseas processing [centres

84. JP: Where! (angry)

MH: And put them there.] Well I'm in opposition, I can't [negotiate with other governments.

85. JP: You see this is another thing you've not] had a conversation about is it↓

MH: No but it is when we'll get in to government. [And let me ..

85. JP: You've not had the conversation yet.

MH: Let me No but it is when we'll get in to government, and let me

86. JP: You've not had the conversation yet. Oh, we've got another piece of paper in your pocket.

MH: We have got another piece of paper, yes we have.

87. JP: Where have these] pieces of paper suddenly come from.

MH: Well they're, this is, this comes from Number 10 Downing Street as a matter of fact, it's from the Prime Minister, and this is what it says. It was a letter written to the person who was in charge of the European Union at the time, it begins Dear Costas, and it continues, 'I'm

writing to ask for a very short discussion at the Brussels European Council, of an idea we've been developing to help deal with the problem of refugees and migration'.

JP: Yes.

MH: And it goes on to talk about the – asylum seekers arriving in the UK and other EU member states, could be transferred to a transit processing centre where their claims could be assessed, that centre would be located outside the EU. Now the difference between Mr Blair and me is that he talks about things but he doesn't do them. He starts things but he doesn't finish them. He pussy foots around.

JP: Right

MH: [He had the idea himself

88. JP: Just to be clear about this]

MH: But we would put it in to practise.

88. JP: Well you say that he sent a letter

MH: He did.

88. JP: enquiring about it.

MH: Yes he did.

89. JP: [But just to be clear

MH: He wanted the European Union to do it.

89. JP: about this,] you have nowhere that has agreed.

MH: [Of course not.

JP: Fine. Thank you.

MH: I'm an opposition Leader but when we're in government we'll negotiate.

90. JP: A rather badly briefed opposition leader apparently.]

MH: Mr Blair, Mr, Mr Blair only does things like this if he can get the agreement of the whole of the European Union. I would do it as the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

[And we'd do it

91. JP: This would also] involve you would it not↓ in withdrawing from the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees.

MH: Yes.

92. JP: Are you aware of any other civilised country that has withdrawn?

MH: No.

93. JP: Are you aware of any other political party in Europe, even for example the extreme right wing national front party in France, advocating such a withdrawal.

MH: I, I've no idea [what their

94. JP: No, are you aware of the other countries which are not signatories to that, that convention

MH: Mr Blair is on

95. JP: Are you] aware of what they are?

MH: Mr Blair is on record as saying that the 1951 Convention is out of date and that it doesn't respond to the circumstances which we face today. I agree with him about that. The difference between us is that he only talks about it, I'm prepared to take action to deal with it.

96. JP: You presumably have a list of paper on which you've got the names of the other countries which are not signatories to that convention. You know that they include for example, Saudi Arabia, Libya, North Korea. You want to be in the company of those places do you↓

MH: I'm interested in doing what's best for Britain. I'm interested in doing the right thing for the people of this country. I believe that we have to bring immigration under control, that we have to limit the circumstances in which people apply for asylum in this country, and if that means that we have to withdraw

JP: Right.

MH: From the 1951 convention, that's what I'd do.

97. JP: Okay, let me just be clear what it is you're afraid of. Are you seriously saying that unless some measure like yours is taken, there is a danger of something like race riots or something in this country.

MH: I am saying that we need to bring immigration under control and we need to limit it, just as Roy Jenkins said, in the quotation that I've just put to you – because of the importance of good community relations in this country, because we need to have a proper grip on security, and because we need to manage effectively the demands on our public services, the demands on housing and the demands on other things which are associated with immigration. At the moment we have a number of people coming in to the country, the size of a city like Peterborough every year. Over the next few years, the governments own figures show that there will be five million more people coming in to this country, the population will grow by

five million because of immigration, that's five times the city of Birmingham. I think that although I recognise this is a country which has benefited from immigration, we are a better, stronger, richer country because we are more diverse, there have to be limits and there have to be controls.

98. JP: Two very quick points. Firstly on Europe. Are there any circumstances under which you could contemplate withdrawal from the European Union.

MH: No. I want to be a member of the European Union, that's very clear.

99. JP: There are no circumstances at all.

MH: I, I believe that we do need to bring powers back from

JP: Right.

MH: Brussels to Britain, but I want to remain a member, a member of the European Union.

100. JP: And secondly, on the Trans Atlantic Alliance. What sort of a Conservative leader is it, who finds the gates to a republican White House closed to them.

MH: A sort of Conservative leader who's not afraid to criticise the Prime Minister of this country when he thinks that those criticisms are justified. I've made criticism of Mr Blair's conduct of the war in Iraq, and I, I will carry on making those criticisms where justified, and er, you know, if that offends certain people, that's though.

101. JP: So the choice at this election between you and Mr Blair is between a leader who supports a war and has sway in the White House, and a leader who supported the war and has no sway in the White House.

MH: I would have a perfectly good working relationship with, with President[..

102. JP: They wouldn't even let you in] through the door!

MH: Bush. Look, if I'm the Prime Minister of this country, and I – and President Bush needs to work with me, which he does, of course we'll work together, of course we'll have a good working relationship. Britain and the United States have many things in common, common interest, common values, and I would have a very effective working relationship with President Bush. What I'm not prepared to do is pull my punches in criticising Mr Blair, because someone else wouldn't, doesn't like me doing that. I am going to do what I think is

best for this country, I'm going to say what I think is best for this country, and frankly, no one is going to stop me doing what is best for the people of Britain.

103. JP: When you look at your campaign, immigration, private sector in the health service, talk of tax cuts and so on, are you thinking what I'm thinking?

MH: Er, well I've no idea what you're thinking Jeremy.

104. JP: I'm thinking it reminds me of William Hague, and we know what happened to him.

MH: Well we've been talking about a range of issues as you know. We have five commitment, cleaner hospitals, school discipline, more police, controlled immigration, lower taxes. We've also been talking about pensions. We've been [putting forward

105. JP: You need a miracle to win this election.

MH: Serious] proposals to deal with the problems facing the country, and with the problems which people are interested in being dealt with. We will act to deal with those problems, that's why I'm actually very confident about the outcome of this election.

JP: Michael Howard thank you.

MH: Thank you.

