

Chapter One

Introduction

This chapter involves, first, a background about the study is given. Next, statement of the problems, then questions and hypotheses of the research to be conducted and also objectives and the significance of the study are explained. Finally, methodology and limits of the research, are also be stated.

1.1 Background about the study

Speech acts are speakers' utterances which convey meaning and make listeners do specific things (Austin, 1962). The primary concept of speech acts is that various functions can be implemented by means of language. Speech acts are determined by the context where multiple factors affect the speakers' utterances.

According to Austin (1962), when saying a performative utterance, a speaker is simultaneously doing something. For example, when someone says, "I am hungry," he may express his hunger or is likely to imply a request for something to eat. Austin indicated that people perform three different kinds of acts when speaking: firstly, locution acts: the utterances we use, which are literal meanings. Secondly, illocution acts: the intention that a speaker has or the effect that the utterance has on hearers. They are often used to perform certain function and must be performed on purpose. Thirdly, per locution acts: the results or effects produced by means of a speaker's illocutionary acts.

A speaker can use different locution acts to achieve the same illocutionary force or use one locution for many different purposes. For instance, when you ask someone, "Can you pass the salt?" the literal meaning concerns the hearer's ability to pass the salt whereas its illocution is to request the hearer to pass the salt to the speaker. If illocutions cause listeners to do something, they are

perlocutions; in this case, the hearer's passing the salt to the speaker. In brief, the locution causes illocutionary force which the speaker wants the utterance to have on listeners. One can perform his/her intention indirectly by using illocutions and then cause perlocutionary acts. The illocutionary acts in Austin's (1962) original framework are what subsequent researchers called speech acts, illocutionary force, or pragmatic force. Today most attention has focused on illocutionary acts, the speakers' actual intention of the utterance.

Since the speaker shows desire for the hearer's performing certain acts by way of request or order, directives are assumed to threaten the hearer's negative face.

In general, when asking superiors to do things, the speech act is a request; when asking inferiors, it is a command. The realization of directive speech acts is prevalent across cultures, but they differ in form and function. Most of the people have the misconception that imperatives issue directives, declaratives make statements, and interrogatives for seeking information. Actually, different syntactic structures can realize the same speech act. For instance, a directive speech act can be performed by a declarative (e.g., I want to go), an interrogatives (e.g., May I go?), or an imperative (e.g., Let me go!)

In this study, the researcher will investigate the role of speech act in shaping people's negative attitude.

1.2 Statement of the problem:

The role of speech act gives the audiences positive or negative attitude, some political use speech act to persuade people attitude to achieve their own agenda. The researcher will investigate about the role of speech act in shaping people's negative attitude.

According to Austin (1962) and Searle (1969, 1979), directives refer to attempts which show the speaker's intention to make hearer to do something or to direct the hearer to reach the speaker's goals.

Every utterance has its illocutionary force that makes the hearers to act a certain behavior, in accordance with the speaker's intentions, such as assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). The actions induced by such intentions, or speech acts, are systematically related to particular types of a sentential form uttered by the speaker.

1.3 Questions of the study:

This study addresses the following research questions:

1. To what extent speeches act affect on the perception of the audiences?
2. To what extent the relationship between direct speech act and indirect speech act that speaker's use?
3. To what extent strategies are adopted by political speaker to persuade people to achieve his own agenda?

1.4 Hypotheses of the study:

In this study the following hypotheses have been formed:

1. Speeches act affect on the perception of the audiences.
2. There is a relationship between direct speech act and indirect speech act that speakers use.
3. Strategies are adopted by political speaker to persuade people to achieve his own agenda.

1.5 Objectives of the study:

This study aims to:

1. Analysis the use of speech act of a speaker's intention on producing an utterance that shaping people attitude.
2. To make clear and effective communication between the speakers and audiences.

3. To clarify the different between direct speech act and indirect speech act. Speech acts are categorized into direct and indirect speech acts in terms of the extent of the directness. Direct speech acts convey the illocutionary force the same as the surface form whereas indirect speech acts refer to the illocution different from the literal meanings.

1.6 Significance of the study:

The study of the study will be of great significance as follows: to explore what exactly a speech act means and explains the ways that shaping people attitude. It helps the speakers has to recognize his/her relationship with the hearers and then estimate whether the hearers is able to do the act. It makes some details of the role indirect speech act in a shaping people attitude and the different between indirect speech act and direct speech act. According to Searle (1975), an indirect speech act is one illocutionary act performed indirectly by using another speech act directly. For example, the utterance Do you feel cold? Performs an act of asking questions directly, but in fact it implies the speaker's indirect request for closing the window. It makes apparently clear cut distinction between connotative and performative utterances. It helps the hearer's speech act to put the speaker's utterance places under some kind of obligation.

1.7 Methodology of the study:

In this study the researcher will use descriptive analytical , qualitative methods and linguistic approach as well as speech acts theory and rhetorical devices as tools of the research in which he will analysis some political discourses of the leading figures in the world that may or may not be understood correctly by their audiences.

1.8 limits of the study:

This research will be limited for investigating the role of speech act in shaping people's negative attitude. In 2016 and 2019.

Chapter Two

Literature Review and Previous Studied

Part one: Literature Review

2.1 introduction

This introductory paragraph shows the relevant literature review on investigating the role of speech act on shaping people attitude. This chapter called chapter two which is divided into two parts, the first part is called theoretical background and the second part is called previous studies.

2.2 Varies definition of speech acts

In 1962, Austin presented the idea that when uttering a sentence, we do things as well as say things. He identified three dimension of speech acts: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary. Locutionary act refers to what is actually said, while illocutionary act is what is intended by what is said. Perlocutioary act is what is done by what is said.

Researchers have defined speech acts in different ways:

Farina (2011) defined speech acts as actions performed through expressions in real context of language use bringing the roles the speaker intends the listener(s) to take or to interpret.

According to Farnia (2011), speech act study has regularly paid attentions on those characteristics which occurred in some one's regular life (like requests, apologies, complaints, expressing gratitude, refusal, etc.).

Austin (1962) define speech acts as:

a speaker utters sentences with particular meaning (locutionary act), and with a particular force (illocutionary act), in order to achieve a certain effect on the hearer (perlocutionary act).

According to John Searle (1975) speech act is:

“Speaking a language is performing speech acts, acts such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions or making promises. Searle states that all linguistic communication involves linguistic (speech) acts.”

Searle conveys to notice the functional or performative aspect of speech; therefore they are called speech ‘acts’. So according to Searle, all expressions in a speech situation achieve some types of ‘act’ like commanding, asking, requesting, stating or committing.

2.3 Theory of speech act

The theory of speech act is basically originated first by Austin (1962) and further developed by Searle (1969, 1979).

Making a statement may be the paradigmatic use of language, but there are all sorts of other things we can do with words. We can make a requests, ask questions, give orders, make promises, give thanks, offer apologies, and so on . Moreover, almost any speech act is really the performance of several acts at once, distinguished by different aspects of the speaker's intentions: there is the act of saying something, what one does in saying it, such as requesting or promising, and how one is trying to affect one's audience.

The major concern of the theory as first introduce by Austin (1962) was basically build around what people do with language and functions of language. Accordingly, Austin explained that communication is matter of

doing, he proposed that in saying something one is doing something also. So fundamental hypothesis in the speech act theory is that the minimal unit of communication is not a sentence or other expressions rather it is language act. In other words, Austin (1965) and Searle (1969, 1975) have further new 'performative', 'functional' dimensions to communication. According to them, communication is not incomplete to linguistic expression, but it has to be treated like a performance. The systematic study of words as 'doing' things and utterances as 'performing' actions is called speech act theory. As a result, human language can be considered as actions.

People do things by expressing many types of language acts like refusals, requests, promises, etc. Austin (1962, p.67) investigated speech acts from the following point of view: "to consider from the ground up how many senses there are in which to say something is to do something, or in saying something we do something and even by saying something we do something."

Austin tried to explain how meaning and actions overlap and related very much to language.

In general, speech acts are acts of communication. To communicate is to express a certain attitude, and speech acts succeed if the audience identifies, in accordance with the speaker's intention, the attitude being expressed. The speech act theory states that many functions can be performed with words.

2.4 Dimensions of Speech Acts:

However, Austin (1962) believes that language is a mode of action whose major function is to convey information and he specified three major dimensions of action beyond the act of utterance as follows:

Locutionary act, referred to by Austin: the actual words of speaker are saying. Also, known as a locution or an utterance *act*.

According to Austin (1965), a locutionary act is an act where the speaker says something and produces certain noise or utters words in appropriate order that must carry meaning, sense and reference with them. Here, grammar and phonetics play a vibrant role. According to him a locutionary act i.e. the actual utterance and its apparent meaning, comprising phonetic, phatic and rhetic acts correspond to the verbal, syntactic and semantic aspects of any meaningful utterance. The term locutionary act was introduced by Austin, but on the hand Searle has replaced Austin's concept of the locutionary act with what Searle calls the propositional act i.e., the act of expressing a proposition. In other words, a proposition is the content of the utterance. The proposition is expressed in the performance of an illocutionary act. What is essential to note here is that not all illocutionary acts must necessarily have a proposition.

The act of 'saying something' in the full normal sense I call, i.e., dub, the performance of a locutionary act, and the study of utterances thus far and in these respects the study of locutions, or of the full units of speech.

In performing a locutionary act we shall also be performing such an act as:

- asking or answering a question;
- giving some information or an assurance or a warning;
- announcing a verdict or an intention;
- pronouncing sentence;
- making an appointment or an appeal or a criticism;
- making an identification or giving a description

Strawson(1964) makes the distinction which is important here in pointing out that:

We must refer, Austin would say, to linguistic conventions to determine what locutionary act has been performed in the making of an utterance, to determine what the meaning of the utterance is. The doctrine now before us is the further doctrine that where force is not exhausted by meaning, the fact that an utterance has the further unexhausted force it has is a matter of convention; or, where it is exhausted by meaning, the fact that it is, is a matter of convention.

Illocutionary act, refers to the purpose of the speaker.

Austin (1965) observed:

“Illocutionary act is an act, which is uttered by the speaker with intention, by keeping motive in mind. It includes asking or answering a question, giving information, warning, announcing a verdict, or an intention pronouncing sentence, appointing, appealing, criticizing, describing, and many more suggestions.” (p.98)

When making an utterance the speaker always has an intention behind it. The speaker makes an utterance to make either a statement about the world, to apologize or to explain something. This intended meaning behind the utterance is called illocutionary force and is internal to the locutionary act. The same locution can have different possible meanings depending on the context.

By looking at the example “It is cold in here.” the declarative can be stated either to make a statement about the current temperature but also to make the hearer do an action such as closing the window. This makes it obvious that in conversation it is not always clear what the intended meaning behind an utterance is. That shows that the same utterance can

be ambiguous and can only be understood by looking at the context in which it is uttered. However, The illocutionary force of utterance is a phonological utterance with an intention while expressing it. Austin (1965) presented five different classes of speech acts. This classification, on the basis of illocutionary force, researcher discusses it under the following topic about different classification of speech acts.

Perlocutionary act, is the effect of utterance on the hearer. Austin's last element in the three-fold definition of speech acts, are performed with the intention of producing a further effect on the hearer. It is an act having an effect on those who hear a meaningful utterance. For instance, by telling a positive story at the morning one may accomplish the progressive emotion, as perlocutionary act of optimistic attitudes.

Perlocutionary act persuades the listeners or reader to take some kind of action. According to Austin, communication is a process either illocutionary or perlocutionary. Perlocutionary effect is a sequence to illocutionary action. Sometimes it may seem that perlocutionary acts do not differ from illocutionary acts very much, yet there is one important feature which tells them apart.

The Perlocution is the intended or unintended effect that the utterance can have on the hearer and is external to the locutionary act as the speaker cannot control the effect the utterance will have on the hearer. Looking at the example of "There is a good movie tonight." the perlocution can be that the hearer understands the declarative as an information and answers "Thank you." or the utterance is understood as an excuse and "Never mind." is answered (Renkema 2004, 14). Consequently, locutionary acts are only the speech acts that have taken place, illocutionary acts are the real actions which are performed by the utterance, where saying matches doing, as in betting, welcoming and warning and perlocutionary acts are

the effects of the utterance on the listener, who accepts the wager or commitment of marriage, is welcomed or warned

2.5 Different Classification of Speech Acts

Austin (1962) attempted to classify speech acts into five categories. He believes that performative utterances categorized into the following classes:

- 1) Behabitives: they make person to utter their impression and attitude like thank, apologize, condole and congratulate.
- 2) Commisives: they make person to force his/herself to carry out things such as promise and vow.
- 3) Expositives: they make person causes changes via their expressions like resign and fire.
- 4) Exercitives: they effort to get people to perform things like invite, order and permit.
- 5) Verdictives: they say people how things are such as swear, insist and suggest.

Instead, Searle (1975 ,1979) who later contributed very much in the development of speech acts theory, refined the notion of speech act provided by Austin (1962). He pointed out some limitations regarding Austin category of performative verbs. So, Searle propose some other new categories arguing that Austin's classification creates some misunderstanding between illocutionary acts and illocutionary verbs as much as overlapping of these categories themselves. Attempting to overcome these difficulties with Austin classification of performative verbs, Searle (1976) proposed a new taxonomy based only on illocutionary act' as follows:

1. Representatives: the description of states or events, e.g. reports, assertion, and claims.
2. Directives: means that asking the hearer to carry out something in the future like requests, orders, suggestions etc.,
3. Commissive: means that committing his/herself to perform something in the future such as promises, threats, and offers.
4. Expressives: means that expressing someone psychological states of minds for instance apologies, expressing gratitude, and congratulating.
5. Declaratives: means that bringing about change such as, decelerating, and appointing (p. 1-16).

Also, Yule (1996) in his book "pragmatics" classified and defined them as:

1. Declaration: refers to those kinds of speech that change the world by their utterance.
2. Representatives: those types that state what the speaker believes to the case or not, like conclusion and description.
3. Expressive: those types of speech acts that state what are the speaker feeling such as pain and pleasure.
4. Directives: when the speaker use those types of speech act intends to get someone else to do something e.g. order and request.
5. Commissive: speakers use this types of speech act in order to commit themselves to some future actions. They state intends of speaker, like promises, refusals.

2.6 Functions of Speech:

According to Kuang (2015), the concept of speech act was originated from Austin's (1962) work which looks at how utterances produced by the speaker can be applied to do special functions Austin's (1962 as cited in Kuang 2015) states that speakers produce special utterances within a specific context because they expect the hearer to do a specific task e.g., "Go" the hearer is expected to do the act of emptying the space where the hearer is. Austin's (1962) work, in the same attitude with the discipline of pragmatics, mentions that these speech acts can be analyzed on three levels: 1. locutionary act: the actual words the speaker is saying. 2. Illocutionary act: the purpose of the speaker. 3. perlocutionary act: the effect of utterance on the hearer. Based on Kuang (2015) most of works on speech acts usually focus on the second level of Austin's theory for analysis in other words illocutionary acts. Although, Searle (1969) continues that the fundamental unit of language carries no meaning in itself unless it is produced within a context and includes a speaker and hearer. So, when an expression like "open the door" is produced in a context where a snake is crawling into a room the hearer who is in the same room, expected to do the act of "opening the door" in order to the snake can crawl out of the room. Searle (1975) claims that locutionary act refers to the words, while illocutionary act refers to the performance and perlocutionary refers to the effect of the acts. Moreover, he states that expressions function on two kinds of speech acts: first, utterance acts that include something said or when a sound is made and may not have any meaning. Second, propositional acts where a special reference is made. He suggests that acts can sometimes serve as expressions. Consequently, a perlocutionary act is similar to a perlocutionary expression. Wittgenstein (1953), a philosopher, believes that the meaning of language

convey on its actual application rather than its inherent meaning. From this point of view, a message that is conveyed may be interpreted by the receiver based on the situation. Therefore, interpretation not only relies on the context and participants included but also on the psychological mood of the participants concerned. Yule (2000) declares that "actions performed via utterances are generally called speech acts, in English, are commonly given more specific labels, such as apologies, complaints, compliments, invitations, promises, or requests" (p.47).

As exposed by Ellis (2008) functional approach to language is totally build on the following major locations:

First: communication is meaningful behavior in social and cultural context that requires creative language use rather than systematic sentence building.

Secondly: language is constructed around language functions and notions, functions such as (persuading, arguing, informingetc.) And semantic – grammatical notions such as (time, quantity, space, location and motion).

2.7 Direct Speech Acts

When presenters use language, most of the time it conveys some purpose with it. Sometimes the form of a sentence is so simple that the hearer easily recognizes the speaker's intention. The intention is full with function, which is function of the language also.

These functions can be: to give information, to express feelings, to direct or to request. Sometimes a speaker uses direct strategy of communication or indirect mode for expressing his/her thoughts, ideas and feelings.

An utterance is seen as a direct speech act when there is a direct relationship between the structure and the communicative function of the utterance. The following examples show that the form correspondences with the function:

(1) A declarative is used to make a statement: “You wear a seat belt”.

(2) An interrogative is used to ask a question: “Do you wear a seat belt” ?

(3) An imperative is used to make a command: “Wear a seat belt”!(Yule (1996, 55)

Direct speech acts therefore obviously illustrate the intended meaning the speaker has behind making that utterance.

2.8 Indirect Speech Acts

Searle stated that an indirect speech is one that is “performed by means of another” (Searle, 1969). That means that there is an indirect relationship between the form and the function of the utterance. The following examples show that the form does not correspond with the function:

(1) An interrogative is used to make a request: “Could you pass the salt”?

(2) A declarative is used to make a request: “You’re standing in front of the TV”. (Yule 1996, 56)

The speaker does not explicitly state the intended meaning behind the utterance. It is the hearer’s task to analyse the utterance to understand its meaning. Searle also includes an attempted explanation of indirect speech acts (Searle 1979). An indirect speech act is an utterance that contains the illocutionary force indicators for one kind of illocutionary act but which is uttered to perform another type of illocutionary act. The main reason that we use indirect speech acts seems to be that actions such as requests,

presented in an indirect way (Could you open that door for me?), are generally considered to be more gentle or more polite in our society than direct speech acts (Open that door for me!). The problem with indirect speech acts is that they don't fit comfortably into the Searle and Van der Veken model outlined above because the model provides no passable theory as to why indirect speech acts are used and what their place should be in the theory. Indirect speech acts are important for the whole existence of speech act theory and we need an adequate theory of them if it is to be a viable theory of how language is used.

Speech Act Theory has regularly been attacked because of its alleged incapacity to explanation for indirect speech acts, for example, Searle contains an analysis of the modal can. Of the utterance can you reach the salt? He interprets this as a sentence in which the speaker may utter and mean what he says and also mean another illocution with a different propositional content, so that he makes a request by asking a question.

2.9 Differences between Direct and Indirect Speech Acts

In everyday situation, we often do not directly express what we intend. But instead formulate our utterances in ways which appear respectful to hearers. Further, Searle (1962) distinguished between direct speech acts and indirect speech acts referring to indirect speech acts as which can be performed indirectly. In other words, indirect speech act is that kind which can be performed by means of another.

Compare the examples below:

Pass me the salt!

Could you pass me the salt?

Both examples are in effect requests, but the first one, which is phrased as an imperative, has a different connotation than the second which use the form of a question. It is obvious to us from experience that could you pass me the salt is not actually a question about the ability of the addressee to pass the salt, but a prompt to action, and responding to this prompt simply by saying yes. I could and not acting would not be a therefore could you pass me the salt? Has two pragmatic levels. one the surface level it is a question, but underlying this is request. It therefore qualifies as an indirect speech act. Whereas pass me the salt! Is direct speech act.

2.10 Semantics

Semantic is the study of meaning words, phrases, and sentences. On this field I want to concentrate on the study of the speaker meaning, what speakers actually mean by what they say often regardless of the superficial, literal senses of the language elements they use. Semantics is the study of meaning in language. Based on the definition, we may be tempted to think that once we understand the semantics of a language, we completely understand that language. Meaning, however, involves more than just the semantic interpretation of an utterance” (Hurford and Heasley, 1983:1). “Semantics is the technical term used to refer to the study of meaning. The meaning of word is determined by the words arrangements in sentences or other words .

It is important for understanding language in social contexts, as these are likely to affect meaning, and for understanding varieties of English and effect on style. It is thus one of the most fundamental concepts to linguistics. The study of semantics includes of how meaning is constructed, contradicted and paraphrased (KSU Faculty Member Websites).

Halliday (1994, xvii) states that on concept of semantic:

A language is a system for making meaning: a semantic system, with other systems for encoding the meaning it produces. The term semantic does not simply refer to the meaning of the words; it is entire system of meanings of a language, expressed by grammar as well as vocabulary. The text is a semantic unit.... Meanings are realized through wordings.

The relation between pragmatics and semantics has been explained by Demirezen(1991:p281)who believes that in the domain of language , teaching pragmatics has not to be confused with semantics, "semantics is a study of meaning which directly depends on the meaning of the words and linguistic constructions themselves , whereas pragmatics handle the meaning of utterances that come from the context themselves" . Accordingly he thinks that pragmatics is a step that comes after semantics. So that pragmatics and semantics complete each other; the function of pragmatics begins at the point where semantics ends up.

Ullmann (1970:54) explained that,

I propose to split up meaning or function into a series of component functions. Each function will be defined as the use of some language form or element in relation to same context.

Meaning that it to say is to be regard as complex of contextual relations and phonetics, grammar, lexicography and sometimes each handles its own components of complex in its context.

2.11 The meaning:

According to Portner (2006:138) there are two meanings for utterances. The first is literal meaning of what is said . Whereas the second is the intended meaning of the speaker. For someone asks you the following question: can you give me a hand? if take the literal meaning of this

question then your answer would be no I can't because the questions literally seems to be about the possibility of giving a hand . if you consider the question as a request by the speaker to get help and assistance, then you will get the meaning that is intended by the speaker.

2.12 Lexical relation

The section of semantics that deals with the word meaning is called lexical semantics. Lexical relations are relationships of the meanings of the words to other words”(Bolinger, 1968:11).

Meaning property is one of several features or component which together can be said to make up the meanings of a word or utterance (Lyons, 1977:57).

It is the study of methodical, meaning related structures of words. Lexical area or semantic field is the association of related words and expressions in to a system, which shows their connection with one another. Lexical semantics examines relationships among word meanings. It is the study of how the lexicon is organized and how the lexical meanings of lexical items are connected, and its principle goal is to build a model for the structure of the lexicon by categorizing the types of relationships between words.

Argenis (2008:1) outlines that in his research about semantic relationship,

Semantic relationships are the associations that there exist between the meanings of words (semantic relationships at word level), between the meanings of phrases, or between the meanings of sentences (semantic relationships at phrase or sentence level).

M.Lynne Murphy (2003) demonstrates that the term lexical relation is ambiguous in that it could refer to relations among words or to

relations among lexical items within the mental lexicon. Murphy (2003) states that most lexical semantic relations have some kinds of similarity and contrast elements e.g. synonyms are similar in meanings but different in lexical forms and antonyms have contrasting positions on the same dimensions. All of lexical relations and meaning properties can be differentiated by looking at all the words or sentences. There are different kinds of lexical relations, following is a description of such relationships:

2.12.1 Synonymy

Synonym is a word, which has the same or nearly the same meaning as another word. Yule (2010) defines synonymy as two or more words with very closely related meanings. And he supports his definition by this example, in the suitable situations, we can say, what was his answer? Or what was his reply? With much the same meaning. Other examples of synonyms are the pairs: almost/nearly, big/large, broad/wide, buy/purchase, cab/taxi, car/automobile, couch/sofa, and freedom/liberty.

Synonymy means the “sameness of meanings”. The sets of words that have same meanings are called the synonymy of one another (F. R. Palmer: p.88).

Synonyms is the term that overlap in denotative meanings, connotative meanings or both. The best known of these relations is synonymy in which terms have the same denotation.”e.g. “car-auto” (Hermann, 1978; Ness,1953).

2.12.2 Hyponymy

Hyponymy is a relationship between two words in which the meaning of one of the words includes the meaning of the other word. For example, dogs and cats are hyponyms of word animal.

Yule (2010) states that:

We can say that “horse is a hyponym of animal” or “cockroach is a hyponym of insect.” In these two examples, animal and insect are called the superordinate (= higher-level) terms. We can also say that two or more words that share the same superordinate term are co-hyponyms. So, dog and horse are co-hyponyms and the superordinate term is animal. The relation of hyponymy captures the concept of “is a kind of,” as when we give the meaning of a word by saying, “an asp is a kind of snake.” Sometimes the only thing we know about the meaning of a word is that it is a hyponym of another term. That is, we may know nothing more about the meaning of the word asp other than that it is a kind of snake or that banyan is a kind of tree. It is worth emphasizing that it is not only words for “things” that are hyponyms. Words such as punch, shoot and stab, describing “actions,” can all be treated as co hyponyms of the superordinate term injure.

2.12.3 Antonymy

Antonymy words that are opposites in the meaning. For instance cheap and expensive. Yule (2010) discusses that two forms with opposite meanings are called antonyms. Several common examples are the pairs: alive/dead, big/small, fast/slow, happy/sad, hot/cold, long/short, male/female, married/single, old/new, rich/poor, true/false. Antonyms are divided into three main types, gradable, non-gradable and reversible Also here he said that:

Antonyms are usually divided into two main types, “gradable” (opposites along a scale) and “non-gradable” (direct opposites). Gradable antonyms, such as the pair big/ small, can be used in comparative constructions like I’m bigger than you and A pony is smaller than a horse. Also, the negative of one member of a gradable pair does not necessarily imply the

other. For example, the sentence my car isn't old, doesn't necessarily mean my car is new. Although we can use the "negative test" to identify non-gradable antonyms in a language, we usually avoid describing one member of an antonymous pair as the negative of the other. For example, while undress can be treated as the opposite of dress, it doesn't mean "not dress." It actually means "do the reverse of dress." Antonyms of this type are called reversives. Other common examples are enter/exit, pack/unpack, lengthen/shorten, raise/lower, tie/untie.

2.12.4 Prototypes

While words like canary, cormorant, dove, duck, flamingo, parrot, pelican and robin are all equally co-hyponyms of the super-ordinate bird, they are not all considered to be equally good examples of the category 'bird'. According to some researchers, the most characteristic instance of the category 'bird' is robin.

Therefore, even native speakers of English might wonder if ostrich or penguin should be hyponyms of bird (technically they are), but have no trouble deciding about sparrow or pigeon. These last two are much closer to the prototype.

2.12.5 Homophones and homonyms

Homophony is the case where two words are pronounced identically but they have different written forms. They sound alike but are written differently and often have different meanings. For example: no-know, led-lead, would-wood, and so on. The ambiguous word whose different senses are far apart from each other and are not obviously related to each other in any way is called Homonymy. Words like tale and tail are homonyms. There is no conceptual connection between its two meanings. Crystal defines homonymy as "a term used in semantic analysis to refer

to [two or more] lexical items which [happen to] have the same form, but differ in meaning” (Crystal 1997, 185). Crystal’s examples here are “bear” and “ear”. “Bear” can define an animal or can have the meaning of “to carry”, “ear” can refer to the human body or to corn (ibid. Crystal). Homonyms are the words that have same phonetic form (homophones) or orthographic form (homographs) but different unrelated meanings.

Homophones are two or more different written forms and have the same pronunciation. For instances are bare/bear, meat/meet, flour/ flower, pail/pale, right/write, sew/so and to/too/two. And we use homonyms when one form written or spoken has two or more unconnected meanings, as in these examples: bank (of a river) – bank (financial institution) bat (flying creature) – bat (used in sports) mole (on skin) – mole (small animal) pupil (at school) – pupil (in the eye) race (contest of speed) – race (ethnic group) (Yule, 2010).

2.12.6 Polysemy

Polysemy is the relationship of one word with two or more distinct meanings.in other words. Polysemy is a word having two or more related meanings. For example, foot (of person, of bed, of mountain). Other example are the word head, used to refer to the object on top of your body, on top of a glass of beer, person at the top of a company or department and many other things.

Also Polysemy can be defined as “a term used in semantic analysis to refer to a lexical item which has a range of different meanings” (Crystal 1997, 297). Crystal gives as example for polysemy the lexical item “plain”, which has the different meanings “clear”, “unadorned”, “obvious”, etc.(ibid. Crystal).

2.12.7 Metonymy

It is a word used in place of another with which it is closely connected in everyday experience. - A container-contents relation (bottle / water) - A whole-part relation (car / wheel) -A representative-symbol relation (king/ crown), Yule (2010) outlines that :

The relatedness of meaning found in polysemy is essentially based on similarity. The head of a company is similar to the head of a person on top of and controlling the body. There is another type of relationship between words, based simply on a close connection in everyday experience. That close connection can be based on a container-contents relation (bottle/water, can/juice), a whole-part relation (car/wheels, house/roof) or a representative-symbol relationship (king/crown, the President/the White House). Using one of these words to refer to the other is an example of metonymy. It is our familiarity with metonymy that makes it possible for us to understand He drank the whole bottle, although it sounds absurd literally (i.e. he drank the liquid, not the glass object). We also accept The White House has announced ... or Downing Street protested ... without being puzzled that buildings appear to be talking.

He said also that we use metonymy when we chat about filling up the car, answer ring the door, boiling a kettle, giving someone a hand, or needing some wheels.

2.12.8 Collocation

It is a relation between words that frequently occur together.

Salt and paper. Collocation refers to a group of two or more words that usually go together. A good way to think of collocation is to look at the word collocation. Co - meaning together - location - meaning place.

Collocations are words that are located together. A good answer to "What

is collocation?" is: Collocation is a group of two or more words that like to hang out together. Here are some examples of common collocations that you might know:

Make tea - I made a cup of tea for lunch.

Do homework - I did all of my homework yesterday.

The lexical relations are the relationship of the meanings of the words with the other words'. But this relationship cannot be judged by analysing the individual words. The lexical/semantic relations can be found by analysing the words in any text or context. The different kinds of lexical relation may have ambiguity in defining their exact category as polysemy and homonymy have some complexity in differentiating both categories. The use of word with its proper conveyed meaning tells that the word falls in which category.

2.13 Pragmatic

In the preceding topic the researcher focused on conceptual meaning and the relationships between words. There are other parts of meaning that depend more on context and the communicative intentions of speakers. Yule(2010) states that Communication clearly depends on not only recognizing the meaning of words in an utterance, but recognizing what speakers mean by their utterances. The study of what speakers mean, or "speaker meaning," is called pragmatic. Pragmatic is branch of linguistics concerned with the use of language in social context and the ways in which people produce and comprehend meaning through language. So Yule (1996) defines pragmatics as the study of the relationships between linguistic forms and the users of those form. According to that pragmatic is study of the purposes for which sentences are used of the real world conditions under which a sentence may be suitably used as utterance.

Also, Pragmatics is "the study of linguistics phenomenon from the perspective of their usage properties and process" (Verschueren, 1999).on the other hand, crystal, believes that pragmatics is not particular area of study; it has something to do with the study of the reasons which govern our choices of language for example our social awareness, our culture and our sense of etiquette. How do we know how to address different people and different circumstances?

Longman,s dictionary of language teaching and applied linguistic (1992) define pragmatics as :

The study of the use of the language in communication particularly the relationships between sentences and the contexts and situations in which they are used.

Also Richard and Schmidt (2002) defined pragmatics as the study of the use of language in communication, particularly between sentences and the contexts and situations in which they are used.

According to Delen and Tavit (2010), pragmatic has been both controversial and a favorite subject in language investigation since 1960s. Therefore, speech act is one of the fundamental themes in pragmatics.

Mitaib Murad (2013) believes that the connection between language and its users is pragmatic. So, it plays an important role in interlocution between participants. Bach and Harnish (1969) believe that to communicate is to express an exceptional attitude and those kinds of speech act being performed and those kinds of attitudes being expressed are corresponded with others. For example, a sentence may be states a belief, a request express a desire, and an apology expresses regret.

Christopher (1998) explain that pragmatic contain the study of:

- a. The relationship between the between the interpretation and the use of utterances depends on knowledge of the real world.
- b. How speakers use utterance and understand speech acts.
- c. And how framework of sentences is effected by the relationship between the speaker and the hearer.

In line with this idea Johnston (2008 cited in Mitaib Murad, 2013) also believed" knowing a language means not just knowing its grammar and vocabulary but also knowing how to structure paragraphs and arguments and participate in conversation the way the speakers of the language do" (p.7).

2.13.1 Pragmatic competence:

Knowledge of communicative action, how to carry it out and the ability to use language appropriately according to contextual factors (Kasper,1997) . Pragmatic competence refers to the ability to comprehend, construct, and convey meanings that are both accurate and appropriate for the social and cultural circumstances in which communication occurs. Blackman (cited in Barron, 2003, p. 173) identified pragmatic competence as one element of communicative competence, placing pragmatic competence as part of illocutionary competence, which is a combination of speech acts and speech functions along with the appropriate use of language in context. In simple terms, Pragmatics is about culture, communication, and in the case of second languages, about intercultural communication. In order for second language learners to acquire pragmatic competence, they need to acquire cultural understanding and communication skills. Every behaviour or action can be considered communication, and each of our actions reflect our cultural background including our opinions towards gender, religion, sexual orientation, lifestyle, politics and even personal space.

2.14 Intentionality

Marmaridou (2000: 186) refers to internationalism as one of the views, as different from conventionalism and interactionism, which can be applied to the analysis of speech acts. Furthermore, it specifically emphasizes the role of the speaker. She added points to the idea of intentionality, as discussed in Searle's work, where it constitutes a 'powerful theory concerning meaning in language and the functioning of the human mind' (2000: 193). Meaning within this outline results from the receiver recognizing the speaker's intention in producing an utterance, which is identical to performing an action. Searle added discusses such psychological states as belief, desire and intention, in terms of which he then analyses intentionality. The five illocutionary categories are said to be derivative of the basic aspects of the mind and are further analyzed in the same mentalist terms. The following insights from internationalism, as adopted from Jaszczolt (1999) and Marmaridou (2000), are of relevance to the further discussion of an intention and inference approach – used as the analytic basis of the consequent analysis – which will become clear from the following extracts: Intentionality means the property of mental acts of having content being about something Mental acts include such attitudes as belief, desire, want, need, expectation.

Jaszczolt (1999: 88) emphasis further Intentionality of mental states includes intentionality of speech act because language created one of the possible vehicles of thought. And Jaszczolt add Intentions in communication cannot be separated from the intentionality of cognitive processes. Also, Jaszczolt states that for an intention to be satisfied, an action should be performed, so an action is the condition of satisfaction of an intention.

Moravcsik (1975) attempts to type clear the difference between communicative and linguistic intentions, and Moravcsik (1975) defines linguistic intention as:

‘the mastery of the referential apparatus of a language as well as its meaning relations enables the competent speaker to form intentions of using an expression E to refer to something and to mean by a certain sequence of expressions E’ . . . E’’, e.g. a certain proposition’.

Aijmer (1977: 1) define communicative intention as:

‘The speaker has certain intentions and beliefs that he wants the hearer to recognize and act upon. In addition, the speaker wants to express his social role and establish a certain relation to the hearer’.

According to Levelt (1989) although the concept of intention accompanies each speech act at its beginning, intentions peculiar to speech acts. In the situation of communicative intentions, as Levelt calls them, the speaker does not only intend to carry some thought. To one side from that, he/she also intends for the utterance to make it possible for the receiver to recognize the speaker’s purpose in conveying this thought or wish. A speech act’s effectiveness will thus depend on the receiver’s recognition of the speaker’s intention in communicating this information.

Brown (1995: 229) emphasizes the necessity for the speaker’s intentions to be recognized by the receiver. Not only should the receiver understand the meaning of the words uttered but he/she should be able to identify the illocutionary force with which the speaker is performing his/her act.

According to Strawson’s (1974/1991) the speaker may have several intentions simultaneously. The most relevant for the present discussion are the following:

- the speaker intends to address a given receiver and intends that the receiver should recognize this intention;
- the speaker intends to inform or to instruct the receiver, or emphasize (e.g. by repeating), or question a belief or attitude of the speaker or of the receiver and intends that the receiver should recognize this intention;
- the speaker intends to construct an utterance which will appropriately take account of the existing knowledge, beliefs or attitudes which the speaker attributes to the hearer; and
- the speaker may intend to stimulate a particular emotion in the addressee and may, or may not, intend that these intentions are recognized by the addressee.

2.15 Features of Face-to-Face Spoken Interaction

Because speech is immediate both in output and understanding, it has many features that are unlike those to be found in written text.

Co-presence & Visibility:

The physical and visual context is very significant for understanding an act of spoken communication. In fact, some conversations cannot be interpreted fully without knowledge of the visual signals depending on the utterances themselves. Take for example the case of someone pulling a face when asked to carry out some task (the washing up say). This then provokes a response from the requester, without the requestee having uttered a word. Sometimes the participants might be talking about some other visual stimulus within their current physical context, depriving a person who is not actually present in the same place from a complete understanding of the conversation. Of course human beings have an excellent facility for imagination, and can furnish for themselves a

hypothesized context in order to impose some kind of reasonable (although not always correct, or even adequate) interpretation for what they are hearing.

It is not only the world surrounding conversationalists, and their facial expressions, that will add meaning to the interpretation of their utterances, but often also their gestures. Speakers send many visual signals that accompany their speech to transmit rhythm and emphasis to phrases and words respectively. Sometimes gestures will replace utterances or parts of utterances altogether. So speakers not only receive and produce sound messages simultaneously, but they also manage to incorporate the visual message as well. It is for these reasons that I will be arguing, after the fact, that perhaps the most appropriate method for studying speech without recourse to the immediate physical environment, is to analyse telephone conversation, in which the speaker and hearer themselves are stripped of their visual input. There are, however, problems with recording telephone conversation relating to issues of protecting a person's right to privacy.

2.16 Evanescence & Recordlessness:

Speech is not subject to inspection or perusal by the receiver. Hearers in a conversation rely on their often less than perfect memory to recall what other people have said. An interesting question is: how do people store this information? However it is done, the human facility for recovering information is quite efficient; we are more than capable of rephrasing or reciting the gist of a conversation, even at some distance in time from when the conversation took place. Quite often the fine-grain of conversation is lost, but the overall structure is retained. The way that people reproduce the gist of a conversation, and our ability to summarise

‘in other words’, may provide important clues about the form in which we store our information.

2.17 Audibility & Feedback Expectation:

Speech is not only subject to decay (of information over time due to faulty memory), but also subject to being misheard or misunderstood in the first place. This is one of the arguments against the idea of a mutual contextual belief, as there is no guarantee that the message has reached the hearer intact. People often rely on feedback from hearers to check that the message has got across. It is a hearer’s responsibility to demonstrate understanding of the topic of discussion.

Signalling understanding is important in maintaining the continuity of a conversation. Often the hearer does not need to take over a whole turn in order to reassure the speaker that he has understood (regardless of whether this is actually the case or not). Continuing contributions, when the hearer does not want to take over the turn, but wishes to indicate their continuing acceptance of, and attention to, what the speaker is saying, have the following characteristics:

- (1) Acknowledgements: ‘I see’, ‘m’, ‘gosh’, ‘really’ are all minimal so that they do not interfere with the flow of talk from the speaker (and all more or less stand for ‘Yes, I understand what you’re saying’).
- (2) Scope: The hearer marks what they are accepting by placing the signal at or near the end of the section of speech (or utterances) with which they are agreeing.
- (3) No turns: The hearer does not need a proper turn in order to do this.
- (4) Overlapping: Commonly exemplified by the acknowledgement coinciding with the end of the acknowledged utterance.

(5) Backgrounding: Acknowledgements are brief, quiet and simple. In speech, ‘m’, ‘uh huh’, ‘yes’, and ‘yeah’; in gestures nods and smiles.

These continuing contributions show the simultaneity and co-operativity of spoken conversation. Other signals of understanding are:

(1) Unison completion: (Tannen 1989: 60) This is a variation of backgrounding, when the hearer joins in with the last words of the speaker’s utterance to show they have understood so well that they can even finish off the utterance using the same words as the speaker uses.

(2) Collaborative completion: (Goodwin 1986, 1987, Lerner 1987) When someone pauses, to look for the right words perhaps, and their hearer finishes off a sentence for them. The completion is then accepted or rejected. In the former case the conversation would then pick up where it left off with the speaker regaining their turn and resuming what they were saying; in the latter case the speaker would finish their utterance in the way they actually intended to.

(3) Truncations: When the hearer interrupts as soon as they understand what the speaker intends in the interests of curtailing an interaction (sometimes the speaker even invites such an interruption).

(4) Repetition: Sometimes a simple repetition of the information, or a salient part of the whole message that has just been received will be sufficient to reassure the speaker and the hearer that the hearer has heard the utterance correctly.

(5) Summary: Rather than just repeating the message word-for-word, a hearer might have a preference for rewording the message and repeating a paraphrased version to convince the speaker of his understanding.

(6) Adding extra information: A hearer also has the option of expanding the content of the utterance, which is not only a good indication of understanding, but also a method of adding to what is said in some way.

These are all strategies for conveying one's understanding and speeding up the process of communication. Hearing what is said in the first place is obviously an essential prerequisite for understanding, which is why most utterances require some kind of reaction from the hearer. If a hearer fails to respond appropriately, it is often difficult to determine why. Brown (1995: 34)⁵ gives the following list of reasons:

- The listener was not listening to what was said (or did not hear what was said).
- The listener heard what was said, but was so engrossed in interpreting a previous utterance that no immediate further processing of the current utterance was possible.
- The listener heard what was said but did not understand what the utterance (or some part of the utterance) meant, for instance did not know the meaning of one of the words.
- The listener understood the words of the utterance and parsed it correctly but could not interpret 'the thin meaning' in the current context and was waiting for more information before trying to respond.
- The listener understood the utterance in the current context of information but was unable or unwilling to produce an appropriate response.

So we see that these features of spoken, face-to-face interaction are pivotal to understanding, not only the talk itself, but also the structure of conversation.

2.18 Contractedness:

One of the main problems with studying spoken language (recorded and transcribed) is that, unlike written language, much of the information is condensed and re-used. Written language for the most part is by nature self-contained. Of course written texts do make use of internal references as well (co-reference, anaphora, ellipsis, references to external entities, beliefs, etc.), but not in the same way as spoken language does. One has only to consider the use of the word 'Yes' to realise that spoken interaction is very different to that of written prose. 'Yes' can almost be said to have no meaning at all outside of a spoken context. Because of the extemporaneous and dynamic nature of spoken language, the use of linguistic shortcuts to avoid repetition of the same piece of information, or the contraction of the answer to an indirect request (e.g. 'Can you tell me the time please?', 'Ten past two') is extremely

More principled explanation of how errors can occur in communication, and how we use our knowledge of the way speech acts work in order to fix them. Useful. However, they cause problems for the conversational analyst, and sometimes also for the hearer himself, when the reference is ambiguous.

2.19 Informality:

Spoken language is less formal and much more likely to be ungrammatical than written language. Corrections are often made on the fly and are so much a part of our processing skills, that often they go to all intents and purposes completely unperceived. Utterances are often started, left unfinished, restarted and rephrased because the planning is going on at the same time as the production. Sometimes mistakes are made and left uncorrected; it is left to the hearer to infer what the speaker

actually meant to say. I have some anecdotal evidence of these phenomena. In the process of collecting some of my own recordings, one of my subjects was deeply shocked on reading the transcription afterwards. He said that he had not realized how incoherent and broken his speech was. It is unlikely that it was perceived as so by his audience however who were able to track the changing output as it occurred. This demonstrates the instantaneity of speech production and understanding.

Having discussed what counts as general conversation, why it may be important to study its structures and what are its distinguishing features, I now turn to the problem of how it is possible to study a form of language that is inherently so evanescent in nature.

2.20 Presupposition

Van Dijk (2008:27) states that one of the most important properties of discourse is what is not said, but remains implicit, as is the case for presuppositions. Kadmon (2001:22) states that most shared knowledge is presupposed in discourse, and hence not asserted and even not expressed but left implicit as parts of mental models.

Fillmore (1969) as well as Langendoen and Savin (1971) state that presuppositions are conditions that must be satisfied in order for a sentence to be used to perform a speech act. Particularly, Fillmore is of the view that presuppositions are conditions which must be satisfied to use a sentence felicitously. He says:

I shall deal with a distinction between the presuppositional aspect of the semantic structure of the predicate on the one hand and the 'meaning' proper of the predicate on the other hand. We may identify the presuppositions of a sentence as those conditions which must be satisfied before the sentences

*can be used in any of the function just mentioned
(commanding, questioning, and asserting) (1969:120).*

According to Van Der Sandt (1988:30), presupposition in terms of felicity alone predicts that a presupposition of a sentence used to perform a speech act is the prime factor responsible for illocutionary success of that speech act. Searle and Vandervaken (1985) distinguish between linguistic phenomenon tied to particular linguistic expressions and the presuppositions derived from the illocutionary force of an utterance. They say:

Preparatory conditions determine a class of presuppositions peculiar to illocutionary force. But there is another class of presuppositions peculiar to propositional content ... Regardless of which of the various philosophical accounts one accepts of these sorts of presuppositions (i.e. the presuppositions associated with definite descriptions and aspectual verbs), one needs to distinguish them from those that derive from illocutionary forces. The same propositional presuppositions can occur with different illocutionary forces, as, for example, one can both ask whether and one can assert that Jones has stopped beating his wife (1985:17).

Thus, presuppositions are seen as conditions for bringing about a speech act. As Van Der Sandt (1988:32) states, the defining characteristics of a speech act are presuppositions of the sentences that can be used to perform speech acts

2.21 Communicative Competence

The term communicative competence refers to both the understood knowledge of a language and the ability to use it successfully .so, it was created by linguist Dell Hymes . Communicative competence is form of knowledge of grammar, vocabulary of a language, rules of speaking,

knowing how to use and reply to different types of speech acts, and how to use language appropriately.

According to Hymes(1971),communicative competence contains both knowledge of linguistic rules and socio-cultural rules for suitable use. Bachman and Palmer (1996) emphasize two `subcomponents of communicative ability: language knowledge and strategic competence. Bachman classifies language knowledge into organizational competence and pragmatic competence. According to that, researcher describes pragmatic competence as knowledge of communicative act, how to carry it out, and the capability to use language appropriately according to contextual issue.

H.G. Widdowson 1978:135) states that communicative competence is not a matter of knowing rules for the composition of sentences and being able to employ such rules to collect expressions from scratch and when case requires.it is much more a matter of knowing. A typical of partially pre-assemble patterns. Formulaic framework, and a kit of rules, so to speak, and being able to apply the rules to make whatever adjustments are necessary according to contextual demands. Communicative competence in this view is essentially a matter of adaptation, and rules are not generative but regulative and subservient.

So, communicative competence is the capacity to put language for communicative purposes. The communicative competence considers language as a device used for communication. This competence focuses on the development of four language skills, and on the relationship between the skills.

2.22 Discourse Competence

Discourse competence works with the ability to organise sentences in to position sentences into cohesive structures. in discourse analysis, the term discourse competence is studied within the limits of conversational interaction where language is considered a tool for successful communication. such interactional designs can be of great variety.

As akmajian (1997:369) exemplifies:

There are many form of discourse and many forms of talk exchange. Letters, jokes, stories, lectures, sermons, speeches, and so on are all categories of discourse ; and conversations are categories of talk exchanges. Conversations (and talk exchange in general) are usually structured consequences of expressions by more than a single speaker.

2.23 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a continuous give of especially spoken language larger than sentence,

James Paul Gee defines discourse analysis is the analysis of spoken and written language as it is used to enact social and cultural perspectives and identities.

Gee(2005) defines discourse analysis as is one way to engage in a very significant human task. The task is this: to think more intensely about the meanings we give people's words to make ourselves better, more caring people and the world a better, more humane place".

So Taylor (2013) points that on discourse analysis is concerned with language use as a social phenomenon and consequently necessarily goes beyond one speaker or one newspaper article to find features which have a more generalized relevance. This is a potentially confusing point

because the publication of research findings is generally presented through examples and the analyst may choose a single example or case to exemplify the features to be discussed, but those features are only of interest as a social, not individual, phenomenon."

According to Linda Wood and Kroger Discourse analysis is not only about technique; it is also a viewpoint on the nature of language and its connection to the central issues of the social disciplines. More exactly, we see discourse analysis as a related gathering of approaches to discourse, approaches that entail not only practices of data collection and analysis, but also a set of metatheoretical and theoretical assumptions and a body of research claims and studies."

In contrast Brown and Yule (1983), the analysis of discourse is typically based on the linguistic output of someone other than the analyst more typically, the discourse analyst's 'data' is taken from written texts or tape recordings. It is rarely in the form of a single sentence. The type of linguistic material is sometimes described as 'performance data' and may contain features such as hesitations, slips, and non-standard forms which a linguist like Chomsky believed should not have to be accounted for in the grammar of a language."

2.23.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a combining or involving several academic disciplines approach to discourse that emphasizes on language as a form of social practice. Generally, CDA shows that social practice and linguistic practice have a important influence on each other and highlights on this point that how social power relations are built and reinforced through language use (Fairclough, 1995, 2010. In additional step, Norman Fairclough as the most famous linguist at Lancaster school, developed and offered different models for text analysis based on CDA.

Two other prominent statisticians are van Dijk and Ruth Wodak that also made a salient attempt to critical discourse analysis. In other words: Critical discourse analysis is a modern approach to the study of language and discourses in social institutions. Drawing on poststructuralist discourse theory and critical linguistics, it focuses on how social relations, identity, knowledge and power are constructed through written and spoken texts in communities, schools and classrooms (Luke A., 2000, introduction).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is obviously not a similar model, nor a school or a paradigm, but at most a shared perspective on doing linguistics, semiotic or discourse analysis (van Dijk 1993p: 131) . so Critical discourse analysis developed from critical linguistics developed at the University of East Anglia in the 1970s. Not only the language use is affected by its groundedness within certain frame of cultural or social practice, but also the use of language influences and shapes the social and cultural context it finds itself in. So the relationship is bi-directional A recognizes both directions, and in particular it “[explores] the tension between these two sides of language use, the socially shaped and socially constitutive”. Language is a constituent of the society on various levels. A division proposed by Fairclough (Ibid.: 134-136) is that of social identity, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief.

Discourse analysis purposes to methodically explore often relationships of connection and determination between: (a) discursive practice, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes. also to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; to explore how the ambiguity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and control.

The one element of CDA by which it is differentiated from other forms of discourse; lies in its attribute of ‘critical’. What’s Critical? Critical‘ implies showing connections and causes which are hidden. and why it’s important to expose the hidden things? since they are not evident for the individuals involved, and, because of this, they cannot be fought against.

Critical Discourse Analysts seek to expose how texts are constructed, so that particular (and Potentially indoctrinating) perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly; because they are covert, they are vague of direct challenge, facilitating what Kress calls the “retreat into mystification and impersonality”. (Batstone 1995: 198-199)

There are three levels of discourse. firstly, social conditions of production and interpretation, i.e. the social factors, which contributed or lead to the origination of a text, and, at the same time, how the same factors effect interpretation. Secondly, the process of production and interpretation, i.e. in what way the text was produced and how this effects interpretation. Thirdly, the text, being the product of the first two stages, commented on above.

CDA approach focuses on three dimensions of discourse: text, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice. These three dimensions will be analyzed in three processes of analysis which are: description which is concerned with the formal properties of the text, interpretation concerned with the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context (Fairclough, 2010 p.133). Batstone (1995: 198-199) points that:

Critical Discourse Analysis seeks to reveal how texts are constructed so that particular (and potentially indoctrinating) perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly; because they are covert, they are elusive of direct challenge,

facilitating what Kress calls the 'retreat into mystification and impersonality' (1989: 57)

This style has been developed by linguists with an interest in rhetorical potential of texts- the potential of texts to influence social beliefs, values and expectations. It is an approach concerned with the ways in which texts may influence public opinion in relation to politics, international relations, economy, religion, environment ...etc.

This approach is concerned with the potential of texts to shape a society's more basic beliefs and assumptions about the way the world is and the way it ought to be.

2.23.2 Textual Analysis

Textual analysis is the method communication researchers use to describe and interpret the characteristics of a recorded or visual message. It is a methodology data collection process for investigators. Textual analysis is useful for researchers working in cultural studies, media studies, in mass communication, and perhaps even in sociology and philosophy.

As media theorist McKee (2003:1) puts it:

Textual analysis is a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world. It is a methodology—a data-gathering process—for those researchers who want to understand the ways in which members of various cultures and subcultures make sense of who they are, and of how they fit into the world in which they live.

The purpose of textual analysis is to describe the content, structure, and functions of the messages contained in texts. So there are four major

approaches to textual analysis: rhetorical criticism, content analysis, interaction analysis, and performance studies.

Rhetorical Criticism: is a systematic method for describing, analysing, interpreting, and evaluating the persuasive force of messages embedded within texts.

Content Analysis: is used to identify, enumerate, and analyse occurrences of specific messages and message characteristics embedded in texts.

Interaction Analysis: Scholars view interaction as a complex accomplishment that requires much knowledge on the part of individual communicators and the ability to coordinate behaviour with others.

Performance Studies: “the process of dialogic engagement with one’s own and others’ aesthetic communication through the means of performance.”

2.24 Social Cognition

Whereas the management of discourse access represents one of the crucial social dimensions of dominance, that is, who is allowed to say/write/hear/ read what to/from whom, where, when and how, we have stressed that modern power has a major cognitive dimension. Except in the various forms of military. Police, judicial or male force, the exercise of power usually presupposes mind management, involving the influence of knowledge, beliefs, understanding, plans, attitudes, ideologies, norms and values. Ultimately, the management of modes of access is geared towards this access to the public mind, which we conceptualize in terms of social cognition. Socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups and relations, as well as mental operations such as

interpretation, thinking and arguing, inferencing and learning, among others, together define what we understand by social cognition (Wyer and Srull, 1984). Discourse, communication and (other) forms of action and interaction are monitored by social cognition (Van Dijk, 1989). The same is true for our understanding of social events or of social institutions and power relations. Hence social cognitions mediate between micro- and macro levels of society, between discourse and action, between the individual and the group. Although embodied in the minds of individuals, social cognitions are social because they are shared and presupposed by group members, monitor social action and interaction, and because they underlie the social and cultural organization of society as a whole. For our theoretical purposes, then, social cognitions allow us to link dominance and discourse. They explain the production as well as the understanding and influence of dominant text and talk. The complex cognitive theories involved in such processes cannot be explained in detail here. Indeed, many of their elements are as yet unknown. We know a little about how texts are produced and understood, how their information is searched, activated, stored or memorized (Van Dijk 1983).

2.25 Power and Dominance

One crucial presupposition of adequate critical discourse analysis is understanding the nature of social power and dominance. Once we have such an insight, we may begin to formulate ideas about how discourse contributes to their reproduction. To cut a long philosophical and social scientific analysis short, we assume that we here deal with properties of relations between social groups. That is, while focusing on social power, we ignore purely personal power, unless enacted as an individual realization of group power, that is, by individuals as group members. Social power is based on privileged access to socially valued resources,

such as wealth, income, position, status, force, group membership, education or knowledge. (Clegg, 1989, Lukes, 1986).

Power involves control, namely by (members of) one group over (those of) other groups. Such control may pertain to action and cognition: that is, a powerful group may limit the freedom of action of others, but also influence their minds. Besides the elementary recourse to force to directly control action (as in police violence against demonstrators, or male violence against women), modern and often more effective power is mostly cognitive, and enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to change the mind of others in own interests. It is at this crucial point where discourse and critical discourse analysis come in: managing the mind of others is essentially a function of text and talk. Note, though, that such mind management is not always bluntly manipulative. On the contrary, dominance may be enacted and reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of text and talk that appear natural and quite acceptable. Therefore, CDA also needs to focus on the discursive strategies that legitimate control, or otherwise naturalize the social order, and especially relations of inequality (Fairclough, 1985).

Despite such complexities and subtleties of power relations, critical discourse analysis is specifically interested in power abuse, that is, in breaches of laws, rules and principles of democracy, equality and justice by those who wield power. To distinguish such power from legitimate and acceptable forms of power, and lacking another adequate term, we use the term dominance. As is the case with power, dominance is seldom total. It may be restricted to specific domains, and it may be contested by various modes of challenge, that is, counter-power. It may be more or less consciously or explicitly exercised or experienced. Many more or less subtle forms of dominance seem to be so persistent that they seem natural

until they begin to be challenged, as was/is the case for male dominance over women, White over Black, rich over poor. If the minds of the dominated can be influenced in such a way that they accept dominance, and act in the interest of the powerful out of their own free will, we use the term hegemony (Gramsci, 1971; Hall et al., 1977). One major function of dominant discourse is precisely to manufacture such consensus, acceptance and legitimacy of dominance (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). The concept of hegemony, and its associated concepts of consensus, acceptance and the management of the mind, also suggests that a critical analysis of discourse and dominance is far from straightforward, and does not always imply a clear picture of villains and victims. Indeed, we have already suggested that many forms of dominance appear to be jointly produced through intricate forms of social interaction, communication and discourse. We hope that critical discourse analysis will be able to contribute to our understanding of such intricacies. Power and dominance are usually organized and institutionalized. The social dominance of groups is thus not merely enacted, individually, by its group members, as is the case in many forms of everyday racism or sexual harassment. It may also be supported or condoned by other group members, sanctioned by the courts, legitimated by laws, enforced by the police, and ideologically sustained and reproduced by the media or textbooks. This social, political and cultural organization of dominance also implies a hierarchy of power: some members of dominant groups and organizations have a special role in planning, decision-making and control over the relations and processes of the enactment of power. These (small) groups will here be called the power elites (Domhoff, 1978; Mills, 1956). For our discussion, it is especially interesting to note that such elites also have special access to discourse: they are literally the ones who have most to say. In our

discourse analytical framework, therefore, we define elites exactly in terms of their symbolic power, as measured by the extent of their discursive and communicative scope and resources.

2.26 Cohesion and Coherence

Coherence or cohesion is the imperceptible adhesive that holds paragraphs together. So Widdowson (2000) defines cohesion as "are ties that connect up units of language to form text". Having good coherence in writing means that your ideas stick together or flow smoothly from one sentence to the next, so that readers of your work can easily understand where you are taking them. Without cohesion, a written work can seem choppy and may not flow well, a lack of coherence challenges the reader and can offend comprehension.

Ge (2001) states that:

Speakers and writers have to do more than connect clauses within sentences. They must also connect sentences across whole texts. The grammatical devices we use to create such connections are called cohesive devices. They signal to the hearer the connections between the sentences of a text and are part of what makes a text sound like it "hangs together" (coheres).

2.27 Cohesive Devices

Hedge (2005), defines cohesive devices as "the means by which parts of a text are linked as logically related sequences"(p.83). so according to that cohesive devices are words and phrases that connect sentences and paragraphs together, creating a harmonized tide of ideas.

There are six major types of cohesive devices identified by Halliday and Hasan (1976, 1989).

1. Pronouns

A common way of linking ideas across sentences is through back reference by using, for example, it, this, he, they or she.

2. Determiners and Quantifiers.

3. Substitution.

Sometimes a word or phrase substitutes for an earlier item in the text in order to avoid repetition.

4. Ellipsis.

Ellipsis refers to the omission of words or phrases.

5. Lexical cohesion.

Lexical cohesion links the two sentences together through the fact that they contain words that are semantically related.

6. Conjunctions

Conjunction are words or phrases which join parts of a sentence together, or link a sentence to the next one. There are different types of conjunctions which describe different functions such as: addition, contrast, cause and effect, comparison, sequence and giving examples

Ge (2001) point that:

Speakers and writers use all of the above grammatical devices, and many others, to shape their texts “as if” they (the speakers and writers and the texts) had certain “goals” and “purposes.” As listeners and receivers, we “recover” these goals and purposes by paying attention to the uses to which these grammatical devices are put. Goals and purposes, in this sense, are not privately in people’s heads, but publicly available in texts

2.28 Manipulation and Discourse

Van Dijk (2006) defines Manipulation as takes place through discourse in a broad sense, that is, including non-verbal characteristics, such as gestures, face work, text layout, pictures, sounds, music, and so on. According to this definition Van Dijk states that:

Discourse structures are not manipulative; they only have such functions or effects in specific communicative situations and the way in which these are interpreted by participants in their context models. For instance, as stipulated, manipulation is a social practice of power abuse, involving dominant and dominated groups, or institutions and their clients. This means that in principle the 'same' discourse (or discourse fragment) may be manipulative in one situation, but not in another situation. That is, the manipulative meaning (or critical evaluation) of text and talk depends on the context models of the recipients – including their models of the speakers or writers, and their attributed goals and intentions. Manipulative discourse typically occurs in public communication controlled by dominant political, bureaucratic, media, academic or corporate elites. This means that further contextual constraints prevail, namely on participants, their roles, their relations and their typical actions and cognitions (knowledge, goals). In other words, discourse is defined to be manipulative first of all in terms of the context models of the participants. That is, as critical analysts, we evaluate discourse as manipulative first of all in terms of their context categories, rather than in terms of their textual structures.

2.29 Manipulation and Cognition

Definitely, the language began to be used for the purpose of influence and manipulation since its moment of foundation. And our early predecessors who predicted to use the word as an influence tool, but not as a stick, was, absolutely, one of the first manipulators. Van Dijk (2006) states that manipulating people includes manipulating their minds, that is, people's beliefs, for example the knowledge, opinions and ideologies which in turn control their actions. We have seen, however, that there are many forms of discourse-based mental influence, such as informing, teaching and persuasion, that also shape or change people's knowledge and opinions. This means that manipulation needs to be distinguished from these other forms of mind management. In order to be able to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate mind control, we first need to be more explicit about how discourse can 'affect' the mind in the first place. Since the mind is extraordinarily complex, the way discourse may influence it inevitably involves intricate processes that can only be managed in real time by applying efficient strategies. For our purposes in this article, such an account will be simplified to a few basic principles and categories of cognitive analysis.

2.30 Manipulating short term memory (STM) – based discourse understanding

First of all, discourse in general, and manipulative discourse in specific, include processing information in short term memory (STM), basically resulting in 'understanding' (of words, clauses, sentences, utterances and non-verbal signals) for example in terms of propositional 'meanings' or 'actions'.

Such processing is strategic in the sense of being online, goal-directed, operating at various levels of discourse structure, and hypothetical: fast and efficient guesses and shortcuts are made instead of complete analyses. One form of manipulation consists of controlling some of this, partly automatized, strategy of discourse understanding. For instance, by printing part of the text in a salient position (e.g. on top), and in larger or bold fonts; these devices will attract more attention, and hence will be processed with extra time or memory resources, as is the case for headlines, titles or publicity slogans – thus contributing to more detailed processing and to better representation and recall. Headlines and titles also function as the conventional text category for the expression of semantic macrostructures, or topics, which organize local semantic structures; for this reason, such topics are better represented and recalled. Our point here is that specific features of text and talk. So that readers pay more attention to some pieces of information than others. Of course, this occurs not only in manipulation, but also in legal forms of communication, such as news reports, textbooks and a host of other genres. This suggests that, cognitively speaking, manipulation is nothing special: it makes use of very general properties of discourse processing. So, as was the case for the social analysis of manipulation, we need further criteria that distinguish between legitimate and illegal influence on the processing of discourse. Manipulation in such a case may reside in the fact that by drawing attention to information A rather than B, the resulting understanding may be partial or biased, for instance when headlines emphasize irrelevant details, rather than expressing the most important topics of a discourse – thus impairing understanding of details through top-down influence of topics. The further social condition that should be added in this case, has we have done earlier, is that such partial or incomplete understanding is in the best interests of a powerful group or

institution, and against the best interests of a dominated group. Obviously, this is not a cognitive or textual condition, but a normative social and contextual one: the rights of recipients to be adequately informed. Our cognitive analysis merely spells out how people are manipulated by controlling their minds, but cannot formulate why this is wrong. Similar processes are at play with many forms of non-verbal expressions, such as general layout, use of colour, photos, or drawings in written conversation, or gestures, facework and other non-verbal activity in oral discourse. Since discourse processing in STM involves such different forms of analysis as phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical operations, all geared towards efficient understanding, each and any of these processes of STM may be influenced by various means. For instance, more distinct, slower pronunciation, less complex syntax and the use of basic lexical items, a clear topic on a subject the recipients know well, among many other conditions, will generally tend to favour understanding. This also means that if speakers wish to hamper understanding, they will tend to do the opposite, that is, speak faster, less distinctly, with more complex sentences, with more abstruse words, a confused topic on a subject less familiar to the recipients – as may be the case, for instance, in legal or medical discourse that is not primarily geared towards better understanding by clients, and hence may assume manipulative forms when understanding is intentionally impaired. Van Dijk (2006) .

2.31 Defining Politeness

The definition and conceptualization of politeness has been issue to many arguments; even the most current literature on the issue gives way to different explanations on a significant scale. In the most general sense, as an everyday term, politeness is closely connected to social suitableness,

which springs from a tradition in history dating back to the Augustan Age in the Roman times (Watts, 1992).

According to (Yule, 1985) politeness is a pragmatic phenomenon that is considered as important in human social interaction. It is defined as showing awareness of another person's face. In other words, politeness is concerning on another person's face.

Oxford dictionary (2016) defines:

Politeness as behavior that is respectful and considerate of other people.

So, in the study of linguistic politeness, the most relevant concept is face. Your face in pragmatics, is your public mirror. This emotion and social sense of self that every person has and expect everyone else distinguish. However, There are two kinds of face: Positive face, which defined as the consistent image that people have for themselves, and their desire for approval and Negative face which means the desire of not to offend others.

2.31.1 Politeness Theory

politeness theory search for to explain why speakers select the particular strategies they do” (Tracy & Baratz, 1994). That is, the theory is prepared around putting an explanation for why speakers choose to use a positive politeness strategy, a negative one, directly stated or an indirect one. Basically, “the greater the social distance, the larger the relative power of the speaker over the recipient; and the bigger the imposition of the act, the more face threatening a communicative act will be” (Tracy & Baratz, 1994).

Brown and Levinson (1987) argue for a pragmatic analysis of politeness that involves a concentration on the amount of verbal work which

individual speakers have to perform in their utterances to counteract the force of potential threats to the face of the hearer. “Face is something that is emotionally invested, and that can be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction.”(Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 66) Brown and Levinson define a threat to a person’s face as a Face Threatening Act (FTA), and argue that such threats generally require redress: a mitigating statement or some verbal repair (politeness), or breakdown of communication will ensue. Brown and Levinson (1987) identified two kind of politeness: positive politeness and negative politeness.

2.31.2 Positive Politeness

Try to find establish a positive relationship between parties, respects a person's right to act freely. So there are 15 strategies of positive politeness performed to avoid offense by emphasizing friendliness, proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) those are:

Strategy 1: Notice, attend to H (his interests, wants needs, goods)

Strategy 2: Exaggerate (interest, approval sympathy with H)

Strategy 3: Intensify interest to H

Strategy 4: Use in-group identity markers

Strategy 5: Seek agreement

Strategy 6: Avoid disagreement

Strategy 7: Presuppose/raise/assert common ground

Strategy 8: Joke

Strategy 9: Assert or presuppose S’s knowledge of or concern for H’s wants

Strategy 10: Offer, promise

Strategy 11: Be optimistic

Strategy 12: Include both S and H in the activity

Strategy 13: Give (or ask for) reasons

Strategy 14: Assume or assert reciprocity Strategy 15: Give gifts to H
(goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)

2.31.3 Negative Politeness

Another kind of politeness strategies is negative politeness. This strategy used when S wants to show that he cares and respect H's Negative Face. If S did or will do a face threaten act FTA, he will minimize the threat by using apology, deference, hedges and other strategies. These strategies start that there might be some social distance or difficultness between speaker and hearer and it is likely to be used whenever a speaker wants to put a social brake on his interaction (Brown and Levinson, 1987). These strategies are:

Strategy 1: Be conventionally indirect

Strategy 2: Question, hedge

Strategy 3: Be pessimistic

Strategy 4: Minimize the imposition, Rx

Strategy 5: Give deference Strategy

6: Apologize

Strategy 7: Impersonalize S and H

Strategy 8: State the FTA as a rule

Strategy 9: Nominalize

Strategy 10: Go on record an incurring a debt, or as not indebting H

Isik(2003)states that:

Positive and negative politeness strategies are used both to increase solidarity and to decrease imposition. They interact in complicated ways according to nature of the act and the status of S and H. Overall, positive politeness is concerned more with demonstrating closeness and affiliation (e.g. compliments) whereas negative politeness is concerned with distance and formality (e.g. hedges and deference)) (p37-38).

2.31.4 Polite behavior and politeness:

This is actually exceptionally like Watts's (1992) notion of "politic behaviour". Watts argues that to define politeness more exactly, there is a need to make a distinction between 'politic speech' and 'polite speech' to distinguishing between politeness as a strategy, and politeness as a set of linguistic conventions.

Watts (1992) describes politic speech as

socio-culturally determined behaviour directed towards the goal of establishing and/or maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals of a social group, whether open or closed, during the ongoing process of verbal interaction (1992, p.50).

Polite behaviour, as distinguished from politic behaviour, depends entirely on "those features of the interaction which are socio-culturally marked by the speech community as being more than merely politic", in this respect "polite behaviour leads to an enhancement of ego' s standing with respect to alter" (p.51).

As is politic behaviour, the conversational contract is constantly subject to change during the course of interaction, according to the participants' constant assessment of varying contextual factors. By connecting politeness with conversational contract, the perspective presents the most general and dynamic view of politeness. However, it is difficult to apply this approach to linguistic data since the exact components of conversational contracts rights and obligations in actual interactions- are neither adequately elaborated nor easily detectable in analysis.

2.32 Request:

Request is defined as the act of asking for something or something you asked for. Asking for something, there are different ways of asking for something. We usually ask for something in a polite and indirect way, for example, using can, could, would you mind if and may: ... Asking someone to do something. There are a number of ways of asking someone to do something in a polite and indirect way.

A speech act which expresses the speaker's desire for the hearer to perform an action with the added proviso that the hearer takes this expressed desire as the reason to act (Bach & Harnish, 1979).

2.33 The roles of speaker and hearer

A speaker does not form his utterances using the only possible set of words for the 'correct' communication of his ideas, but correspondences what he says in a way he believes the hearer is most likely to understand in the context of the discourse situation.

So that if the speaker introduces more information in his dialogue and become more boring for the hearer, so the hearer unable to

process it to make correct understanding; and a few information in the other side, will lead to ambiguity. Speaker should balance between too much information and too little information. Speaker is always contest for hearer's attention and try to convey his message as simple as possible. Minimal specification is the best approach for the speaker to follow.

Amanda (2005:24) also states that:

This is often the way that children behave in conversation because they tend to believe that others (especially adults) are already aware of all the background information necessary to decode their message. (In fact, this belief in very young children extends to all behaviour – they are incapable of deceit because of the assumption that the other person has complete knowledge of all that they themselves know.) It is interesting to note that minimal specification is often enough, and is easily expanded at need when extra information is required. This is negotiated between the participants in a conversation at the time the need for it occurs. If it becomes apparent that a hearer is unable to understand all that is said, the speaker can easily switch from a strategy of under-specification to that of over-specification (for example when a hearer's background information is inadequate to follow the references being made by the speaker, as in the case of an outsider joining a closely-knit group of friends).

Similarly, it is probable that the hearer will try to make sense of what he is hearing and cooperate in the process of communication.

So that every word comes with a belief of its own best relevance for the listener. It seems that there are some utterances that interrupt on the hearer, and whose outcome is of only benefit to the speaker . From the hearer's point of view, there is no guarantee that, in the end, it will be in

the hearer's interests to attend to what the speaker says. Yet we do pay attention to each other when we speak (sometimes!).

Brown says (1995: 27):

It is not necessary to postulate a universal guarantee of relevance to the hearer as the motivation for a hearer paying attention to what a speaker says.

So, the method that the speaker decides whether their most recent utterance has been correctly understood is to observe the subsequent behaviour of the hearer, then there is no other way of knowing what goes on in a person's mind. Also, Brown point that what listeners have understood from what a previous speaker has said is frequently revealed in what listeners say themselves when they next take a turn at speaking.

2.34 Communication

Communication is an exchange of information, knowledge, ideas, opinion, facts and feeling between the people. it takes place in a multitude of ways. So, communication is first and primary, a negotiation of meaning between speakers and hearer, author and reader.

Amanda (2005:26) also points that:

People minimise the risk of miscommunication by judging how much information is needed by the hearer in order to be able to decode the message in context. So a speaker will constantly be deciding whether to maximise or minimise (using pronomialisation or ellipsis for instance) the referents depending upon the status of focus for these referents. Participants in a conversation will also constantly check whether the message has been correctly conveyed. In spoken

language the speaker includes information about how the hearer should treat the content of his utterance, and the hearer will repeatedly feedback reassurances that he has, in actual fact, received the message correctly. Mistakes in understanding are in this way often caught quickly and rectified.

2.35 Speaker Meaning and Hearer Understanding

The importance of the hearer's acceptance of the speech act being performed is not always fully explored. When one looks at real conversation, it becomes clear that to perform a speech act successfully, at least one extra speech act (a response of some kind) is generally required from the hearer.

Austin (1962) also observes that:

One of the things that cause difficulty is the question whether when two parties are involved 'consensus ad idem' is necessary. Is it essential for me to secure correct understanding as well as everything else?

If we look at Austin's explanation of the different levels of acts that go on in an utterance such as 'Please sit down', we get the following list of acts:

Phonetic act I am producing the noises that establish 'Please sit down'. Phatic act I am uttering the words please, sit, and down. Rhetoric act I am using the words please, sit, and down with a certain sense and reference. Locutionary act I am saying to you 'Please sit down'. Illocutionary act I am asking you to sit down. Perlocutionary act I am trying to get you to sit down.

Note that all of the acts in this list are speaker-oriented and show no consideration of the role of the hearer within a conversation.

Clark (1996) claims that the definition of acts given by Austin is not representative of what actually occurs in communication. In communication, speakers perform a behaviour for their listeners, who then attend to that behaviour in turn; this therefore creates a joint action, with both parties participating.

2.36 Speech Action Ladder

Clark rejects the ladder of acts suggested by Austin in favor of what he calls a speech action ladder, which reformulates Austin's set of acts, taking the hearer's role into consideration Clark 1996:(153).

Level Speaker's view Hearer's view

1 Execution Attention.

2 Presentation.

3 Signalling (meaning) Recognition (understanding) Identification

4 Proposal Consideration

So, if we look at Austin's example of the utterance 'Please sit down' again, but from the perspective of an action ladder, we get the following kind of analysis:

Level 1: The speaker executes the sounds 'Please sit down'. The hearer attends to the speaker's execution. (= Phonetic and Phatic)

Level 2: The speaker presents the words 'Please sit down'. The hearer identifies the speaker's presentation. (= Rhetic and Locutionary)

Level 3: The speaker signals the request that the hearer sit down. The hearer recognises the speaker's signal. (= Illocutionary)

Level 4: The speaker proposes that the hearer sit down. The hearer considers the speaker's proposal. (= Perlocutionary)

All the actions on the ladder take place simultaneously during an utterance so that one might be tempted to say that one cannot really distinguish between them. But we can tell that these are in fact not one act by the dependency that the successful completion of one level has on the successful completion of another (Clark 1996). So, the speaker executes an articulation of sounds in order to present a message, which he does in order to signal that he is performing some speech act, which he does in order to propose some action. The chain of causality from the bottom level up to the top leads to the idea of upward completion. This means that it is only possible to complete the overall action when each sub-level is fulfilled satisfactorily. To correctly perform the top-level action, no stage can be missed out.

We can reverse the order of the chain, but the dependency is still uni-directional, through Levels 1 to 4. The speaker can be said to be proposing some action by means of signalling that he is performing some speech act, which he is doing by means of presenting a message, which he is doing by means of executing an articulation of sounds. This gives a chain of downward evidence through the levels, so that when we know that one level is complete, we have the necessary evidence that all levels below it are complete also.

Knowledge of the chain of upward completion gives the hearer a means of reconstructing the speaker's motives and goals, while

downward evidence is used by the speaker to span from a top level goal to the production of the sounds that should be used to attempt to achieve it. In essence, both comprise the same set of relations, but represented from different points of view.

2.37 Persuasion

According to O'Donnell and Kable(1982) persuasion can be defined as: a compound, continuing, interactive process in which a sender and a receiver are linked by symbols, verbal nonverbal through which the persuader attempts to influence the persuadee to adopt a change in a given attitude or behavior because the persuadee has had perceptions enlarged or changed. The above definition emphasizes the fact that persuasion is an interactive communicative process in which the persuader attempts to influence the beliefs, attitudes and behaviours of the persuadee.

2.38 How does the speaker carry his/her discourse?

Scollon (2000) point to a theory of human agency which itself is included in a theory of anticipatory discourse. The theory of human agency assumes an analysis in terms of different stances about feasibility and efficiency of one's actions with respect to the future, which range from agentive to fatalistic. In other words, the question becomes to what extent we believe that an action (communicative action in this case) can effectively be taken to influence possible outcomes. Relating to this claim is also Scollon's (2000: 2) argument that 'in times of political crisis we attempt to carry political discourses more consciously through expectation of possible social friction'.

Van Dijk (1998: 256–8) expresses a similar view when he talks about legitimation discourse:

Legitimation may not be necessary in normal course of events and when no challenges to institutional power or authority are imminent. They become imperative, however, in moment of crisis, when the legitimacy of the state, an institution ...is at stake. Legitimation, then becomes part of the strategies of crisis management, in which in-groups and their institutions need self-legitimation and out-groups must be delegitimated.

Furthermore, according to Wodak et al. (1999; cited in Scollon, 2001) the degree of conscious intention is the function of the text's fixedness. Thus, one may expect its highest degree in fixed texts, e.g. political speeches, which is the case in the present analysis. I will try to find whether S indeed carried his discourse consciously during the period analyzed. If it proves correct it will mean, in turn, that he assumed an 'agentive stance'. We could, then, call S's discourse both conscious discourse and legitimation discourse, i.e. a discourse carried consciously in order to influence 'self-projected' outcomes and to secure the legitimacy in the face of an imminent crisis.

2.39 Listening Comprehension

There are different definitions of the term "listening comprehension." Listening comprehension is the different processes of understanding the spoken language. These include knowing speech sounds, comprehending the meaning of individual words, and understanding the syntax of sentences. According to Hamouda (2013), listening comprehension refers to the understanding of what the listener has heard and it is his/her ability to repeat the text despite the fact that the listener may repeat the sounds without real comprehension. O'Malley, Chamot, and Kupper (1989) said

that listening comprehension is an active procedure in which the listener constructs meaning through using cues from contextual information and from existing knowledge, while relying upon numerous strategic resources to perform the task requirement. Rost (2002:1) defines listening as getting what the speaker says or related to the psychologists; is sensitive imagery being open to what is in the speaker and he determines it in four main categories.

1. Receptive: Listening is what the speaker actually says. However, listening means catching what the speaker has said or getting the speakers ideas. also it interprets the speaker's message and take out the speakers content. Furthermore, listening mean receiving the transfer of images, impressions, thoughts, beliefs, attitudes and emotions from the speaker.

2. Constructive: Listening is constructing and representing meaning.

So listening means figuring out what is in the speaker's mind and finding something interesting in what the speaker is saying. Also it means finding out what is relevant for you.

Moreover, Listening means reframing the speaker's message in a way that's relevant to you. And understanding why the speaker is talking to you then noticing what is nor said.

3. Collaborative: Listening is negotiating meaning with the speaker and responding.

Here, listening is coordination with the speaker on the choice of a code and context. And responding to what the speaker has said.

However, Listening is the process of negotiating shared information or values with the speaker. And also acting interested while the speaker is

talking then indicating to the speaker which ideas are clear and acceptable to you.

4. Transformative: Listening is creating meaning through involvement, imagination and empathy.

At this point listening is involvement with the speaker, without judgment and is creating a connection between the speaker and the listener and also it is empathizing with the speaker's motivation for speaking. However, listening is imagining a possible world for the speaker's meaning and process of creating meaning in the speaker. Moreover, listening is the completion of communication and also it is the process of altering the cognitive environment of both the speaker and the listener.

2.40 Defining Political Discourse

Political discourse refer to the discourse practice included in by all players; from politicians and originations to the citizens in political process. Van Dijk (1994) defines political discourse is about the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels.

Politicians in this logic are the group of people who are being paid for their political events, and who are being chosen or selected as the central players in the country.

Of course, it is not only formal or professional politics and politicians that are included in the country. Political activity and the political process also involve people as citizens and voters, people as members of pressure and issue groups, demonstrators and dissidents, and so on (Verba, et al., 1993). In addition to this a discourse either it a manuscript or a spoken of professional politicians or political institutions, such as president and

prime minister and other member of government, parliament or political parties both at the local, national and international levels, includes both the speakers and listeners

2.41 Speaking Style

The Style of the Speaker is simply the unique way in which the information is delivered to the audience. People are different. So, in order to get the message across in the most effective way, the speaker's style must factor into the content of the speech. The speaking event is the circumstances in which speaker deliver his speeches. This can include the purpose of speaker speeches, such as to persuade, inform or to entertain. He is usually either required to speak or asked to speak for an event.

Brown (1995) said that It is not obligatory to assume a universal guarantee of relevance to the hearer as the motivation for a listener giving attention to what a speaker says. So the speaker just want to look at the social aspects of communication to find a reason for a hearer's attention.

A presenter does not form his words using the only possible set of words for the 'correct' communication of his ideas, but letters what he says in a way he believes the hearer is most likely to understand in the context of the discourse situation. If the speaker contains too much detail in his speech then it coverts more boring for the hearer, or the hearer might become overloaded by too much information and so be unable to process it to make a 'correct' interpretation; too little information on the other hand, will lead to ambiguity. Speech is thus constantly balanced between too much and too little information. A speaker is always tries to get the hearer's attention and hence he needs to send his ideas as simply as possible. Minimal specification is often the best strategy for speakers to

follow. This is often the way that children behave in conversation because they tend to believe that others especially adults are already aware of all the background information necessary to interpret their message.

Clark (1983) says: “All that counts in the end is the speaker’s meaning and the recovery of the speaker’s intentions in uttering the sentence”. This disregards the item when the hearer was originally the main mover within a dialogue, when it is the hearer who decides what information is most significant in communication because he himself has first elicited it. This is an important idea as it encourages the interpretation of speech acts based on prior speech acts.

Part Two: The previous studies

This section reviews some of studies done in the domain of speech acts and the effect of speech acts on shaping people attitudes by some Sudanese and foreign researchers.

Although there is a considerable number of research which have been conducted on the general broad area of speech acts.

1- Pitia Marino Hillary, power conflict between Africans and colonialists as depicted in literary texts written by African novelists, 2015, Ph.D.

The study aims at demonstrating how a close analysis of linguistics features in some African literary texts can contribute to the comprehension of power relations and ideological expressions in discourse as depicted by the African novelists: Chinua Achebe, Tayeb Salih and Ngugi Wa Thiongo. the analysis concentrates on the use of pronouns, speech acts, requests, models ,metaphors , and divers lexical choices. These linguistic aspects have been chosen as primary tools for the analysis due to the fact that they are closely related to the three types of constrains such as constraint on content or what is said , relations , the social relations people enter into in discourse and subject positions people occupy .the critical discourse analysis (CDA)has been adopted in response to such problems .it is the main concern of (CDA)to study the minute details of linguistic structures in light of social and historical situations of literary texts, to display to consciousness the beliefs and values which are embedded in the language .the study also adopted the content analysis as a method for collecting data from the narrative ;two instruments have been designed ,one for colonialism and decolonization processes and the other for the expression of ideology in the works of African novelists mentioned earlier . The findings revealed that 70% of linguistic expressions used by the colonial administrator are in favour of

the colonial power while 30% of linguistic expressions used by Obierika are in favour of decolonization process. However, in the second half of encounter, Obierika has used 66% of linguistic expressions, which were in favour of the decolonization process. This clearly signals the shift of power to Obierika groups; it is the power of the African traditional beliefs.

2-Hale Isik, an investigation on customer interactional principles and face – threatening speech act performance in service encounters, M.A., 2003.

This thesis investigates self-guiding sociopragmatic interactional principles (SIP) in communication and choice of linguistic strategies of politeness during service encounters in Turkish and English .

To this end, two questionnaires were administered to 67 monolingual native speakers of English (ENS) by online administration and 85 monolingual native speakers of Turkish (TNS) by pen and paper administration who were all university students. Data were collected (1) by a SIP questionnaire to determine what principles are important in deciding what to say, and (2) by a linguistics strategies of politeness questionnaire (LSQ) to determine the strategies subjects would employ in conflict-generating service encounters .

Three sociopragmatic interactional superprinciples were identified through factor analysis, namely (a) Tact (cost-benefit), (b) Relational Communicative Style ,and (c) Task achievement. It has been found that face is of central value in communication and the key to the design of politeness and that its maintenance appears to be a prerequisite to adjusting communicative style and goal orientation. Results indicate that the major differences between TNS and ENS were related to the principles of ‘sounding restrained’, ‘sounding humorous’, and ‘sounding warm and friendly’. The principles of ‘hinting’ and ‘clarity’ were not

found as opposites for the TNS whereas they were in negative correlation for the ENS. Moreover, findings for the LSQ demonstrate that realization of self-goal was more important for TNS than ENS as reflected in conflict-maximizing linguistic strategy choice. The study underscores the need for a novel approach to politeness that incorporates SIPs choice of linguistic strategy .

3- Hassan Mahill Abdallah Hassan, analysis of governmental and nongovernment power struggle discourse by Arab world media 2011-2012 .PhD 2015.

This study aims to analyze governmental and nongovernment power struggle discourse by Arab world media during (2011-2012) it aims at demonstrating how powerful group can control less – power group in terms of access to the power. to bring to light that media highlight power struggle between the dictatorial governments and oppressed masses and in the service of the powerful elite and state; therefore, discourse has been abused to control people's minds , beliefs and actions and in the interest of dominant groups and against the interest or will of others.

The analysis concentrates on such linguistic means such as critical linguistic approach which is represented in nominalization, the use of pronouns, and diverse lexical choices, these have been chosen as primary tools for the analysis due to the fact that they are closely related to the fact that they are closely related to the three functions that language is said to perform, namely, ideational, interpersonal, and textual as stated by (halliday,1975:17).

As we as the analysis also concentrates on such linguistic means such top down and bottom up approaches which are represented in causative group which referred to as top down in the investigation of the cause; whereas effective group which are represented to as bottom up in the investigation

of the effect. These means have been chosen also as primary tools for the analysis due to the fact that all of them are closely related to the three types of constrains such as content (what is said), relations (the social relations that people express in the discourse) and the subjects (subject positions people can occupy). The critical discourse analysis is used to respond to such problems. Language is said to perform, namely action and reaction. The approach is concerned with the analysis of how ideologies mediated through discourse are embodied in linguistic cause and effect perspectives.

The result of analysis has demonstrated that the meanings which people convey by writer or speaker actually do not correspond to what they claim to be saying. moreover, it has demonstrated that the political elites do not adjust their political discourse which lead to actions processes of individual actors who are regarded as part and parcel from group actions and social reaction processes. These are exemplified in unequal power relation between dictatorial governments which refer to as causative groups and oppressed masses which refer to as effective groups in the investigation of cause and effect.

4- Rezvani, E., Eslami-Rasekh, A., & Vahid Dastjerdi, H. Teaching speech acts: Input enhancement versus presentation, practice, and production.

The present study aimed at investigating the potentially facilitative effects of an attention-drawing method of teaching—input enhancement—on the acquisition of the speech acts of requests and suggestions by Iranian EFL learners. Moreover, an attempt was made to compare the relative efficacy of input enhancement in this regard with that of a more traditional method of teaching known as the Presentation, Practice, and Production (PPP) method. Ninety homogenous adult Iranian intermediate EFL learners

attending a language institute in Isfahan, Iran, were randomly assigned to three groups: Input enhancement Group (IG), PPP Group (PG) and Control Group (CG). A pre-test was given to the three groups to measure the participants' ability to use requests and suggestions prior to any treatment. Then, all the groups were exposed to short conversations (audio and script) including the speech acts under study. However, while the IG was provided only with typographical enhancement of the requests and suggestions, the researchers applied the PPP method to teach the speech acts in focus to the students in the PG. The students in the CG received a placebo task. The results of the post-test, administered after the treatment, indicated that both input enhancement and PPP exerted a significant effect on the learners' production of requests and suggestions in English. It was also found that the participants who were taught through PPP outperformed those in the IG; however, the observed difference was not statistically significant. Accordingly, it can be claimed that an implicit and unobtrusive method such as input enhancement can be as effective as a traditional method such as PPP, which requires the execution of extensive mechanical practice and production drills.

5- Peter Wilfred Hesling Smith .Speech Act Theory, Discourse Structure and Indirect Speech Acts.1991.

Speech Act Theory is concerned with the ways in which language can be used. It originated with Austin, but was developed by Searle. The theories of Austin and Searle are described and several problem areas are identified. If it is to be a viable theory of language usage, speech act theory must be able to integrate with a theory of discourse structure, because if speech acts are identifiable as units of language, then it must be possible include them in a model of discourse. The second chapter examines discourse structure, examining two rival theories: the discourse

analysis approach and the conversational analysis approach. Discourse analysis is broadly sympathetic to speech act theory, whereas, conversational analysis is not. The claims of conversational analysis are examined and are found to be wanting in several respects. Speech Act Theory is then discussed with a particular emphasis on the problem of relating speech acts to each other within a larger unit of discourse. It is noted that Austin, by including the expositive class of speech acts, allows for the possibility of relations between speech acts, whereas Searle's description of speech acts effectively rules out any relations between speech acts. The third chapter develops speech acts in terms of a schematic model consisting of cognitive states, a presumed effect of the speech act and an action. The cognitive states are represented using modal and deontic operators on the proposition within epistemic logic. This idea of the description of a speech act in terms of cognitive states is developed in Chapter Four. In Chapter Four, speech acts are related using a communicated cognitive state to pair two speech acts together into a primary and secondary speech act. It is noted that the idea of a primary and secondary speech act is present within the discourse analysis model of discourse (in the form of the initiation-response cycle of exchanges) and also in the conversational analysis approach to discourse (in the form of the adjacency pair). The conclusion from this is that the two approaches are perhaps not so incompatible as might first appear. Chapter Five deals with grammatical sentence types and their possible use in communicating cognitive states. It also examines modal auxiliary verbs and their possible relationship to the modal and deontic operators used in the cognitive state model. In Chapter Six, theories of indirect speech acts are described. An explanation of indirect speech acts is developed using pragmatic maxims and cognitive states to explain why certain indirect

forms are chosen. This leads to a theory of linguistic politeness and a use model of speech acts.

6- Schiffrin , Amanda .Modeling . Speech Acts in Conversational Discourse .2005.

Computational pragmatics and dialogue analysis is currently a rapidly growing area of research in computational linguistics. Over the past five years or so, initiatives in modelling pragmatic aspects of dialogue have led to considerably improved spoken language dialogue systems – so much so in fact that constrained human-computer interaction no longer seems out of the question. One of the main drawbacks to such systems however is highlighted by the word ‘constrained’. Human communication is seldom confined to answering questions or solving problems within a restricted field (such as train timetable enquiries, or route finding, for instance). How can one tell whether theories of dialogue that work well in domain specific, task-oriented dialogue, can be scaled up or expanded to deal with natural conversation? In this dissertation I have carried out a critical survey of the various approaches to speech act modelling, detailing what I think are the strengths and weaknesses in the current theories. One very promising approach is that of using speech act analysis as a means of interpreting a speaker’s intentions in producing an utterance. This then forms the basis for determining a hearer’s response (following certain rules of conversational co-operation). I go on to present what is intended as a preliminary model, which is designed to capture the characteristic relationship and interaction of speech acts in conversational dialogue, especially those features which preceding research has failed to represent. Speech acts are defined by means of schemata that match the state of the prevailing conversational context space. Each possible context space is specified in the model for the performance of a particular speech act or acts; the representation of the

context space is then updated accordingly. I illustrate the theoretical model using real conversation, collected during the course of this research, and compare its performance against the analysis of a 'benchmark' conversation, highlighting where the model falls short and how it could be improved in the future. I will argue that the model provides a powerful formalism for the characterization of a wide variety of different basic speech acts.

7-Zina Abdul Hussein Khudhier. *A Pragmatic Study of Barak Obama's Political Propaganda* (2015).

This study investigates, pragmatically, the language of five electoral political propaganda texts delivered by Barak Obama. It attempts to achieve the following aims:(1) identifying the speech acts used in political propaganda, (2) showing how politicians utilize Grice's maxims and the politeness principle in issuing their propaganda, (3) analyzing the rhetorical devices used in political propaganda. To achieve the aims of this study, it is hypothesized that:(1) The speech acts of statement, assertion, and advice can be used in political propaganda, (2) the cooperative principle and the politeness principle are frequently observed in political propaganda, (3) persuasion, metaphor, repetition, and manipulation are the rhetorical devices used in political propaganda. The following procedures have been followed:(1) reviewing the literature about political propaganda along with some pragmatic notions such as speech acts, the cooperative principle, politeness strategies, and some rhetorical devices such as persuasion, metaphor, repetition, and manipulation that are relevant to the aims of the study, (2) analyzing five electoral political propaganda texts according to a model developed by this study. The findings of the analysis verify the above mentioned hypotheses.

8- Jacques Savoy. Trump and Clinton's style and rhetoric during the 2016 US presidential election (2016).

This present paper examines the style and rhetoric of the two main candidates (Hillary Clinton & Donald Trump) during the 2016 US presidential election. To achieve this objective, this study analyses the oral communication form based on interviews and TV debates both during the primaries and the general election. The speeches delivered during the campaign represent the written communication genre. In oral, the most frequent lemmas indicate clearly an emphasis on the pronoun I for both candidates while in writing, the pronoun we appears more frequently. According to several overall stylistic indicators, Trump adopts a simple and direct communication style, preferring short sentences, avoiding complex formulations and employing a reduced vocabulary. In the oral form, Trump frequently uses verb phrases (verbs and adverbs) and pronouns while Clinton is more descriptive (more nouns and prepositions). Our analysis indicates that, for both candidates, the oral forms based on interviews or presidential TV debates are closely related. As expected, the written text genre presents differences with the oral form. For Trump, however, the difference is clearly larger, distinctively depicting two communication styles and rhetoric, one oral and one written. The specific terms or sentences associated with each candidate reveals their characteristic topics and style such as the repetition of expressions (symplaces) and negativity for Trump, with an emphasis on taxes, immigration, and workers, while Clinton's speeches focus more on education and health care. Based on predefined word lists, this study indicates that Clinton's rhetoric employs more cognitive words while negative emotions and exclusive terms occur more frequently in Trump's verbiage.

9- Safwat, Suhair. Speech Acts in Political Speeches. Journal of Modern Education Review (2015)

Speech Acts in Selected Political Speeches Abstract The study investigates the role of language in the communication and interpretation of intentions by examining selected political speeches of John Kerry in Presidential Campaign in 2004 and George Bush- Inaugural address in 2001 since they have the same purposes as pieces of discourse with specific goals. Hence, the study focused on the pragmatic functions of locution, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts of the speeches. Twenty sentences were selected from the two speeches. The findings show that the overall relative frequency percentages for the selected speeches are: commissive 40%, assertive 35%, directive 20%, and expressive 5%. The results show that Kerry relied more on sentences that performed commissive acts than other speech acts since he committed to some future actions, and he promised to make the world fit the words. Bush used sentences with assertive acts more than other speech acts since the assertive has a truth value which can only enhance the effect of the asserted proposition. Hence, the data are characterized by a preponderance of commissive, assertive and directive acts that are mostly used as mobilization strategies, especially in political campaigns, where it is essential for candidates to persuade their listeners to win elections. Politicians communicate directly with the general public in order to convince them of their programs or ideas. Usually, the speakers would promote about their self and talk about their potency to be a good leader with all their goals to convince the hearer. In this area, the speech act analysis of the political speeches provides the understanding that political leaders perform various acts through their speeches. The revelation of the dominance of Speech Acts is a reflection of the purpose of political speeches which are to influence, persuade, impress, convince, and even to deceive the populace. Key words: Speech Acts Theory, Political Discourse, Political Speeches.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1 introduction

To achieve the objectives of the study, the descriptive analytical, qualitative method has been adopted. Saunders et al (2003) the descriptive survey method as one which looks with intense accuracy at the phenomena of the moment and then describes exactly what the researcher sees. So, descriptive research design is concerned with describing the features of a specific problem. And the purpose of these methods is to describe what exists with respect to situational variable.

3.2 Research method, tools and sample of the study

The researcher has used linguistic approach through using speech acts theory in terms of analyzing extracts which are taken from the speech of Prime Minister Tony Blair about Middle East, also he has used rhetorical devices through using persuasion, metaphor, repetition and manipulation to analyse the second presidential debates for the candidate Donald Trump during the general election (2016).

They were adapted in term of investigating the role of speech act on shaping people negative attitudes through examining the following hypotheses:

- 1- Speeches act affect on the prescription of the audiences.
- 2- There is a relationship between direct speech act and speech act that speakers use.
- 3- Strategies are adopted by political speaker to persuade people to achieve his own agenda.

3.2.1 Linguistics approach (speech acts theory)

A speech act in linguistics and the philosophy of language is an utterance that has performative function in language and communication. According to Austin (1962) there are three types of speech acts:

Locutionary act: saying something (the locution) with a certain meaning in traditional sense. This may not constitute a speech act.

Illocutionary act: the performance of an act in saying something (vs. the general act of saying something). Each utterance has its illocutionary force that makes the hearers to act a certain performance, in line with the speaker's intentions, such as assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives Austin (1962). Also Searle (1969) suggests that speech acts consist of five general classifications to classify the functions or illocutionary of speech acts; these are:

1. Representative (Assertive): statements may be judged true or false because they aim to describe a state of affairs in the world.
2. Directives: statements attempt to make the other person's actions fit the propositional content.
3. Commissive: statements which commit the speaker to a course of action as described by the propositional content.
4. Expressive: statements that express the "sincerity condition of the speech act".
5. Declarative: statements that attempt to change the world by "representing it as having been changed".

The actions induced by such intentions, or speech acts, are systematically related to particular types of a sentential form uttered by the speaker (Levelt, 1989).

Perlocutionary acts: Speech acts that have an effect on the feelings, thoughts or actions of either the speaker or the listener. In other words a perlocutionary act (or perlocutionary effect) is a speech act, as viewed at the level of its consequences, such as persuading, convincing, scaring, enlightening, inspiring, or otherwise affecting the listener.

The researcher has used linguistic approach through using speech acts theory in terms of analysing extracts which are taken from the speech of Prime Minister Tony Blair about Middle East to investigate the following hypotheses:

Speeches act effect on the speakers' discourse and the audiences' perception.

There is a relationship between direct speech act and indirect speech act that speakers use.

3.2.2 Rhetorical devices

The researcher use some rhetorical devices such as persuasion, metaphor, repetition, and manipulation that can be used by politicians for propaganda. And we use it to achieve the aims of the study and test the third hypothesis: Rhetorical devises are adopted by political speaker to persuade people to achieve his own agenda.

3.2.3.1 Persuasion

According to O'Donnell and Kable(1982) persuasion can be defined as: a compound, continuing, interactive process in which a sender and a receiver are linked by symbols, verbal nonverbal through which the persuader attempts to influence the persuadee to adopt a change in a given attitude or behavior because the persuadee has had perceptions enlarged or changed. The above definition emphasizes the fact that persuasion is an interactive communicative process in which the

persuader attempts to influence the beliefs, attitudes and behaviours of the persuadee(Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012 :32).

As proposed by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 14), in the act of persuasion, the speaker needs to convince the audience that he is right. Applying this view to democracies, for an audience to consign power to a speaker, namely through the vote, the speaker needs to assure the audience that he is the right person for the task. McMauns(1998:9) notes that persuasion, according to Aristotle, demands three persuasive appeals:

1. Ethos is a Greek word which means ethics. It is primary to any attempt to persuade because it appeals to character. Likewise, ethos can be seen as an attempt to create credibility, that is, to appeal to people's trust.

Ethos = character and credibility

2. Logos is a Greek word which means logic or reason. It is an appeal to the use of facts, statistics, figures, hard evidence and the like. Logos= logic, facts and reason t

3. Pathos is a Greek word which means feeling. It is an appeal to shared values and emotions. As well, it is an appeal to people's heart, sympathy, love and compassion. Pathos= shared values and emotions

3.2.3.2 Metaphor

The use of metaphor as a part of figurative language aims to help the listener to visualize what is meant by a phrase or expression. Politicians use language to persuade people that their thoughts, aims and ideas are equitable and to make their point clear and vivid to the people. The speaker needs to use various language tools in order to make the message persuasive and comprehensible to the listener. Politicians seek to comply with the emotions, desires, and needs of the audience. The use of

metaphor is one of the most prominent tools for persuasion and an instrument for propaganda in political rhetorical language.

A metaphor is an implicit comparison between one situation that's often poorly understood and another that's generally better understood. Metaphor has been touched upon by many rhetoricians, such as Lakoff and Johnson (2003 :4) who elucidate that metaphor is a rhetorical device and a matter of extraordinary use of language, that is, a matter of thought or action. Moreover, Knowles and Moon(2006 :2) define metaphor as "the use of language to refer to something other than what it was originally applied to, or what it literally means, in order to suggest some resemblance or make a connection between the two things". So, metaphor is the use of non-literal language which involves some kind of comparison or identification(ibid. :5). Steen (2008: 214) explains metaphor purposes in different fields as follows:

‘They can occur for diverging communicative purposes in all domains of discourse: for instance, metaphor may be divertive in literature and conversation, informative in news and science, persuasive in advertising, politics, and science, and instructive in education. Thus, metaphor may be regarded as an essential tool in language, thought and communication’

All over the history, metaphor has been considered as vibrant in political rhetoric. It has been understood in cognitive terms. Cognitively speaking, metaphor is observed as a part of human conceptualization rather than a mere linguistic expression. With reference to political discourse, metaphor is important due to its functions, explaining, clarifying, describing, evaluating, expressing and entertaining. These are the reasons why politicians use metaphor in their propaganda texts. In so doing, politicians try to be effective, emotive and persuasive (Knowles and Moon, 2006:3).

2.2.3.3 Repetition

Repetition, as a rhetorical device, has been used by politicians in their propaganda texts in order to attract audience's attentions. As such, this section attempts to explore its meaning, types and functions. According to Cuddon and Preston (1999:742) repetition is defined as "an essential unifying element in nearly all poetry and much prose. It may consist of sounds, particular syllables and words, phrases, stanzas, metrical patterns, ideas, allusions and shapes". Similarly, the definition of repetition as one of the fundamental devices of art. Everything that happens more than once can be described as repetition. Vickers(1994 :98) comments that there is no theory that can ever hold all types of repetition used in rhetoric. According to this statement, this research highlights only those types that can most widely be used by politicians in their propaganda text: firstly, Anaphora is the "repetition of the same words or phrases at the beginning of successive phrases, clauses, sentences or lines"(Preminger and Brogan, 1993 :73). Politicians use anaphora due to its reinforcement of the meaning of words and arranges sentences in a similar way (ibid.). And secondly, Polysyndeton is a term in which conjunctions are used to link a succession of words, clauses or sentences. The reason why politicians use this technique is due to its emphasis on particular items to represent the flow and continuity (Preminger and Borgan, 1993 :968). To sum up, repetition is not used without providing various functions. According to John (2007:13), it is used to achieve emphasis, clarification, confirmation, effectiveness, musicality and continuity.

3.2.3.4 Manipulation

Generally, manipulation can be defined from three perspectives: it is a form of social power abuse, cognitive mind control and discursive interaction. Put it another way, as far as society is concerned,

manipulation is "illegitimate domination confirming social inequality. Cognitively, it is mind control which involves interference with the process of understanding. Discursively, manipulation involves the forms and formats of ideological discourse, such as talking about our virtuous deeds and people's bad deeds (Van Dijk, 2006 :395). It is worth noting that the above perspectives complement each other; firstly, manipulation takes place by text and talk. Secondly, those who are manipulated are human beings and this subsequently occurs by manipulating their minds. Thirdly, manipulation is a form of communicative interaction exercised by those who have control over people, such as politicians' manipulation of voters or readers through the use of discursive influence, i.e reasoning influence (ibid.). So Van Dijk argues that manipulation is a form of persuasion. However, the difference between them is that, in persuasion, the persuadee has free will to believe and accept the persuader's argument because the former knows the intention of the latter whereas in manipulation, recipients are assigned a passive role; they are victims of manipulation. In other words, those recipients are unaware of the real intention of the manipulator.

Some may argue that the purpose of political speeches is to manipulate listeners and that the speaker only desires to gain or keep their power. The goal for politicians is not primarily to present facts, but to be persuasive. The speaker needs to use their language to appeal to emotions and to include and affect the audience. The aim is to emphasize suitable issues and hide others and an apt tool is the use of metaphors in addresses to the public. The orator does not have to distort the facts when using metaphoric language, the response to the address depends on the interpretation in the mind of the listener. Politicians are rewarded for how

vividly and convincingly they present their argument, rather than for how honestly they present their views.

3.3 Summary of the chapter

This chapter studied specifically the most relevant methodology which is used in this study. Research tools were defined and brief account is made about the speech act theory and the rhetorical devices. The next chapter will provide a detailed picture about the data classification, description, analysis and result.

Chapter Four

Data Analysis, Results And Discussions

4.1 introduction

Language is an essential part of people's everyday life as it is the tool to communicate between each other. Language thereby is used to convey concepts, feelings and opinions. Language can create relations between people speaking the same language but also distance between people speaking a different language, wherefore language has a social influence.

In particular states people use language to express their feelings, to give information or to make other people do something and it is therefore important for the speaker to be understood correctly by the hearer. With the statement that "people use language to perform actions", John Austin presented language as a form of acting. By making an utterance, the speaker expects that his intention will be recognized by the hearer. The circumstances surrounding the utterances help the hearer to identify the speaker's intention. in specific situation the study focus on the role of speech acts on shaping people attitudes.

Data of this study were collected through linguistic approach (speech acts theory) and rhetorical devices. Furthermore, two discourses presented by Former Prime Minister of the United kingdom Tony Blair and the president of the united states Donald Trump to get answer to the research questions. Special focus on the use of speech acts and the relationship between the direct and indirect speech in discourse, also the rhetorical devices that use by politicians.

4.2 linguistic approach

The speech act theory considers language as a sort of action rather than a medium to convey and express. The contemporary Speech act theory developed by J. L. Austin a British philosopher of languages, he introduced this theory in 1975 in his well-known book of 'How do things with words'. Later John Searle brought the aspects of theory into much higher dimensions. This theory is often used in the field of philosophy of languages. Austin is the one who came up with the findings that people not only uses that language to assert things but also to do things. And people who followed him went to greater depths based on this point.

Added to that, Austin divides his linguistic act into three different categories. They are:

Locutionary act : This is the act of saying something. It has a meaning and it creates an understandable utterly to convey or express

Illocutionary act : It is performed as an act of saying something or as an act of opposed to saying something. The illocutionary utterance has a certain force of it. It well well-versed with certain tones, attitudes, feelings, or emotions. There will be an intention of the speaker or others in illocutionary utterance. It is often used as a tone of warning in day today life

Perlocutionary act: It normally creates a sense of consequential effects on the audiences. The effects may be in the form of thoughts, imaginations, feelings or emotions. The effect upon the addressee is the main charactership of perlocutionary utterances.

This study aims at: English high school graduation speeches and finding out which types of speech acts that are mostly used in those speeches and what are the forms used in such speeches

The researcher has used linguistic approach through analyzing the five types of speech acts (assertives, commissives, directives, declaratives and expressives) pragmatically in some selected speech on the Middle East which are taken from the Prime Minister Tony Blair to investigate the following hypotheses:

Speeches act affect on the speakers' discourse and the audiences' perception.

There is a relationship between direct speech act and indirect speech act that speakers use.

Tony Blair's speech in full is available in Appendix A.

The speech acts analysis:

Data 1

Locution:

So we look at the issue of intervention or not and seem baffled. We change the regimes in Afghanistan and in Iraq, put soldiers on the ground in order to help build the country, a process which a majority of people in both countries immediately participated in, through the elections.

Illocutionary acts:

A) Direct :assertive(stating)

B) Indirect: commissive(consistency)

Expected Perlocutionary : hopefulness

Data 2

locution:

We change the regime in Libya through air power, we don't commit forces on the ground, again the people initially respond well, but now Libya is a mess and a mess that is de-stabilising everywhere around it.

Illocutionary acts:

A) Direct :assertive(stating)

B) Indirect: directive(advice)

Expected Perlocutionary : sympathy

Data 3

Locution

In Syria, we call for the regime to change, we encourage the Opposition to rise up, but then when Iran activates Hezbollah on the side of Assad, we refrain even from air intervention to give the Opposition a chance.

Illocutionary acts:

A) Direct :assertive(stating)

B) Indirect: directive(appealing)

Expected Perlocutionary : sympathy

Data 4

Locution

Then there has been the so-called Arab Spring. At first we jumped in to offer our support to those on the street. We are now bemused and bewildered that it hasn't turned out quite how we expected.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :directive (advice)
- B) Indirect: expressive(feeling confused)

Expected Perlocutionary : hopefulness

Data 5

Locution

It is that there is a Titanic struggle going on within the region between those who want the region to embrace the modern world – politically, socially and economically – and those who instead want to create a politics of religious difference and exclusivity.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :assertive(stating)
- B) Indirect: directive(sympathizing)

Expected Perlocutionary : sympathy

Data 6

Locution

this is the battle. This is the distorting feature. This is what makes intervention so fraught but non- intervention equally so. This is what complicates the process of political evolution. This is what makes it so hard for democracy to take root. This is what, irrespective of the problems on the Israeli side, divides Palestinian politics and constrains their leadership.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :directive (advice)
- B) Indirect: expressive(feeling confused)

Expected Perlocutionary : hopefulness

Data 7

Locution

The important point for Western opinion is that this is a struggle with two sides. So when we look at the Middle East and beyond it to Pakistan or Iran and elsewhere, it isn't just a vast unfathomable mess with no end in sight and no one worthy of our support.

Illocutionary acts:

A) Direct :declarative (confirming)

B) Indirect: commissive(promising)

Expected Perlocutionary : promising

Data 8

Locution

It is in fact a struggle in which our own strategic interests are intimately involved; where there are indeed people we should support and who, ironically, are probably in the majority if only that majority were mobilised, organised and helped.

Illocutionary acts:

A) Direct :directive (appealing)

B) Indirect: commissive(promising)

Expected Perlocutionary : pacification

Data 9

Locution

But what is absolutely necessary is that we first liberate ourselves

from our own attitude. We have to take sides. We have to stop treating each country on the basis of whatever seems to make for the easiest life for us at any one time. We have to have an approach to the region that is coherent and sees it as a whole. And above all, we have to commit. We have to engage.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :directive (advice)
- B) Indirect: expressive(feeling confused)

Expected Perlocutionary : hopefulness

Data 10

Locution

Engagement and commitment are words easy to use. But they only count when they come at a cost. Alliances are forged at moments of common challenge. Partnerships are built through trials shared. There is no engagement that doesn't involve a price. There is no commitment that doesn't mean taking a risk.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :assertive (stating)
- B) Indirect: directive(sympathy)

Expected Perlocutionary : challenge and satisfaction

Data 11

Locution

In saying this, it does not mean that we have to repeat the enormous commitment of Iraq and Afghanistan. It may well be that in time

people come to view the impact of those engagements differently. But there is no need, let alone appetite, to do that.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :directive (advice)
- B) Indirect: expressive(apologies)

Expected Perlocutionary : pacification

Data 12

Locution

I completely understand why our people feel they have done enough, more than enough. And when they read of those we have tried to help spurning our help, criticising us, even trying to kill us, they're entitled to feel aggrieved and to say: we're out.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :commisive (threats)
- B) Indirect: expressive(feeling pain)

Expected Perlocutionary : satisfaction

Data 13

locution

However, as the Afghans who braved everything to vote show us and the Iraqis who will also come out and vote despite all the threats and the inadequacy of the system they now live in, demonstrate, those who spurn our help are only part of the story.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :assertive (stating)
- B) Indirect: expressive(savouring the country's new experience)

Expected Perlocutionary : hopefulness

Data 14

Locution

There are others whose spirit and determination stay undaunted. And I think of the Egyptians who have been through so much and yet remain with optimism; and the Palestinians who work with me and who, whatever the frustrations, still want and believe in a peaceful solution; and I look at Tunisians and Libyans and Yemenis who are trying to make it all work properly; and I realise this is not a struggle without hope.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :directive (encouraging)
- B) Indirect: declarative(confirming)

Expected Perlocutionary : determining and inspiring

Data 15

Locution

Egypt. I start with Egypt not because what is happening in Syria is not more horrifying; but because on the fate of Egypt hangs the future of the region. Here we have to understand plainly what happened.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :assertive (stating)
- B) Indirect: directive(assessing)

Expected Perlocutionary : hopefulness

Data 16

Locution

We should support the new Government and help. None of this means that where there are things we disagree strongly with – such as the death sentence on the 500 – that we do not speak out. Plenty of Egyptians have. Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :assertive (describing the events)
- B) Indirect: directive(sympathy)

Expected Perlocutionary : encouraging and supporting

Data 17

But it does mean that we show some sensitivity to the fact that over 400 police officers have suffered violent deaths and several hundred soldiers been killed. The next President will face extraordinary challenges. It is massively in our interests that he succeeds.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :commisive (promising)
- B) Indirect: directive (appealing)

Expected Perlocutionary : appeasement and hopefulness

Data 18

Locution

We should mobilise the international community in giving Egypt and its new President as much assistance as we can so that the country gets a chance not to return to the past but to cross over to a better future.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :directive (encourage and sympathy)
- B) Indirect: expressive(feeling pleasure)

Expected Perlocutionary : savouring the new country's experience

Data 19

Locution

On this issue also, there is a complete identity of interest between East and West. China and Russia have exactly the same desire to defeat this ideology as do the USA and Europe. Here is a subject upon which all the principal nations of the G20 could come together, could agree to act, and could find common ground to common benefit.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :assertive (stating)
- B) Indirect: commisive(promising)

Expected Perlocutionary : hopefulness and reconciliatory

Data 20

Locution

This is why I work on the Middle East peace process; why I began my foundation to promote inter-faith dialogue. Why I will do all I can to help governments confronting these issues.

Illocutionary acts:

- A) Direct :declarative (confirming)
- A) Indirect: commisive (promise)

B) Expected Perlocutionary : pacification

Data

Table (1) show the affect of Speeches act on the perception of the audiences.

Speech acts(direct and indirect)	Frequencies	Percentages
Assertive	10	%25
Directive	13	%32.5
Expressive	7	17.5 %
Commisive	7	%17.5
Declarative	3	%7.5

Data

Table (2) show the relationship between direct speech act and indirect speech act that speakers use.

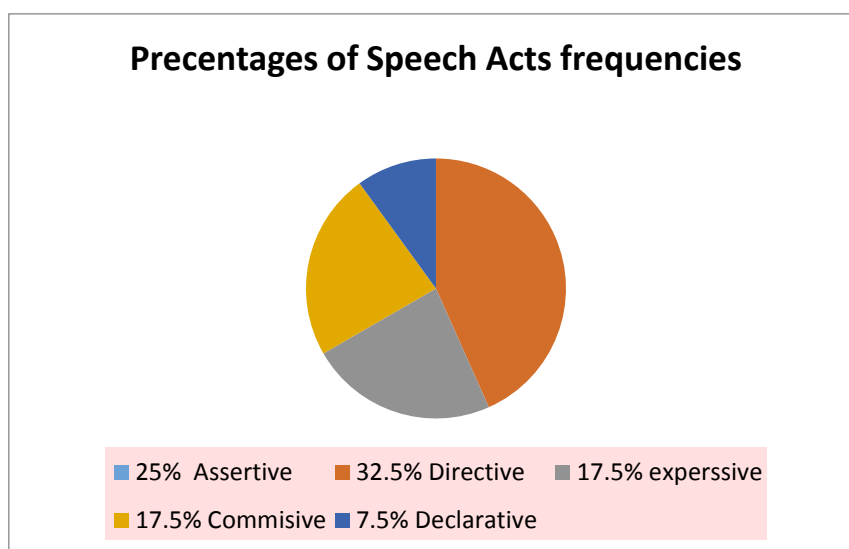
Speech acts	Direct	Direct	Indirect	Indirect
	Frequencies	Percentages	Frequencies	Percentages
Assertive	10	100%	0	0%
Directive	6	46%	7	54%
Expressive	0	0%	7	100%
Commisive	2	29%	5	71%
Declarative	2	67%	1	33%

4.3.1 Interpretation of the analysis on tables

Language is a powerful weapon in getting to the political thoughts and ideologies of politicians; hence the language use of Tony Blair is studied through the selected speeches in order to get to his thoughts. The Speech Act theory was applied to the study of the speeches and we discovered that the five categories of Searle's (1969) speech acts. It is pertinent to state that the speech acts could be intended or unintended, as the speaker is often unaware of some speech acts tactics especially the indirect illocutionary acts.

Based on the results presented in Table 1, the percentage of the speech acts show that 25% refers to assertive, 17.5% to commissive, 32.5% to directive, 17.5% to expressive and 7.5% refers declarative.

These percentages are illustrated by a pie graph in Figure below 1.

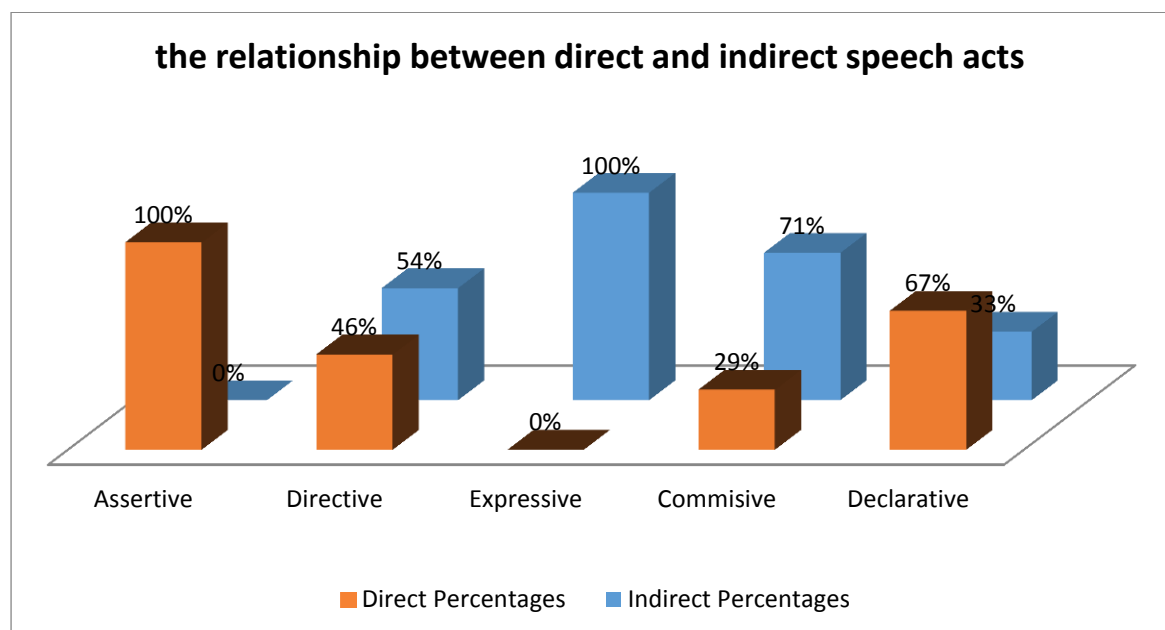


The fact that all the sentences have both direct and indirect speech acts. Table (2) revealed The relationship between direct speech and indirect speech acts, through analyzing these categories: directive, assertive, commissive, expressive and declarative.

According to the results revealed in table (2) the percentage of the relationship between direct and indirect speech acts showed that, in direct speech Tony Blair used assertive, as it has percentage 100%, while he never used it in indirect acts. He also never used expressive in direct speech and 100% in indirect speech. 46% referred to directive as a direct speech and 54% referred to directive in indirect speech. In direct speech Blair used commissive, as it has percentage 29%, whereas the percentage of commissive in indirect speech is 71%. Blair used 67% in direct speech and 33% in indirect speech as declarative.

From the Table (2), we realized that each of the sentences investigated the relationship performed both direct illocutionary and indirect acts.

The bar chart in Figure 2 shows the percentage of the relationship between direct and indirect speech acts.



4.3 Conclusion

It is concluded that

- 1- The first hypothesis reveals that the speech acts affect on the speakers' discourse and the audiences' perception.
- 2- The second hypothesis shows that there is a relationship between direct speech act and indirect speech act that speakers use.
- 3- The Speech Act theory as a framework in the analysis of Tony Blair's speeches enables us to explore the language use by political leaders.
- 4- In his propaganda Tony Blair use his language to advice, encourage, sympathizing, appealing and assessing. This is indicated through the infrequency of directive (table1) that is amounted to 32.5%. Which means directive is the mostly used speech act in the Tony Blair's discourse.
- 5- The Former Prime Minister had least used in his speech is declarative. This is showed through the infrequency of declarative (table1) that is amounted to 7.5%. Which means that, he cannot change the world just by utterances or pronouncing and declaring.
- 6- The Former Prime Minister Tony Blair describes a state of affairs in the world and expresses proposition directly. This is obvious in assertive percentage (table 2), that is, 100%.
- 7- Tony Blair expressed gratitude, sympathy and excuses by indirect way.
- 8- The most of Tony Blair's future actions, consistencies and promises expressed by indirect speech.
- 9- Through the practice of Speech Act theory to study Former Prime Minister Tony Blair speeches, the listener and readers are better equipped in understanding the application of Speech Act theory to political speeches.

4.3 Rhetorical devices

The researcher has used rhetorical devices through using persuasion, metaphor, repetition and manipulation to investigate the following hypothesis:

Rhetorical devices are adopted by political speaker to persuade people to achieve his own agenda.

To achieve this objective the researcher will analyze the second presidential debates for the candidate Donald Trump during the general election (2016) to show the rhetorical devices such as persuasion, metaphor, repetition and manipulation that used in Donald Trump speech. The researcher chooses 20 texts randomly from his speech to test the above hypothesis.

Donald Trump's speech in full is available in Appendix B.

Text (1)

Well, I actually agree with that. I agree with everything she said. I began this campaign because I was so tired of seeing such foolish things happen to our country. This is a great country. This is a great land. I've gotten to know the people of the country over the last year-and-a-half that i've been doing this as a politician. I cannot believe I'm saying that about myself, but I guess I have been a politician. And my whole concept was to make America great again.

Persuasion (pathos)

Pathos is an appeal to emotion. It is a way of convincing the audience to get emotional response. To achieve this, Trump uses the following statement; I began this campaign because I was so tired of seeing such foolish things happen to our country.

Metaphor

Metaphor, as a rhetorical device, is used to draw the attention of the audience to a particular idea and then to persuade them. Here Trump's metaphor is "And my whole concept was to make America great again". He will build America again by over jobs, health care, quality education, strong economyetc. this is his whole idea.

Repletion

Repetition, as a rhetorical device, has been used by politicians in their propaganda texts in order to attract audience's attentions. Trump repeated a few different refrains, words and phrases throughout his speech. And he repeats the word great three times as anaphora device to convince his audiences that he will build America again. This is a great country. This is a great land ... And my whole concept was to make America great again.

Manipulation

As a way of convincing the audience, Trump uses his skill to attract their attention and to create an atmosphere of suspense to his ideology. He plays with the word freedom by repeating it more than once and by showing its importance in American's life.

Text (2)

When I look at all of the things that I see and all of the potential that our country has, we have such tremendous potential, whether it's in business and trade, where we're doing so badly. Last year, we had almost \$800 billion trade deficit. In other words, trading with other countries. We had an \$800 billion deficit. It's hard to believe. Inconceivable.

Persuasion (logos)

Trump gives many statistics figures to convince his audience that America has a great potential if they exploit their potential they will wad their trade deficit. Such as Last year, we had almost \$800 billion trade deficit.

Metaphor

Tremendous potential is a metaphor which has been used by Trump to signal that his country has strong economy and rich country.

Repetition

He repeats phrases more than one time to attract his audiences' attentions to be more careful about this issue. "We had almost \$800 billion trade deficit", "We had an \$800 billion deficit".

Manipulation

Trump tries to convince his audience that he is the change that they look for.

Text (3)

You say who's making these deals? We're going the make great deals. We're going to have a strong border. We're going to bring back law and order. Just today, policemen was shot, two killed. And this is happening on a weekly basis. We have to bring back respect to law enforcement. At the same time, we have to take care of people on all sides.

Persuasion (logos)

Trump states a reason that if America wants to be great again, it should have to bring strong border and respect the law.

Metaphor

Trump mentions that to his audiences if they seek to make America great, just follow statements that he mentioned above. And he confirms them that he will make America great if they followed rightly.

Repetition

Trump uses anaphora device to confirm to his listeners by repeating the same phrases; "We're going the make great deals. We're going to have a strong border. We're going to bring back law and order", "We have to bring back respect to law enforcement. At the same time, we have to take care of people on all sides.

Text (4)

We need justice. but I want to do things that haven't been done, including fixing and making our inner cities better for the African-American citizens that are so great, and for the Latinos, 4Hispanics, and I look forward to doing it. It's called make America great again.

Persuasion (pathos)

Trump tries to share his feeling with his audience that he will tries to do better in this job and that show in this statement " It's called make America great again".

Metaphor

Trump addresses the following statement; "We need justice ". Here, he aims to attract the audiences' attention to the importance of the justice and it be a reason for fixing our all inner problems.

Repetition

Trump uses polysyndeton to emphasize his purpose. He says “but I want to do things that haven’t been done, including fixing and making our inner cities better for the African-American citizens that are so great, and for the Latinos, 4Hispanics, and I look forward to doing it.

Manipulation

Since he needs more votes so he has to speak in a way that is convincing. He tries to convince them that he is looking for justice and the future of American. According to the researcher's opinion, the future’s reward is to build a strong America by the justice between all.

Text (5)

No, I didn’t say that at all. I don’t think you understood what was — this was locker room talk. I’m not proud of it. I apologize to my family. I apologize to the American people. Certainly I’m not proud of it. But this is locker room talk. You know, when we have a world where you have ISIS chopping off heads, where you have — and, frankly, drowning people in steel cages, where you have wars and horrible, horrible sights all over, where you have so many bad things happening, this is like medieval times. We haven’t seen anything like this, the carnage all over the world.

Persuasion (logos)

Donald Trump defended the content of a video leaked from Access Hollywood by saying that his discussion of grabbing and kissing women without their consent is part of an everyday culture of masculinity. Trump reinforced that in the debate, saying that the candidates needed to talk about “more important” issues. Trump presents the reason for accusing him that he has sexually assaulted women, he says that is locker room talk.

Metaphor

Metaphor, as a rhetorical device, is used to draw the attention of the audience to a particular idea and then to persuade them. Here trump's metaphor is "But this is locker room talk ". He alludes that isn't true idea.

Reputation

Trump uses anaphora as a way of attracting the audience attention to believe him. He says ". I apologize to my family ", "I apologize to the American people. And "this was locker room talk", " But this is locker room talk". In order to emphasize the fact that feeling sorry and Complaining are vain which he does not believe in.

Manipulation

As a way of convincing the audience, Trump uses his skill to attract their attention that he has important issues are focusing on it. Such as "You know, when we have a world where you have ISIS chopping off heads".

Text (6)

It's just words, folks. It's just words. Those words, i've been hearing them for many years. I heard them when they were running for the Senate in New York, where Hillary was going to bring back jobs to upstate New York and she failed.

I've heard them where Hillary is constantly talking about the inner cities of our country, which are a disaster education-wise, jobwise, safety-wise, in every way possible. I'm going to help the African-Americans. I'm going to help the Latinos, Hispanics. I am going to help the inner cities.

Persuasion (pathos)

Pathos is an application to sympathy. It is a technique of convincing the audience to get emotional response. To achieve this, Trump uses the

following statement ;" I'm going to help the Latinos, Hispanics" , " I'm going to help the African-Americans" , "We saw that firsthand when she was United States senator".

Metaphor

Trump's metaphor is "I've heard them where Hillary is constantly talking about the inner cities of our country". He alludes that if anyone of his audience seeks change, he will notice that change in his personality not in other persons. And here Hillary is just speaker, she will not change anything.

Repetition

Trump uses anaphora as a way of attracting the audience attention. He says " It's just words, folks. It's just words". "Those words, i've been hearing them for many years "

Manipulation

Trump tries to convince his audience that Hillary isn't qualified for this job because she was been in the government. And Trump shows that the realities of crime and poverty in inner cities are a result of systemic and political decay. What is striking about Trump's rhetoric is that he pitches the idea of inner-city decay as something he alone can fix, without any clear indicator of an intimate relationship with said communities. The inner city he continues to imagine in his rhetoric contains the Latina/os, African-Americans and women who, I believe, may take issue with his proposal to build a wall between the U.S. and Mexico, his bragging of sexual assault and his claims of minorities as always suffering.

Text (7)

She's done a terrible job for the African-Americans. She wants their vote, and she does nothing, and then she comes back four years later. We saw that firsthand when she was United States

senator. She campaigned where the primary part of her campaign...

Persuasion (logos)

Trump states many reasons that Hillary was failing when she was senator, he should have to press on as there is no time to for her, now voters they should give him a chance to change America to the good future.

Repetition

Trump uses ploysndeton to continue on his speech. And it is clear when he say:"She wants their vote, and she does nothing, and then she comes back four years later. We saw that firsthand when she was United States senator".

Manipulation

Trump manipulates his audience in a way that suits his purposes. Since he needs more votes so he has to speak in a way that is convincing. He tries to convince them that he is looking for the future and he deserves votes more than Hillary. According to the researcher's opinion, the future's reward is to build a strong America and to have those people who are open minded and never complaining.

Text (8)

So, she's allowed to do that, but I'm not allowed to respond?

Persuasion (logos)

Logically Trump speaks about Hillary that when she was a senator, she allowed a lots of corruption happen and if they elect him to be a president of the United States he won't allowed for corruption and he will make America great land again.

Repetition

Trump uses ploysndeton to clarify his point. "So, she's allowed to do that, but I'm not allowed to respond?"

Manipulation

Trump tries to convince his listeners that he is looking for the future and he won't corruption happen.

Text (9)

So don't tell me about words. I am absolutely — I apologize for those words. But it is things that people say. But what President Clinton did, he was impeached, he lost his license to practice law. He had to pay an \$850,000 fine to one of the women. Paula Jones, who's also here tonight.

And I will tell you that when Hillary brings up a point like that and she talks about words that I said 11 years ago, I think it's disgraceful, and I think she should be ashamed of herself, if you want to know the truth.

Persuasion (logos)

Trump states a reason that Hillary isn't appropriate person for this job, and he pointed that she just say words and that is not truth.

Repetition

Trump uses anaphora device to attract the attention of the audience by repeating the same pronoun I more than five time and he repeats phrase I think two times "I think it's disgraceful, and I think she should be ashamed of herself".

Manipulation

As a way of convincing the audience, Trump uses his skill to distract their attention and her corrupt deals when he says " she talks about words that I said 11 years ago, I think it's disgraceful, and I think she should be ashamed of herself, if you want to know the truth." and he reminds her by the scandal of her husband when was present he says "he was impeached, he lost his license to practice law. He had to pay an \$850,000 fine to one of the women".

Text (10)

Well, you owe the president an apology, because as you know very well, your campaign, Sidney Blumenthal — he's another real winner that you have — and he's the one that got this started, along with your campaign manager, and they were on television just two weeks ago, she was, saying exactly that. So you really owe him an apology. You're the one that sent the pictures around your campaign, sent the pictures around with President Obama in a certain garb. That was long before I was ever involved, so you actually owe an apology.

Persuasion (logos)

Trump present a reasons for why does she owe the president an apology.

Repetition

Trump uses polysyndeton to emphasize his ideas. "because as you know very well, your campaign, Sidney Blumenthal — he's another real winner that you have — and he's the one that got this started, along with your campaign manager, and they were on television just two weeks ago, she was, saying exactly that. So you really owe him an apology".

Manipulation

Trump manipulates his audiences in a manner that suits his purposes. Since he needs more votes so he has to speak in a way that he is an honest and truthful candidate.

Text (11)

Number two, Michelle Obama. I've gotten to see the commercials that they did on you. And i've gotten to see some of the most vicious commercials i've ever seen of Michelle Obama talking about you, Hillary.

Persuasion (logos)

Trump states a reason why Michelle Obama talking to Hillary

Repetition

Trump repeats the same phrases more than one. He says: "I've gotten to see the commercials that they did on you. And i've gotten to see some of the most vicious commercials i've ever seen.....".

Manipulation

Eloquence is the most important weapon that can be used by any successful candidate. Here, Trump tries to use his eloquence in a manipulative way to attract the audience's attention. Indirectly, he tries to convince them that he is the right path that should be followed.

Text (12)

And I was so surprised to see him sign on with the devil.

But when you talk about apology, I think the one that you should really be apologizing for and the thing that you should be apologizing for are the 33,000 e-mails that you deleted, and that you acid washed, and then the two boxes of e-mails and other things last week that were taken from an office and are now missing.

Persuasion (Logos)

Logically speaking, Trump inserts some statistics and also he gives some reasons to convince his audiences that Hillary was immersing in the corruption.

Repetition

Trump uses polysyndeton in the above extract more than ten times to emphasize Hillary's intention. He says "and that you acid washed, and then the two boxes of e-mails and other things last week that were taken from an office and are now missing".

Manipulation

Manipulation involves the forms and formats of ideological discourse, such as talking about our virtuous deeds and people's bad deeds and Trump uses this way when he says " And I was so surprised to see him sign on with the devil".

Text (13)

And i'll tell you what. I didn't think I'd say this, but I'm going to say it, and I hate to say it. But if I win, I am going to instruct my attorney general to get a special prosecutor to look into your situation, because there has never been so many lies, so much deception. There has never been anything like it, and we're going to have a special prosecutor.

Persuasion (logos)

Trump address a reason for why he want to instruct his attorney general to get special prosector. He says: " because there has never been so many lies, so much deception. There has never been anything like it, and we're going to have a special prosecutor".

Repetition

Trump uses polysyndeton to clarify his points. He says: "And i'll tell you what. I didn't think I'd say this, but I'm going to say it, and I hate to say it. But if I win, I am going to instruct my attorney general to get a special prosecutor to look into your situation, because there has never been so many lies, so much deception. There has never been anything like it, and we're going to have a special prosecutor".

Manipulation

Trump uses manipulation to convince his audiences that by to distort the image of Hillary.

Text (14)

When I speak, I go out and speak, the people of this country are furious. In my opinion, the people that have been long-term workers at the FBI are furious. There has never been anything like this, where e-mails — and you get a subpoena, you get a subpoena, and after getting the subpoena, you delete 33,000 e-mails, and then you acid wash them or bleach them, as you would say, very expensive process. So we're going to get a special prosecutor, and we're going to look into it, because you know what? People have been — their lives have been destroyed for doing one-fifth of what you've done. And it's a disgrace. And honestly, you ought to be ashamed of yourself.

Persuasion (pathos)

Trump tries to convince the audience of his character and credibility. He wants to emphasize that he will be anti-corruption to increase his credibility. He says " So we're going to get a special prosecutor, and we're going to look into it, because you know what? People have been — their lives have been destroyed for doing one-fifth of what you've done. And it's a disgrace. And honestly, you ought to be ashamed of yourself".

Repetition

Trump repeats words "subpoena" and phrase "we are going" to threaten Hillary.

Manipulation

Trump talk about hillary's bad deeds, he says "And it's a disgrace. And honestly, you ought to be ashamed of yourself". And this is a kind of formats of ideological discourse manipulation.

Text (15)

Well, you're right about Islamophobia, and that's a shame. But one thing we have to do is we have to make sure that — because there is a problem. I mean, whether we like it or not, and we could be very politically correct, but whether we like it or not, there is a problem. And we have to be sure that Muslims come in and report when they see something going on. When they see hatred going on, they have to report it.

Persuasion (ethos)

Trump attempts to create credibility and to appeal all Americans' trust when he says "And we have to be sure that Muslims come in and report when they see something going on. When they see hatred going on, they have to report it".

Repetition

Trump uses polysyndeton to explain his purposes and concepts. He say “and that’s a shame. But one thing— because there is a problem., and we could be very politically correct, but whether we like it or not, there is a problem. And we have”

Manipulation

As a way of convincing the audience, Trump tries to find justification for his politics towards Muslims. He plays with the word Islamophobia by connecting it with Islam and he shows Muslims are responsible and they should help him to eliminate extremism.

Text (16)

As an example, in San Bernardino, many people saw the bombs all over the apartment of the two people that killed 14 and wounded many, many people. Horribly wounded. They'll never be the same. Muslims have to report the problems when they see them.

And, you know, there's always a reason for everything. If they don't do that, it's a very difficult situation for our country, because you look at Orlando and you look at San Bernardino and you look at the World Trade Center. Go outside. Look at Paris.

Persuasion (logos)

Trump states reasons that, why he wants to fight terrorism, and also he needs form all Muslims to help him.

Repetition

The speaker uses several repetitions to make his message and arguments stick with the audience. For example, he uses anaphora to make the audience remember that the London bombings were carefully planned: “because you look at Orlando and you look at San Bernardino and you look at the World Trade Center. Go outside”.

Manipulation

Trump began to manipulate by talking about the terrorism issue and the victim of the bombing. Trump uttered the sympathies toward the family of the victim. Then he mentioned the origin country of the terrorist that the most people have not known.

Text (17)

Look at that horrible — these are radical Islamic terrorists.

And she won't even mention the word and nor will President Obama. He won't use the term “radical Islamic terrorism.” Now, to solve a problem, you have to be able to state what the problem is or at least say the name. She won't say the name and President Obama won't say the name. But the name is there. It's radical Islamic terror. And before you solve it, you have to say the name.

Persuasion (logos)

Trump presents reasons against Hillary, she cannot solve some problems, and for example He says “she won’t use the term “radical Islamic terrorism.” Now, to solve a problem, you have to be able to state what the problem is or at least say the name”.

Metaphor

Trump here makes radical Islamic terrorism as a horrible, which he informs the voters that terrorism can destabilize Governments, undermine civil society, jeopardize peace and security, and threaten social and economic development.

Repetition

Trump repeats phrase radical Islamic terrorism three times as anaphora as a way of attracting the audience attention.

Manipulation

Trump tries to give impression to the audiences that Hillary is a weak person for refusing to use the phrase "radical Islamic terrorism". He says “And before you solve it, you have to say the name”. And if you elect me I will stop radical Islamic terrorism because we cannot allow it to tear up our nation and indeed to tear up the entire world. Trump also uttered the negative self-representation of Hillary Clinton that wants America to keep the unity with the Muslim and Islam.

Text (18)

It is such a great question and it’s maybe the question I get almost more than anything else, outside of defense. Obamacare is a disaster. You know it. We all know it. It’s going up at numbers that nobody’s ever seen worldwide. Nobody’s ever seen numbers like this for health care.

Persuasion (logos)

Trump uses logic way to convince the audiences that is Obama care is a total disaster and he supports his logic with many reasons.

Metaphor

Trump used metaphor to draw the attention of the audience to a particular idea and then to persuade them. Here Trump's metaphor is "Obamacare is a disaster ". He wants to convince his audiences that there are many victims of the health care law.

Repetition

Trump uses polysyndeton to emphasize his purposes. He says "You know it. We all know it". "...nobody's ever seen worldwide. Nobody's ever seen numbers like this for health care".

Manipulation

Trump uses the strategy to convince his audience about the problems of Obamacare. This is clear when he declares that "Obamacare is a disaster ".

Text (19)

It's only getting worse. In '17, it implodes by itself. Their method of fixing it is to go back and ask Congress for more money, more and more money. We have right now almost \$20 trillion in debt. Obamacare will never work. It's very bad, very bad health insurance. Far too expensive. And not only expensive for the person that has it, unbelievably expensive for our country. It's going to be one of the biggest line items very shortly.

Persuasion (logos)

Trump uses statistics way to make his speech clear and logical.

Persuasion

Trump uses polysyndeton to assert his idea. He says "..... for more money, more and more money". It's very bad, very bad health insurance".

Manipulation

Trump manipulates the audience to minimize their enthusiasm towards Obama care. He shows himself - confidence in sharing the responsibility with the audience in order to get the best services.

Text (20)

Hillary Clinton, in terms of having people come into our country, we have many criminal illegal aliens. When we want to send them back to their country, their country says we don't want them. In some cases, they're murderers, drug lords, drug problems. And they don't want them.

And Hillary Clinton, when she was secretary of state, said that's OK, we can't force it into their country. Let me tell you, I'm going to force them right back into their country. They're murderers and some very bad people.

Persuasion (Ethos)

Trump attempts to persuade the audiences of his power and control. He wants to emphasize that he has ability to deal with criminal aliens and he will force them to their countries.

Repetition

Trump repeats the phrases "their country", and "they are murderers" more than once as anaphora device to show that they are not belong to us, they are assassins, they should go back home.

Manipulation

Eloquence is the most prominent weapon that can be used by any successful politician. Here, Trump tries to use his eloquence in a manipulative way to attract the audience's attention. Indirectly, he tries to convince them that he is the right path that should be followed.

Table 4.3 The Analysis of the occurrence of Rhetorical Devices

Persuasive appeals	Percent Age	Metaphor	Percent age	Repetition	Percent Age	manipulation	Percent Age
Pathos	20%		40%	Anaphora	55%		100%
Logos	70%			polysendoton	45%		
Ethos	10%						

4.4.1 interpretation of the analysis on the table

The above table (3) shows that trump uses different types of rhetorical devices to deliver his message. It is obvious that the persuasive appeal of logos is used more frequently than ethos and pathos. On the other hand, the use of metaphor is amounted to only 40%, which shows that trump seeks the truth more than the imaginative use of language. Additionally, Trump uses only two types of repetition in his propaganda: anaphora (55%) and polysendoton (45%). Finally, in all his propaganda texts Trump tries to manipulate the audiences’ attention and persuaded them to vote him.

4.4.2 Verification of the Study Hypotheses (Testing)

1. The third hypothesis which states that Persuasion, metaphor, repetition, and manipulation are the rhetorical devices used in political propaganda has also been validated.
2. The persuasive appeal of logos is used more than pathos and ethos in Trump's political propaganda. This is evident in the following percentages: 70%, 20%, and 10% respectively.

3. In his propaganda Trump seeks the truth of what he delivers rather than the imaginative use of language. This is indicated through the infrequency of the use of metaphor that is amounted to 40%. So It seems there is no an important place for metaphor in Trump's speech. In fact Trump's strategy is to speak very clearly utilizing simple and short sentences. In this way he attracts more audiences among ordinary people.

4. The repetitive device of anaphora is amounted to 55% whereas polysyndeton is amounted to 45%.

5. In delivering his propaganda, Trump resorts to the management of the audience's opinions and attitudes by the use of the manipulative power. This is obvious in it percentage, that is, 100%.

Chapter Five

Main Findings, Conclusions, Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Studies

5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the final chapter of this research which contains the summary that includes of a brief explanation about the result and the recommendations and conclude with suggestions for future research.

5.2 Main Findings

- 1- Speech acts affect on the speakers' discourse and the audiences' perception.
- 2- There is a relationship between direct speech act and indirect speech act that speakers use unevenly or differently.
- 3- The Speech Act theory as a framework in the analysis of Tony Blair's speeches enables us to explore the language use by political leaders.
- 5- Directive is the most used speech act in the Tony Blair's discourse.
- 6- The Former Prime Minister Tony Blair describes a state of affairs in the world and expresses proposition directly. Also he expressed gratitude, sympathy and excuses by indirect method.
- 7- Rhetorical devices such as Persuasion, metaphor, repetition, and manipulation has been effective on shaping people attitude in political propaganda.

5.3 Conclusions

- 1- Persuasion is generally seen as the intended inducing of another person to believe something, to do something or to change attitudes, mood and behavior. It deals with the persuasive strategies used by the speaker. The

researcher found that Donald Trump tends to use persuasive strategies for each idea and argument to persuade voters to support him. The persuasion is done by the speaker has its own background and details also the context. Most persuasion that uttered is logos which means he convinces his audiences by logics or reasons.

2- In his propaganda Trump seeks the truth of what he delivers rather than the imaginative use of language. So It seems there is no an important place for metaphor in Trump's speech. In fact Trump's strategy is to speak very clearly utilizing simple and short sentences. In this way he attracts more audiences among ordinary people.

3- Trump uses only two types of repetition in his propaganda, anaphora and polysyndeton .

4- In delivering his propaganda, Trump uses manipulation in his language to enhance his persuasive strategies and his political perspective.

4- Every statements delivered by Trump have intentions, and his aims is to effect on and attract people to support him and becomes loyal voters for him in Presidential election

5- Through the practice of Speech Act theory to study Former Prime Minister Tony Blair speeches, the listener and readers are better equipped in understanding the application of Speech Act theory to political speeches.

5.4 Recommendation

It will be at a significant value to recommended that the readers that generally try to conduct or examine other research about Speech Acts Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis to develop the research by doing

further investigation to reveal different issues. Analyzing these discourses according to Halliday's systematic functional linguistic will help alot.

5.5 Suggestion for Further Studies

The researcher also suggests to the other researcher to investigate the rhetorical devices that use by politicians to manipulate the truth and achieve their own agenda. Finally, by this suggestion, the researcher hopes that this present research can be a good reference for linguistics learner and inspires them to conduct further analysis.

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Appendices:

Appendix (A)

Tony Blair's speech on the Middle East

Right now in the Middle East, this is the battle being waged. Of course in each country, it arises in a different form. But in each case, take out the extremist views around religion, and each conflict or challenge becomes infinitely more manageable. This is where, even though at one level the ideology coming out of Shia Iran and that of the Sunni Muslim Brotherhood may seem to be different, in reality they amount to the same thing with the same effect – the holding back of the proper political, social and economic advance of the country. It is this factor that then can explain many of the things that presently we seem to find inexplicable in a way that fuels our desire to dis-engage from the region and beyond it. So we look at the issue of intervention or not and seem baffled. We change the regimes in Afghanistan and in Iraq, put soldiers on the ground in order to help build the country, a process which a majority of people in both countries immediately participated in, through the elections. But that proved immensely difficult and bloody.

We change the regime in Libya through air power, we don't commit forces on the ground, again the people initially respond well, but now Libya is a mess and a mess that is destabilising everywhere around it, (apart from Algeria partly because Algeria already went through a conflict precisely around the issue of Islamism in which thousands lost their lives.) In Syria, we call for the regime to change, we encourage the Opposition to rise up, but then when Iran activates Hezbollah on the side of Assad, we refrain even from air intervention to give the Opposition a chance. The result is a country in disintegration, millions displaced, a death toll approximating that of Iraq, with no end in sight and huge risks to regional stability. The impact of this recent history, on Western opinion is a wish at all costs to stay clear of it all.

Then there has been the so-called Arab Spring. At first we jumped in to offer our support to those on the street. We are now bemused and bewildered that it hasn't turned out quite how we expected.

Even in respect of the MEPP there is an audible feeling of dismay, - that as the world around Israel and Palestine went into revolutionary spasm, and the need for progress seemed so plain, the issue in which we have expended extraordinary energy and determination through US Secretary Kerry, still seems as intractable as ever. Yet the explanation for all of these apparently unresolvable contradictions is staring us in the face.

It is that there is a Titanic struggle going on within the region between those who want the region to embrace the modern world – politically, socially and economically – and those who instead want to create a politics of religious difference and exclusivity. This is the battle. This is the distorting feature. This is what makes intervention so fraught but non- intervention equally so. This is what complicates the process of political evolution. This is what makes it so hard for democracy to take root. This is what, irrespective of the problems on the Israeli side, divides Palestinian politics and constrains their leadership.

look at the Middle East and beyond it to Pakistan or Iran and elsewhere, it isn't just a vast unfathomable mess with no end in sight and no one worthy of our support. It is in fact a struggle in which our own strategic interests are intimately involved; where there are indeed people we should support and who, ironically, are probably in the majority if only that majority were mobilised, organised and helped.

But what is absolutely necessary is that we first liberate ourselves from our own attitude. We have to take sides. We have to stop treating each country on the basis of whatever seems to make for the easiest life for us at any one time. We have to have an approach to the region that is coherent and sees it as a whole. And above all, we have to commit. We have to engage. Engagement and commitment are words easy to use. But they only count when they come at a cost. Alliances are forged at moments of common challenge. Partnerships are built through trials shared. There is no engagement that doesn't involve a price. There is no commitment that doesn't mean taking a risk.

In saying this, it does not mean that we have to repeat the enormous commitment of Iraq and Afghanistan. It may well be that in time people come to view the impact of those engagements differently. But there is no need, let alone appetite, to do that.

I completely understand why our people feel they have done enough, more than enough. And when they read of those we have tried to help spurning our help, criticising us, even trying to kill us, they're entitled to feel aggrieved and to say: we're out.

However, as the Afghans who braved everything to vote show us and the Iraqis who will also come out and vote despite all the threats and the inadequacy of the system they now live in, demonstrate, those who spurn our help are only part of the story. There are others whose spirit and determination stay undaunted. And I think of the Egyptians who have been through so much and yet remain with optimism; and the Palestinians who work with me and who, whatever the frustrations, still want and believe in a peaceful solution; and I look at Tunisians and Libyans and Yemenis who are trying to make it all work properly; and I realise this is not a struggle without hope. This is not a mess where everyone is as bad as each other. In other

words it matters and there is a side we should be proud to take. There are people to stand beside and who will stand beside us.

But we have to be clear what that side is and why we're taking it. So what does that mean? It means supporting the principles of religious freedom and open, rule *****d economies. It means helping those countries whose people wish to embrace those principles to achieve them. Where there has been revolution, we should be on the side of those who support those principles and opposed to those who would thwart them. Where there has not been revolution, we should support the steady evolution towards them.

If we apply those principles to the Middle East, it would mean the following. Egypt. I start with Egypt not because what is happening in Syria is not more horrifying; but because on the fate of Egypt hangs the future of the region. Here we have to understand plainly what happened. The Muslim Brotherhood Government was not simply a bad Government. It was systematically taking over the traditions and institutions of the country. The revolt of 30 June 2013 was not an ordinary protest. It was the absolutely necessary rescue of a nation. We should support the new Government and help. None of this means that where there are things we disagree strongly with – such as the death sentence on the 500 – that we do not speak out. Plenty of Egyptians have. But it does mean that we show some sensitivity to the fact that over 400 police officers have suffered violent deaths and several hundred soldiers been killed. The next President will face extraordinary challenges. It is massively in our interests that he succeeds. We should mobilise the international community in giving Egypt and its new President as much assistance as we can so that the country gets a chance not to return to the past but to cross over to a better future.

Syria. This is an unmitigated disaster. We are now in a position where both Assad staying and the Opposition taking over seem bad options. The former is responsible for creating this situation. But the truth is that there are so many fissures and problems around elements within the Opposition that people are rightly wary now of any solution that is an outright victory for either side. Repugnant though it may seem, the only way forward is to conclude the best agreement possible even if it means in the interim President Assad stays for a period. Should even this not be acceptable to him, we should consider active measures to help the Opposition and force him to the negotiating table, including no fly zones whilst making it clear that the extremist groups should receive no support from any of the surrounding nations. Tunisia. Here there have been genuine and positive attempts by the new Government to escape from the dilemmas of the region and to shape a new Constitution. Supporting the new Government should be an absolute priority. As the new President has rightly said for a fraction of what we're offering Ukraine – which of course is the correct thing to do - we could

put Tunisia on its feet. We should do so. This would be a very sensible investment. Libya. We bear a responsibility for what has happened. Their urgent need is for security sector reform. We have made some attempts to do so. But obviously the scale of the task and the complications of the militia make it very hard. But Libya is not Iraq or Afghanistan. It is not impossible to help and NATO has the capability to do so. However reluctant we are to make this commitment, we have to recognise the de-stabilising impact Libya is having at present. If it disintegrates completely, it will affect the whole of the region around it and feed the instability in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Yemen. Again the country is trying to make progress in circumstances that are unimaginably difficult. We are giving support to the new Government. There is a new Constitution. But again they urgently need help with security sector reform and with development. Iran. We should continue to make it clear, as the Obama administration is rightly doing, that they have to step back from being a nuclear threshold state. The next weeks will be a crucial phase in the negotiation. But I do not favour yielding to their demands for regional influence in return for concessions on their nuclear ambitions. The Iranian Government play a deliberately de-stabilising role across the region. Our goals should not include regime change. Their people will, in the end, have to find their own way to do that. However we should at every opportunity, push back against the use of their power to support extremism. Middle East Peace Process. Since becoming Secretary of State, John Kerry has put immense effort into making the peace process work. As we speak, his efforts hang in the balance. Many people said he should not have given such priority to this issue. They are wrong. It remains absolutely core to the region and the world. Not because the Israeli / Palestinian conflict is the cause of our problems. But because solving it would be such a victory for the very forces we should support. Now it may be that after years of it being said that solving this question is the route to solving the regions' problems, we're about to enter a new phase where solving the region's problems a critical part of solving the Israeli / Palestinian issue. But the point is that John Kerry's commitment has not been in vain. He has put himself in an immensely powerful position to drive this forward by virtue of that commitment. He needs our support in doing so. Elsewhere across the region we should be standing steadfast by our friends and allies as they try to change their own countries in the direction of reform. Whether in Jordan or the Gulf where they're promoting the values of religious tolerance and open, rule based economies, or taking on the forces of reaction in the shape of Iran and the Muslim Brotherhood, we should be supporting and assisting them.

Finally, we have to elevate the issue of religious extremism to the top of the agenda. All over the world the challenge of defeating this ideology requires active and sustained engagement. Consider this absurdity: that we spend billions of \$ on security arrangements and on defence

to protect ourselves against the consequences of an ideology that is being advocated in the formal and informal school systems and in civic institutions of the very countries with whom we have intimate security and defence relationships. Some of those countries of course wish to escape from the grip of this ideology. But often it is hard for them to do so within their own political constraints. They need to have this issue out in the open where it then becomes harder for the promotion of this ideology to happen underneath the radar. In other words they need us to make this a core part of the international dialogue in order to force the necessary change within their own societies. This struggle between what we may call the open-minded and the closed-minded is at the heart of whether the 21st C turns in the direction of peaceful co-existence or conflict between people of different cultures.

If we do not act, then we will start to see reactions against radical Islam which will then foster extremism within other faiths. Indeed we see some evidence of this already directed against Muslims in Asia particularly.

When we consider the defining challenges of our time, surely this one should be up there along with the challenge of the environment or economic instability. Add up the deaths around the world now – and even leave out the theatre of the Middle East – and the toll on human life is deplorable. In Nigeria recently and Pakistan alone thousands are now dying in religiously inspired conflict. And quite apart from the actual loss of life, there is the loss of life opportunities for parts of the population mired in backward thinking and reactionary attitudes especially towards girls.

On this issue also, there is a complete identity of interest between East and West. China and Russia have exactly the same desire to defeat this ideology as do the USA and Europe. Here is a subject upon which all the principal nations of the G20 could come together, could agree to act, and could find common ground to common benefit. An international programme to eradicate religious intolerance and prejudice from school systems and informal education systems and from organisations in civic society would have a huge galvanising effect in making unacceptable what is currently ignored or tolerated.

So there is an agenda here in part about the Middle East and its importance; and in part about seeing what is happening there in the con***** of its impact on the wider world. This is why I work on the Middle East Peace Process; why I began my Foundation to promote inter-faith dialogue. Why I will do all I can to help governments confronting these issues.

R-eference: <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics...east-full>

Appendix (B)

Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump squared off on Sunday night in the second presidential debate of the general election.

TRUMP: Well, I actually agree with that. I agree with everything she said. I began this campaign because I was so tired of seeing such foolish things happen to our country. This is a great country. This is a great land. I've gotten to know the people of the country over the last year-and-a-half that I've been doing this as a politician. I cannot believe I'm saying that about myself, but I guess I have been a politician.

TRUMP: And my whole concept was to make America great again. When I watch the deals being made, when I watch what's happening with some horrible things like Obamacare, where your health insurance and health care is going up by numbers that are astronomical, 68 percent, 59 percent, 71 percent, when I look at the Iran deal and how bad a deal it is for us, it's a one-sided transaction where we're giving back \$150 billion to a terrorist state, really, the number one terror state, we've made them a strong country from really a very weak country just three years ago.

When I look at all of the things that I see and all of the potential that our country has, we have such tremendous potential, whether it's in business and trade, where we're doing so badly. Last year, we had almost \$800 billion trade deficit. In other words, trading with other countries. We had an \$800 billion deficit. It's hard to believe. Inconceivable.

You say who's making these deals? We're going to make great deals. We're going to have a strong border. We're going to bring back law and order. Just today, policeman was shot, two killed. And this is happening on a weekly basis. We have to bring back respect to law enforcement. At the same time, we have to take care of people on all sides. We need justice.

But I want to do things that haven't been done, including fixing and making our inner cities better for the African-American citizens that are so great, and for the Latinos, Hispanics, and I look forward to doing it. It's called make America great again.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump. The question from Patrice was about are you both modeling positive and appropriate behavior for today's youth? We received a lot of questions online, Mr. Trump, about the tape that was released on Friday, as you can imagine. You called what you said locker room banter. You described kissing

women without consent, grabbing their genitals. That is sexual assault. You bragged that you have sexually assaulted women. Do you understand that?

TRUMP: No, I didn't say that at all. I don't think you understood what was — this was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I apologize to my family. I apologize to the American people. Certainly I'm not proud of it. But this is locker room talk.

You know, when we have a world where you have ISIS chopping off heads, where you have — and, frankly, drowning people in steel cages, where you have wars and horrible, horrible sights all over, where you have so many bad things happening, this is like medieval times. We haven't seen anything like this, the carnage all over the world.

CLINTON: These are very important values to me, because this is the America that I know and love. And I can pledge to you tonight that this is the America that I will serve if I'm so fortunate enough to become your president.

RADDATZ: And we want to get to some questions from online...

TRUMP: Am I allowed to respond to that? I assume I am.

RADDATZ: Yes, you can respond to that.

TRUMP: It's just words, folks. It's just words. Those words, I've been hearing them for many years. I heard them when they were running for the Senate in New York, where Hillary was going to bring back jobs to upstate New York and she failed.

I've heard them where Hillary is constantly talking about the inner cities of our country, which are a disaster education-wise, jobwise, safety-wise, in every way possible. I'm going to help the African-Americans. I'm going to help the Latinos, Hispanics. I am going to help the inner cities.

She's done a terrible job for the African-Americans. She wants their vote, and she does nothing, and then she comes back four years later. We saw that firsthand when she was United States senator. She campaigned where the primary part of her campaign...

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump — I want to get to audience questions and online questions.

TRUMP: So, she's allowed to do that, but I'm not allowed to respond?

RADDATZ: You're going to have — you're going to get to respond right now.

TRUMP: Sounds fair.

RADDATZ: This tape is generating intense interest. In just 48 hours, it's become the single most talked about story of the entire 2016 election on Facebook, with millions and millions of people discussing it on the social network. As we said a moment ago, we do want to

bring in questions from voters around country via social media, and our first stays on this topic. Jeff from Ohio asks on Facebook, “Trump says the campaign has changed him. When did that happen?” So, Mr. Trump, let me add to that. When you walked off that bus at age 59, were you a different man or did that behavior continue until just recently? And you have two minutes for this.

TRUMP: It was locker room talk, as I told you. That was locker room talk. I’m not proud of it. I am a person who has great respect for people, for my family, for the people of this country. And certainly, I’m not proud of it. But that was something that happened.

If you look at Bill Clinton, far worse. Mine are words, and his was action. His was what he’s done to women. There’s never been anybody in the history politics in this nation that’s been so abusive to women. So you can say any way you want to say it, but Bill Clinton was abusive to women.

Hillary Clinton attacked those same women and attacked them viciously. Four of them here tonight. One of the women, who is a wonderful woman, at 12 years old, was raped at 12. Her client she represented got him off, and she’s seen laughing on two separate occasions, laughing at the girl who was raped. Kathy Shelton, that young woman is here with us tonight.

So don’t tell me about words. I am absolutely — I apologize for those words. But it is things that people say. But what President Clinton did, he was impeached, he lost his license to practice law. He had to pay an \$850,000 fine to one of the women. Paula Jones, who’s also here tonight.

And I will tell you that when Hillary brings up a point like that and she talks about words that I said 11 years ago, I think it’s disgraceful, and I think she should be ashamed of herself, if you want to know the truth.

(APPLAUSE)

TRUMP: Well, you owe the president an apology, because as you know very well, your campaign, Sidney Blumenthal — he’s another real winner that you have — and he’s the one that got this started, along with your campaign manager, and they were on television just two weeks ago, she was, saying exactly that. So you really owe him an apology. You’re the one that sent the pictures around your campaign, sent the pictures around with President Obama in a certain garb. That was long before I was ever involved, so you actually owe an apology. Number two, Michelle Obama. I’ve gotten to see the commercials that they did on you. And i’ve gotten to see some of the most vicious commercials i’ve ever seen of Michelle Obama talking about you, Hillary.

So, you talk about friend? Go back and take a look at those commercials, a race where you lost fair and square, unlike the Bernie Sanders race, where you won, but not fair and square, in my opinion. And all you have to do is take a look at wikileaks and just see what they say about Bernie Sanders and see what Deborah Wasserman Schultz had in mind, because Bernie Sanders, between super-delegates and Deborah Wasserman Schultz, he never had a chance. And I was so surprised to see him sign on with the devil.

But when you talk about apology, I think the one that you should really be apologizing for and the thing that you should be apologizing for are the 33,000 e-mails that you deleted, and that you acid washed, and then the two boxes of e-mails and other things last week that were taken from an office and are now missing.

And i'll tell you what. I didn't think I'd say this, but I'm going to say it, and I hate to say it. But if I win, I am going to instruct my attorney general to get a special prosecutor to look into your situation, because there has never been so many lies, so much deception. There has never been anything like it, and we're going to have a special prosecutor.

When I speak, I go out and speak, the people of this country are furious. In my opinion, the people that have been long-term workers at the FBI are furious. There has never been anything like this, where e-mails — and you get a subpoena, you get a subpoena, and after getting the subpoena, you delete 33,000 e-mails, and then you acid wash them or bleach them, as you would say, very expensive process.

So we're going to get a special prosecutor, and we're going to look into it, because you know what? People have been — their lives have been destroyed for doing one-fifth of what you've done. And it's a disgrace. And honestly, you ought to be ashamed of yourself.

QUESTION: Hi. There are 3.3 million Muslims in the United States, and I'm one of them. You've mentioned working with Muslim nations, but with Islamophobia on the rise, how will you help people like me deal with the consequences of being labeled as a threat to the country after the election is over?

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, you're first.

TRUMP: Well, you're right about Islamophobia, and that's a shame. But one thing we have to do is we have to make sure that — because there is a problem. I mean, whether we like it or not, and we could be very politically correct, but whether we like it or not, there is a problem. And we have to be sure that Muslims come in and report when they see something going on. When they see hatred going on, they have to report it.

As an example, in San Bernardino, many people saw the bombs all over the apartment of the two people that killed 14 and wounded

many, many people. Horribly wounded. They'll never be the same. Muslims have to report the problems when they see them.

And, you know, there's always a reason for everything. If they don't do that, it's a very difficult situation for our country, because you look at Orlando and you look at San Bernardino and you look at the World Trade Center. Go outside. Look at Paris. Look at that horrible — these are radical Islamic terrorists.

And she won't even mention the word and nor will President Obama. He won't use the term "radical Islamic terrorism." Now, to solve a problem, you have to be able to state what the problem is or at least say the name. She won't say the name and President Obama won't say the name. But the name is there. It's radical Islamic terror. And before you solve it, you have to say the name.

RADDATZ: Thank you.

Mr. Trump, in December, you said this. "Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on. We have no choice. We have no choice." Your running mate said this week that the Muslim ban is no longer your position. Is that correct? And if it is, was it a mistake to have a religious test?

TRUMP: First of all, Captain Khan is an American hero, and if I were president at that time, he would be alive today, because unlike her, who voted for the war without knowing what she was doing, I would not have had our people in Iraq. Iraq was disaster. So he would have been alive today.

The Muslim ban is something that in some form has morphed into an extreme vetting from certain areas of the world. Hillary Clinton wants to allow hundreds of thousands — excuse me. Excuse me..

RADDATZ: And why did it morph into that? No, did you — no, answer the question. Do you still believe... TRUMP: Why don't you interrupt her? You interrupt me all the time.

RADDATZ: I do.

TRUMP: Why don't you interrupt her?

RADDATZ: Would you please explain whether or not the Muslim ban still stands?

TRUMP: It's called extreme vetting. We are going to areas like Syria where they're coming in by the tens of thousands because of Barack Obama. And Hillary Clinton wants to allow a 550 percent increase over Obama. People are coming into our country like we have no idea who they are, where they are from, what their feelings about our country is, and she wants 550 percent more. This is going to be the great Trojan horse of all time.

We have enough problems in this country. I believe in building safe zones. I believe in having other people pay for them, as an example, the Gulf states, who are not carrying their weight, but they have nothing but money, and take care of people. But I don't want to have, with all the problems this country has and all of the problems that you see going on, hundreds of thousands of people coming in from Syria when we know nothing about them. We know nothing about their values and we know nothing about their love for our country.

RADDATZ: And, Secretary Clinton, let me ask you about that, because you have asked for an increase from 10,000 to 65,000 Syrian refugees. We know you want tougher vetting. That's not a perfect system. So why take the risk of having those refugees come into the country?

TRUMP: I was against — I was against the war in Iraq. Has not been debunked. And you voted for it. And you shouldn't have. Well, I just want to say...

RADDATZ: There's been lots of fact-checking on that. I'd like to move on to an online question...

TRUMP: Excuse me. She just went about 25 seconds over her time.

RADDATZ: She did not.

TRUMP: Could I just respond to this, please?

RADDATZ: Very quickly, please.

TRUMP: Hillary Clinton, in terms of having people come into our country, we have many criminal illegal aliens. When we want to send them back to their country, their country says we don't want them. In some cases, they're murderers, drug lords, drug problems. And they don't want them.

And Hillary Clinton, when she was secretary of state, said that's OK, we can't force it into their country. Let me tell you, I'm going to force them right back into their country. They're murderers and some very bad people.