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Kata Vadai: Critical Discourse Analysis in Progress:  
The Power, Ideology and Manipulation Identification (PIMI) Model  
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## **Critical Discourse Analysis in Progress: The Power, Ideology and Manipulation Identification (PIMI) Model**

The present paper introduces the so called *Power, Ideology and Manipulation Identification (PIMI) model*, which is a new integrative, problem-oriented analytical tool for the systematic analysis of political discourse, created by adapting the theories and methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The paper describes the phases of establishing the new model which has been built on the basis of two existing analytical models (Chilton & Schäffner, 1997; van Dijk, 2006). The two parent frameworks have been chosen after reviewing the relevant literature and conducting several pilot studies, and they have been developed further to enable the proposition of a complex theory- and data-based analytical instrument. The paper provides illustrative examples from the in-depth analysis of a selected piece of political discourse (Blair, 2003) conducted by the new model. It is argued that using the model may be beneficial in language education, as it not only develops learners' general language competence but it might also facilitate the improvement of their critical language awareness.

### **1. Introduction**

This paper describes the process of developing a new analytical model for investigating the signs of power, ideologies and manipulation in political discourse. The rationale for investigating political discourse and developing a new model stems from various controversial phenomena in present-day Hungary and worldwide, though the research is basically motivated by three major concerns.

Firstly, as Chilton & Schäffner (1997: 206) argue, because of the prevalent effects of the expansion of print and electronic media since the late twentieth century, people have been exposed to a great number of verbal messages, a huge portion of which is political in nature. They declare that this increased surge of political messages has several important consequences. One is that the opportunity for the reception and interpretation of political texts and talk has unprecedentedly expanded and the other is that the need for awareness in critical evaluation has accordingly increased. Chilton & Schäffner (1997: 207) assert that political discourse is a complex form of human activity, which basically deserves study in its own right. Moreover, they note that politicians and political

institutions develop and maintain social inequalities by manipulative uses of language, of which the audience is at best only half-aware, so the threat of total linguistic manipulation is evidently present in our age.

Secondly, as Garami & Tóth's (1994) survey points out, the majority of adolescents between the age of 14 and 18 in Hungary have negative attitudes to politics and they refuse to deal with political issues. Szabó (2011) claims that over the past two decades the political activity of young people between the age of 15 and 29 has been disappointing; 60 percent of the participants of her survey responded that they were not interested in politics at all. Several other surveys, studies and news articles, such as for instance Pintér (2013) report the unresponsiveness of young adults, and search for the possible reasons and solutions. It is argued (Clark, 1992; Lancaster & Taylor, 1992; Vadai, 2013; Wallace, 1992) that by practising CDA in the language classroom, students can be empowered and emancipated, so that, consequently, they might become more involved and active participants in the relevant classes. Furthermore, the students' sensitivity regarding their own roles in the surrounding social and political world might be enhanced.

Thirdly, despite the growing interest regarding the issue worldwide, Hungary is still represented by a lack of literature published in the field. Several authors (Behrman, 2006; Brown, 1999; Clark, 1992; Clarke & Smith, 1992; Fairclough, 1992; Janks & Ivanich, 1992; Lancaster & Taylor, 1992; Wallace, 1992) claim that CDA might provide language learners with interesting insights into the working of languages. According to Fairclough (1992), a critical approach to language study ought to be the main goal of language education, if teachers want to encourage students to be decisive, clear-thinking, responsible citizens. Fairclough adds that critical language awareness has been advocated as a useful and important part of language education in recent years (1992: 7). Although there are some examples of applying CDA with various purposes in Hungary as well, mainly in tertiary education, for example Bánhegyi (2009) and Árvay (2007), there has not been any complex CDA model created to analyse political texts in practical and productive ways. Therefore, the present research aims to provide a new, complex system which is capable of describing the constructs of ideology, power and manipulation in political discourse in a systematic way. It is hoped that the new model will yield data on the basis of which recommendations may be formulated regarding the development of students' critical language awareness.

Taking the above-mentioned concerns into account, the overall aim of the study is basically twofold:

- 1) The first aim is to develop a theory- and data-based analytical tool for the study of how the salient notions of power, ideology and manipulation unfold in political discourse. A new, complex system is to be created, which is capable of describing the three constructs in a systematic way.

- 2) The second aim is to offer a description of how ideologies, power and manipulation unfold in a specific piece of political discourse (a political speech) by applying the new, complex analytical method.

## **2. Theoretical background**

### **2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis**

Power, ideology and manipulation are key concepts in the field of CDA; Chilton & Schäffner (1997), Fairclough & Wodak (1996), Fowler (1985), Kress (1985), Seidel (1985), Schiffrin (2001), van Dijk (2006) and others offer several linguistic analytical methods to decipher their hidden signs in political discourse. According to the theory of CDA, any form of language use, either text or talk, is a form of social practice (Wodak, 2007). CDA investigates the way discourse produces and maintains social and political inequality, power abuse and domination. Fairclough and Wodak (1996) claim that there is a dialectical relationship between the discursive event and the situation; every discourse is socially constitutive and at the same time socially shaped. They stress that discursive processes have ideological effects; however, these ideological functions, as well as the relations of power in discourse are usually invisible for the audience. CDA aims at making these invisible aspects apparent.

### **2.2. Power**

Fowler (1985) and van Dijk (1996), define the essence of power as a kind of relation, in which relation it is inevitable that asymmetry and control are present. They claim that this asymmetry becomes powerful through the use of language. Fowler (1985: 61) declares that “power is the ability of people and institutions to control the behaviour and material lives of others”. He argues that power is a transitive concept entailing an asymmetrical relationship. Accordingly, when we talk about power we usually refer to relationships between, for example, parents and children, employers and employees, doctors and patients, a government and the citizens, and so on. According to Fowler, language is an instrument for enforcing and exploiting existing positions of authority and privilege in certain ways, such as through regulations or commands, and that the use of language constitutes the statuses and roles which serve as a basis for people to exercise power. Similarly, van Dijk (1996) remarks that social power is a kind of control which one group has over another group and that power is a fundamental notion in the examination of group relations in society.

### **2.3. Ideology**

The term ‘ideology’ is used in the literature to refer to various concepts; therefore, it is difficult to give a precise definition for it. Kress (1985) notes that its various uses range from the notion ‘system of ideas’, ‘beliefs’ or ‘worldview’

to more contested ones such as ‘false consciousness’ or ‘ideas of the dominant ruling class’ (1985: 29). According to van Dijk (1996: 7) “ideologies also establish links between discourse and society. In a sense ideologies are the cognitive counterpart of power”. Fairclough and Wodak (1996) point out that discourse does ideological work, and that ideologies are often false or ungrounded constructions of society; moreover they claim that “ideologies are particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation” (1996: 275). Considering the different interpretations, it seems that the emphasis is placed on the relationship between power and language in all definitions of ideology; i.e. it is suggested that ideology unfurls in discourse and strongly relies on power.

## **2.4. Manipulation**

Van Dijk (2006: 360) declares that manipulation is a “communicative and interactional practice, in which a manipulator exercises control over other people, usually against their will or against their best interest”. He adds that manipulation involves power, usually abuse of power, which is in fact a kind of domination. He also asserts that manipulation entails the practice of an illegitimate influence by means of discourse, in a way that manipulators make others believe or act that is in the best interest of the manipulator. During the process of manipulation the interlocutors do not have sufficient information to resist manipulation; therefore, they generally become victims of it. Van Dijk (1996: 20) argues that owing to the discourses of a powerful group, others form intentions and accomplish acts as if they were without constraints, and consistent with their best interests. If such discourse can make dominated groups believe and act this way, then powerful groups indirectly control their actions, i.e. they manipulate them through text and talk.

## **2.5. Critical language awareness**

CDA has established the special concept of ‘Critical Language Awareness’ (CLA). CLA refers to an educational approach that gives attention to important social aspects of language and the relationship between language and power and it makes language itself an object of study (Fairclough, 1992). Janks and Ivanic (1992: 306) assert that CLA should be a curriculum aim since it includes issues of ideology, subject-positioning, power and social inequities maintained by language; therefore, that the need for it in the curriculum is “as urgent as ever”. Wallace (1992: 61) argues that “effective reading involves challenging the ideological assumptions”, and adds that critical readings ought to help learners to become more assertive towards the texts and to resist assaults presented by them. Considering these conceptions, the hypothesis of the present research is that since text and talk represent social processes, by scrutinizing discourses we can get insights into social phenomena. Consequently, while teaching students to

analyse texts and talk we can highlight certain social processes too, thus developing their critical language awareness.

## **2.6. Approaches to the linguistic analysis**

Wodak and Meyer (2009: 5) argue that “CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single specific theory. Neither is one specific methodology characteristic of research in CDA. Quite the contrary, studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies”. From the wide range of CDA methods, Chilton and Schäffner’s (1997) bottom-up and van Dijk’s (2006) top-down analytical model have been selected for the purposes of the current study, since they seem to be sufficiently complex and informative. The systematic comparison of these two models by performing analyses of a selected political speech has yielded sufficient data and information for the evaluation of the theoretical and empirical merits and drawbacks of both.

## **3. Research Questions**

After a review of the relevant literature and the setting of the goals of the inquiry, the following questions emerged:

### **I. Theoretical question**

1) Which analytical methods of CDA are most capable of identifying ideologies, power and manipulation in political discourse?

### **II. Empirical questions**

2) How can the bottom-up (Chilton & Schäffner, 1997) and the top-down (van Dijk, 2006) methods of CDA be merged in order to be able to offer a new, unified, coherent and complex analytical instrument for the in-depth study of power, ideologies and manipulation in political discourse?

3) What features of ideologies, power and manipulation can be identified in the selected political speech (Blair, 2003) by using the new analytical instrument?

## **4. Research design**

### **4.1. The text submitted to the analyses**

Sampling does not follow any traditional patterns in CDA research. Most studies use ‘typical texts’, which reflect a special social problem, or situation which the researcher wants to explore (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The text submitted to the analysis has been analysed by several authors (van Dijk, 2006; Hamilton, 2012; Chartesis-Black, 2014), since it is a well-known manipulative discourse of Tony Blair, former UK Prime Minister. The speech was made to the House of Commons, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March, 2003. Blair set out to legitimize his government’s decision to go to war and invade Iraq. According to van Dijk

(2006) the case is important, because until the following general election in Britain, Blair was accused of having misled UK citizens about his decision (van Dijk, 2006: 376). For the source of the speech see Appendix A.

## **4.2. Quality criteria**

Although Wodak and Meyer (2009: 31) admit that “within CDA, there is little specific discussion on quality criteria”, they add that the classical criteria of reliability, validity and objectivity used in quantitative investigations cannot be applied in CDA in unmodified ways. Still, CDA research also needs to attain an appropriate quality for its findings and results (2009: 31). Lincoln and Guba (1985) offer the qualitative notions of credibility, transferability, dependability and trustworthiness.

Generally, the aim of qualitative inquiries is to discover patterns which emerge during close observation, and thoughtful analysis of the research topic (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994); therefore, a rich description and a thorough investigation of the available data increase the credibility of the research, even when the sample is very small. Regarding transferability and dependability, sweeping generalizations usually cannot be made in qualitative investigations, the focus being rather on contextual findings. However, in this specific case the aim is to build up a new analytical model on the basis of the findings of previous analyses performed by the parent frameworks. It is feasible because the emphasis is mostly on the instruments, and by using various analytical tools, the data can be compared and evaluated. Last but not least, the triangulation of the methods can also be ensured this way.

As for the issue of confirmability, regarding researcher bias, Carver and Hyvärinen (1997: 2) claim that the analysis of texts demands skills and imagination, and thus that it is not enough to aim at being objective. Wodak and Meyer (2009: 321), searching for the problem of subjectivity in CDA research, remark that “[i]n discourse analyses, rigour can be linked on the one hand to the richness of detail both in the data and in the analysis presented to the reader, and on the other to the explication of the process of analysis”. Hence a careful, systematic analysis with method triangulation, and repeated self-reflection at several points of the research is needed to ensure as much objectivity as possible.

## **4.3. Steps towards a new model**

The study follows a qualitative research design, including the application of different CDA methods. CDA is strongly based in theory; thus, one of the main challenges is the operationalization of the theoretical concepts (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 33). The principal issue is how the different methods of CDA can translate their theoretical assumptions into instruments and methods of analysis. As one of the aims is to develop a theory- and data-based analytical tool, the

first step of the research is to create an extensive review of the related literature, giving precise definitions of the main constructs.

In the creation of the new model the results gained from the previous analyses performed by the existing analytical tools provide useful experience. When operationalizing the theoretical concepts of power, ideology and manipulation, the two parent frameworks are considered to be the main sources. Other theories and research (Fowler, 1985; Hoey, 2001; Moir, 2013; Schiffrin, 1985; van Dijk, 1996, 2001, 2008; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; White, 1992; Wodak, 2007) and the recommendations found in the reviewed literature regarding the role of CDA in education (Brown, 1999; Clake & Smith, 1992; Fairclough, 1992; Janks & Ivanic, 1992; Lanchaster & Taylor, 1992; Wallace, 1992;) also assist in the creation of the new model. The modified model is introduced by providing examples from the analysis of the selected political speech (Blair, 2003). Finally, the implications regarding the development of learners' critical language awareness are discussed

## **5. The PIMI model**

The model integrates the steps of the bottom-up and the top-down methods in a 'syllogistic' structure. The model is built up in independent, self-contained levels, where all levels can be treated separately and can also be combined. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the progression of sequential steps in the task. The figures emphasize the movement and the suggested direction of the analysis.

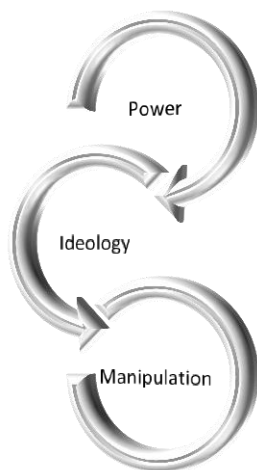


Figure 1. The sequential steps of identifying the signs of power, ideologies and manipulation

A prerequisite for examining the features of power, ideologies and manipulation in political discourse is an intensive exploration of the context (Hoey, 2001; Moir, 2013; van Dijk, 2006; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Wodak, 2007). The analysis goes along with the linguistic levels of pragmatics, semantics and syntax. Power, ideology and manipulation are examined through the lenses of these linguistic levels.

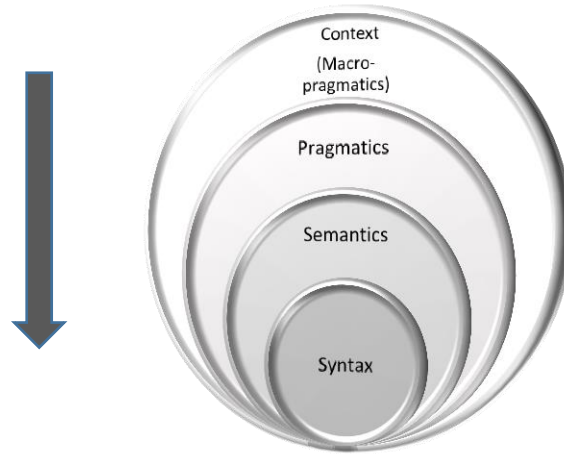


Figure 2. The basic structure of the PIMI model. The arrow signals the suggested direction of the analysis.

### 5.1. Context (Macro-pragmatics)

Although political speeches may seem as if they are unidirectional, in fact, the speaker delivers a political message to an audience. Thus the audience is part of an interactive, turn-taking process (Moir, 2013: 230). Similarly to Moir, Hoey (2001) claims that the text itself is the site for the interaction between the speaker (text-producer) and the audience (receiver) of the text, and the receiver is co-operating with the producer in making common meaning. Therefore, certain contextual knowledge on behalf of the audience is needed to construct the common meaning (Hoey, 2001: 16).

#### ➤ The levels of context

Weiss & Wodak<sup>1</sup> (2003: 22) stress that to avoid “simply politicizing, instead of accurately analysing” it is necessary to work on the basis of a variety of different empirical data and background information. They offer an approach which is based on the concept of ‘context’ which takes into account four levels: the immediate language or text; the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between discourses; the extra-linguistic social variables and the broader socio-political and historical contexts, which the discourses are embedded in and related to.

The PIMI model focuses on these four different types of contextual information. The data might consist of related texts, images, music, video recordings and various other written or visual sources. Moreover, we must note that the different layers of the context constitute a ‘network’, and the analyst himself is part of this network (White, 1992).

- Extralinguistic social variable:
  - the speaker (Tony Blair, Labour party leader, Prime Minister of Britain 1997-2007; after the invasion of Iraq, Blair was given the

<sup>1</sup> Weiss & Wodak refer to the context definition of Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)



nickname ‘Bliar’ and ‘Prime Monster’; Blair resigned as Prime Minister on 27<sup>th</sup> June 2007.)

→the audience (The House of Commons)

→the effects of the speech (Iraq war, riots, music: Muse, film: Fair Game, 2010)

- Broader socio-political context:

→the international political environment (G. W. Bush, UN)

- Intertextual relationship:

→news articles: The Independent, 2003; The New York Times, 2003

→ Muse: Take a bow, 2006 (Appendix C); lyrics (Appendix D)

- Immediate text:

→topic pattern (Hoey, 2001); the speech on You Tube (Appendix A)

- The position of the analyst who is part of the contextual ‘network’

#### ➤ The topic pattern

As already mentioned, Hoey (2001) and Moir (2013) claim that every discourse can be seen as a kind of social interaction between the producer and the receiver of it. Hoey<sup>2</sup> (2001: 13) argues that this interaction always has a purpose; for example, political texts always aim at persuading the audience. Hoey (2001) highlights that political texts are basically problem-solution type texts, since they typically raise a problem which must be solved. He suggests a problem-solution pattern projecting the text into a dialogue in a way that the questions highlight the relationship between the sentences. The questions which have to be asked are:

- What problem arose for you?
- What did you do about this?
- What was the result?

The answers of problem-solution pattern define the 1 *Situation* → 2 the *Problem* → 3 the *Response* → and 4 the *Positive Result*. Hoey (2001: 124) asserts that “in authentic text the answers to the questions may vary greatly in length”, therefore the present research proposes the application of the model to identify the situation, the problem, the response and the positive result for the surface structure of the speech, regarding bigger units than mere sentences or paragraphs. The application of the model in Blair’s (2003) speech can be seen in Figure 3.

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<sup>2</sup> Hoey (2001) basically focuses on written discourse, but he extends his theory to speech as well.

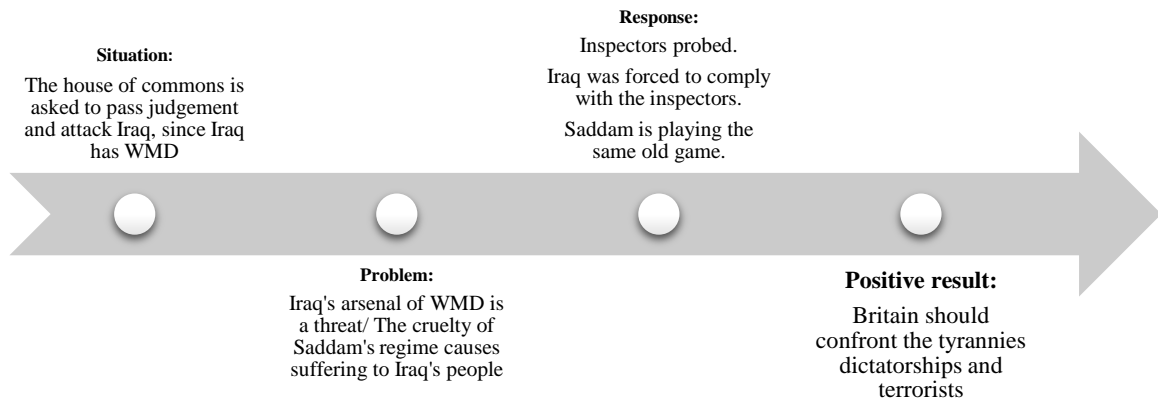


Figure 3. Hoey's (2001) Problem-Solution model in Blair's (2003) speech

## 5.2. Power

### ➤ Pragmatics

CDA theory and the results of the in-depth analysis done by the bottom-up and the top-down methods show that the power of the speech might be primarily captured by its coercive force. The figure below displays the coercive features of power in political speeches, at the pragmatic level.

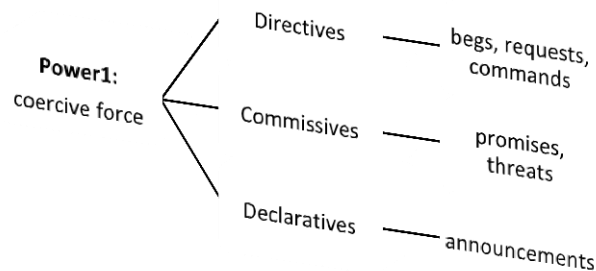


Figure 4. Signs of power in political texts at the level of pragmatics

Directives are the most power-dependent and the most obvious linguistic realization of the coercion function (Chilton & Schäffner, 1997: 219). Coercion is usually expressed by Blair's speech acts of directives in the form of begs and requests (*I beg to move the motion, I say: it is right that this house debate this issue and pass judgement..., we must demand he disarm...*) Another way of expressing power might happen by using commissives, making promises or threats (*...the outcome of this issue will now determine more than the fate of the Iraqi regime ..., it will determine the way Britain and the world confront the central security threat of the 21<sup>st</sup> century...*). Although Blair does not use them in this speech, declaratives also convey power, since only powerful speakers are in the position to make announcements. Secondly, power might appear in the form of representatives and expressives.

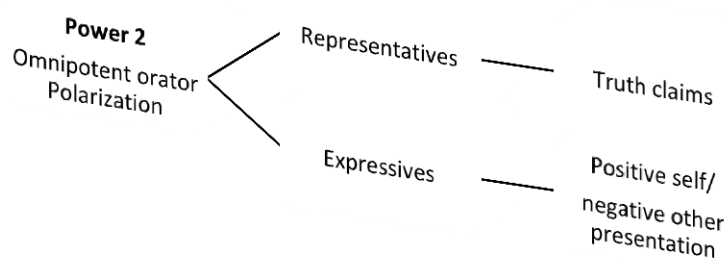


Figure 5. Secondary signs of power in political texts at the level of pragmatics

The politician is in a privileged status regarding his access to information. By asserting his truth claims, he takes the role of an omnipotent character, the knower of the information, the seer of the future (*It became clear after the Gulf war that the WMD ambitions of Iraq were far more extensive than hitherto thought; Iraq is not the only regime with WMD; I know that there are some countries or groups within countries that are proliferating and trading in WMD, especially nuclear weapons technology.*). This power position might be even more highlighted by the use of expressive speech acts. Constraining the conflicting meanings of the actions of ‘Us’ and ‘Them’, the speaker might further expand the inequality between himself and others, thus increasing his own power (*...it is right that this house debate this issue and pass judgement; ↔ ... the democracy is our right but that others struggle for it in vain....*)

### ➤ Semantics

Power might unfurl in a form of control contributing to the formation of relations at the semantic level. Abstract nouns mark more formal categories and formal relations with more power. Verbs which convey dynamism, especially in active form, might signal powerful agent-controlled actions. The potent actors in the political world are possessors of knowledge, dynamism and good qualities. Consequently, the semantic structure of a text might signal the role of the speaker as an oracle, the guardian of the truth, a seer of the future, and the bringer of good things (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997: 220). At the same time the words might downplay the opposition’s actual potency (Kress, 1985: 38).

- Nouns: abstract ↔ concrete
- Verbs: dynamic ↔ stative
- Adjectives: positive ↔ negative

Investigating Blair’s (2003) speech, a difference can be seen between the word choices when Blair is speaking about himself and his allies and about Hussein. The nouns (*friends, democracy, choice, debate, matter, country, Parliament...*) mentioned in connection with Blair, the British and the allies have mainly positive, ‘democratic’ or neutral associations. The nouns (phrases) when mentioned in connection with Hussein are, in many cases, names of various types of weapons, or related to terrorism or danger (*WMD, nuclear*

*weapons technology, anthrax...*). The verbs describe Blair as a thoughtful, mentally active participant in the case (*say, believe, disagree*), whereas the verbs related to Hussein often designate violent physical actions, or revolve around the notion of ‘obedience’ which is denied by him (*weaponize, stopped cooperating, denied*). Similarly, the adjectives describing Blair and his allies take mainly positive or neutral content (*right, firm*) while the adjectives describing Hussein are never positive, in best cases neutral, but they rather convey negative content, and are mostly related to weapons (*nuclear, radiological*).

The picture of an unequal relationship is outlined where Blair has the power to control Hussein. Hussein’s only right is to refuse, hide or deny. With these contrasts the distance between the democratic UK, US and ‘dangerous’ Iraq is emphasized. Hussein is dehumanized and encoded ambiguously in dangerous, and at the same time in powerless roles by Blair’s language.

#### ➤ Syntax

Agent-action structures might give rise to a perception of a world of controlled activity, therefore a vision of a powerful speaker (Fowler, 1985). The speaker might seem an omnipotent leader by using the active voice when he is in subject position (*I beg..., I say..., I do not disrespect...*). On the contrary when “They” are in subject position the speaker might use passive constructions implying their inability (*...they are forced...*). This contrast enhances the power of the speaker showing him an active, competent character while his opponent is placed in a submissive position.

At the same time de-emphasizing the speaker’s agency in negative acts by using passive (*we are asked to believe, are seriously asked*) or nominalizations (*to stand British troops down and turn back, or to hold firm to the course...*) might also protect the image of a powerful speaker by concealing responsibility for the troublesome acts.

As for the modality in the speech, there is a notable predominance of the use of the modal verbs should, have to and must (*Saddam should publicly call on Iraqis, Saddam should be given, we must demand, our patience should have been exhausted*). The connection of the modal verbs of obligation with power is spectacular; Blair increases his power by employing these devices to order or advise the House of Commons. On the other hand, with the help of his powerful position he urges his audience to act.

### 5.3. Ideology

#### ➤ Pragmatics

Ideologies basically seem to reveal themselves in the form of representatives which generally appear in the speeches as assertions or truth claims, expressives which serve to legitimize ‘Our’ acts and delegitimize ‘Their’ acts, and commissives in the form of promises or threats. Figure 6 shows the pragmatic features of ideologies in political texts.

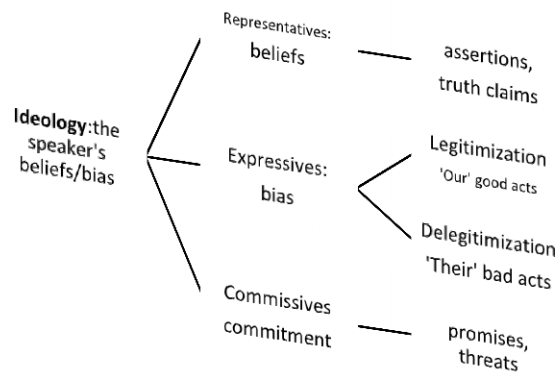


Figure 6. Signs of ideologies in political texts at the level of pragmatics

Representatives are simple statements and claims which might indicate the speaker's beliefs (*It became clear after the Gulf war that the WMD ambitions of Iraq were far more extensive*). Political actors speak safe in the knowledge that their beliefs seem to be true for the audience; however, these beliefs are not necessarily accurate. Since usually no evidence is given, the hearers cannot decide if the statements are true; therefore the flouting of Grice's maxims of quality and quantity are frequent weaknesses. The assertions are in many cases boasts, or over-general claims which are far from reality (Chilton & Schäffner, 1997)

Other acts appear in the form of expressives, which might convey the speaker's emotions and biased standpoint about reality. The ideological polarization by the legitimization of 'Our' good acts (*...I say that is right that the House debate this issue and pass judgement.; That is the democracy that is our right, but that others struggle for in vain...*) and the delegitimization of 'Their' bad acts (*Iraq is a threat...; ...whose mind is in fact evil...*) are common features of ideologically biased political discourse.

Commissives might signal the speakers' beliefs in a more subtle way. By promising, the speaker commits himself to some future actions which are based on his beliefs. Similarly, the threats might emphasize the speakers' viewpoint; however, it does not necessarily reflect reality. In many cases this viewpoint is based on a distorted version of the facts. (*...the outcome of this issue will now determine more than the fate of the Iraqi regime...; ... one day they will mistake our innate revulsion against war for permanent incapacity...; I will not be party to such a course*).

### ➤ Semantics

General norms and values and biased ideological principles might be detected by scrutinizing the patterns of semantic choices in the text. Whatever is important for a speaker, it is richly lexicalized or frequently iterated (Fowler, 1985: 65). For the visual representation of the most recurrent nouns of the speech see Figure 7. The circles of nouns referring to Hussein are signalled by

dark grey, and the ones connected to Blair and his allies are represented by light grey colour.

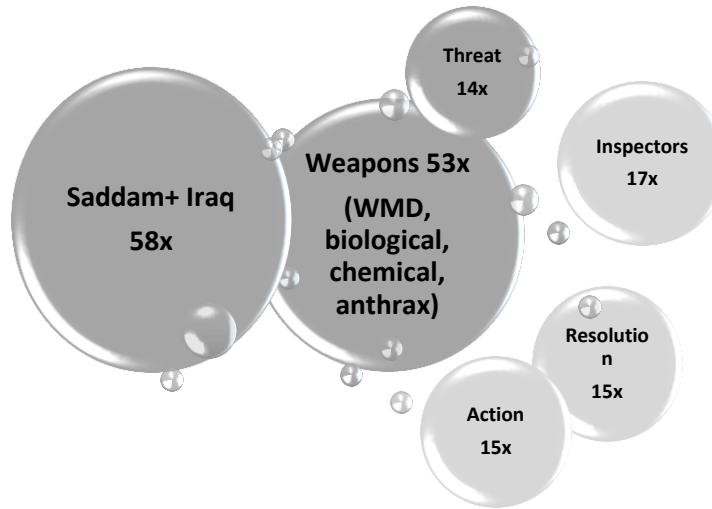


Figure 7. The most frequent nouns related to 'They' (dark grey) and 'We' (light grey)

On Hussein's side the emphasis is placed on the threat caused by weapons, while Britain seems to provide the control over this problem by inspection and action. In the light of the outcome of the issue, viz., in fact there was no evidence about the presence of WMD in Iraq, this abundance of nouns related to WMD in the speech mediates a strongly biased judgement.

#### ➤ Syntax

The focus of the sentences reveals the ideologically significant topics in the text. Speakers might place important notions in subject positions, highlighting general norms, values and ideological principles. Besides, ideological discourse usually applies "Us/Them" distinction de-emphasizing "Our" agency in negative acts and emphasizing it in positive acts.

Figure 8 shows that the focal synonyms or associations used for 'we' (*people, the country and the parliament, Britain and the world...*) are of concepts which show some kind of 'togetherness' or close bonds. Whereas the focal subjects related to Saddam (*WMD, Hitler, danger, problem, threat*) convey negative, troublesome meanings.

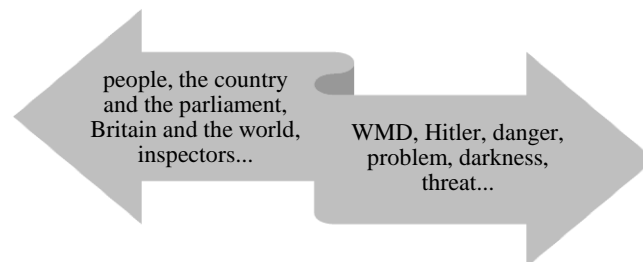


Figure 8. Contrasting concepts in subject positions signalling 'Us' and 'Them'

With these antagonistic meanings in focal positions Blair expresses his biased beliefs, and creates an ‘ideological conflict’ between ‘Us’ and the ‘enemy’.

## 5.4. Manipulation

### ➤ Pragmatics

Manipulation might be best traced by the speech acts of expressives, representatives and commissives. The signs of manipulation at the pragmatic level can be seen in Figure 9.

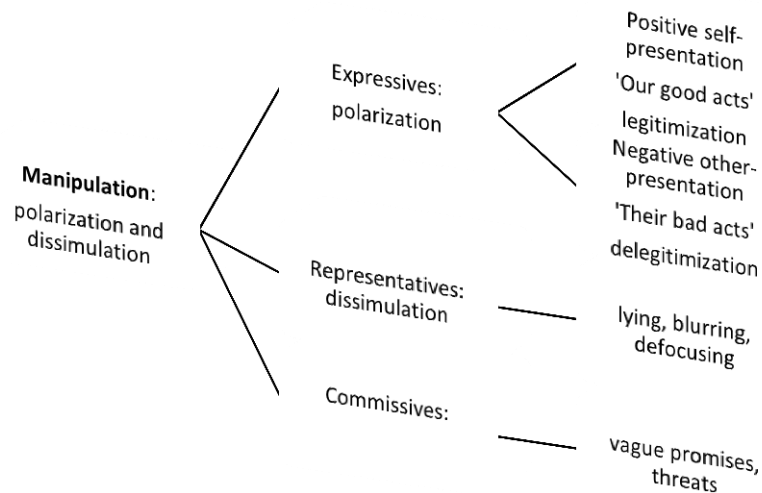


Figure 9. Signs of manipulation in political texts at the level of pragmatics

Expressives mediate the speaker’s attitude or emotions towards an idea. The attitudes might be revealed through the strategies of polarization. By the ideological polarization the legitimization of ‘Our’ acts (*...I say that is right that the House debate this issue and pass judgement.; That is the democracy that is our right, but that others struggle for in vain...*) and the delegitimization of ‘Their’ acts (*Iraq is a threat...;...whose mind is in fact evil...;*) happen most often.

Besides this, another manipulative strategy is dissimulation, expressed by representative speech acts. In some cases the speaker floats the Gricean maxim of quality through simply lying (*...the WMD ambitions of Iraq were far more extensive than hitherto thought, ... Saddam's lies, deception and obstruction, with large quantities of WMD..., ...proliferating and trading in WMD...*). In many cases, it is difficult to decide if an assertion is true or not, since only the speaker knows if he is lying (Bolinger, 1980). Urchs (2007:43) stresses that “it may be the poverty of knowledge that makes you fall victim to liars”, and he highlights the role of background knowledge in the identification of lies. Consequently, contextual knowledge takes an important role in the examination of manipulation.

The manipulation of the audience might happen with the help of commissives, by the speaker's empty or vague promises (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997). Since the audience usually does not possess the necessary information to check the truth value of these promises or threats, they might be easily misled (*...future conflicts will be infinitely worse and more devastating...; The threat is chaos; ...there will be, in any event, no sound future for the UN,...; ...the darkness will close back over them again; and he will be free to take his revenge upon those he must know wish him gone; ...I will not be party to such a course*).

#### ➤ Semantics

At the level of words the ideological polarization and bias covert in the text can be best detected. Positive self-representation and negative other presentation might be explored when the words are sorted according to the actors they refer to. As a rule, the adjectives referring to 'Us' are positive, while the adjectives referring to 'Them' are negative. Furthermore, several metaphorical elements enhance the emotional effect of the speech: *...the paralysis of the UN has been born out of the division; the heart of it has been the concept of a world... Hyperbolic devices increase the seriousness of the situation: Looking back over 12 years, we have been victims of our own desire to placate the implacable, ...to persuade towards reason the utterly unreasonable... ,...to hope that there was some genuine intent to do good in a regime whose mind is in fact evil...* With these exaggerations Blair increases the manipulative force of his speech, portraying the situation as more serious and 'implacable' than it is in fact (van Dijk, 2006).

#### ➤ Syntax

Based on the experience gained by the previous analyses, ideological polarization seems to shape manipulative processes in political discourse. Syntactic organization might be a proper tool for the politician to define how people should feel or how they should act. Active vs passive voice and nominalizations are perfect tools for the speaker to claim credit. In this case self-legitimization is combined with dissimulation. With these tools the manipulative/ideological polarization of 'Our' acts and 'Their' acts can be efficiently administered by the speaker.

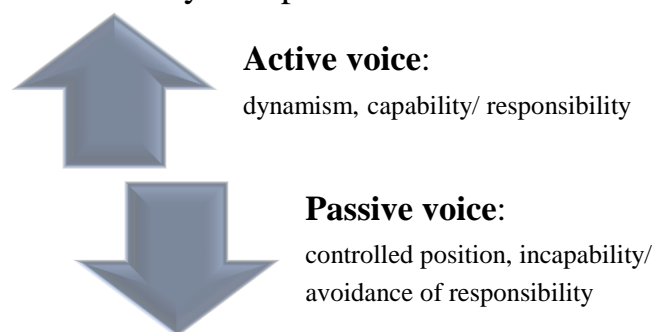


Figure 10. Syntactic polarization



In the examined text, Blair expresses the moral superiority and credibility of 'Us' while he vilifies and discredits 'Them' (*Iraq was forced...; Iraq used the weapons...; we feel proud...; we know...*) by using certain grammatical structures. A focus on 'Our' positive acts and 'Their' negative acts, giving few or many details; being general or specific in connection with certain topics, being vague or precise, explicit or implicit are all effective means of manipulation.

## 6. Discussion

The outcomes of the analysis show that the features of power, ideologies and manipulation can be discovered at various levels in political discourse. The theoretical assumptions pinpoint that these concepts are strongly interconnected with many concurrences between them. Therefore, in some cases, it is difficult to define them as separate categories. It is also indicated that the concepts are not only interconnected and overlapping, but their relationship should be seen as rather hierarchical than equivalent. The most comprehensive category seems to be power, ideologies are embedded in the middle, and manipulation might be the third element in this hierarchically stratified structure. Figure 11 illustrates the *stratification* of the concepts through the means of language.

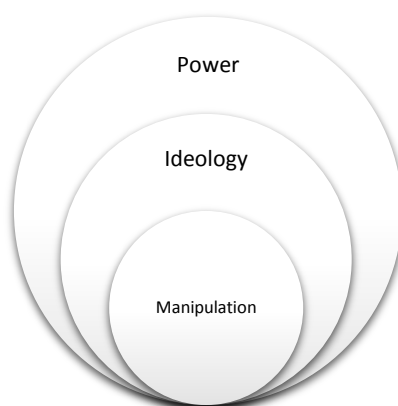


Figure 11. Power, ideology and manipulation have a hierarchical relationship

Comparing the results of the analyses of the pragmatic, semantic and syntactic levels, an overall discursive congruence may be detected. The unequal relation between 'Us' and 'Them' is signalled at all levels of the discourse. Speech acts define the speaker as a knowledgeable orator and signal the other party as inferior. By the lexical classification of the participants the speaker creates opposition and draws boundaries between 'Us' and 'Them', and he communicates biased formulation of the reality. At the syntactic level the concepts and communicative functions are not directly encoded but a meticulous analysis might bring them to conscious consideration; thus, the unequal relationships and the distinction between the speaker and others become manifest at this level too.

We must add that power, ideologies and manipulation may only manifest themselves in language use where variation or choice is possible. Certain syntactic structures of sentences are obligatory, and independent of the social situation of the discourse (van Dijk, 2008: 4). Therefore, the new model can concentrate only on those features of the text that might contribute to specific social consequences of the discourse by influencing the beliefs or actions of the audience.

## 7. Conclusions

As proposed earlier, the classroom use of the PIMI model is hoped to be capable of developing learners' critical language awareness. Further research conducted in educational environments might shed light on detailed implications, though the experiences gained by the present pilot analysis, in line with other research regarding similar issues (Behrman, 2006; Brown, 1999; Janks & Ivanic, 1992; Wallace, 1992), indicate that 'reading between the lines' might be capable of increasing the learner's understanding of discourse as a social phenomenon. Therefore, our hypothesis is that the analysis of the syntactic-textual system together with the context might provide the analyst with valuable information about the intentions of the speaker as well as about the broader cultural, social traits of the discourse. Besides this, the learner might position himself in the network of social phenomena connected to the text. As a result he might realize his own subjective attitudes regarding the issue, in this way also improving his social consciousness.

It is important to note that this study is based on the analysis of one political speech; therefore, the results reflect only this unique case. Although it is hoped that the PIMI model will identify the signs of power, ideologies and manipulation in other texts or text types, this individual case does not allow for any generalizations of the results. The next phase of the research will be the verification of the model by further analyses of this and other texts with the contribution of other expert analysts and language learners. During the model's verification further modifications may be carried out if needed.

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## Appendices

### Appendix A

The source of Tony Blair's speech, made on the 18<sup>th</sup> March, 2003:  
[www.theguardian.com/politics/2003/mar/18/foreignpolicy.Iraq1](http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2003/mar/18/foreignpolicy.Iraq1)

### Appendix B

The source of the video containing Tony Blair's speech, made on the 18<sup>th</sup> March, 2003:  
[www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pg9aEV9bxs](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pg9aEV9bxs)

### Appendix C

The source of the music video 'Take a bow' by Muse:  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wQXit0vly2I>

### Appendix D

The source of the lyrics of 'Take a bow' by Muse:  
<http://www.songlyrics.com/muse/take-a-bow-lyrics/>