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**INDIRECTNESS IN SELECTED  
POLITICAL INTERVIEWS: A  
PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS**

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

{ فَقُولَا لَهُ قَوْلًا لَّيِّنًا لَّعَلَّهُ يَتَذَكَّرُ أَوْ يَخْشَى }

صدق الله العلي العظيم

(طه: 44)

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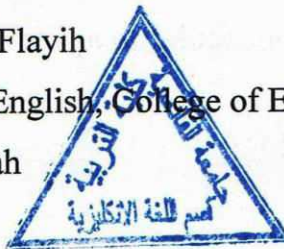
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**To the Martyrs of the Iraqi Army, and  
the Popular Mobilization Forces and in  
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# **ABSTRACT**

Indirectness is a universal phenomenon. In this phenomenon, people tend to convey their meanings without stating them clearly or move around the issues under discussion. People have the tendency to exploit indirectness while communicating with others since it enables them to gain various pragmatic advantages.

As far as politics is concerned, indirectness is employed greatly by politicians on various political occasions especially on the political interview. Due to the influential role of indirectness in political interviews, political interviews have come to be an area where a pragmatic investigation can be conducted. In political interviews, politicians can achieve their aims without being direct, certain, explicit, or honest. This is one of the issues discussed in the field of pragmatics which is concerned with studying the intended meaning of speakers. As such, this study is carried out to investigate the politicians' use of indirectness in political interviews from a pragmatic perspective. This study examines indirectness in four political interviews, two with Barack Obama and two with David Cameron.

In the light of the above, the present study endeavors to: (i) identify the pragmatic techniques political figures employ to achieve indirectness in the political interviews analyzed, (ii) investigate the pragmatic motives behind politicians' use of indirectness, (iii) determine whether politeness is always a purpose for politicians' indirectness, (iv) discover whether political figures violate Grice's maxims and the reasons behind such violations, (v) and discover how others can comprehend intentions of political figures when employing indirectness.

To achieve the aims of the study, it is hypothesized that:

1. Indirectness is utilized by politicians in the political interview.
2. Politicians simultaneously employ more than one indirect strategy.
3. Politicians' employment of indirectness is influenced by the questions of the interview.
4. Politicians do not always exploit indirectness for politeness in the political interview.
5. Politicians frequently violate Grice's maxims in the political interview.

The analysis of the data has shown that political figures use indirectness strategies and sometimes they concurrently make use of many strategies in their responses to interviewers' questions. In most cases, political figures use indirectness for politeness. However, they may employ it for various pragmatic functions other than politeness. Political figures commonly fail to follow the four conversational maxims to achieve a variety of pragmatic advantages. The interviewers' questions play a fundamental role in politicians' use of indirectness. Therefore, the five hypotheses of this study are confirmed.

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one introduces the problem, aims, hypotheses, limits, procedures, and value. Chapter two provides a theoretical background of indirectness and its relation to pragmatics. The third chapter embarks upon the strategies by which politicians achieve indirectness in the political interview. It also deals with the nature of the political interview. The fourth chapter is devoted to the analysis of the data. The fifth chapter presents the conclusions, recommendations, and suggestions for further studies.



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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 The problem

Within the field of pragmatics, there are numerous topics which are worthy of investigation, indirectness is one of them. Adjei and Bosiwah (2015: 92) consider indirectness as a universal phenomenon in which people tend not to talk in a straight way, but go around the matters under discussion in order to steer away from potential problems.

It has been assumed that indirectness is utilized for politeness. However, the association between politeness and indirectness has been a controversial issue. That is, some scholars support this association such as Searle (1979) and Leech (1983). They claim that indirectness is utilized to attain politeness. On the other hand, other scholars do not support this association between politeness and indirectness including Blum-Kulka (1987) and Haugh (2015) . They argue that politeness is not always related to indirectness. This study is conducted to try to find a solution to this controversy, the nature of the relationship between politeness and indirectness in political interviews. It endeavors to find appropriate answers to the following questions:

1. What pragmatic strategies do politicians use to achieve indirectness in political interviews?
2. Do politicians always employ indirectness for politeness in political interviews? And how do they achieve politeness using indirectness?
3. In addition to politeness, what pragmatic functions do politicians intend to attain by exploiting indirectness?

4. Do politicians violate the four Gricean maxims in political interviews?

If so, why?

5. How can receivers comprehend what politicians mean when using indirectness?

## **1.2 Aims**

The study aims at:

1. Identifying the pragmatic strategies through which politicians achieve indirectness in the study data.

2. Finding out whether politicians always exercise indirectness for politeness.

3. Exploring the pragmatic functions behind the politicians' utilization of indirectness.

4. Observing how receivers can comprehend what politicians mean when using indirectness.

5. Finding out whether politicians violate the four Gricean maxims in political interviews and the purposes behind such violations.

## **1.3 Hypotheses**

So as to accomplish these aims, the study is based on the following hypotheses:

1. Indirectness is utilized by politicians in political interviews.

2. Politicians simultaneously employ more than one indirect strategy.

3. Politicians do not always utilize indirectness for politeness in political interviews.

4. Politicians' employment of indirectness is influenced by the questions of the interviewers.
5. Politicians frequently violate Grice's maxims in the political interview.

## **1.4 Procedures**

In order to investigate the hypotheses above the following steps are taken:

1. Mentioning theoretical information concerning indirectness in general and its relationship with pragmatics in particular.
2. Giving basic information about political indirectness and political interview.
3. Selecting the data to be analyzed (the data consist of four interviews, two with Barack Obama and two with David Cameron).
4. Looking into the data in terms of the models that the researcher adopts.
5. Stating the conclusions that are arrived at from the outcomes of the analysis.
6. Giving a number of recommendations and suggestions for further research.

## **1.5 Limits of Study**

The study is confined to:

1. Investigating only intentional indirectness since pragmatics is concerned only with this type of indirectness.
2. Considering only verbal indirectness. Seven strategies of verbal indirectness, namely hedge, circumlocution, metaphor, evasion,

innuendo, euphemism, and name-calling are chosen for analysis. These strategies are selected as they are so comprehensive, common, and related to the pragmatic models that are adopted in the study.

3. Analyzing four political interviews, two with Obama and two with Cameron.

## **1.6 Value of Study**

The outcomes reached in this study are hoped to provide benefits to the public, as they show how politicians manipulate a pragmatic strategy (verbal indirectness) to affect and persuade them. The study is also hoped to be useful to those who concerned with the fields of pragmatics and discourse analysis in that they can make use of the theoretical information to develop many studies in these fields. Furthermore, the study is hoped to be advantageous to learners of English, teachers, translators as well as syllabus designers.

# CHAPTER TWO

## INDIRECTNESS AND PRAGMATICS

### 2.1 Communication

Communication is one of the vital features of human life. Being able to communicate is the main characteristic that differentiates human beings from other creatures in life (Steinberg, 2007: 39). Lane et al. (2016: 10) define communication as the process in which people convey messages to others. Such process succeeds when the receivers get the intended meaning of the senders. There are two types of communication, verbal and non-verbal communication (Rosengren, 2000: 38). In verbal communication, making and expressing messages is achieved by the employment of words (Guffey et al., 2009: 49). In contrast, the strategies that express non-verbal communication involve: Facial expressions, movements of body parts, gestures, touches, and postures, and eye-contact, and clothing and hairstyle (Arnstein and Piccolo, 2011: 107).

The major aims of participants in performing communication are to maintain harmonious relationships with others and to exchange their thoughts. Individuals can obtain such aims by using a variety of strategies. One of such strategies is indirectness (Supturo, 2015: 1). This assumption is supported by Tannen who states that indirectness is one of the central aspects of communication (1992: 47). Indirectness makes individuals able to keep away from embarrassment, confrontation, and critical situations. The lack of this strategy makes individuals look impolite, indiscreet, hostile, and unsophisticated. To elaborate on this point, there are certain circumstances in which the sender finds it suitable to be indirect in conveying his/her messages such as to praise, to attack



the receiver, to ask him/her to do something etc. In fact, he/she does that purposely when utilizing various strategies of indirectness to achieve certain pragmatic functions (Supturo, 2015: 1). The question to be addressed now is what indirectness is.

## 2.2 Indirectness

Indirectness is one of the universal phenomena used by people in their process of communication (Ma and Li, 2016: 133). It is “any communicative behaviour, verbal or non-verbal, that conveys something more or different from what it literally means” (Brown Levinson, 1987: 134). Tannen (2006: 361) regards indirectness as one of the essential aspects of the conversational style. For her, it refers to the speakers' ability to transmit their intentions without uttering them precisely. She claims that it is impossible for speakers to utter all of their meanings in the expressions that they say. Various meanings should not be expressed clearly. In order to understand such meanings, receivers have to “read between lines” and take into consideration previous conversations as well as “expectations about what will be said.” Moreover, they should be familiar with the “culturally agreed upon meanings that are associated with particular expressions”. Therefore, in order for indirectness to take place, there should be “a mismatch between the expressed meaning and the implied meaning” (Thomas, 1995: 119).

### 2.2.1 Types of Indirectness

Indirectness is classified into two major types, **verbal** and **non-verbal** (Zhang, 2009: 99). Verbal indirectness is “that communicational strategy in which the interactants abstain from directness in order to obviate crises or in order to communicate ‘difficulty’, and thus make their utterances consistent with face and politeness.” Among the devices of verbal

indirectness are **proverb, metaphor, innuendo, euphemism, circumlocution, and hyperbole** (Obeng, 1994: 42). For example, the topic of the following exchange between the interlocutors AS and OS is the pregnancy of Agyei's wife.

(1) AS: *Have you seen Kwame Agyei recently?*

OS: *It's a long time since I saw him. The last time I saw him he told me **his wife's physical structure had changed [i.e. she was pregnant]**, so he was going to ask her to go to her mother to give birth.*

Verbal indirectness, here, is expressed by OS's use of the euphemism strategy which is represented by the expression “**his wife's physical structure had changed [i.e. she was pregnant]**” to refer to the fact that Agyei's wife is pregnant. OS does not say directly that she is pregnant. The employment of the strategy of euphemism enables OS to save his face, since saying 'she is pregnant' might be considered a taboo (Ibid., 57-58).

Concerning non-verbal indirectness, there is a variety of non-verbal indirect strategies used by people when they communicate. For example, smile is one of these strategies. In some situations, people tend to use smiles for the purpose of hiding their anger and the real feelings that they have. In other cultures, smiles might be employed to show that people are happy. To look away from others can stand for the fact that hearers are not concerned with what others say, feel that they are embarrassed, or they may have things that do not want to reveal. In other cultures, this may indicate that people respect others (Boden, 2008: 121). Silence is also among the non-verbal indirect strategies. When people are unable to get the meaning of others, they tend to be silent. People may feel uncomfortable when they ask others to simplify their meaning. Besides,

one of the non-verbal indirect strategies is that people express their thanks to others for a favor by granting them presents (Morimoto-Yoshida, 2008: 54-55).

Thomas (1995: 120) divides indirectness into **intentional** and **unintentional indirectness**. Intentional indirectness is that kind of indirectness that people deliberately use to achieve various advantages. Whereas, unintentional indirectness is employed accidentally. Such kind of indirectness occurs when people are unable to remember the words that they want to say (may be because they are nervous, eager, or afraid.)

### 2.3 Directness Versus Indirectness

Directness is the exact opposite of indirectness. Directness, according to Obeng (1994: 42), means “utterances [that] are not prefaced by, or suffused with, apologetic expressions, honorifics, or polite terminal addressives, figurative expressions (e.g. metaphors, proverbs, etc.), and any other face-saving or face-maintaining devices”. Directness is upfront, helpful, and clear (Shuy, 1998: 77). When directness is being exploited, “there are no intervening steps that need to be taken to arrive at a meaning. In other words, the meaning is completely conventional and arbitrary” (Kiesling and Johnson, 2010: 293). For example:

(8) *HOST: Would you like some more dessert?*

*GUEST: No, thank you. It's delicious, but I've really had enough.*

*HOST: OK, why don't we leave the table and sit in the living room?*

In this exchange, there is an occurrence of directness. The host uses directness to introduce an offer. In the same way, the guest replies to host's offer directly (Levine and Adelman, 1982: 21).

Arndt and Janney (1987: 197-196, 218) maintain that in direct communication, speakers tend to employ "positively and negatively laden-words." Positively laden-words" include words like "*cleanness*", "*love*", "*success*", and "*freedom*" etc. While, "*defeatedness*", "*failure*", "*pain*", and "*poverty*" etc. are among "negatively laden-words." When speakers refer to the features of the issue that they talk about, they tend to be clear and inclusive. Speakers tend to utilize imperatives and interrogatives to give their elicitation. There is "a relatively high degree of verbal immediacy", but "a relatively low verbal diversity" and signs of showing politeness are not manifested in verbal direct communication.

Conversely, in indirect communication, speakers do not use "positively or negatively laden words" and they tend to be implicit, when they refer to the features of the issue under discussion. When speakers present their elicitation (such as commands, requests, or offers), they make use of declarative and interrogative forms instead of imperative ones. Furthermore, signs of reflecting politeness are present in the indirect communication. There is a "relatively low degree of verbal immediacy, but a "relatively high verbal diversity"( Arndt and Janney, 1987: 218, 207).

When people employ directness in their communication, their intended meaning is reflected by the expressions they utter. On the other hand, when they adopt indirectness, they do not convey their intended meaning by their expressions, since such expressions hide meaning (Ting-Toomy, 1999: 103-04). It is unquestionable that indirectness is useful to request and to complain. However, it is preferable for individuals to employ directness to state their apologies and to proceed them with intensifiers such as "*very/terrible sorry*." Individuals may receive criticisms when they apologize indirectly, since "indirectness hedges the illocutionary

force and consequently does not set things right to the same extent as a direct apology” (Trosborg, 2003: 265).

Directness is utilized by experts like physicians and lawyers to state laws, rules, directions, and procedures. While, indirectness is used by “non professional beneficiaries”, since such persons think that the process of communication in everyday life should be “less explicit, less logical, more polite, and more concerned about the feelings of others”(Shuy, 1998: 76-7).

However, like indirectness, directness may be disadvantageous, it may lead to cause awkwardness. For example, it is necessary for people to make use of indirectness such as “*Could you lend me some money?*” or “*Do you have any spare cash?*” instead of directness such as “*Lend me some*” to ask their friends to lend them money (Achibe, 2003: 7).

## **2.4 Advantages of Indirectness**

Indirectness is functional. It is one of the effective skills of communication that people employ for particular purposes. When a person talks or behaves in an indirect way, it is unquestionable that he/she has a range of aims and motives behind his/her use of indirectness (Zhang, 2009: 102). The following are the crucial advantages of indirectness:

### **2.4.1 Politeness**

For Thomas, the most essential advantage behind people's employment of indirectness is politeness (1995: 143). For example:

(2) A: *Can you lend me some money?*

B: *It's sunny today, isn't it?*

In this example, indirectness is developed to accomplish politeness. That is to say, B uses indirectness to reject A's request of lending money. A's face may be threatened if B rejects openly. Therefore, B does not observe the relevance maxim, as his/her reply lacks relevance to A's request (Chen, 2010: 149).

However, the association between politeness and indirectness has been controversial. Some scholars support this association, while others reject it. Searle (1979: 36, 46) is one of the supporters of the connection between politeness and indirectness. He states that “politeness is the chief motivation for indirectness.” He adds that in requests, expressions such as “*can you*” denote politeness because when speakers use them, they do not intend to realize whether hearers are able or not. Furthermore, when such expressions are used, hearers have chances to reject.

Similarly, Leech (1983: 108) states that “indirect illocutions tend to be more polite (a) because they increase the degree of optionality, and (b) because the more indirect an election is, the more diminished and tentative its force tends to be.

In contrast to the above scholars, Ciubancan ( n.d.: 247) argues that “indirectness and politeness are not always related to each other.” He points out that there are certain occasions such as invitations, requests, and refusals on which people use indirectness indicators, but the meaning is not to reflect politeness, as in the following examples:

(3) *Would you please shut the door?*

(4) *Could you please leave the room right now?*

In these examples, the meaning is not to show politeness, though signs of indirectness are used.

Indirectness is not related to politeness is further supported by Blum-Kulka (1987: 131) who affirms:

The most indirect request strategies were not judged as the most polite. The strategies rated as the most polite, on a scale of politeness, were conventional indirect requests ('on record' indirectness); the strategies rated as the most indirect, on a scale of indirectness, were hints used for requests. ('off record' indirectness)

Besides, Haugh (2015: 16, 18) believes that indirectness "is not restricted to being 'polite' by any means." He adds that "one of the reasons that indirectness is not always perceived as polite is that it can in fact give rise to a whole range of interpersonal effects, of which politeness is just one."

#### **2.4.2 Rejection and Denial**

People use indirectness to express their rejection and denial. They do so by giving the reasons why they reject or deny, rather than using direct expressions. Such method of rejection and denial enables people to protect their face and that of others and to keep away from being embarrassed, since they need not apologize. Whereas, when they reject directly, they have to apologize. For example:

(5) A: *Let us go to the park this afternoon.*

B: *I have classes this afternoon*

In the above example, the intended meaning of B is that he/she tends to reject the invitation that is made by A to go to the park. This can be summarized as: Since B has classes this afternoon, he/she will have no time to go. A realizes that B does not want to go. This way of refusal is

more suitable and less rude than a direct one such as "no, I won't" (Zhang, 2009: 102).

### **2.4.3 Increasing and Decreasing Interestingness of Language**

Enhancing or reducing the interestingness of their language is one of the motives of people's employment of indirectness. For example, people read the novels of Jane Austin not because of their plots, but because of the entertaining style that she follows when she wrote them. Her style is characterized by her exploitation of indirectness. In the second chapter of her novel *Sense and Sensibility*, Austin tends to suggest that John is "mean" and his wife is "meaner." She does not say directly that 'John is mean and his wife is even meaner '(Thomas, 1995: 143).

Moreover, in a news item, one of the pilots of the World War II makes use of the expression '20,000 rivets flying in loose formation' to portray the bad case of one of the Shackleton airplanes. The pilot does not employ the expression ' a very poorly constructed machine' to portray the case of the airplane, in spite of the fact that he is able to do that. People get entertainment due to the style that the pilot follows in describing the airplane, though they are not concerned with what he talks about (Ibid.).

### **2.4.4 Humour**

When individuals encounter difficult situations in their life, they tend to cultivate humour. It enables them to show that they are honest, generous and kind. Humour has many other benefits such as: to indicate that people are welcoming and tolerant to hearers, to lubricate relationship with others, and to get rid of sadness in order to create some sort of optimism. For example, since the meal that he/she orders is late, the customer becomes impatient.



(6) *Customer: Is my dish ready?*

*Waiter: What have you ordered?*

*Customer: Fried nails.*

*Waiter: Oh, I will go to the kitchen and have a look. Would you please wait for a moment?*

*Customer: (in anger) I've already waited for half an hour.*

*Waiter: You know, Sir, snails are slow in movement...*

*The two laughed.*

In this example, the waiter employs indirectness which is represented by humour to express that the meal is not ready. He makes use of humour in order to sustain harmony with the customer as well as to keep away from possible argument with him. If he uses directness to state that the meal is not ready as: “*your dish hasn't been ready yet. So what can I do*”, the customer may argue with him (Zhang, 2009: 101-102).

### **2.4.5 Avoiding Responsibility**

Indirectness also allows people to shun the accountability for various matters such as behaviours, stances, or assessments. This happens due to the fact that people through indirectness appear unsure of their statements (Haugh, 2015: 20). For instance:

(7) *According to John, there will be no class today.*

In this example, indirectness is acted upon via the hedge “*According to John.*” The speaker employs this hedge to avoid being responsible for what he/she has stated “*there will be no class today*” (Fraser, 2010: 202).

### **2.4.6 Rapport and Self-Defence**

Indirectness has the advantage of rapport. This means that indirectness increases speakers' enjoyment when they communicate with others. Indirectness is also useful for self-defence. That is to say, indirectness enables speakers to provide hearers with an idea of the things that they think about. Speakers do not reveal all of that things. In this case, they become familiar with the needs of the hearers as well as their possible responses. After that, speakers realize how to construct their thoughts. Speakers can deny the meanings of what they state when hearers react negatively towards their statements. For example, if speakers want to invite others, they may raise a question before their invitation, such as "*Are you busy tonight?*" In this situation, speakers can safeguard themselves if the hearers reject their invitation (Tannen, 1992: 50, 59-60).

To the above mentioned advantages, many others can be added such as: Not to upset others, not to be domineering, not to hurt the feelings of others, (Shuy, 1998: 76), to convince receivers, to index solidarity, to protect themselves (Haugh, 2015: 40) , not to be embarrassed, to keep away from being awkward, to lessen social tension (Pinker, 2007: 438), to enhance the influence of their own messages (Thomas, 1995: 144), and to influence hearers to perform a certain thing such as the case in which speakers raise requests to hearers (Clark, 1979: 433).

### **2.5 Disadvantages of Indirectness**

Following Doscal (1983: 159), indirectness may have disadvantages for communication. For him, it seems to be “costly” and “risky”. It is costly for the reason that its user spends much time to make it and its receiver also takes longer to understand it. It is risky since its receiver may not realize it.

Indirectness might lead to miscommunications. Such miscommunications take place when interlocutors are not familiar with suppositions of indirectness (Tannen, 2006: 361). Miscommunication may also be triggered by non-verbal indirectness, when hearers do not get the intended meaning that lies behind the speakers' employment of non-verbal strategies such as signals. Besides, when hearers do not understand the meaning behind speakers' indirectness, they begin to ask speakers to explain what they say. Such questions make speakers feel “challenged” and “uncomfortable” (Tannen, 1992: 60-61). What's more, Tannen (1986) cited in Tsuda (1993: 69-70) points out:

However, indirectness sometimes damages communication when it is used only for selfish aims to manipulate others. In a society where people are sensitive to the rank order of the people in a group as in Japan, indirectness is often employed by people of higher status to control people of lower status. In such situations, it is face-threatening for people of lower status to say something which may threaten a person of higher status. Although the status difference is present in any society, this tendency is stronger in Japanese society than countries where equality and fairness are more valued.

## **2.6 Pragmatics**

Pragmatics is one of the branches of linguistics that is concerned with studying people's employment of language (Verschueren, 2009: 1). Yule (1996: 3) considers pragmatics as “the study of how more gets communicated than is said.” To be clear, pragmatics is concerned with showing how receivers can understand the hidden intentions of senders by drawing deductions from the things that they (senders) state. It deals with meanings that senders imply, but do not state obviously in their statements. In other words, it studies senders' intended meanings.

(9) *It is hot in here.*

There are two meanings in this example, literal and hidden meanings. The literal meaning is that the sender states the case of the weather. Conversely, the hidden meaning is that the sender indirectly asks the receiver to open the window and pragmatics is concerned with this kind of meaning (Archer et al., 2012: 6).

## **2.7 Theories of Pragmatics**

Pragmatics is a wide field composed of many theories. Among those theories are Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975) and Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness (1987). These two theories will be elaborated in detail due to their indispensable role in pragmatics and their relation to indirectness.

### **2.7.1 Grice's Cooperative Principle**

Grice's theory of Cooperative Principle is the one of the essential aspects within the field of pragmatics (Zhou, 2009: 43). This theory “ led to the development of pragmatics as a separate discipline within linguistics” (Hadi, 2012: 69). Conversations are in need of Cooperative Principle and its four maxims in order to be accomplished productively (Jia, 2008: 88).

Grice (1975: 45) condenses his theory of Cooperative Principle in these words: “ 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 has proposed the following four conversational maxims in order to affect cooperation. He highlights that individuals tend to follow them when they interact with

others. He states that such maxims enable interlocutors to be cooperative, when they are engaged in their conversations.

### **1. Quantity**

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required.
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

### **2. Quality**

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

### **3. Relation**

1. Be relevant.

### **4. Manner**

1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly (Grice, 1975: 45-46).

Levinson, in his comments on Grice's theory (1975), sums up Cooperative Principle by saying that “these maxims specify what participants have to do in order to converse in a maximally efficient, rational, co-operative way: They should speak sincerely, relevantly, and clearly, while providing sufficient information” (1983: 102). For example:

(10) A: *Where is Peter?*

B: *He is in the garden, I'm sure.*

In this exchange, all of the Gricean maxims are maintained, since B answers A's question in a unambiguous, direct, truthful, and adequate way. That is, B makes use of directness in his reply of A's question (Dinh, 2010: 198).

### 2.7.1.1 Non-Observance of the Maxims

Grice points out that individuals do not always observe conversational maxims. There are many terms that refer to the situations in which the maxims are not observed: “*violate*”, “*opt out*”, “*clash*” and “*flout*” (1975: 49). Individuals do not observe the conversational maxims in order to achieve various advantages such as to show that they are polite (Finegan, 2008: 289). As such, the four conversational maxims are useful in both cases, observance or non-observance (Darighoftar, 2012: 269).

The quantity maxim is broken when people offer deficient information, or when they do supply more information than what is required.

(11) *John: Where have you been? I searched everywhere for you during the past three months!*

*Mike: I wasn't around. So, what's the big deal?*

In this example, John asks Mike a question. He endeavors to know where exactly Mike was. Mike, in contrast, presents a deficient reply. He just says that he wasn't around. He does not specify precisely where he was. In such case, Mike does not follow the maxim of quantity (Khosravizadeh and Sadehvandi, 2011: 122-123).

People infringe the maxim of quality when they state untruthful things. (Colston, 2007: 126).

(12) *Mother: Did you study all day long?*

*Son (who has been playing all day long): Yes, I've been studying till know!*

In this exchange, the son violates the quality maxim, as he is dishonest. He tells his mother that he has been studying, but in reality he has not, he was playing all day. He does so for the purpose of staying away from any horrible reaction that can result from his mother (Khosravizadeh and Sadehvandi, 2011: 123).

Speakers fail to observe the maxim of manner when they say unclear things.

(13) *Perhaps someone did something naughty* (Tsuda, 1993: 68).

Individuals also break the maxim of manner when they are not orderly in what they say or write.

(14) *A birthday cake should have icing; use unbleached flour and sugar in the cake; bake it for one hour; preheat the oven to 325 degrees; and beat in three fresh eggs.*

The manner maxim, here, is not observed as the sentence is strange. The oddity is attributed to the fact that orderliness is completely destroyed. That is, the order in which phrases are united is wrong. The speaker does not adopt a sequential order to portray the method of baking (Finegan, 2008: 288).

The relevance maxim involves individuals to make their contribution pertinent. Individuals disobey the maxim of relevance when they present irrelevant information.

(15) *Lelia: Whoa! Has your boss gone crazy?*

*Mary: Let's go get some coffee.*

The response given by Mary is irrelevant to the question that is raised by Lelia. Mary deliberately makes her response irrelevant to Lelia's question. At the same time, Mary makes an implicit meaning in her response. As a result, the relevance maxim is not observed by Mary. Lelia, on the other hand, is capable of recognizing the purposes that motivate Mary to use indirectness in answering the question (Yule, 1996: 43).

In some situations, there may be multiple violations of the maxims. Participants do such kind of violations, when two or more than two are violated concurrently.

(16) *Sarah: Did you enjoy the party last night?*

*Anna: There was plenty of oriental food on the table, lots of flowers all over the place, people hanging around chatting with each other...*

In this example, Anna fails to observe both the manner and the quantity maxims. The former is violated since Anna seems to be vague, while the latter is not observed, because Anna produces more than the required words (Khosravizadeh and Sadehvandi, 2011: 123).

### **2.7.1. 2 Implicature**

Grice (1975) mentions that though speakers sometimes fail to observe the four maxims, depending on implicature, they remain cooperative. “*To imply*” (denotes “to fold something into something else”) is the word from which the term “*implicature*” is taken (Mey, 2001: 45). Levinson (1983: 97) admits that “implicature provides some explicit account of



how it is possible to mean more than what is actually said.” Baker and Ellece (2011: 59) believe that implicature is “what is suggested but not formally expressed.” Readers and listeners may get that there is an implied idea in what others say or write or they make use of context to interpret implicatures. For instance:

(17) *Jone: I've made a strawberry flan.*

*Fanny: I had strawberries for breakfast dear.*

The implicature that can be inferred from the above utterances is that Fanny refuses Jone's offer to have a strawberry meal, because he cannot have such a meal two times in the same day. In other words, Fanny indirectly refuses Jone's offer (Ibid.: 59-60).

Then, Grice differentiates between two types of implicature, **conventional** and **conversational**. Conventional implicature refers to “the conventional meaning of the words used will determine what is implicated, besides helping to determine what is said” (Grice, 1989: 25). Grice, on the other hand, divides conversational implicature into two kinds, **generalized conversational implicature** and **particularized conversational implicature**. The former means that “the use of a certain form of words in an utterance would normally (in the absence of special circumstances) carry such-and such an implicature or type of implicature.” Whereas, the latter deals with the “cases in which an implicature is carried by saying that P on a particular occasion in virtue of special features of the context” (Grice, 1989: 37).

### **2.7. 2 Brown and Levinson's Theory of Politeness**

The politeness phenomenon is one of the theories of pragmatics. It attempts to clarify the reasons behind people's employment of

indirectness. It plays a fundamental role in people's choice of their linguistic expressions (Thomas, 1995: 150). It “make [s] possible communication between potentially aggressive parties” (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 1). For Trosborg (1995: 27), it refers to the tendency of people to keep face. The senders of messages should demonstrate that they are aware of their face as well as that of the message receivers and they should exploit a variety of strategies for preserving face. Ide (1989: 225) summarizes linguistic politeness in the following lines:

The language usage associated with smooth communication realized first through the speaker's use of intentional strategies to allow his or her message to be received favorably by the addressee and second through the speaker's choice of expressions to conform to the expected and/or prescribed norms of speech appropriate to the contextual situation in individual speech communities.

The last fifth decades have witnessed a huge deal of attention devoted to politeness theory. A lot of articles and books have emerged and many scholars have proposed a variety of models and theories concerning it. The most significant one is Brown and Levinson's (1978/ 1987) (Abdul-Majeed, 2009: 509). Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness “provides a breadth of insights into human behavior which no other theory has yet offered” (Locher and Watts, 2005: 9).

### **2.7.2.1 Face**

The first definition of **face** was suggested by Goffman (1967). For him (1967: 5): face is “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes.” Face is one of the vital elements of Brown and Levinson's

(1978/1987) theory of politeness. They borrowed their view of face from Goffman's (1967). They define it as “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself.” They observe that face is “emotionally invested and that can be lost, maintained, or enhanced and must be constantly attended to in interaction” (1987: 61).

Brown and Levinson distinguish between **negative** and **positive face**. Negative face refers to “the want of every ‘competent adult member’ that his/her actions be unimpeded by others”, whereas positive face is “the want of every member that his/her wants be desirable to at least some others”(Ibid.: 62). For example, a person's negative face is threatened when he/she receives requests from others to perform certain things, since his/her freedom of action is limited by such requests. While, his/her positive face is threatened when others do not agree with him/her, since disagreement reflects the fact that people have no approval (Bull, 2012: 84).

### 2.7.2.2. Face-Threatening Acts

Speech acts by which face is threatened are labeled face-threatening acts. Face-threatening acts can threaten the face of both the speaker and the hearer. For example, they occur when a person tends to express a disagreement, raises a request or presents a piece of advice (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 65). From Curtone's (2011: 52) perspective, face-threatening acts are among the essential factors that are required to understand the association between politeness and face.

Brown and Levinson (1987: 65-67) differentiate between **positive** and **negative face-threatening acts**. Negative face-threatening acts are those acts that tend to hinder freedom of action of interactants. There are certain cases in which negative face-threatening acts tend to threaten the negative face of hearers: When they stress them to carry out or avoid

carrying out certain acts as in the cases of orders, requests, suggestions, advice, reminding, threats, warnings, and dares, and when they force them to admit or refuse positive future acts made by speakers towards them such as offers and promises. Face-threatening acts threaten speakers' negative face when they create offence to their negative face such as expressing thanks, excuses, acceptance of offers, and unwilling promises and offers.

Positive face-threatening acts are those acts that point out that people lack care about the feelings and wants of others or that they do not want other's wants. Among the acts that threaten the hearer's positive face are: The acts that reflect that the positive face of the hearer is not evaluated positively by speaker such as expressing disapproval, criticism, contempt or ridicule, compliments and reprimands, accusations, and insults, and the acts that reveal that the speaker is careless with the positive face of the hearer such as expressions of violence emotions, irrelevance, mention of taboo topics, bringing of bad news about the hearer, and raising of dangerously emotional or dissive topics. The main positive face-threatening acts that cause threats to the positive face of the speaker are apologies, acceptance of a compliment, confessions, admissions of guilt or responsibility, emotion leakage, non-control of laughter or tears (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 66-68).

### **2.7.2. 3 Strategies to Diminish Face-Threatening Acts**

Brown and Levinson (Ibid.: 68-69) mention that people try to keep away from potential face-threatening acts. They add that people tend to make use of a variety of strategies for reducing potential threats. Such strategies are summarized in the following diagram:

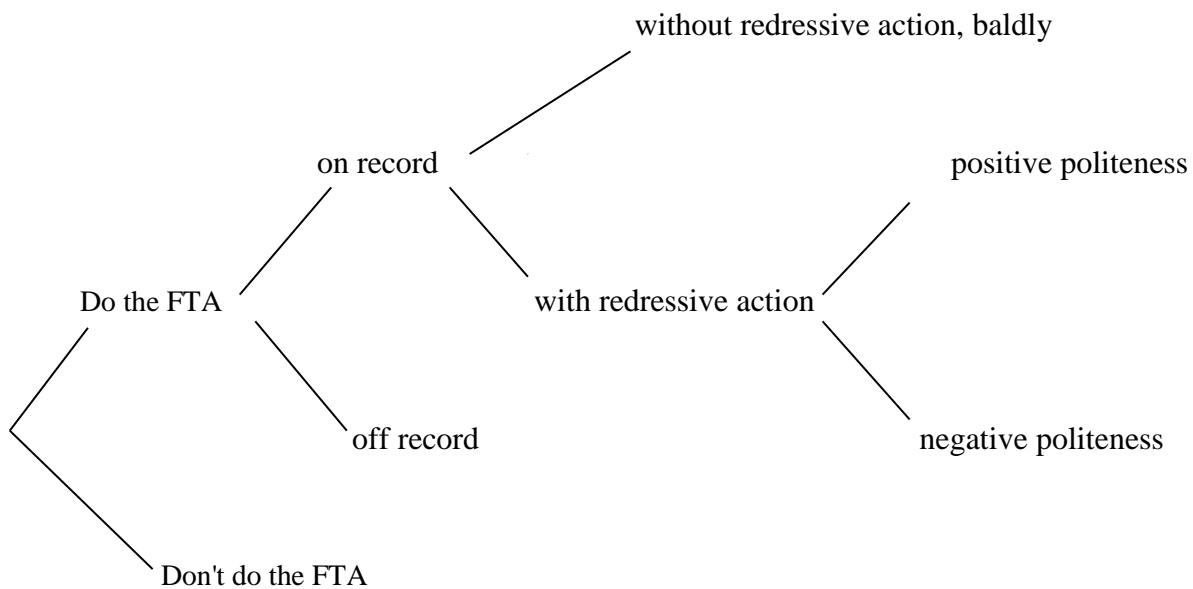


Fig. 1. Possible Strategies for Doing FTAs.

Brown and Levinson point out that first, speakers need to choose whether or not to do the face-threatening act. If they make their mind up to do a certain face-threatening act, they may do it **off-record**. Performing an act off record occurs when “there is more than one unambiguously attributable intention so that the actor cannot be held to have committed himself to one particular intent” (1987: 68-69). This strategy helps speakers to keep away from being accountable for certain acts (Odebunmi, 2009: 5). The main tactics of performing acts off record are metaphor, irony, rhetorical questions, understatement, and hints (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 69).

People tend to go **on record** in performing actions when interlocutors are familiar with purposes that motivate people to do so. That is, when “there is just one unambiguously attributable intention with which witnesses would concur.” To perform acts **baldly, without redressive,**

means to perform them straightforwardly, obviously, in a few words, and without ambiguities. For example, people may use "Do X" to give a request. Brown and Levinson (1987: 70) indicate that this strategy is usually employed in situations of emergency, requests, offers and suggestions that involve just slight sacrifices on the addressee. If the speaker comes to a decision to make use of **redressive action**, he/she will try to diminish the threat to the face of the addressee's, and will demonstrate in the utterance that he/she says that he/she wishes not to cause threats to the face of the addressee. There are two forms of redressive actions, **positive politeness** and **negative politeness**.

## 2.8 The Association between Indirectness and Pragmatics

Indirectness is an essential part of pragmatics. It is one of the pragmatic choices that people resort to in their process of communication (Supturo, 2015: 1). Indirectness explains how people can convey their intentions without being direct (Tannen, 1992: 47). Actually, this exists in the field of pragmatics which is described as the study of the intended meaning of the speakers.

Indirectness has a close connection with the Grice's Cooperative Principle and Brown and Levinson's theory of face and politeness. Explicitly, speakers arrive at indirectness via disobeying Grice's maxims and sometimes they use indirectness for politeness. For example, the following excerpt is taken from the Nikkei Newspaper, one of the newspapers in Japan. The journalist asks Ichiro Ozawa (the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party) about a bribery that Shin Kanemaru (a member of the Liberal Democratic Party) took from Sagawa Express. The journalist wants to know whether Ozawa is aware of this bribery or not. And whether he has relation to it.

(18) *Takazawa: Who were present at the meeting?*

*Ozawa: I do not remember very well. It involves people other than myself, and it is hard to be accurate. I would rather not answer the question.*

*Takazawa: Do you still have that meeting?*

*Ozawa: I don't know (Tsuda, 1993: 68-69).*

Rather than providing direct replies, Ozawa employs indirectness. More specifically, he uses evasion. He pleads ignorance. Ozawa realizes indirectness via breaking Grice's maxims. He breaks three ones: quantity, manner, and relevance. He breaks the quantity maxim as his reply is insufficient. He breaks manner maxim since he is so vague. He breaks the maxim of quality since he is untruthful. Here, Ozawa uses indirectness purposefully. He uses it for preserving his negative face, Shin Kanemaru's one, and that of the Liberal Democratic Party as Shin Kanemaru represents the Liberal Democratic Party. Takazawa's question is a difficult one, as it involves Ozawa to elaborate on the bribery. Ozawa realizes that his face is threatened if he provides honest replies and starts elaborating on the bribery. As such, Ozawa finds indirectness a good way for maintaining face. This shows that there is a close association between indirectness, Grice's maxims, and politeness (Tsuda, 1993: 68-69).

(19) *A: They're just starting the second circuit I'd say are they?*

*B: Amm **I think** now but I could be wrong but **I think** that is coming up to the secondlast.*

In the above exchange, indirectness finds expression via B's exploitation of the hedge, "**I think**." B disagrees with A, and he/she exploits this hedge to lessen the effect of disagreement on A. As result of B's use of

this hedge, the maxim of quality is not observed. In other words, B accomplishes indirectness via breaking a conversational maxim for reflecting politeness (O'Keefe et al., 2011: 70).



# **CHAPTER THREE**

## **INDIRECTNESS IN POLITICAL LANGUAGE**

### **3.1 Political Language**

Language is the primary medium of communication and one of the elements that cannot be separated from the daily lives of people. It is considered as the major means that people tend to employ for the purpose of conveying their messages and communicating their views, thoughts and ideas. For the reason that language is such an influential means, its use is a fundamental topic for investigation (Justová, 2006: 6).

Political language plays a pivotal role in politics. The role of language in politics was emphasized by Plato and Aristotle (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002: 1). Nowadays, various academic fields such as linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, politics, political communication, critical discourse, psycholinguistics, and linguistic anthropology are concerned with the study of political language (Obeng, 2002: 5).

Politicians' foremost aim in the world of politics is gaining power. This is stressed by Chilton (2004: 3) who states that politics is “a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it”. There are many tools at the hands of politicians to achieve this aim. One of these tools is to make use of “physical coercion.” In other words, politicians tend to employ force to reach their purpose (Jonse and Peccei, 2004: 37). According to Chilton (2004: 6) the other means that politicians use to gain their aim is language. It is the most vital tool utilized by politicians. It is used more than physical coercion. It has a great role in politics to the extent that “political activity does not exist without the use of language”. This tool is

different from the first one in the sense that it does not require physical force (Jones and Peccei, 2004: 37-38).

Language enables politicians to gain their aim through rhetoric. Rhetoric refers to the ability of convincing people (Wardy, 2005: 1). Obeng (2002: 8) points out that one of the most significant devices used by politicians in the world of politics is rhetoric. Jones and Peccei (2004: 39) support this assumption when they state that “politicians throughout the ages have owed much of their success to their skillful use of rhetoric, whereby they attempt to persuade their audience of the validity of their views by their subtle use of elegant and persuasive language”.

There are many recent studies that have investigated politicians' use of rhetoric. Among these studies are (Obeng 1997; 2002; Beard 2000; Jones and Peccei 2004; Al-Haq and Al-Sleibi 2015, and others). As many of these works show, indirectness is one of the indispensable devices of rhetoric employed by politicians.

### **3.2 Indirectness in Political Language**

Indirectness, Obeng (1997: 58, 80) admits, occupies a prominent place in political language. “Any theory on ... political communication... must take verbal indirection as one of its essential facets.” He states that politicians prefer indirectness, obscurity, vagueness, and obliqueness in their communication, because of “the rather trickery and/or risky nature of politics itself, and especially to the power of the spoken word”. Politicians exploit indirectness on various political occasions including presidential speeches, debates, or press conferences. However, indirectness is heavily employed in political interviews. A major characteristic of the political interviews lies in that interviewees do not give direct or honest answers to the questions of the interviewers (Furco and Abuczki, 2014: 46). Harries (1991) cited in (Lauerbach, 2001: 198)

concludes that most of politicians' answers in political interviews lean to be indirect. According to her, more than half of politicians' answers in political interviews are indirect.

A variety of rationales lie beneath politicians' utilization of indirectness. Among such benefits are facilitating politicians to steer clear of crises and maintain face (Obeng, 2002: 5), alleviating the potential danger, and advancing their vocations as well as preserving the parties and the governments that politicians represent (Obeng, 1997: 80).

### **3.2.1 Strategies of Indirectness in Political Language**

Indirectness in political language is put across by a multiplicity of pragmatic strategies like **metaphor**, **euphemism**, **evasion**, **innuendo**, **hedge**, **circumlocutions**, and **name-calling**. Each strategy will be tackled in detail.

#### **3.2.1.1 Evasion**

When politicians are asked by interviewers, they tend to reply in a direct way. However, in some situations, they make use of evasion in their replies (Clayman, 1993: 159). Evasion “involves circumvention or avoiding answering directly or avoiding facing up to real difficult or tricky communicative or discourse issues” (Agyekum, 2008: 82). In other words, evasion is a way politicians make use of in order to steer away from giving honest and significant information (Galasinski, 2000: 55). Politicians use evasion when the only choice that they have is to respond verbally to the topics that cause face threatening acts. Evasion takes place when politicians try to make resistance to the questions that they receive. In short, to evade questions is to reject to answer them (Obeng, 1997: 54). Consider the following exchange between a journalist and President G. Bush:

(20) *Interviewer ...you weren't this circumspect when you were talking to reporters yesterday about the economy.*

*The President. I think I pretty much said the same thing yesterday, in all due respect.*

In the above exchange, the journalist raises a question and instead of answering the journalist's question, G. Bush implies that he has already answered the question. In other words, he exploits evasion. As a result of the occurrence of evasion, two Gricean maxims are breached by G. Bush, quantity and relevance (Fraser, 2010: 210).

The determination of the occurrence of evasion in political language is influenced by the way politicians respond to the questions of the questioners as well as the questioners' reaction towards politicians' responses (Obeng, 2002: 13). The evasion level is also influenced by the way that journalists follow to question politicians. That is, whether they appear to be aggressive or lenient in questioning politicians. Politicians utilize evasion when they have the opportunity to do so. To be precise, when the journalists are “slack”. In such case, politicians leave the subject of the question and start conveying certain “pre-packed politics”. In addition, politicians tend to be evasive when they are obliged. That is, when they are interviewed by rough journalists who ask aggressive questions. Therefore, both “adversarialness” and “leniency” lead to evasion (Vukovic, 2013: 21-22).

Evasion serves many functions: shunning dilemmas in interaction (Lauerbach, 2001: 198), keeping away from problems, preserving face (Obeng, 2002: 12), reducing reactions that are not positive, and avoiding blame, and keeping away from talking about issues that might be

overstated and then lead to create certain arguments in the media (Bhatia, 2006: 195, 191).

Vukovic (2013: 16-17) believes that context is the main trigger of evasion in political interviews. He does not support the assumption that evasion is one of the stable features of politician's personality. The same politician is not fixed in using evasion. Specifically, in some interviews he/she may use a high degree of evasion, whereas in others, he/she may decrease his/her use of evasion.

Clayman and Heritage (2002: 240-242) notice that interviewers are able to respond to politicians' use of evasion in political interviews. They argue that being able to respond to politicians' evasion is one of the crucial features of skilled interviewers. However, sometimes interviewers "let it [evasion] pass", in spite of the fact that they notice it. Interviewers do so in order not to interrupt the flow of the political interview. In the same way, a number of the audience members may observe the interviewees' use of evasion, while other members may not. When the audience recognizes that the interviewees make use of evasion in their responding to interviewers' questions, they begin to produce conclusions. They may conclude that interviewees have a certain purpose behind their use of evasion. They may deduce that there is a certain thing in the possession of the interviewees but they do not want to reveal.

Bull (2003: 114-121) suggests the following tactics that politicians employ to evade questions:

1. To pay no attention to the interviewer's question. That is, the political actor disregards the interviewer's question and does not try to give it an answer. In some situations, he does not admit that he receives a question.
2. To admit the interviewer's question without giving any answer to it.

3. To question the interviewer's question. There are two methods to do so: to ask the interviewer to simplify the question, and to ask the journalist the same question.

4. To criticize the interviewer's question. Politicians do so for eight reasons: “the question fails to tackle the important issue”, “the question is hypothetical or speculative”, “the question is based on a false premise”, “the question is factually inaccurate”, “the question includes a misquotation”, “the question includes a quotation taken out of context”, “the question is objectionable”, and “the question is based on a false alternative”

5. To criticize the journalist him/herself.

6. To refuse to give an answer to the interviewer's question. There are five methods in the hands of politicians that enable them to do that: “refusal on grounds of inability”, “unwillingness to answer”, “I can't speak for someone else”, “deferred answer”, “it is not possible to answer the question for the time being”, and “pleads ignorance”

7. To present certain political ideas. Politicians can make political points through a variety of methods like: making certain external attacks (attacking those who oppose them), introducing certain policies, reassuring certain matters, appealing to nationalism, analyzing particular political issues, justifying themselves, and speaking about their own side.

8. To provide incomplete responses. There are various structures of incomplete responses in political interviews such as: starting answering the interviewer's question without finishing it (the politicians may commit “self-interruption”), giving answers that are “partial”, presenting “half” answers, and giving replies that are “fractional”.

9. To repeat an answer that he/she has already given to answer interviewer's question.

10. To say or suggests that the politician has already given an answer to the interviewer's question

11. To apologize.

12. Literalism. Bull emphasizes that “the literal aspect of a question which was not intended to be taken literally is answered”.

In some situations, politicians appear to be direct in evading difficult questions. That is, they may use the expression “I do not intend to comment on that” to express the fact that they do not want to answer a journalist's question (Obeng, 2002: 13).

### **3.2.1.2 Circumlocution**

Circumlocution is another pragmatic strategy of indirectness (Agyekum, 2008: 82). It refers to the process of “talking around a subject, using an unnecessary large number of words, or evasive language.” For instance:

(21) *your horse... well, see; I was in the barn... and there he was I mean I only wanted to get one of those new bridles to try out... anyway he wasn't moving...*

In this instance, the speaker talks in a circumlocutory way to denote the fact that the horse is dead. He/she does so in order to preserve face. He/she may threaten face if he utters openly that the horse died. He/she breaks the maxim of manner as he is so vague (Haven, 1999: 95).

There are many names that can be used to refer to circumlocution such as: “*periphrasis*”, “*ambages*”, or “*pleonasmus*” (Hirsch, 2014: 110). Like all of the strategies of indirectness, circumlocution is utilized to do a number of functions. There are social motivations beneath people's use of circumlocution. For example, people utilize circumlocution to shun

talking about things that are not lucky or those that pose offense. Politeness is also one of the intentions of people's employment of circumlocution. This can be explained in this way: Circumlocution refers to the process of talking about issues in an indirect way, and as it has been shown earlier, politeness is one of the motivations of indirectness. As such, circumlocution may be employed for reflecting politeness (Al-Shemmary and Ubied, 2016: 39). Goffman (1967: 16-17) states that circumlocution enables senders to make their responses vague and in this case they can sustain face.

However, circumlocution might appear to be disadvantageous. Layers (1867: 146) claims that circumlocution might be regarded as a flaw in the linguistic capacities of those who use it, thereby weakening their language. This occurs when there are no good purposes behind people's employment of it. Furthermore, when an interlocutor makes use of circumlocution, hearers may produce utterances like "*Brevity, Brevity*". In some situations, particularly when hearers lose their patience, they may say "*your story is long; be brief.*" In ordinary conversations, when a speaker employs a lot of circumlocution, hearers may say "*This guy engages in circumlocution*" (Obeng, 1994: 60).

Circumlocution is considered as one of indirectness strategies that political actors utilize for an array of pragmatic purposes. The reasons for politicians' use of circumlocution range from protecting themselves, countries or governments that they represent, clinging to power, staying away from hazards and difficulties, keeping their careers, to sustaining their self image as well as the self image of their own governments . To get around the subject, to be unclear, and to infringe Grice's conversational maxims are among the major ways the political actors use to perform circumlocution (Obeng, 1997: 64-65). For example: the following exchange is obtained from an interview between John Kerry,



Secretary of State of the USA, and Martha Raddatz, an ABC TV channel journalist. Raddatz asks Kerry at what time Hamid Karzai (President of Afghanistan) will sign the secretary agreement (that would allow the American army to stay in Afghanistan beyond 2014).

*(22) Raddatz: By when?*

*Kerry: We negotiated...*

*Raddatz: Give me a date.*

*Kerry: Let me just finish - we negotiated an agreement. That wasn't in place, by the way, a year ago. Now we have an agreement that's been negotiated and he has said to me personally, and as - as recently as a day ago, reiterated through his minister that the language is fine. He's not going to change - to seek a change in the language. He's not going to seek any change in the outcome of the Loya Jirga.*

*So we are very close to the ability to move forward. And I believe it will be signed. And I hope it will be signed as soon as possible (<http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2013/12/this-week-transcript-secretary-john-kerry/>).*

Raddatz wants a candid date. Kerry does not give a specific time, instead he replies utilizing circumlocution. He achieves circumlocution by moving around the issue of the Raddatz's question (signing the agreement) and by being vague. He elaborates on how his government negotiated with the Afghan politicians a year ago, the closeness of signing, and then he expresses his hope that he (Hamid Karzai) signs it. However, no specific date is given. His government might instruct him not to present a specific date. As such, if he presents a specific date, he

may be in problems and lose his job as a secretary of state. That is why, he employs circumlocution for sustaining his job. From Grice's point of view, three maxims are breached in Kerry's reply. He breaks the quantity maxim because he provides much information. He breaks the relevance maxim, as he adds irrelevant information. And the manner maxim is violated, since he is vague.

### 3.2.1.3 Hedge

Marrkanen and Schröder (1997: 4) state that George Lakoff is the originator of the term “*hedge*” in linguistics. He does so in his work (1972) *Hedges: A Study in Meaning Criteria and the Logic of Fuzzy Concepts*. Hyland (2005: 52) claims that when hedges are involved, “information [is likely] to be presented as an opinion rather than a fact.” Hedge is a pragmatic strategy of indirectness (Crystal, 2008: 227). Hedges refer to the strategies writers and speakers use for the rationale of alleviating what they say or write in order to preserve face (Farr, 2011: 112). For instance:

(23) A: *Do you think I am qualified to be employed by your esteemed company?*

B: ***It is said that** your interview has failed?*

B, in a roundabout way, informs A that he/she has been refused to work in the company. The achiever of indirectness is the hedge “*it is said that*.” This hedge lessens the harsh effect of refusing on A and then to keep A's face. The maxims of quantity, quality, and manner are clearly not observed by B. Nonetheless, A can understand B's implication (Chen, 2010: 148).

A hedge may be comprised of more than one word. That is, it may be composed of only two words like “*I think*”, and “*sort of*” or three words like “*I think that*”, and “*kind of I*” (Farr, 2011: 112,114). Fraser (2010: 203) observes that a complete sentence might occur as a hedge, like *I must ask you this*: why did you do such a foolish thing?.

Hedge is a distinctive aspect of political language. Politicians exploit hedge for a miscellany of intentions, such as lessening being accountable of what they state, keeping away from being criticized (Schäffner, 1998: 185, 188), defending themselves, alleviating the influence of their utterances, showing that they are polite, hiding the truth, and steering clear of potential arguments (Fraser, 2010: 205-206), alleviating their own views, and reflecting that they are unsure of what they put across (Abdul majeed, 2010: 768).

Among the hedging devices are modal adverbs such as “*perhaps*”, “*possibly*”, “*probably*”, “*practically*”, “*presumably*”, “*apparently*”, modal adjectives such as “*possible*”, “*probable*”, or “*un/likely*”, modal nouns like “*assumption*”, “*claim*”, “*possibility*”, “*estimate*”, “*suggestion*”, modal verbs such as “*might*”, “*can*”, “*would*”, or “*could*”, and epistemic verbs such as “*to seem*”, “*to appear*”, “*to believe*” (Fraser, 2010: 204-205). For example, the following lines are said by Obama:

(24) *The budget that we are talking about is not reducing our military spending. But I think the Governor Romney **maybe** hasn't spent enough time looking at how our military works.*

Hedge, in this instance, is achieved by Obama's exploitation of the modal verb “*maybe*.” Obama uses this hedge to lessen the undesirable consequence of his statement on Mitt Romney (the Republican nominee in the presidential election in 2012), and in this case Obama cares about

Romney's face. In other words, Obama uses hedge to show politeness (Toska, 2015: 65).

### 3.2.1.4 Euphemism

Etymologically, the term *euphemism* is taken from a Greek word that connotes "to speak favorably" (Pan, 2013: 2108). It is a universal phenomenon. It has a huge influence in the communication of people to the extent that such communication cannot exist without it (Gomma and Shi, 2012: 1).

Euphemism is "a word or phrase that is less direct but that may be considered less offensive than another word or phrase with the same meaning" (Moran, 2008: 88). For example, expressions such as "*gone to his reward*", "*kicked the bucket*", "*passed away*" may be used to convey that X died (Avraham, 2008: 40). Hanks (2013: 231) considers euphemism as "the most typical case of not 'saying what you mean'."

Euphemism is one of the strategies by which indirectness is executed (Bakhtiar, 2012: 8; Obeng, 1994: 56). Crespo-Fernández (2005: 80) admits that euphemism is one of the phenomena of pragmatics. Mihás (2005: 129) believes that euphemism is similar to metaphor in the sense that it tends to "deal with substitution of one denotation for another, creating desirable conceptual and connotative meanings".

Euphemism is exploited to fulfill an assortment of functions. One of these functions is politeness. That is, speakers prefer to employ gentle and implied words when they talk about distasteful things. For example, the word "*old*" might be referred to by a variety of alternatives such as "*senior citizens*", and "*superior citizens*." "*feel one's age*" might be employed as a replacement for "*get old*". Besides, there is a diversity of words for the word "*poor*", including "*needy*", "*underprivileged*", and "*disadvantaged*" (Pan, 2013: 2109).

Crespo-Fernández (2005: 78, 85) claims that it is face by which euphemism is related to politeness. This association can be explained in this way: euphemism is exploited by persons in order to stay away from any possible conflict in interaction. Hence, using euphemism enables persons to maintain their self-image as well as that of others. This point is affirmed by Allan and Burridge (2006: 32) who argues that persons utilize euphemism in order to “avoid possible loss of face by the speaker, and also the hearer or some third party.”

Euphemism might be utilized to keep away from taboos. Hanks observes that euphemistic expressions are likely to alternate taboo ones (2013: 231). Euphemism, following Pan (2013: 2109), replaces taboos for shunning discomfiture and shame. For example, “*Gad*” might be used to stand for “*God*”, “*the good man*” for “*Satan*”, and “*pass away*” for “*die*”.

Sometimes euphemism gives rise to vagueness, because it states things implicitly and circuitously. In such cases, it conceals the reality. As such, it causes misunderstanding to individuals. When it leads to vagueness, euphemism is likely to be utilized by various kinds of personalities such as politicians, statesmen, and business men, since it enables them to achieve many benefits like disguising the truth, absolving their culpabilities, and making their goods to be of high quality. (Ibid.: 2110).

However, euphemism can be disadvantageous. It might make its user wordy, since it uses numerous words for expressing a meaning that can be expressed by a single one. In this case, euphemism leads to break the maxim of manner (avoid unnecessary prolixity). For example, “*is no longer with us*” is used to mean that someone is “*dead*”. It also tends to reduce the influence of the speaker's intention. The receivers might be deceived by it (Moran, 2008: 88).

Political euphemism is one of the central elements of political language (Crespo-Fernández, 2014: 4). It is characterized by the fact that

“it deviates greatly from the meaning expressed by its former signifier, or even a complete distortion”. For example, since the word “*attack*” might cause offense to others, American politicians refer to it by a variety of terms such as “*active defense*”, “*recession*”, and “*negative growth*”. Another example, Reagan (Former President of the USA) uses the term “*peacekeeper*” to refer to “*the 10-warhead intermediate-range missile.*” Political euphemism is accomplished via using words that have ambiguous and unclear meanings instead of those with straight meanings. For instance, in order to praise the invasion of the American army to Iraq in 2003, G. Bush employs phrases with nonspecific meanings like “*military operation*”, and “*disarm*”, to refer to this invasion. Various phrases with ambiguous meanings like “*gadget*”, “*the device*”, and “*the thing*” are employed for connoting the atomic bombs that were employed in Hiroshima (Zhao, 2010: 118-119).

Euphemism is one of the strategies of politeness. By euphemism, the face of politicians is maintained. In addition, it also preserves the face of the country, the government, or the party that the politicians belong to. Moreover, euphemism enables politicians to present themselves in a positive way. That is, it increases the ability to create a positive image of themselves in mass. (Crespo-Fernández, 2014: 4).

Political euphemism is used by politicians in order to convince and affect people. When they talk about social incidents or topics, political euphemism enables politicians to control the way people think and perceive. Rather than being instant, the effects that political euphemism causes are “subtle and potential”. That is, it tends to fix certain false thoughts in the minds of the public. Then, it tends to transform such thoughts into facts that the public admit (Zhao, 2010: 118, 120).

Politicians apply euphemism for appreciating the sensitivity of others. For example, politicians employ phrases such as “*vulnerable*”, “*in*

*financial difficulty*”, and “*people in debt*” to mean the individuals that crisis of the economy affect them. Politicians use such euphemisms for the purpose of avoiding wounding their sensitivity. It values feelings of the mass. It also makes it possible for politicians to disparage their opponents in a polite way (Crespo Fernández, 2014: 15).

Political euphemism also has the advantage of obscuring and elevating or praising the politicians' scandalous actions; so that they can escape being accused by the mass. For example, in America, politicians use different euphemisms to represent the “*surprise attacks*” of the American army against countries such as “*preemptive strikes*”, and “*surgical strikes*”. They do not say honestly “*surprise attacks*”. Such euphemisms enable them to mask the attacks that are considered unlawful (Zhao, :2010,120).

### 3.2.1.5 Metaphor

From an etymological perspective, the term *metaphor* comes from the Greek word “*metapherein*” (denotes “to transfer”) (Charteris-Black, 2011: 31). Kovecses (2002: vii) defines metaphor as “a figure of speech in which one thing is compared to another by saying that one is the other.”

(25) *Achilles was a lion in the fight.*

In this example, “*lion*” stands as a metaphor for Achilles, since they are similar in many characteristics, including that both of them are courageous and strong. The maxim of quality is not observed as Achilles is not a lion in reality. The speaker is not truthful. Klingbeil (2006: 273) points out that “metaphors connect perfectly with pragmatics.” Metaphor, is one of the vital means exploited by politicians in the world of politics (Otieno, 2016: 21). Politicians pick and create their

metaphors in a careful way, since political language “is artificial and highly figurative designed with premeditated intent” (Dobrić, 2009: 5).

The functions of metaphor are not less important than the functions of other strategies of indirectness. It enables politicians to persuade the public. For instance, Nyerere (President of Tanzania) uses the metaphor “*blood*” for representing “*wealth*” and “*blood suckers*” for connoting “*foreign companies*.” In addition, “*animalism*” is the conceptualization that he gives for “*capitalism*” and “*animals*” for “*capitalists*.” He uses such metaphors for the purpose of persuading the Tanzanian citizens to refuse “*capitalism*” and accept “*communism*” (Obeng, 2002: 11). At the election period, metaphor is utilized by politicians as a means to persuade the public to vote for them (Vertessen and De landtsheer, 2008: 275).

Politicians also apply metaphors for disparaging their opponents or enemies. For example, Margaret Thatcher describes the rivals of The Labour Party “*as quack doctors whose supposed remedies would only exacerbate the country sickness*” (Hanne, 2014: 2). In the times of the Gulf War in 1991, Mr. Aziz (Former Prime Minister of Iraq in 1990s) makes use of the word “*traitors*” in his reference to “*royal family of Kuwait*” (Obeng, 2002: 12).

Metaphor is also utilized in political language in order to preserve face. Metaphor is one of the tactics of performing acts off record (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 69). For the reason that they are inferred by the audience, metaphors make it possible for politicians to refer to issues that cause threats to face indirectly (Obeng, 1997: 76). As such, issues that give arise to threats to face can be reduced as well as eradicated by metaphors (Obeng, 2002: 86).

Politicians may exploit metaphor for validating their policies and behaviours. For example, the following lines are said by Bashar Al-Assad



( the president of Syria) in June 2012 when he replies to the accusations of International Observers against the behaviours done by his military.

(26) *When a **surgeon** ... cuts and cleans and amputates, and the wound bleeds, do we say to him your hands are stained with blood? Or we thank him for saving the patient?*

Al-Assad makes use of the metaphor of surgery to describe the behaviours of his armed forces for the purpose of validating such behaviours, neglecting the cruelty of such behaviors as well as for convincing others to take the point of view that he holds about such behaviors ( Borger, 2012) cited in (Hanne, 2014: 1, 8).

Politicians also employ metaphor for disfiguring the truth and hoodwinking others. For example, at the time of the Gulf War, Saddam Hussein was referred to by the American government as "*Hitler*." Actually, the American government exploits this metaphor in order to make the military operation that it made on Iraqi army legitimate. However, this metaphor cancels the fact that a huge number of Iraqi people died as a result of this operation (Lin, 2011: 481-482).

### **3.2.1.6 Innuendo**

The root from which the term *innuendo* is derived is a Latin one which means “by nodding at”, or “by pointing to” (Cresswell, 2002: 224). Tray (2005: 96, 100) states that innuendo is one of the devices people utilize when they communicate with each other. It refers to “utterances that carry an implicit derogatory meaning aimed at a particular target, often guised with humorous intent or faux naiveté.” He observes that innuendo is “a hint or sly, usually derogatory, remark or an insinuation”. In other words, innuendos are accounts in which people tend not to talk in an obvious way, but instead they are likely to imply.

When speakers make use of innuendo to state their meanings, the hearers are able to understand such meaning depending on the shared background suppositions (Walton, 2000: 15). Innuendos can be exploited in many areas such as “folk songs”, “popular music”, “praise songs”, “chants”, “dirges”, and “surrogate language.” Moreover, people exploit this strategy in cases of acts that cause threats to other's face such as when they request others to do things or when they present them apologies (Obeng, 2002: 13). For example, the following lines are obtained from musicians to attack businessmen.

*(27) Some jobs have ran at a loss ... **business** are spending lots of money on campaigns but **they** don't pay **their** workers ... how can **they** win elections?*

In this example, innuendo is made by many factors. One of them is to avoid. In other words, musicians avoid stating the names of the innuendo targets (business owners in this example). Moreover, rather than being specific, the “referents” that they make are generic ones like “*some jobs*”, and “*business.*” They employ third person-pronoun- plural “*they*”. Vagueness, as in these lines, assists musicians to “veil the identity of the innuendo targets” as well as to attack them. Since they do not state the names of the innuendo targets in this example, musicians are able to avoid the accountability of what they say. Innuendo is also achieved through the violation of the manner maxim (Obeng, 2012: 307).

Bell (1997: 35) notices that innuendos dominates political language. Obeng states that in their process of formulating innuendos, politicians are likely to create “an oblique allusion or an insinuation involving a veiled reflection on the character or reputation of another political actor.” Those at whom innuendoes are directed (adversaries of politicians) can identify and realize innuendoes. They even can express their own

reactions towards them (Obeng, 1997: 72). Obeng (1994: 53) emphasizes that innuendo is characterized by the fact that its targets are unable to react in a straight way, since its users avoid referring to them in a direct way

Obeng (2002: 13) asserts that innuendo performs pragmatic significance. Politicians utilize innuendo for attacking their adversaries, showing that (politicians) they are “politically correct”, keeping away from the responsibility of what they say, and supplying them “with some degree of political community” (Obeng, 1997: 72).

Political actors accomplish innuendo by many tactics. It can be obtained by other strategies of indirectness such as metaphors, and name-calling. When they make innuendos, politicians may employ names that are untrue to refer to those the innuendo is directed at. Or politicians employ pronouns of non-specific reference (third personal pronouns) like “*someone*”, “*somebody*”, and “*one*.” The innuendo target may be referred to by the names of individuals who have silly qualities (Obeng, 2002: 13-14)

For instance, the following exchange is taken from an interview between John Kerry (secretary of state of USA) and Sam Stain (a journalist who represents The Huffington Post).

(28) *Kerry: I believe you have to exhaust the remedies. And we did not, in fact, want to give license to go, just, let's go do a war of choice. War should be not a war of choice, but it should be a war of necessity. And it should be a last resort. That has always driven me* (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/join-kerry-transcript us 55e8d6b4e4b03784e2756ebf).

Kerry uses innuendo to attack G. Bush and his administration concerning the war on Iraq in 2003. Due to his obscurity, Kerry fails to observe the

maxim of relevance. In the sense of Grice's implicature, he remains cooperative. That is, innuendo is realized by means of implication. He implies that Bush and his administration didn't “*exhaust the remedies.*” War must be the last option. He wants to say that there were many diplomatic alternatives available for of Bush and his administration to settle the problems with Saddam Hussein, but he and his administration still wanted to go to war.

### 3.2.1.7 Name-Calling

Name-calling is one of the prevailing tools that are employed in propaganda. Standler (2005: 2) defines propaganda as “a subset of rhetoric, in which the speaker/writer attempts to manipulate the audience with emotion or fallacious reasoning”.

Name-calling is an "insensitive" device. It can be defined as the use of terms that are considered to be offensive to refer to persons as well as groups. Name-calling is employed by people for rendering the audience distrustful and not to believe in the thoughts of their adversaries (McNeely, 2014: 203). For example, among the bad labels that are used as name-calling to refer to individuals or ideas are “*liar*”, “*creep*”, “*gossip*”, (Collins et al., 2011: 176), “*demagogue*”, “*rabble-rouser*”, “*terrorist*”, “*immigrant*”, “*racist*”, “*divider*”, “*dictator*”, “*alien*”, “*Washinton politician*”, “*fascist*” (Obeng, 2002: 15), “*socialist*”, “*leftist*”, “*right winger*”, “*flip-flopper*” (Smith, 2017: 66). Name-calling might be referred to as “*ad hominem.*” “*Ad hominem*” is a Latin term means "attack" (Standler, 2005: 3).

Name-calling can be hazardous, since it affects the audience to refuse name referents “on the basis of the negative symbol, instead of looking at the available evidence” (Collins et al., 2011: 176). Obeng regards name-calling as one of the pragmatic tactics of indirectness that politicians

exploit (2000: 291). For instance, when America attacked Libya more than three decades ago, Ronald Reagan (Former President of the USA at that time) makes use of the bad label “*Mad-Dog*” to describe Moammar Gadhafi (President of Libya at that time). Hitler and the Nazis use a diversity of bad terms to refer to the “*Jews*” such as “*vermin*”, “*sludge*”, “*garbagelice*”, and “*sewage*” (Mills, 2000: 95-96).

Politicians utilize name calling to achieve these functions: warning name referents, making fun of certain politicians, condemning and offending name referents, influencing the public to judge name referents “with or without examining the evidence on which an argument or a claim should be based” so that the public began to create damaging as well as conventional impressions about name referents (Obeng, 2012: 299).

Politicians do this strategy by making an association between their adversaries and the “*Nazis*” (Standler, 2005: 3). For example, more than two decades ago, allies of the USA in the Gulf War dubbed Saddam Hussein as “*new Hitler*.” They compared most of his bad behaviours against his enemies with those of Hitler against his enemies. (Mills, 2000: 97). In some cases, the name isn't only a single word. That is, adjectives with negative meanings may follow or precede it (Obeng, 2002: 15). For example, G. Bush might be called “*miserable failure*” (Metaxa, 2009: 174).

### **3.3 The Nature of Interview**

Since the present study seeks to investigate indirectness in the political interview, it is necessary to present some basic information concerning the nature of the interview in general and the political interview in particular.

### 3.3.1 Historical Overview

The term “*interview*” is borrowed from the French term “*entre voir*”(referring to 'to be inside of') in 1514. “*Entre voir*” connotes face to face meeting between persons. These interviews used to be made between people of high status. The first interview of such type took place between Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France in 1520. Then, the interview receives a new meaning at the last part of the nineteenth century, when term “*interviewee*” and modern journalism emerged. One of its definitions of that period is that it refers to the process of chatting and inquiring intended to provide people with information(Clayman and Heritage, 2002: 26).

Interviews have recently grown to be progressively significant after the development of journalism to the extent that “reporting is incomplete without interviews.” People become able to be familiar with responses, feelings, and ideas of onlookers, observers, or contributors towards actions. In newspapers and magazines, interviews provide important information that readers are eager to know concerning the well-known people's lives. Furthermore, interviews are considered as tools employed by journalists to collect material (Adams and Hicks, 2009: 1).

In the beginning, interviews used to be only printed in magazines and newspapers. After the emergence of the radio, interviews were broadcasted by radio channels. Later on, the development of the interview has enhanced as a result of the technological innovations like the television and the internet. To be precise, after the invention of the television, the interview has become a part of programs of news (Clayman and Heritage, 2002: 27-28).

### 3.3.2 Definition of Interview

Stewart (2009: 186) defines the interview as “a simple one-way contact in which one person, usually a professional of some sort, asks questions and the other, usually a witness, sports fan, job applicant, or patient, answers them.” Adams and Hicks (2009: 2) offer a more specific definition. They state that the interview is a gathering made between reporters and famous or infamous guests. Both parties of the interview tend to arrange the interview before its occurrence. The parties confront each other. The role of the reporter is to inquire the guest. The guest, on the other hand, is to provide answers. Frequently, reporters ask their guests about their lives and viewpoints.

Every interview should be comprised of two parties. A form of communication that is composed of more than two parties is not considered an interview. Sometimes, each party or only one of them may be comprised of two or more than two persons. Poising questions is very essential in interviews to the extent that “most interviews...cannot exist without questions.” Moreover, interviews are “interactional in nature.” Interaction process should be a give-and-take. Each party should speak and listen. It is impossible to have an interview if the process of speaking is made only by one party and that of listening by the other (Stewart, 2009: 186-187). Interviews are purposeful. Both the interviewer and the interviewee endeavor to fulfill their goals ( Pape and Featherstone, 2005: 150).

Interviews are employed by a variety of disciplines including journalism, healthcare, psychology, criminology, politics, and market research (Skinner, 2012:16). The interview is divided into two main types, **news interviews** and **feature interviews**. The purpose of conducting the feature interviews is entertaining as well as supplying

information regarding attractive individuals and subjects. Whereas, the main purpose behind holding the news interviews is collecting information concerning certain news incidents and individuals that are related to the news (Stephenson, Reese and Beadle, 2009: 126). The news interview covers various kinds of interviews: “**the expert interview**”, “**the affiliated interview**”, “**the political interview**”, and “**the experiential interview**” (Montgomery, 2007: 147).

### 3.3.3 Political Interview

The political interview is essentially significant in political communication and a vital element of the present public sphere (Clayman and Heritage, 2002: 1-2). It is one of the news interview categories. The term “*political interview*” refers to “media interviews held with politicians with the intention of providing the audience with an idea of the interviewee's views, policy statements and obviously, media presence” (Locher and Watts, 2008: 85).

Rather than being “partisan advocate” or “celebrity entertainer”, interviewers should be professional journalists. Interviewees, on the other hand, should be related to the current incidents of news (Clayman and Heritage, 2002: 7). Numerous political interviews are comprised of more than two interlocutors. That is, political interviews may consist of two interviewers and an interviewee or vice versa (Fetzer, 2000: 457). Political interviews are held in institutional settings such as TV and radio station (Šandová, 2010: 44).

The process of raising questions is a crucial component of political interviews. It enables interviewers to achieve many communicative advantages such as to get unfamiliar information, to request interviewees to approve what they (interviewees) reformulate, to introduce indirect requests, or to close issues in political interviews (Fetzer, 2000: 418-420).



For examples:

(29) *Interviewer: Can you be more precise?*

In this example, the interviewer indirectly requests the interviewee to “*be more precise.*”

(30) *Interviewer: I think the point will bear further discussion and I want to move on to the next one about picketing, if I may. You said that secondary picketing ...*

The interviewer, in this instance, makes use of the question in order to close a particular issue and starts a new one.

Interviewers choose subjects of political interviews carefully. For instance, interviewers do not ask questions about climate or the things that interviewees do habitually for pleasure in their free time, but the interviewers' choice of the political interview issues should be confined to “the public domains of party politics, government and the mass media” (Fetzer, 2000: 424). Interviewers are supposed to be concerned with questions that the public hope to find answers to (Šandová, 2010: 41).

In political interviews, interviewees and interviewers make an effort to achieve certain aims. The interaction process among the interlocutors is influenced by such aims. One of the aims that politicians try to achieve in political interviews is convincing the immediate interviewers and the audience (Furo, 2001: 40). Furko and Abuczki (2014: 46) add that politicians also aim “to gain favour with the audience, influence their views, beliefs, decisions, actions ... in a way that is beneficial to the organization represented”. Andone (2010: 38-39) observes that the main interest of interviewees is to present their accounts to the mass. When they give answers to the interviewers' questions, interviewees tend to

make a defense of themselves as well as of the political domains that they symbolize. Besides, in political interviews, interviewees try to do “core democratic function: soliciting statements of official policy, holding officials accountable for their actions, and managing the parameters of public debate” (Clayman and Heritage, 2002: 2). Politicians exploit the political interview in order to show the programs and agendas of the political parties that are members of. In the same way, journalists prove their professional abilities through raising accurate questions as well as “critical follow up questions” (Fetzer and Bull, 2013: 85).

### **3.3.3.1 Political Interview and Ordinary Conversation**

Andrews and Baird (2005) cited in Borchers (2012: 394), differentiate between interviews and ordinary conversations in general. Among such differences is the fact that the interlocutors of interviews are “more prepared” than those of ordinary conversations. That is, before they begin the interview, interviewers investigate information about the interviewees and consider the questions that they raise in the interview. On the other hand, interviewees do the same thing. They find out facts about the interviewers and consider the answers that they give at the interview. “Interviews are more structured than are informal discussions”. In other words, in each interview there is a particular plan of communication. In addition to that, interviews tend to adopt a knowable order. The interviewer has a tendency to raise questions concerning a particular issue, while the interviewees are likely to give answers to the interviewer's questions.

Concerning the distinction between the political interviews and ordinary conversations, Furko and Abuczki (2014: 46) affirm that political interviews differ from informal conversation in the sense that

they tend to “proceed in a series of Q-A pairs” while, ordinary conversations “proceed in a less predictable manner.” Informal conversations are “intertwined with lengthy elaborations, narratives, and side sequences as the speaker jumps from one topic to another in sometimes unmotivated way.”

Another characteristic that distinguishes political interviews from informal conversations lies in that politicians are not allowed to talk, except if they are permitted by the journalists. Whereas, both interlocutors can direct the informal conversation (Bull, 2003: 88). In the political interview, the number of interlocutors, the issue of the discourse, and the allocation and the time of the turns are planned beforehand. While, in ordinary conversations, there is no predetermination of the material, the time and the organization of the turns. Interlocutors fix these components of turns after the conversations are opened (Clayman and Heritage, 2010: 216).

In addition to that, interlocutors of conversations have the freedom to produce various participations concerning the topic under discussion (Heritage, 1998: 7). While in political interviews, interviewees should avoid raising questions as well as producing unrequested remarks concerning earlier statements (Clayman and Heritage, 2002: 98).

### **3.3.3.2 Restrictions in Political Interview**

Heritage (1998: 7) emphasizes that political interviews are subject to an array of restrictions. One of these restrictions is the use of adjacency pairs (Fetzer, 2000: 418). The first-adjacency-pair part is presented by the interviewer. This part is comprised of a question plus a comment that is given before or after it. The second adjacency-pair part is given by the interviewee. It is composed of a response or a reaction to the question of the interviewer. The fact that the first adjacency-pair part is presented by

the interviewee and the second one by the interviewer is impossible in political interviews. As such, the relationship between the participants is an “asymmetrical” one (Furko and Abuczki, 2014: 46).

Clayman and Heritage (2010: 216) discuss that in each political interview there is a turn-taking rule that controls the chances of speaking. Such rule states that speaking must be comprised of questions and answers only. To be more specific, interviewers are limited to raising questions only and interviewees are constrained to present answers to interviewers' questions.

It is the interviewer who decides to start discussing new issues. The decision to put an end to the political interview is also made by the interviewer. Besides, it is the interviewer who chooses one of the interviewees to be the next speaker in case of consisting of numerous interviewees. The interviewee is unable to switch the talk to criticize the immediate journalist or the organization that he represents (Heritage, 1998: 8).

Moreover, interviewers are supposed to appear neutral and impartial in political interviews (Furo, 2001: 39). They are not allowed to express their opinions about what politicians state. They are also not permitted to reflect the opinions of the news organization that they work for. (Clayman and Heritage, 2010: 216).

# **CHAPTER FOUR**

## **ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION**

### **4.1 Collecting and Describing Data**

The data of the present thesis is comprised of transcripts of four political interviews with two politicians. The transcripts were obtained from the websites of three TV channels CBS, BBC, and NBC, and a public radio network NPR. The interviews tackle various issues around the world. The issues in these interviews were the most prominent when these interviews were held.

The politicians analyzed belong to different countries, namely one from the USA and the other from the UK. The politicians were selected from different countries in order not to limit the analysis in only one country. The USA and the UK were specifically chosen due to their huge political, cultural, military, economic, and scientific power they exert on an international level.

From the USA, Obama was chosen as he was the most powerful decision maker in the USA. He was the head of state and according to the American political system, the president is the most powerful figure. He also has great achievements in the world of politics. From the UK, David Cameron (the Prime Minister) was selected. In the UK, the head of state is the monarch. However, the powers of the monarch are ceremonial. The most practical powers are those of the Prime Minister. Cameron also has many political achievements. For these reasons, Cameron was selected. Each selected political interview transcript is given a sequential number and is quoted by maintaining its original quotation marks. The texts analyzed are also numbered sequentially. The researcher reads the

transcripts carefully. Indirectness strategies in politicians' replies are identified. Then they are analyzed in terms of the adopted models. The interviews are adequate for analysis. All of the seven indirectness strategies occur in them.

## **4.2 Models of Analysis**

Two theories of pragmatics are adopted as models of analysis. The first is that of face and politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). The second is Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975). The connection between these theories and indirectness is the basic motivation behind choosing them as models of analysis. Indirectness is arrived at via breaking Gricean maxims as well as implicatures. It is sometimes utilized for saving face.

The analysis of the data will explain how the strategies of indirectness contravene Grice's maxims to arrive at an assortment of pragmatic rationales. Politeness is among such rationales. It also will show how politeness is accomplished through appreciating positive and negative face.

## **4.3 Analyzing Data**

### **4.3.1 Barack Obama**

Barack Hussein Obama II was the president of the USA. He has African American roots. His father is African (Kenyan) and his mother is American. He represents the Democratic Party. He was elected president of the USA twice, in 2008 and in 2012. In the first period of his presidency (2008-2012), the major achievements of Obama's administration on an international level were: pulling out the American army from Iraq, enhancing the number of American army in Afghanistan,

commanding the American forces to intervene in Libya against Muammar Gaddafi, signing an agreement called “NEW START” with Russia for weapons reduction, and killing Osama bin Laden. Whereas the achievements in the second period (2012-2016) were: Instructing the American army to interfere in Iraq against ISIL, finishing the fighting activities of the American army in Afghanistan, negotiating over the Iranian nuclear programme, and smoothing the American-Cubic relations ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barack\\_Obama](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barack_Obama)).

#### **4.3.1.1 Analysis of the First Interview**

This interview<sup>1</sup> was held on 11 October 2015. The host is one of CBS journalists, Steve Kroft. The main issues are the intervention (or the challenge) of Russia in Syria, the Islamic State (ISIS), and the 2016 American presidential election. Below is the analysis of this interview:

##### **Text: 1**

*Kroft: there's a question in here. I mean, if you look at the situation and you're looking for progress, it's not easy to find. You could make the argument that the only thing that's changed really is the toll, which has continued to escalate and the number of refugees fleeing Syria into Europe.*

*Obama: Syria has been a difficult problem for the entire world community and, obviously, most importantly, for the people of Syria themselves that have been devastated by this civil war, caught between a*

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<sup>1</sup>This interview was downloaded from <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/president-obama-60-minutes-syria-isis-2016-presidential-race> on 16 June 2016.

*brutal dictator who drops barrel bombs on his own population, and thinks that him clinging to power is more important than the fate of his country. And a barbaric, ruthless organization in ISIL and some of the al Qaeda affiliates that are operating inside of Syria...*

In Obama's reply, indirectness is performed via three strategies: **Name-calling, metaphor, and innuendo**. Obama utilizes name-calling in that he applies an offensive term “*brutal dictator*” to refer to his adversary Al-Assad. What he implies is that Al-Assad is a cruel and violent ruler, he has no pity, he employs force for getting power, and he rules Syria unfairly. Obama attempts to influence the audience to create a damaging impression of Al-Assad. Here, name-calling is utilized to achieve various functions like harming Al-Assad's reputation and condemning him. The expression “*brutal dictator*” is also considered as metaphor since Obama links Al-Assad to a dictator.

In regard to innuendo, Obama directs an implied disparaging connotation towards Al-Assad. Namely, he describes him as “*a brutal dictator.*” In other words, Obama makes use of the strategy of metaphor and name-calling to perform innuendo. Innuendo is also accomplished via implicature, since Obama infringes the manner maxim as well as the quantity maxim. He does not say directly that Al-Assad is a dictator, but he implies that. He never mentions Al-Assad's name. However, Kroft and the mass as well as Al-Assad himself expects that the innuendo target is Al-Assad.

## **Text: 2**

*Kroft: If you were skeptical of the program to find and identify, train and equip moderate Syrians, why did you go through the program?*



*Obama: Well, because part of what we have to do here, Steve, is to try different things. Because we also have partners on the ground that are invested and interested in seeing some sort of resolution to this problem. And--*

*Kroft: And they wanted you to do it.*

*Obama: well, no. **That's not what I said.** I think it is important for us to make sure that we explore all the various options that are available.*

*Kroft: **I know you don't want to talk about this.***

*Obama: No, I'm happy to talk about it.*

Kroft asks Obama a difficult question. He wants him to elaborate on the failure of the program that his government proposed to train the fighters of moderate opposition in Syria. Kroft states that in spite of the fact that Obama has received big money from Congress for training 50,000 fighters, the actual number of those who really have received training is only 50. Obama does not say directly that he does not want to answer the question, nor remain silent, but he refuses to answer the question via indirectness. Obama utilizes **evasion**. He criticizes Kroft's question. He states that there is a "misquotation" in it, "**That's not what I said.**" Here, Obama breaches the maxim of relevance. As a result, Obama flouts the relevance maxim, as the reply given by him is irrelevant to the question. Rather than answering the question, Obama attacks it. Obama also violates the quantity maxim since he does not provide enough information. He does not elaborate on the issue of the question. Obama sees that elaborating on kroft's question might drive the public or other politicians (his opposition) to blame him or react negatively towards him. Moreover, answering the question might cause damage to his positive

face and to that of his government. For these reasons, Obama resorts to evasion.

It is essential to indicate that Kroft is aware of Obama's employment of evasion. Kroft does not "let it [Obama's use of evasion] pass", but he confronts it. Kroft's response to Obama's employment of evasion in the above exchange is shown when saying "*I know you don't want to talk about this.*"

### **Text: 3**

*Kroft: I want to talk about – this program, because it would seem to show, I mean, if you expect 5,000 and you get five, it shows that somebody someplace along the line did not—made—you know, some sort of a serious miscalculation.*

*Obama: you know, the—the—Steve, let me just say this.*

*Kroft: It's an embarrassment.*

*Obama: Look, there's no doubt that it did not work. And, one of the challenges that I've had throughout this heartbreaking situation inside of Syria, is that—you'll have people insist that, you know, all you have to do is send in a few—you know, truckloads full of arms and people are ready to fight. And then, when you start a train-and-equip program and it does not work, then people say "well, why didn't it work?" Or, "If it had just started three months earlier it would've worked."*

Obama confesses the failure of the program. In addition to his confession, Obama makes use of **innuendo** to attack those who blame him for the failure of the program. He uses innuendo to justify the failure of the program. Innuendo is achieved by many factors. One of these factors is that Obama makes a generic reference, "*you'll have people,*

*then people say.*”He does not specify who those people are. In addition, he keeps away from mentioning their names. As such, innuendo supports him with "political community" (in terms of Obeng, 1994), since he can avoid being accountable for what he says. Accordingly, he breaches the quantity maxim, since the information he provides is less than required. He says “*you'll have people*” and “*then people say*”, but he never mentions their names. He also flouts the maxim of manner as a consequence of his obscurity. That is to say, he does not specify who those people are. In addition to quantity and manner maxims, he infringes the maxim of relevance, because he includes irrelevant information. Though he flouts these maxims, he is still cooperative. By taking context into account, the journalist as well as the public are aware of what he suggests. That is, they are aware of the innuendoe.

#### **Text: 4**

*Kroft ... You said a year ago that the United States-- America leads. We're the indispensable nation. Mr. Putin seems to be challenging that leadership.*

*Obama: in what way? Let-- let's think about this-- let--let--*

Obama Keeps utilizing evasion in responding to Kroft's questions, since Kroft is aggressive in questioning Obama. Most of his questions are aggressive. This confirms the fact that politicians' employment of evasion results from the journalist's "adversarialness" (in terms of Vukovic, 2013).

In this question, Kroft threatens Obama's positive self-image as well as that of his country, when he says that “*Mr. Putin seems to be challenging that [Obama's] leadership.*” That is why, Obama employs **evasion** for maintaining face. In his reply, Obama questions Kroft's

question. That is, Obama asks Kroft to clarify or simplify his question, “*in what way?*” Here, Obama breaks the maxim of quantity as he does not present sufficient information. Instead of answering the question, he poses a question. He also breaches the relevance maxim since he replies irrelevantly to Kroft's question.

### **Text: 5**

*Kroft: Well, he's moved troops into Syria, for one. He's got people on the ground. Two, the Russians are conducting military operations in the Middle East for the first time since World War II--*

*Obama: So that's--*

*Kroft:-- bombing the people—that we are supporting.*

*Obama: So that's leading. Steve? Let me ask you this question. When I came into office, **Ukraine was governed by a corrupt ruler who was a stooge of Mr. Putin.** Syria was Russia's only ally in the region. And today, rather than being able to count on their support and maintain the base they had in Syria, which they've had for a long time, Mr. Putin now is devoting his own troops, his own military, just to barely hold together by a thread his ally. And in Ukraine--*

Kroft starts clarifying his question. He clarifies how Mr. Putin challenges Obama's leadership. Obama, on the other hand, keeps using **evasion**. In his reply, he presents a political point. He attacks the ruler of Ukraine, Victor Yanukovich, and describes him as a “*corrupt ruler who was a stooge of Mr. Putin*”.

Alongside evasion, Obama does indirectness via **name-calling** as well as via **metaphor**. The former is done when he refers to the ruler of Ukraine as “*a corrupt ruler*”, whereas the latter is performed when he

conceptualizes him as “*a stooge of Mr. Putin.*” Victor Yanukovych<sup>2</sup> is one of the allies of Putin and an opponent to Obama. Here, Obama employs these strategies for offending him. Obama intends to say that Victor Yanukovych does what Mr. Putin asks him to do. He is controlled by Mr. Putin. Obama uses metaphor and name-calling to do evasion. Obama flouts quantity, relevance and manner maxim. He breaks the quantity maxim as he fails to answer the question. He flouts the maxim of relevance as he includes irrelevant matters such as talking about the ruler of Ukraine, and he flouts the manner maxim since he is vague. Actually, Obama exploits these strategies to maintain the face of his country as well as his personal one.

### **Text: 6**

*Kroft: He's [Mr. Putin] challenging your leadership, Mr. president. He is challenging your leadership--*

*Obama: Well, Steve, I go to tell you, if you think that running your economy into the ground and having to send troops in order to prop up your only ally is leadership, then we've got a different definition of leadership. **My definition of leadership** would be leading on climate change, an international accord that potentially we'll get in Paris. **My***

***definition of leadership** is mobilizing the entire world community to make sure that Iran doesn't get a nuclear weapon. And with respect to the Middle East, we've got a 60-country coalition that isn't suddenly lining up around Russia's strategy. To the contrary, they are arguing that, in fact, that strategy will not work.*

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<sup>2</sup>Victor Yanukovych was elected president of Ukraine in 2010 and in 2014 he escaped from Ukraine ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viktor\\_Yanukovych.](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viktor_Yanukovych))

*Kroft: My point is-- was not that he was leading, my point is that he was challenging your leadership ...*

Obama recognizes that Kroft's question implies offense to America as well as to his administration since Kroft tells him that Mr. Putin is “*challenging your leadership.*” As such, Obama makes use of **circumlocution** to reply to Kroft's question. Circumlocution in Obama's reply is accomplished via the fact that he seems to speak around the issue (Russia's challenging) of Kroft's question. He starts giving information that is unnecessary and irrelevant to the issue of the question. Instead of talking about Russia's challenging, he talks about leadership. He reproduces the phrase “*my definition of leadership*” twice. Even Kroft notices that Obama speaks around the issue of the question. As a result, he says “*My point is-- was not that he was leading, my point is that he was challenging your leadership.*” Moreover, Obama is so vague in his reply. Therefore, Obama breaks the relevance maxim because of his addition of irrelevant issues. Instead of talking about Russia's challenging, he elaborates on leadership. Due to his vagueness, he breaks the maxim of manner. He also disobeys the maxim of quantity as he does not talk about the issue of challenging. Obama utilizes circumlocution for defending himself, his country, and his administration as well as for preserving his personal face and that of his country and his administration, because talking about the way Russia challenges America might give rise to threats to face. Therefore, circumlocution is beneficial for politeness.

### **Text: 7**

*Kroft: -- they say you are projecting a weakness, not a strength—*

*Obama: -- you are saying "they," but you are not citing too many folks. But here--*

*Kroft: No, I'll cite-- I'll cite if you want me, too*

*Obama: --here-- yes. Here--*

*Steve Kroft: I'd say the Saudis. I'd say the Israelis. I'd say a lot of our friends in the Middle East. I'd say everybody in the Republican party. Well, you want me to keep going?*

*Obama: Yeah. The—the-- if you are—if you're citing the Republican party, I think it's fair to say that there is nothing I've done right over the last seven and a half years. And I think that's right. It—and – I also think what is true is that these are the same folks who were making an argument for us **to go to Iraq** and who, in some cases, still have difficulty acknowledging that it was a mistake. And Steve, I guarantee you that there are factions inside of the Middle East, and **I guess** factions inside the Republican party who think that we should send endless numbers of troops into the Middle East, that the only measure of strength is us sending back several hundred thousand troops, that we are going to impose a peace, police the region, and -- that the fact that we might have more deaths of U.S. troops, thousands of troops killed, thousands of troops injured, spend another trillion dollars, they would have no problem with that. **There are people who would like to see us do that. And unless we do that, they'll suggest we're in retreat.***

In this excerpt, Kroft tells Obama that many of the allies of the USA in the Middle East as well as all the members of the Republican party criticize Obama and his administration in the sense that he is “**projecting a weakness, not a strength**—.” Obama resorts to **innuendo** to respond to the attacks that he receives from the Republican party. Obama's innuendo

is reflected in the last two sentences of his reply, “*There are people who would like to see us do that. And unless we do that, they'll suggest we're in retreat.*” As these sentences show, there are many elements involved in the process of creating innuendo. Among these elements is that Obama makes some sort of generalization. The referents of “*There are people who*” are not specific. The other element is the third person-pronoun plural “*they*” (that stands for members of the Republican party). Innuendo makes it possible for Obama to criticize the Republican party without being responsible for that. Members of the Republican Party, on the other hand, cannot react to this innuendo in a direct way, since Obama makes no mention of their names. In other words, innuendo supplies him with "political community", because he can deny what he has said. As a result, Obama does not observe two maxims, quantity and manner.

Besides innuendo, Obama makes use of **euphemism**. He employs “*to go to Iraq*” to refer to the American invasion to Iraq in 2003. Here, euphemism makes Obama vague. This vagueness is a sign that he violates the maxim of manner. However, depending on expectations and assumptions, the public and Kroft deduce that Obama talks about the American invasion of Iraq in 2003. Obama utilizes euphemism to obscure the American attack on Iraq in 2003. In other words, he uses it for deceiving the public, concealing the reality of this invasion, as well as maintaining America's self image. In other words, it is employed to reflect politeness.

Together with euphemism and innuendo, **hedges** are also employed by Obama. He attains hedge by exploiting the epistemic verb “*guess*” This epistemic verb shows that Obama is not certain about the “*factions inside the Republican Party.*” He just deduces that. In the future, Obama may be criticized, if it is confirmed that there are no factions inside the Republican Party. In such case, Obama can protect himself and save his



personal face from such criticisms by means of hedge, as it reflects that he is unsure about what he suggests. This uncertainty leads to break the quality maxim.

### **Text: 8**

*Obama: ... And if in fact the only measure is for us to send another 100,000 or 200,000 troops into Syria or back into Iraq, or perhaps into Libya, or perhaps into Yemen, and our goal somehow is that we are now going to be, not just the police, but the governors of this region. That would be a bad statey Steve. **And I think that if we make that mistake again, then shame on us.***

It is possible to say that Obama uses **innuendo** in the above reply. In fact, Obama exploits innuendo to attack the previous administration headed by G. Bush. He breaks the manner maxim since he is obscure and unclear. All the same, he remains cooperative. He implies and suggests that Bush's decision to invade Iraq was a “*mistake*” and he and his administration will not do it once more. Here, Obama does not talk in an obvious way. He does not say directly that G. Bush and his administration were mistaken when they invaded Iraq in 2003 and never mentions G. Bush's name, but he implies that. In other words, it is implication by which Obama performs innuendo.

### **Text: 9**

*Kroft: Do you think the world is a safer place?*

*Obama: **America is a safer place.** I think that there are places, obviously, like Syria that are not safer than when I came into office. But, in terms of us protecting ourselves against terrorism, in terms of us making sure that*

*we are strengthening our alliances, in terms of our reputation around the world, absolutely we're stronger.*

Kroft asks Obama a yes/ no question. Instead of answering with yes or no, Obama **evades** answering the question. Again, presenting a political point is the evasive tactic that he uses to achieve evasion. To indicate, he starts presenting a "reassurance." He intends to say that the Americans need not be worried or frightened, since "***America is a safer place***". He flouts the relevance maxim, because he begins talking about an irrelevant matter. That is, rather than speaking about the safety of the world, Obama talks about the security of America. He also flouts the maxim of quantity since the information he gives is insufficient.

### **Text: 10**

*Kroft: You think he's [Donald Trump] running out of steam? I mean , you think he's going to disappear?*

*Obama: You know, I'll leave it up to the pundits to make that determination. I don't think **he'll end up being president of the United States.***

Kroft asks Obama whether Donald Trump (the Republican party candidate for the 2016 American presidential election) will lose the election. Obama knows that the answer that he will give might threaten Trump's positive face. As such, Obama decides to exploit **euphemism** for lessening any potential threat. That is, rather than saying that Trump will lose the presidency election, Obama says "***I don't think he'll end up being president of the United States***". Obama does not adhere to the quality maxim, since he has no adequate evidence that Trump will lose, he is not sure about that. He only expresses his opinion. Despite the absence of this maxim, he is cooperative. The spectators and Kroft are

aware that he means that Trump will lose the election. That is why Obama makes use of euphemism to preserve Trump's positive face and to avoid wondering his sensitivity. As such, indirectness is employed to reflect politeness.

### **Text: 11**

*Kroft: Do you agree with what President Clinton has said and Secretary Clinton has said, that this is not-- not that big a deal. Do you agree with that?*

*Obama: Well, I'm not going to comment on--*

*Kroft: You think it's not that big a deal--*

*Obama: What I think is that it is important for her to answer these questions to the satisfaction of the American public ...*

*Kroft: This administration has prosecuted people for having classified material on their private computers.*

*Obama: Well, I—there's no doubt that there had been breaches, and these are all a matter of degree. We don't get an impression that here there was purposely efforts-- on—in—to hide something or to squirrel away information. But again, I'm gonna leave it to--*

*Kroft: If she had come to you.*

*Obama: I'm going to leave it to Hillary when she has an interview with you to address all these questions.*

Kroft poses a hard question. Kroft puts Obama in a dilemma. He asks him whether he agrees or disagrees "with what President Clinton has said and Secretary Clinton has said, that this is not-- not that big a deal." If he

says that he agrees, he may be blamed and receives negative reactions from the public, his opponents and even members of his party. If he says that he disagrees, he will threaten President Clinton's positive face. As such, the appropriate way to get out of this dilemma is to exploit **evasion**. Obama uses two evasive tactics. Firstly, he evades this difficult question directly. He states directly that he does not want to answer Kroft's question, “**well, I'm not going to comment on—**.” Secondly, he refuses to answer. He claims that he “can't speak for someone else”, “*What I think is that it is important for her to answer these questions to the satisfaction of the American public ...*”and, “*I'm going to leave it to Hillary when she has an interview with you to address all these questions.*” He breaches the maxim of relevance, because his replies are irrelevant to the question. He also does not observe the maxim of quantity as he does not answer the question. He does not say whether he agrees or disagrees.

## **Text: 12**

*Kroft: I do want to talk a little bit about Congress. Are you going to miss John Boehner<sup>3</sup>?*

*Obama: John Boehner and I disagreed on just about everything. But the one thing I'll say about John Boehner is he did care about the institution. He recognized that nobody gets 100 percent in our democracy, I won't say that he and I were ideal partners, but he and I could talk and we could get some things done. And so I am a little concerned that the reason he left was because there are a group of members of Congress*

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<sup>3</sup>Boehner is the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives who departed in 2015 and he belongs to the Republican Party ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_Boehner](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Boehner)).

*who think having somebody who is willing to shut down the government or default on the U.S debt going to allow them to get their way 100 percent of the time.*

Kroft asks Obama whether he will miss John Boehner<sup>3</sup>. Obama knows that any direct, clear answer may be overstated by journalists and this triggers him troubles. He, as such, makes use of **circumlocution** to respond to Kroft's question. He performs circumlocution by vagueness. That is, instead of answering the question, he gets around the question issue and begins talking about matters that have no relevance to the question, such as explaining why he (John Boehner) departed, “*he left was because there are a group of members of Congress...*” and praising him, “*But the one thing I'll say about John Boehner is he did care about the institution.*” The irrelevant issues that he mentions make him infringe the maxim of relevance and his vagueness leads to breaking the maxim manner. Obama is required to say whether he will miss him or not, but he does not give a specific, clear answer. In this case, he breaks the quantity maxim as he does not provide the required information. Avoiding difficulties and clinging to power (that of his administration) are the essential rationales beneath his exploitation of circumlocution.

#### **4.3.1.2 Analysis of the Second Interview**

Here Obama is interviewed by NPR, an American public radio network, on August 10, 2015. The host is Inskip. The central topic of this interview<sup>4</sup> is the nuclear deal. This deal is concerned with the Iranian

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<sup>4</sup>This interview was downloaded from <http://www.npr.org/sections/itsallpolitics/2015/08/10/431244020/full-video-and-transcript-nprs-interview-with-president-obama> on 12 October 2016.

nuclear program. The parties of this deal were P5+1 (the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council —the USA, the UK, Russia, France, and China—plus Germany), the EU and the Islamic Republic of Iran. The deal happened in 2015. The gist of the deal is that Iran has to decrease its nuclear amenities. In return, Iran will be able to get rid of the factions that were imposed on its economy because of its nuclear activities. Iran also will be able to get back huge amounts of money were frozen due to its nuclear activities. This deal was opposed by many countries such as Israel, and the Gulf States. The Republican Party members also express their opposition to this deal ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran\\_nuclear\\_deal\\_framework](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran_nuclear_deal_framework)).

### **Text:1**

*Inskeep: But let's talk about the other side of that, what the world looks like if the deal is approved. Secretary of State Kerry said to us the other day that this nuclear deal will leave the United States "absolutely" — his word — absolutely freer to push back against Iran and its ambitions in the region. If you get the deal, what do you intend to do with that freedom?*

*Obama: Well, let's first focus on the fact that a central objective of not just my foreign policy but of U.S. foreign policy with Democratic or Republican administrations has been preventing Iran from getting a nuclear weapon. That would be a **game-changer**.*

*And this deal achieves that. **It cuts off all the pathways for Iran getting a nuclear weapon...***

The first strategy of indirectness Obama utilizes in this interview is **metaphor**. Obama uses this metaphoric expression “*game-changer*” to

depict the nuclear deal with Iran. This metaphor leads to disobedience of the maxim of manner, because of the obscurity of Obama. From Grice's notion of implicature, Obama remains cooperative. In fact, Obama brings an image from sport to portray the role of this deal. He conceptualizes the challenge between Iran and the USA as a game, and Iran and USA as players. This deal will alter the outcome of this game since it “*cuts off all the pathways for Iran getting a nuclear weapon.*” He exploits this metaphor for defending and justifying the deal, since it was condemned by many American politicians (especially the Republicans), as well as many countries like Israel and the Gulf States. Via this metaphor, Obama endeavors to present a positive image of himself and his administration. He seeks to convince those who oppose the deal that this deal is a good one.

## **Text: 2**

*Inskeep: As you know very well, Iran's neighbors, many of them U.S. allies, have been skeptical of this deal, and the U.S., to reassure them, has among other things promised them more weapons. Won't more weapons in the hands of countries that may be allies, but also have their own agendas, create the possibility of more instability over time?*

*Obama: Well first — first of all, the — our defense support of these countries is not automatically premised on more weapons. It's premised on them being more effective with their defense budgets.*

*In those scenarios, we will then be confronted, either me or the next president, or the president after that, would be confronted with a pretty stark decision.*

*If we don't want to see a nuclear arms race, if we're seeing Iran getting closer and closer to breakout capacity, and we have before the entire*

*world rejected what every serious nuclear expert who looks at this says is a serious deal to constrain their nuclear program, then in fact that leaves one option, and that is some form of military strike.*

*That may be the preference of some who are on the other side of this debate. But I think the one thing that we should have learned from over a decade now of war in the Middle East is, is that, you know, even limited military actions end up carrying with them great costs and unintended consequences.*

Inskeep's question contains a face threat to Obama's self-image as well as to that of his government. He exercises **evasion** to preserve his own self image and his government's. He avoids remarking on the issue of Inskeep's question (providing the Gulf states with weapons.) He executes this evasion by means of condemning Inskeep's question. He states that the question is "inaccurate". Obama's attack of Inskeep's question occurs when saying "*our defense support of these countries is not automatically premised on more weapons.*" Obama's evasion consequently breaks two maxims, quantity, and relevance. He breaks the maxim of quantity since he fails to comment on the question topic. He breaks the maxim of relevance as he present an irrelevant reply to the question. That is to say, he sacrifices Grice's maxim for politeness.

Obama also brings into play **innuendo** when stating "*then in fact that leaves one option, and that is some form of military strike. That may be the preference of some who are on the other side of this debate. But I think the one thing that we should have learned from over a decade now of war in the Middle East is, is that, you know, even limited military actions end up carrying with them great costs and unintended consequences.*" He hints attacks to the targets in this innuendo. There are two targets in this innuendo. The first one is the critics who reject the



nuclear deal (such as the Republicans). Obama's attack on the critics is hinted in *“then in fact that leaves one option, and that is some form of military strike. That may be the preference of some who are on the other side of this debate.”* He performs innuendo by *“some”* and *“who”*. He also shuns uttering names. Obama implies that those who refuse the deal want to lead the USA in a war with Iran. Such a war could cause *“great costs and unintended consequences”*.

The other target is G. Bush and his administration. Obama implicitly condemns G. Bush and his administration. This attack is present in this sentence *“But I think the one thing that we should have learned from over a decade now of war in the Middle East is, is that, you know, even limited military actions end up carrying with them great costs and unintended consequences.”* Indeed, Obama alludes to the American war on Iraq in 2003 and Afghanistan in 2001. At the times of these two wars, G. Bush was the president of America. He flouts the Maxim of quantity as his reply is not sufficient, and that of manner due to his obscurity. Although Obama flouts these two maxims, he still can be understood what he seeks to send. That is why, indirectness (which is accomplished via implicature) has the pragmatic significance of enabling Obama to criticize his opponents without being responsible for that.

### **Text: 3**

*Inskeep: Are you entirely comfortable going forward with a historic deal knowing that most of the people's representatives are against it?*

*Obama: Well, what I know is, is that, unfortunately, a large portion of the Republican Party, if not a near unanimous portion of Republican representatives, are going to be opposed to anything that I do, and I*

*have not oftentimes based that on a judgment on the merits, but have based that on their politics.*

*That's true in health care, that's true in, you know, budget negotiations. That's been true on a whole host of things.*

*And I don't think that's a surprise to anybody. What I do know, though, is, is that when this agreement is implemented and we've seen centrifuges coming out of facilities like Fordow and Natanz, and we've got inspectors on the ground and it becomes clear that Iran in fact is abiding by this agreement, then attitudes will change, because people will recognize that, in fact, whatever **parade of horrors** was presented in opposition have not come true.*

*So — so my main interest right now is solving a problem, which is making sure Iran doesn't get a nuclear weapon, and I am confident that, as we see implementation, we will see, in fact, more and more folks pull out of the immediate politics of it and judge it on the basis of whether it was the right thing to do for the country.*

Inskeep's question is a yes/no one. However, Inskeep does not intend to know whether Obama is “**comfortable**” or not, but he aims to criticize Obama and his administration because of signing the deal. Obama feels that his self image and his administration's is threatened, as such he chooses **evasion** as a means to keep face. Many tactics participate in doing evasion. First, he gives political points such as censuring those who reject (the Republicans) the deal and rationalizing his government's policy (signing the deal) this attack available in these lines: “*a large portion of the Republican Party, if not a near unanimous portion of Republican representatives, are going to be opposed to anything that I*

*do.*” Second, he says again a reply he has already presented. This reply is “[the deal] *is an effective way to bind Iran to a commitment not to have nuclear weapons.*” As a result of Obama's evasion, the maxims of relevance and manner are contravened. As such, he sacrifices Gricean Maxims for Politeness.

In his defense of the deal against criticisms, Obama draws on **metaphor**. He portrays the criticisms of the nuclear deal as “*parade of horrors*”. Degrading criticisms and persuading the public that the deal is good are the intentions for this metaphor. Obama's exploitation of metaphor results in infringing the maxim of manner since he is vague. The mass or the interviewer may attach various interpretations to the metaphor “*parade of horrible.*”

#### **Text: 4**

*...I think what we've seen is the possibility, now, of having a — a broader public conversation, and this is one area where I've been pleasantly surprised to see some bipartisan interest...*

Here, Obama realizes indirectness by means of **hedge**. This hedge is gained by the modal noun “*possibility*”. If such “*a broad public conversation*” never happens and critical comments begin to appear, he can defend his face against such negative comments by this hedge, as it reflects that he is not sure about “*having a broader public conversation*” and it also enables him to limit his accountability of what he says. That is why, it is for protecting his own face, he utilizes this hedge. His use of this hedge results in infringing the quality maxim because of his lack of adequate evidence.

### 4.3.2. David Cameron

David William Donald Cameron is one of the British political figures. He was born in London December 1966 to a rich family. He won the general election to be the Prime Minister of the UK two times, in 2010 and in 2016. As such, he worked as a Prime Minister for 6 years (2010-2016). He headed the Conservative Party from December 2005 to July 2016. He also was a MP for Witney from June 2001 to September 2016. The main international policies of his administration are interfering militarily in Libya to fall Al-Gaddafi and bombarding ISIL, and signing the nuclear deal with Iran. He propped up the membership of the UK in the EU (European Union) and he was against leaving EU. In 2016 he left his job as a prime minister after the success of leave the EU vote ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David\\_Cameron](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Cameron) accessed ).

#### 4.3.2.1 Analysis of the Third Interview

This interview<sup>5</sup> took place on 28 September 2014, 6 months before the British general election. The central themes that are conferred in this interview are Cameron's policies to defeat ISIL, the departure of members from the Conservative Party and joining other parties, leaving the EU, the Scottish devotion, and using welfare cuts to boost the number of apprenticeships.

#### **Text: 1**

*Marr: You told the House of Commons interestingly two things: you said that you wouldn't go into Syria, we wouldn't attack in Syria without*

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<sup>5</sup> This interview was downloaded from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/3hshxFhHM4dKd3px6Q3NzRF/transcripts> on 8 November 2016.

*another motion, without returning to the Commons; but you also said that you reserved the right to order attacks if there were some terrible humanitarian disaster that needed to be dealt with very quickly. Now if ISIL are pushed into Syria, we could very quickly see a humanitarian crisis there, so is it the case that you could order the RAF as part of the coalition into Syria without another vote?*

*Cameron: Well the point I was making didn't just apply to Iraq or Syria. Frankly it applied to anywhere in the world. If as prime minister I feel there is a humanitarian disaster about to happen that Britain either alone or with partners could do something to avert, then it would be right to order that before going to the House of Commons because there wouldn't be time. Likewise if there's some unique British interest, some hostage situation, some unique British interest where you had to order action very quickly, I would always be prepared to do that first and explain to the House of Commons afterwards. I was trying to say to the House of Commons it's important that this convention that's grown up of a vote before premeditated action, I believe that's right, but that doesn't mean a government shouldn't act if there's something it needs to act urgently over.*

Marr poses a clear, direct question. Its form is interrogative and the function is questioning. He inquires Cameron about the possibility of sending PAF to Syria without having another vote from the House of Commons. Cameron is aware of the negative consequences that he might witness if he gives a clear answer. Explicitly, if he replies with yes or no, he might encounter problems, dangers, or criticized and blamed. Furthermore, any specific answer might cause threats to face. Therefore,

he exploits circumlocution for shunning all these negative consequences. Cameron achieves circumlocution by moving around the topic of Marr's question. Circumlocution is also created by non-observing Grice's maxims. From the viewpoint of Grice, three maxims are breached in Cameron's reply. He breaches the quantity maxim as he does not answer with yes or no. He violates the relevance maxim, because the information he presents lacks relevance to the topic of the question. The manner maxim is violated because of Cameron's vagueness as well as his addition of unnecessary prolixity.

## **Text: 2**

*Andrew Marr: So we could go into Syria without another vote?*

*David Cameron: **I think I've answered.** I'm not ... But I think what people are worried about ...*

*Andrew Marr: **With respect you haven't** because you've said a big crisis might emerge, this could happen tomorrow or next week in Syria as part of ... a result of what's going on now in Iraq.*

*David Cameron: To be clear ... **I'm not trying to dodge your question** ...*

Then, Marr knows that Cameron exploits circumlocution to escape answering the question, as a result he asks the same question once again. Cameron, on the other hand, keeps resisting giving a specific answer. He continues utilizing strategies of indirectness and breaking Grice's maxims to avoid giving a clear answer. This time he employs evasion. He accomplishes evasion by saying that he has already answered the question, "***I think I've answered.***" Concerning the maxims of Grice, he

does not follow the maxim of quality, as he is untruthful. He says that he has answered the question, but according to Marr, he lies, since Marr says that Cameron does not answer, “*With respect you haven’t.*” He also does not obey the relevance maxim since his reply is irrelevant to the question. The quantity maxim is not observed too as he does not provide a sufficient answer.

Similar to Steve Kroft (the CBS journalist who interviews Obama in the first interview) Marr confronts Cameron's employment of evasion. He tells Cameron that he hasn't answered the question. His confrontation is clear when he says “*With respect you haven’t.*” Cameron, then defends himself and denies that he uses evasion. He says “*To be clear ... I’m not trying to dodge your question.*”

### **Text: 3**

*Marr: Okay now one of the other things that was talked about, again in the General Richards interview but again in the House of Commons as well by people like George Galloway, is that ISIL are not like an army. They don’t have barracks, they don’t have columns of tanks you can hit from the air. They sit inside the population; they hide themselves where civilians are quite deliberately. And that, therefore, an air campaign is bound to kill lots of civilians by accident without necessarily degrading ISIL as much as you hope.*

*Cameron: Well I don’t accept that because there are occasions, indeed there have been occasions when ISIL are out in the open threatening Christian communities, Yazidi communities, other Muslim communities, and they can be struck and stopped, and that’s exactly what’s happened you know close to where the Kurdish lines are and elsewhere. But if what you’re saying is we need, if you like, an uprising of the Sunni tribes*

*rejecting these **extremists** and saying we want to be part of a democratic, pluralistic Iraq, yes of course we do need that. And that's why you know our strategy here is not some simplistic you know drop a bomb from 40,000 feet and think you can solve the problem. It isn't. This is one part of a comprehensive strategy to **build an** Iraq that has a democratic inclusive government for everyone and in time Syria needs exactly the same thing.*

Cameron utilizes **name-calling** in the sense that he labels ISIL in Syria and Iraq as “**extremists**.” He does not observe the maxim of manner because he is obscure. However, he remains cooperative in the sense of Grice's implicature. He implicates that ISIL holds extreme political or religious views, and advocates illegal, violent, or other extreme action. ISIL practices various terroristic activities such as killing, bombing, stealing and even rapping. He uses this strategy to disgrace ISIL. He aims to arouse the negative emotions of people towards these groups and consequently reject them.

Beside name-calling, Cameron utilizes **metaphor** when he says “**build an Iraq**.” Cameron presents the image of building. He portrays Iraq as a house that he and his administration follows a “**comprehensive strategy to build**.” This metaphor causes the absence of the quality maxim. He is untruthful since he pretends that his government makes air campaigns to defeat ISIL and build Iraq, but in reality these air campaigns, Marr says, are “**bound to kill lots of civilians by accident without necessarily degrading ISIL**.” In fact, Cameron exploits metaphor to hide the cruel reality of the air campaigns that Britain make on Iraq. Cameron endeavors to beautify air campaigns to hoodwink the public. As such, indirectness is beneficial for obscuring the reality.



#### **Text: 4**

*Marr: Alright. Let's move onto something else that you said recently, which was right at the end of the Scottish vote, you came onto the street of Downing Street and you said that English devolution should happen at the same pace as and in tandem with Scottish devolution. Do you still agree with that?*

*Cameron: Yes, absolutely. Let me be clear. We must keep our vows and we will keep our vows to the people of Scotland that they will have a stronger Scottish Parliament with stronger powers over taxation, over welfare, over spending. That will happen. And that agreement we set out was no ... it was nothing ... it wasn't even a new departure for the Conservative Party because we have already signed up to plans for that, but what I've said is with a Conservative Government, with me in No. 10 Downing Street, you don't just get Scottish devolution; you get **properly** English votes for English laws – the English question **properly** answered, so that MPs in Scotland ... sorry MPs in Wales and Northern Ireland and in England get these rights in the way that the Scots now have.*

Then Marr introduces the theme of Scottish devolution. Cameron promises the Scottish with a devolution if his party wins the election. He also promises British people to get “**English votes for English laws**” However, Cameron minimizes his promise with a **hedge**. He gets this hedge via using the modal adverb “**properly**. ” This hedge enables him to lessen his promise. It makes it possible to defend himself and his party and preserve his personal face as well as that of the Conservative Party, if he couldn't fulfill his promise and people begin to condemn him. The result of his utilization of this hedge is infringing the maxim of quality which says that people should be sure of what they say.

## **Text: 5**

*Marr: Okay that's very clear. Thank you very much indeed for that. And speaking of which, do you now favour an English Parliament as such and where would it sit?*

*Cameron: No I don't. I don't think ... **Look I think the last thing frankly this country wants is another expensive parliament building with another expensive group of politicians with salaries and expenses and all the rest of it. That is not what we'll be proposing.** I think it is perfectly **possible** to make changes in the Westminster Parliament, so that when issues that are exclusively about England or England and Wales are addressed, we can find voting arrangements to reflect that. And we need to do that obviously not just in terms of what happens with English laws, but if the Scots are going to have – as we believe they should – the right to set income tax rates, you need arrangements in the UK Parliament, in the Westminster Parliament to make sure that there's fairness there as well. So these plans are being worked out by William Hague. Either there will be an outbreak of good sense by my political opponents and cross-party consent. I doubt it. I suspect it will be the Conservative Party ...*

After that, Marr wants to know Cameron's impression about the English Parliament. Cameron expresses his impression with indirectness. He does so by means of innuendo. Cameron's innuendo appears when he says “**Look I think the last thing frankly this country wants is another expensive parliament building with another expensive group of politicians with salaries and expenses and all the rest of it. That is not**

*what we'll be proposing.*” This innuendo is directed towards members of the English parliament. Innuendo is carried out by inferences and avoidance of stating specific names. Cameron does not observe the maxim of manner on account of his ambiguity. Conversely, Cameron remains cooperative. The audience, Marr, and the English Parliament members expect that the innuendoes are members of English parliament. They also know that members are expensive and cost the country much money. Cameron promises when he wins the general election in 2015, he will make changes to this bad costly parliament. The purpose for Cameron's innuendo is criticizing the English Parliament members unreservedly.

Cameron disparages the present British Parliament. He sees it as an “*expensive parliament* .” He keeps giving promises to the British people to induce them to vote for his party. He promises to adjust this parliament, if his party wins the election and he accompanies his promise with a two hedges. The hedge devices are the epistemic verb “*think*” and the modal adjective “*possible*”. If his party wins and the parliament is not changed, he can safeguard himself and his party against prospect attacks he receives from his people. In other words, this hedge is advantageous for keeping Cameron's face and that of the Conservative Party. Cameron's hedge breaks the quality maxim, as he is not certain of what he says. Indirectness is exploited for politeness.

### **Text: 6**

*Marr: Forty-eight per cent of these people ... 48 per cent of these people have children, so my question to you is: are you not going to put – I mean for the best possible motives no doubt – but put a large section of the young population of the country into dire poverty quite quickly with this?*

*Cameron: We're not talking about those people with children. This is about single people aged 18 to 21 who at the moment you can leave home...*

Cameron recently announced that his administration decided to employ “*money from welfare cuts to boost the number of apprenticeships.*” Marr asks Cameron whether this decision might make approximately half of British young with children poor. Cameron uses evasion for staying away from facing up to this issue, since it is a face threatening one. He knows that talking about this issue might cause threats to his personal face. Condemning Marr's question is the method via which he carries out evasion. He affirms that Marr's question is “inaccurate” He declares that the decision is not “*about those people with children*” as stated by Marr, but “*about single people aged 18 to 21 who at the moment you can leave home*”. He breaks the maxim of manner and that of relevance.

#### **4.3.2.2 Analysis of the Fourth Interview**

Cameron made this interview<sup>6</sup> on 19 July 2015 with NBC. Chuck Todd, the host, inquired Cameron about the nuclear deal with Iran.

##### **Text: 1**

*Todd: Let me start with this basic question. Why did you sign off on the deal?*

*Cameron: Because **I think** it is so much better than the alternative. **I think** that if there wasn't a deal, **I think** we would face Iran with a*

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<sup>6</sup>This interview was obtained from <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/iran-nuclear-programme-pm-interview-with-nbc-news-meet-the-press> on 8 November 2016.

*nuclear weapon. And that would've given a terrible choice to the west of either enabling that, allowing that to happen, or a very difficult decision to take military action. So, this is the better outcome. It keeps Iran away from a nuclear weapon. It's a successful negotiation for the allies. And I **think** we should be proud of a good deal done.*

Todd starts the interview by asking Cameron about the reasons that made him sign the nuclear deal with Iran. In his attempt to justify and defend the deal, Cameron utilizes hedges. He repeats the epistemic verb “**I think**” four times. Cameron is not sure of what he says, he just introduces predictions about the advantages of the deal. Later on, what he predicts might prove incorrect and others start condemning him. In this case, he can safeguard himself and preserve his own face via these hedges. The maxim of quality is broken by Cameron.

## **Text: 2**

*Todd: There was one expert out here named Richard Hoffstead (PH). His biggest concern is for this reason. He believes if Iran complies with the deal, then in 15 years they can have a nuclear weapon. What do you say to that?*

*Cameron: Well, **I don't believe** that's right. Actually, this deal says that it's never acceptable for Iran to have a nuclear weapon. Obviously, the timeframe for which the safeguards are in place and the inspection is in place is for a particular period of time. But the deal actually says it's not acceptable for Iran to have a nuclear weapon...*

In this exchange Cameron employs **hedge**. He realizes this hedge by the use of the “negation device”, “**I don't believe.**” In reality, Cameron intends to criticize Hoffstead's belief and he exploits this hedge to diminish the effect of such criticism on Hoffstead. In other words,

through this hedge, Cameron endeavors to preserve Hoffstead's face. Concerning Grice's maxims, Cameron breaks the quality maxim as he just expects that Richard Hoffstead's belief is wrong.

### **Text: 3**

*Todd: Do you plan to ask Parliament for more leeway to participate in the campaign against ISIS in Syria now? Because I know right now, you're specifically helping in Iraq, but you are not helping in Syria beyond logistics. Are you planning on getting militarily getting involved there?*

*Cameron: We are helping in Iraq, as you say, with, actually, bombing runs and the rest of it. In Syria, we are helping with not just logistics but also surveillance aircraft and air-to-air refuelling. Look, we know that we have to defeat ISIL, we have to destroy this caliphate, whether it is in Iraq or in Syria. That is a key part of defeating this **terrorist scourge** that we face.*

*I want Britain to do more. I'll always have to take my Parliament with me. We're talking and discussing at the moment, including with the opposition parties in Britain, what more we can do. But be it no doubt, we're committed to working with you to destroy the caliphate in both countries.*

In his response, Cameron exploits **metaphor** in that he links ISIL to “**terrorist scourge**.” He brings into play this strategy to humiliate ISIL (his enemy), and to convince the British Parliament, specifically the opposition parties, to support him in his war on ISIL. This metaphor violates the maxim of manner, since he is obscure. This metaphor might be interpreted differently. Todd, the audience can understand Cameron's intended meaning. Cameron suggests that ISIL causes an immense

amount of problems and make people suffer. Cameron implies these unpleasant aspects of ISIL in order not to threaten the face of the public and his own one. As such, Cameron's indirectness is to express politeness.

#### **Text: 4**

*Todd: And let me ask you this final question. Because we're dealing with it here, and this idea of homegrown terrorism. You just brought it up, self-radicalization. We've got yet another type of incident here in this country that we don't know if it's that or not. But there's a concern about it. How do you reassure the British public, what advice do you give American politicians to reassure the American public that says you can even stop this? Is lone-wolf terrorism preventable?*

*David Cameron: Well, terrorism is the fight. This is the fight, I've said, of our generation. And obviously, destroying the caliphate is a necessary condition of its defeat. But it's not a sufficient condition. **We have to attack directly this Islamist extremist ideology that is poisoning young minds, including young minds in Britain and America.***

In his final reply, Cameron exploits **metaphor** when he states “***we have to attack directly this Islamist extremist ideology that is poisoning young minds, including young minds in Britain and America***”. Cameron compares the ideology of ISIL to poisonous animals such as snakes. Such ideology is linked to snakes as it poisons the minds of young and creates thoughts in their minds and affect them to join ISIL. He employs metaphor to degrade this dangerous ideology and to convince young people in general and in Britain and America in particular not to believe in such ideology and stop joining and supporting ISIL. The maxim of manner is not followed by Cameron. Saving face is also an

intention for Cameron's metaphor, since he shuns uttering issues (such as snakes) that threaten his positive face and that of Marr and the audience explicitly.

#### **4.4 Findings and Discussions**

The pragmatic analysis of the data shows that indirectness finds expression in political interviews that were held with Obama and Cameron. The journalists are candid and direct in inquiring them. They undertake to make them talk and state truthful answers. On the contrary, Obama and Cameron are indirect, unclear, and vague to the extent that the audience tends to attach various interpretations to what they say in the interviews.

In their equivocal responses, Obama and Cameron convey additional hidden meanings such as attacking their opponents and praising themselves, countries, or parties. Depending on the shared background knowledge and the assumptions and expectations, immediate interviewers and the audience can realize such hidden meanings.

In fact, Obama and Cameron hardly present a reply without exploiting the strategies of indirectness. They used all of the seven indirectness strategies, hedge, metaphor, evasion, euphemism, name-calling, innuendo, and circumlocution. They utilize many indirectness strategies in one reply. For example, in the second interview (text 3) Obama uses at least two strategies, namely, evasion and metaphor. This also happens with Cameron. In the third interview (text 5), he exploits two strategies, innuendo and hedges.

It also has been noticed that some strategies are done by means of others. For example, in the first interview (text 1), Obama carries out innuendo by name-calling and metaphor. In the same interview (text 5), he also completed evasion through name-calling and metaphor.



It also has been discovered that some strategies are performed to achieve politeness, whereas others are not. For example, politicians use evasion, circumlocution, euphemism, metaphor, and hedge for showing politeness. However, they employ innuendo and name-calling to attain various pragmatic intentions other than politeness.

Even the strategies that achieve politeness lack consistency. To indicate, in some instances a strategy may be used for politeness, but not in others. For example, in some instances, politicians may use metaphor for politeness, on other occasions they may use it for other pragmatic functions rather than politeness such as persuading or criticizing others. Sometimes they exploit strategies of indirectness to achieve politeness and other pragmatic functions at the same time.

Obama and Cameron take into consideration politeness in political interviews by appreciating face. That is, they avoid answering face-threatening questions and they refer to face-threatening issues indirectly. That is to say, when they talk, they appreciate the face (both negative and positive) of various parties such as their personal one, that of the political domains they represent (their governments, parties, or countries), that of the immediate interviewer, and that of the audience as well. Actually, they try to do their best to steer away from uttering the issues that threaten face. When they have no choices only to commit a face-threatening act, they lessen it

The analysis also proves Obama and Cameron's contravene of Grice's maxims, although the cooperative principle emphasizes the significance of following Grice's maxims to gain successful communication. They practically infringed the whole Gricean maxims, quantity, quality, manner, and relevance. In some cases, they simultaneously break more than one maxim. They do so in order to attain different pragmatic intentions.

It was also shown that interviewers are aware that Obama and Cameron employ indirectness. They express their confrontations to indirectness. For instance, in the first interview (text 2), Krof replies to Obama's evasion with this sentence “*I know you don't want talk about this.*” Marr does the same thing in the third interview (text 3). He confronts Cameron's circumlocution with this expression “*with respect you haven't*”

Obama and Cameron are clear and direct about issues that are easy and advantageous for them. They answer beneficial and easy questions clearly. They do present factual information about such kinds of questions, in order to convince the interviewer and the public that they are honest, innocent and clear and to hide their exploitation of indirectness.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

### 5.1 Conclusions

The following are the foremost conclusions arrived at in this thesis:

1. Politicians, in the analyzed political interviews, frequently exploit indirectness when they reply to journalists' questions. Actually, they hardly provide a reply free of the strategies of indirectness. This indirectness is expressed in various ways. That is, sometimes they appear evasive and get around issues without providing a clear reply, they give additional vague meanings that receivers can understand through assumptions and expectations as well as the background knowledge, they make their opinions and attitudes open-ended, or unsure of the statements they make. This corresponds the first hypothesis: *Indirectness is utilized by politicians in political interviews.*

2. It has been also concluded that politicians concurrently use many indirectness strategies in one reply. For instance, in the second interview (text 3) Obama uses two strategies, evasion and metaphor, This also happens with Cameron. For example, in the third interview (text 5), he exploits two strategies innuendo and hedges. They also do some strategies of indirectness by means of others. For example, in the first interview (text 1), Obama accomplishes innuendo by name-calling. In the same interview, (text 5) he also achieves evasion through name-calling and metaphor. This validates the second hypothesis: *Politicians*

*simultaneously make use of many strategies and carry out some strategies via others.*

3. The questions posed during the interviews have been found to affect politicians' employment of indirectness. That is, when the interviewers' questions are risky, difficult, problematic, and face-threatening, Obama and Cameron employ strategies of indirectness and tend to be circuitous, evasive, vague, unsure of the what they state. Actually, talking honestly about such kinds of issues could possibly lead to a range of negative consequences. Conversely, when the issues are easy and beneficial for themselves and their political domains, they are liable to be honest, obvious, and direct and provide factual information. They try to exploit such kinds of questions to reflect a positive image of themselves and their political domains. This corresponds the third hypothesis: *Politicians' employment of indirectness is influenced by the questions of the interviewers.*

4. Politicians exploit indirectness for politeness. They do achieve politeness via face. They avoid answering face-threatening questions and they refer to face-threatening issues indirectly. However, there are some occasions where they exploit indirectness to achieve a multiplicity of pragmatic functions other than politeness such as persuading the public, condemning their opponents without being accountable for that, safeguarding themselves and their political domains, obscuring the reality and concealing their bad policies, misleading the public, validating their bad policies, keeping away from negative consequences and blame, and preserving power. This validates the fourth hypothesis: *politicians do not always exploit indirectness for politeness in political interviews.*

5. Politicians recurrently go against the conversational maxims in political interviews. They do so to accomplish certain pragmatic intentions. They almost disobey the entire maxims, quantity, quality, manner, and relevance. In some cases, they simultaneously break more than one maxim. Disobedience of these maxims takes place as they sometimes lack sufficient information they are required to supply, appear unsure of the matters they state, entirely eliminate clarity, and lack correspondence between the replies they declare and the interviewers' question. This matches the fifth hypothesis: *Politicians frequently violate the maxims of Grice in political interviews.*

## 5.2 Recommendations

In the light of the present study, the researcher has come up with some recommendations:

1. People need not be easily influenced by what politicians say. People need not believe what politicians say, since politicians do not always state the truth. Politicians often tend to hide the truth.
2. It is indisputable that there are various additional hidden meanings behind politicians' indirectness, receivers need work out to arrive at such meanings.
3. Teachers need use or encourage students to use strategies of indirectness, especially hedges, when they teach students. Namely, hedges are successful tools that can facilitate the process of communication between teachers and students. Hedges can increase the confidence and encouragement of students to participate in the class even if their answers are wrong and consequently enhance the activity of the class.

4. There are many occasions on which language learners cannot remember or do not know the words they want to express. Instead of remaining silent, learners can defeat such crisis via indirectness strategies, particularly circumlocution in which they can employ numerous words to refer to the words they cannot remember or they can move around the forgotten words.

### **5.3 Suggestions for Further Research**

In the light of what has been done, the researcher of the present study suggests the following for further research:

1. Conducting a pragmatic study to investigate non-verbal indirectness in selected political interviews or on other political occasions.
2. Carrying out a comparative study between male and female politicians as far as indirectness is concerned.
3. Studying strategies of verbal indirectness that are not considered in this study, namely adverbs, disclaimers, personal pronouns, analogy, glittering generalities, hyperbole, exaggeration, and intertextuality.
4. A discourse study can be carried out to analyze techniques of propaganda (some of these techniques are indirectness strategies such as name-calling, glittering generalities and euphemism) in selected political, religious texts, or advertisements.
5. Applying a pragmatic study of indirectness and its motives in certain literary works such as novels or plays.
6. Carrying out a pragmatic study to consider impoliteness in political interviews.

7. Studying indirectness from a cross-cultural perspective, such as comparing between the English and the Arabic cultures, or between the British and the American cultures.

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## **Appendix 1: Transcripts of Interviews Held with Obama**

Steve Kroft: The last time we talked was this time last year, and the situation in Syria and Iraq had begun to worsen vis-à-vis ISIS. You had just unveiled a plan to provide air support for troops in Iraq, and also some air strikes in Syria, and the training and equipping of a moderate Syrian force. You said that this would degrade and eventually destroy ISIS.

President Barack Obama: Over time.

Steve Kroft: Over time. It's been a year, and--

President Barack Obama: I didn't say it was going to be done in a year.

Steve Kroft: No. But you said...

President Barack Obama: There's a question in here somewhere.

Steve Kroft: There's a question in here. I mean, if you look at the situation and you're looking for progress, it's not easy to find. You could make the argument that the only thing that's changed really is the death toll, which has continued to escalate, and the number of refugees fleeing Syria into Europe.

President Barack Obama: Syria has been a difficult problem for the entire world community and, obviously, most importantly, for the people of Syria themselves that have been devastated by this civil war, caught between a brutal dictator who drops barrel bombs on his own population, and thinks that him clinging to power is more important than the fate of his country. And a barbaric, ruthless organization in ISIL and some of the al Qaeda affiliates that are operating inside of Syria. And what we've been able to do is to stall ISIL's momentum to take away some of the key

land that they were holding, to push back, particularly in Iraq against some population centers that they threatened. And, in Syria, we've been able to disrupt a number of their operations. But what we have not been able to do so far, and I'm the first to acknowledge this, is to change the dynamic inside of Syria and the goal here has been to find a way in which we can help moderate opposition on the ground, but we've never been under any illusion that militarily we ourselves can solve the problem inside of Syria.

Steve Kroft: I want us to take some of these things one by one. You mentioned an awful lot of things. One, the situation with ISIS, you've managed to achieve a stalemate. So what's going to happen to ISIS?

President Barack Obama: Well, over time--

Steve Kroft: I mean, they have to be-- somebody has to take them on. I mean, what's going on right now is not working. I mean, they are still occupying big chunks of Iraq. They're still occupying a good chunk of Syria. Who's going to get rid of them?

President Barack Obama: Over time, the community of nations will all get rid of them, and we will be leading getting rid of them. But we are not going to be able to get rid of them unless there is an environment inside of Syria and in portions of Iraq in which local populations, local Sunni populations, are working in a concerted way with us to get rid of them.

Steve Kroft: You have been talking about the moderate opposition in Syria. It seems very hard to identify. And you talked about the frustrations of trying to find some and train them. You got a half a billion dollars from Congress to train and equip 5,000, and at the end, according to the commander CENTCOM, you got 50 people, most of whom are dead or deserted. He said four or five left?

President Barack Obama: Steve, this is why I've been skeptical from the get go about the notion that we were going to effectively create this proxy army inside of Syria. My goal has been to try to test the proposition, can we be able to train and equip a moderate opposition that's willing to fight ISIL? And what we've learned is that as long as Assad remains in power, it is very difficult to get those folks to focus their attention on ISIL.

Steve Kroft: If you were skeptical of the program to find and identify, train and equip moderate Syrians, why did you go through the program?

President Barack Obama: Well, because part of what we have to do here, Steve, is to try different things. Because we also have partners on the ground that are invested and interested in seeing some sort of resolution to this problem. And--

Steve Kroft: And they wanted you to do it.

President Barack Obama: Well, no. That's not what I said. I think it is important for us to make sure that we explore all the various options that are available.

Steve Kroft: I know you don't want to talk about this.

President Barack Obama: No, I'm happy to talk about it.

Steve Kroft: I want to talk about the-- this program, because it would seem to show, I mean, if you expect 5,000 and you get five, it shows that somebody someplace along the line did not-- made-- you know, some sort of a serious miscalculation.

President Barack Obama: You know, the-- the-- Steve, let me just say this.

Steve Kroft: It's an embarrassment.

President Barack Obama: Look, there's no doubt that it did not work. And, one of the challenges that I've had throughout this heartbreaking situation inside of Syria is, is that-- you'll have people insist that, you know, all you have to do is send in a few-- you know, truckloads full of arms and people are ready to fight. And then, when you start a train-and-equip program and it doesn't work, then people say, "Well, why didn't it work?" Or, "If it had just started three months earlier it would've worked."

Steve Kroft: But you said yourself you never believed in this.

President Barack Obama: Well-- but Steve, what I have also said is, is that surprisingly enough it turns out that in a situation that is as volatile and with as many players as there are inside of Syria, there aren't any silver bullets. And this is precisely why I've been very clear that America's priorities has to be number one, keeping the American people safe. Number two, we are prepared to work both diplomatically and where we can to support moderate opposition that can help convince the Russians and Iranians to put pressure on Assad for a transition. But that what we are not going to do is to try to reinsert ourselves in a military campaign inside of Syria. Let's take the situation in Afghanistan, which I suspect you'll ask about. But I wanted to use this as an example.

Steve Kroft: All right. I feel like I'm being filibustered, Mr. President.

President Barack Obama: No, no, no, no, no. Steve, I think if you want to roll back the tape, you've been giving me long questions and statements, and now I'm responding to 'em. So let's-- so-- if you ask me big, open-ended questions, expect big, open-ended answers. Let's take the example of Afghanistan. We've been there 13 years now close to 13 years. And it's still hard in Afghanistan. Today, after all the investments we have there,

and we still have thousands of troops there. So the notion that after a year in Syria, a country where the existing government hasn't invited us in, but is actively keeping us out, that somehow we would be able to solve this quickly-- is--

Steve Kroft: We didn't say quickly.

President Barack Obama: --is-- is-- is an illusion. And-- and--

Steve Kroft: Nobody's expecting that, Mr. President.

President Barack Obama: Well, the-- no, I understand, but what I'm-- the simple point I'm making, Steve, is that the solution that we're going to have inside of Syria is ultimately going to depend not on the United States putting in a bunch of troops there, resolving the underlying crisis is going to be something that requires ultimately the key players there to recognize that there has to be a transition to new government. And, in the absence of that, it's not going to work.

Steve Kroft: One of the key players now is Russia.

President Barack Obama: Yeah.

Steve Kroft: A year ago when we did this interview, there was some saber-rattling between the United States and Russia on the Ukrainian border. Now it's also going on in Syria. You said a year ago that the United States-- America leads. We're the indispensable nation. Mr. Putin seems to be challenging that leadership.

President Barack Obama: In what way? Let-- let's think about this-- let-- let--

Steve Kroft: Well, he's moved troops into Syria, for one. He's got people on the ground. Two, the Russians are conducting military operations in the Middle East for the first time since World War II--

President Barack Obama: So that's--

Steve Kroft: --bombing the people-- that we are supporting.

President Barack Obama: So that's leading, Steve? Let me ask you this question. When I came into office, Ukraine was governed by a corrupt ruler who was a stooge of Mr. Putin. Syria was Russia's only ally in the region. And today, rather than being able to count on their support and maintain the base they had in Syria, which they've had for a long time, Mr. Putin now is devoting his own troops, his own military, just to barely hold together by a thread his sole ally. And in Ukraine--

Steve Kroft: He's challenging your leadership, Mr. President. He's challenging your leadership--

President Barack Obama: Well Steve, I got to tell you, if you think that running your economy into the ground and having to send troops in in order to prop up your only ally is leadership, then we've got a different definition of leadership. My definition of leadership would be leading on climate change, an international accord that potentially we'll get in Paris. My definition of leadership is mobilizing the entire world community to make sure that Iran doesn't get a nuclear weapon. And with respect to the Middle East, we've got a 60-country coalition that isn't suddenly lining up around Russia's strategy. To the contrary, they are arguing that, in fact, that strategy will not work.

Steve Kroft: My point is-- was not that he was leading, my point is that he was challenging your leadership. And he has very much involved himself



in the situation. Can you imagine anything happening in Syria of any significance at all without the Russians now being involved in it and having a part of it?

President Barack Obama: But that was true before. Keep in mind that for the last five years, the Russians have provided arms, provided financing, as have the Iranians, as has Hezbollah.

Steve Kroft: But they haven't been bombing and they haven't had troops on the ground--

President Barack Obama: And the fact that they had to do this is not an indication of strength, it's an indication that their strategy did not work.

Steve Kroft: You don't think--

President Barack Obama: You don't think that Mr. Putin would've preferred having Mr. Assad be able to solve this problem without him having to send a bunch of pilots and money that they don't have?

Steve Kroft: Did you know he was going to do all this when you met with him in New York?

President Barack Obama: Well, we had seen-- we had pretty good intelligence. We watch--

Steve Kroft: So you knew he was planning to do it.

President Barack Obama: We knew that he was planning to provide the military assistance that Assad was needing because they were nervous about a potential imminent collapse of the regime.

Steve Kroft: You say he's doing this out of weakness. There is a perception in the Middle East among our adversaries, certainly and even among some of our allies that the United States is in retreat, that we

pulled our troops out of Iraq and ISIS has moved in and taken over much of that territory. The situation in Afghanistan is very precarious and the Taliban is on the march again. And ISIS controls a large part of Syria.

President Barack Obama: I think it's fair to say, Steve, that if--

Steve Kroft: It's-- they-- let me just finish the thought. They say your--

President Barack Obama: You're--

Steve Kroft: --they say you're projecting a weakness, not a strength--

President Barack Obama: --you're saying "they," but you're not citing too many folks. But here--

Steve Kroft: No, I'll cite-- I'll cite if you want me, too.

President Barack Obama: --here-- yes. Here--

Steve Kroft: I'd say the Saudis. I'd say the Israelis. I'd say a lot of our friends in the Middle East. I'd say everybody in the Republican party. Well, you want me to keep going?

President Barack Obama: Yeah. The-- the-- if you are-- if you're citing the Republican party, I think it's fair to say that there is nothing I've done right over the last seven and a half years. And I think that's right. It-- and-- I also think what is true is that these are the same folks who were making an argument for us to go into Iraq and who, in some cases, still have difficulty acknowledging that it was a mistake. And Steve, I guarantee you that there are factions inside of the Middle East, and I guess factions inside the Republican party who think that we should send endless numbers of troops into the Middle East, that the only measure of strength is us sending back several hundred thousand troops, that we are going to impose a peace, police the region, and-- that the fact that we

might have more deaths of U.S. troops, thousands of troops killed, thousands of troops injured, spend another trillion dollars, they would have no problem with that. There are people who would like to see us do that. And unless we do that, they'll suggest we're in retreat.

Steve Kroft: They'll say you're throwing in the towel--

President Barack Obama: No. Steve, we have an enormous presence in the Middle East. We have bases and we have aircraft carriers. And our pilots are flying through those skies. And we are currently supporting Iraq as it tries to continue to build up its forces. But the problem that I think a lot of these critics never answered is what's in the interest of the United States of America and at what point do we say that, "Here are the things we can do well to protect America. But here are the things that we also have to do in order to make sure that America leads and America is strong and stays number one." And if in fact the only measure is for us to send another 100,000 or 200,000 troops into Syria or back into Iraq, or perhaps into Libya, or perhaps into Yemen, and our goal somehow is that we are now going to be, not just the police, but the governors of this region. That would be a bad strategy Steve. And I think that if we make that mistake again, then shame on us.

Steve Kroft: Do you think the world's a safer place?

President Barack Obama: America is a safer place. I think that there are places, obviously, like Syria that are not safer than when I came into office. But, in terms of us protecting ourselves against terrorism, in terms of us making sure that we are strengthening our alliances, in terms of our reputation around the world, absolutely we're stronger.

On Friday, the Pentagon ended the program to train-and-equip Syrian rebels that the president told us did not work. In a moment, he talks about

Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton's emails and Joe Biden's possible run for president.

## PART TWO

After a short break for a few sips of water, our interview with President Obama resumed turning to politics, Hillary Clinton's emails and the president's thoughts about his last 15 months in office.

President Barack Obama: What else you got?

Steve Kroft: OK. Mr. President, there are a lot of serious problems with the world right now, but I want to ask you a few questions about politics.

President Barack Obama: Yeah, go ahead.

Steve Kroft: What do you think of Donald Trump?

President Barack Obama: Well, I think that he is a great publicity-seeker and at a time when the Republican party hasn't really figured out what it's for, as opposed to what it's against. I think that he is tapped into something that exists in the Republican party that's real. I think there is genuine anti-immigrant sentiment in the large portion of at least Republican primary voters. I don't think it's uniform. He knows how to get attention. He is, you know, the classic reality TV character and, at this early stage, it's not surprising that he's gotten a lot of attention.

Steve Kroft: You think he's running out of steam? I mean, you think he's going to disappear?

President Barack Obama: You know, I'll leave it up to the pundits to make that determination. I don't think he'll end up being president of the United States.

Steve Kroft: Did you know about Hillary Clinton's use of private email server--

President Barack Obama: No.

Steve Kroft: --while she was Secretary of State?

President Barack Obama: No.

Steve Kroft: Do you think it posed a national security problem?

President Barack Obama: I don't think it posed a national security problem. I think that it was a mistake that she has acknowledged and-- you know, as a general proposition, when we're in these offices, we have to be more sensitive and stay as far away from the line as possible when it comes to how we handle information, how we handle our own personal data. And, you know, she made a mistake. She has acknowledged it. I do think that the way it's been ginned-up is in part because of-- in part-- because of politics. And I think she'd be the first to acknowledge that maybe she could have handled the original decision better and the disclosures more quickly. But--

Steve Kroft: What was your reaction when you found out about it?

President Barack Obama: This is one of those issues that I think is legitimate, but the fact that for the last three months this is all that's been spoken about is an indication that we're in presidential political season.

Steve Kroft: Do you agree with what President Clinton has said and Secretary Clinton has said, that this is not-- not that big a deal. Do you agree with that?

President Barack Obama: Well, I'm not going to comment on--

Steve Kroft: You think it's not that big a deal--

President Barack Obama: What I think is that it is important for her to answer these questions to the satisfaction of the American public. And they can make their own judgment. I can tell you that this is not a situation in which America's national security was endangered.

Steve Kroft: This administration has prosecuted people for having classified material on their private computers.

President Barack Obama: Well, I-- there's no doubt that there had been breaches, and these are all a matter of degree. We don't get an impression that here there was purposely efforts-- on-- in-- to hide something or to squirrel away information. But again, I'm gonna leave it to--

Steve Kroft: If she had come to you.

President Barack Obama: I'm going to leave it to Hillary when she has an interview with you to address all these questions.

Steve Kroft: Right now, there's nobody on either side of the aisle that is exactly running on your record. Do you want Joe Biden to get in the race and do it?

President Barack Obama: You know, I am going to let Joe make that decision. And I mean what I say. I think Joe will go down as one of the finest vice presidents in history, and one of the more consequential. I think he has done great work. I don't think there's any politician at a national level that has not thought about being the president. And if you're sitting right next to the president in every meeting and, you know wrestling with these issues, I'm sure that for him he's saying to himself, "I could do a really good job."

Steve Kroft: I do want to talk a little bit about Congress. Are you going to miss John Boehner?

President Barack Obama: John Boehner and I disagreed on just about everything. But the one thing I'll say about John Boehner is he did care about the institution. He recognized that nobody gets 100 percent in our democracy. I won't say that he and I were ideal partners, but he and I could talk and we could get some things done. And so I am a little concerned that the reason he left was because there are a group of members of Congress who think having somebody who is willing to shut down the government or default on the U.S. debt is going to allow them to get their way 100 percent of the time.

Steve Kroft: Do you think you're going to be able to get anything through Congress?

President Barack Obama: Well, given that-- this Congress hasn't been able to get much done at all over the last year and a half, two years, for that matter for the last four, it would be surprising if we were able to make huge strides on the things that are important. But I have a more modest goal, which is to make sure that Congress doesn't do damage to the economy.

The president says that means avoiding another budget crisis and another round of threats to shut down the government, which could happen as early as December. Even with congressional Republicans in disarray, he's hoping to reach a deal with Congress as he did two years ago, to lift some spending caps in defense and other areas while continuing to reduce the deficit.

President Barack Obama: Right now, our economy is much stronger relative to the rest of the world. China, Europe, emerging markets, they're all having problems. And so, if we provide another shock to the system by shutting down the government, that could mean that the progress we

have made starts going backwards instead of forwards. We have to make sure that we pass a transportation bill. It may not be everything that I want. We should be being much more aggressive in rebuilding America right now. Interest rates are low, construction workers need the work, and our economy would benefit from it. But if we can't do a big multiyear plan, we have to at least do something that is robust enough-- so that we are meeting the demands of a growing economy.

Steve Kroft: A few months back, at a fundraiser, you made a point of saying that the first lady was very pleased that you can't run again.

President Barack Obama: Yeah, she is.

Steve Kroft: Do you feel the same way?

President Barack Obama: You know, it's interesting. I-- you go into your last year and I think it's bittersweet. On the one hand, I am very proud of what we've accomplished and it makes me think, I'd love to do some more. But by the time I'm finished, I think it will be time for me to go. Because there's a reason why we considered George Washington one of our greatest presidents. He set a precedent, saying that when you occupy this seat, it is an extraordinary privilege, but the way our democracy is designed, no one person is indispensable. And ultimately you are a citizen. And once you finish with your service, you go back to being a citizen. And I-- and I think that-- I think having a fresh set of legs in this seat, I think having a fresh perspective, new personnel and new ideas and a new conversation with the American people about issues that may be different a year from now than they were when I started eight years ago, I think that's all good for our democracy. I think it's healthy.

Steve Kroft: Do you think if you ran again, could run again, and did run again, you would be elected?



President Barack Obama: Yes.

Steve Kroft: You do.

President Barack Obama: I do.

## **Interview: 2**

**NPR's STEVE INSKEEP: In a speech the other day, you spoke quite a lot about the consequences of Congress rejecting this deal.**

PRESIDENT OBAMA: Right.

**INSKEEP: But let's talk about the other side of that, what the world looks like if the deal is approved.**

Secretary of State Kerry said to us the other day that this nuclear deal will leave the United States "absolutely" — his word — absolutely freer to push back against Iran and its ambitions in the region.

**If you get the deal, what do you intend to do with that freedom?**

OBAMA: Well, let's first focus on the fact that a central objective of not just my foreign policy but of U.S. foreign policy with Democratic or Republican administrations has been preventing Iran from getting a nuclear weapon. That would be a game-changer.

And this deal achieves that. It cuts off all the pathways for Iran getting a nuclear weapon. In exchange, Iran gets relief from the sanctions that we organized, systematically, with the international community over the last several years that's crippled their economy and forced them back to the table.

With that issue resolved, although we will have to be vigilant through the inspection process and the verification process, although we will have a backstop in being able to exercise all options, including military, if Iran violated or cheated on the agreement, then an additional priority that we have is making sure that Iran ends some of the destabilizing activities that it's engaged in for a very long time, providing arms to Hezbollah to threaten Israel and our other allies in the region, making sure that through proxies, Iran is not engaging in destabilizing activities toward Gulf countries.

And to both Israel and our Gulf partners and allies in the region, what we've said to them is that we can handle those issues if we are more consistent, better organized in the things that are required to deal with those non-nuclear threats, those more conventional or low-grade threats.

For example, dealing with cyberattacks, there are ways we can deal with those issues more effectively than we have. Dealing with a ballistic missile. Making sure that missile defense systems are integrated and working properly. Making sure that there are special forces and other ground operations that can be carried out to support stabilizing efforts in places like Yemen.

So there are a whole host of areas where we can work together, and we are in fact in the process of consulting with those countries as we speak.

**INSKEEP: Should we expect the United States to push more forcefully against Iran and its support for groups like Hezbollah, for example?**

OBAMA: Well, I think we've had a very consistent policy in opposition to it. I think that the challenges have typically had to do not with will, but

have had to do with effectiveness. For example, to interdict arms shipments to Hezbollah by Iran, the problem is not that we don't have the authority to do it. The problem is not that we and Israelis want to stop that from happening, or Gulf allies want to stop that from happening. The problem is, is that sometimes it's challenging to do.

We have to have better intelligence. We have to have better interdiction capabilities. And so, you know, the issue here is not how much we spend or how hard we try; the issue is are we doing it the right way? Are we being smart about it?

I've said, for example, that the Gulf countries, their combined defense spending is eight times Iran's. So the issue is not even if Iran is putting in additional dollars as a consequence of sanctions relief and an improved economy, Iran will continue to be outspent.

The question is are those resources deployed effectively and appropriately?

But here's the point I don't want to get away from, though, Steve. It's that under any scenario our problems are greatly magnified if in fact Iran also has a nuclear weapon. And, you know, this is a situation of first things first, this deal accomplishes that, and it's as a consequence, worthy of support.

**INSKEEP: This is what I'm driving at, though. As you know very well, Mr. President, your critics have argued that this deal, even whatever it does to the nuclear program, leaves Iran free to act in the region in ways the United States may well oppose. That's their argument.**

OBAMA: Yeah, but — but — but — but Steve, that is not accurate because the notion that somehow Iran is untethered ignores the fact that, for example, we'll still have our sanctions in place with respect to non-nuclear activities like sponsorship of terrorism or violation of human rights. There will still be U.N. prohibitions on arming groups like Hezbollah.

And so there's no evidence. There's no logic to the notion that somehow we will let up on trying to prevent activities that Iran may engage in that would be contrary to our national security interests.

**INSKEEP: So show me the alternative vision from what the critics have laid out, then. Do you foresee a world in which 10 or 15 years from now, when the provisions of this agreement begin to expire, some of them, that there is an opportunity by then to completely or substantially reshape the region or the security situation in the region?**

OBAMA: What I've said is, is that this deal does not count on our fundamental relationship with Iran changing. It's not based on trust. It's not based on a warming of relations. It's based on hard, cold logic and our ability to verify that Iran's not pursuing a nuclear weapon.

Having said that, it is possible that as a consequence of this engagement, that as a consequence of Iran being able to recognize that what's happening in Syria for example is leading to extremism that threatens their own state and not just the United States; that some convergence of interests begins to lead to conversations between, for example, Saudi Arabia and Iran; that Iran starts making different decisions that are less offensive to its neighbors; that it tones down the rhetoric in terms of its

virulent opposition to Israel. And, you know, that's something that we should welcome.

There is the possibility that if you look at what's going on in the Middle East right now, more and more states begin to recognize that their enemy is chaos and ISIL and disaffected young people, Shia and Sunni, who are attracted to, you know, ideologies that are in opposition to every regime there. And — and that's something that I think that we should be willing to help promote if in fact they can get there.

But again, that's not something that is guaranteed or even necessary for us to want to get this deal done so that Iran's not getting a nuclear weapon.

**INSKEEP: Let me ask about two ways that, according to critics, this agreement might make the region less stable.**

OBAMA: Mm-hmm.

**INSKEEP: As you know very well, Iran's neighbors, many of them U.S. allies, have been skeptical of this deal, and the U.S., to reassure them, has among other things promised them more weapons.**

**Won't more weapons in the hands of countries that may be allies, but also have their own agendas, create the possibility of more instability over time?**

OBAMA: Well first — first of all, the — our defense support of these countries is not automatically premised on more weapons. It's premised on them being more effective with their defense budgets.

So, just to give you an example, the Gulf countries, if they were coordinating their missile defense systems, would be more effective than

each of them, in a siloed fashion, operating their own missile defense systems. They don't have to spend more money to get that done; they just have to do a better job integrating what they're doing.

So, the notion that somehow we are going to be safer by rejecting a deal that prevents Iran from getting a nuclear weapon and instead leave — leaves Iran the option of installing more and more advanced centrifuges, shrinking their breakout time, that that somehow is going to make our neighbors more secure, I think is kind of a — well, it doesn't make any sense.

I think what is much more likely is if we reject this deal and Iran's pursuing breakout times that are shrinking because they're installing more and more advanced centrifuges and stockpiling more and more highly enriched uranium is that some of those neighbors who feel threatened by Iran start thinking maybe they should be pursuing their own nuclear program. And that's exactly the kinds of scenarios that we need to prevent.

In those scenarios, we will then be confronted, either me or the next president, or the president after that, would be confronted with a pretty stark decision.

If we don't want to see a nuclear arms race, if we're seeing Iran getting closer and closer to breakout capacity, and we have before the entire world rejected what every serious nuclear expert who looks at this says is a serious deal to constrain their nuclear program, then in fact that leaves one option, and that is some form of military strike.

That may be the preference of some who are on the other side of this debate. But I think the one thing that we should have learned from over a

decade now of war in the Middle East is, is that, you know, even limited military actions end up carrying with them great costs and unintended consequences.

**INSKEEP: I'm glad you mentioned breakout times, Mr. President. And we should define that for people. That's the length of time Iran would need to go for a bomb ...**

OBAMA: Right.

**INSKEEP: ... if they decided to go for a bomb.**

OBAMA: Right.

**INSKEEP: The agreement makes that time longer ...**

OBAMA: Yes.

**INSKEEP: ... for a period.**

**Prime Minister Netanyahu of Israel has argued that as the agreement begins to expire, 13, 14, 15 years from now, the breakout time goes back down to near zero.**

OBAMA: Yeah.

**INSKEEP: And in saying that, he quotes you in an interview with us, in which you made a statement that was later clarified.**

OBAMA: Yeah.

**INSKEEP: I just want to be absolutely clear on this: 15 years from now, as some provisions expire, what is Iran's breakout time going to be?**

OBAMA: Well, it shrinks back down to roughly where it is now.

**INSKEEP: Which is close to zero?**

OBAMA: Well, which is a matter of months. Because keep in mind that theoretical breakout times don't match up with practical breakout times.

You know, you don't just get one nuclear weapon. You have to, you know, test, weaponize, miniaturize, mount on top of missiles, you know, it's a complicated piece of business.

And the point is, is that we will know when they are doing it in such a way that we can respond. But this argument that's been made also doesn't make sense. If in fact the breakout times now are a few months, and we're able to push that breakout time out to a year so that we have more time and space to see whether or not Iran is cheating on an agreement, kicking out inspectors, going for a nuclear weapon; if the breakout time is extended for 15 years and then it goes back to where it is right now, why is that a bad deal?

Why are we better off with a breakout time entirely shrunk in six months or nine months, where we have no inspectors on the ground, we have less insight into their program, we have shattered international unity, because the perception now is that the United States, having painstakingly arrived at an agreement and mobilized the entire world community behind it, has seen its Congress rejected? In what sense are we better off in that scenario than we would be having set up a situation where 15 years from now, that breakout time is approximately where it is now, but we now have an entire infrastructure that's been built to keep track of exactly what Iran's doing, and we had the entire international community behind us?



This is the challenge that I've had over the last several weeks, Steve, as I've listened to the critics: Some of them, who announced their opposition before they'd even read the bill or read the agreement, and that is that they will put forward arguments that, you know, after a few minutes, can be shown as illogical or based on the wrong facts, and then you ask them, "All right, what's your alternative?" and there's a deafening silence.

And what that tells me is that there may be ideological opposition to doing any business with Iran. There may be skepticism with any diplomatic initiative with a regime that is admittedly antagonistic toward us, anti-Semitic, a sponsor of terrorism. And that's an honest argument.

If you just say, "We don't think you should deal with Iran," then that at least has a logic to it. If you're saying, though, that this is an issue that can't be resolved diplomatically and you share my view that Iran can't get a nuclear weapon, then you really are narrowing your choices at that point.

**INSKEEP: When we talk about the congressional debate, we should explain to people that it's being considered under rules where Congress has to affirmatively vote against the deal, meaning that you can get your way ultimately even if a majority of Congress votes against it.**

**Seems likely a majority of Congress will vote against it.**

OBAMA: Right.

**INSKEEP: Are you entirely comfortable going forward with a historic deal knowing that most of the people's representatives are against it?**

OBAMA: Well, what I know is, is that, unfortunately, a large portion of the Republican Party, if not a near unanimous portion of Republican representatives, are going to be opposed to anything that I do, and I have not oftentimes based that on a judgment on the merits, but have based that on their politics.

That's true in health care, that's true in, you know, budget negotiations. That's been true on a whole host of things.

And I don't think that's a surprise to anybody. What I do know, though, is, is that when this agreement is implemented and we've seen centrifuges coming out of facilities like Fordow and Natanz, and we've got inspectors on the ground and it becomes clear that Iran in fact is abiding by this agreement, then attitudes will change, because people will recognize that, in fact, whatever parade of horrors was presented in opposition have not come true.

That, instead, what we've seen is an effective way to bind Iran to a commitment not to have nuclear weapons and, in that scenario, it'll probably be forgotten that Republicans uniformly opposed it.

Keep in mind that this is not unique to me, either, by the way. You know, when Ronald Reagan began discussions with Gorbachev, his conservative supporters wrote some really rough stuff about him as appeasing the evil empire, and this is a disaster, and we're giving America's power away.

And, to his credit, he had reversed himself from a — a previously much more rigid position that had helped to define his political career.

So — so my main interest right now is solving a problem, which is making sure Iran doesn't get a nuclear weapon, and I am confident that, as

we see implementation, we will see, in fact, more and more folks pull out of the immediate politics of it and judge it on the basis of whether it was the right thing to do for the country.

**INSKEEP: People will know that you've also solved what you saw as problems with the Republican Congress by taking a variety of executive actions on issues like the environment and immigration.**

**I'd like to know, as you look long-term at that trend, as someone who's been a constitutional scholar, if you think there is something about the rules of our political system that ought to change over time.**

OBAMA: I think that there are real problems with how we are electing our representatives. I think political gerrymandering has resulted in a situation in which — with 80 percent Democratic districts or 80 percent Republican districts and no competition, that that leads to more and more polarization in Congress, and it gets harder and harder to get things done.

I think that the Senate filibuster process and the 60-vote requirement to break a filibuster is making it harder and harder to govern at a time where there is polarization.

I think the influence of superPACs and the ability of a handful of billionaires to dictate who can compete or not compete, for example, in a Republican primary, with the debate coming up — you know, that's a problem.

So I think there are a whole range of systems problems that we have to resolve, but, you know, having said all that, I tend to be still pretty optimistic about the future of the American political process and our democracy.

We go through these phases where things seem just dysfunctional and bottled up and folks get frustrated, and [inaudible] ...

**INSKEEP: Do you feel like it'll change, just when you're gone? That that will change things, alone?**

OBAMA: Well, these trends, actually, have been developing. They preceded me, you know, I — I always enjoy watching Republicans compliment Bill Clinton now, because at the time, I'm sure he didn't feel a lot of the love.

You know, obviously, George Bush was a polarizing president as well, and — and each successive president over the last several — you — you're seeing more and more of — of — of this kind of party divide take place.

But, you know, just because those have been the trends doesn't mean that we can't reverse them, and I do think that, with some modest changes, you know, some of which could be done even at the state level — for example, California moved to a non-, nonpartisan process for determining Congressional districts — that you can encourage a little more thoughtfulness, a little bit more interest in, you know, appealing to the, the basic common sense and goodness and decency of the American people, rather than just an — a narrow sliver of your base.

And — and that is, I think, ultimately, what a lot of folks are looking for.

**INSKEEP: I wanna inquire about something else, Mr. President.**

**Michael Eric Dyson wrote the other day in the *New York Times* about your presidency, and began his article with this sentence: "We finally**

**have the president we thought we elected: one who talks directly and forcefully about race and human rights.'**

**Now, it could be that you're talking more about these issues simply because of the news of the past year, so, a series of shootings. But I'd like to know if you think there is something else that is prompting you to hold forth more or hold back less on that issue.**

OBAMA: You know, I — you know, I — I think I've been pretty consistent, if you look at my statements throughout my presidency. Some of it, I think, is events.

In my first two years, people were very interested in making sure we didn't sink into a great depression, so I had a lot of commentary on the economy, and on the financial system and on the need for Wall Street reform, and — and that occupied a lot of — a lot of sound bites.

We still had two wars that we were in the midst of, and — and so there's a lot of big business that I've had to do.

What is true is that there has been an awakening around the country to some problems in race relations, in police-community relations, that aren't new — they date back for decades — because of smartphones and cameras and, you know, social media, I think people have become more aware of them, both black and white.

And that gives me an opportunity, I think, then, to try to help to constructively shape the debate.

**INSKEEP: Were you looking for that opportunity all along?**

OBAMA: Yeah, I — I think that one of the things I've learned about being president is that we'll work on issues for long periods of time, sometimes in obscurity.

For example, on the issue of criminal justice reform, I had a conversation with Eric Holder when I came into office.

**INSKEEP: Your former attorney general?**

OBAMA: My former attorney general, about how could we address the issue of these ridiculous mandatory minimum sentences for nonviolent drug offenses that are filling up our jails, and we did a whole bunch of work without getting a lot of attention, with U.S. attorneys around the country changing incentives so that they didn't feel as if being a good prosecutor meant always slapping the longest sentence on people.

And, in part because of some of those changes in practices, we saw, last year, for the first time in 40 years, a drop in both the number of people incarcerated and the crime rate.

I think what we've seen is the possibility, now, of having a — a broader public conversation, and this is one area where I've been pleasantly surprised to see some bipartisan interest.

I mean, there are some sincere efforts on the part of some Republicans in Congress to deal with the problems of mandatory minimums in sentencing and rehabilitation and — and — and I think that, wherever I see an opportunity these days, with only 18 months to go, I intend to seize it.

**INSKEEP: But is this also an issue where the first black president just couldn't attack it very hard in the first term, because other**

**things had to be dealt with first, other ground had to be covered first? For political reasons, if not — nothing else?**

OBAMA: Well, yeah, see, that I don't buy. I — I — I think it's fair to say that if, in my first term, Ferguson had flared up, as president of the United States, I would have been commenting on what was happening in Ferguson.

So here's one thing I will say — is that I feel a great urgency to get as much done as possible, and there's no doubt that, after over six and a half years on this job, I probably have an easier time juggling a lot of different issues, and it may be that my passions show a little bit more, just because I've been around this track now for a while.

And I — I think I can keep — and — and frankly, we've done a pretty good job on some big pieces of business, which then allows me also to focus on some issues that we might have been working on quietly but weren't getting as much attention.

But the main — the — you know, the main thing that may have changed is instead of having a year and a half behind me and six and a half years in front of me, I now have six and a half years behind me and a year and a half in front of me, so I gotta — I gotta keep moving.

I — you know, it's like — what'd Satchel Paige say? "Don't look — don't look behind you; you don't know what might be catching up." Yeah, you know, you just wanna keep on — keep on running.

**INSKEEP: Mr. President, thanks very much.**

OBAMA: Thank you so much. Appreciate it.

## **Appendix 2: Transcripts of interviews Held with Cameron**

### **Interview: 3**

#### **ANDREW MARR:**

By my calculation, with just over 200 days till his own date with destiny at the next General Election, I'm joined now by the Prime Minister David Cameron. Thank you for joining us, Prime Minister.

#### **DAVID CAMERON:**

Good morning.

#### **ANDREW MARR:**

The big story of the morning really is still Iraq. General Richards, like many people in that very interesting House of Commons debate this week, have picked up on the fact that you can't defeat ISIL (or whatever we call them) without pushing into Syria. It can't just be done in Iraq alone. That's true, isn't it?

#### **DAVID CAMERON:**

That is true and we're not trying to defeat ISIL from the air alone. We believe you do need troops on the ground, but they should be Iraqi troops, they should be Kurdish troops. We are part of a large international coalition to degrade and ultimately destroy this organization, but it can't be done unless the countries where this organization has grown up play their part in destroying it.

#### **ANDREW MARR:**

You told the House of Commons interestingly two things: you said that you wouldn't go into Syria, we wouldn't attack in Syria without another



motion, without returning to the Commons; but you also said that you reserved the right to order attacks if there were some terrible humanitarian disaster that needed to be dealt with very quickly. Now if ISIL are pushed into Syria, we could very quickly see a humanitarian crisis there, so is it the case that you could order the RAF as part of the coalition into Syria without another vote?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well the point I was making didn't just apply to Iraq or Syria. Frankly it applied to anywhere in the world. If as prime minister I feel there is a humanitarian disaster about to happen that Britain either alone or with partners could do something to avert, then it would be right to order that before going to the House of Commons because there wouldn't be time. Likewise if there's some unique British interest, some hostage situation, some unique British interest where you had to order action very quickly, I would always be prepared to do that first and explain to the House of Commons afterwards. I was trying to say to the House of Commons it's important that this convention that's grown up of a vote before premeditated action, I believe that's right, but that doesn't mean a government shouldn't act if there's something it needs to act urgently over.

**ANDREW MARR:**

So we could go into Syria without another vote?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

I think I've answered. I'm not ... But I think what people are worried about ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* With respect you haven't because you've said a big crisis might emerge, this could happen tomorrow or next week in Syria as part of ... a result of what's going on now in Iraq.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

*(over)* To be clear ... I'm not trying to dodge your question. To be clear, if something happened in Syria, anywhere in the world that there was a need for urgent action to prevent a humanitarian crisis or to protect a unique British interest, I would be prepared to take action and explain afterwards. I said that in the House of Commons. Happy to say that again here this morning.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Okay now one of the other things that was talked about, again in the General Richards interview but again in the House of Commons as well by people like George Galloway, is that ISIL are not like an army. They don't have barracks, they don't have columns of tanks you can hit from the air. They sit inside the population; they hide themselves where civilians are quite deliberately. And that, therefore, an air campaign is bound to kill lots of civilians by accident without necessarily degrading ISIL as much as you hope.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well I don't accept that because there are occasions, indeed there have been occasions when ISIL are out in the open threatening Christian communities, Yazidi communities, other Muslim communities, and they can be struck and stopped, and that's exactly what's happened you know close to where the Kurdish lines are and elsewhere. But if what you're saying is we need, if you like, an uprising of the Sunni tribes rejecting

these extremists and saying we want to be part of a democratic, pluralistic Iraq, yes of course we do need that. And that's why you know our strategy here is not some simplistic you know drop a bomb from 40,000 feet and think you can solve the problem. It isn't. This is one part of a comprehensive strategy to build an Iraq that has a democratic inclusive government for everyone and in time Syria needs exactly the same thing.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Let's return to the question of boots on the ground.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Yeah.

**ANDREW MARR:**

There are three possible armies involved on the ground. There's the Peshmerga who are defending their own territory in Kurdistan; there's the Iraqi Army who have been frankly pretty useless so far and have run away most of the time; and there's the Free Syrian Army which, as George Galloway said, barely exists. So who are these boots going to be?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well in both cases, in Iraq and in Syria, we need to build up the forces that are moderate, democratic and pluralistic. In Iraq what we need is an Iraqi government and Iraqi armed forces that represent the whole country – Sunni, Shia and Kurd. In Syria what we need is we do back the Free Syrian Army and the Syrian National Opposition because they are the legitimate forces in Syria, but it's going to take time in Syria for them to be built up as a counterpoint to the regime. What's required in Syria, sometimes ... (*Marr tries to interject*) Ian Birrell was saying earlier that

the government's policy is somehow contradictory. It isn't. The same thing in Syria is needed as in Iraq, which is a government that can represent all of the people. So you need a transition in Syria from the brutal dictator Assad whose action has helped to build up ISIL, and you need to replace that with a government that can represent all of its people.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Absolutely, but you also need an army in Syria which can defeat ISIL, and the army in Syria that can defeat ISIL, the only organised army really left standing is Assad's army. Are we now on the point of having to do a deal with the devil, as it were, to get rid of something worse?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

No we're not because Assad is part of the problem, not part of the solution. His brutality against his own people is one of the things that has been a massive recruiting sergeant for ISIL, so what we need in Syria is to build up the legitimate opposition, to go on with the diplomatic efforts alongside that, to have a transition in Syria from Assad to a new government that can represent the whole people. Of course that has to include Alawites, even prominent Alawites, so that Alawite and Sunni, Christian and other minorities in Syria can all feel they are part of the government. I thought when ... You know Ban Ki-moon used this phrase of look "a missile can kill a terrorist, but it is good governance that will kill terrorism". That is our policy.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Quite right. Okay now again in the House of Commons you were asked about British boots on the ground and you said look if a helicopter lands and needs to be refuelled, there'll be British people refuelling that

helicopter. What about the Iraqi government and the Iraqi army? We're giving them lots of new kit. Don't we have to give them advisers and help in how to use that? Won't there be logistic aspects of that as well? Aren't there British boots on the ground even if inside the boots there aren't actually combat troops?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well they're already ... I mean we already have, whether it is in Baghdad or whether it is in the Kurdish regional authority, we have people there who are helping and advising and assisting - not in huge numbers - but if we're trying to build up these forces, then yes of course we have to help them. The expression I use very clearly is what we're not having is some British invading army of combat troops on the ground. I think that's very important ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* We could have, for instance, special forces trying to get hostages out of terrible situations?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well we never talk about ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

I know you don't.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

... we never comment on special forces. The hostage situation is clearly an absolutely tragic one and we should do everything we can to help and I lead those efforts personally.

**ANDREW MARR:**

You see a lot of your critics will say this is the problem. It starts with air power, it starts with advisers, and then – like Vietnam – it escalates. You get sucked in, and you're sucked into something which may be the right war to be fighting, certainly the right enemy to be fighting, but nonetheless you don't know where it's going to end and you don't know how deeply we're going to be drawn in. However much you at the moment don't want to be drawn in further, the logic of the war is that we will be.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well in a way that's an argument for sort of never doing anything. And I think look when you face a situation with psychopathic terrorist killers in Syria and Iraq, who have already you know brutally beheaded one of our own citizens, who have already launched and tried to execute plots in our own country to kill and maim innocent people, you've got a choice. We can either stand back from all this, as Galloway and others would say, and say this is too difficult, it's too complicated, let's let someone else try and keep our country safe, or we take the correct decision to say let's have a full, comprehensive strategy, but let's be prepared to play our role to make sure these people cannot do us harm.

**ANDREW MARR:**

I come back finally to the border question and not George Galloway but General Richards again – your favourite general at the moment, I'm sure. "You can't possibly defeat ISIS by only attacking them in Iraq", he says this morning. "How the hell can you win the war when most of your enemy can end up in a country you can't get involved in?" That really is the question, isn't it?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well I have a lot of sympathy with that view, which is why I've said we support what the Americans and the five Arab nations have done in Syria. We have a Syria strategy, which is to build up the Free Syrian Army, the Syrian National Coalition to achieve a political transition in Syria. But you know I wanted to take to the House of Commons a proposal that I could achieve consensus for to make sure Britain was playing her role in this coordinated action across both countries.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Got it. Let's turn to the Conservative Party conference. Did you have any idea that Mark Reckless was about to do what he's just done?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Not specifically, but you know he's always been someone who ... I mean he very rarely votes for the government and has made his views known. Look these things are frustrating and frankly they are counterproductive and rather senseless. If you want to have a European referendum, if you want to have immigration control, if you want to get the deficit down, if you want to build a stronger Britain that we can be proud of, there is only one option and that is to a ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* Senseless not reckless.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

... after the next election because the choice is really between that government – and we've got a track record now of getting the deficit down, getting people into jobs, taking a correct line on Europe – the

choice is that or Ed Miliband in No. 10 Downing Street with no plan for the deficit, no leadership for our country, no way to get the economy growing, the deficit going up, more borrowing, more spending, more taxes. That is the choice. And so ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* But whatever you think of ...

**DAVID CAMERON:**

*(over)* ... to act in a way that makes the Conservative government less likely is senseless and counterproductive. But you know we have to now get on with the job of this week in setting out our plans for the country.

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* Before we do, Douglas Carswell, who was a great supporter of yours, why do you think you're losing these kind of people?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well you'd have to ask them, but it is ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

Well they say because you're not a proper Conservative in the end.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well I disagree with that. But I mean in the end it is counterproductive. Douglas Carswell and Mark Reckless are both people who actually, unlike me, they want to leave the European Union no matter what. Now I don't agree with that, I think we should have a real go at reform to get a better deal for Britain. But then there is this promise and it's a complete and clear promise of an in/out referendum by the end of 2017. So even if



you don't agree with my renegotiation strategy, I am the only prime minister who is going to give you the chance to have a vote to stay in or get out of the European Union, and that's why I say it's so counterproductive and senseless.

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* Well let's turn exactly to that strategy then if we could because we've talked about this before, but it's clear at the moment that the big issue is the free movement of people into this country from the rest of Europe. That is the thing that's setting the UKIP people alight. A lot of your own people are very, very concerned about it. Is that at the heart of your renegotiation policy – ending the open frontier?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Immigration will be absolutely the heart of my renegotiation strategy where I've been very clear. We need to get out of ever closer union. That shouldn't apply to Britain.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Sure.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

We need proper safeguards for the single market. With others, with other countries we need to be able to block new regulations that we don't approve of. A whole series of safeguards and changes at the heart ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* Can you be ... Okay.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

*(over)* Hold on. ... at the heart of this, the idea that people – yes of course there is a right to go and work in other European countries, but it's not an unqualified right. You should not be able to move for benefits, you should not be able to abuse the rules. When new countries join the European Union, you should be able to say to them look your people cannot come and work in our country until your economy is at a much more similar level to ours. So these are big changes.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Okay. So you can do things about benefits, but you can't do anything about the free movement of peoples inside the EU and that won't be part of your negotiating stance?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well that is one of the things that I think particularly worries people and concerns me – that, as I say, the right to go and work in France or Spain or Spanish people to come and do a job that has been advertised here, that is one thing; but it's a completely different thing to be able to go to claim benefits, actually even to work in Britain, but to send your benefits home to your families that stay in your home countries. All of those things need to be addressed.

**ANDREW MARR:**

I understand that.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

It comes back to the bigger point, Andrew, which is there is only one way these things can get addressed. If Ed Miliband is in Downing Street none

of these things will happen. If I am prime minister all of these things will happen and there will be an in/out referendum by the end of 2017.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Are you determined that we will stay inside the EU?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well I'm determined we'll do the right thing for Britain. Now I've set out very clearly ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* Straight question.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

*(over)* No but this is important. I think people want to know what do I believe?

**ANDREW MARR:**

They do.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

What I believe is right for Britain is to seek reform, get reform, and get Britain to vote to stay in a reformed European Union. That is my plan. Now ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* There are two very, very different things, prime minister.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

*(over)* But the point is if people don't like that plan ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

Sure.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

... the only way they get to vote to get out of the European Union is if I am prime minister. I think people want to know what is your plan, not you know what if this, what if that. That isn't ...

**ANDREW MARR**

*(over)* But also they want to know what is your base position. You go there and you negotiate and if you don't get everything you want, you say to the British people "Okay I haven't got the deal. We should leave Europe" and, like many of your colleagues, you say there is a future for Britain outside Europe. It might be bumpy but in the end it'll be fine. Or you're determined to stay in Europe basically, in which case it's much harder to get that negotiation successfully concluded.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

But here's the point. When you're going into a negotiation, I think you should set out what you want to achieve. And also I want the 27 other countries in Europe to see that there is a plan here that with reform can end with a reformed European Union and a reformed relationship with Britain and Britain staying in. I want them to see that that is the goal. Now, as I say, if I don't achieve that, it will be for the British public to decide whether to stay in or to get out.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Are there any circumstances which you would go to the British people and say “I David Cameron – not Boris Johnson, not Nigel Farage – I, David Cameron, recommend that we leave the EU”?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well I’ve said this all my political life. I’ve said if I thought that it wasn’t in Britain’s interest to be in the European Union, I wouldn’t argue for us to be in it. I mean I believe ... I’m a deeply patriotic politician and person. I do this job because I love my country, I care passionately about its future and I want it to be a strong, proud, self-governing, independent nation. Yes working with other European countries on trade and cooperation, maximising our influence in the world so we can do the best for our people in the world. That is what drives me.

**ANDREW MARR:**

So if you don’t get what you want, you say to the British people it’s time to go?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

No, I’ve said I believe we will get what we want and I think the British ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

If you don’t.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well I think the British public want someone who is absolutely determined to deliver for them a better future in Europe. But in the end, I don't decide. They decide.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Alright. Let's move onto something else that you said recently, which was right at the end of the Scottish vote, you came onto the street of Downing Street and you said that English devolution should happen at the same pace as and in tandem with Scottish devolution. Do you still agree with that?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Yes, absolutely. Let me be clear. We must keep our vows and we will keep our vows to the people of Scotland that they will have a stronger Scottish Parliament with stronger powers over taxation, over welfare, over spending. That will happen. And that agreement we set out was no ... it was nothing ... it wasn't even a new departure for the Conservative Party because we have already signed up to plans for that, but what I've said is with a Conservative Government, with me in No. 10 Downing Street, you don't just get Scottish devolution; you get properly English votes for English laws – the English question properly answered, so that MPs in Scotland ... sorry MPs in Wales and Northern Ireland and in England get these rights in the way that the Scots now have.

**ANDREW MARR:**

So the reason I'm asking is that the Labour Party don't agree with quite a lot of that. Other parties have different views as well. It's a very, very complicated thing to deliver in a few months and, therefore, a lot of

people in Scotland are saying aha, this solemn promise on the front page of a newspaper won't be delivered because you ...

**DAVID CAMERON:**

*(over)* No, no.

**ANDREW MARR:**

... and Ed Miliband will fall out and between you the Scottish thing won't be delivered.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

No, no, we may well fall out over this issue of England because I don't think Labour have got an answer to this question. We, the Conservatives, do have an answer. It was in our 2001 manifesto, it was in our 2005 manifesto, it was in the last manifesto as well. But be in no doubt, as prime minister I will deliver both. So you'll have a choice really. You can have Ed Miliband and have Scottish devolution ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* But come what ...

**DAVID CAMERON:**

*(over)* ... and nothing for the English, or you can have David Cameron and you get Scottish devolution and a proper answer to the English question. I don't think I could be any clearer.

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* Come ... Well come what may, whatever the arguments going on in London about English parliaments and English ... votes for English

laws and all of that - however that's going, the Scots will get the devolution promise ...

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Yes, yes.

**ANDREW MARR:**

... under all circumstances?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Yes, yes.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Okay that's very clear. Thank you very much indeed for that. And speaking of which, do you now favour an English Parliament as such and where would it sit?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

No I don't. I don't think ... Look I think the last thing frankly this country wants is another expensive parliament building with another expensive group of politicians with salaries and expenses and all the rest of it. That is not what we'll be proposing. I think it is perfectly possible to make changes in the Westminster Parliament, so that when issues that are exclusively about England or England and Wales are addressed, we can find voting arrangements to reflect that. And we need to do that obviously not just in terms of what happens with English laws, but if the Scots are going to have – as we believe they should – the right to set income tax rates, you need arrangements in the UK Parliament, in the Westminster Parliament to make sure that there's fairness there as well. So these plans are being worked out by William Hague. Either there will be an outbreak



of good sense by my political opponents and cross-party consent. I doubt it. I suspect it will be the Conservative Party ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

Alright.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

... putting forward at the next election a balanced programme of devolution – both Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom – and when we win our majority, we'll put that into place in tandem and at the same time.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Now your big announcement this morning is about using money from welfare cuts to boost the number of apprenticeships. Can I ask you, you're cutting the welfare cap to £23,000. What evidence do you have that lots of families are going to be able to cope with £3,000 less?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well what we've found with the welfare cap is it's been a policy that has worked and worked very well. A lot of people said when we said we're going to cap families at £26,000, people said this would cause chaos, families would have to move across the country, it won't work. Actually what has happened is that a lot of those families have gone into work, have found a job, and actually it's been a policy that has helped to help them with their lives. I think all the evidence is that the cap is too loose, particularly in some parts of the country, so bringing it down to £23,000 saves money, will mean more families getting into work. And what I want to see, the plan we have for Britain, is to spend less on welfare and

more on helping people into work. So we're going to use that money to pay for 3 million apprentices in the next parliament. This is after the last four years where we've seen 1.8 million more people get into work, our deficit come down, our economy turned round. As you were saying earlier, we've now got the fastest growth of any major country in the West. We've had a successful economic plan, but now is the time to turn that plan into a plan for every family in our country to give them the security and the peace of mind that they want. I want people to see that with a Conservative Government they'll get the chance of a good job ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

Alright, can I ...

**DAVID CAMERON:**

... that taxes will come down, that will get them a good school place for their children ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* One other question ...

**DAVID CAMERON:**

... dignity in retirement. These are the things that we will be delivering.

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* Okay one other question on this. Are we moving towards a situation where nobody under the age of 21 gets any kind of benefits at all because that's what it looks like?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

It's not quite as simple as that, but ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* Pretty close.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

... at heart I want us effectively to abolish youth unemployment. I want us to end the idea that aged 18 you can leave school and go and leave home, claim unemployment benefit and claim housing benefit. We shouldn't be offering that choice to young people. We should be saying you should be earning or learning. And so if you need to have benefits, there will be an allowance that you can have for 6 months ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* I understand the logic behind it, but ...

**DAVID CAMERON:**

*(over)* ... otherwise actually funnily enough ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* Forty-eight per cent of these people ... 48 per cent of these people have children, so my question to you is: are you not going to put – I mean for the best possible motives no doubt – but put a large section of the young population of the country into dire poverty quite quickly with this?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

We're not talking about those people with children. This is about single people aged 18 to 21 who at the moment you can leave home, sign on, get housing benefit, get your own flat and start a life of dependency. Now that is no life at all and no future for your children when you do have them. So we're saying save that money, make sure that after 6 months

every one of those young people has to be in a job or in training, and use the savings to provide 3 million apprentices. And here's the real point. We were talking earlier ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* And their parents essentially have to support them.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

... we were talking earlier about immigration. If we want to solve the problem of immigration, the other side of the coin is education and welfare. We need an education system that educates young people so they can take the jobs that are becoming available – and they are becoming available – and we need a welfare system that prioritises work. Now that is what you've seen over the last four years and you'll see more of it over the next five.

**ANDREW MARR:**

For now prime minister, thank you very much.

**END OF MAIN INTERVIEW/THE GOES TO EXTRA QUESTIONS AFTER THE NEWS**

**ANDREW MARR:**

The prime minister is still with me. Prime minister, the other thing I must ask you about was that moment when you were overheard talking about the Queen “purring with pleasure.” Presumably she was furious because she'd been trying really hard to keep out of that debate all the way through. What were you thinking of?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

One of those moments when you look back and kick yourself very hard. It was not a conversation I should have had even though it was a private conversation and I'm extremely sorry and very embarrassed about it and I've ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* Are you ashamed about it?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

... made my apologies and I think I'll probably be making some more.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Are you ashamed about it?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well I'm very sorry about it. Yeah I'm very sorry.

**ANDREW MARR:**

And have you repaired things with the Palace?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

I'm not going to ever discuss my conversations ...

**ANDREW MARR:**

*(over)* Ever again.

**DAVID CAMERON:**

... with the Palace ever again. Even with you, Andrew.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Alright. Now you said a little while ago that you were delighted to see Boris back, on his way back to the pitch. Once he gets onto the pitch, if the team wins, would you like him back in the cabinet as well?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well yes, of course, but he's got to finish his term as Mayor of London. I know that's what he wants to do and I believe you can be a Member of Parliament and Mayor of London and do a very effective job. But once he's finished that, then you know he's a star and, as I've always said, I want to have the stars in the team.

**ANDREW MARR:**

Okay. You come to this conference with a couple of defections, a minor sex scandal and the problems inside the party. People are muttering final years of John Major. Does that make you quake or does it make you angry? How does it make you feel?

**DAVID CAMERON:**

Well I have to admit, it's not been an ideal start. I think I'm prepared to say that. But look, the truth is these things – frustrating as they are – they don't change the fundamental choice at the election, which is do you want to continue with a long-term economic plan that is working and that can deliver for Britain's families and hardworking taxpayers, or do you want to lurch off with Ed Miliband with no plan, no leadership, no ideas about the economy – just more borrowing and taxes? That's the choice. And, look, you know you learn in this job, you often wake up and you find that all sorts of things have happened in your own party, but the question is does it change the fundamentals about what you're trying to do and what the team is trying to do, and it doesn't.

**ANDREW MARR:**

David Cameron, thank you very much indeed for joining us.

**INTERVIEW ENDS**

**Interview: 4**

**Chuck Todd**

Joining me now is one of America's closest allies, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, David Cameron. Prime Minister Cameron, welcome back to Meet the Press.

**Prime Minister**

Great to be with you.

**Chuck Todd**

Let me start with this basic question. Why did you sign off on the deal?

**Prime Minister**

Because I think it is so much better than the alternative. I think that if there wasn't a deal, I think we would face Iran with a nuclear weapon. And that would've given a terrible choice to the west of either enabling that, allowing that to happen, or a very difficult decision to take military action. So, this is the better outcome. It keeps Iran away from a nuclear weapon. It's a successful negotiation for the allies. And I think we should be proud of a good deal done.

**Chuck Todd**

Why now, though? I mean, why was there an urgency to get this deal done now? Why not a year from now? Why not have the sanctions get even tighter.

### **Prime Minister**

Well, I think the longer you leave it, the greater the chance there is of Iran actually getting a nuclear weapon while you're not negotiating or not making progress. Look, I think we should be proud of the sanctions action that was taken. Britain played a key role in putting those European Union sanctions in place. The American sanctions were tough and worked. And I think that brought Iran to the negotiating table.

Now, of course, there'll be those that complain about details of the deal. But fundamentally, this is the toughest set of proposals put in place, and verification put in place, and inspection put in place, that I think we've seen in any of these sorts of negotiations. So, I think it is a good deal. It was right to get on with it. And the sanctions pressure worked. And I think that's all to the credit of the U.S. administration, to Barack Obama, but also the action taken in Europe, too.

### **Chuck Todd**

Well, a lot of the criticism that's coming here in the United States and from some key Middle East allies of both Great Britain and the United States, I'm talking Israel and Saudi Arabia in particular, is that this deal did not demand any other behaviour changes in Iran outside of their nuclear weapons program. It didn't demand changes in what they're doing in Syria, what they're doing in Yemen, essentially their undue influence that they're trying to exert in the Middle East. Why not include all that?



**Prime Minister**

Well, this deal was about the nuclear issue. And I think the right way to (INAUDIBLE) the deal was to make it about the nuclear issue. But, you know, we shouldn't be naïve or starry eyed in any way about the regime that we're dealing with. And I'm certainly not.

I spoke to President Rouhani yesterday and said that we want to see a change in the approach that Iran takes to issues like Syria and Yemen, and to terrorism in the region. And we want the change in behaviour that should follow from that change. So, we're not starry eyed at all. And I'd reassure our Gulf allies about that. But actually taking the nuclear weapon issue off the table, that is a success for America and Britain and our allies. And we should be clear about that.

**Chuck Todd**

But if you give them sanctions relief, the Iranians now have more money. President Obama even admitted this. It's not clear they're going to use that sanctions relief just to improve the Iranian economy, that they may use it to prop up Assad even more in Syria, which is against our national interests, against, I believe your national interests, prop up civil war, essentially, in Yemen. Is that a good outcome?

**Prime Minister**

Well, we should go on being as robust as we can be with Iran about these issues. But frankly, if we want to see changes to Iran's stance, I would argue that taking the nuclear issue off the table will actually help. I think that the Iranian regime was able to use this nuclear issue as a way of endlessly saying to the Iranian people, "They weren't being treated fairly. And it was all the fault of the west," and the rest of it.

They can't use that excuse anymore. And let's not, you know, overindulge the Iranians. This is not a successful country. It's not a successful economy. It struggles with infrastructure. It's got a pretty backward system in terms of justice and human rights. We should call it out on those things and be frank about those things and recognize that actually taking the nuclear issue off the table makes us safer, makes the world safer, makes the neighbourhood safer. And now, we should talk to Iran and be pretty firm about the other things that you mentioned.

### **Chuck Todd**

Prime Minister Netanyahu and many people in Israel do not believe this makes them safer. Everybody in the United States on the Obama administration has argued that it does. I heard you argue that it does, too. Why is he wrong and you guys are right?

### **Prime Minister**

Well, I quite understand the concerns of people living in Israel. You would if you had to deal with the terrorism of Hamas and Hezbollah, if you had the threats to your country, and you know what a threat Iran has been to your country. So, I fully understand their concern. But I would say to my friends in Israel, including the Israeli Prime Minister, look, the threat of a nuclear-armed Iran, that is now off the table. And I think that's a success. So, having achieved that, now let's put the pressure on Iran on the other behaviour changes that we want to see, but recognize this was a deal worth doing.

You have to come back to the alternatives. If we had walked away from this negotiation and not made compromises, I think we would then see a nuclear-armed Iran. And when you actually look at the detail of this deal, the fact that they had to give up 98% of their enriched uranium, they've

had to put away 2/3 of their centrifuges, one of the reactors we were concerned about is going to be filled with concrete so it doesn't work.

This is a pretty tough, durable, and verifiable deal. So, I think we should reassure the Israelis and others about that, while absolutely continuing to work with them to condemn terrorism wherever it comes from. Because, of course, the Iranian view that, you know, ISIL are terrorists and al-Qaeda are terrorists, but Hamas are not terrorists, that is wrong. You know, all these groups are terrorists. And Britain and America and our allies should always be absolutely frank and staunch in calling out terrorism whenever we see it.

### **Chuck Todd**

There was one expert out here named Richard Hoffstead (PH). His biggest concern is for this reason. He believes if Iran complies with the deal, then in 15 years they can have a nuclear weapon. What do you say to that?

### **Prime Minister**

Well, I don't believe that's right. Actually, this deal says that it's never acceptable for Iran to have a nuclear weapon. Obviously, the timeframe for which the safeguards are in place and the inspection is in place is for a particular period of time. But the deal actually says it's not acceptable for Iran to have a nuclear weapon.

But again, what we've done is make sure that the timeline for them possibly getting a nuclear weapon has got longer, not shorter. So, I think critics of the deal do have a problem. Because, you know, if you criticize the deal, you have to ask, what's the alternative? No deal to me meant

Iran definitely getting a nuclear weapon. This deal gets them away from a nuclear weapon.

### **Chuck Todd**

What's the bigger threat to Middle Eastern stability, ISIS or Iran getting a nuclear weapon?

### **Prime Minister**

Well, I think ISIL is the biggest threat, at the moment not just to the Middle East, but also a threat to us at home, you know. You've seen terrorist attacks narrowly averted in the United States with the case of the Boston attack recently.

We've seen this appalling attack on the Tunisian beach, where 30 of my own citizens were butchered by an ISIL terrorist. You know, this is the big threat that we face. A threat to the Middle East with those people in Iraq and Syria are suffering badly from this regime. But it's a threat to all of us.

So, I want to work very closely with President Obama, with other allies. Britain is now committed to meeting our NATO 2% defence spending target all the way through this decade. We've already carried out more air strikes in Iraq than anyone else other than the United States. But I want us to step up and do more, what I call a full-spectrum response.

That means hammering ISIL in Iraq and helping with the work that you're doing in Syria, but also recognizing we've got to fight radicalization at home. We've got to stop the jihadi terrorists from traveling from our country. We've got to confiscate passports. We've got to make sure we speak up for moderate Islamic voices. All of these things need to be done to help keep our world safe.

**Chuck Todd**

Do you plan to ask Parliament for more leeway to participate in the campaign against ISIS in Syria now? Because I know right now, you're specifically helping in Iraq, but you are not helping in Syria beyond logistics. Are you planning on getting militarily getting involved there?

**Prime Minister**

We are helping in Iraq, as you say, with, actually, bombing runs and the rest of it. In Syria, we are helping with not just logistics but also surveillance aircraft and air-to-air refueling. Look, we know that we have to defeat ISIL, we have to destroy this caliphate, whether it is in Iraq or in Syria. That is a key part of defeating this terrorist scourge that we face.

I want Britain to do more. I'll always have to take my Parliament with me. We're talking and discussing at the moment, including with the opposition parties in Britain, what more we can do. But be it no doubt, we're committed to working with you to destroy the caliphate in both countries.

**Chuck Todd**

And let me ask you this final question. Because we're dealing with it here, and this idea of homegrown terrorism. You just brought it up, self-radicalization. We've got yet another type of incident here in this country that we don't know if it's that or not. But there's a concern about it. How do you reassure the British public, what advice do you give American politicians to reassure the American public that says you can even stop this? Is lone-wolf terrorism preventable?

**Prime Minister**

Well, terrorism is the fight. This is the fight, I've said, of our generation. And obviously, destroying the caliphate is a necessary condition of its defeat. But it's not a sufficient condition. We have to attack directly this Islamist extremist ideology that is poisoning young minds, including young minds in Britain and America.

Now, I think it can be defeated. Because our values of democracy and freedom and the rule of law are stronger. But we have to make this clear recognition that we're not just fighting the terrorism and the violence, but fighting the extremist narrative. People who say, "Well, of course I don't support terrorism. But a caliphate, is that such a bad idea?" or people who say, "Do you know what? Christians and Muslims, we can't really live together. And suicide bombing's all right in Israel, even if it's not all right in America."

These are unacceptable views. We've got to call them out and confront them. We've got to defeat the narrative of extremism, even when it's not connected to the violence. Because it's the narrative that is the jumping-off point for these young people to then go and join this dreadful death cult in Iraq and Syria.

Now, if the politicians on both sides of the Atlantic and throughout the European Union and the rest of the world get this right and we stand up for our values, against these values of extremism, and we lump all extremists together, violent and nonviolent, then we're correctly identifying our foe and we can succeed.

### **Chuck Todd**

David Cameron, Prime Minister of Great Britain, thanks for coming on Meet the Press, sir.

**Prime Minister**

Thank you.

## الخلاصة

الأسلوب اللغوي غير المباشر هو ظاهره عالمية من خلال هذه الظاهرة, يميل الناس إلى نقل أفكارهم ومعانيهم دون تبيان هذه المعاني بوضوح أو يدورون حول القضايا تحت المناقشة. يستعمل الناس هذا الأسلوب غير المباشر إثناء تواصلهم مع الآخرين وذلك لان هذا النوع من الأسلوب اللغوي يمكنهم من تحقيق العديد من الإغراض التداولية.

وبالتدر الذي يتعلق بحقل السياسة, يستعمل السياسيون الأسلوب غير المباشر في العديد من المناسبات السياسية ولاسيما المقابلات السياسية. ونظرا للدور المؤثر للأسلوب غير المباشر في المقابلات السياسية, فقد صار حقا للدراسة التداولية يمكن السياسيون من تحقيق أهدافهم دون استعمال الأسلوب المباشر في المقابلات السياسية وهذا إحدى القضايا الخاضعة للدراسة في حقل التداولية الذي يهتم بدراسة المعنى المقصود للمتكلمين. وعليه جاءت هذا الدراسة للبحث في استعمال السياسيون للأسلوب اللغوي غير المباشر في المقابلات السياسية. تفحص هذه الدراسة الأسلوب اللغوي غير المباشر في أربع مقابلات سياسية اثنان للرئيس الأمريكي (باراك اوباما) واثنان لرئيس الوزراء البريطاني (ديفيد كاميرون).

وهذه الدراسة تحاول:

أولا: تحديد التقنيات التداولية التي يستعملها الشخصيات السياسية لتحقيق الأسلوب غير المباشر في المقابلات السياسية الخاضعة للتحليل.

ثانيا: التحقق من الدوافع التداولية التي تقف وراء استعمال السياسيون للأسلوب اللغوي غير المباشر.

ثالثا: تحديد فيما إذا كان الأسلوب المهذب (Politeness) هو الغرض الذي يقف وراء استعمال السياسيون لهذا الأسلوب اللغوي.

رابعا: بيان فيما إذا كانت الشخصيات السياسية تخرج عن قواعد غرايس (Grice's maxims) ودواعي هذا الخروج.

خامسا: توضيح الكيفية التي يستطيع من خلالها الآخرون استيعاب نوايا الشخصيات السياسية عند استعمالهم للأسلوب غير المباشر.

ولغرض تحقيق هذه الأهداف, تفترض الدراسة الآتي:



- 1- يوظف السياسيون الأسلوب غير المباشر في المقابلات السياسية.
- 2- يستعمل السياسيون أكثر من أسلوب واحد غير مباشر في الوقت نفسه.
- 3- يتأثر استعمال السياسيين للأسلوب غير المباشر بالأسئلة الموجهة الى السياسي أثناء المقابلة.
- 4- لا يستعمل السياسيون الأسلوب الغير مباشر دائما لأظهار التأدب في المقابلات السياسية.
- 5- يخالف السياسيون قواعد غرايس ( Grice's maxims ) بصوره متواترة في المقابلات السياسية.

تدل النتائج على إن الشخصيات السياسية تلجأ غالبا عند الاجابه عن الأسئلة المطروحة إلى الأسلوب غير المباشرة وبتنوع في الأساليب . وفي بعض الأحيان يستعمل السياسيون الأسلوب غير المباشر لتحقيق التهذيب إلا إن قد يستعملونه لوظائف تداولية عديدة غيره. يفشل بعض الشخصيات السياسية في الالتزام بقواعد المخاطبة الأربعة لتحقيق فوائد بلاغية كثيرة . تؤدي الأسئلة التي يطرحها المقابل دورا رئيسيا في دفع السياسيين لتبني الأسلوب غير المباشر وهذا يثبت الفرضيات الخمسة التي تطرحها الدراسة.

تقع هذه الدراسة في خمسة فصول. يقدم الفصل الأول فيها مشكلة البحث, الأهداف, الفرضيات, حدود الدراسة, طريقة البحث, وقيمة البحث. بينما يقدم الفصل الثاني خلفيه نظريه للأسلوب غير المباشر وعلاقته بعلم التداولية. يشرح الفصل الثاني الأساليب التي يستطيع السياسيون من خلالها تحقيق الأسلوب غير المباشر في المقابلات السياسية. كما يبحث ماهية طبيعة المقابلات السياسية. خصص الفصل الرابع لتحليل البيانات. بينما يقدم الفصل الخامس الاستنتاجات والتوصيات والاقتراحات لأبحاث أخرى.

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# الأسلوب اللغوي غير المباشر في مقابلات سياسية مختارة: تحليل تداولي

رسالة

تقدم بها الطالب

**حسين حاكم حسون العرباوي**

إلى

مجلس كلية التربية/ جامعة القادسية

وهي جزء من متطلبات نيل شهادة الماجستير آداب

في اللغة الإنكليزية وعلم اللغة

بإشراف

الأستاذ المساعد

**بسمة خالد انغيش العميشي**

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