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**“La prosodia como herramienta de manipulación y
persuasión en un discurso político”**

de

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Abstract

Despite the overall importance of politics within discourse studies, most current analysis on political discourse is mostly carried out within the areas of discourse-pragmatics, with major reference to various grammatical analyses. However, there is one area within discourse analysis that is often neglected and often plays as central a role as syntax, semantics or pragmatics: this stratum is phonology. We therefore propose to start from this level of analysis to contribute to a better understanding of political discourse analysis by exploring how these discourses are organized at the phonological stratum and by studying the effect such phonological structure has in deploying meanings into the masses. In addition, the present work intends to explore how political discourse articulates evaluative language to persuade and manipulate its audience in a given communicative context. We thus set out to explore the relation between evaluative language and the prosodic features of prominence, tone, key, termination and segmentation in a spoken political discourse. For the study of prosody we favour Brazil's (1997) and Brazil et al's (1980) Discourse Intonation model. For the study of evaluation and attitudinal language we follow Martin's (1995, 2000) and Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Model. The present work is a case study of one speech delivered by President Barack Obama (2011) to announce the success of the operation carried out by American military to kill Osama Bin Laden. The full speech was segmented into tone units and both prominent and tonic-prominent syllables were identified. The conventions used are roughly the same as Brazil's (1997). The phonological transcription was done by the author and later on checked with a colleague. For cases which presented difficulties for both parties, the software PRAAT (Boersma and Weenick, 2007) was used to work out the differences. In general terms, results show that spoken political discourse makes strategic use of these prosodic features to persuade and manipulate its audience. Some of these features are more stable in their relation to evaluative language than others, for instance there are some clear correlations between the system of prominence and inscribed attitudinal lexis, as very frequently these items are made prominent. Within the system of key, high and low key proved to be used to contrast or to add equative evaluative meaning. The system of tone proved to be useful in two main respects: in the orientation taken by the speaker and the structuring of the evaluative information into background or foreground. With regard to the former, results show that Obama strategically takes an artificial oblique orientation; with regard to the latter, results show that Obama strategically locates relevant information containing contextual effect in the background against which to calculate negative evaluative information. Within

segmentation, we observed there are frequently two types of boundaries: one used to segment the message into several (at times unnecessary) bits and the other used to introduce evaluative comments.

To my family, for their unconditional support, care and love...

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The study of political discourse, like that of other areas of discourse analysis, covers a broad range of subject matter, and draws on a wide range of analytical methods. Political discourse has been widely investigated by several and varied academics due to the undeniable importance it presents and the direct impact it generates by spreading through the masses and referring, among several other aspects, to social, religious, economic and political problems. Thus, the nature of political discourse is consequently troublesome or even vexatious and its spokespersons have learned to take advantage of such a situation in favour of certain objectives. In this work, and from a discourse perspective, we will explore the main prosodic systems as developed by Brazil (and his colleagues) (1983, 1984, 1985, 1992, 1997, etc.) and Brazil et al (1980) as the system of prominence (location of both prominent and prominent tonic syllable), the system of tone and the systems of key and termination in one persuasive and manipulative political discourse in English, namely the announcement of Bin Laden's death by President Barak Obama. Besides, we will also explore the way the speaker situates himself in relation to the text and the audience, and how he takes a given position (either in favour or against) regarding a given event and manages, in this way, to influence his audience to take up the same stance. Our main line of research will be to study these aspects, relate them to the prosodic features mentioned above and interpret the meanings these (prosodic) features carry with them in the particular instance of political discourse we have selected.

Rephrasing the Washington Post (2011, May 2nd) a day after Obama's speech, this historic announcement on Bin Laden's death is particularly important since it represents a huge national security victory for the US and a milestone for the Obama administration, bringing to a close the most relentless mission by US intelligence and military forces. Bin Laden's death symbolises the US major achievement in their fight against terrorism.

The term 'discourse' as defined by van Dijk (1997a) is a form of language use which includes some functional aspects such as who uses the language, how, why and when. He thus defines a discourse that embodies these aspects as a communicative event; a situation in which people use language to communicate ideas, beliefs or emotions, and they do so as part of more complex social events. Besides, when people use language, they are also doing something: they interact, and such interactional form of discourse has been described as verbal interaction. By observing discourse in this way, van Dijk (1997a) has suggested that it embodies three main dimensions: a)

language use, b) the communication of beliefs (cognition), and c) interaction in social situations.

Bearing in mind these dimensions, we can postulate that discourse analysis can be carried out over different layers: the structure (syntactic or phonological), the meaning potential that the structure deploys (semantics) and the social actions that speakers (or writers) accomplish when they communicate in different social or cultural situations. Therefore, as van Dijk (1997a) has pointed out, it is customary that studies in discourse analysis take one or more of these areas: form, meaning and social interaction or cognition.

According to van Dijk (1997b), discourse is a form of action; it is mostly intentional, controlled, purposeful human activity. He thus states that recognizing discourse as action allows us to associate it with instances of (symbolic) power and control of one social group over another. The exercise of power can be thought of in at least two directions: the control of human activity by plain force (i.e. coercive power), or the control over others by dominating the mental basis of all action (i.e. symbolic power). If instead of acting physically upon others, powerful people decided to use discourse, they would face three other alternatives: they could command others to (not) do something, they could persuade them to (not) do it, or they could simply manipulate information to make people act as if it were natural. Political discourse is probably the clearest example of persuasion and manipulation. Even in those cases in which its main objective may not seem to be any of these, as could be “announcing new projects” for instance, it typically includes aspects of persuasion and/or manipulation concealed in the message.

Chilton and Schäffner (1997) argue that the task of the political discourse analyst is to relate linguistic behaviour to political behaviour. They define political behaviour as those actions which involve power, or its inverse, resistance; and they link political situations and processes to discourse types and levels of organization by way of an intermediate level they call strategic functions. They, then, propose a series of strategic functions for the analyst to focus on; these are: a- coercion, b- resistance, opposition and protest, c- dissimulation and d- legitimization and delegitimization. They state that these four strategic functions are closely related to functions found in social life and they point out that looking at communicative behaviour in terms of these strategic functions is to view such behaviour politically.

If we consider that political discourse is mostly persuasive and manipulative and if we assume that such a message needs to pose in its structure a series of arguments

to give either positive or negative evidence on a given fact, it seems to be worth exploring the connection between prosody and those evaluative lexical items or phrases required to highlight the necessary information for the message to fulfil its (persuasive) purpose more effectively. That is, texts present both a grammatical structure and a phonological one. Even when a text keeps its grammar unchanged, there is a whole universe of potential meanings that could be created by solely changing or *manipulating* its phonological patterning. We aim to explore the phonological selections Obama has taken to instantiate his speech to make it as effective as possible.

Within evaluative language we follow the Appraisal model developed by Martin (1995, 2000a, b, c, 2001, 2004, etc.) and Martin and White (2005). We have adopted this model because it describes attitudinal systems of choices exploited by speakers while speaking or writing. Speaker's choices are seen as construing different reactions on the listener's side. We feel this model best fits our description regarding political discourse as a manipulative and persuasive tool deployed by politicians to fulfil their goals. There are three main areas within Appraisal: the main one is Affect (which deals with expressions of emotions) and there are two more specialized sub-areas: Judgement (having to do with moral behaviour) and Appreciation (dealing with aesthetic assessment). This theoretical model offers us tools to analyse and understand the different attitudinal resources employed by specialised orators, as is the case of President Barak Obama while announcing Bin Laden's death.

To cope with the analysis of prosody, we mostly favour Brazil's (1982, 1983, 1984, 1985b, 1985c, 1987, 1992, 1995, 1997, etc.) and Brazil et al's (1980) theoretical proposal widely known as the Discourse Intonation (DI henceforward) approach. In addition, (especially in section 4.3.6) we also favour House's (1989 and 1990) phonological description on the pragmatics of falling and non-falling tones to mark information as foreground and background respectively. We have adopted Brazil's approach to the study of intonation because it is discoursal in nature (as opposed to grammatical) and he sees the phonological systems of prominence, tone, key and termination as exploitable by speakers based on their moment-by-moment assessment of the relation between the message and the audience. Again, we here see the most fruitful approach to the study of political discourse as characterised as manipulative and persuasive in nature. Such an approach helps us better explore the relation between a strategic use of attitudinal lexis and their oral realization.

We therefore pose the following question:

In what way is it possible to interpret the different meanings produced by different prosodic configurations as part of the strategic function of a persuasive and manipulative spoken political discourse as realized by Obama?

Therefore the main objectives of the present work are:

1.1 General Objective:

- a. To explore the way in which the prosodic features of prominence, tone, key and termination and segmentation allow the speaker (President Barak Obama) to persuade and manipulate his audience through his speech.

1.1.1 Specific Objectives:

- a. To determine the way the strategic use of the system of prominence on evaluative language can help the speaker persuade and manipulate his audience.
- b. To explore tone selection and to determine the way in which different tone configurations contribute to establishing an optimum state of convergence (among speaker, text and audience) which legitimates persuasion and manipulation.
- c. To explain the way in which different pitch heights in both the onset (key) and the tonic syllable (termination) contribute to enhancing the discourse flow in ways which facilitate text production and text processing.
- d. To explore the way different types of boundaries are strategically used either to chunk a given message into tone units or to introduce evaluative information as required in the here-and-now context of situation.

1.2 General Hypothesis:

Our general hypothesis is that spoken political discourse makes strategic use of prosodic features (namely prominence, tone, key and termination and segmentation) to persuade and manipulate its audience.

From this general hypothesis, we are able to specify four further specific hypotheses.

1.2.1 Specific Hypotheses:

- a. The selection of prominences in spoken discourse is mainly a speaker-motivated decision and it exhibits the speaker's strategic structuring of his/her

discourse to highlight evaluative lexis to efficiently persuade and manipulate his/her audience.

- b. Tone selection displays the state of convergence projected by the speaker by backgrounding and foregrounding the required information as best fits the speaker's persuasive and manipulative intentions.
- c. Pitch height serves a dual purpose, the general purpose of highlighting evaluative information and a demarcative function by which the speaker segments information into major processing units; both help speakers persuade and manipulate their audience.
- d. Dividing spoken political discourse plays a key role in both the segmentation of the message and a gradual release of information, and the addition of evaluative language.

1.3 The organization of the present work

This monograph exhibits first a very general introduction (chapter 1) describing the notion of discourse, in particular that of political discourse. Then we conceptualize political discourse as manipulative and persuasive in nature and describe two sub-areas, to our knowledge yet unexplored: Appraisal and Discourse Intonation (DI). We thus present the often neglected area of phonology within discourse studies and pose some general questions on the relation between manipulative and persuasive discourse and the prosodic systems by which evaluative language is verbalised. In addition, this section contains our main research question, the objectives and the hypotheses of the work.

Chapter 2 exhibits two main sections. In the first one, we review the state of the art in the three main conceptual areas within which the thesis is based: Political Discourse, Appraisal and Discourse Intonation (DI). In the second, we offer a general description of the two main theoretical approaches that shape the analysis of the present work: Appraisal and DI. Chapter 3 (Methodology) describes the methodology used for the analysis of the data. In chapter 4, we develop our analysis of intonation and evaluative language in detail. This section has been divided into four main sub-sections, each describing a different system of intonation and its relation to evaluative language. In 4.2 we explore the relation between the system of prominence and evaluative language, including among other topics the concepts of selection, projection and the relation between prominence and both inscribed and invoked attitude. Section 4.3 explores the relation between tone and evaluative language developing Brazil's (1997) ideas of the use of proclaiming/referring tones in accordance with the putative state of

convergence between speaker and hearer. This section also describes the orientation taken up by the speaker and includes a further elaboration of the concept of common ground by including House's (1990) proposal for background/foreground information. Section 4.4 offers a discussion on the two systems of key and termination and their relation with evaluative language, including a discussion on the concept of pitch sequence. Section 4.5 covers the often controversial concept of segmentation. In this section we argue about the use of boundaries to either release information gradually or to introduce evaluative language and for this function we develop the notion of a tactical pause. Finally, chapter 5 concludes this work by highlighting our main findings in relation to a type of discourse which we have characterised as manipulative and persuasive. This section reviews all systems and their relation to both the use of evaluative language and its effect on manipulation and persuasion. After chapter 5 we have included appendices A with transcripts of Obama's speech in normal orthography, B with a phonological transcription and C with transcript and phonological transcription of an interview between Bill O'Reilly and Senator Obama.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Literature review: Discourse – Phonology – Appraisal.

2.1.1 (Political) Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a well-documented area of research nowadays. Political discourse is probably one of the areas within discourse analysis that has received most attention during the past fifty years or so. One of the reasons for this considerable interest is because it is one of the most effective means of influencing and getting others to do, think, feel, etc. as political leaders deem it necessary. The list of political discourse (and discourse analysis) researchers is vast, among many scholars, some of the most prominent figures include Chilton (2004, 2005), Chilton and Schäffner (1997, 2002), Fairclough (1989, 1995, 2003), Fairclough and Wodack (1997), Schiffrin (1994, 2001), Van Dijk (1997a, 1997b, 2001, 2002, 2006), and Wodak (2009) among others.

For Van Dijk (2006), the use of language to influence others can be seen in two opposing ways: the exercise of an illegitimate form of influence by means of discourse and a legitimate one. He defines the former as manipulation and the latter as persuasion. Manipulation is negatively loaded and involves power abuse, in which recipients believe or do things in the best interest of the manipulator (and against the best interest of the manipulated). Without the negative associations, the use of language to influence others may be a legitimate form of persuasion. Van Dijk (2006) makes it clear that the distinction between the two is that in persuasion the interlocutors are free to believe and accept the arguments of the persuader, whereas in manipulation the recipients are unable to understand the real intentions of the manipulator. In line with Van Dijk, Paul Chilton (2005) understands manipulation as forceful spreading of ideas and he points out that “it depends largely on the ability of the propagator to control or dominate an intended receiver’s mind by controlling the channel of communication or depriving the receiver of the potential to verify” (Chilton, 2005:17).

For Chilton and Schäffner (1997) the task of political discourse analysis is to relate linguistics to political behaviour, for which they propose an intermediate level they call strategic functions (already mentioned above in the introduction). Though these functions are not exclusively related to politics, to look at linguistic behaviour and other kinds of communicative behaviour in terms of the four strategic functions is to view those behaviours politically, to politicize them. They illustrate the ways linguistic choices of a speaker are interpreted as functioning in a politically strategic manner by reference to a speech given by the then British Prime Minister John Major. They analyse this speech

and relate the Premier's linguistic choices at the level of pragmatics, semantics and syntax to the four strategic functions of coercion; resistance, opposition and protest; dissimulation and legitimization and delegitimization.

As for Fairclough (1989), his book focuses on language in social life, more specifically on the critical stance to language study. He purports to increase consciousness of language and power and ideology, in particular of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others. After going through the process of producing and interpreting texts, and describing language and relating it to power and ideology, he then illustrates this with a case study on the discourse of Thatcherism, focusing on the motivation people have to produce texts. Fairclough (2003) sees language as an irreducible part of social life and he asserts that social analysis and research always has to take account of language. As he puts it, text analysis is an essential part in discourse analysis, but discourse analysis is not about analysing texts merely. He thus sees discourse analysis as moving from a focus on specific texts to a focus on what he calls the 'order of discourse'. His main concern is to observe how social research might inform the approach to text analysis and how text analysis can enhance social research with special focus on the 'Language of New Capitalism'.

Wodak (2009) investigates the political profession. As she puts it, she wishes to find out 'how politics is done', 'what politicians actually do', and 'what the media convey about how politics is done' (Wodak, 2009:xii). She thus sets out to explore how politics and politicians perform both on the frontstage and the backstage, for which she uses a Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis. She presents a case study of the everyday lives of Members of the European Parliament in which she analyses both interviews and tape-recordings. In her own terms, despite the limitations these data offer, she considers they provide important insights into the political backstage. In addition, she then contrasts the findings from the interviews and tape-recordings with the construction of the everyday lives of politicians as presented in the media, such as the American soap opera *The West Wing*.

The prosodic area within spoken political discourse analysis seems to be far too specific to be included in any introduction to discourse analysis, even to those that specifically describe political discourse (Chilton, 2004, Chilton and Schäffner, 2002, Wodak, 2009, etc.). In addition, and probably taking an extreme position, it seems to be a topic of interest merely to phonologists rather than discourse analysts. Of course the dividing line is not straight and it frequently merges into one main category, that of discourse analysis in general, even to those that have a strong-rooted basis on the

analysis of spoken features. Some of the most prominent scholars within the field of spoken discourse analysis include Brazil (1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1985/1997), Brazil et al (1980), Coulthard (1987, 1992), O'Grady (2010, 2013, 2014) and Wichmann (2000, 2014) among others. They have covered a wide range of topics including the use of prosodic resources such as tones, the allocation of the major pitch movement (or tonic syllable) and the segmentation of speech in conveying different discourse meanings.

2.1.2 Intonation

Prosody has been studied extensively and it has covered a wide range of areas; intonation being probably one of the largest areas of interest. Some phonologists have approached it as a means to expressing attitudinal meanings (O'Connor and Arnold, 1973), some others have related it to grammar (Halliday, 1967, 1970; Halliday and Greaves, 2008) and others have preferred a discourse view. Within this last approach, we can mention David Brazil's work. He views intonation as discorsal in nature as opposed to grammatical or attitudinal. That is, his starting assumptions are "(a) that intonation choices are not related to grammatical or syntactic categories... and (b) that there is no systematic link between intonation and attitude" (Brazil, 1997:vi). In an earlier book, Brazil et al state:

"We see the description of intonation as one aspect of the description of interaction and argue that intonation choices carry information about the structure of the interaction, the relationship between and the discourse function of individual utterances, the interactional 'given-ness' and 'new-ness' of information and the state of convergence and divergence of the participants". (Brazil et al, 1980:11)

They then point out that speakers' choices in the intonation systems "depend upon the speaker's apprehension of the state of convergence he shares with his hearer. More precisely, it represents his assessment of the relative *informational load* carried by particular elements in his discourse" (Brazil et al, 1980:40 emphasis original). Brazil's ideas have been extensively used in different discourse domains such as: intonation in lectures, the English intonation of non-native speakers, the intonation of poems or stories read aloud, etc. (Brazil, 1997). Other areas of interest include a whole book on the structure of classroom discourse such as elicitations, giving directions, etc. (Sinclair and Brazil, 1982), or a volume edited by Coulthard (1987) offering a collection of papers on Brazil's retirement. Some relevant papers discuss spoken discourse in the classroom (Willis, 1987), feedback in the EFL classroom (Hewings, 1987), Reading Intonation (Deyes, 1987), etc. A further book devoted to the study of discourse intonation is Hewings' (1990). It offers insights, among different areas, about the description of the

intonation of learners or non-native speakers of English (Hewings, 1990; Pirt, 1990), the description of the intonation of turn-taking and disfluency in non-natives (Anderson, 1990), etc.

Wichmann (2000) offers a valuable insight about the interface between intonation and discourse analysis. Though she recognises some notable contribution in the area, she claims that the interface between intonation and discourse analysis has been largely neglected. Thus, she proposes to elucidate both structure and meaning in intonation at the level of discourse. In her (2014) paper, she addresses different notions of “discourse” and describes the prosodic resources available to speakers to convey different kinds of discourse meaning such as pitch accents, contours, pitch level, etc. she then concludes that:

“There are many ways in which prosodic resources can be used to highlight features of spoken discourse. They can, for example, be exploited to indicate the information structure within an utterance (e.g. given and new information), and also to indicate the structure of an entire text (e.g. paragraphs). In addition they play an important part in managing conversational interaction, such as in the use of turn-taking and backchannelling. Finally, prosody plays a crucial role in creating or reflecting the relationships between speakers. This can be expressed in terms of power relationships, affective stance, or indeed, in the context of rhetoric, in terms of manipulation and persuasion”. (Wichmann, 2014:13)

More closely related to the field of political discourse, some have investigated the role intonation plays in projecting the texture of a spoken text (O’Grady, 2013); specifically, the way speakers use Tone choices to project the logico-semantic flow of information to create different interpretative pathways. In addition, O’Grady has also investigated the relation between intonation and information structure (O’Grady, 2014), more precisely the relation between tonicity selections and the status of lexical items within tone units as Given or New. Therefore, we may briefly sum up this section by saying that intonologists have been interested in the way prosodic features structure spoken discourse.

2.1.3 Appraisal Theory

Within the field of interpersonal discourse semantics, Martin (2000a) points out that this field has generally been grammatical in its foundation, for which he develops a complementary perspective founded on evaluative lexis. He then calls our attention to the fact that in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL hereafter) the semantics of evaluation (as how interlocutors feel, the judgements they make and the values they place at various phenomena of their experience) has tended to be elided. He thus

elaborates lexically oriented systems which tune into the SFL grammar-founded models of exchange. In describing the dynamics of tenor relations, Martin and his colleagues have developed a theory which includes resources for modalising, amplifying, reacting emotionally, judging morally and evaluating texts aesthetically. In part, the rationale for such an approach to attitudinal lexis can be understood in Martin's (1995) remark:

“... if we are to give our students the ability to use these (i.e. powerful) discourses, this will have to mean more than simply displaying their structure and talking about how the culture uses them. We'll have to think as well about the affect, judgement and appreciation inscribed in, and evoked by, these discourses – and how they position anyone using them” (Martin, 1995:35 information in brackets added)

Martin (2002) highlights that work on interpersonal evaluative meanings has refocused attention on prosodic realization in various registers such as history, narrative and literary criticism, news stories, casual conversation and popular science.

So far, we have gone through the three main areas which have given support to this work: (political) discourse analysis, prosody and evaluative language (Appraisal). In describing these areas, we have seen that in both political discourse analysis and appraisal, the role of prosodic aspects has been largely ignored. Similarly, within phonology, description regarding political language use or evaluative language use have tended to remain separate fields of linguistic inquiry.

2.1.4 Political Discourse Analysis, Intonation and Appraisal Theory

Chilton and Schäffner (1997) set out the importance of valuing their proposed strategic functions when analysing language in use. In addition, they emphasise that in linking the strategic functions and the linguistic analysis all levels and aspects of language need to be borne in mind, and they include pragmatics, semantics and syntax. Despite their effort to include all levels of analysis into the field of discourse, it is interesting to observe that they neglect one major level often omitted in the literature, a fundamental stratum which often plays as central a role as any of the previous ones: phonology.

Fairclough (2003) recognizes that critical discourse analysis can draw upon a wide range of approaches to analysing texts and he indicates that his book places the main emphasis on grammatical and semantic analysis, thus leaving aside the phonology of discourse.

In his preface to the first volume of *Discourse Studies*, Van Dijk (1997) states that “the book highlights most important dimensions and levels of discourse description, and

the authors do so from different theoretical perspectives". He then goes on to add that the book "is the most complete introduction to discourse studies today". However, as he puts it, "despite their comprehensive set up, even two volumes are unable to cover everything. For instance, there was no space for a chapter on the sound structures of discourse" (Van Dijk, 1997, p. xi). This does not mean he does not recognize the importance of phonological aspects in (critical) discourse analysis. Indeed, in a later paper, he explicitly states that "if we want to study ... the ways some speakers or writers exercise power in or by their discourse, it only makes sense to study those properties that can vary as a function of social power. Thus, *stress and intonation* ... and most forms of interaction are in principle susceptible to speaker control" (Van Dijk, 2001:99 emphasis added).

In addition, we would add that few manuals on discourse analysis (or even on political discourse) offer insights into the description of phonology as an integrated area within discourse studies; one such example is Schiffrin et al (2001), especially chapters 1 and 3. As they put it:

"...the scope of chapters reveals the range of problems that discourse analysis has addressed and can continue to address. These problems range from linguistic phenomena... and word meaning ..., to interdisciplinary phenomena, such as *discourse flow*... and literary pragmatics ... , to social problems ... The problems addressed by the chapters also vary in focus ...; in analytical scope, from *intonation* ... to narrative...; and in methodology..." Schiffrin et al (2001:6 emphasis added).

In chapter 1, Couper-kuhlen (2001) affirms that "not only was intonation some thirty years ago a linguistic citizen with dubious credentials, if any at all. *Certainly no one had ever thought of combining the notion of intonation with that of discourse.*" Couper-kuhlen (2001:14 emphasis added)

Another example, though quite different from our approach here, is Moosmüller (1989), who points out that "investigations of political language or the language of politicians predominantly concentrate on the lexical level, the semantic level and/or the textlinguistic level..." and goes on to advocate that "the oral speech behaviour of politicians ... has not yet been subjected to thorough investigation" Moosmüller (1989:165).

Martin and White (2005) introduce their book by explicitly mentioning their concern: the interpersonal in language, the linguistic resources that construe the subjective presence of speakers/writers as they adopt stances towards both the material they produce and their audience and how they position their interlocutors in this respect. In addition, they specify that the book is concerned with:

“...how writers/speakers construe for themselves particular authorial identities or personae, with how they align or disalign themselves with actual or potential respondents, and with how they construct for their texts an intended or ideal audience”. (Martin and White, 2005:1)

However, as they put it, the book focuses on interpersonal meanings in written discourse (Martin and White, 2005:7). They then argue that their presentation complements Eggins and Slade (1997), which deals with spoken language. However, unfortunately Eggins and Slade’s (1997) book, despite being about casual conversation, includes little information about the prosodic aspect of it.

A further remark worth noticing, as it was observed above, is that much of the Discourse Intonation approach has been devoted to the study of prosodic phenomena outside the realm of politics. Even though they research the structure of interactive discourse, specifically how intonation contributes to the communicative value of speech, little work has been done which describes how politicians manipulate phonological features when producing their speeches. Political discourse is mostly manipulative and persuasive, and it needs to be essentially evaluative to fulfil its purpose. Therefore, we need two different theoretical frameworks to describe the evaluative nature of political discourse as influenced and shaped by intonation: Appraisal Theory and Discourse Intonation.

We therefore set out to explore how political language is manipulative and persuasive by exploring the largely neglected area of phonology. As it has been shown above, this stratum is often neglected in political discourse analysis. We thus propose to start from this level of analysis to contribute to a better understanding of political discourse analysis by exploring how these discourses are organized at the phonological stratum and by studying the effect such phonological structure has in deploying meanings into the masses. More specifically, we will explore how the different prosodic features are related to evaluative language to produce a more sensitive, manipulative and persuasive speech. In the following section, we will present the theoretical framework that illuminates the present work. In section 2.2 we describe the theory of Appraisal and overview the system of Attitude and its subareas. In section 2.3, we offer an account of the phonological description adopted in this work, the model known as Discourse Intonation and overview the four systems of intonation explored in this work.

2.2 Evaluative lexis and appraisal systems

Martin (2004) has pointed out that the contribution of evaluation has tended to be marginalized in linguistics and affirms that it plays a powerful role in organising texts,

especially those related to highly charged political issues. He thus suggests that the traditional framework for interpersonal resources of speech function and exchange structure need to be complemented with a more [evaluative] lexically based focus on interpersonal meanings. He calls such an approach (to develop systems for evaluative meaning) APPRAISAL (Martin, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 20004, Martin and White 2005, etc.). Within Appraisal systems he develops three main regions or areas for analysing evaluative meaning: Attitude, Engagement and Graduation (see below for a better discussion on the topic).

As already suggested above, (political) discourse is understood as a form of action which is frequently intentional, controlled and directed at a specific goal (van Dijk, 1997). Recognising political discourse as a form of action allows us to associate it with purposes directly related to instances of power abuse. As defined by van Dijk (2001), Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. For Martin (2000c), "CDA is concerned not only with analysing texts to investigate power, but also with finding ways of redressing inequalities". He goes on to assert that CDA and SFL have been closely associated and "for many, one of the strengths of SFL in the context of CDA work is its ability to ground concerns of power and ideology in the detailed analysis of texts as they unfold [...] in real contexts of language use [...] SFL provides CDA with a technical language to talk about language..." (Martin, 2000c:275).

The use of evaluative lexis is probably around us in our everyday language exchanges and it most probably contributes to clarifying, exemplifying, enhancing, enriching, etc. our ideas, feelings, and so on. However, as they are used in political discourse, they frequently charge the exchange with ideological meanings. In our present account we feel the need to observe how speakers (i.e. President Barack Obama) combine their prosody with such evaluative lexis to reinforce the oral message.

Martin (2000a) has argued for the need to complement the system of interpersonal meanings strongly based on grammar with a more lexically founded approach. Interpersonal meaning systems have tended to be rooted on the grammar of Mood and Modality as resources for negotiating the semantic region between positive and negative polarity. Nonetheless, Martin (2000a) has suggested that the semantic region of evaluation has largely been elided from such systems; and he thus proposes a model for analysing evaluative meaning which includes three main systems:

ATTITUDE¹, ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION (for a more comprehensive account on the topic see Martin 2000a, b, Martin 2004, and Martin and White, 2005). The general term APPRAISAL is used for the resources employed to negotiate feelings (ATTITUDE), those relating to sourcing attitudes and voices about opinions in discourse (ENGAGEMENT) and for amplifying or grading evaluation (GRADUATION).

Martin has proposed sub-regions for each of the central areas within Appraisal, and for Attitude, he (2000a, also in Martin and White, 2005) has defined Affect as the resources deployed for construing emotional reactions; Judgement as resources deployed for assessing moral behaviour; and Appreciation as resources for construing aesthetic values of things (both natural and semiotic). An important aspect which is worth mentioning here is that this semantic region of evaluation is prosodic² in nature (Halliday, 1979 as cited in Martin and White, 2005). That is, the speaker's ongoing evaluative intrusion into the speech situation is spread throughout the whole text and it, ultimately, has a *colouring* effect, an effect that is cumulative.

A simplified system network for appraisal is exemplified in figure (1) below:

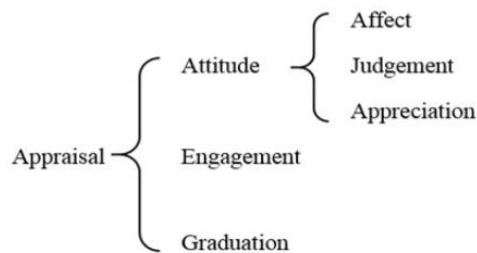


Figure (1): A simplified system network for appraisal

Martin and White (2005) have identified three main areas within appraisal: attitude – engagement – graduation. Our work explores the area of attitude, more specifically those of affect and judgement. Figure (2) below illustrates the area of attitude and specifies its sub-areas of affect, judgement and appreciation. It also includes polarity and strategy. Some minor notes have been added to better understand each of them.

¹ In most SFL literature, system names are spelled with capital letters. We will neglect this aspect for the sake of simplicity from now on.

² The term prosody here does not refer to the system in phonology, but instead to the structure interpersonal meanings realise in texts. Halliday (1979, as cited in Martin and White, 2005) states that interpersonal meanings are strung throughout the clause as a continuous motif or colouring and have a cumulative effect, which he calls prosodic realization.



Figure (2): System network for attitude with added notes

2.3 Prosodic theoretical background: Discourse Intonation and the grammar of speech

For the present work, we favour the ideas developed by an approach which views intonation within a discourse framework. We thus adopt Brazil et al's proposal who "see the description of intonation as one aspect of the description of interaction and argue that intonation choices carry information about the structure of interaction, the relationship between and the discourse function of individual utterances, the interactional 'given-ness' and 'newness' of information and the state of convergence and divergence of the participants" (Brazil et al, 1980:11). Brazil (1983, 1984, 1985, 1997) and Brazil et al (1980) have proposed a series of systems which, they argue, contribute to the conveyance of linguistic meaning. These are prominence, tone, key and termination. In the following section we will outline the basic tenets of each of these systems.

2.3.1 A sketch of intonation systems

2.3.1.1 Prominence

The tonic syllable is the syllable in a given tone unit that stands out in relation to the rest of the syllables. By standing out we mean the condition of being the most prominent element in the tone unit due to a combination of (most frequently) three prosodic features: pitch, loudness and length (for a full account of the nature of the tonic syllable see Halliday, 1970; Tench, 1996; Cruttenden, 1997; Davenport and Hannahs, 1998 among many others). It has been stated that the tonic syllable is the obligatory element in the structure of the tone unit, thus sometimes called the *nucleus*. Halliday has suggested that the function of tonic syllable is 'to form the focus of information: to express what the speaker decides to make the main point or burden of the message' (1970:40). He then goes on to point out that 'the choice of tonicity... is a means of relating what is being said to what has gone before. It is therefore an essential part of the organization of discourse' (Halliday, 1970:40-41).

Central to Brazil's approach is the concept of prominence. For Brazil et al prominence "is a property associated with a word by virtue of its *function as a constituent in the tone unit* (1980:39 emphasis original)". They thus argue that making any word prominent constitutes a meaningful choice. Besides, they suggest that the distribution of prominence, like decisions a speaker makes about tone and key, depends upon the speaker's apprehension of the state of convergence he shares with his (putative) hearer. In more precise terms, they state that the allocation of prominence represents the speaker's "assessment of the relative *information load* carried by particular elements in his discourse" (1980:40 emphasis original). Prominence also functions as the feature that determines the beginning and end of the tonic segment. Brazil suggests that "it is the incidence of prominence that fixes the domain of the other three variables, key, termination and tone" (1997:21).

While explaining the theoretical status of the meaning system, Brazil (1983) refers, almost exclusively, to one speaker option specified in that apparatus, the system of prominence. He avoids any engagement with phonetic matter (primary, secondary and even tertiary stress) and sets up his account of the matter "by assigning an abstract feature 'word stress' to certain fixed places in the word, and then postulating another feature *prominence* which co-occurs with some word stresses, resulting in the allocation of what has been called primary and secondary stress" (Brazil, 1983:45 emphasis original). He then goes on to explain that the reason why he makes the analysis in this way is that "the allocation of prominence to any particular word can be shown to be

consistently the consequence of a speaker decision *over* and *above* that which results in the choice of the particular lexical item. It is, therefore, *independently meaningful*" (ibid. emphasis original). Table (1) below has been taken from Brazil (1983) and shows us the difference between word stress (e.g. *con-*, *ver-* and *cis-*) and prominence as already chosen in a specific discourse situation (e.g. CON- and CIS-).

Choices from the lexicon	Situated utterance
// a <i>contro</i> versial decision //	// a CONtroversial deCISion //

Table (1): Word stress and prominence compared, from Brazil (1983)

The above example reflects an essential aspect of Brazil's proposal. The system of prominence is there to be exploited by speakers, and they choose from existing possibilities the one(s) that best expresses their intended meanings. Brazil insists on the necessity to recognize that "prominence is not a property of the word, but an attribute of some functional stretch of speech" (Brazil, 1982:279). We can easily appreciate this in the different distribution of word stress and prominence in the above example. Prominence is a feature whose distribution results from a speaker decision; that is, it is speaker-motivated, and as such, it is meaningfully relevant. Let us see example (1) and consider some of the possible allocations of prominence as manipulated in one utterance from our corpus.

(1)

// and so we WENT to war against al-QAeda //

// and so we WENT to WAR against al-QAeda //

// and so we WENT to WAR // aGAINST al-qaeda //

Etc.

The example above illustrates that it is the speaker's own desire to select different items from the same set of words. Each of these possibilities (and many others, of course) have their own meanings, even when the words in the tone unit remain unchanged. This much is due to their condition of being projected as (non-)prominent. These different allocations of prominence and the condition of being or not prominent entail different sense selections which we will deal with in some more detail in example (16) below

We have already said that the allocation of prominence is speaker-oriented and independently meaningful. Prominent syllables are relevant because they represent speakers' decisions; or more precisely in Brazil's terms *selections*. That is, prominent syllables are meaningfully opposed to all others that are not. The presence or absence of prominence correlates with a meaning opposition that Brazil has called selective/non-selective. Such selections may be limited by two different constraints: either the language system or the specific situation (linguistic or not) which affects the language used. The first one he calls *general paradigm* and the second one *existential paradigm*. The distinction is relevant since it allows us to observe how speakers select from specific discourse conditions those meanings that are more appropriate to their goals. As Brazil has pointed out, it is not that there is a pre-existing situation that limits the speaker's possible intonational decisions; it is rather the opposite. By independently selecting from the existential paradigm, speakers project a certain context of interaction. As suggested by Brazil et al., 'prominence reflects the *speaker's judgement* that the word in question contains *matter* which, *at this time and in this context*, will be informing' (Brazil et al., 1980:41; emphasis original).

2.3.1.1.1 The tone unit

But before going into the details of how prominence works to project a given context of interaction, let us first define the domain under which this and other speaker's options operate. It is shared knowledge that unless they are of relative comfortable length, speakers do not normally produce their utterances in one go. They need to break the spoken material into manageable units of easy production. Similarly, hearers also need to perceive the spoken message into small units, into bits which help reduce processing effort. The segmentation of spoken utterances has variously been investigated and different proposals have emerged. For present purposes, we regard our unit of analysis as the ***tone unit***. This is the unit that sets the domain under which the speaker may meaningfully choose from the linguistic system. One such choice has already been introduced, the system of prominence, other speaker options include tone, key and termination. As already mentioned above, we favour the tone unit developed by Brazil and his colleagues. Brazil et al. (1980) have stated that its internal organization deploys three segments, of which the first and last are optional (they are thus in brackets): (the Proclitic segment) – the Tonic segment – (the Enclitic segment). Of these, the tonic segment is the most important one since it is here where "all the significant

speaker-decisions are made” (Brazil, 1997:15); that is, prominence, tone, key and termination. Table (2) below illustrates these three segments:

Proclitic Segment	Tonic Segment	Enclitic Segment
// p he was	GOing to <u>GO</u> //	
// p that's a	VERy TALL <u>STO</u>	ry //
// p it was a	<u>WED</u>	nesday //

Table (2): The tone unit, adapted from Brazil et al (1980)

The location of prominent syllables determines the beginning and end of the tonic segment (GO-GO, VER-STO and WED). The first prominent syllable (henceforward onset) determines the beginning and the last one (the tonic prominence) marks off the end. In case there is only one prominent element in the tonic segment, onset and tonic coincide in that single element (for example WED in ‘wednesday’ above). The tonic segment is the essential element in the tone unit, while the other two (proclitic and enclitic segments) are optional. We could say that the tonic segment encompasses that region which projects what the speaker has selected as meaningful information. By definition the proclitic and enclitic segments contain no prominent element and are thus uninforming.

2.3.1.2 Tone

In their preliminary discussion on tone, Brazil et al. (1980) argue that tone choice is not dependent on linguistic features of the message, but rather on the speaker’s assessment of the relationship between the message and the audience. They propose that tone choice indicates whether the matter of the tonic segment is proclaimed or referred to. That is, they suggest that the function of the *fall-rise* tone (a referring tone) is to mark the experiential content of the tone unit, the *matter*, as part of the shared, already negotiated, common ground. On the other hand, the function of the falling tone (a proclaiming tone) is to mark the content as new.

Brazil (1985; 1997) and Brazil et al (1980) have stated that the central opposition in the meaning system realized by tone is that associated with end-falling and end-rising tones. Within the former there are *falls* and *rise-falls* and within the latter we can observe *rises* and *fall-rises*. Besides there is a neutral tone that Brazil has called *level*. He states that the fall and the fall-rise are the most frequent tones in many kinds of discourses

precisely because they embody the basic meaning distinction carried by tone; the other choices are meaningful and understood in contrast to this basic distinction.

2.3.1.2.1 The p/r opposition

Taking into account examples (2) and (3) below, we can observe that the only difference that sets these two utterances apart is their choice of tone. As Brazil (1997) has already pointed out, the basic meaning distinction carried by tones can be stated, in very informal terms, as follows: that constituent which carries a fall-rise (*r* tone) is taken as if it were already conversationally in play; it is what is present somehow in the speaker-hearer's present shared knowledge. On the contrary, the constituent which carries a fall (*p* tone) is taken as something freshly introduced into the conversation.

Brazil (1985) has suggested that tone units which do no more than articulate an assumption the speaker has with his hearer, have the value of "referring" to something already present in the situation. That is, the speaker assumes (but need not be so) that what he is about to utter is part of their shared biographies, part of their *common ground* and thus utters it with an end-rising tone, most frequently a fall-rise. The technical term Brazil (1983; 1985; 1997; et al., 1980) suggests for this physical manifestation of pitch is *referring tone* (or *r tone*). On the other hand, the content expressed in the units with a fall are taken as something the hearer is told and asked to consider as new, something that will enlarge the area of common ground, the technical label for the fall is a *proclaiming tone* (or *p tone*).

(2)

// *p* I shall read Adam Bede // *r* when I've finished Midlemarch //

(3)

// *r* I shall read Adam Bede // *p* when I've finished Midlemarch //

(Taken from Brazil et al, 1980:14)

Thus, we may reinterpret (2) and (3) above as (2)b and (3)b below:

(2)b

As far as what I will do when I finish Middlemarch is concerned, I'll read Adam Bede.

(3)b

As far as reading Adam Bede is concerned, I'll do it when I finish Middlemarch.

That is, that constituent with the *referring* tone is taken as if it were conversationally in play, and the constituent with a *proclaiming* tone is taken as if it were freshly introduced. Brazil has put forward the idea that the use of “proclaimed tone units can be thought of as increments in the furtherance of whatever communicative business is currently in hand, while those with referring tones are marked as making no such progress” (1985:67).

In addition, while discussing the interactive role of reading, Brazil et al (1980) suggest that choice of tone is closely related to one of two types of orientation: oblique and direct. That is, the act of reading material that is pre-coded may be directly oriented to the listener and the reader may assume some particular context of interaction with his audience and make choices accordingly; or on the other hand, the reader may simply read the material with no such concern. Brazil (1997) proposes the term direct orientation for the first set of options and oblique orientation for the second set. More on this in section (4.3).

2.3.1.3 Pitch Height: Key and Termination

The other two systems proposed by Brazil’s (1997) are Key and Termination. These refer to variations in pitch range to convey linguistic meaning. Variations in pitch on the onset syllable are referred to as Key and those on the tonic syllable as Termination. Figure (3) illustrates the independent realization of both key and termination in a single tone unit.

	<i>key</i>	<i>termination</i>
<i>high</i>		(a) <u>GO</u>
<i>mid</i> // p he’s GOing to		(b) <u>GO</u> //
<i>low</i>		(c) <u>GO</u>

Figure (3): Key and termination independently realized, from Brazil et al. (1980:60)

Where the onset and tonic syllable coincide, Key and Termination also coincide. See figure (4) below:

<i>key and termination</i>
<i>high</i>
<i>mid</i> // p he’s <u>GOing</u> //
<i>low</i>

Figure (4): Key and termination as realized in one syllable, from Brazil et al. (1980:61)

Brazil et al. (1980) see variations of pitch level as independently meaningful.

2.3.1.3.1 Key

Brazil et al. (1980) propose that, apart from prominence and tone selections, speakers can further make decisions on other independent systems and, such as prominence and tone, these decisions depend on the state of convergence they share with their (putative) hearer. The systems they outline have been termed *key* and *termination*. These are independent of each another, but intimately related. They are two different systems, but they are manifestations of the same pitch phenomenon, i.e. pitch level. Key and termination attach to the onset and the tonic respectively and they affect the whole tonic segment. In case there is only one prominent element in the tonic segment, they both coincide. Key and termination refer to choices regarding the pitch level at which either the onset (key) or the tonic (termination) syllables are uttered. Brazil et al. (1980) have, like many others, recognised three key choices in their system *high*, *mid* and *low*. However, they explicitly state that their approach differs from others in at least three important respects: a) they see choices of pitch level as independently meaningful, b) each tone unit selects afresh for pitch level and c) they do not establish mid-key as the default key (or norm) for the speaker.

The convention followed is a three-level choice *high*, *mid* or *low* (both for key and for termination) and provided there are separate onset and tonic prominent elements in the tone unit, the speaker can meaningfully choose pitch level twice. Brazil et al. (1980) remark that the high, mid and low distinction is not absolute, but instead relative to preceding elements. Brazil (1997) points out that in the case of the onset, the value that determines its height is the pitch level of the onset syllable in the previous tone unit. In the case of the tonic, it is the onset syllable in the same tone unit which determines the pitch height of termination.

There are, at least, two main points to bear in mind here. The first one is that key is seen as an independent choice. The second one is that it is not the relative pitch height that matters, but instead the meaning opposition it creates. Thus, the communicative value of high, mid and low key would, in very simple terms, be determined as it is shown in the figure (5):

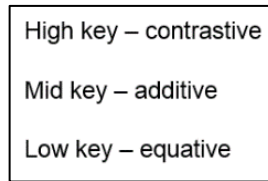


Figure (5): key and meaning opposition

That is, if the pitch height at which the onset syllable is uttered is high, the speaker is felt to project some sort of contrast with what went before, while a pitch height at mid level will project a simple addition to what was uttered before. Finally, an onset syllable uttered at a low pitch height will project the idea that the content of that unit amounts to the same thing as what went before. Example (4) below is adapted from Brazil's (1997) below to illustrate the meaning opposition between different pitch heights:

- (4) LOST // (High Key – contrastive)
 // he GAMbled // and LOST // (Mid Key – additive)
 LOST // (Low Key – equative)

2.3.1.3.2 Termination

Termination has been defined as an independent, but intimately related, system attached to the tonic syllable. As for key a speaker may select from a three-level pitch system and by so doing he projects a given expectation. That is, by selecting key, the communicative value of a given tone unit is established by reference to what has preceded it. However, by selecting termination the communicative value of a given tone unit is determined by what it anticipates, that is, by relating the tone unit to what is to come next. The expectation brought by termination choices has often been explained in relation to dialogic exchanges. By selecting, for example, mid termination, the speaker anticipates an expected endorsement, thus a mid key is expected to occur. That is, it realises an act of concurrence. On the other hand, by selecting high termination, the speaker anticipates adjudication. The listener is involved in an independent assignment of polarity, which thus differs from the mid-termination expectation of concurrence. Brazil (1997) has pointed out that such an expected termination/key correspondence should be better referred to as concord and encourages us “to think of termination as a means whereby one speaker restricts another’s freedom of choice” (1997:54).

A final remark is essential at this point, the effect of termination over an expected key is by no means an absolute requirement. This is simply an aspect of the context of

interaction in which the speaker *projects* an expectation that the hearer will concur or adjudicate; the fulfilment of such an expectation may not occur.

The formal linguistic opposition proposed by Brazil (1997) can be stated as follows. He suggests that the invitation to adjudicate realised by high termination is conceived of as an independent activity and thus projects an active verbal intervention. The expectation of concurrence realised by mid termination, on the other hand, has been presented as a manifestation of passivity and thus expects passive acceptance on the hearer's side. In Brazil's (1997) terms, "to decide is to be 'active'; to go along with another's assessment of the situation is 'passive'" (1997:59 emphasis original).

Brazil (1997) summarises the range of possibilities in figure (6):

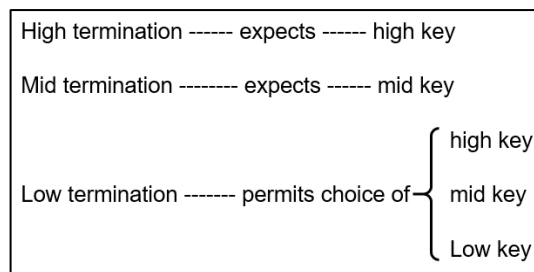


Figure (6): Concord projection between termination and key (from Brazil, 1997:119)

A low pitch in the tonic prominent element in a tone unit can be accounted for as neither expecting adjudication nor inviting concurrence. That is, low termination projects no expectation of pitch concord. In addition, Brazil (1997) has suggested that it marks a closure to what he calls the pitch sequence. Tench (1990) highlights the point that low termination anticipates nothing, that it cancels any constraints. He goes on to point out that "it is this 'cancelling' function that befits low termination in the role of closing a sequence" (Tench, 1990:276; emphasis original). In a given number of sequences of tone units, the occurrence of low termination marks the ending of a macro-unit, a unit composed of an indeterminate number of tone units including one, and only one tone unit with low termination.

So far we have been dealing with termination as if it were only a matter of dialogic interaction. This is by no means always true. It has been presented this way simply because the expectation of continuation projected by high or mid termination is better appreciated in interactive exchanges. We now turn to monologic exchanges in which explicit participant interaction is reduced to active intervention on the speaker's side and non-intervention on the listener's side. Brazil (1997) has pointed out that his description

of the two independent, but intimately related, systems of key and termination apply equally to utterances in which there is no opportunity for the addressee to intervene, and that they apply simply by extension of what has been said. For a more detailed treatment of key and termination see (section 4.4).

2.3.1.3.3 The pitch sequence

The features of key and termination contribute to the formation of a macro unit Brazil (1997) has named the pitch sequence. Brazil (1997) states that sequences of tone units contract syntagmatic relations with each other in ways that speakers' choices affect the communicative value of the whole sequence. Brazil has defined the pitch sequence as "that stretch of discourse within which each speaker's actual behaviour can be judged against the expectation of utterance-to-utterance locking" (Brazil, 1997:120). Brazil et al. (1980) suggest that there is a downward drift of pitch and that it is exploited as an organising mechanism by speakers. Brazil (1997) adds that the pitch sequence closure is communicatively significant: it will not be mechanically determined, but instead it will be the result of a speaker's choice. In simpler terms, the pitch sequence has been defined by Brazil (1997:120) as "a stretch of speech which ends with low termination and has no occurrences of low termination within it".

2.3.2 A linear grammar of speech: some brief notes on the notion of increments as used to satisfy communicative need

Brazil (1987) proposes that intonation is more suitably viewed if understood (as a feature of speech) as a happening (i.e. as process) rather than as text (i.e. product). He thus sets out to develop a process grammar of speech and characterises the language such a grammar needs to take into account as:

- Speech is characteristically used in pursuit of a purpose.
- Speech is interactive.
- Speakers and hearers assume sensible and co-operative behaviour.
- Talk takes place in real time.
- Speakers are set to exploit the here-and-now values of the linguistic choices they make.

O'Grady has stated that "a grammar grounded in increments and not in clauses is a useful way of *segmenting* and describing the speech signal. The decision to segment

the continuous speech signal into discrete units reflects an ideological stance and necessarily imposes a non-neutral perspective on how an act of communication is viewed” (O’Grady, 2010:6 emphasis added).

While discussing communicative intentions as those inherent in political discourse, for instance a politician’s desire to convince an audience to vote them into power, O’Grady (2010) cites Levelt (1989:109), who recognizes that the ‘journey from message to intention’ often requires more than one step or increment and acknowledges that speakers realise their goals by producing a series of sub-goals. O’Grady thus proposes that

“...the increment, by realizing a target state, enables the speaker to successfully achieve a sub-goal and move a step closer to the achievement of the overall communicative goal. Increments produce a target state which is simultaneously the initial state of the immediately following increment and this current target/initial state allows the speaker to dump the previous increment from working memory in order to make space for the following one without losing track of what has gone before”. (O’Grady, 2010:7-8)

Therefore, in line with O’Grady’s (2010:5) statement, we may provisionally conclude that “increments are vital processing units which bridge the tone/information unit and the achievement of a speaker’s ultimate communicative intentions”.

Brazil (1995) points out that the grammar he sets out to explore must take into account used language and by used language he means “language which has occurred under circumstances in which the speaker was known to be doing something more than demonstrate the way the system works” (Brazil, 1995:24). In addition, he also reminds us that this grammar is concerned with language that has been produced as speech rather than as writing. Brazil (1995) explores the grammar by analysing the ‘Little Old Lady’ narrative and argues that by telling the story, the speaker may perform different purposes such as warning, entertaining, etc. As an analogy, we could argue that Obama also fulfils different purposes while ‘telling’ his announcement. Therefore, as Brazil (1995) states, we will set out to explore Obama’s purpose(s) in announcing Bin Laden’s death, since “if we describe the mechanisms speakers use in telling, we shall have thereby described the mechanisms they require for all those other purposes they pursue by telling” (Brazil, 1995:27).

In an earlier paper, Brazil (1987) states that an example such as

(5)

Speaker A: *I saw John in town*

Speaker B: *oh*

Constitutes a telling since it satisfies conversational adequacy, speaker A tells something relevant to speaker B's present informational needs. That is, the utterance precipitates a state of adequacy. However, in example (6) below

(6)

Speaker A: *I saw John in town. He's going back to the States.*

Speaker B: *oh*

The same utterance does not seem to meet conversational adequacy in itself, it does constitute a telling, yet with no pretensions of conversational adequacy. Brazil argues that '*I saw John in town*' precipitates a state of progression, but "a further progressive increment, at least, is needed before a state of adequacy results" (1987:148).

Brazil has stated that "the achievement of progressive state depends upon some part of the increment having *proclaiming* tone" (1987:149). Information presented with referring tone is not intended to change the existing informational status quo; it does not constitute a progressive increment, though it does constitute a useful increment. In other words, an increment with *r* tone is useful but not progressive. An increment with *p* tone is both useful and progressive, yet it may not necessarily precipitate a state of adequacy.

For Brazil (1987) there is no formal indication of what determines whether a progressive increment precipitates a state of adequacy. However, he expressly remarks that intonation does play a fundamental role in determining when a useful increment constitutes a progression. Therefore, given appropriate intonation and appropriate discourse conditions, an increment (with *p* tone) will precipitate a state of adequacy. Brazil (1987:150) provisionally defines a useful increment as "the least stretch of speech which, given appropriate intonation and appropriate discourse conditions, will precipitate a state of adequacy". The minimum requirement for usefulness, as proposed by Brazil, is that the increment must contain at least one complete tone unit. In addition, there are certain minimal requirements involving grammatical categories as well (see below). Take, for instance, the following example given by Brazil (1987:150) reproduced here as (7).

(7)

// *p* i SAW JOHN // *p* in TOWN //

Brazil (1987) asserts that the first tone unit //p i SAW JOHN // is a progressive element in the present state of convergence between speaker and hearer, it comprises a situationally valid telling, though not necessarily an adequate one. The second tone unit //p in TOWN // presents a further progression as well, an additional telling, which, in the given circumstances, may be judged to be necessary to achieve a state of adequacy.

Following on from example (7) above, Brazil distinguishes two different types of increments: free and bound increments. Free increments (as *I saw John*) are defined as those “which, given appropriate intonation and discourse conditions, are alone sufficient to constitute adequacy”. Bound increments (as *in town*), however, “can be progressive only if they occur with a free increment”. He then goes on to state a simple provisional rule for their chaining: “after any occurrence of either type of increment, there is a binary choice of either type” (Brazil, 1987:151).

Though Brazil (1987) warns us about the seeming problem of terminology for the identification of grammatical requirements in the free increment (such as Subject (S), verb (V), Object (O), etc.), he explicitly states that “the unity of the free element is thought of as deriving from *the commitment a speaker enters into by initiating it*”. Put in other words, the speaker “incurs an obligation to go on until (s)he has produced a useful increment” (Brazil, 1987:152 emphasis original).

Brazil (1995:42) poses the question “What are the conditions that a telling increment must satisfy, if it is to achieve the purpose for which it was produced?”, for which he identifies two minimum criteria required for the constitution of a satisfactory telling exchange: syntactic requirements and intonational requirements.

In simple terms, the minimum syntactic requirements are, at least, a nominal (N) and a verbal (V) element. The minimum intonational requirement for a telling is the occurrence of, at least, a complete tone unit with a *p* tone. Provided these criteria are met, the telling exchange constitutes a *telling increment*. Example (8) below has been adapted from Brazil (1995) to illustrate the minimum intonational and syntactic requirements for a telling increment (more on this in section 4.5).

(8)

SYNTAX	NOMINAL ELEMENT	VERBAL ELEMENT
INTONATION	// p she	'd been <u>SHOP</u> ing //

Brazil (1995) proposes that before uttering their intended message, speakers are positioned in what he calls ‘Initial State’. That is, this stage represents “the special set of communicative circumstances which the speaker assumes he or she is operating in

before the chain begins” (Brazil, 1995:48). Once the listener is told what s/he needed to be told, the speaker is said to have arrived at a ‘Target State’. That is, a target state is the modified set of circumstances resulting after telling what needs to be told. We thus observe that “the whole process of telling is therefore visualized as a change from Initial State to Target State” (Brazil, 1995:48). In addition, Brazil recognizes that in between the two stages, there is the existence of an ‘Intermediate State’. In the simple short chain of N and V, the production of the N element represents the intermediate state, “it is one in which there is an obligation upon the speaker to go on and produce an appropriate verbal element in order to achieve the target state that he or she had in mind when initiating the chain” (Brazil, 1995:48). Diagrammatically this would be as in figure (7) below:

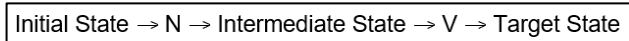


Figure (7): The simple chain, from Brazil (1995:48)

Brazil then goes on to extend his initial proposal for a simple chain and suggests that his short $N \rightarrow V$ chain does not contemplate all possible instances of language use. He states that after the production of the V element, speakers can achieve target state, or they may also produce further progressive intermediate states via different grammatical elements (Nominal (N), Adverbial (A) or adjectival (E) among others) until he/she achieves target state. He reformulates the initial chain as in figure (8) below:

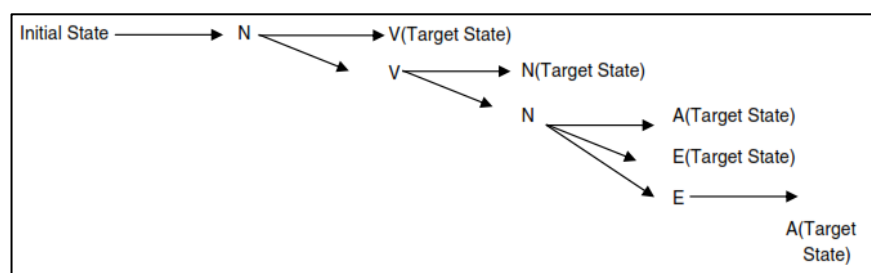


Figure (8): The sequencing rules, taken from O’Grady (2010:20)

The figure is not intended to be explanatory in any sense, it is here only intended to illustrate the full potential of Brazil’s linear grammar. In very simple terms it means that after the V element a speaker may achieve target state or utter a further N, which in turn may achieve target state. However, the speaker may utter further elements either A or

E, which may precipitate target state or further elements may be uttered until the chain is complete and the telling becomes an increment.

In line with Brazil's (1995) proposal, O'Grady (2010) asserts that speakers move from initial state (through intermediate) to target state by producing a sequence of tone units. Before speaking, speakers set a target which they achieve by producing a sequence of tone units which in turn form a telling increment. That is, speakers set their main goal and go along the production of such a goal through a sequence of sub goals. This step-by-step process takes the generation of a chain of telling increments (which at the same time are made up of one or more tone units). A complete telling increment will thus mark the arrival at a new target state, which will then form the initial state for further target states until the achievement of the speaker's overall communicative goal. Figure (9) below is intended to graphically represent this model of language processing by showing that speakers pre-plan their speech by setting an overall goal (marked in bold face in the figure) and aiming at it through a series of sub-goals. Each of these sub-goals or target states is reached by the completion of an increment which in turn becomes the initial state for the following increment (this recursive move is symbolized in the figure by the dotted lines) towards the accomplishment of the final overall communicative goal.

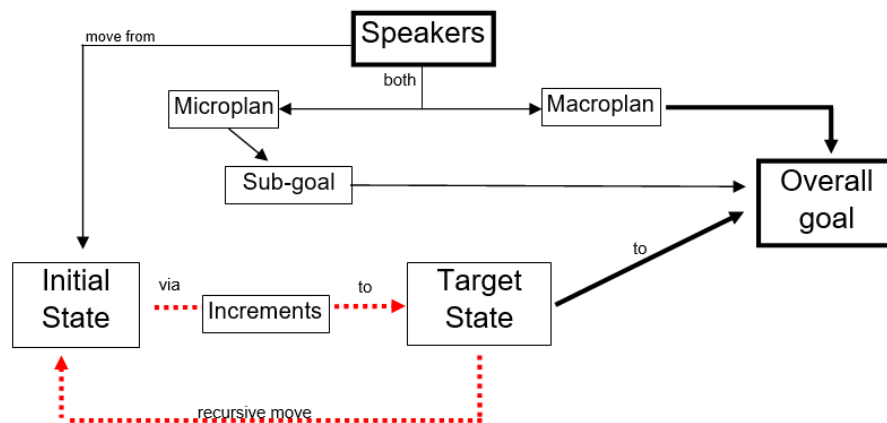


Figure (9): Relation between mental organization into plans and their oral materialization into increments. The dotted line represents a recursive movement between the initial state and the target state, which will finally lead to the overall goal (marked in bold)

To briefly summarise Brazil's account so far we would highlight the following main points:

- A process grammar of speech proceeds along the production of increments.

- If an increment satisfies informational needs, they are said to precipitate a state of adequacy.
- Useful increments require at least one complete tone unit.
- Increments with *r* tone are useful, but do not precipitate progression
- Increments with *p* tone are useful and progressive.
- Though progressive, telling increments with *p* tone do not necessarily precipitate in themselves a state of adequacy.
- There are two types of increments: free and bound.

2.3.2.1 Segmentation and the grammar of speech

In his account of intonation, Brazil has paid little attention to the question of segmentation of utterances into their constituent tone units. Probably one of the strongest arguments he presents comes from the fact that “one significant advantage of our description, which suggests that all intonational meaning is carried by the tonic *segment*, whose boundaries *are* perfectly clear, is that it gives us a principled reason for saying that *tone unit boundaries are not in fact of great importance*” (Brazil et al., 1980:45-6 original emphasis). As the proclitic and enclitic segment (see description of the structure of the tonic segment above in section 2.3.1.1.1) contain no prominent syllables and are thus uninforming, Brazil et al. (ibid.) suggest that it is of no great significance which tone unit they are attached to. However, probably due to the radically distinct type of discourse we are analysing here, we consider that tone unit boundaries need to be paid attention to. Although, as reported by Brazil et al (ibid.), it is at times difficult to determine the position of the boundaries between units, we believe they could contribute to our explanation of the persuasive and manipulative nature of spoken political discourse. We propose that apart from identifying the location of the boundary, what needs further exploration is the presence of the boundary and the purposes it may serve to persuade and manipulate others through oral discourse. We here see the question of segmentation as a tool which, if appropriately used, does have a significant influence on language processing.

So far, we have seen how speakers manage the flow of conversation by making choices at different levels or systems: the system of prominence, the system of tone and the systems of key and termination. In this section we face the so frequent problematic question of segmentation of the spoken material into tone units. We should probably reformulate our last line and state that what is problematic is not so much the division into tone units, but the identification of the exact location of the boundary between them.

For Brazil (1997) and Brazil et al, (1980), identification of boundary does not represent any inconveniency, for the relevant information contained in the tone unit is well defined within the limits of the tonic segment. For others, it has, at times, been problematic to properly and consistently describe tone unit boundaries (For a detailed elaboration on this topic refer to Tench, 1990; especially chapter 3).

Brazil (1982) has explicitly asserted that the division of spoken material into units reflects those decisions taken by speakers. That is, if a speaker feels the need to re-select afresh in one of the systems, tone unit boundaries may occur everywhere. He thus states:

“I hold the view that the study of precisely what happens between units, and in particular the study of pauses, should be quite separate from the business of segmentation. Segmentation involves a consideration of paradigmatic choice, for the unit to be described is of interest only in so far as it is the domain for an audible set of such choices” (Brazil, 1982:287)

Brazil (1997) has recognised that pauses do segment the stream of speech into units, but he explicitly states that he does not commit himself to regarding the pause as criterial. Pause may frequently coincide with tone unit boundaries and its mere presence may be by itself an indicator of tone unit boundary. In Obama’s discourse we see this marked occurrence of pause at tone unit boundaries, neither as signalling the speaker’s moment-by-moment processing of his/her message, nor as a marker of a given grammatical structure, but instead as a strategic resource exploitable by expert orators.

Before moving on to the question of segmentation and pauses, we wish to return to Brazil’s fundamental concept in the definition of the tone unit: prominence. Brazil et al (1980) have stated that they see all intonational meaning as carried by the tonic segment, and prominence defines both its limits and those words within it which are informing. Prominent syllables provide the domain for the other three systems to operate. If we depart from this conceptualization, the exact location of the tone unit boundary does not seem to be of relevance. However, in political discourse, as opposed to spontaneous everyday language, different resources help orators to (re)create their message by exploiting the full potential of language. Notice we are not saying that spontaneous speech does not exploit the language resources, but we are suggesting that political speech does it both intentionally and tactically in a way that deserves to be analysed on a par with the other prosodic options.

Naturally, spoken language must be segmented at some point. Speakers would not be able to produce a long continuous string of language without pausing, at least to breathe again. As it is, if we consider this breathing pause as a boundary marker in spoken language (which certainly it is in most spontaneous interactive dialogue) we would suggest that it is not linguistically relevant. It does not perform any function in the exchange of meaning, but it rather serves a physiological one. We therefore would not take account of this type of pause here, unless it coincides with the pitch sequence boundary, in which case it is difficult to determine on analytical grounds whether the speaker stopped to breathe in or whether he did it to end a sequence.

Conversely, there are tone unit boundaries in which there is no pause at all, that is, they are not defined or established based on their being a pause, but rather on phonological criteria such as the need to reselect afresh on any of the systems mentioned above to mark the utterance as contrastive or equative, proclaimed or referred to, etc. In accordance with Brazil (1982; et al, 1980), a discussion on the location of this type of boundary seems of little linguistic value.

The one type of boundary which we propose here is the one we would provisionally name 'tactically, pause-motivated boundary' (as opposed to the breathing-pause boundary mentioned above). Some would say that pause is non criterial for chunking spoken language, that it may lead the analyst to unfinished or truncated tone units (and it may be true). Some may also argue against pause as boundary marker because it may not clearly or consistently help define tone units. However, we will proceed on the assumption that in political speech, pausing is linguistically meaningful and purposefully motivated. Brazil (1997; et al 1980) has stated that the need to reselect afresh in one or more systems is criterial for tone unit boundary. In addition, Brazil et al (1980:46) "see intonation as the carrier of context-specific, speaker-created meanings which cross-cut the semantics of the language system". They finally conclude that the relation between grammar and intonation is "casual not causal" (1980:46 quoted from Bolinger, 1958). Therefore, they do not conceive of a unit boundary that is grammatically-motivated, though they recognise that very frequently boundaries coincide with major or minor grammatical constituents. To their proposal, we would like to describe the addition of a 'tactical pause/boundary' as an extra enhancing resource that is frequently exploited by politicians. We therefore wish to propose the existence of a sub-type of tone unit boundary that co-occurs with pause and that is doubly purposeful in political speech, to this type of pause boundary we suggest the function of 'rhetorical boundary'. By rhetorical boundary we mean a subtype of boundary which is tactical, purposeful and stands in opposition to any other type of boundary. On the one hand, it is a marker of the

need to reselect afresh from the system (this is due to the function of the boundary in itself) and on the other, it is a sort of rhetorical device exploited by skilled orators to create a situationally-motivated progression of an indefinite number of increments in what would have otherwise been a single utterance. Therefore, in order to be able to describe such a tactical boundary, we will need to go through Brazil's (1995) ideas regarding the linear progression of speech (for a further elaboration on this, see section 4.5).

2.4 Summary

Following on from this rather simple illustration of Brazil's account and the notion of segmentation, we venture to query the meanings that could be attributed to Obama's selections on prominence, tone, key and termination and his choices in segmentation and the relation these may have with evaluative lexical items affected by such prosodic selections. We will explore the prosody of those lexical items (or lexical strings) that have semantic evaluative weight (whether positive or negative) and connect their phonological realization with the overall purpose of the speech. Prominence, tone, selections on key and termination and segmentation will be carefully examined to explore the meanings they convey in this particular speech. For our present purposes, we will only concentrate on one of the three evaluative regions proposed by Martin and White (2005). We will observe how 'attitude' is deployed in the speech delivered by Obama. Political discourse, as has already been asserted before, is highly emotionally charged, it is directed to the masses and is intended to influence others' opinions, ideas, feelings, and so on. Therefore, as the attitudinal area within appraisal is the central one in which different types of emotional reactions are deployed, our work will only describe those meanings expounded within it and played up by means of different oral resources such as prominence, tone, key, termination and segmentation. Brazil's (1997) discoursal model offers the best option so far which describes meanings in discourse as sets of options available to speakers to fit their communicative goals. Meanings for the discourse approach to intonation are derived not from the grammar, with which they have a casual relation, but instead from the speaker's assessment of the communicative situation, the message and his/her putative listener, from which he/she makes moment-by-moment decisions. Such interactional choices are, for our present description, manipulative and persuasive in nature, and are thus better described from this discoursal perspective for they project a world of value which the speaker wishes to convey, whether real or not.

We thus feel a pressing need to explore the relation between the prosodic aspects already mentioned above and the appraised items present in Obama's speech;

for the interaction between these two approaches may contribute to a better understanding of how a speaker plans and develops a controversial message to fit their purposes and intentions.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research design

In the present work, we approach our research mostly through a qualitative method; though, at times, we feel the need to present analyses from a more quantitative stance to better explain the relationships found in the qualitative phase. That is, this work is an exploratory study which involves a mixed methods design. As it has been pointed out in Creswell (2012), “including quantitative data in a second phase is usually important to test the qualitative explorations of the first phase of the study” (Creswell, 2012:548).

Our initial research question sets us in an area which needs exploration. The literature so far yields little information about the phenomenon under study and we need to learn more from the data selected through exploration than from other research studies.

Because providing an in-depth understanding of an object of study requires that only few cases be studied, we propose to concentrate on this single case study (see section 3.2 below for a detailed description of the corpus) to offer an in-depth exploration of the actual case. In line with Creswell (2012), this case has been selected because it is unusual and has merit in and of itself. Creswell (2012) points out that there are different types of case studies and those studies which serve the purpose of illuminating a particular issue (as it is evident in the present study) are called instrumental case studies. In particular, this work aims to explore how evaluative language is expressed orally in order to serve the purposes of manipulating and persuading a given audience. That is, we wish to explore how different prosodic features can help manipulate and persuade others.

3.2 The corpus

The present work is a case study of one speech delivered by President Barack Obama (2011) to announce the success of the operation carried out by American military to kill Osama Bin Laden. The speech was audio-visually broadcast on May 1st 2011 at 11:35 pm EDT. Both the video format and the scripted version have been downloaded from the White House web page at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2011/05/02/osama-bin-laden-dead>.

The speech was delivered by President Obama to give details, in a more local context to the US population and in an international context to the whole world, about the operation carried out to kill the leader of the terrorist organization al-Qaeda, Bin Laden. As soon as al-Qaeda was held responsible for the Twin Towers' attack, the

operation (code-named Operation Neptune Spear) could be legitimized for both the American people and public opinion in general above and beyond the US. That is, the attack against the Taliban regime was implicitly justified since it was conceived of as a counterattack to previous aggression from al-Qaeda's terror.

The structure of the text is very linear and is focused on facts and information rather than opinion. From the very outset, Obama achieves his aim and announces Bin Laden's death in the very first paragraph. There is then an emotive linear recount of events which leads to a mournful mood, going from "the Twin Towers collapsing to the ground" or "black smoke billowing up from the Pentagon" through phrases such as "the empty seat at the dinner table", "children who were forced to grow up without their mother or their father", "parents who would never know the feeling of their child's embrace". The first part of the speech gains a highly emotive mood. After that, Obama points out several actions taken by the US and its military against terrorism and in paragraph 9 he informs us that "after years of painstaking work ... I determined that we had enough intelligence to take action and authorized an operation to get Osama Bin Laden and bring him to justice". He then goes on for about 5 or 6 more paragraphs praising their (American people's) work and warning us that "yet his [Bin Laden's] death does not mark the end of our effort"; he makes it clear that "the United States is not and will never be at war with Islam", that their war is not against Islam, but instead against terrorism (i.e. al-Qaeda), and that cooperation with Pakistan was, is and will be essential in their war on terrorism. From paragraph 16 on, he appeals to emotional reactions by highlighting the US's innocence as in "the American people did not choose this fight, it came to our shores and started with the senseless slaughter of our citizens" and recognizing the costs of war "every time I ... have to sign a letter to a family that has lost a loved one or look into the eyes of a service member who's been gravely wounded" and by thanking all those "who've worked tirelessly to achieving this outcome".

Our analysis is intended to research two main areas: appraisal and phonology. Within the area of appraisal (Martin and White, 2005), we have reduced our scope to the subarea of attitude and attention has been devoted primarily to two main areas within attitude: affect and judgement. Within phonology, we follow a discourse approach to intonation and pay special attention to the systems developed by Brazil (1997): the systems of prominence, tone, key and termination. In addition, Brazil's (1995) proposal for a linear grammar of speech is used to develop the phonological area of segmentation.

Most examples shown in this work present significant strategies used by President Obama to manipulate and persuade his audience. We have selected those

examples which we consider best illustrate Obama's rhetorical strategies to communicate his intended meanings. Most frequently, there is constant reference to examples from the first part of the speech since it is in this section where the 'us vs. them' dichotomy is more evident. However, this does not mean that the analysis was only carried out in this part of the speech.

3.3 Describing the conventions used in the speech transcription

The conventions used to transcribe the speech are roughly the same as those developed by Brazil (1997), the main exception being the added conventions for evaluative language (see below). The full speech was segmented into tone units and both prominent and tonic-prominent syllables were identified. The phonological transcription was done by the author and later on checked with a colleague. For cases which presented difficulties for both parties, the software PRAAT (Boersma and Weenick, 2007) was used to work out the differences. We have used double slashes '/' to mark tone unit boundary, CAPITALISING to mark PROMINENT SYLLABLES and underlining and CAPITALISING to mark TONIC-PROMINENT SYLLABLES. Table (3) below shows these conventions:

//	Tone unit boundary
CAPITALIZING	Prominent syllable
<u>CAPITALIZING</u>	Tonic prominent syllable

Table (3): Tone unit conventions

Example (9) from the corpus shows the criteria so far described above.

(9)

//p the LEAd^{er} of al-QAEda //

Thus by definition, tonic-prominent syllables will always occur within the last prominent syllable. Additionally, the tonic syllable, and no other, is the syllable that takes a further speaker's choice, that of pitch movement or tone. Following Brazil's (1997) conventions, a symbol is used at the beginning of the tone unit to indicate which tone is selected. We recognise five different tones: fall (↘), rise (↗), fall-rise (↘↗), rise-fall (↗↘) and level (→). Brazil (1997) has stated that the symbols used in his data have functional rather than phonetic connotations; thus, the label *referring tone* (*r* tone from now on) stands for both fall-rise and rise, the latter one being a subtype of *r* tone sub-classified as *r+* (referring plus). The label *proclaiming* (*p* tone from now on) stands for falling tones, both fall and rise-fall, again the latter being sub-classified as *p+* (proclaiming plus).

Finally, the o symbol stands for a level tone. Table (4) below illustrates the conventions so far described.

Tone	Phonetic	DI code	
Fall	↘	p	P
Rise-fall	↗↘	p ⁺	
Fall-rise	↘↗	r	R
Rise	↗	r ⁺	
Level	→	o	

Table (4): DI conventions, from O’Grady (2003)

In addition, we have also used the symbol *r** to represent “the ‘arrested fall’ or ‘fall to mid level’, which functions as and may be considered a phonetic variant of the fall-rise” (House, 1990:50). Figures (10) to (15) below illustrate the waveform and Fo trace for each of the tones identified.

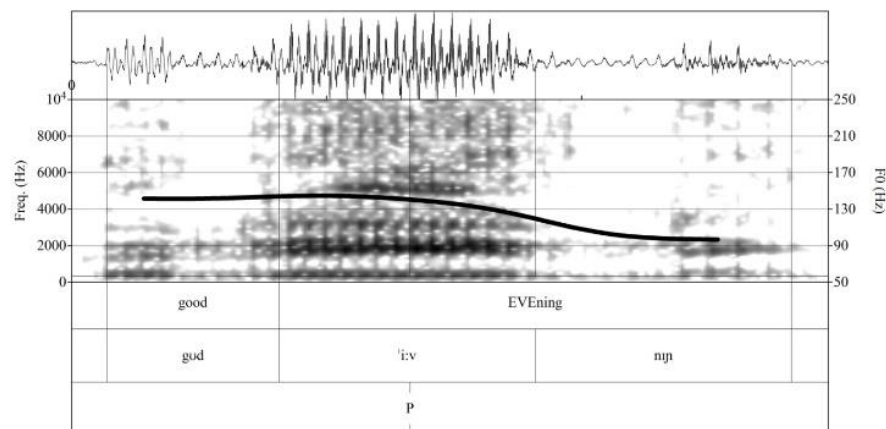


Figure (10): Waveform, spectrogram and Fo trace of proclaiming tone on ‘evening’ in the opening section of Obama’s speech

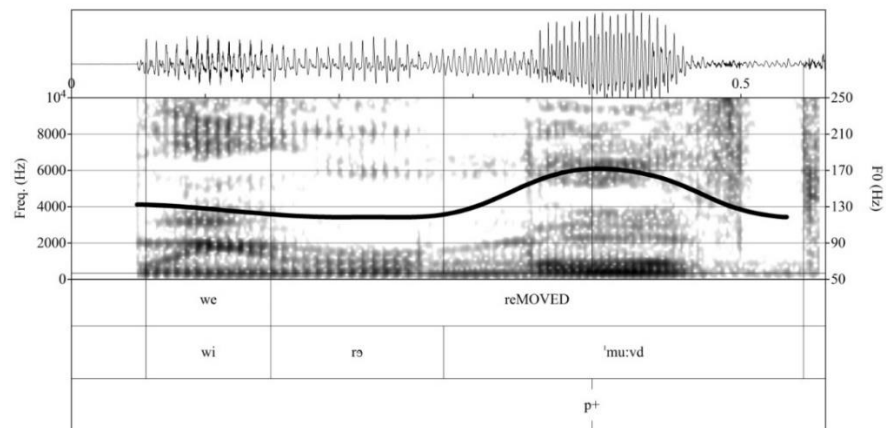


Figure (11): Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace of proclaiming plus tone on 'removed' in paragraph 6 of Obama's speech

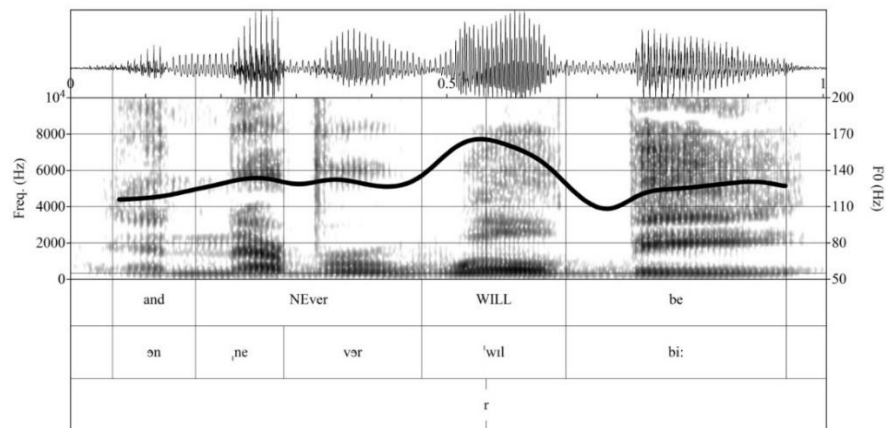


Figure (12): Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace of referring tone on 'will' in paragraph 13 of Obama's speech

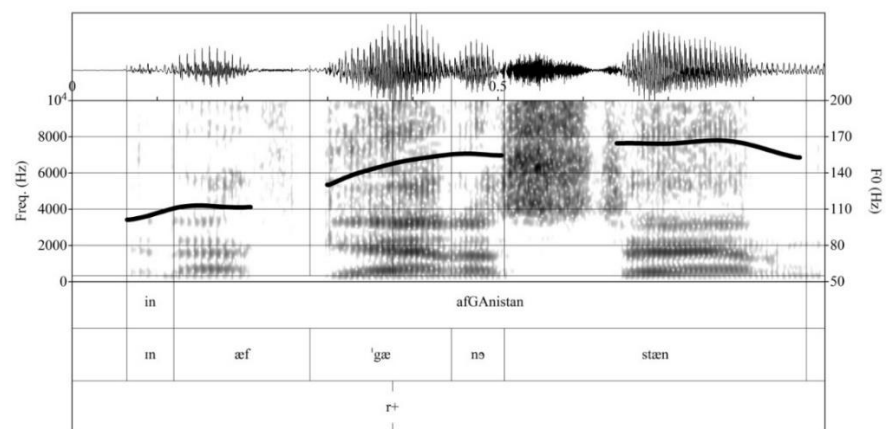


Figure (13): Waveform, spectrogram and F0 trace of referring plus tone on 'Afghanistan' in paragraph 6 of Obama's speech

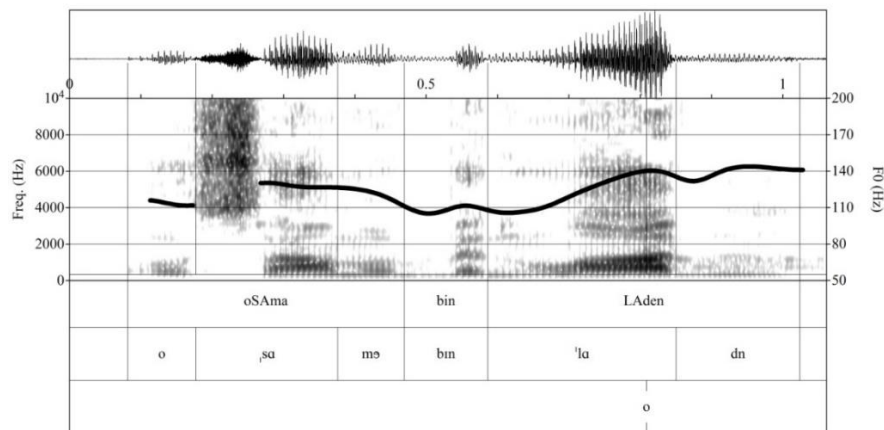


Figure (14): Waveform, spectrogram and Fo trace of level tone on 'Laden' in paragraph 1 of Obama's speech

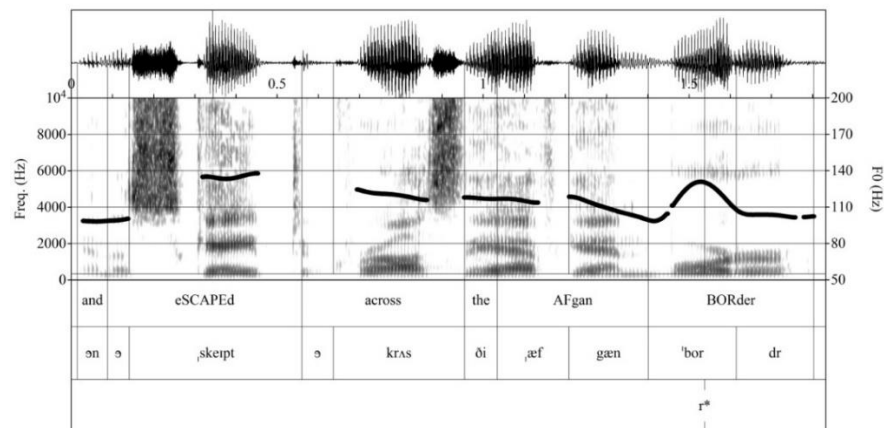


Figure (15): Waveform, spectrogram and Fo trace of the arrested fall (r*) tone in paragraph 7 of Obama's speech

As Brazil (1997) suggests, the symbols (located at the beginning of the tone unit) are to be interpreted as meaning that, at the next underlined syllable, there is an occurrence of the tone designated by the initial symbol. Both the symbol indicating tone choice and the one indicating tone unit division are located on the mid line irrespective of pitch height of previous or following information. Example (10) from our corpus exhibits the conventions so far described.

- (10)
H
M // the LEADer of al- QAEda //
L

Speakers have to face two other decisions within the tone unit. At the tonic syllable, speakers have to select from a three-level system associated with pitch range: high – mid – low, symbolized H, L, M on the left-hand margin in example (10) above. That is, while keeping the same pitch movement in ‘al-Qaeda’ (a falling tone) the speaker may vary the pitch height at which the fall begins and thus say (11) or (12) below. The pitch of the voice in the tonic syllable in (11) begins at a high level, while that in (12) begins at a low one:

(11)

H QAEda
M // the LEADer of al- //
L

(12)

```
H
M // the LEADer of al- //
L           QAEda
```

While the pitch at which the tonic syllable was uttered in (10) above is mid, that of (11) is higher and the one in (12) is lower compared with the level of the preceding prominent syllable 'LEAD'. This three-level pitch distinction constitutes a difference at two other independent but closely related systems. In the case of the tonic syllable, the three-level pitch system is termed termination and its meaningful distinction was described in section 2.3.1.3.2 above. The three-level choice associated with the onset syllable is referred to as key (already described in section 2.3.1.3.1 above). To identify the height of the tonic syllable we refer to the height of the onset within the same tone unit. However, to identify the height of the onset syllable, we refer to the onset syllable of the previous tone unit as shown below in example (13) from our corpus.

(13)

H
M //o and YET we KNOW //o that the WORST images //p are THOSE that were unSEEN to the world //

Therefore, because the beginning of 'know' in the first tone unit is higher than the onset syllable 'yet' in the same tone unit, it takes high termination. The onset (and also tonic) syllable 'worst' in the second tone unit is higher than the onset syllable in the tone unit before (i.e. 'yet'), and thus takes high key. Thus, key is the choice associated with the first prominent syllable and termination is that associated with the last one. In cases

in which the onset syllable coincides with the tonic prominent syllable (i.e. there is only one prominent syllable in the tone unit) selection in one system (key) involves selection in the other (termination), that is, they both coincide and there is no independent choice between key and termination, for example as in ‘worst’ above.

Following Brazil’s (1997) conventions all non-prominent syllables are written in lower case letters and are placed on the same line as that of the preceding prominent syllable, except at the beginning of a tone unit, in which case they are placed on the mid line. In example (13) above ‘and’ in the first tone unit is placed on the mid line and ‘images’ in the second tone unit remains on the same line as ‘worst’ (the previous prominent syllable). The letters on the left margin ‘H, M, L’ represent the pitch height for their corresponding line: H stands for High, M for Mid and L for Low.

3.4 The tone unit

Internal and external criteria were taken into consideration for the identification and delimitation of the tone unit. Internally, for the identification and delimitation of the tone unit we recognise one essential syllable: the tonic-prominent syllable. Additionally, the tone unit may also include an onset prominent (non-tonic) syllable. The presence of the tonic syllable will suffice to determine the central obligatory segment in the tone unit, the *tonic segment*. If present, the onset determines the beginning and the tonic syllable determines the end of the tonic segment. A tone unit may consist of up to three segments: the proclitic segment, the tonic segment and enclitic segment. O’Grady (2003) offers a clear table, reproduced here as table (5) describing the two different types of tone units there may be:

TU Type	Optional	Mandatory	Optional
Minimum	Proclitic	Tonic syllable	Enclitic
Extended	Proclitic	Tonic segment Onset.....Tonic syllable	Enclitic

Table (5): Tone unit: type and structure, taken from O’Grady (2003).

The tonic segment is the essential element in the tone unit, whereas the proclitic and enclitic segments are optional. Each tone unit contains one tonic syllable, neither more nor less. Any subsequent tonic syllable will, by definition, occur in a new tone unit. The tonic segment is the locus where speakers make all significant decisions: the allocation of prominence, tone, key and termination. By definition, neither the proclitic

nor the enclitic segments contain prominent syllables and are thus considered uninforming.

3.5 Intonation and appraisal: some extra conventions

At times, when examples exhibit phenomena we wish to highlight in both areas, phonology and appraisal, we have included **bold face type** to show **inscribed attitudinal lexis** and *italicising* for *invoked attitudinal phrases*. Examples (14) and (15) below illustrate the conventions used throughout the work in the examples which were phonologically transcribed.

(14) // by the **WORST** at**TACK** //

(15) // the *TWIN* *TOW*ers / collAP*S*ing to the *GROUND* //

Example (14) indicates that it is a single tone unit in which the syllable ‘**WORST**’ is prominent and ‘**TACK**’ is both prominent and tonic; besides, their being in bold type illustrates the fact that they are inscribed attitudinal lexical items. Example (15) illustrates two tone units. The first one includes two prominent syllables ‘TWIN’ and ‘TOW’, the latter being tonic; the second tone unit includes two prominences as well: ‘LAPS’ and ‘GROUND’, again the latter being tonic prominent. The use of italics in both tone units signals that the whole information is attitudinal in nature; however, it is not inscribed but invoked. The division into syllables was done in accordance with the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (LDOCE 5, 2005).

Some other conventions that need to be introduced at this point are those concerning appraisal. Martin and White (2005) have identified three main areas within appraisal: attitude – engagement – graduation. As it has already been mentioned, our work explores the area of attitude, more specifically those of affect and judgement. When examples exhibit explanations regarding intonation and appraisal (most frequently in tables 8, 9 and 10) we will observe the following conventions:

+	‘positive attitude’
-	‘negative attitude’
[Un/hap]	‘affect: un/happiness’
[In/sec]	‘affect: in/security’
[Dis/sat]	‘affect: dis/satisfaction’

[normal]	'judgement: normality'
[cap]	'judgement: capacity'
[tenac]	'judgement: tenacity'
[verac]	'judgement: veracity'
[prop]	'judgement: propriety'
[t]	'ideational tokens, invoked attitude'

Thus an example such as "... the **worst** images... [affect: unhap]" will be interpreted as evaluation directly inscribed in the text showing negative affect of unhappiness. On the other hand, an example such as "... *the American people came together... we reaffirmed our ties to each other and our love of community and country...* [t, + judge: cap/tenac]" will be interpreted as an ideational token displaying evaluation which is *invoked* (or implicit) in the text, displaying positive judgement of capacity and/or possibly tenacity. Both readings are possible and thus they are included within the same description.

In Appendix A the text has been presented with the orthographic paragraphs identified by numbers from 1 to 24.

In Appendix B the text is presented with the orthographic paragraphs analysed in terms of all the phonological systems identified by numbers from 1 to 24.

The text is presented with the orthographic paragraphs analysed in terms of all the phonological systems identified by numbers from 1 to 24.

In Appendix C we have added an interview between Bill O'Reilly and Senator Barack Obama. The text is presented with the orthographic paragraphs first and the text analysed in phonological systems.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4. Systems of intonation and appraisal

4.1 Introduction

In the present chapter we wish to show the connection there is between the systems of intonation (as proposed by Brazil, 1997 and his colleagues) and the interpersonal system of Appraisal (as proposed in works such as Martin, 2000a and b, 2004) and Martin and White (2005) as used by President Obama to deliver a manipulative and persuasive speech. This chapter contains 4 subparts. The first one discusses the system of prominence, the second one deals with the system of tone, the third one explores pitch height (at both the onset and the tonic syllable) and the fourth one deals with segmentation. All four sections explore the relation between the different systems of intonation and evaluative language (i.e. appraisal).

4.2 The system of prominence and evaluative language

4.2.1 Prominence

We said above that prominence is central to Brazil's approach and, as he has suggested, the allocation of prominence is a speaker decision that is independently meaningful. Brazil (1982) has pointed out that, far from being the property of a word, prominence is an attribute of a functional stretch of language. Therefore, prominent syllables are relevant because they represent speakers' selections, either from the general paradigm or the existential one. That is, as it has been stated before, speakers select from specific discourse conditions those meanings that are more appropriate to their goals and by independently selecting from the existential paradigm, speakers project a certain context of interaction.

Let us now observe the allocation of prominence as manipulated in one simple example from our corpus. Example (1) above has been slightly manipulated and reprinted here as (16). Both the location and number of prominent syllables intimately relate relevant features within the tonic segment: a) location determines the extent of the tonic segment and b) number determines the relation between prominent and non-prominent syllables. Example (16) presents some of the several possible combinations of a) and b) above.

(16)

Proclitic Segment	Tonic Segment	Enclitic Segment
// and so we	WENT to war against al-QA	eda //
// and so we	WENT to <u>WAR</u>	against al-qaeda //
// and so	WE went to WAR a <u>GAINST</u>	al-qaeda //
// and so we	WENT to <u>WAR</u> //	
// a	<u>GAINST</u>	al-qaeda //

The location of prominent syllables determines the beginning and end of the tonic segment (WENT and -QA-, WENT and WAR, WE and -GAINST, etc.). The first prominent syllable (or onset) determines the beginning and the last one (or tonic prominence) marks off the end. In case there is only one prominent element (as in (e) above) in the tonic segment, onset and tonic coincide in that single element. The tonic segment is the essential element in the tone unit, the other two (proclitic and enclitic segments) are optional. We could say that the tonic segment encompasses that region which projects what the speaker has selected as meaningful information. By definition the proclitic and enclitic segments contain no prominent element and are thus uninforming.

A simple comparison between the first two possibilities in example (16) above shows us that the tonic segment projects a different context of interaction for each of them. In the first one, the speaker has decided to project as informative that ‘the going to war against a given enemy’ is of relevance, while in the second option, ‘the enemy’ does not seem to be of communicative relevance, presumably because it is already present in the conversation. Similarly, the third possibility in (16) above projects as relevant information for the present context of interaction the notion of ‘who’ has gone to war ‘against’. Thus, even when the lexical items are the same, a different location of prominence helps project a different context of interaction. We may briefly conclude this section by claiming that an influential speaker can easily ‘shape’ his/her speech so that it strategically persuades and manipulates his/her audience. Notice that we are not here implying that the organization of the text itself has no potential manipulative consequences. As we have already said above, both its (lexico-)grammatical *and* its phonological organization have a staggering impact on the meanings projected by a given text. We can observe the different types of phonological impact by comparing the allocation of prominence in several equal (lexico-grammatically organized) examples. The information included in their tonic segment is different and so is its communicative value.

The number of prominent syllables is directly related to an act of selection in which the speaker is involved. Whenever a speaker decides to utter something, s/he needs to select from available options, and one such option has to do with selecting which syllables to make prominent and which ones not. By taking prominence, these syllables affect the words that contain them, and they thus turn the words into prominent words. Meaning in this sense is closely associated with two aspects derived from the speaker's initial decision regarding prominence: *projection* and *sense selection*. By making an element prominent (or not) the speaker *projects* a certain context of interaction. At the same time, the speaker also selects from the existential paradigm the specific sense(s) s/he wishes to project. Let us consider these two phenomena by observing how intonation plays a significant role in the opening section of Obama's speech.

(17)

// r+ toNIGHT // r+ I can rePORT to the aMERican PEOple // p and to the WORLD //

Brazil (1992) has pointed out that a central organizing principle in a speech event is the notion of a step-by-step progression, in which situationally appropriate discourse is generated by making direct reference to the here-and-now state of speaker/hearer convergence. However, an obvious problem he highlights has to do with the process of reading aloud from already prepared texts. Clearly, readers cannot be engaged in the generation of here-and-now appropriate utterances. As he suggests, "far from 'happening' piecemeal along the time dimension, the material we read and convert to speech 'exists' as an already completed object (Brazil, 1992:210 emphasis original)". Despite such a restriction, it is possible to say that reading *is* an interactive process nonetheless. Reading is interactive in a twofold sense: between reader and text, and between reader and hearer. Therefore, if speech (whether spontaneous or read aloud) is interactive, by definition, participants orientate to each other's assumed relevant circumstances surrounding the speech event, that is, to their common ground. In the above example, we see that the speaker's prominence selections project a context of interaction in which all content words are selective. The speaker has projected the assumption that *all* content words and 'I' have significant communicative value. Let us observe these other possible realizations of example (17) above (reprinted here as (18) a, b, and c) and consider how the impact of the message is markedly mitigated as we proceed from version a to c.

(18)

- a. // r+ toNIGHT // r+ i can rePORT to the aMERican PEOple // p and to the WORLD //
- b. // r+ toNIGHT // r+ i can rePORT to the aMERican people // p and to the WORLD //
- c. // r+ i can rePORT to the aMERican people // p and to the WORLD tonight //

We can here appreciate how certain elements have been made non-prominent and how such a choice has turned them *non-selective*. That is, by making ‘I’, ‘people’ and ‘tonight’ non-prominent, the speaker projects a context of interaction in which these three items are non-selective. We could thus paraphrase this and say that in the context of “reporting something to the American...” neither ‘I’, nor ‘people’ (nor even the time circumstance ‘tonight’) need to be selective: they are already present in the context of interaction. One possible (and probably simplistic) reason is that these items are, to a certain extent, ‘predictable’ or determined by ‘shared understanding’. Taking into account that it is the US President (with the implied international relevance this president has) who is giving the announcement to his nation (and by extension to the whole world), we shall say that there are evident grounds that the intended audience for the report is no other than American ‘*people*’. Similarly, his mere physical presence (that night) reduces the possibility for another prominent figure taking his place, and thus creates a shared understanding that *he* is the person responsible for reporting the events. Therefore, neither ‘I’ nor “people”, not even ‘tonight’ needed to be prominent at all because they form part of the context of interaction, they are part of the shared understanding of the participants.

However, the speaker has chosen to make them prominent and we now need to be able to understand what consequences such selections carry with them. By making a given element prominent, a speaker selects from what Brazil called the existential paradigm, that is, from a “set of possibilities that a speaker can regard as actually available in a given situation” (Brazil, 1997:23). The speaker selected to make these (and all other) elements prominent presumably because of their special appropriateness in the here-and-now context of interaction. In O’Grady’s term, “a speaker chooses to select a prominent word to highlight to his/her hearer that the word represents a choice and that the significance of the choice lies in the value of the lexical items not chosen” (O’Grady, 2003:56). By making ‘I’ prominent the President indicates that he has personally taken up the job of making the announcement and has not left it in the hands of the press secretary, as he usually does. In other words, he assumes full responsibility for the message he is about to deliver (see O’Grady’s comment on the authorship of

political speech in section 4.3.2). In addition, we would propose that the significance of the choice also lies in the value the selective lexical items have, had they been projected as non-selective. That is, we suggest that the significance of a prominent item lies not only in its relation to its neighbouring items made non-prominent, but also, and probably more noticeably, in the relation projected by the same item as realized prominently or non-prominently. To this, we turn now in the following section. In addition, we also wish to connect the status of an item being (or not) selective and its relation to its potential evaluative (i.e. appraised) nature as proposed by Martin and White (2005).

4.2.2 Prominence and Appraisal

While arguing about the context of interaction, Brazil (1992) proposes, for the speaker's different degrees of commitment to this context of interaction, a working classification of (*degrees of*) *engagement with the context of interaction*. If we now consider the whole introductory paragraph from Obama's speech (example (19) below), we will notice a highly untypical intensified use of prominent elements. With the minor (and probably irrelevant) exception of 'good', all content words have been made prominent. This pattern exerting such an untypical use of "extra prominences" has been closely associated with a (reader's) state of minimal engagement with the context of interaction (we will have more to say about this in section 4.2.2). In Brazil's (1992) terms, it is rather as if the speaker were using some sort of "audible quotation marks" around the stretch of language being read. A minimally engaged reader seems not to present him/herself as committed to the truth-value of the spoken material.

(19)

H			<u>NIGHT</u>		<u>PEOple</u>	
M	//p	good	<u>EVE</u> ning	// r+ to	// r+ I can rePORT to the aMERican	// p AND
L						
H				<u>STATES</u>		<u>KILLED</u>
M	to the	<u>WORLD</u>	// o that the uNITed		//o has conDUCTed an opeRation that	//
L						
H						
M	o oSAma bin	<u>LA</u> den	// p the LEAder of al- <u>QAE</u> da	// o and a <u>TERR</u> orist	//o who's resPONSible	//
L						
H						
M	p for the MURder of	<u>THOU</u> sands	// o of innocent <u>MEN</u>	//o <u>WOM</u> en	// p and	//
L						<u>CHIL</u> dren

If we were to reduce this introductory paragraph to its basic message, we could say that the part that runs after 'al-Qaeda' is non-essential information. That is, the nub of the paragraph, and probably of the whole discourse, is the very first three lines, strictly

speaking the segment that goes from 'I' to 'Osama Bin Laden'. But what about the rest of the message, especially that part that comes after al-Qaeda? We will deal with this question in the following section when we study what appraisal is and what it does.

4.2.3 Appraisal: working out the meaning of appraised items

As already suggested above, (political) discourse is understood as a form of action which is frequently intentional, controlled and directed at a specific goal (van Dijk, 1997). We also pointed out that the use of evaluative lexis as used in political discourse frequently charges the exchange with ideological meanings. We therefore feel the need to observe how speakers (i.e. Obama) combine their prosody with such evaluative lexis to reinforce the oral message. For our present purposes, we will only concentrate on one of the three regions proposed by Martin and White (2005): we will observe how attitude is deployed in the speech delivered by Obama.

But, how is it that attitudinal evaluation finds its way in a text? There are two possible ways of evaluating. Attitudinal evaluation can be expressed explicitly by means of nouns, epithets, processes, etc.; or it may also occur implicitly, in which case it is not directly inscribed in the text by means of specific attitudinal lexis, but it is instead indirectly invoked by means of longer stretches of discourse that help provoke an attitudinal response in readers/listeners (we will use the term 'listeners' from now on to simplify the exposition).

Returning to example (19) above, we can observe there are several items that directly bring about a given attitude by overtly using inscribed affectual lexical items. We will firstly proceed to observe the effect created by the use of the process '*killed*'. To kill (a person) is (for most people) an aberrant social behaviour; thus, even devoid of any context, 'killing' is an appraised item which certainly produces an (negative) affectual response in most listeners, a behaviour most people would condemn. Before going any further, we now need to return to two different phenomena which were introduced before and differentiate the uses which have been given to them in this last section. Within the general area of attitude, Martin and White (2005) recognise three semantic regions which clearly affect our feelings: affect, judgement and appreciation. They suggest that affect is that area which is at the heart of these regions, a fact which implicitly presupposes that the others are peripheral in some respect. The reason why they argue affect is central in our lives is that we are born with such an expressive resource; however, other attitudinal resources such as judgment and appreciation are institutionalised feelings. In other words, it seems to be the case that while affect is a *natural* feeling, judgement and

appreciation seem to be *acquired* later on through social and cultural interaction. Let us analyse how a given phenomenon may be considered either attitudinal or non-attitudinal at all, or even something in between. Some hundreds of thousands of years ago, to kill (either a person or animal) would have been considered part of a daily routine contributing to human species survival; in which case, the act of killing would have carried with it no negative affect or judgement: it was part of cavemen's life (i.e. natural acceptance) and it was part of their life-style (no institutionalised judgement). However, modern contemporary western life would not conceive of the killing of animals, let alone humankind, as acceptable natural behaviour. We can therefore regard the use of the process 'kill' as attitudinally loaded in modern times, but non-attitudinal in pre-historic times.

If we now move on into a more detailed analysis of the process 'kill' and consider it as attitudinally loaded, we may propose a working classification which may help us grade judgements. We have already proposed that 'killing' is an institutionalised and socially condemned behaviour, at least for modern western culture. As it is, such behaviour triggers an affectual response, most typically a negative one. Compare now how such negative affectual response is strengthened as we proceed from example (20) a-d:

(20)

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--|
| a. | Someone killed somebody | |
| b. | Someone murdered somebody | |
| c. | Someone assassinated somebody | |
| d. | Someone slaughtered somebody | |

Notice that some of these processes may include the killing of more than one person. Similarly, they may also include a non-sentient entity as the doer of the action. In addition, by grading these processes, we do not intend to imply that they conform discrete values. They simply represent our interpretation of what we propose are tactic uses of attitudinal lexical items.

If we consider the above examples, we could propose that the negatively loaded affectual response of 'kill' is neutralised or downgraded in relation to the other terms in the scale. This process of downgrading judgement or neutralization, we argue, is what political discourse tactically employs either to manipulate or persuade an audience. Most typically, a given (political) speech would reduce *our* negative attitude (judgements in

this case, “*we killed*”) and over emphasize *theirs* (“*they murder*”); thus contributing to the so called *us* vs. *them* opposition.

Let us for a while decontextualize the terms ‘kill’ and ‘murder’ and see how they fit the classification proposed by Martin and White (2005). If we were to categorise these two terms into their two broad areas: social esteem and social sanction, we could initially propose that both should be judged as examples that are typically socially condemned. Table (6) below illustrates this:

Judgement		
Social Esteem	Positive (admire)	Negative (criticise)
Normality		
Capacity		
Tenacity		
Social Sanction	Positive (praise)	Negative (condemn)
Veracity [truth]		
Propriety [ethics]		To kill To murder

Table (6): Appraisal in two isolated terms

However, if we carefully reanalyse these two examples in context, we can observe there is a further step in the attitudinal response they project. The process of ‘killing’ has been neutralised and has undergone an interesting shift of value in this context. Even when ‘to kill’ is, as we have already argued, a negative evaluative item, it is here interestingly functioning as a positive one, especially one which assumes the US gains positive social recognition for their moral behaviour. See table (7) below:

Judgement			Affect		
Social Esteem	Positive (+) (admire)	Negative (–) (criticise)		Positive +	Negative –
Normality			Desire		
Capacity			Un/happiness		
Tenacity			In/security		
	“... an operation that killed O. Bin Laden...”			+ affect for U.S. people	– Affect for U.S. people (and probably the world)
			Dis/satisfact.		
Social Sanction	Positive (praise)	Negative (condemn)			
Veracity [truth]					
Propriety [ethics]					
		“... an operation that killed O. Bin Laden...” “... a terrorist ... responsible for the murder of thousands...”			

Table (7): Strategic use of appraisal resources

That is, what at first sight might have been considered negatively loaded (i.e. the act of killing) comprising negative social condemnation, is now 're-valued' in positive terms comprising positive admiration for the US's capacity and tenacity to carry out such an action. Now that the 're-valuing' process is completed, the speech deploys positive judgements of capacity and tenacity to trigger positive affectual response of security and satisfaction for the US (they *killed* a murderer). On the other hand, it deploys negative judgements of propriety to trigger negative affectual responses of unhappiness and insecurity (Bin Laden murdered innocent men, women and children) (see table (7) or example (19) above). This last point is reinforced by the use of the evaluative items such as *terrorist* and *innocent*. They openly contribute to deploying a highly charged negative affect on Bin Laden by explicitly stating the type of person he is and the type of people he has murdered. One interesting aspect to highlight here is that, whereas Bin Laden has been identified as a murderer, the victims of the attack have been ascribed the attribute of being innocent. This shift from a concern with (our) positive capacity and tenacity to a concern with (their) negative propriety (ethics) is, again, a further example of manipulation of the language to suit the speaker's purposes.

If we now re-examine example (19) (reprinted here as (21)) in terms of its directly inscribed affectual attitude (direct attitudinal lexis in **bold type**), we observe that Bin Laden is a **terrorist** [- judgement of propriety], and he is the **leader** [- judgement of veracity] of a terrorist organization. In addition, he is **responsible** for the **murder** [- judgement of propriety] of thousands of people, not common people, but instead **innocent** [+ judgement of propriety] men, women and children.

(21)

H			<u>NIGHT</u>		<u>PEOPLE</u>	
M	//p good <u>EVENing</u> // r+ to		// r+ I can rePORT to the aMERican		// p AND	
L						
H			<u>STATES</u>		<u>KILLED</u>	
M	to the <u>WORLD</u> // o that the uNITed		//o has conDUCTed an opeRation that		//	
L						
H						
M	o oSAma bin <u>LA</u> den // p the LEAdEr of al- <u>QAE</u> da // o and a <u>TERR</u> orist //o who's resPONSible //					
L						
H						
M	p for the MURder of <u>THOU</u> sands // o of innocent <u>MEN</u> //o <u>WO</u> men // p and				//	
L					<u>CHIL</u> dren	

We may thus conclude this short section by stating that both the US and Bin Laden might be judged negatively by their actions: to kill and to murder respectively. However, it seems very sensible to judge the US positively (or at least less negatively)

since they *killed* (they did not murder or even assassinate) a *terrorist* responsible for the *murder* (not the killing) of thousands of *innocent* people.

So far, we have been able to observe how inscribed evaluative items have an impact on affect and judgement in the initial paragraph of Obama's speech. We will now turn to ideational meanings used to evaluate indirectly. Indirect ways of evaluating are presented as less perceptible to our primary modes of awareness, but their effect is equally influential; at times, we would argue, they serve the speaker's purposes much more effectively. In the following example ((22) below), Obama depicts al-Qaeda's attacks on the US and presents factual information as if it were a sequence of snapshots. The first part presents us with concrete images of the episodes of 9/11, the second part exhibits a more symbolic or even metaphorical description.

(22)

It was nearly ten years ago that a bright September day was darkened by the **worst attack** on the American people in our history. The images of 9/11 are **seared** into our national memory – **hijacked** planes cutting through a cloudless September sky; the twin towers collapsing to the ground; black smoke billowing up from the Pentagon; the **wreckage** of Flight 93 in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, where the actions of **heroic** citizens saved even more **heartbreak** and **destruction**.

And yet we know that the **worst images** are those that were unseen to the world. The empty seat at the dinner table. Children who were forced to grow up without their mother or their father. Parents who would never know the feeling of their child's embrace. Nearly 3,000 citizens taken from us, leaving a **gaping** hole in our hearts.

The above passage does not gain its highly dramatic effect by explicitly appealing to the use of inscribed evaluative items (though there are some instances – they have been marked by the use of **bold face**), but instead by creatively resorting to a more implicit aesthetic metaphorical language. There is a highly descriptive language used to characterise that specific day and to specify the set of images, those images that were “viralised” throughout the world and could be seen in most media. The first set of images includes the crashing of the planes into the Twin Towers, a second crashing in the Pentagon and the wreckage of a flight in Shanksville. The language used to describe this first set of events is interestingly poetic. Taken in isolation words as ‘*bright*’ or ‘*cloudless*’ or even ‘*darken*’ do not produce any affectual response. However, chained one after the other, they do project a very strong dramatic effect. Consider, for instance, the effect created by saying that 9/11 was ‘*bright*’ and ‘*cloudless*’ and unexpectedly, later

on, it was (non-literarily) 'darkened'. In addition, there is also a recurrent use of dramatic parallel structures of the (topic-comment) '*something ^ doing...*' type, which further enhances the darkening effect. In the second paragraph, the second set of images is even more dramatic, both in their essence and in the fact that they were not viralised to the world. That they were not massively spread seems of particular interest. Obama wittingly mentions them since they help deepen the collective sorrow already caused and contributes to a better understanding of the attack's side effect; in other words, this prosodic structuring organizes the attitudinal meanings in such a way that its greatest effect is achieved in what Martin and White (2005) pointed out as the intensification of waves of meanings. Let us take, for instance, the following three cases from example (22) above and explore how they are doubly attitudinal. If we consider '*children who were forced...*', '*parents who would never know...*' and '*citizens taken...*', we would naturally feel woeful for the children, the parents and the citizens; while at the same time, we would abhor the one who '*forced* the children to grow up without their parents' or '*took* both children (from their parents) and citizens (from their fellow countrymen)'. That is, in appraisal terms, as has been outlined in Martin and White (2005), the ideational token employed here (and elsewhere) serve to extend the prosodies of affect and judgement already inscribed by the use of explicit evaluative items (see table (8) below, explicit evaluative items in **bold face**, implicit ones in *italics*). As already noted by Martin (1995) in his analysis of the Chinese revolution, based on the amplified lexical items used, it seems that Obama is evoking condemnation of Bin Laden's behaviour, though he does not explicitly inscribe negative judgement. In this case, ideational tokens have been used to extend the prosodies towards the negative end of affect and through them towards the negative end of judgement while referring to al-Qaeda. In addition, at times, a blend of positive affect (especially happiness and security) has been deployed to create an even more appalling reaction against al-Qaeda's behaviour. Table (8) deploys how invoked attitudinal items amplify the attitudinal effect already created by inscribed lexis.

An in-depth reading of the examples above shows us that instances as "*the images of 9/11..., hijacked planes..., the twin towers collapsing to the ground, black smoke billowing up from the pentagon, the wreckage of flight 93...*" or "*The empty seat..., children forced..., parents who would never know..., citizens taken from us...*", do invoke affectual responses for most listeners, though they are not explicitly inscribed.

Example	Invoked +/- affect	Invoked +/- judgement
...a <i>bright</i> September day was <i>darkened</i> by the worst attack ... The images of 9/11 are seared into <i>our national memory</i>	+ affect/hap: bright day - affect/insec: darken - affect/insec: the images searing	- judge/prop: al-Qaeda attacked the US and darkened their lives... - judge/prop: al-Qaeda's attack produced a (national) searing effect
... hijacked planes <i>cutting through a cloudless September sky</i>......the <i>twin towers collapsing to the ground</i> <i>black smoke billowing up from the Pentagon</i> ...	+ affect/hap: The day was bright and cloudless - affect/insec: the Twin Towers collapsing - affect/insec: black smoke from a national security building	- judge/prop: al-Qaeda hijacked planes and crashed them into the Twin Towers - judge/prop: al-Qaeda's attack produced the collapse - judge/prop: al-Qaeda's attack...
...the wreckage of Flight 93... ... heroic <i>citizens saved even more</i> heartbreak and destruction ...	- affect/insec: the wreckage + affect/sec/sat: citizens saved other citizens, they were heroic in doing so.	- judge/prop: al-Qaeda's attack... - judge/prop: al-Qaeda attacked, destroyed and caused heartbreak
...we know that the worst images were <i>unseen to the world</i>......The <i>empty seat at the dinner table</i> ...	-affect/unhap: attack side effects, those not perceived at first sight. - affect/unhap: a family member no longer sharing with his/her family	- judge/prop: al-Qaeda's attack brought about vestiges of further wreckage. - judge/prop: al-Qaeda killed people, their families are fragmented.
...Children forced to grow up without their mother or their father... ...Parents who would never know the feeling of their child's embrace... ... <i>citizens taken from us, leaving a gaping hole in our hearts</i> ...	- affect/unhap: head family member no longer present in his/her family. - affect/unhap: children no longer present in their families. - affect/insec: people no longer present in the US society.	- judge/prop: al-Qaeda deliberately killed people, who were mothers or fathers. - judge/prop: al-Qaeda deliberately killed children (who are innocent) - judge/prop: al-Qaeda deliberately killed US citizens.

Table (8): Dual attitudinal evocation, amplification of inscribed evaluation

The use of metaphorical language to expand ideas such as '*a bright day*', '*images of 9/11*' or '*the Twin Towers collapsing*' has a direct effect on the affectual evaluations provoked on listeners (more on this in example (30) below). Consider, for instance, example (23) below (which has been manipulated). Even when it apparently presents factual, non-valued information, it does provoke an attitudinal response from the listener.

If you compare it with its original form (example (22) above), it can be observed that an even more provoking emotional effect is achieved in the original version.

(23)

Many families will have to face an empty seat at their dinner table. There will be both children without their mother or their father and parents without their children. Nearly 3,000 citizens were taken from us.

Should we ignore these instances of implicit (or more technically invoked) attitude, we would not be able to give a full account of the total emotional effect. We thus get a fuller picture of inscribed affect in terms such as *worst* in “*the worst images*” by combining its effect together with the invoked affect in phrases as “*the empty seat...*”, “*children forced to...*”, “*parents who...*” and “*leaving a gaping hole in our hearts*”.

As it is, we could hypothesize that the evaluative nature of attitudinal lexis is inherent in certain types of lexical items. Should this be true, we could argue on the complementation of appraisal systems and the systems of intonation through which a given piece of discourse is conveyed. That is, as an analogy, if a written text may exhibit graphic marks (as highlighting, underlining, capitalizing, italicizing, etc.) on attitudinal lexis to focus attention on them and thus help or lead the reader to identify a given value; we would like to propose that in the oral language, the (strategic, purposeful) use of the system of prominence may help the speaker highlight information he wishes to put into the forefront and lead the listeners towards a given interpretation. To this we turn in the following section.

4.2.4 Prominence in Appraisal

As we said above, for Brazil et al., ‘prominence is a property associated with a word by virtue of its *function as a constituent in a tone unit*’ (Brazil et al., 1980:39 emphasis original). That is, as they point out, making a word prominent constitutes a meaningful choice. They go on to propose that ‘the distribution of *prominence...* depends upon the speaker’s apprehension of the state of convergence he shares with his hearer. More precisely, it represents his assessment of the relative *information load* carried by particular elements in his discourse’ (Brazil et al., 1980:40 emphasis original). They finally emphasise that ‘prominence reflects the *speaker’s judgement* that the word in question contains *matter* which, *at this time and in this context*, will be informing’ (Brazil et al., 1980:41; emphasis original).

One important aspect they highlight is the significance of the tonic prominent syllable in the organization and development of discourse. They recognise the dynamic informational load carried by the tonic syllable and acknowledge the condition that selection of tonic prominence is a speaker-oriented activity based on the assessment (or apprehension) of the ongoing interaction (with his/her audience). That is, it is an activity in which the speaker's management of intonational patterns projects information as being (or not) already available to the hearer. By making an item tonic, a speaker has projected its status as selective from an existential (or general) paradigm (Brazil et al., 1980; Brazil, 1997).

We said before that the tonic syllable is the obligatory element in the tone unit and its function is to form the focus of information. As it is, we here see two units at different levels: the tone unit (phonological level) and the information unit (lexicogrammatical level). How do they relate to each other? Halliday and Greaves (2008) have observed that, when looked from the lexicogrammatical strand, the importance of the tone unit is that it corresponds to a unit of information and in its unmarked case, the information unit is coextensive with one (ranking) clause. When analysing Obama's speech, we found out that most tone units are marked (i.e. not coextensive with a clause), a fact which has a direct relation to the number of tone units. Interestingly, Obama segments his speech into a large number of tone units, which means he has decided to provide his audience with a large number of units of information; this in turn means an over-use of prominent syllables, which in turn does have an impact on the items presented as being under focus (for a discussion on tonicity and Given/New see Mc Queen and Mirallas, 2013 in proceedings of the IX ALSFAL Congress, Santiago, Chile.).

4.2.4.1 Prominence in inscribed attitude

Let us now consider how selections on the location of both prominent and tonic prominent syllables can contribute to reinforcing the attitudinal area within the systems of appraisal. The following fragment in table (9) includes both evaluative lexical items **explicitly deploying affect/judgement** and extended phrases (or even clauses) *implicitly deploying affect/judgement*. **Bold face** and *italics* have been intentionally used to differentiate **explicit/inscribed** from *implicit/invoked* attitudes.

(24) APRAISAL	(24)b INTONATION (PROMINENCE)
<p>It was nearly ten years ago that a bright September day was darkened by the worst attack [insec: -affect / prop: -judge] on the American people in our history. The images of 9/11 are seared [unhap/insec: -affect] into our national memory – hijacked [insec: -affect] planes cutting through a cloudless September sky; the twin towers collapsing to the ground; black smoke billowing up from the Pentagon; the wreckage [insec: -affect] of Flight 93 in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, where the actions of heroic [cap/tenac: +judge] citizens saved even more heartbreak [unhap: -affect] and destruction [insec/unhap: -affect].</p>	<p>//p it was NEARly TEN <u>YEARS</u> ago //o that a BRIGHT sepTEMBER day was <u>DAR</u>kened //o by the WORST atTACK // p on the aMERican PEOPle in our <u>HIS</u>tory // o the Images of NINE eLEven // o are <u>SEAR</u>ed //p into our NATIONAL <u>ME</u>emory //p <u>HJ</u>acked <u>PLA</u>nes//o CUTting <u>THROU</u>GH // o a <u>CLOU</u>dless // o sepTEMBER <u>SKY</u> // p the TWIN <u>TOW</u>ers //p collAPsing to the <u>GR</u>OUND // p BLACK <u>SMOKE</u> //p BILLowing up from the <u>PEN</u>tagon // p the WRECKage of FLIGHT ninety <u>THREE</u> //o in <u>SHANKS</u>ville //p PENNsyl <u>VAN</u>ia // o where the ACTIONs of <u>heroic</u> <u>CIT</u>izens saved // p Even MORE <u>HEART</u>break //p and <u>des</u>TRUCTION //</p>
<p>And yet we know that the worst [unhap: -affect] images are those that were unseen to the world. The empty seat at the dinner table. Children who were forced to grow up without their mother or their father. Parents who would never know the feeling of their child's embrace. Nearly 3,000 citizens taken from us, leaving a gaping [unhap: -affect] hole in our hearts.</p>	<p>//o and YET we <u>KNOW</u> //o that the WORST images //p are THOSE that were un<u>SEEN</u> to the world // o the EMPTy <u>SEAT</u> //o at the <u>DIN</u>NER table //o <u>CHIL</u>dren//o who were FORCed to grow UP without their <u>MOT</u>her //o or their <u>FAT</u>her // p <u>PAR</u>ents //o who would NEVer KNOW the <u>FEEL</u>ing // o of their CHILD's em<u>BRACE</u> // p nearly THREE THOUsand <u>CIT</u>izens // p <u>TAK</u>en from us // p leaving a <u>GAP</u>ing <u>HOLE</u> //p in our <u>HEARTS</u> //</p>
<p>On September 11 2001, in our time of grief [unhap: -affect], the American people came together. We offered our neighbors a hand, and we offered the wounded our blood. We reaffirmed our ties to each other, and our love of community and country. On that day, no matter where we came from, what God we prayed to, or what race or ethnicity we were, we were united as one American family.</p>	<p>//o on sepTEMBER eLEventh //p two THOUsand and <u>ONE</u> //p in our TIME of <u>GRIEF</u> //p the aMERican PEOPle came to<u>GET</u>her //p we OFFered our NEIGHbors a <u>HAND</u> //p and we OFFered the WOUNDED our <u>BLOO</u>D //o we REaf<u>FIRM</u>ed//p our TIES to each <u>OT</u>her// o and our LOVE of comMUNity//p and <u>COUN</u>try//o on THAT <u>DAY</u> //p no matter WHERE we <u>CAME</u> from // p what GOD we <u>PRAY</u>ed to //o or what RACE or ethNICity we <u>WERE</u> // o WE were uNITed //p as ONE aMERican <u>FAM</u>ily //</p>
<p>We were also united in our resolve [tenac: +judge] to protect [prop: +judge] our nation and to bring those who committed this vicious [normal: judge] attack [prop: -judge] to justice [prop: +judge] (continued from 'bring'). We quickly learned that the 9/11 attacks [insec: -affect] were carried out by al-Qaeda – an organisation headed by Osama Bin Laden, which had openly declared war on the United States and was committed to killing [prop: -judge] innocents [normal: +judge] in our country and around the globe. And so we went to war [prop: +judge] against al-Qaeda to protect [prop: +judge] our citizens, our friends, and our allies.</p>	<p>//p we were ALso uNITed in our <u>re</u>SOLVE // o to <u>pro</u>TECT our <u>NA</u>tion //o and to <u>BRING</u> <u>THOSE</u> // o who comMITted this <u>Vicious</u> <u>atTACK</u> //p to <u>JUST</u>ice // o we QUICKly <u>LEARN</u>ed // o that the <u>NINE</u> <u>eleven</u> <u>atTACKS</u> // p were CARried out by al-<u>QA</u>eda //o an ORganisation <u>HEAD</u>ed by //o oSama bin <u>LAD</u>en which //o had Openly deCLARed <u>WAR</u> //r+ ON the united <u>STATES</u> //r+ and was <u>commIT</u>ted //o to <u>KILL</u>ing <u>IN</u>nocents// o in our COUNtry //p AND around the <u>GLOBE</u> // o and so we <u>WENT</u> to <u>WAR</u> //p a<u>GAIN</u>ST al-qaeda // o to <u>pro</u>TECT our <u>CIT</u>izens //o our <u>FRIENDS</u> // p and our <u>AL</u>lies //</p>

TABLE (9): Prominence and Appraisal – Inscribed attitude

Now, how is it that inscribed attitude is intoned? Let us now observe example (24) in table (9) and compare it to its re-written form (24)b which exhibits a simplified phonological marking. Inscribed attitudinal lexis has been highlighted in bold face in both examples (24) and (24)b. In (24)b we have used double slashes ‘//’ to mark tone unit boundary, CAPITALISING to mark prominent syllables and CAPITALISING and underlining to mark tonic prominent syllables. Thus an example like // by the **WORST atTACK**// indicates that it is a single tone unit in which the syllable WORST is prominent and TACK is both prominent and tonic. Besides, they are both attitudinal in nature (shown by the **bold face**).

Halliday and Greaves (2008) have argued that the units at one stratum do not generally match units at other strata. However, while discussing the significance of the relation between the tone unit and the units set up in the grammar, they have established that a tone unit corresponds to (or realizes) a unit of information, and that the information unit, in its unmarked case is coextensive with a ranking clause. A simple observation of the simplified phonological transcription of example (24)b in table (9) above shows us an interesting chunking or division of the text. We will not go into details regarding the segmentation of spoken material into smaller units here, but its distribution is of high importance for our purposes (for a detailed discussion on segmentation see section 4.5 below). Interestingly, there are frequently two, three or even four tone units per clause (and at times even more!) where one or two would have been the normal pattern. Observe the following examples (a)-(d) taken from table (9) above reprinted here as (25):

(25)

(a) //WE were uNITed // as ONE aMERican FAMily //

(b) // the Images of NINE eLEven // are **SEARed** // into our NATional MEemory //

(c) // and so we **WENT to WAR** // aGAINST al-qaeda // **to proTECT** our CITizens // our FRIENDS // and our ALlies //

(d) // we REafFIRMed // our TIES to each OTHER// and our LOVE of comMUunity // and COUNtry //

The first two examples could have perfectly been said in one go, the other two in two. However, Obama (wittingly) decided to break the message into more chunks, i.e. more units of information (see section 4.5 for a further elaboration on Obama’s strategic manipulation of segmentation).

Turning now to our main concern in this section, we can notice there is a strong connection between those items we identified as explicitly evaluative (e.g. (24)) and their phonological statuses (e.g. (24)b) either as prominent or tonic prominent. All but one of the evaluative lexical items in this fragment are prominent in some respect. Out of 22 evaluative items, 21 (95%) are prominent, 13 are tonic prominent (59%), 8 are prominent non-tonic (36%) and 1 is non-prominent (5%). This pattern seems to confirm our initial hypothesis about the strategic use of prosody to highlight evaluative lexis.

A curious aspect we wish to make reference to here is the influence inscribed lexical items seem to have on the surrounding lexical elements. In other words, lexical items exhibiting inscribed attitude do not seem to work in isolation but seem to acquire an upgraded impact when chained with other elements in the message. Let us observe example (26) and its slightly modified version (27) both taken from table (9) above:

(26) //...a BRIGHT sepTEMber day was DARkened // by the **WORST atTACK**/

(27) //...a bright sepTEMber day was DARkened // by the **worst atTACK** //

The attitudinal nature of some lexical items may not be clear enough in isolation. For instance, there is a strong affectual response in the term '*bright*', but only after we listen to '*darkened*', which is immediately followed by the act responsible for the darkening effect: i.e. '*the attack*'; which is in turn the '*worst*' in the American history. At the phonological level, we observe that the allocation of the tonic is used as a rhetorical device for complementing the central attitudinally loaded segment in this example: '*the worst attack*'. Brazil (1997) has pointed out that the distribution of prominence bears a close relation to an act of selection in which the speaker is involved. In addition, he stresses that it is not that a certain configuration of contextual features results in the speaker using a certain intonational treatment for his/her utterance, but, instead, that his/her intonation projects a certain context of interaction. Interestingly, he asserts that "the speaker's projection may incorporate features of a context of interaction to which s/he simply assumes the hearer will assent" (Brazil, 1997:27). Supposing Obama had not made prominent the evaluative item *bright* (i.e. he had decided to make it non-selective), he would have projected a context in which *bright* (or sunny or even lively) is an ordinary or common sense, shared weather condition, a fact which would have not given the original message its more effective communicative value. Thus, in its original form (in (26)) the assumption projected by selecting *bright* from any other possible epithet in the existential paradigm seems to be especially appropriate to Obama's particular metaphorical recount of the events. By making *bright* prominent, Obama has chosen to

project a context in which that specific day was anything but gloomy. Such a context serves as background against which making the *darkening* effect tonic prominent plays a significant (attitudinally loaded) communicative impact.

Similarly, by selecting *worst* as prominent and *attack* as tonic prominent, Obama helps project a context in which the epithet ‘worst’ is selective from other alternatives in the existential paradigm and should be interpreted (presumably because of its appropriateness to this particular attack) as new (in the sense not recoverable) or worthy of the audience’s attention. Brazil has pointed out that prominent words realise sense selections; however, he has suggested that “we have to regard selection as involving the larger syntagm, that realised by the tone unit” (Brazil, 1997:38). Thus, by making these items prominent, it is the whole tone unit that projects a more effective communicative outcome; which, in the case of this example, is increased by the association of both tone units, or better said, by the association of both tonic segments. That is, to make *bright* and *worst* prominent has the effect of rendering them valuable in themselves, but in connection with *darkened* and *attack* in their tone units respectively, they achieve a more shocking communicative impact. In addition, the final communicative outcome realises its greatest effect when the two tone units are chained one after the other. In section 4.3 we will see how tone selection affects the phonological status of these (and other) appraised items.

There is an interesting pattern of prominence distribution in the first paragraph from example (24)b, table (9) above, when Obama depicts the images of nine eleven. Arguably, such a pattern can also be observed from its segmentation standpoint. We will have more to say about it in section 4.4. As has been mentioned before, selections on (tonic) prominence affect the segmentation of the spoken material and in a prepared, rehearsed speech the opposite process seems to have an equal influencing effect. Let us observe example (24) above reprinted here as (28) and its slightly modified version (29).

(28) // the Images of NINE eLEven // are SEARed // into our NAtional MEemory //

(29) // the Images of nine eleven are SEARed into our national memory //

We suggested above that this example could have been said as a single tone unit. One very likely possibility is (29). Had this happened, its communicative effect would not have been as dramatic as in its original form. But what is it that turns one message into a different one even when its wording is kept unchanged? There are surely several possible answers to this question; one possibility is rooted in its phonological

organization, specifically in its pattern of prominent/non-prominent syllables. In (29) the tonic segment comprises the section from 'Images' to 'SEARed'. These two elements have been selected from the existential paradigm presumably because they project the necessary contextual information required by the speaker. That the 'images' are 'seared' seems to be enough for the speaker to project a context in which the listener is asked to process the speaker's mourning. However, prominence selection and distribution have been (arguably) manipulated differently. Most notably there are three tone units, that is to say, three processing units; there are thus three tonic prominences: 'eleven', 'seared' and 'memory'. Altogether there are six prominences against two in the modified version. This gives us a more complex message. Now, in its original form, it seems to be necessary to know the date in which the attacks were carried out, and not only the effect of such an attack (i.e. the searing effect) but also the entity "affected" by such an attack, i.e. their "national memory". There seems to be no counter argument about the selection of *seared* as tonic prominent, it seems to be the most likely position for the tonic to fall, at least, if it is to create a grieving reaction in the listeners. However, the prominences on *eleven* and on *memory* are apparently more controversial and as we suggested before, there seems to be a co-operation between the inscribed lexical item and its surrounding elements. The identification of 9/11 is now a relevant aspect the speaker has selected to project into the communicative context. It is not merely the images, but a particular type of image that Obama is projecting as worthy of attention, i.e. these are the images left after the 9/11 attack. Quite different is the fact that the images sear into their memory. That something *sears* into somebody's *memory* is probably one of the most likely possibilities to happen, thus there is no need to project *memory* as worth focusing attention to. However, the attacks sear into the US *national* memory, which now projects a feeling of togetherness that *is* highly valuable, at least, for the entire American nation. By selecting *national* from the existential paradigm, Obama is again projecting a context in which it is just not any memory, but a collective one which affects all American citizens on equal terms. Making *national* prominent adds up to the meaning of memory and turns the whole phrase into an attitudinally communicative relevant whole. All in all, the context already projected by Obama has three main subcomponents worthy of attention: a special type of image, their searing effect and the communal, searing memory.

A final example from table (9) above which deserves special attention is (30) below:

(30) // the **WRECK**age of FLIGHT ninety THREE //... where the ACTions of **heroic** CITizens saved // Even MORE HEARTbreak // and **des**TRUCTion //

The evaluative item *heroic* [+judgement] has been left non-prominent (i.e. non-selective). In line with what Brazil (1997) suggested, such a decision projects an understanding that, in the context of (American) *citizens*, the epithet is non-selective. And as he then assumes, the speaker sets up, for the purposes of the present conversation, a world in which there are no (American) citizens who are not heroic, and assumes that his/her hearer will see it in this way. We here observe, again, a strategic use of the system of prominence: 1) to project a context of interaction which perfectly fits Obama's descriptions of the episode by playing down (or making non-selective) specific evaluative lexis to reinforce the seemingly resolute and daring nature of the American people, 2) to reduce a possible misinterpretation about American power abuse and 3) to most effectively reproduce the events so that Obama can convincingly argue against terrorism.

We can briefly summarise this section by stating that prominence does play a significant role in the production of a highly charged attitudinal message by both emphasising those evaluative elements the speaker chooses to select as prominent and by playing down those ones deemed to be judged as non-selective in the here-and-now context of interaction.

4.2.4.2 Prominence in invoked attitude

It has been relatively simple and straightforward to observe the relation between the allocation of prominence and evaluative lexis. However, the relation between invoked attitude and prominence selection or distribution seems a harder task. Invoked judgements include phrases or even whole clauses and prominence would seem not to hold a strict relation to them. We will here explore the connection between the system of prominence (including reference, whenever necessary, to the segmentation of the message) and the ideational tokens (symbolised 't' below) used to provoke an attitudinal response in listeners. Example (31) below (table (10)) is a rewritten version of example (24) above and includes implicit instances (*italicised*) which help amplify the attitudes directly inscribed in discourse through the explicit use of attitudinal lexical items (in **bold** type).

(31)

INVOKED APPRAISAL	AFFECT		ATTITUDE		JUDGEMENT		PROMINENCE
	+	-			+	-	
	affect	affect			judgement	judgement	
...a bright September day was darkened by the worst attack on the American people in our history The images of nine eleven are seared into our national memory hijacked planes cutting through a cloudless September sky; the twin towers collapsing to the ground; black smoke billowing up from the Pentagon; the wreckage of Flight 93... the actions of heroic citizens saved even more heartbreak and destruction .	[t, + affect: hap.]	[t, - affect: inse.]			[t, - judge: prop]		// it was NEARly TEN YEARS ago // that a BRIGHT SepTEMBER day was DARKened // by the WORST atTACK // on the aMERican PEOPle in our HIStory // the Images of NINE eLEven // are SEARed // into our NATIONAL MEemory // Hijacked PLAnes// CUTting THROUGH // a CLOUDless // SepTEMBER SKY // the TWIN TOWers // collAPsing to the GROUND // BLACK SMOKE // BILlowing up from the PENtagon // the WRECKage of FLIGHT ninety THREE // in SHANKSville // PENNsylVAnia // where the ACTions of heroic CITizens saved //Even MORE HEARTbreak //and desTRUction //
...we know that the worst images ...were unseen to the world. The empty seat at the dinner table. Children who were forced to grow up without their mother or their father. Parents who would never know the feeling of their child's embrace. Nearly 3,000 citizens taken from us, leaving a gaping hole in our hearts.		[t, - affect: unhap.]			[t, - judge: verac]		// and YET we KNOW // that the WORST images // are THOSE that were unSEEN to the world // the EMPTy SEAT // at the DINNER table // CHILdren// who were FORCed to grow UP without their MOTHER // or their FATHER // PARents // who would NEVER KNOW the FEELing // of their CHILD's emBRACE // nearly THREE THOUsand CITizens // TAKen from us // leaving a GAPing HOLE // in our HEARTS //
...in our time of grief , the American people came together. We offered our neighbors a hand, and we offered the wounded our blood. We reaffirmed our ties to each other, and our love of community and country. ... we were united as one American family.	[t, + affect: sat.]			[t, + judge: cap/tenac]			// on sepTEMBER eLEventh // two THOUsand and ONE // in our TIME of GRIEF // the aMERican PEOPle came toGETHer // we OFFered our NEIGHbors a HAND // and we OFFered the WOUNDED our BLOOD // we REaFIRMed// our TIES to each OTHER // and our LOVE of comMUNITY// and COUNtry// on THAT DAY // no matter WHERE we CAME from // what GOD we PRAYed to // or what RACE or ethNICity we WERE // WE were UNITed // as ONE aMERican FAMILY //
We were also united in our resolve to protect our nation and to bring those who committed this vicious attack to justice....the 9/11 attacks were carried out by al-Qaeda, an organisation headed by Osama Bin Laden ...which had openly declared war on the United States and was committed to killing innocents in our country and around the globe. ...so we went to war against al-Qaeda to protect our citizens, our friends, and our allies.	[t, + affect: sat.]			[t, + judge: tenac]		[t, - judge: verac]	// we were ALso UNITED in our reSOLVE // to proTECT our NAtion // and to BRING THOSE // who comMITted this Vicious atTACK // to JUSTice // we QUICKly LEARNed // that the NINE eleven atTACKS // were CARried out by al-QAeda // an ORganisation HEAded by // oSaMa bin LA den which // had Openly deCLARed WAR // ON the united STATES // and was comMITted // to KILLing INnocents // in our COUNtry // AND around the GLOBE // and so we WENT to WAR // a GAInST al-qaeda // to proTECT our CITizens // our FRIENDS // and our ALlies //

Table (10): Prominence and appraisal, invoked attitude

In general terms we can identify one main function with the ideational tokens used; they are used to extend the prosodies of affect and judgement inscribed by the use of explicit evaluative items (see table (9) above). However, they extend the prosodies in opposite senses: towards the positive end of affect and judgement when referring to the US and towards the negative end when referring to al-Qaeda. Figure (16) below illustrates how affect (either + or -) has been used to trigger judgements (either + or -) as best fits the speaker's purposes. We have identified three different modes of relations: 'a', 'b' and 'c', see figure (16) below.

ATTITUDE		The US		Al-Qaeda	
		+	-	+	-
Affect	Desire				
	Un/happiness		X		
	In/security	X	X		
	Dis/satisfaction	X			
Judgement	Social Esteem	Normality			
		Capacity	X		
		Tenacity	X		
	Social Sanction	Veracity			X
		Propriety	X		X

Figure (16): Bridging the distance between affect and judgement

In figure (16) above we can see how ideational tokens extend the prosodies mainly by setting up two streams of judgement in the following relation: they are mainly used to deploy negative affectual responses of insecurity to trigger negative judgements of propriety; and negative affectual responses of unhappiness to trigger negative judgements of veracity, both aimed at deploying negative social sanction of al-Qaeda. We suggest a reworking of figure (16) above by providing the following system networks as in figures (17), (18) and (19) to illustrate the three modes of relation 'a', 'b' and 'c' respectively. In figure (17) we can see how al-Qaeda's (i.e. their) negative affect is related to their negative judgement as expressed in 'a' in figure (16) above.

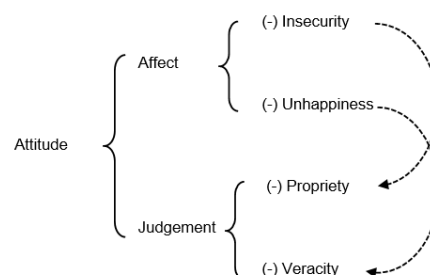


Figure (17): System network (1) 'their' – affect used to trigger 'their' – judgement

In addition, attitudinal resources are also used to deploy the US's (i.e. 'our') positive affectual responses of satisfaction to trigger 'our' positive judgements of tenacity and capacity (see 'b' above in figure (16)); again figure (18) reworks the relations set in figure (16) above. This time, however, it is the 'b' relations

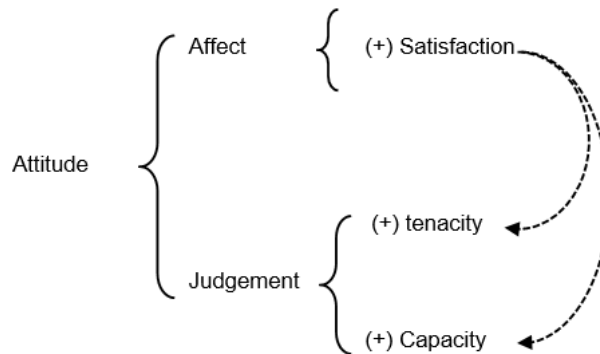


Figure (18): System network (2) 'our'+ affect used to trigger 'our' + judgement

Finally, the 'c' relation in figure (16) above is reworked in figure (19) below. We see attitude used to deploy 'our' positive affectual responses of security to trigger 'our' positive judgements of propriety.

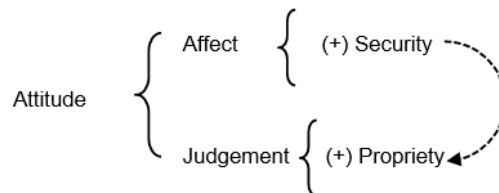


Figure (19): System network (3) 'our' + affect used to trigger 'our' + judgement

These last two resources are aimed at consolidating both the US's positive social esteem and its positive social sanction. There is an interesting shift from a concern with "*their*" negative judgements of propriety and veracity in the first two paragraphs from table (10) above (see figure (17)), to a concern with "*our*" positive judgements of capacity, tenacity and propriety in the third paragraph, and a final paragraph (see figures (18) and (19)) organised in such a way that it displays a '*blending*' of the two. It starts with a positive judgement of "our resolve" to protect "our" people; it then displays "*their*" negative ethical behaviour (attacks and killing of innocents) and closes with "our obligation" (to go to war) to protect "our" people.

We would like to suggest that Obama's voice shifts from that of an *interpreter* of social affect to that of an *adjudicator* of social sanction. Based on the amplified attitudinal lexis used to describe the actions of "the others", Obama invokes both condemnation of "their" ethical behaviour by implicitly exhibiting their negative social sanction and praise of "our" social esteem by reinforcing "our" capacity and tenacity. Put slightly differently, Obama's presentation of "their" behaviour in terms of negative social sanction has the effect of construing (in a compliant listener) attitudes of negative affect closely associated with "our" unhappiness and insecurity. Conversely, when presenting judgements on "our" behaviour, Obama construes them in terms of "our" positive social esteem ("our" capacity and tenacity to overcome the consequences of "their" unethical behaviour) closely associated with "our" security and satisfaction.

Let us now examine how intonation plays a role in the use of invoked attitudinal lexis. Let us observe how Obama goes on to specify each of the images in the lines that follow his description of the images of 9/11 in his speech. What is interesting in his presentation of the facts that occurred that 9/11 is his rhetorico-dramatic phonological arrangement. There is a repeated intonational organization which displays a noteworthy segmentation and prominence allocation pattern. Example (32) below exhibits a clear reiteration of Theme-Rheme (or Topic – Comment) organization explicitly marked by the allocation of prominence reinforcing the Theme-Rheme division. The Theme subparts specify the images already referred to by Obama as "*the images of 9/11*"; these are: *hijacked planes*, *the Twin Towers* and *black smoke*. There is a clear Theme highlighting pattern produced by a curious combination of all three systems of intonation: the allocation of tonic prominences in the Theme's last lexical items: *planes*, *tower* and *smoke*; the consequent segmentation of the chunk into tone units and an unusual and even unexpected use of the proclaiming (falling) tone for all three of them (for a further discussion regarding tone see section 4.3). That is, Obama has (wittingly) selected to project as *one* complete tonic segment each of the Themes concerning the different images of 9/11. Grammatically speaking, all Themes are nominal groups. Curiously, Obama has made all the modifying elements in the nominal groups prominent, such as *hijacked*, *Twin* and *black*. Let us observe how different the overall affective impact would have been, had the modifiers *hijacked*, *Twin* and *black* been non-selective. Admittedly, the selection of each of these items as prominent elements deploys a more dramatic effect in the evocation (with the probable exception of *Twin*) of a highly negative affect. However, their greatest negative affectual outcome arises when the tonic segment in each of the Themes is associated, as a whole, with its corresponding Rheme (again complete tonic segments). This effect is more noticeable in examples (32) (b) and (c) for

which there is one tonic segment in the Theme and another one in the Rheme. Example (32) (a) displays an even more unusual pattern, with a whole Rheme split into three presumably essential tonic segments. Note that they seem to be essential, because the purpose of projecting a context in which a positive affect of happiness is then turned into a completely negative one of insecurity.

(32)

Theme	Rheme
(a) // Hijacked <u>PLAnes</u> //	CUTting <u>THROUGH</u> // a <u>CLOUD</u> less // sep <u>TEM</u> ber <u>SKY</u> //
(b) // the <u>TWIN</u> <u>TOW</u> ers //	collAPsing to the <u>GROUND</u> //
(c) // <u>BLACK</u> <u>SMOKE</u> //	BILLowing up from the <u>PEN</u> tagon //

That a '*plane cuts through the sky*' does not seem to carry with it any negative affectual response. However, that the plane has been hijacked does have a negative impact and such an impact is even worsened by the additional metaphorical description of the '*cloudless*' September sky (synonymous with '*bright September day*' in (22) and (26) above). It thus contributes to the reinforcement of invoked attitude through a specific pattern of prominence distribution. With the processes '*collapse*' or '*billowing up*' we can experience a similar negative affectual response, which is not, we would argue, in the verbs themselves in isolation, but in the meaning that is immediately generated by their association with either the affected entity, i.e. 'the *Twin Towers* collapsing to the ground' or the location from which the smoke billowed, i.e. the *Pentagon*. In all three cases, the pairs Theme-Rheme especially presented as two different tone units (except for (a)) seem to have a functional role. Theme has been defined as that element which provides the orientation of the clause, the point of departure from which the speaker takes off (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004). It usually contains given information and thus needs not be selective. However, it here serves the purpose of being a different piece of information worth being attended to. The speaker manages the flow of information in such a way that he is able to concentrate the listener's attention on two (at times four) bits of information, with the consequent feature of particularising those meanings presumably of high relevance.

We can conclude this section by observing that the overall evaluative effect gained in the chaining of a given number of tone units has a cumulative effect in the attitude invoked by Obama. It is possible to observe, for instance from example (32) above, that after the sequence of invoked descriptive images, the terms 'heartbreak' and

‘destruction’, which are self-evidently evaluative, find their most suitable way of expressing inscribed negative affect.

4.3 The system of Tone and evaluative language

We said above that Brazil (1985; 1997; et al 1980) has stated that the central opposition in the meaning system realized by tone is that associated with end-falling and end-rising tones. Let us observe how this opposition works in discourse.

4.3.1 The *p/r* opposition

Taking into account examples (33) and (34) below, we can observe that the only difference that sets these two utterances apart is their choice of tone. As Brazil (1997) has already pointed out, the basic meaning distinction carried by tones can be stated, in very informal terms, as follows: that constituent which carries a referring tone (i.e. a fall-rise) is taken as if it were already in play, conversationally; it is what is present somehow in the speaker-hearer’s present shared knowledge. On the contrary, the constituent which carries a proclaiming tone (i.e. a fall) is taken as something freshly introduced into the conversation.

(33) //r oSAma bin LAden //p avoided CAPture //

(34) //p oSAma bin LAden //r avoided CAPture //

Brazil (1985) has suggested that tone units which do no more than articulate an assumption the speaker has with his hearer, have the value of “referring” to something already present in the situation. That is, the speaker assumes (but need not be so) that what he is about to utter is part of their shared biographies, part of their *common ground* and thus utters it with a *referring tone* (or *r tone*). On the other hand, the content expressed in the units with a fall are taken as something the hearer is told and asked to consider as new, something that will enlarge the area of common ground, the technical label for the fall is a *proclaiming tone* (or *p tone*). Thus, we may reinterpret (33) and (34) above as:

(33)b As far as Osama Bin Laden is concerned, *he avoided capture*.

(34)b As far as avoiding capture is concerned, *Osama Bin Laden did it*.

That is, that constituent with the *referring* tone is taken as if it were conversationally in play, and the constituent with a *proclaiming* tone is taken as if it were freshly introduced.

Returning to the original speech now, we can see that the content ³'*Osama Bin Laden*' has been repeatedly mentioned throughout the whole speech; what is more, the speech was expected to be about him and his death). Thus, the content 'Osama Bin Laden' (and all its possible synonymous manifestations or near equivalent versions) *are* part of the already negotiated common ground and assumed to be presented by the speaker with *r* tones. Example (35) below shows, highlighted in bold type, all the occurrences of the content "Bin Laden" which run from the beginning of the speech up to the occurrence of example (33) in the original version of the speech. Example (35)b exhibits a simplified phonological transcription which includes the tones chosen for each of the tone units.

(35)

Good evening. Tonight, I can report to the American people and to the world that the United States has conducted an operation that killed **Osama Bin Laden**, the **leader** of **al-Qaeda**, and a **terrorist**...

We were also united in our resolve to protect our nation and to bring **those** who committed this vicious attack to justice. We quickly learned that the 9/11 attacks were carried out by **al-Qaeda** – an **organisation** headed by **Osama Bin Laden**,...And so we went to war against **al-Qaeda** to protect our citizens, our friends, and our allies.

Over the last 10 years [...] We've disrupted **terrorist** attacks and strengthened our homeland defense. In Afghanistan, we removed the Taliban government, which had given **Bin Laden** and **al-Qaeda** safe haven and support. And around the globe, we worked with our friends and allies to capture or kill **scores of al-Qaeda terrorists**...

Yet **Osama Bin Laden** avoided capture ...

(35)b

//p good EVEning // r+ toNIGHT // r+ I can rePORT to the aMERican PEOple // p and to the WORld // o that the uNITED STATES // o has conDUCTed an oPERation that KILLED // o oSAma bin LAden // p the LEAder of al-QAeda // o and a TERRorist // o who's resPONsible // p for the MURder of THOUsands // o of INNocent MEN // o WOmen // p and CHILdren //

//p we were ALso uNITED in our reSOLVE // o to proTECT our NAtion // o and to BRING THOSE // o who comMITted this VIcious atTACK // p to JUSTice // o we QUICKly LEARNED // o that the NINE eleven atTACKS // p were CARried out by al-QAeda // o an ORganisation HEAded by // o oSAma bin LAden which // o had Openly deCLARED WAR //r+ ON the

³ Notice we refer to the 'content' Bin Laden, not to the word. The content includes words such as al-Qaeda, terrorist, terrorism, etc.

united STATES // r+ and was comMITted // o to KILLing INnocents // o in our COUNtry // p
AND around the GLOBE // o and so we WENT to WAR // p aGAINST al-qaeda // o to
proTECT our CITizens // o our FRIENDS // p and our ALlies //

// p over the LAST TEN YEARS // p THANKS to the TIREless // o and heROic work of our
MILitary // p and our COUNterterrorism proFESsionals // p we've MADE great STRIDES in
that EFfort // r+ we've disRUPTed TERrorist atTACKS // p and STRENGTHened our
HOMEland deFENSE // r+ in afGHANistan // p+ we reMOVED // r+ the TALiban
GOVernment // o which had GIVEn bin LAden // o and al-QAeda // p safe HAVen and
supPORT // o and aROUND the GLOBE // o we WORKED with our FRIENDS and ALlies //
p to CAPture or KILL SCORES // o of al-QAEda TERrorists // r including SEVeral who were
a PART // p of the NINE eleven PLOT //

//oYET// r oSAma bin LAden //p avoided CAPture //

As expected, there are few instances of the content 'Osama Bin Laden' which were given a *p* tone, not only in this fragment, but also in the entire speech. Two particular cases deserve especial attention since they are the only two examples which feature *p* tones, these are two of the several mentions of the lexical item 'al-Qaeda' which have been grey-shaded. The first one is uttered in the initial paragraph of the speech, when Obama announces the US killed Osama Bin Laden. Obama chooses a level tone for 'Osama Bin Laden' as if he has not reached a point of potential completion (Brazil, 1997), as if he were intentionally inviting his audience '*not to process the announcement so far, for there is something else to come*', that 'else' is Bin Laden as '*the leader of al-Qaeda*' as a kind of afterthought. The *p* tone on 'al-Qaeda' identifies Bin Laden's role in such an organization and helps the listener process the whole chunk. Let us hypothesise for a moment (the highly unlikely situation) that it is not yet clear who Bin Laden is and what al-Qaeda is. The speaker subsequently characterizes him as a terrorist (again with an *o* tone), an attribute which applies to the whole organization he leads (implying al-Qaeda is a terrorist organization) which is responsible for '*the murder of thousands of people*'; here again this last information is proclaimed and serves Obama: 1) to round off Bin Laden's character and 2) to justify his (or the US's) deed (see discussion regarding the use of tones and appraisal below in section 4.3). The speech deploys a curious phonological thread between *o* tones and *p* tones. Information is delivered in short chunks deliberately deploying an organization which releases bits of information, linked by the use of *o* tones, so that the listener is asked to process them progressively up to the presence of a subsequent *p* tone. The whole first paragraph of the speech (and the entire speech) amounts to more or less saying (in a rather simplified version) that '*the US killed a terrorist*', a deed which is evidently self-contained and self-justified by the

mere fact Bin Laden was a terrorist. However, notice that the speaker requires an extra processing effort from the listener to evaluate the impact of the announcement by splitting into four tone units what we simply put into five words and would normally take a single tone unit. To start with, ‘... the United States’ is one such tone unit which has not reached a point of potential completion. That it ‘... conducted an operation that killed’ is the second, not yet complete, tone unit; again requiring the listener to further delay his processing. ‘Osama Bin Laden’, the third tone unit, is yet taken as an incomplete chunk; reduced or even constrained by the following chunk, the identification and proclamation of Bin Laden as the ‘leader of the organization al-Qaeda’. We may conclude this short section by stating that the *p* tone in al-Qaeda serves the purpose of identifying, in this case, Bin Laden with the terrorist organization (we will have more to say in section 4.5 on segmentation below). Such a progressive release of information is again used for the following three tone units (and the subsequent ones, too).

The second occurrence of ‘al-Qaeda’ does not serve an identifying purpose, but rather a slightly different purpose: that of attribution. Obama attributes the responsibility for a given deed to al-Qaeda. Once al-Qaeda has been identified as a terrorist organization, it seems self-evident to attribute a terrorist attack to it. Obama can, at this point, (pro-)claim responsibility for the 9/11 attacks thanks to his prior identification of the terrorist group. These two represent the only two instances of proclaiming tones on the content “Bin Laden” used throughout the entire speech.

	N° of times repeated	Tonic-prominent	Pretonic prominent	Non-prominent	TONES		
					p	r	o
Osama Bin Laden	15(48.4%)	9	2	4		1	8
al-Qaeda	13(41,9%)	5	5	3	2		3
terror /ist/s/ism	3 (9.8%)	3		1		1	2
TOTAL	31	17(54.8%)	7 (22.5%)	7 (22.5%)	2(11.7%)	2(11.7%)	13(76.4%)

Table (11): The content ‘Bin Laden’ and its spoken realization as part (or not) of the common ground

As the term ‘Bin Laden’ is part of the already negotiated common ground, we would expect the use of *r* tones throughout all its appearances; however, interestingly there is almost no occurrence of *r* tones except for two cases (11.7%), one of which is the one on example (33). Two other cases (11.7%) were uttered with *p* tones (see discussion above). The rest of the instances were uttered with a ‘level’ tone (76.4%). Of the 31 occurrences of the content ‘Bin Laden’ (which includes ‘Bin Laden’, ‘terrorist’ and ‘al-Qaeda’), almost half were tonic prominent (54.8%), almost a quarter were prominent

(22.5%) and almost the other quarter (22.5%) were non-prominent. Table (11) above illustrates this.

There is one important aspect which needs to be mentioned here and it concerns the speaker's orientation towards the message. To this, we turn now in the following section. We will have more to say on tone when we discuss their meanings in relation to background/foreground information in section 4.3.6 below.

4.3.2 Orientation

Up until now, we have been discussing the assumption that speakers make moment-by-moment decisions about which information to present as already present in the speaker's and hearer's here-and-now world, and which as world changing. This assumption presupposes a speaker oriented towards a (putative) hearer's state of convergence. However, Brazil has suggested that sometimes a speaker can utter a message without any regard to its significance as a communicative (hearer-sensitive) event. Brazil (1983, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1997) and Brazil et al (1980) have postulated the existence of two sets of different orientations towards material that is (in some way) pre-coded. They state that speakers may assume some particular context of interaction (with his/her hearer) and make choices accordingly or simply utter their wording with no such concern. To the first set of options, Brazil (1997) proposed the term *direct orientation*, to the second *oblique orientation*. Natural, spontaneous speech favours direct orientation most frequently. However, some ritualized, pre-coded language events seem to favour oblique orientation more closely.

Brazil (1997) has proposed an interactive theory of intonation and has argued that all intonation choices depend on the speaker's assessment of the state and extent of the shared common ground. He has also used his interactive model to describe the choices speakers make when they read aloud ready-made texts. One possible preconception about this reading process is that speakers cannot freely choose in the meaning making process precisely because the text has been pre-coded. However, and this is probably one of the distinguishing features of Brazil's theory, the reading process *is* essentially an interactive process, even if it is silent reading. The distinguishing feature is that interaction is not to be conceived of as between reader and writer, but instead between *reader* and *text*. As Brazil et al (1980) suggest, whatever text he is concerned with, the reader's task is to discover what meaning(s) the text legitimately allows. Readers do not approach text without a purpose or with a blank mind, and this is what we now turn our focus to. Even when we have no direct proof about the nature of

Obama's speech, there is strong evidence that demonstrates his speech was written (to be read). We can notice that Obama does not directly address the camera; rather, he seems to be watching leftwards, a fact which supports our claim regarding the reading nature of the speech. In similar terms as O'Grady (2013), even if Obama is not the physical producer of the speech, he can be considered its author since he assumes ethical responsibility for the speech. O'Grady (2013) cites Goffman (1981:146), who considers that the orator assumes the role of the author as "someone whose position is established by the words that are spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words say".

As stated above, Brazil (1997) has suggested two modes of orientation: direct and oblique. He makes the distinction between the two and states that the former characterizes a reader orienting her/himself towards "an identified hearer that results in choices meshing with some putative state of convergence" and the latter "towards the language item which results in its being presented as a specimen of the language" (1997:33). He then goes on to argue that in the latter case, the speaker "does not take any responsibility for the truth of any assertion he/she may make" (Brazil, 1997:133). Finally, he has pointed out that "the existence, on paper or in the speaker's memory, of a pre-coded or partially coded formula is one condition that favours a set towards the linguistic organization of the utterance rather than towards the hearer" (Brazil, 1997:139). Had Obama's speech been directly oriented towards a putative hearer, we would have found the distribution of most tones to be made between the *p/r* systems. However, we found out a massive distribution of tones between *p* tones (42%) and *o* tones (42%). Such a distribution indicates that the speech is obliquely oriented. A further feature which helps characterize this speech as oriented obliquely is the use of extra-prominent syllables in the tonic segment (see section 4.2 above). These two features have been identified in Brazil (1985) as those particular features which serve as indicators of oblique orientation. We thus now see why the presumption that instances of the content 'Bin Laden', which should have been referred to (simply because they belong to the already negotiated background), are not a likely option; the orientation the speaker has selected does not allow him to manipulate the system in terms of the *p/r* opposition.

We now know that the speaker has adopted an oblique stance towards the material he utters and such a decision has an impact on the communicative value this speech presents. We suggested above that political discourse is manipulative and persuasive in its own right; it is its very own defining characteristic. A question we need to pose at this moment is whether the intonation systems deployed in political discourse can also be manipulated. And the answer seems to be 'yes'. Brazil (1997) has proposed

several examples of various kinds of speech events which present oblique orientation such as the public recitation of prayers, or classroom interaction, and so on; but notice that political discourse was not included, presumably because it did not fit his description or he did not find it necessary to include it for his illustrative purposes. However, we see no counter reason for the inclusion of political discourse within those practices in which the orientation is frequently oblique. We would, actually, suggest an interface which includes those speeches that are strategically manipulative and persuasive in nature, of which Obama's speech is a typical example.

4.3.3 A word on political discourse

It is difficult to define what political discourse is and it is far beyond the scope of this work, but a brief note on political discourse as offered by Van Dijk (2002b) is helpful to understand the orientation taken by Obama in this specific speech. Van Dijk (2002b) points out that "political discourse is not a genre, but a class of genres defined by social domain, namely that of politics... thus, government deliberations, parliamentary debates, party programs and speeches by politicians are among the many genres that belong to the domain of politics" (Van Dijk, 2002b:19). He then takes a simplified characterization of politics and assumes that political discourse is the discourse of politicians (as against that from a teacher, or a student, or campaigns, etc.) produced in institutional settings (as against an informal conversation a politician may have with a friend). In other words, in order for a discourse to be political, "the discourse must be produced by the speaker in her professional role of a politician and in an institutional setting" (Van Dijk, 2002b:20). Based on this simplified definition, we see that Obama's speech is clearly an example of political discourse, more appropriate possibly, a special-occasion announcement (as against a campaign speech, or an opening session, or a dismissal, or a parliamentary debate, etc.).

4.3.4 Obama and his rhetoric

Before going into the details regarding the intonation patterns of Obama's speech, we need to digress somewhat into its rhetorical structure and purpose so that his choices in intonation become more relevant. Understanding the speech's rhetorical structure and purpose will probably help us understand the orientation taken by the speaker. We saw above that in oblique orientation the speaker does not take any responsibility for the truth of his/her assertion and that the existence of a pre-coded or

partially coded formula is one condition that favours a set towards the language rather than towards the hearer. However, it is rather unlikely to think of Obama as not taking any responsibility for the truth of the assertion he makes in the message he is uttering. It is equally unlikely that Obama has not rehearsed his speech beforehand; thus turning Brazil's claim on the existence of a pre-coded formula somehow doubtful. That is, it is not that his claim is dubious, but instead its applicability into this specific type of speech seems quite unsatisfactory. We see no reason why Obama would concentrate more closely on the linguistic organization of his speech than on the state of convergence with his putative audience. Furthermore, the impact of the announcement is such that it makes it even more doubtful to think of it as simply deploying a neutral, non-hearer sensitive stance, even when the data exhibits 42% of o tone occurrence. We thus suggest that Obama's speech appears *artificially oblique*, and such an effect is, we suggest, due to a highly manipulative and persuasive rhetorical purpose. We now turn to explaining what we mean by an artificially oblique stance and the interface manipulative, highly trained orators create when dealing with political speeches.

If we simply consider the type of tones most frequently used, we can clearly conclude that the orientation taken by the speaker is oblique. However, we see the message (more appropriately its content) as comprising a delicate arena for discussion and it is evident that this so much expected piece of news generates reactions of diverse types. Obama (2011) points out that "the death of Bin Laden marks the most significant achievement to date in our nation's efforts to defeat al-Qaeda" (quoted from Obama's speech). As it is, it is hardly a neutral 'gain' for American people, and even less neutral can Obama's orientation (to the information he is delivering) be. Arguably, we can say he feels the need to 'sound' neutral; however, there are several components of his speech that are not neutral at all. Obama knows he is talking to '*his people*', but he also knows he is also addressing the world, that this matter is not a local affair, as it comprises several interrelated international interests. As he is conscious of the massive impact the delivery of such news creates, he knows he needs to be cautious. Its content is not merely political or economic, it is also (and probably above all) religious, cultural and ideological, as well as affecting several other related areas.

The speech displays a meticulous interrelation among the three classical methods of persuasion: *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos*. The problem of (in)security and its eventual resolution are at the top. Obama shows himself circumspect about the reaction *his content* may cause. At the same time, he employs direct language and manages effectively to avoid euphemism: 'Bin Laden is a *terrorist*', 'he *murdered* thousands of *innocent people*' (quotes from Obama's speech). His recount proceeds linearly and

directly achieves its core aim at the very outset by announcing Bin Laden's death. He then goes on to explain the series of events that eventually lead up to Bin Laden's death. The speech deploys information based on facts, rather than opinion or ideas and the vivid imagery used (see discussion above in section 4.2.4.2) brings Obama closer to his audience by directly appealing to both emotive and resolute pathos. The series of arguments deployed in the speech could be divided into two highly marked ideological arenas: 'their vicious attacks and cruelty (negative aspects)' and 'our suffering and our resolution to put an end to it (positive aspects)'. This rather simplified version of Obama's rhetoric allows us to observe his manipulative stance and persuasive character. We may thus conclude this short section by stating that, provided Obama's rhetoric is manipulative and persuasive, we see no reason why his orientation towards his speech cannot equally be manipulated, a view in line with what Brazil has already suggested: "all intonation choices are available for exploitation" (1997: 30) and this is precisely what Obama has taken advantage of. By orienting his speech *artificially obliquely* (manipulated logos and pathos), he contributes to his character formation, he sounds *emotionless*, hardly involved with feelings, though his speech vividly, directly, and frequently appeals to emotive pathos. As he does not need to negotiate common ground because he claims for himself the highest position of authority (his announcement is not only addressed to the US but also to the whole world), he seems not to need to resort to direct orientation.

4.3.5 Tones and (artificial) orientation

Let us return now to our focus of attention: the use of a given set of tones to mark a given orientation. Brazil et al. (1980) have pointed out that oblique orientation involves speakers in choosing between proclaiming and neutral tones (i.e. *o* tones) and that they orientate towards the language of the utterance without regard to any assumptions about the state of convergence with their hearer. They state that readers operating under these conditions simply say what is printed on the page and have no grounds for making choices in the *p/r* system. They thus choose a given tone based on their apprehension of the linguistic organization of the utterance and their desire to make this organization clear to their listeners. There is therefore minimal reader involvement; the speaker is thus felt to be reading in an emotionless way, as if uninterested in the situation.

Up until now, we see few of these characteristics as plausible features of Obama's speech. That Obama does not acknowledge any state of convergence with his audience and that he simply reads what is printed on the page is decidedly not plausible.

One cannot think that after years of “painstaking work to locate and bring Bin Laden to justice” (quote from Obama’s speech), Obama will simply read his speech in a *disengaged* and *unemotional* tone. We thus suggest that Obama has learned to manipulate his temper and produce a speech in order ‘to sound’ as simply giving the news, as ‘saying what is printed’; presumably because he knows that the international impact of his controversial speech would arouse opposing emotions round the world. This seems to be a general characteristic for most prominent political figures. They feel they can handle the situation more comfortably at home and thus get involved in the situation; however, they take a different stance when the impact is more global and they typically include features associated with the oblique stance, such as greater number of prominent syllables, major selection between *p/o* tones, minimal reader involvement simulation, and so on. A simple comparison with an interview given by Obama (when still senator) to Bill O’Reilly (in The O’Reilly Factor) shows us that his stance is more likely to be of the direct type rather than of the oblique one, and when oblique orientation seems to take place, it was because Obama needs processing time to “think of...” what to say next; this is true of impromptu speech. Example (36) shows a fragment of that interview. There is, for instance, a marked presence of ‘filled pauses’ (Cruttenden, 1997) of the type “ehh”, “uhh”, “mm”, all with level tone.

(36)

O’Reilly: Do you believe we are in the middle of a war on terror?

Obama:

H	|	
M	|	// p ABso //
L	|	LUtely

O’Reilly: Who’s the enemy?

Obama:

H	|	
M	|	// r+ al-QAEda // o the TALiBan // p a whole HOST of // o THAT // o are BENT on //
L	|	NETworks
H	|	
M	|	// r+ atTACKing america // r+ who have a diSTORTed ideOLogy // o who have perVERTed //
L	|	
H	|	
M	|	// r+ the FAITH of isLAM // o AND // o SO // r WE HAVE to // p go AFter them //
L	|	

If we compare the statistics regarding the overall use of tones as obtained for Obama’s speech and for the interview, we can observe that in general terms there is a slight decrease in the use of *p* tones, from 42.2% in the speech to 35% in the interview, and a marked increase in the use of *r* tones, from 16.2% in the speech to 25% in the interview, while *o* tones remain relatively stable in both, 41.6% in the speech and 39.3%

in the interview. This increase in the use of *r* tones illustrates Obama's inclination towards a more direct-like orientation. Table (12) below shows the overall pattern of tone use.

Obama's speech				
Background			Foreground	
<i>o</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r+</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p+</i>
149	28	30	150	1
41.6%	7.9%	8.3%	41.9%	0.3%
58			151	
16.2%			42.2%	

Obama's interview				
Background			Foreground	
<i>o</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r+</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p+</i>
84	22	33	73	2
39.3%	10.3%	15.4%	34.1%	0.9%
55			75	
39.3			35%	

Table (12): Overall use of tones in Obama's speech and in an interview

Brazil's account of the description of intonation patterns is discursive and the categories developed are based on the here-and-now state of convergence between speaker and hearer. Interaction progresses step by step and situationally appropriate discourse conditions are generated by both parties. However, in Brazil (1992), he points out that when we read, aloud the material we convert into speech already exists, and readers' apprehension of its completeness must determine how it is read. This could, in principle, affect the interaction participants deploy when they read/speak; nonetheless, readers do orientate to each other's supposed view of relevant circumstances; these have been called the *context of interaction*. Brazil (1992) has called the speaker's propensity to take such circumstances into account his/her *engagement with the context of interaction*. Thus, that Obama is minimally engaged is, again, quite doubtful; however, that his reading presents a minimally engaged orientation seems more in accord with our view of a strategically biased speech.

We probably need to complement Brazil's proposal regarding oblique orientation and engagement with House's (1989, 1990) proposal about background/foreground information. House (1990) points out that Brazil's notion on the status of information projected as new or part of the shared common ground can be better understood if characterised as *foreground* or *background* information. She states that such a characterisation does not commit the speaker to any assessment of the knowledge he/she shares with his/her (putative) hearer; but rather, "allows him to structure his

utterance in a way which will simultaneously reflect his own current assumptions, and his assessment of what it is appropriate to present as background or foreground, for the benefit of his listener” (House, 1990:41). In other words, the speaker may break his utterance into several tone units and present information (whether old or new) as part of the background material needed in order to set the scene for whatever he thinks is to be considered as foreground (which can be new or old). House thus explicitly emphasises that “background and foreground must be independent of what is actually given or new in the speaker’s or hearer’s cognitive environment” (1990:44). She cites Sperber and Wilson (1986) and declares that while background information (not necessarily given or presupposed) contributes indirectly to relevance by reducing the processing effort required, foreground information (which does not need to be new) is relevant in its own right by having contextual effects. She then goes on to affirm that “material presented as background is simply guiding the hearer to the relevant set of assumptions against which to calculate the contextual implications of the foreground material” (House, 1990:44). According to House (1990) what distinguishes information belonging to the background from that one belonging to the foreground is the pitch level at the end of the contour. If the pitch is low (as in falling and rising-falling tones) then this will be interpreted as foreground material. If, on the other hand, the pitch ends in mid or high level, this will be interpreted as background information. This characterization allows us to observe our data in a slightly different way and it lets us advance the following interpretation. Let us return to example (19) reprinted here as (37) and observe how tone selection contributes to the overall organization of this introductory paragraph as seen from the background/foreground vantage point.

(37)

H			<u>NIGHT</u>		<u>PEOPLE</u>	
M	//p	good	<u>EVEning</u>	// r+ to	// r+ I can rePORT to the aMERican	// p and
L						
H					<u>KILLED</u>	
M	to the		// o that the uNITED <u>STATES</u>	//o has conDUCTed an opeRATION that		//
L		<u>WORLD</u>				
H						
M	o oSama bin <u>LA</u> den	// p the LEAders of al-		// o and a <u>TERR</u> orist	//o who's resPONsible //	
L			<u>QAE</u> da			
H						
M	p for the MURder of <u>THOU</u> sands	// o of INnocent <u>MEN</u>	//o <u>WO</u> men	// p and		//
L					<u>CHIL</u> dren	

Let us start by observing the first tone unit. Were we to think of it as foreground information, we would probably be considering one half of the coin. The use of proclaiming tone in the first tone unit, as suggested by House, will be interpreted as foreground material; however, we here see that this specific tone unit serves a more

general social function. It signals the opening of the speech and it is not in a real sense informing. That is, it is closer to serving a social rather than an informative purpose. Thus, we need to consider both the matter of the tone unit and its phonological organization. The use of *p* tone here does not in any real sense mark the information as new to the common ground, nor does it mark it as foreground. Instead, it contributes to the rhetorical force of the speech by presenting Obama's attitude as sympathetic with the seriousness of the matter to be transmitted, while at the same time, creating the required rhetorical conditions which will be operative throughout his entire speech and will in turn have an overall impact on his audience.

If we concentrate on the rest of the introductory paragraph, we can observe a curious (inter-)relation between end-rising tones and end-falling tones. Notice we have preferred the end-rising/falling designation to the so-far-used *p*, *r* or *o* labels. This corresponds to the association of the *o* (non-falling) tone with a complementary (other than Brazil's) function. We here wish to supplement Brazil's view with House's (1990) proposal which suggests that contours ending low are taken as members of the foreground class and those ending at mid or high level are members of the background class.

The speaker assumes there are evident reasons for him to present certain information as part of the background required against which the foreground information will be evaluated. Evidently, the nub of the speech revolves around the 'official announcement' about the killing of Bin Laden. The presence of end-rising tones in 'tonight' and 'I can report to the American people' serves the purpose of initiating the required background, they are self-evidently part of both the audience and speaker's shared biographies. Both the speaker and the American people knew about the announcement beforehand. These are preparing the ground for what is to come. What was presumably 'unknown' for the audience, or at least presented as such, was its global impact; therefore, the use of a foregrounding tone in 'and to the world' to guide the audience in the processing of the material as an announcement addressed not only to the American people, but also to the whole world. Notice we claimed above that the whole speech could be reduced to the lines that run from 'tonight' to 'Bin Laden'; that is, in essence all information needed is presented along these lines. Of course this would be an oversimplification of the analysis. Interestingly, if the above claim had been right, material presented as foreground should have been 'the killing of Osama Bin Laden'. Nonetheless, what actually was presented as foreground is Bin Laden as '*leader of al-Qaeda*' and '*murderer of thousands*'. A quick observation of these facts allows us to conclude that 'the operation conducted by the US to kill Bin Laden' was presented as

background against which to calculate the relevance of ‘Bin Laden’s role in the well-known organization al-Qaeda’. From the phonological standpoint it seems that what is relevant (thus presented with a falling tone) is Bin Laden’s leadership of al-Qaeda rather than his killing. This idea fits our description perfectly since such a presentation allows Obama to introduce what seemed to be the nub of the speech as background and deviate the listeners’ attention to the ‘reason’ why they killed him. Bin Laden is then further characterised (again as background material) as ‘a terrorist’, ‘responsible for’ against which to calculate the speculations of his responsibility: ‘being the murderer of thousands’ (presented as foreground material). Let us observe example (37) reorganized here as (37)b which exhibits the interrelation between background and foreground information.

(37)b

background	Foreground
//r+ toNIGHT//r+ I can rePORTto the aMERican <u>PEO</u> ple//...	// p and to the <u>WORLD</u> // ...
// o that the uNITED <u>STATES</u> //o has conDUCTed an	
opeRation that <u>KILLED</u> // o oSAma bin <u>L</u> Aden // ...	// p the LEAders of al-QAEda // ...
// o and a <u>TERR</u> orist //o who's resPONSible //...	//p for the MURder of <u>THOU</u> sands //...
//o of INnocent <u>MEN</u> //o W Omen //...	// p and <u>CHIL</u> dren //

That is, Obama has wittingly decided to present already known or shared information as part of the foreground. A very informal interpretation could be: ‘I *presume* you know we (the US) have killed Bin Laden’, what ‘I *assume* is worth highlighting is that he was al-Qaeda’s leader’ (which, of course, is not new). Again, while elaborating background material the speaker would claim ‘I *presume* you already know he is a terrorist and he is the one responsible for’, to finally present ‘what I *assume* you need to know is ‘he murdered thousands’. Notice that such a relevant announcement does not include new information, not at least in a strict real sense. At that time, most (American) people suspected that Bin Laden had been killed and they only needed official confirmation; they also knew about his active role in al-Qaeda and about his condition as a terrorist. His (or any terrorist’s) killing of (thousands of innocent) people is subsumed under the role of terrorist. Thus, basically, except for the ‘official confirmation’, none of the information in (37) could be said to be strictly new. We here observe that foreground information does not necessarily need to be new. Similarly, background material does not necessarily need to be given. As already mentioned, if there was anything new in the announcement, it was the ‘official confirmation’, which, could have been presented as foreground, but instead was presented as background material. The rest of the information could be said to be already ‘shared’; however, ‘leader of al-Qaeda’ and

'murderer' was presented as foreground, presumably because of its argumentative and rhetorical relevance.

4.3.6 Backgrounding and foregrounding evaluative language

At this point, we need to highlight the distinction already presented above in which we differentiated units belonging to the phonology and units belonging to the lexicogrammar, or rather to the discourse semantic level. Martin and White (2005) have pointed out that appraisal is treated as a discourse semantic resource deployed to construe meanings. They argue that appraisal is placed within discourse semantics for three main reasons. The realization of an attitude tends to splash across a phrase of discourse, irrespective of grammatical boundaries: attitude can be realised across a range of grammatical categories and appraisal resources can also be realised through grammatical metaphors. We will explore example (31) above, reprinted here as table (13).

	BACKGROUND	Affect		ATTITUDE Judgement		FOREGROUND	Affect		ATTITUDE Judgement	
		+	-	+	-		+	-	+	-
P1	// r+ toNIGHT // r+ I can rePORTto the aMERican PEOPle //					//p good <u>EV</u> ening //				
	// o that the uNITED <u>STATES</u> //o has CONDUCTed an opeRation that KILLED //	Sat		Cap/tenac		// p and to the <u>WORLD</u> //				
	o oSama bin <u>Laden</u> //					// p the LEAders of al- <u>QAE</u> da //				
	// o and a TERR orist //o who's resPONSible //		Insec		Prop	// p for the MUR der of <u>THOU</u> sands //	Insec			Prop
	// o of IN nocen <u>tMEN</u> //o <u>WO</u> men //					// p and <u>CHIL</u> dren //				
P2						//p it was NEARly TEN <u>YEARS</u> ago//				
	//o that a BRIGHT sepTEMBER day was <u>DAR</u> kened //o by the WORST at <u>TACK</u> //	Hap		Insec	Prop	// p on the aMERican PEOPle in our <u>HIS</u> tory //				
	//o the Images of NINE e <u>LE</u> ven // o are SEAR ed //		Unhap		Prop	//p into our NAtional <u>ME</u> emory //				
	//o CUTting <u>THROUGH</u> // o a <u>CLOUD</u> less //	Hap				//p Hijacked <u>PLA</u> nes//	Insec			Prop
						// p the TWIN <u>TOW</u> ers //p colLAPsing to the <u>GROUND</u> //	Insec			Prop
						//p BLACK SMOKE //p BILLowing up from the <u>PEN</u> tagon //	Insec			Prop
						// p the WRECK age of FLIGHT ninety <u>THREE</u> //	Insec			Prop
	//o in <u>SHANKS</u> ville //					//p PENNsyl <u>VAN</u> ia /				
	// o where the ACTions of heroic <u>CIT</u> izens saved //	Sat		Verac/Tenac		// p Even MORE HEART break //p and des <u>TRUCTION</u> //	Insec			Verac/prop

P3

//o and YET we <u>KNOW</u> //o that the <u>WORST</u> images //	Unhap/ Insec	Verac	//p are THOSE that were un <u>SEEN</u> to the world /		
//o the EMPTy <u>SEAT</u> //o at the <u>DINNER</u> table //o <u>CHIL</u> dren//o who were <u>FORCed</u> to grow UP without their <u>MOTHer</u> //o or their <u>FATher</u> /	Unhap	Verac/ Prop			
//o who would NEVER KNOW the <u>FEELing</u> // o of their CHILD's em <u>BRACE</u> //	Unhap	Verac	// p <u>PAR</u> ents //		
			// p nearly THREE THOUsand <u>CIT</u> izens // p <u>TAK</u> en from us // p leaving a <u>GA</u> ping <u>HOLE</u> //p in our <u>HEARTS</u> //	Insec Unhap	Verac/prop

P4

//o on sep <u>TEM</u> ber e <u>LE</u> venth //			//p two THOUsand and <u>ONE</u> //p in our TIME of <u>GRIEF</u> //p the a <u>ME</u> Rican <u>PEO</u> ple came to <u>GETHer</u> //p we <u>OFF</u> ered our <u>NEIGH</u> bors a <u>HAND</u> //p and we <u>OFF</u> ered the <u>WOUN</u> ded our <u>BLOOD</u> //	Sat Sec Sec	Unhap Tenac/cap Verac/prop Verac/prop
//o we RE <u>a</u> <u>FIRMed</u> //			//p our <u>TIES</u> to each <u>OTHer</u> //	Sat Sat	Tenac/prop Cap
//o and our LOVE of com <u>MU</u> nity//			//p no matter <u>WHERE</u> we <u>CAME</u> from // p what <u>GOD</u> we <u>PRAY</u> ed to//		
//o on <u>THAT DAY</u> //					
//o or what <u>RACE</u> or eth <u>NIC</u> ity we <u>WERE</u> //					
// o WE were u <u>NIT</u> ed //	Sat	Verac/ tenac	//p as ONE a <u>ME</u> Rican <u>FAM</u> ily //	Sat	Tenac/prop

P5

<i>//o to proTECT our <u>N</u>ation //o and to BRING THOSE//o who comMITted this Vicious atTACK / <i>//o we QUICKly <u>LEARN</u>ed // o that the NINEelevenatTACKS // <i>//o an ORganisation <u>HEAD</u>ed by //o oSama bin <u>L</u>Aden which //o had Openly deCLARed <u>WAR</u> //r+ ON the united STATES //r+ and was comMITted //o to KILLing <u>I</u>Nnocents// o in our COUNtry //</i> <i>// o and so we WENT to WAR// <i>// o to proTECT our <u>CIT</u>izens //o our FRIENDS //</i> </i></i></i>				<i>//p we were ALso uNITED in our reSOLVE /</i>	Sat	Tenac
	Sec		Tenac			
		Insec		Prop	<i>/p to JUStice //</i>	Tenac
		Insec			<i>// p were CARried out by al-<u>Q</u>Aeda //</i>	Verac
		Insec		Verac/prop Verac/prop		
		Insec		Verac/prop	<i>//p AND around the <u>GLOBE</u> //</i>	
			Tenac Prop	<i>//p a<u>GAINST</u> al-qaeda //</i> <i>//p and our <u>AL</u>lies //</i>		

Table (13): Appraisal and background and foreground information

Table (13) above is intended to deploy which appraised items are in the background and which ones in the foreground. The first and third columns present paragraphs 1-5 from the original speech segmented into tone units. Those tone units included in the first column contain background information (shown by the use of a non-falling tone) and those included in the third contain foreground information (as shown by their accompanying non-rising tones). The second and fourth columns must be read as belonging to the first and third respectively. They add information regarding the attitude expressed in one or more tone units, either explicitly or implicitly disposed. Items exhibiting explicit evaluation are in bold type. At times, there are tone units that do not express any attitude in particular; thus no analysis has been provided for them.

A note of caution is needed here. We see no direct or stable relation between information in the background or foreground and a given type of preferred attitude. We believe such an unstable relation holds due to the nature of the system of tone and its subconscious awareness on the part of the speaker. In addition, it could also possibly be the product of a highly manipulated speech. Obama segments his utterances in ways which, at times, split the evaluative message into two or even three (and sometimes even more) tone units. As we have seen above, it is the system of prominence which bears a tight relation to the explicit evaluative items while the system of tone does not seem to hold a strict one. However, we will explore some instances that could illuminate an interesting pattern in the organization of the information as to whether it is presented in the background or in the foreground.

Information presented as either background or foreground does not function in isolated bits, but rather as whole chunks organised deliberately. Thus, we need not go into detail regarding the status of explicit evaluation as either background or foreground. What seems more sensible is to consider all background information chained together, one after the other, as meaningful contextual information against which to process the information presented as foreground. There are two forms in which ideational tokens have been presented: as one unit in either the background or foreground or as a split unit including one part in the background and another in the foreground. Let us observe the former group first and the latter one afterwards.

Going back to table (13) above, let us observe paragraph 2 onwards (symbolised P2, P3, etc.). Taking into account that the information presented as foreground in the introductory paragraph was 'Bin Laden's active role as the terrorist responsible for the attacks', the following paragraphs organize information in ways which closely harmonise with such a distribution.

Paragraphs 2 and 3 inform the audience about the brutality of the attacks, and the vivid images it left (see discussion above on ideational tokens used to invoke evaluation indirectly, section 4.2.4.2). First, there is the set of more ‘concrete’ images, those which could be directly accessed through the media, then, those which cannot be directly accessed but are the direct result of the attacks. That the first set is presented first and the second set presented after it has a tremendous rhetorical power. The first set has a more dramatic or even appalling effect on people. The second set, as dreadful as the first one, has a more affective and sensitive impact. Should this order be reversed, the in-crescendo affectual response would have been lost, or at least dramatically diminished.

Interestingly, the second paragraph presents the ‘worst attack’ and its ‘searing effect’ as background information. The non-falling tones used in the units containing this information create the required context which will allow the listener to later process the information that is to come; i.e. the ‘resulting searing images’. Obama brings to the forefront explicit descriptions regarding the images of nine eleven and their mention is accompanied by a falling tone. The use of falling tones here marks the information as foreground and represents the point at which the hearer is to process all the accumulated material. In accordance with Labastía et al (2013) falling tones suggest that the material in these units is relevant in its own right and should be processed in the context of the preceding tone units. That is, Obama elaborates a context/background which includes information about the ‘worst attack ever’ and ‘how much it sears’. The most relevant information is to come in the specific instances of each of the images which sear their national memory, all of them presented as a whole block of foreground material. They are clearly observable in example (38) in table (14) below:

(38)	BACKGROUND	FOREGROUND
	//o that a BRIGHT sepTEMber day was <u>DAR</u> kened //o by the WORST at <u>TACK</u> //	//p it was NEARly TEN <u>YEARS</u> ago //
	//o the Images of NINE e <u>LE</u> ven // o are <u>SEAR</u> ed //	//p on the aMERican PEOPle in our <u>HIS</u> tory //
	//o CUTting <u>THROUGH</u> // o a <u>CLOUD</u> less // o sepTEMber <u>SKY</u> //	//p into our NAtional <u>ME</u> mory //
		//p HIjacked <u>PLA</u> nes//
		//p the TWIN <u>TOW</u> ers //p collAPsing to the <u>GROUND</u> //
		//p BLACK <u>SMOKE</u> //p BILlowing up from the <u>PEN</u> tagon //
		//p the WRECKage of FLIGHT ninety <u>THREE</u> //
	//o in <u>SHANKS</u> ville //	//p PENNsyl <u>VA</u> nia /
	//o where the ACTions of heroic <u>CIT</u> izens saved //	//p Even MORE <u>HEART</u> break //p and des <u>TRUC</u> Tion //

Table (14): Evaluation as located in the background or in the foreground for paragraph 2

Observing the same information from its evaluative stance, we can say that Obama models his speech in ways which allow him to package negative affectual evaluation as background. By so doing, he is purposely creating the necessary affectual background deploying a strong sense of insecurity. Such an organization of the evaluation into background and foreground has its marked effect in the way a listener may process it. In this case, the audience is asked to evaluate the impact of the ‘images’, all of them presented as foreground, against such a searing background. Once this affectual background has been settled, the whole group of images becomes doubly stunning since they not only reinforce the evaluation regarding insecurity presented before, but also bring with it the implicit evocation of the audience’s negative judgement against al-Qaeda’s unethical behaviour.

The third paragraph (example (39) below in table (15)) further develops the impact of the attack into what Obama calls the ‘worst images’, again presented as background/context, against which to process the most relevant information, namely that they were ‘unseen to the world’.

(39)	BACKGROUND	FOREGROUND
	//o and YET we <u>KNOW</u> //o that the <u>WORST</u> images //	//p are THOSE that were un <u>SEEN</u> to the world //
	//o the EMPTy <u>SEAT</u> // o at the <u>DINNER</u> table //o <u>CHIL</u> dren //o who were FORCed to grow UP without their <u>MOT</u> Her // o or their <u>FAT</u> Her /	//p <u>PAR</u> ents //
	//o who would NEVer KNOW the <u>FEEL</u> ing // o of their CHILD’s em <u>BRACE</u> //	//p nearly THREE THOUsand <u>CIT</u> izens // p <u>TAK</u> en from us // p leaving a GAPing <u>HOLE</u> //p in our <u>HEARTS</u> //

Table (15): Evaluation as located in the background or in the foreground for paragraph 3

One could arguably say that this set of images should have been presented as foreground material, just as it was done with the first set. However, we here see a distinct type of images. The first set (example (38) above) exhibits factual information which could be directly accessed and checked through the media. The main difference with the second is not in its being a fact, but rather in their (im)possibility of being validated. This subtle but highly relevant difference brings with it the necessary change in its being presented as either part of the background or foreground. We argue that information presented as background is not open to discussion. Conversely, information in the foreground is liable to argumentation. We thus see that the first group which seems, because of its direct access, more factual than the second is likely to attain foreground

status, while the second set is better presented as background. The arguments which would give support to the first set are self-evident in the media. However, the arguments for the second set depend on a more sympathetic nature from the listener; therefore, they are not presented for discussion. The main exception to this claim is the last of the images, namely ‘nearly 3000 people taken from us’. This last argument is factual and is thus unquestionable. We here see a closing or a type of logical conclusion resulting from all the previous images. Naturally, a falling tone has been appropriately used here and it coincides with the closure of the pitch sequence (see section 4.4.5 for further elaboration on the topic).

Now, how is it that evaluation has been presented? Has it been presented in the background or in the foreground? As we said above, there is no clear pattern of relations between evaluation and the system of tone mainly because evaluative comments/utterances frequently span two, three and even more tone units. This means that, most frequently, part of the evaluative utterance has been backgrounded and the rest foregrounded. We have already identified two basic streams of judgement in Obama’s speech: ‘their’ unethical behaviour and ‘our’ capacity and resolve to deal with it. We can thus observe that, at times, appraised ideational tokens are entirely backgrounded or foregrounded. When this happens, they accompany the pattern described above. For instance, those images directly accessed through the media were all presented as foreground *‘hijacked planes, the twin towers collapsing..., black smoke billowing up... and the wreckage of flight 93’*. These images indirectly judge ‘their’ unethical behaviour as instances of negative propriety and are therefore strategically presented in the foreground. Their foregrounding can be reinterpreted as Obama’s purposeful evocation of the order ‘process this information immediately; it is relevant in its own right’. Notice we do not wish to suggest that such a purposeful evocation is consciously carried out. Politicians, in general, develop a common register which most frequently include a typical lexis, together with a shared syntactic structure (or lexico-grammatical organization) and a characteristic prosodic style. They may be more or less aware of these features, but they are certainly not fully conscious of their effect, at least not of their prosodic effect, especially the effect of tone, which seems to be the least conscious of the four intonation systems.

Conversely, two images from the second set (example (39) above) were presented entirely as background *‘the empty seat at the dinner table’* and *‘children who were forced...’*. We here see that these two images are a re-elaboration of ‘the worst images’. That is, the same message could have been organised differently, keeping the ideational meanings intact, but affecting its textual organization: ‘the worst images (the

empty seat... and children forced...) were unseen to the world'. This reorganization, however possible, does not, of course, gain the rhetorical effect created by the original one. Whatever the structural organization, what we here wish to highlight is that the backgrounding effect of these two images is by no means forming the context against which to calculate the effect of the foreground information that is to come in the following tone unit, i.e. 'parents'. That is, they are not related to what is to come, but rather to what came before, that they were 'unseen to the world'. It seems that the falling tone on 'parents' does not follow our description so far. We said the falling tone on 'parents' does not relate back to what was said before, but instead to what is to come. Our description of background/foreground information seems to implicitly suggest an order sequentially established. It seems to be the case that speakers *first* contextualise (using non-falling tones) and *then* give an order to process the accumulated information (by using a falling tone). There is no serious attempt in this work to propose such an order, besides most descriptions may seem to *imply* the same. As oral information is produced in time, as a succession of units or bits, this seems to be a general principle. However, no one (to my knowledge) has ever defined that the sequence of background information *should* precede the foreground one, though this seems to be naturally appropriate in the essence of each term.

Obama anticipates the implicit relation between 'children and parents' once he produces the first isolated tone unit containing 'children' with level tone. It seems to be a more natural course of life that children typically lose their parents. After all those who were in the Twin Tower were mostly adults. However, he then needs to explicitly assert that 'parents' also lost their children (which is a less likely situation) or probably their not yet born children whose pregnant mothers were on the site of the tragedy. He then does so by producing it in a single tone unit, in high key and with a proclaiming tone (see further discussion on high key about this example in section 4.4.3 below). Obama does not merely close the anticipated result here, but he also (pro)claims that it is this unexpected event in the course of life that needs to be attended to.

Returning now to our example, we can propose, and this may give support to our earlier suggestion that the system of tone seems to be the least conscious one, that Obama is not fully aware of the intonation used in 'parents'. He seems to be more conscious of the effect of segmentation by unnecessarily splitting the theme from its rheme, but his use of a falling tone here does not seem to carry with it its most appropriate potential. Notice that 'unnecessary' is doubly meaningful: it is most frequently not necessary to split theme-rheme; however, it here turns out to be 'manipulatively necessary' simply to maintain his continuous rhetorical effect. Now compare examples

(40) (a)-(b) below and observe how a more effective result could have been obtained, had Obama chosen a non-falling tone on ‘parents’. The three images would have been presented as the context from which to process the final unified concluding foregrounded pieces of information. That is, just as ‘the empty seat...’ and ‘children forced...’ were instances of re-elaboration of the ‘worst images’, ‘parents who would never know...’ is a further example of it.

(40)	BACKGROUND	FOREGROUND
(a) //o who would NEVER KNOW the <u>FEEL</u> ing // o of their CHILD’s em <u>BRACE</u> //		//p <u>PAR</u> ents // //p nearly THREE THOUsand <u>CIT</u> izens // p <u>TAK</u> en from us // p leaving a GAPing <u>HOLE</u> //p in our <u>HEARTS</u> //
(b) //o <u>PAR</u> ents //o who would NEVER KNOW the <u>FEEL</u> ing // o of their CHILD’s em <u>BRACE</u> //		//p nearly THREE THOUsand <u>CIT</u> izens // p <u>TAK</u> en from us // p leaving a GAPing <u>HOLE</u> //p in our <u>HEARTS</u> //

From its evaluative stance point, if we compare example (39) with (38) above we see a similar development or structuring of appraised ideational tokens. The very introduction of example (39) brings with it the deployment of inscribed evaluation of negative affect (unhappiness) through the wording ‘the worst images’. Moreover, the evaluation is further reinforced by the addition of the fact that they ‘were unseen to the world’. The context has been settled and it is based on the very general (and highly evaluative) idea of ‘worst images’. Now its further elaboration needs to be explicitly set out; all three images are included in the background. The ideational tokens, this time, construe negative affect at a different level, namely that of unhappiness (as against insecurity in example (38) above). This mournful background serves the purpose of contextualising feelings and emotions against which to calculate the foreground information presented in ‘three thousand citizens taken from us...’. There are two main differences between example (39) and (38). One has to do with the organization of information into background/foreground and the other, with the type of affect they invoke.

One could argue that both examples present a re-elaboration of ‘worst attack’ (in (38)) and ‘worst images’ (in (39)) in subsequent units and can, arguably, suggest that, whereas in (38) the re-elaborated images were presented in the foreground, those in (39) were in the background, implying thus a weakness in our interpretation of the data. We informally proposed above that such a difference regarding the distribution of

evaluation had to do with the type of evaluation invoked. Now we are able to formally suggest that emotions concerned with facts of the heart in example (39) (i.e. un/happiness) have been backgrounded because, otherwise, they would be rendered as arguable, a fact which would not harmonize with Obama's rhetoric. In addition, by presenting them as background, he gains, and probably 'creates', a more sensitive audience, who will process the 'missing' citizens in highly negative terms, 'they were taken from us'. By presenting them both as recipients and in the forefront, Obama effectively upgrades 'their' (i.e. al-Qaeda's) unethical judgements of propriety. In other words, in example (39), Obama generates an emotive background which will provoke in the audience the required emotional state to later on sanction al-Qaeda's behaviour negatively and justify Bin Laden's killing. Conversely, in (38) above the affective emotional state created by backgrounding information regarding insecurity is closely related to the audience's 'social well being' (as against facts of the heart). Thus, these images could easily be presented in the foreground since their status is already shared by the audience, and therefore no possible argument against it would arise.

Let us observe now what happens when evaluation is split into two or more tone units. At times, there are some evaluative items which include part of their evaluation in the background and the rest in the foreground. We will go through a series of examples ((41)-(45)) and explore how a slight manipulation in the system of tone, accompanied with a further reduction of prominences, seriously affects the overall impact of the appraised token. Some interesting patterns we wish to highlight can be observed in the following pairs of examples (41) – (45) and their 'b' versions (which have been slightly modified).

(41) //p it was NEARly TEN YEARS ago//o that a BRIGHT sepTEMber day was DARkened //o by the WORST atTACK //p on the aMERican PEOple in our HIStory //

(41)b //p it was NEARly TEN YEARS ago//p that a BRIGHT september day was DARkened by the worst atTACK on the american people in our history //

(42) //o the Images of NINE eLEven // o are SEARed //p into our NATIonal MEmory //

(42)b //p the Images of nine eleven are SEARed into our national memory //

We might feel tempted to say, against House's (1990) postulate, that the information that has been foregrounded in these two examples is irrelevant. That is, the adverbial group has been given the status of foreground, the most relevant piece of information in itself, when it should have arguably occupied a different role, probably more pertinently that of background. However, this line of argument into which information is in the background and which in the foreground could be better understood

by observing the relation there may be between the two. In other words, the chaining relation between background and foreground information may be more informative than simply observing them as isolated ‘bits’. After all, if they do the same work in spoken language as they do in ‘gestalt-imagery language’, the resulting interpretation comes from their combined effect, not from one or the other as isolated elements. We here observe that even when the ‘b’ version may sound more natural (especially in (42b) its rhetorical effect is markedly mitigated. By segmenting information into small bits and marking them as background information, Obama gains an enriched contextualization of ‘our’ mourning.

A similar process can be observed in (43), (44) and (45) below. Doubtlessly the ‘b’ versions are far more natural than the original ones; at least they sound much less marked.

(43) //o and YET we KNOW //o that the WORST images //p are THOSE that were unSEEN to the world //

(43)b //p and yet we KNOW the worst Images were unSEEN to the world //

(44) //o we REafFIRMed //p our TIES to each OTHer//

(44)b //p we reafFIRMed our ties to each other// or //p we reafFIRMed our TIES to each other//

(45) //o WE were uNITed //p as ONE aMERican FAMily //

(45)b //p we were uNITed as one american FAMily //

But why should Obama have produced the others? The fragmented release of information helps Obama create micro processing contexts that favour the impact of the final foregrounded piece of information. There is an additional impact observed in the audience’s sympathetic character achieved by the effect of this ‘coupling’ of background/foreground information: ‘worst images’ and their being ‘unseen’, their ‘reaffirmation’ of ‘ties to each other’ and their ‘being united’ as ‘one American family’. From a more formal descriptive viewpoint, such a phonological organization may seem quite odd; however, from a functional-pragmatic one, it could hardly be improved.

Finally, we feel the need to comment on the ‘mixed’ nature regarding the affectual emotion generated in these examples. The first three have already been discussed above, the first one (41) emphasising emotions concerned with ‘our social being’, while the second (42) and third (43) emphasizing ‘our facts of the heart’. The contexts created are intended to influence the audience’s affect so that they will condemn ‘their’ (i.e. al-

Qaeda's) behaviour. In the last two examples (44) and (45), the affect being backgrounded has to do with emotions concerning our telos, i.e. 'our' satisfaction. By appealing to this further affectual response, Obama is able to change his position, from that of spokesman to that of an active man of action. By establishing this new background/foreground chaining, he seems to be able to supposedly gain the audience's unconditional support, he aligns himself with his nation's (and the rest of the world's) wish for justice and, above all, he shifts his position from that of a critical observer to that of active protector who leads 'his/our' resolve to protect 'his/our' people and 'others'.

We may conclude this section by commenting on the very general subdivision between ideational tokens presented as one unit in either the background or the foreground and those which include part of the evaluation in the background and part in the foreground. We could possibly argue about two general ideas regarding the first group. On the one hand, we have observed that negative affectual evaluation of insecurity (i.e. 'our social well-being') was first presented in the background so that 'their' foregrounded negative (un)ethical behaviour could be judged 'doubly' negatively. That is, against the background of 'our security being threatened', the audience is asked to evaluate 'their unethical threatening behaviour'. On the other hand, a different background is set, one in which feelings and emotions are involved. This background presents negative evaluation at a different level, that of (un)happiness (or emotions concerned with facts of the heart). Obama has strategically organised the information in ways in which most evaluative items are accumulated in, and help reinforce, such a background. This highly charged evocation of a different type of affect (i.e. unhappiness) serves the basis on which to calculate the effect of the negative foregrounded evaluative information that is to come, which again indirectly evaluates 'their' unethical behaviour.

An additional comment which deserves attention has to do with those ideational tokens segmented in ways in which they interrelate background and foreground information. In these cases, we have found out that even though their phonological organization is highly marked, their less marked (or more natural) realization would not have helped create the rhetorically required emotionally charged background. In other words, a more natural patterning would have definitely led Obama to produce a form similar in meaning but highly mitigated in its emotional effect. In addition, the very nature of the evaluative comments deployed in these tone units have helped Obama shift his position. That is, his comments are no longer intended to provoke an emotional reaction concerned with either 'well-being' or 'facts of the heart', but instead with the US's satisfaction, with their capacity to overcome difficulties and later on with their pursuit of justice. This line of argument brings Obama into a more active role.

4.4 The Systems of Key and Termination and evaluative language

We have seen above how decisions regarding prominence ‘affect’ meanings within the tone unit. Besides, we have also considered how decisions on tone also have their effect on the message. However, so far we have not yet paid any attention to the way pitch level selections contribute to differences in meaning. To these differences we turn now in the present section.

4.4.1 Key

Apart from prominence and tone selections, speakers can further make decisions on other independent systems such as key and termination; such decisions depend on the state of convergence they share with their (putative) hearer.

As it was already mentioned above, key and termination are independent of each another, but intimately related. They are manifestations of the same pitch phenomenon, i.e. pitch level. Key and termination refer to choices regarding the pitch level at which either the onset (key) or the tonic (termination) syllables are uttered. The convention followed is a three-level choice *high*, *mid* or *low* (for both key and termination) and provided there are separate onset and tonic prominent elements in the tone unit, the speaker can meaningfully choose pitch level twice. For Brazil (1997) it is not the relative pitch height that matters, but instead the meaning opposition it creates; he thus states that the communicative value of high, mid and low are those shown in figure (20):

High key – contrastive
Mid key – additive
Low key – equative

Figure (20): key and meaning oppositions

Put into a simple example in which key and termination coincide, this would be as in (46) below:

(46)⁴

	//p aGAINST al-qaeda //	Contrast
//o and so we WENT to <u>WAR</u>	//p aGAINST al-qaeda //	Addition
	//p aGAINST al-qaeda //	Equivalence

⁴ This example is not meant to be interpreted in the context of Obama’s speech, but simply as a means to show the contribution of pitch height to the communicative value of discourse.

For the sake of argument, let us observe '*against*' in its mid-key version in (46) above. '*Against*' has been selected as prominent, and as such, it presents a selection from a set of possibilities in the general paradigm, for instance as in:

- (47)
- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| and so we went to war | against
with
to
on, etc. |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|

Brazil (1997) states that in its mid-key, an element such as *against* is simply presented as a selection from the possibilities the general paradigm allows. That is, it could have been the case that *they went to war 'with...'* or *they went to war 'to...'*, etc., but it was not. In this case, the choice of mid key marks the matter of the tone unit as added information; that is, it expands the assertion made in the previous tone unit. It is as if Obama simply extended his message with additional information. The following example from our data will further illustrate the additive nature of mid key. The second and third tone units simply extend the assertion made about Bin Laden being a terrorist.

- (48) //o and a TERRorist // o who's resPONsible // p for the MURder of THOUsands //

Notice that, had the second and third tone unit been uttered in low key, their projection would have been a very different one. 'His responsibility for the murder of thousands' would have been taken as existentially equivalent to '*terrorist*'; that is, they would have been taken as synonymous. Let us observe in a different example from our data, (49) below, how such an equative relation is deployed.

- (49)
- | | |
|--|----------------|
| //o bin LAden has been al-QAeda's <u>LEAD</u> er //p and | // |
| | <u>SYM</u> bol |

The significance of low key in 'symbol' has been defined as if it implicated that, in this case, 'leader' and 'symbol' amount to the same thing. In Brazil's (1997) terms, "a tonic segment having low key is presented as being existentially equivalent to the previous one" (1997:50). Brazil identifies two different types of situation for low key; one in which the speaker's intention seems to project an equivalence not necessarily known to the hearer and another in which the speaker seems to acknowledge a self-evident one. We here see an example of the second type, in which 'symbol' is, in a strict sense,

the second tone unit in the following utterance. Example (52) has been slightly modified from its original form.

(52) //r al-QAeda will conTINue to purSUE attacks//p a GAINST us //

By using high key in ‘against us’ we are once again able to observe the opposition between ‘against’ and ‘with’ in the general paradigm. However, we can also observe a contrast in the existential paradigm. The generalization being discussed here is that the existential paradigm could be presented now as ‘*against* not *X*’ and it is the choice of high key which further increases the implicit contrast. By killing al-Qaeda’s leader, it might seem sensible to think that terrorist attacks will cease; however, Obama makes it explicit that they will not. Such an explicit contrast is gained by high key. In addition to choosing key, the speaker also marked the tone unit as proclaiming. The projection made is that the matter is not merely contrastive but, in addition, it is marked as new to the common ground. It is presented as if it were not yet assented to by both parties.

Now let us observe what happens when high key is used in an open class item such as ‘vigilant’ in (53) below.

(53) // and we WILL // remain VIGilant //

According to Brazil (1997), had the speaker selected mid key in ‘vigilant’, the existential paradigm would have included among many other possibilities the following ones:

(54)	and we will remain	alert watchful observant indifferent incautious, etc.
------	--------------------	---

By choosing mid key, the prominent item is simply selective from the existential paradigm. That is, the existential paradigm could comprise a large number of possibilities from which ‘vigilant’ represents one. However, when the contrastive implications of high key are added, as in (53) above, the paradigm is reduced to remain ‘*vigilant*, not *X*’. Such an implication can now be interpreted in either of two ways as suggested by Brazil (1997).

The value of *X* can be established as a contrastive element in a binary opposition which explicitly rejects an alternative

a)	and we will remain	vigilant	|
		X	|

or it may be a contrastive element which rejects the whole set of possible alternatives

b)	and we will remain	vigilant	|
		X, Y, Z, etc.	|

Examples such as a) above have been termed *contrastive*, while those in the b) group have been termed *particularising*. Both are contrastive in nature, but the particularising instances represent a special sub-type of contrast; while the contrastive type projects a binary opposition, the particularising type projects a contrast which rejects the set of all existentially possible alternatives.

So far, we have only considered pitch selection in one syllable, namely the tonic prominent syllable. This occurred because the examples discussed above were purposely selected as containing only one prominent syllable. Thus, it seemed that pitch height can only be selected once. However, there are instances in which the tone unit includes more than one prominent element and, as expected, pitch level selections occur twice and independently. Therefore, we now need to discuss what meaningful choices are attached to those instances in which pitch level occurs in a syllable other than the onset. We thus turn now to observe pitch selections associated with the tonic syllable, i.e. termination.

4.4.2 Termination

As it has already been mentioned, termination has been defined as an independent, but intimately related, system attached to the tonic syllable. As for key, selection for termination comprises a three-level pitch system and in so doing, a speaker projects a given expectation. While the expectation projected by key in a given tone unit is established by reference to what has preceded it, the expectation projected by termination in a given tone unit is determined by what it anticipates; that is, by relating the tone unit to what is to come next.

Brazil (1997) has explained that in selecting mid termination, the speaker anticipates an expected endorsement, thus a mid key is expected to occur. That is, it realises an act of concurrence. On the other hand, by selecting high termination, the

speaker anticipates adjudication. The listener is involved in an independent assignment of polarity, which thus differs from the mid-termination expectation of concurrence. Finally, a low pitch in the tonic prominent element in a tone unit can be accounted for as neither expecting adjudication nor inviting concurrence. That is, low termination projects no expectation of pitch concord. As we stated above, the effect of termination over an expected key is by no means an absolute requirement. This is simply an aspect of the context of interaction in which the speaker *projects* an expectation that the hearer will concur or adjudicate; the fulfilment of such an expectation may not be achieved though.

Brazil (1997) suggests that the expectation of concurrence realised by mid termination has been presented as a manifestation of passivity and thus expects passive acceptance on the hearer's side. The invitation to adjudicate, on the other hand, realised by high termination is conceived of as an independent activity and thus projects an active verbal intervention. In Brazil's (1997) term, "to decide is to be 'active'; to go along with another's assessment of the situation is 'passive'" (1997:59 emphasis original). Low termination, on the other hand, anticipates nothing, it cancels any constraints.

Figure (21) below, which is a reprinted version of figure (4) above, summarises the range of possibilities:

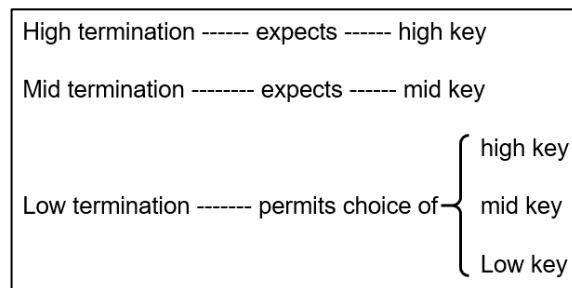


Figure (21): Concord projection between key and Termination, from Brazil (1997:119)

Brazil (1997) points out that his description of the two independent, but intimately related, systems of key and termination apply equally to utterances in which there is no opportunity for the addressee to intervene, and that they apply simply by extension of what has been said.

We will now proceed to observe how selections on key and termination contribute to the communicative value of Obama's utterances. Though his monologue does not conceive of any sign of participation from his audience, it does project an expected supportive behaviour from them.

(55)

H	
M	//... o that the uNITed <u>STATES</u> //o has conDUCTed an opeRAtion that <u>KILLED</u> //
L	
H	
M	o oSama bin <u>L</u> Aden // p the LEAders of al- <u>QAE</u> da // o and a <u>TERR</u> orist //o who's resPONSible //
L	
H	
M	p for the MURder of <u>THOU</u> sands //
L	

Brazil (1997) has put forward the idea that “each supportive event can be interpreted as an active or a passive response” and the speaker’s termination choices can be interpreted “as projecting an expectation of a response of one kind or the other at certain point in the monologue” (Brazil, 1997:60).

In line with Brazil (1997), we could argue that the use of high termination in both ‘states’ and ‘killed’ in (55) above invites active consideration of the proposition that ‘the United States has conducted an operation that killed’. However, by selecting mid termination in ‘Laden’ and in ‘al-Qaeda’, the speaker projects an assumption that his audience will accept the killing of ‘*Bin Laden as the leader of al-Qaeda*’ without question. In addition, by subsequently using mid termination in ‘terrorist’, ‘responsible’ and ‘thousand’, the projection assumed and presumably accepted by his audience is that ‘Bin Laden *is* a terrorist’ and that he is the person ‘*responsible for the murder of thousands*’. Notice that the ‘act of killing’ and that it was by ‘the US’ have been presented as information under consideration. The use of high termination invites the listener to adjudicate. However, Obama then turns the focus to Bin Laden and projects the assumption that all information given about Bin Laden is to be taken for granted. He does this simply by manipulating the systems of key and termination. That is, Obama tactically combines mid key and mid termination both to add information and to present it as taken for granted respectively. Notice that we do not intend to suggest that Obama is consciously manipulating the system, as such a manipulation may simply be part of his rhetorical training. The speaker first invites his audience to actively consider the assignment of polarity in the ‘US killing...’ and immediately afterwards he anticipates an expected endorsement about Bin Laden being ‘the leader of al-Qaeda’, that is, ‘a terrorist’ who is ‘responsible for thousands of killings’. Brazil (1997:60) has argued that this “rhetorical device of seeming to give one’s hearer an opportunity to judge and proceeding immediately to assume a consensus is well understood by orators”. Another example from the data will further illustrate our point here.

(56)

H
M //o and YET we KNOW WORST images
L //p are THOSE that were unSEEN to the world //

In (56) above, Obama invites active consideration of the proposition that we ought to 'know about the worst images' in the first two tone units; the listener is then asked to adjudicate. In the third tone unit, 'those that were unseen to the world' takes concurrence for granted (due to mid termination). Again Obama's rhetorical deployment of intonation resources are manifestly evident; he seems to invite adjudication on a given idea, which he already knows is not open to discussion, and for which he expects endorsement. As a form of analogy, this strategic use of pitch level is comparable to the strategic use of rhetorical questions, which are often brought into existence to invite an audience to consider a given topic for which the speaker already has an answer. Another possible analysis can regard 'worst' as contrastive; we will have more to say about it below. To the idea of the worst images unseen to the world ((56) above), Obama goes on and adds (57) below.

(57)

H
M //o the EMPTy SEAT //o at the DINner table //o CHILdren //o who were FORCED to grow UP
L

H
M without their MOTHer //o or their FATher //p PARents //o who would NEVer KNOW the FEELing //
L

H
M o of their CHILD's emBRACE //p nearly THREE THOUsand CITizens //p TAKen from us //
L

Here Obama proceeds to elaborate the idea behind the 'worst images' and he does so by producing a sequence of tone units (most of them) in mid-level pitch. In very general terms, if we observe them from the key point of view, most of them are 'adding' to the idea presented in (56) due to their being in mid key. If we see them from the termination standpoint, they are inviting concurrence; that is, they project an expectation of endorsement. However, there are three instances in which high key was used. Had they all been uttered in mid level, we could have argued that this general description applies and we could have rephrased example (57) and said 'the empty seat...' and 'children forced...' and also 'parents who...'. We will discuss 'children' and 'parents' first and 'three thousand' later on at the end of this section. The reason why we have decided to separate the three instances in high pitch is that in both 'children' and 'parents', key and termination have been simultaneously selected, while in 'three thousand citizens' key and termination occur separately.

In his discussion regarding simultaneous selection of key and termination Brazil (1997) has shown that an act of selection within a tone unit occurs when a speaker decides to make a given item prominent. A simple act of selection has been associated with mid key; however, more information can also be included in the same tone unit by simply modifying its key. The existential paradigm formed by ‘mid-key children’ would be:

a)

Children
Parents
Citizens
Workers
People, etc.

However, the existential paradigm projected by ‘high-key children’ is slightly different:

b)

Children
(Parents , citizens , workers, people, etc.)

The first aspect to notice here is that both present ‘children’ as a selection from other alternatives. What differentiates one from the other is that in group b) the items have been organised in a contrastive set of two. This *contrastive* meaning attached to group b) is due to its being in high key, for which Brazil (1997:63) has stated that it “attaches particularising implications redundantly to the value of the tone unit”. He goes on to add that they are often redundant but tolerant in those situations that are satisfied by the a) group. Brazil (1997) explains this situation with an analogy that holds between the lexical items ‘dog’ and ‘spaniel’ in which he states:

“*Dog* and *spaniel* are ‘hyponymous’, a statement we will relate informally to the fact that all spaniels are dogs but not all dogs are spaniels. We will say that *spaniel* carries more ‘information’ than *dog*.” (Brazil, 1997:63)

Then he explains that if a person called his/her dog a spaniel, he/she may be adding information which is not required in the present situation, but little or no harm would be done. However, if the person called it a *dog* when there is present need to specify what type of dog it is, essential information would be lost. Similarly, if a speaker

presents information in high key when it is not required, he/she would be providing additional yet harmless information; however, if he/she presents information in mid key when the present situation requires the specification of the added meanings attached to high key, valuable information would be lost.

Returning to our example, in (57) above we see the deployment of contrastive key in the two entities related to the empty seat. The discussion here is not about economic loss, but instead about a great social loss, a hole in the nucleus of society, the family. Therefore, contrastive high key in 'children' brings with it the projection of '*not X*', most likely '*not parents*' and soon afterwards, contrastive high key in 'parents' has a similar effect, '*not children*'. There is here a tight relation between the two parts, a balance achieved merely because of the existence of both contrastive terms (due to high key). It is not possible to consider one without the other. Thus the cumulative effect is double. Obama invites active consideration of children and parents, to finally expect concurrence about their 'growing up (in the case of children) and growing older (in the case of parents) alone'. All together, the message deploys a closely-knit speech that seeks shared agreement with the audience; that is, the use of mid termination serves the purpose of promoting *our* sorrow to project a world of concurrence. Brazil (1997:63) states that "a gratuitous step up in key to achieve high termination is more frequently tolerable than a gratuitous step down to achieve mid termination".

4.4.3 Key and Appraisal

Not all three pitch levels contribute significantly to enhancing attitudinal lexis. Neither is explicit or implicit attitude enhanced similarly by pitch height. As we have already pointed out, the clearest contribution to appraised lexis, both explicit and implicit, comes from the system of prominence. However, we may arguably propose that the system of key also helps intensify attitudinally loaded utterances quite clearly. Within the system of key, high key is probably the one that best contributes to expanding the meaning potential of appraised lexis.

Let us observe now how pitch selections contribute to differences in meaning and how they relate to evaluative lexico-grammatical configurations. We will first consider the way in which key can contribute to a more affectual interpretation by using a different pitch configuration while uttering the same wording or message. Probably the most notable of these pitch configuration is the use of high key. In (56) and (57) above, we advanced some considerations regarding the 'extra gains' coupled with high key; we will now observe them in some depth. Probably the question that comes to our minds is: how

response already deployed in the lexico-grammar. It is widely accepted that speakers gain a given reaction to what they say not because of what they say, but because of the way they say it. That is, even when the lexico-grammatical choices keep constant, a speaker can still change his/her affectual evocation by manipulating the phonological systems. In (58) above, we have already noted how a message which is in itself attitudinal in nature can be additionally attitudinal by modifying its pitch level. We could arguably propose that a primary mode of expression (the lexico-grammar) can doubly mean its attitude. One meaning derives from the lexico-grammar itself, while another one derives from the pitch used. In addition, other phonological systems like prominence and tone (see 4.2.2, 4.2.4, 4.3.1, 4.3.5, etc. above) will serve as further means of attitudinal reinforcement. Some more examples to help clarify our exposition are given below. Consider below example (56) reprinted here as (59):

(59)
 H WORST images
 M //o ... the //p are THOSE that were unSEEN to the world //
 L

We mentioned above that this example could easily be argued to have contrastive pitch. Following the line of argument we have been developing, we here see an item which is attitudinal in essence. The primary means of expression of a given attitude is deployed in 'worst' and it is that of negative affect of unhappiness. The lexical item 'worst' is not only attitudinal in itself, but also highly evaluative. That is, its emotional force is intensified in its being the superlative form of the adjective. Therefore, if we simply consider the lexical item in itself we would be able to say that it is explicitly attitudinal (i.e. inscribed attitude). Yet, even its already intensified character can still be further enhanced. The question is how, and the answer seems to lie at a different stratum, the phonological one. At the phonological level, there are several systems for exploitation, and it is the speaker's own desire or (trained) ability that is required. In political discourse, it is probably both of them. Let us briefly observe (59) above and imagine how different it would have been, had Obama uttered it in mid instead of high key. In either situation the evaluative item 'worst' would be presented as a selection from the general as well as the existential paradigm, this much because of its being prominent. However, the main difference we encounter is that the tone unit with high key brings with it the extra meaning of contrast. It thus means that if the situation simply requires that 'worst' be selective, it would be enough for it to be uttered in mid key. If the speaker chose to use high key, the situation would be redundant but tolerable. However, if the situation requires that 'worst' be both selective and contrastive and the speaker simply uttered it in mid key, essential information would be lost. Taken in context, the present example does seem to require

its being contrastive. Had Obama used mid key here, he would not have been able to fulfil his intention of contradicting an ongoing belief that these were not the worst images. That is, the double extra affectual value in 'worst' is gained on the one side because it is selective from the existential paradigm (due to its condition of prominence, see 4.2.4 above) and on the other because it has been uttered in high pitch. By switching from mid to high key, the sense selected becomes contrastive. As it was explained above, it becomes contrastive in two main forms: 1) because the speaker assumes the relevant contrast is between X and Y; and 2) because the one the speaker does not select is assumed to be the expected one. Consider now examples (60) and (61) below:

(60)
 H WE
 M //o were uNITed //p as ONE aMERican //
 L FAmily

(61)
 H ALso uNITed in our re
 M //p we were SOLVE //
 L

One important difference between (59) and (60)-(61) is that in (59) the attitude was explicitly inscribed in the lexical item 'worst'. Most of the attitudinal reaction in (59) above is deployed in one single lexical item: i.e. 'worst'. However, in both (60) and (61) the attitudinal response needs to be worked out from the entire utterance. Every single item contributes to the generation of an attitudinal feeling of positive judgement of capacity (for example (60)) and of tenacity (for (61)); that is, the US ability and resolution to take action. Such a positive judgement of social esteem does not come from one single item, but instead from the sequential chaining of the items involved. The initial 'we' in (60) includes a given number (and also type) of people. In this case, it includes every single American fellow citizen, as well as Obama and his administration; in a few words the entire nation. However, the second 'we' (e.g. (61)) is more doubtful. It becomes more difficult to distinguish here whether 'we' includes the entire nation, or just the Obama administration together with the military. By being selective, the 'we' in (60) together with 'united' (also prominent) and the fact they were 'one', 'one family', 'one American family' (all three prominent as well) projects the idea of social togetherness. Yet the second 'we' is not selective (i.e. non-prominent), a fact which implicitly suggests there is no need to 're-select' again the referent because it is taken for granted who the 'we' refers to. Nevertheless, it is quite unlikely that *all* American people were involved in what seemed

to be a military goal rather than a social one, namely the resolution ‘to protect the nation...’, ‘to bring to justice...’ and ‘to go to war...’ (for the whole contextualised example, see the complete paragraph in table (9) above).

A further aspect that is worth mentioning is the fact that, by being uttered in high key, the ‘we’ in (60) also gains contrastive effect, ‘we not X’. We would suggest that, actually, there is no need to make it prominent. However, had this item been non-prominent at all, the overall attitudinal effect would have been highly diminished. Its contrastive implication allows for greater social support, the audience feels identified in Obama’s inclusive ‘we’. Contrastive high key in ‘we’ projects a world in which ‘*we not X*’ helps Obama reinforce the positive feeling of their capacity to overcome difficulties.

Interestingly, the ‘we’ in (61) is non-prominent. One could rightly assert there is no need for selection, as there probably was not in (60). On the other hand, one can also assert that a more attitudinal affect could have been created by making it prominent and high pitched. However, we suggest an alternative explanation which seems more akin to Obama’s purposeful rhetoric. While (60) deploys positive judgements of capacity, (61) deploys positive judgements of tenacity. Both work together in the American lifestyle. However, while it seems clear enough who the tenacious people are, it would seem to be necessary to highlight the all-inclusive capability behind the ‘we’ in (60). Therefore, Obama feels the need to project a world in which ‘all American people were able to work together’ in (60) and consequently opted for a prominent ‘we’ uttered in high pitch. Conversely, the non-prominent ‘we’ in (61) serves a double function. It projects a world (not yet clear) of thinking as if ‘we already know who the ‘we’ are’, and in addition it allows for ‘also’ to gain its maximum contrast, both by being prominent and in high key. High key in ‘also’ reinforces the *contrary-to-expectation* local idea that once again they are resolute enough to deal with difficult situations.

4.4.4 A brief note on low pitch and evaluative language.

Low pitch can indicate low key or low termination. If it indicates low termination, it cancels further constraints and anticipates nothing. Low termination indicates the end of a macro unit which will be the subject of the following section. However, if low pitch indicates low key, its general meaning has been described as referring backwards to the previous tone unit in an equative manner; i.e. the tone unit containing low key equates to what was said before. We referred to this phenomenon in example (49) above.

Similarly, in (63) ‘destruction’ not only adds content to ‘heartbreak’ but it also reinforces it by being equative. ‘Heartbreak’ is already evaluative, it is negatively loaded and it has been premodified so that it gains extra evaluative force. Again, the tone unit ‘and destruction’ serves the purpose of further evaluating what was already presented as negative. By way of comparison, if Obama had uttered either (62) or (63) in mid key, he would have simply ‘added’ to what was said in the tone unit before. However, Brazil (1997) points out that low key, when compared with mid key, carries more information than mid key. In either mid or low key ‘capability’ and ‘destruction’ will be selective, but only in low key does the speaker realise a different intention and projects the additional information of its being equative. Notice that, as Brazil (1997) warns us, the equative value of low key is not potentially redundant in the same way as the contrastive value of high key is and “the ‘additional information’ it projects *has to have some kind of justification in the context of interaction*” (Brazil, 1997:64 emphasis mine). Obama reinforces evaluation by uttering “unnecessary” tone units in low key. What is equative here is the positive or negative evaluation carried by the items in low key, not their semantic meaning. We thus observe that what is unnecessary from one point of view, becomes absolutely necessary from another.

In the following section we will observe a unit of greater length than the tone unit described as the pitch sequence and the way pitch height contributes to appraised items.

4.4.5 The pitch sequence and evaluative language

Brazil identifies a macro unit he has named the pitch sequence. He states that sequences of tone units contract syntagmatic relations with each other in ways that speakers’ choices affect the communicative value of the whole sequence. Key and termination are the two variables that contribute to the formation of the pitch sequence and as Brazil et al. (1980) suggest there is a downward drift of pitch which is exploited by speakers as an organizing mechanism. It is not mechanically determined, but instead the result of a speaker’s choice. By definition the pitch sequence is “a stretch of speech which ends with low termination and has no occurrences of low termination within it” Brazil (1997:120).

Let us observe once more example (19) reprinted here as (64) and explore how the introductory paragraph of Obama’s speech has been organised. We will first observe its phonological organization into pitch sequences and later on explore how such an organization contributes to enhancing the attitudinal character of the message.

(64)

H		<u>NIGHT</u>	<u>PEOPLE</u>
M	//p good <u>EVENing</u> // r+ to	// r+ i can re <u>PORT</u> to the a <u>ME</u> Rican	// p AND
L			
H		<u>STATES</u>	<u>KILLED</u>
M	to the <u>WORLD</u> // o that the u <u>NIT</u> ed	//o has con <u>DUCT</u> ed an o <u>pe</u> Ration that	//
L			
H			
M	o o <u>S</u> Ama bin <u>L</u> Aden // p the <u>LE</u> Ader of al- <u>Q</u> A <u>E</u> da // o and a <u>T</u> ER <u>R</u> orist //o who's res <u>P</u> ON <u>s</u> ible //		
L			
H			
M	p for the M <u>UR</u> der of <u>THOU</u> sands // o of innocent <u>M</u> EN //o <u>W</u> OMen // p and		//
L		<u>CHIL</u> dren	

In (64) above there is one single pitch sequence marked by low termination in 'children'. We stated above that Obama could have simply reported 'that the United States have killed Osama Bin Laden' in his introduction and that would have been enough. Nonetheless, such a straightforward message would have been too simple indeed and most probably a quite unlikely possibility. Therefore, the addition of 'extra' information, especially while describing Bin Laden, becomes an essential descriptive, evaluative instrument to increase the attitudinal communicative value of the speech. Thus, if Brazil is right in his assertion and speakers exploit the pitch sequence as an organising mechanism, it is possible to observe how this phonological organization is communicatively significant in terms of the amount of information offered. Let us suppose that (64) above had been uttered as (65) below. Their most evident difference lies in there being two pitch sequences.

(65)

H		<u>NIGHT</u>	<u>PEOPLE</u>
M	//p good <u>EVENing</u> // r+ to	// r+ I can re <u>PORT</u> to the a <u>ME</u> Rican	// p AND
L			
H		<u>STATES</u>	
M	to the <u>WORLD</u> // o that the u <u>NIT</u> ed	//o has con <u>DUCT</u> ed an o <u>pe</u> Ration that <u>KILLED</u> //	
L			
H			
M	p o <u>S</u> Ama bin <u>L</u> Aden // p he was the <u>LE</u> Ader of al- <u>Q</u> A <u>E</u> da // o and a <u>T</u> ER <u>R</u> orist //o who's res <u>P</u> ON <u>s</u> ible//		
L			
H			
M	p for the M <u>UR</u> der of <u>THOU</u> sands // o of innocent <u>M</u> EN //o <u>W</u> OMen // p and		//
L		<u>CHIL</u> dren	

In line with Brazil's (1997) argument, in this version the two assertions are presented as discrete items to be apprehended in turn. While in (64) above, the assertion was presented as one single piece of information, in (65) the utterance presents two different, but closely related, bits of information. In (64) the assertion is presented as if the speaker wished the listener to react to one thing. In very simple terms, this would amount to considering the killing of Bin Laden. However, in (65) the reaction expected is

double. On the one hand the speaker presents ‘the killing of Bin Laden’ and on the other, he presents a characterization of Bin Laden as ‘a terrorist responsible for...’. This much amounts to saying that this pattern is to be expected as if these two pieces of information were unrelated assertions. We can clearly see that they are not, in any sense, unrelated. Perhaps we can state that by uttering the original version, Obama is purposely offering one major piece of information for the audience to react to; that is, listeners are expected to react to ‘*the killing of a terrorist responsible for...*’, as against reacting to ‘*the killing of Bin Laden*’ plus reacting to ‘*he was a terrorist responsible for...*’. Example (66) provides further evidence for the pitch sequence as a unit the hearer is expected to react to as a whole.

(66)

H		<u>KNOW</u>	<u>WORST</u> images	
M	//o and YET we	//o that the	//p are THOSE that were un <u>SEEN</u> to the world //	
L				
H			<u>CHIL</u> dren	
M	//o the EMPTy <u>SEAT</u> //o at the <u>DIN</u> ner table //o		//o who were FORCED to grow UP	
L				
H			<u>PAR</u> ents	
M	without their <u>MOT</u> Her //o or their <u>FAT</u> her //p		//o who would NEVer KNOW the <u>FEEL</u> ing //	
L				
H			THREE THOU <u>s</u> and	
M	o of their CHIL <u>D</u> ’s em <u>BRACE</u> //p nearly		<u>CIT</u> izens //p <u>TAK</u> en from us //	
L				
H				
M	p leaving a GAPing <u>HOLE</u> //p in our		//	
L			<u>HEARTS</u>	

In (66) above, we are presented with a sequence of tone units, which together contribute to a single pitch sequence. There is just one instance of low termination in ‘hearts’ which marks the end of the pitch sequence. Taken together, all tone units in (66) contribute to the formation of one macro processing unit. Brazil (1985) has recognised that in much monologue there is a marked tendency for the pitch sequence to be coterminous with the grammatical sentence. However, he puts forward, there is no deterministic relation between the two modes of organization. Brazil (1997) has discussed the way tone units could be related to grammatical units, as also the way pitch sequences are related to units at a different level, i.e. discourse and grammar. Taking the pitch sequence, he has pointed out the possibility in which (i) a sentence extends over more than one pitch sequence or (ii) a pitch sequence extends over more than one sentence. Basically, the main distinction between these two options is the amount of ‘reactions’ expected from the listener. For option (i), Brazil (1997) suggests there are two reactions expected from the listener: ‘considering’ and ‘answering’. For option (ii), he suggests that two (or more) sentences represent a single assertion for the listener to react to. Notice that the term ‘sentence’ here does not necessarily refer in a strict sense

to the grammatical sentence; Brazil (1997: 128) has pointed out that “sentence-like objects that constitute much spontaneous speech differ from the sentences the grammarian describes”. In (66) above, we can observe how sentences (or sentence-like objects) combine into one single declaration to be reacted to. That is, the listener is expected to react to it as a single unified assertion. In very simple terms, the listener is expected to react to the ‘worst images which were unseen to the world’.

Notice that nothing of what was said about (55) and (56) in terms of the rhetorical function of high termination to invite his hearer to adjudicate is cancelled by what we are saying now about the pitch sequence. Indeed, the idea behind the pitch sequence brings with it a further elaboration which complements the description so far. Taken separately, in (55) and (56) above, we suggested that the speaker purposefully manipulated intonational resources (i.e. high termination) to invite active consideration about ‘something’, which he knew beforehand needed endorsement. Considered all together, these two examples come to form one macro unit, a pitch sequence. We said above that the pitch sequence represents a single assertion for the listener to react to, and this is precisely the case. The speaker presents one main declaration in the pitch sequence, namely that of ‘the worst images unseen to the world’, whatever comes after it, is a further elaboration of these ‘worst images’. Strictly speaking, it does not add new content to the assertion; it rather specifies what is being declared. It seems to be the case that the semantic level matches the phonological one in what Brazil termed the pitch sequence. There is one main idea being developed here and it is expressed within (i.e. coextensive with) a whole unit which steadily progresses through a downward pitch, i.e. the pitch sequence.

Figure (22) below is intended to illustrate this steady progression of a lowering pitch. We here see an image of the pitch sequence belonging to the introductory paragraph of the speech. The dotted line illustrates the downward progression of pitch as the pitch sequence develops. The initial big dot on the left-hand side on the dotted line stands for the highest pitch level and the final big dot on the right-hand side on the dotted line stands for the lowest pitch level reached on a tonic syllable by the speaker.

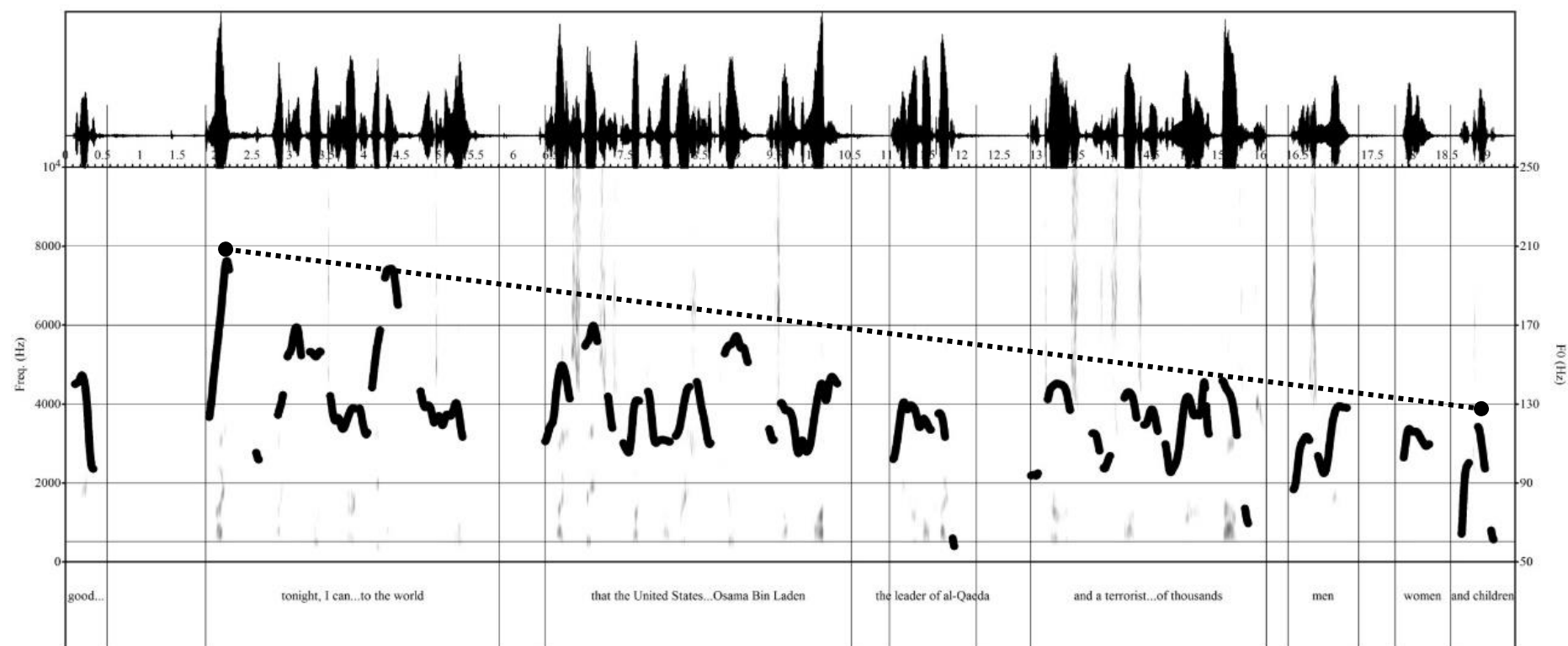


Figure (22): Waveform and F0 trace of paragraph 1 in Obama's speech, showing the downward drift of pitch as represented in one pitch sequence

We can observe that the highest pitch level occurs at the beginning of the pitch sequence (in ‘tonight’), while the lowest occurs at the end (in ‘children’).

Let us briefly observe what happens at the boundary of pitch sequences. Brazil et al (1980) explain that the initial key choice in a pitch sequence appears to be explainable in similar terms to the key choice which occurs within a tone unit; with the evident difference that the pitch sequence initial key choice marks the relationship of the whole pitch sequence to the preceding one. In the paragraphs that follow we will explore how pitch sequences relate and we will do it with special attention to high and mid key. In our data there is no evidence of a pitch sequence starting with low key.

Brazil (1997) proposes that the relationship between two pitch sequences in which the initial key for the second one begins at mid level should be regarded as additive. Consider (67) below:

(67)

H	LAST TEN
M	//p over the <u>YEARS</u> //p THANKS to the <u>TIRE</u> less//o and heROic work of our
L	
H	
M	<u>MIL</u> itary //p and our COUNterterrorism pro <u>FES</u> sionals //p we've MADE great STRIDES
L	
H	
M	in that // r+ we've disRUPTed TERRORist at <u>TACKS</u> // p and STRENGThened our
L	<u>EFF</u> ort
H	
M	HOMEland de //
L	<u>FENSE</u>

Here we observe that the initial key of the second pitch sequence (i.e. we've disrupted...) is mid and it marks the beginning of a sequence that goes beyond paraphrasing the first one. We here see that the second pitch sequence enlarges on the assertion made in the first one by specifying the actions undertaken by the US counterterrorism professionals; namely those of ‘*disrupting*’ and ‘*strengthening*’. Again, it should be noted that the additive relation holds between the two sequences; the whole of the second pitch sequences adds to the assertion made in the whole of the first one. A further example will make this point clear.

(68)

H	oSama bin <u>L</u> Aden
M	//o <u>YET</u> // r //p avoided <u>CAP</u> ture // r* and esCAPED across the Afghan
L	
H	
M	<u>BOR</u> der // p into // r+ <u>MEAN</u> while // o al-QAeda //o con <u>OP</u> erate //
L	<u>PA</u> kistan
H	
M	a <u>LONG</u> that border // o <u>AND</u> // p OPERate through its affILiates //p aCROSS the //
L	<u>WORLD</u>

In (68) above, the second pitch sequence adds to the assertion made on Bin Laden's escape by narrating how his organization continued its terrorist attacks across the world.

Compare now the additive value achieved by the use of sequence initial mid key with the value achieved by sequence initial high key. Brazil et al (1980) observe that "high key serves to mark the pitch sequence as distinct and separate from what has gone before, and thus it typically co-occurs with a change of topic" (Brazil et al, 1980:65). Consider (69) below.

(69)

H							
M	// o	NO	a <u>ME</u> Ricans	// p	were		// p they took <u>CARE</u> // r* to a <u>VOID</u> // p ci <u>VIL</u> ian <u>CAS</u> ualties //
L						<u>HARMed</u>	
H			<u>FIRE</u> fight				
M	// r+	A	fter a		// r+	they KILLED oSama bin <u>L</u> Aden // o and TOOK <u>CUS</u> tody // p of his	//
L							<u>BODy</u>
H		Over	TWO				
M	//p	for		<u>DEC</u> ades //o bin LAden has been al-QAeda's <u>LEA</u> Der // p and			//
L						<u>SYMB</u> ol	

The pitch sequence that is of interest to us in (69) above is the one starting '*for over two decades*'. In line with Brazil (1997), we here see a point of maximal disjunction marked off by the use of initial high key. Obama describes how American troops kill Bin Laden. Immediately after that, he proceeds to identify Bin Laden as Al-Qaeda's leader and symbol. Again, as stated above, the initial high key coincides with a marked change of topic, which is itself attitudinal in nature.

In line with Brazil et al's (1980) findings, we found no pitch sequence beginning in low key. As they state, this is perhaps because "there are not many points at which one simultaneously wants to end a chunk and begin something which is equivalent in some way.

4.5 Segmentation and evaluative language: a view from a grammar of speech

Even though Brazil has paid little attention to the question of the division of spoken utterances, we consider that tone unit boundaries need to be paid attention to. One of the strongest arguments we consider is the type of discourse we are dealing with. As already mentioned above, political discourse is manipulative at all levels and segmentation *is* a further feature within political discourse that is often manipulated. We strongly believe exploring the occurrence of a tone unit boundary could contribute to our

explanation of the persuasive and manipulative nature of spoken political discourse. We propose that what needs further exploration is not the location of the boundary; but instead the presence of the boundary and the purposes it may serve to persuade and manipulate others through oral discourse. We here see the question of segmentation as a tool which, if appropriately used, does have a significant influence on language processing.

Let us briefly review our proposal for a type of boundary which is tactical as described in section 2.3.2.1 above. We have already affirmed that in political speech, pausing is linguistically meaningful and purposefully motivated. We can provisionally define the pause as a period of silence characterized by the complete cessation of phonation. Therefore, the occurrence of a ‘tactical pause/boundary’ is an extra enhancing resource that is frequently exploited by politicians. We propose the existence of a sub-type of tone unit boundary that co-occurs with pause and that is doubly purposeful in political speech, a boundary with a ‘rhetorical function’. By definition our rhetorical boundary is tactical, purposeful and stands in opposition to any other type of boundary. On the one hand, it is a marker of the need to reselect afresh from the intonation systems (this is due to the function of the boundary in itself) and on the other, it is a sort of rhetorical device exploited by skilled orators to create a situationally-motivated progression of an indefinite number of increments.

4.5.1 Linearity and the production of telling increments: going from Initial State to Target State

Before moving on to the development of our proposal on the tactical boundary, we will briefly overview the main aspects presented in section 2.3.2 above with examples from Obama’s (2011) speech.

In section 4.2.4.1 above we suggested that some of our cited examples could have been said in one go; however, Obama decided to break the message in two or three segments (at times more). Why would the President decide to chunk the information in two, three, four, etc. bits when one would have been enough? There are surely several possible alternatives to answer the question. We here wish to propose a possible explanation bearing in mind how the message progresses in a linear grammar until the speaker satisfies his communicative needs. In such a progression, he manifestly selects from the available options in the system and, as we propose above, breaking the message into several bits does present a further resource for conveying and/or

reinforcing evaluation. Let us start by observing example (25) above reprinted here as (70) adapted as dialogue.

(70)

Speaker A: *We were united.*

Speaker B: *oh, good! (I see/really?/etc.)*

As it is, A's exchange amounts to telling something relevant to present informational needs. In a possible hypothetical situation, B is likely, among several other possibilities, to say 'oh, good! I see'. If such is the situation, it evidently satisfies conversational adequacy. However, in a different situation, as for instance (71) below:

(71)

We were united as one American family.

The exchange "we were united" no longer precipitates a state of adequacy here; evidently, it does not have pretensions to achieve conversational adequacy. It does constitute a telling, but a further progressive element is certainly needed before a state of adequacy is reached. Note that no information on intonation has been provided yet. We thus limit ourselves to observing the exchange almost entirely from a syntactic-semantic point of view.

Brazil (1995:42) poses the question "What are the conditions that a telling increment must satisfy, if it is to achieve the purpose for which it was produced?", for which he identifies two minimum criteria required for the constitution of a satisfactory telling exchange: syntactic requirements and intonational requirements.

In simple terms, the minimum syntactic requirements are, at least, a nominal (N) and a verbal (V) element. The minimum intonational requirement for a telling is the occurrence of, at least, a complete tone unit with a *p* tone. Provided these criteria are met, the telling exchange constitutes a *telling increment*. Table (16) displays the situations in which 'we were united' amounts to saying it is a telling exchange (A) or a telling increment with no pretensions of adequacy (B) and a telling increment precipitating a state of adequacy (C).

Description	Phonological realization
Telling exchange	A //r WE were uNITed // p as ONE aMERican FAMily //
Telling increment (no adequacy)	B //p WE were uNITed // p as ONE aMERican FAMily //
Telling increment (adequacy)	C //p WE were uNITed //

Table (16): Minimum requirements for “we were united” as a telling increment

In A above, the tone unit with an *r* tone does not present anything new to the hearer. It is part of the shared mutual understanding. The hearer is left waiting for some other proclaimed information for the message to be processed as complete, thus it is a telling. It is used language⁵ as well, but it is not a progressive increment. The use of rising tone will simply delay the completion of the telling increment. In B, it has been uttered with a *p* tone. The telling does represent a telling increment but it does not attempt to precipitate a state of adequacy by itself; that is, a further progressive telling is needed before a state of adequacy is reached. Adequacy is reached after the second tone unit is complete. In C, however, the state of adequacy is reached in ‘*united*’, as it fulfils the necessary syntactic and intonational requirements.

However, as Brazil (1995) explicitly asserts, “the exact requisites for an act of telling depend [...] upon the present communicative needs of the hearer – upon what [...] needs to be told”. He then goes on to state that “the apprehension of the particular need the speaker is seeking to satisfy determines how far it is necessary to go on adding word to word” (Brazil, 1995:42). If, for instance, we take the second tone unit ‘as one American family’, it will be evident that by itself it does not seem to constitute an increment. It adds, in the present conversational context, to what was said before. This additional telling would amount to information that satisfies the speaker’s communicative intentions in the here-and-now communicative context.

O’Grady (2010) has defined an increment as “a unit which tells something relevant to the speaker’s or the hearer’s present informational needs” (O’Grady, 2010:5). Therefore, the increment in A and B (table 12 above) ends when the speaker completes the second tone unit. The relevance that the second tone unit, though not progressive in itself, brings with it is the completion of the telling increment, the achievement of a new target state

⁵ As was defined on p. 22, used language means “language which has occurred under circumstances in which the speaker was known to be doing something more than demonstrate the way the system works” (Brazil, 1995:24).

4.5.2 Politics and the generation of telling increments: a view from speech as process

Obama's overall goal was to announce Bin Laden's death, of course not a natural death, but the US killing of him. He thus pronounces the following fragment transcribed below as example (72):

"Good evening. Tonight, I can report to the American people and to the world that the United States has conducted an operation that killed Osama Bin Laden, the leader of al-Qaeda, and a terrorist who's responsible for the murder of thousands of innocent men, women, and children" (Obama, 2011).

(72)

H		<u>NIGHT</u>		<u>PEOPLE</u>	
M	//p good <u>EVENING</u> // r+ to		// r+ i can re <u>PORT</u> to the a <u>ME</u> Rican		// p AND
L					
H		<u>STATES</u>		<u>KILLED</u>	
M	to the <u>WORLD</u> // o that the u <u>NIT</u> ed		//o has con <u>DUCT</u> ed an o <u>PE</u> Ration that		//
L					
H					
M	o o <u>S</u> Ama bin <u>L</u> A <u>D</u> en // p the <u>LE</u> Ader of al- <u>Q</u> A <u>E</u> da		//o and a <u>T</u> ERRorist //o who's res <u>P</u> ONsible //		
L					
H					
M	p for the M <u>UR</u> der of <u>TH</u> OU <u>S</u> ands // o of innocent <u>M</u> EN //o <u>W</u> OMen // p and				//
L				<u>CHIL</u> dren	///

Interestingly, two telling increments were enough to settle his main goal, Obama set out his main goal from the very outset of the announcement and he did it by producing two telling increments. Let us analyse each in turn. The dotted slant lines mark the end of each telling increment.

The first telling increment begins in 'good evening' and ends in 'the leader of al-Qaeda'. It takes a sequence of eight tone units to develop Obama's communicative needs, which in turn forms the basis for the following telling increment, which is further developed in six more tone units. From the beginning, we are able to observe that the minimum requirement (both syntactic and intonational) for the satisfaction of the increments were not enough.

Brazil (1995) states that used language necessarily begins with a nominal element (N) (We will use a simplified form of Brazil's (1995) notation system). However, from the very outset Obama delays the production of the N element required in the simple chain rules and begins his announcement by greeting 'his people' (n) first and by inserting the Adverb (a) element 'tonight' then. Just after this, the first initial N element 'I' is uttered. Brazil (1995) describes this momentary delay as an instance of *suspension*. Brazil (1987) states that an approach to a process grammar must allow for those

instances in which a speaker, while developing an increment, decides to break it off, suspending completion temporarily, but retains his/her original obligation. He explicitly asserts that “it is the defining feature of suspension that the commitment to complete [a telling increment] remains in force after the completion of the interpolated increment” (Brazil, 1987:154, information in square brackets added).

Thus, the interpolated **a** element ‘tonight’ in (73) below does not result in any Intermediate State; its function (in this case) is to suspend or delay the production of the first intermediate state; i.e. the **N** element ‘I’. Following on from this intermediate state, the speaker must decide between attaining target state via a verbal element (**V**) or producing a further intermediate state via (a sequence of) any of the elements of the chaining rules (**V**, **N**, **A**, etc. see figure (8) above in section 2.3.2). If the utterance precipitates target state, the speaker has produced a telling increment (see figure (9) above). However, if the utterance does not precipitate target state, the speaker produces another intermediate state and must further proceed in the accomplishment of the sequence of chain rules to attain target state. It is clear that in (73) below Obama evidently does not attain target state in his production of the **V** element, and he thus needs to progress in the realization of target state.

(73)

	Good evening. Tonight, I	can report
(	n	a) N → V
Init State	<suspended state>	Int State1 Int State 2...

The possibilities here are either to produce an element which in itself results in target state or, on the other hand, to produce an element which results in a further intermediate state. By its mere semantics, the process ‘report’ requires *‘the thing to be reported on’*. Thus, until the reported item is not mentioned the speaker will not be able to achieve state of adequacy. In other words, he has embarked on the achievement of target state, but will not reach it until he completes the increment. Before reporting on a given event, Obama decides to include *‘to whom he is reporting’*. We see such a temporary delay in the completion of an increment as an instance of suspension. Brazil has put forward that “the question of where the first useful increment ends is determined by whatever commitment the speaker is deemed to have entered into at the beginning” (Brazil. 1987:156). We thus here see Obama’s evident and purposeful delay in achieving his target state by temporarily suspending the completion of his telling increment.

(74)

Good evening. Tonight, I can report to the American people and to the world
 (n a) N > V > (n)
 Init State <suspended state> Int State1 Int State 2 < suspended state >

That 'to the American people and to the world' is an instance of suspension may implicitly (and erroneously) lead to the idea that it is not required by the transitivity of the process 'report'. We recognize that both 'the thing being reported' and the 'to whom something is reported' are options after the process 'report'. However, the production of 'the thing being reported' may result in target state on its own, while the 'to whom something is reported' cannot result in itself in target state. Brazil (1995) treats sequences as this one as examples of N reduplication; however, we see it as specific instances of purposeful speech, a speech which releases information strategically by combining the 'what' with the 'how' in a way which makes the message more effective. Therefore, we make explicit now our claim put forward above that Obama *purposely delayed his achieving target state by temporary suspending the completion of his telling increment*. We see such a strategy as closely connected to our proposed '*tactical boundary*' (see 4.5.3 below).

Obama could have said (75) below and reached target state. However, it is quite unlikely that (76) below will achieve target state in any way.

(75) I can report (to someone) the murder of Osama Bin Laden.

(76) I can report (to someone that) the United States.

Both (75) and (76) have an N element after the V. However, while in (76) the N '*the United States*' after the V element occurs in accordance with the NVN rules, it does not precipitate target state; instead, it initiates a further run through the rules (see (77) below). We here see that it is communicative deficiency that demands such a continuation. Therefore, the second predication '*has conducted...*', in (77) below, is required before an appropriate selection can be judged to have been made.

(77) I can report (to someone that) the United States has conducted an operation that killed Osama Bin Laden.

A further interesting observation is related to the occurrence of the post-nominal modification in (77) '*that killed Osama Bin Laden*'. Only in a limited range of situations

could (78) below be taken as an appropriate utterance achieving target state while (79) no doubt would meet communicative need at a wider range of situations. Again, it seems that (78) is deemed by the speaker to be communicatively deficient and thus in need of further specification, which will ultimately lead to target state.

(78) I can report (to someone that) the United States has conducted an operation.

(79) I can report (to someone that) the United States has conducted a survey.

Obama therefore goes on to produce (77) above, reprinted below as (80) with the additional reduplicated N element by which he finally achieves target state.

(80)	Good evening. Tonight, I	can	report	to the American
	(n a) N → V → V' (p/n+ →			
Init State	<suspended state>	Int State1	Int State 2	Int State 3 < suspended
<hr/>				
	people and to the world	that the United States has	conducted	
	c/n+) W N → V → V' → →			
state	> Int State 4	Int State 5	Int State 6	
<hr/>				
	an operation that	killed	Osama Bin Laden, the leader	of al-Qaeda
N+	N	V → N+ →	N+ P/N	#
Int State 7	Int State 8	Int State 9	Target State 10	Int State 11 Target State
<hr/>				

Interestingly, the occurrence of the “thing to be reported on” makes clear that there is an apparent need to reduplicate the nominal element *Osama Bin Laden*. Obama provides a gloss for something that is present in the background. In line with Brazil (1995) the speaker first introduces Osama Bin Laden as a feature that is well understood in the present situation, and then decides that such a reference may be deficient and consequently makes a further selection, *the leader of al-Qaeda*, as an extension of what went before, by which he reaches target state. The use of the second N element ‘*the leader of al-Qaeda*’ after ‘*Osama Bin Laden*’ arises from the speaker’s presumable considered deficiency of his utterance. It is the speaker alone who determines what is to be said and how it is to be said. Thus, as Brazil (1995) puts it, although we have no way to identify why a speaker does one thing instead of another, we could ask ourselves on what grounds is ‘*Osama Bin Laden*’ treated as deficient. One possibility is to suggest that the speaker’s assessment of the present situation is to assume that, as the audience needs to be reminded of who Osama Bin Laden is. Obama thus identifies him as ‘*the leader of al-Qaeda*’.

Once the first telling increment is complete, it serves as the initial state for the following one. We would be very tempted from the very outset to state that this second telling increment merely adds information to the previous one, that it extends those

meanings exposed in the first telling increment, and it certainly is true. But equally certain too is the fact that reporting '*the US killed Bin Laden*' is by no means the same as reporting '*the US killed Bin Laden, the leader of al-Qaeda and a terrorist who is responsible for the murder of thousands of innocent men, women and children*'. Thus, that it is an extra, additional use of information should by no means be interpreted as unnecessary; actually it is the very stuff of political discourse. Had Obama stopped short after the completion of the first telling increment, he would have been held (negatively) responsible for the killing, while by including the second increment he now becomes positively praised for the killing (of a terrorist). Example (81) represents the second telling increment.

- (81) and a terrorist who's responsible for the murder of thousands of innocent men, women and children.

Communicative deficiency requires Obama to further exploit the system and the addition of the further telling increment arises from his presumption that his audience needs to know who Bin Laden was. We here see in this further telling increment an instance of addition. There is a close relation between this increment and the preceding one, the first N element '*a terrorist*' adds to the meaning of '*Osama Bin Laden, the leader of al-Qaeda*' already introduced in the previous increment. At the same time, it begins a new run through the chaining rules which explicitly states Bin Laden's responsibility as the leader of a terrorist organization.

A linear description of this second increment would exhibit Obama's rhetorico-strategic purpose in adding it. Example (82) below proceeds by stating the initial (reduplicated) N element '*a terrorist*' followed by the required V element '*is*'.

- (82) And a terrorist who's responsible

This sequence requires a further element (either N, E or A) for its completion. The production of the E element '*responsible*' in the here-and-now context is certainly not enough to precipitate target state. As it is, it will illogically promote the positive idea that '*a terrorist is responsible*', which is undoubtedly out of Obama's mind. There is then a deficiency that requires an immediate production of a further element in the chain. Obama thus produces the post-adjectival modifier '*for the murder of thousands*'. Notice that while (83) would be taken as appropriate in a wide range of situations and would probably achieve target state, (84) would hardly achieve target state in the present circumstances.

(83) And a terrorist who's responsible for the attacks

(84) And a terrorist who's responsible for the murder...

Part of the suitability for achieving target state in (83) relies in '*attacks*' being considered sufficient to meet communicative need, while in (84) '*murder*' is deemed by the speaker to be communicatively deficient and thus in need of further elaboration. The post-nominal modification '*of thousands*' in (85) below could be taken as meeting communicative need.

(85) And a terrorist who's responsible for the murder of thousands

However, the speaker still presumes such post-modification is communicatively deficient and produces three further N elements which specify the reduplicated N element '*of thousands*', i.e. '*of innocent men, women and children*'. At this stage, Obama regards his utterance as a complete telling increment, (86) below illustrates the full analysis of the increment.

(86)

	and a terrorist who	's	responsible for the murder of thousands			
	& N+ N V E P/N+ P/N+					
Init State	Int State1	Int State2	Int State3	Int State4	Int State5	Int State6
<hr/>						
	of innocent men, women	and children				
	P/N+ P/N + & N #					
	Int State7	Int State8	Target State			

So far we have been able to illustrate in a fairly detailed way the manner by which a speaker proceeds from an initial state through intermediate states to target state by producing a series of tone units which will eventually form an increment. As it has been stated in figure (9) above, increments realize target state and enable the speaker to achieve sub-goals and move a step closer to the achievement of their overall goals. In the following section we will explore the role of the tactical boundary in the generation of increments and the use of evaluative language.

4.5.3 The tactical boundary, its function in both the gradual release of information and the addition of attitudinally evaluative information

We will proceed by reworking the above examples and observing them from their phonological stance. That is, we will explore the speaker's choices while segmenting his speech and include, where necessary, information related to the tone system.

The tactical boundary is a construct we propose as prototypical of pre-planned, already scripted, rehearsed discourses such as political discourse. One may argue that it may also be found in mass ceremony or rituals or other type of similar discourse situations; however, we would suggest that this type of boundary involves a subsidiary function in the communicative value expressed in the chaining of units in spoken political discourse. It frequently helps reinforce two main aspects in political speech: the gradual release of information and the expression of additional evaluative information to their utterances. Technically speaking this is additional in a semantically or syntactically non-essential sense; however, pragmatically speaking it is highly relevant and doubtlessly necessary. As it was observed above, additional information helps the speaker further characterise an object by, for instance, frequently ascribing evaluative attributes or sequences of invoked appraised items, among others. Within political discourse, this tactical boundary is typically found in those instances in which the message has been previously rehearsed. It is characteristic of monologues, or at least this situation ideally reinforces the use of the tactical boundary.

Speakers set their goals and proceed by producing a chain of tone units. This succession of tone units will eventually form an increment. The increment will include all the necessary number (no more no less) of tone units as conceived by the speaker. The concept of 'necessary number' is, of course, speaker-related and it bridges tone units and his/her ultimate communicative intentions. Let us examine example (87) below and see the way it has been segmented into tone units.

(87)	//p good	EVEning	// r+ to	NIGHT	// r+ i	can	report	to the aMERican	PEOple	// p AND
	(	n	a	)	N →	V	V'	→	(p/n+)	→
	Int State	<suspended state>	Int State1	Int State 2	Int State 3	<	suspended			c
	to the	WORLD	// o that the uNITed	STATES	//o has	conDUCTed an opeRation that	KILLED	//		
	p/n+	) →	W	N	V	V'	N+	N	V	
	state	>	Int State 4	Int State 5	Int State 6	Int State 7	Int State 8	Int State 9		
	o oSama bin	LAden	// p the LEAdEr of al-	QAEda	//					
	N+	N+	P/N	#						
	Int State 10	Int State 11	Target State							

While it is frequent that one (or several) grammatical units are included within the same tone unit, or the borders between tone units are frequently marked by grammatical

units of different rank, it is evident that there is no clear relation between the phonological organization into tone units and a grammatical structure. That is, we acknowledge the existence of grammatical units but do not conceive of them as naturally determining the division of spoken material. In line with Brazil et al, the relation between grammatical units and intonation units is “casual not causal” (1980:46, quoted from Bolinger, 1958). Instead, we suggest that the division of the message into tone units is best described as a break that is discursively motivated based on the speaker’s apprehension of the here-and-now situation. Besides, in discourses in which speakers are well aware of the power of their ‘speech acts’, such a motivation is, in addition, strategically manipulative and persuasive. Thus, we see a greater influence of discourse-pragmatic factors on the phonological organization of political speech than any influence the grammar may exert.

We said above that the presence of the tactical boundary helps reinforce both the gradual release of information and the addition of evaluative language. This is probably one main function characterised as a sequence of two sub-functions: the first one including the gradual release of information and the second one, embedded in the first, which has to do with adding a specific type of information, which is evaluative in nature. Political discourse makes strategic use of evaluative lexis to frequently colour their message and its most general function is associated with group polarization: ‘us’ vs. ‘them’.

Within the same phenomenon, we identify two types of boundaries. The longest silent boundaries (the longest being 2.03 seconds) in our data occur between the orthographic paragraphs of the speech. We measured all silent inter-paragraph boundaries and the average silent pause in inter-paragraph position is 1.41 seconds. We therefore observe, rather arbitrarily, that boundaries can be divided into those whose duration take less than 0.70 seconds and those which extend longer, at times to about 1.45 seconds. Those from the first group are on average within 0.30 seconds (those identified as ‘?’ are shorter than 0.15 seconds and are almost inaudible), while those from the second group are on average within 0.95 seconds. Though 0.70 is an arbitrary division point, we include boundaries which extend for 0.68 or 0.69 as belonging to the second group, not the first, since a difference of 0.01 or 0.02 seconds is imperceptible to the human ear.

We said above that the tactical boundary performs two main functions and it seems that there is a close relation between the type of tactical boundary we have just identified and the function it fulfils. For the sake of simplicity, we will keep the name ‘tactical boundary’ for those boundaries of the first group, the short ones; and we will

rename the boundaries from the second group, for which we propose the term ‘long tactical boundary’. The necessity to subdivide the tactical boundary lies in our interest to describe that device that politicians purposely employ to persuade or manipulate.

It seems that the boundaries from the first group, the short ones, are used to gradually introduce information (i.e. a gradual release of information). That is, their main function is to provide the listener with bits of information segmented in such a way as to create the required background against which to process the message. We discussed above in section 4.2.4.1 some examples which could have been said in one go, but were, instead, uttered in two or three (un)necessary bits. In examples (88) and (89) below, we can clearly observe that an inter-long boundary segment could have been said in just one go; however, Obama decided to split the message into two or three tone units, exploiting this tactical boundary to release what is a whole semantic block of evaluative information in two or three spoken bits. The use of the tactical boundary in examples as these ones illustrate the additive function we have described.

(88)

H			<u>MUR</u> derer	
M	// p	he was a MASS	// p	of MUSlims //...
L			0.09	0.77

(89)

H			<u>DEATH</u>		
M	// o	yet his	// o	does NOT <u>MARK</u> // p	the END of our <u>EF</u> fort //...
L			0.12	0.05	1.03

The segment formed between two consecutive long tactical boundaries we shall call an inter-long-boundary segment (see shaded segment in figure (23) below). From a total of 125 inter-long-boundary segments, 107 (85.6%) of them end in a tone unit with *p* tone. This finding allows us to propose a description of the function of the short boundaries (those located within each of the 125 inter-long-boundary segments) as used to gradually add information so that the whole chunk can be processed all together at the end of the inter-long boundary segment. Figure (23) will help clarify our exposition so far.

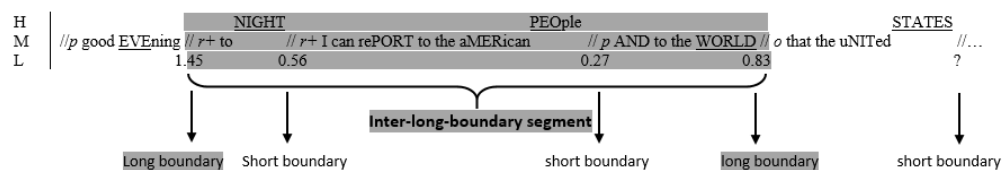


Figure (23): inter-long boundary segment

Two more examples will further illustrate our point regarding the tactical boundary. Again, example (90) below expresses a whole evaluative comment on the US's resolution to take action against terrorism. This idea could have been uttered in just one tone unit. Instead, it was uttered in four bits, which perform their step-by-step releasing function as best fit Obama's present communicative needs.

(90)

	H	WE	
M	// o	will be // p re	LENTless // p in de
L	1.29	0.04	0.25
			0.45
			0.89

Finally, in (91) below, we can appreciate a sequence of two inter-long boundary segments. The first one deploys positive feelings of affect concerned with ecosocial well-being (+ affect of security) and the second one deploys a positive attitude towards the US's behaviour (i.e. + judgement of propriety). Both these segments (which are separated by a long tactical boundary) could have been said in one go. Again, as in the examples above, the use of tactical boundaries reinforces Obama's desire to release information in bits as best fits his here-and-now communicative intentions.

(91)

H					
M	... // o NO a <u>ME</u> RICans // p were		// p they took <u>CARE</u> // r* to a <u>VOID</u> // p ciViLian <u>CAS</u> ualties //		
L	1.07	0.07	HARMed 0.82	0.08	0.13 0.91

The other group (the longer tactical boundaries) seems to be used when evaluative information is deemed to be required by the speaker to satisfy her/his communicative intentions. Very often, evaluative information is preceded by a tactical pause which lasts within a range of 0.70 to 1.30 seconds (0.95 seconds average). Arguably, this 'extra-timed paused' is required as a processing device which the speaker needs before engaging into a more delicate arena, that of evaluating either positively or negative a given situation or behaviour. Evaluative information is never wholly factual; it may be presented as such, but by its very nature, it is to a certain extent subjective and it seems this subjectivity requires a slower, careful processing delivery of information.

Example (87) above is reprinted below as (92) including the time duration of all boundaries. Time duration would probably be irrelevant in determining the boundary; however, there seems to be a correlation between the two different types of boundaries and the two functions mentioned above.

(92)

H			<u>NIGHT</u>		<u>PEOPLE</u>	
M	//p good <u>EVEning</u> // r+ to		// r+ I can rePORT to the aMERican		// p AND	
L	1.45	0.56		0.27		
H			<u>STATES</u>		<u>KILLED</u>	
M	to the <u>WORLD</u> // o that the uNITed		//o has conDUCTed an opeRAtion that		//	
L	0.83	0		0.22		
H						
M	o oSama bin <u>L</u> Aden // p the LEADER of al-QAEda // o and a <u>TERR</u> orist //o who's resPONsible //					
L	0.69	0.96	0.15	0.02		
H						
M	p for the MURder of <u>THOU</u> sands // o of innocent <u>MEN</u> //o <u>WO</u> men // p and //					
L		0.31	0.71	0.38	<u>CHIL</u> dren 1.6	

If we observe the first increment (with the exception of the first tone unit) we can see that the boundaries between ‘tonight’ and ‘I’ and between ‘people’ and ‘and’ are of the first type (i.e. a short one), which we have associated with gradual addition of bits of information. Then the boundary between ‘world’ and ‘that’ is of the second type (i.e. the long one). We have associated this type of boundary with the function of adding appraised items. The first instance of appraised lexis comes with the verb ‘kill’. We thus see the segment extending from ‘world’ to ‘Laden’ as the first instance of evaluative language.

Let us briefly analyse this first inter-long-boundary segment and observe how the two short boundaries are used to chain the whole evaluative chunk (i.e. the US killing of Osama Bin Laden). Interestingly, the mediation between this and the following segment ‘the leader of al-Qaeda’ is taken up by a long tactical boundary; apparently because the first one is deemed to be self-deficient and thus needs to be immediately followed by this second appraised group.

A similar pattern is found in the second increment. The transition from the first increment to the second is fulfilled by a long tactical boundary which introduces the highly evaluative group ‘and a terrorist’. This evaluative chunk goes from ‘and a terrorist’ to ‘men’. Again, this whole evaluative chunk characterises Osama Bin Laden as a terrorist and murderer. He is held responsible for the murder of ‘women and children’. Within the thousands of innocent people, the most touching ones are undoubtedly women and children, therefore the use of a long tactical boundary before this last chunk. The short boundary uniting ‘women’ with ‘children’ reinforces the emotive nature of the murder.

As it is, it might seem that the long tactical boundary is merely used to introduce evaluative language. It is not our intention to suggest only that. We have found examples in which the evaluative comment came *before* the long tactical boundary, in which case, it would suggest that the tactical pause *provides* the listener with some “extra” processing

time (see also example (96) below). In (93) below, Obama starts afresh his fifth orthographic paragraph by exalting their resolution to take action after the attacks, his positive judgement of social esteem comes from the sequential chaining of all five tone units involved joined by tactical boundaries, after which he produces a long tactical boundary. We here see that the evaluative chunk occurred before the long tactical boundary.

(93)

H		ALso uNITed in our re		<u>N</u> Ation		BRING	
M	//	p we were		SOLVE // o to proTECT our		//o and to	<u>THOSE</u> //
L	1.57		0.46		0.59		0.01
H							
M		o who comMITted this Vicious atTACK //	p to JUStice //				
L		0.50	1.16				

Example (94) below (whole first paragraph from Obama's speech) reinterprets example (92) above in a different manner. It is intended to easily demonstrate the articulation between short and long boundaries and the nature of the message expressed. The examples have been transcribed in normal orthography with no reference to pitch height or location of prominence, etc. since what is of interest here is the boundary and its length. In order to simplify the exposition, the orthographic paragraph has been divided into different lines bearing in mind the influence of the long tactical boundary marked with double slashes (time measures specified at the end in seconds). That is, each line ends in a long tactical boundary. The boundaries within each line are of the short type and have been marked with a single slash.

(94)

Orthographic Paragraph N°1

a- // Good evening // (1.45)

b- // Tonight / I can report to the American people / and to the world // (0.83)

c- // that the United States / has conducted an operation that killed / Osama Bin Laden // (0.69)

d- // the leader of al-Qaeda // (0.96)

e- // and a terrorist / who's responsible / for the murder of thousands / of innocent men // (0.71)

f- // women and children //

We have already suggested that the first tone unit serves a social purpose rather than any strategic political one. We thus offer no explanation regarding the long boundary after it; instead we will go directly into the subsequent lines (b-f). The procedure taken is

the following. Each line finishes in what we have term a long tactical boundary. Such a boundary introduces an idea, taken as a whole, which is somehow attitudinal in nature. Thus, if we proceed linearly, our claim on the functions of boundaries advanced above becomes relatively straightforward. Line 'b' above introduces the first positive evaluative comment: 'the killing of Osama Bin Laden' (for a discussion on how the process of killing becomes positively praised see section 4.2.3 above). This in turn, leads us to the following evaluative comment in 'd', that he is 'the leader of al-Qaeda' (see section 4.3.1 above). Line 'e' leads us to what is probably the most evaluative comment in this paragraph: 'Bin Laden's identification as terrorist and responsible for the murder of thousands of people'. Finally, we can observe a sub-classification within the murdered people (projected so as to be negatively judged by the listener) into what is deemed by the speaker to be judged as even more negatively loaded; that is, the murder of 'women and children'.

A further reinterpretation of the data provided by such a pattern is closely related to the 'us' vs. 'them' opposition suggested above. The evaluative nature of the appraised items, whether inscribed or invoked, runs on a cline from positive to negative. The distinction between inscribed and invoked evaluation is of little relevance in this section. There is no clear correlation between the tactical boundary and a given type of evaluation; however, we do observe a close relation between a long tactical boundary and the introduction of an attitudinal comment, whether positive or negative, whether inscribed or invoked. The boundary at the end of line 'b' in (94) above introduces what at first sight could have been considered a negative evaluation for the US. However, such an effect is immediately reversed by the attitudinal comments introduced after the boundaries in 'd' and 'e'. That is, 'the killing of Bin Laden' becomes positively praised after the addition of his being 'the leader of al-Qaeda', 'a terrorist' who is 'responsible for the murder of innocent people' which clearly reinforces the opposition.

Some further examples will help clarify our suggestion. Take, for instance, example (95) below taken from the second paragraph of the original speech (for a more detailed elaboration on the influence of invoked attitude see section 4.2.3 especially table (8)).

(95)

Orthographic Paragraph N°2

a- // It was nearly ten years ago // (0.80)

b- // that a bright September day / was darkened / by the worst attack / on the American people in our history // (1.24)

c- // The images of 9-11 / are seared / into our national memory // (0.97)

d- // hijacked planes / cutting through / a cloudless / September sky // (0.85)

e- // the twin towers / collapsing to the ground // (1.07)

f- // black smoke / billowing up from the Pentagon // (1.04)

As it was observed above in example (94), we here see a similar organization which deploys long tactical pauses to elaborate attitudinal comments. After the long tactical pause in 'a', there is a highly dramatic attitudinal assertion: 'the darkening of 9-11 due to the worst attack ever'. After 'b', the relatively expected elaboration of the attack is explicitly stated as the 'searing images left'. Following on from 'c', Obama presents these searing images as separate episodes, each serving the purpose of evaluating Bin Laden's negative behaviour. Let us observe the following example:

(96)

//And yet we know/ that the worst images/ are those that were unseen to the world// (1.26)

There is clearly an attitudinal message implied here. The hearer is left thinking about which those worst images are. Immediately following this line, Obama proceeds to elaborate on the images and he does so in such a way that he deploys each image between the limits of long tactical boundaries. Example (97) comes immediately after (96) above and it illustrates our point:

(97)

// The empty seat / at the dinner table // (0.99)

This is probably one of the most shocking images left after the attacks. The use of figurative language makes it sound even more dreadful. The important point to highlight here is that both (96) and (97) include within their boundaries an idea that is fully attitudinal in nature and that these two ideas are separated by what we have termed a long tactical boundary. In addition, two extra examples will further reinforce our claim here. They both come immediately after (97).

(98)

// Children / who were forced to grow up without their mother / or their father // (1.27)

(99)

// Parents / who would never know the feeling / of their child's embrace // (1.47)

As it is clear from their reading, both these examples further elaborate the idea presented in (97) above about the dreadful image portrayed in 'the empty seat at the dinner table'. The empty seat above equally means both a child's seat and a parent's one. Each seat will project a woeful family member on the other side. Each of these projections has been presented individually within the limits of what has been termed a long tactical boundary.

We can conclude this section by highlighting the main feature addressed here: the use of a tactical boundary with strategic manipulative and persuasive purposes. We have identified two sub-types of tactical boundaries, each fulfilling a different purpose: on the one hand, a short tactical boundary whose main function is associated with a gradual release of information; on the other, a long tactical boundary which is correlated with the addition of evaluative information. Both these boundaries contribute to the communicative value the speaker wishes to project: the widely discussed opposition between 'us' and 'them'.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

The final chapter of the thesis provides a summary of the main points researched, discusses some of the limitations of the thesis and offers a prospective view regarding some further aspects that were not dealt with. The first section summarises the main findings regarding those meanings produced by combining the different prosodic features available to the speaker and the use of evaluative language (largely discussed in chapter 4) to produce a more persuasive and manipulative speech. It also refers to some more general conclusions that can be deduced from complementing Brazil's social-interactive proposal together with House's more cognitive one, and other consequences reached by the complementation of the two theoretical proposals employed in the thesis (i.e. Discourse Intonation and Appraisal Theory) as tools to do discourse analysis from a perspective yet unexplored. The second section discusses some of the limitations of the work, especially methodological and theoretical ones, and suggests some further implications for future work.

The thesis proceeded on the assumption that political discourse is a persuasive and manipulative form of action. It also assumed that politicians tactically manipulate language to fulfil their communicative intentions. Our main hypotheses pointed in this direction by stating that spoken political discourse makes strategic use of prosodic features to persuade and manipulate its audience. The five prosodic features analysed were the system of prominence, the system of tone, the system of key, the system of termination and segmentation. All of them were analysed in relation to evaluative language to observe how they contributed to the formation of a more effective manipulative and persuasive speech. A brief summary of each of them is offered below.

5.1 The systems of intonation and evaluation: main findings

The system of prominence was observed to have a close relation to the use of evaluative language, especially when the appraised items were inscribed. We found out that there is a strong connection between inscribed appraised items and their phonological statuses as prominent elements, whether tonic or non-tonic. The Discourse Intonation model allowed us to describe this relation in terms of speaker's decisions, or more technically 'selections', which they exploit to fulfil those meanings that are more appropriate to their communicative goals. Several examples were discussed in relation to this aspect, such as the selection of the attitudinal adjective 'worst', the verbs 'seared', the noun 'attacks', etc. Prominence is used to make an item selective, absence of

prominence makes it non-selective. Making evaluative items non-selective is as manipulative as making them selective. Our best example in this regard is the epithet 'heroic' to show a context of understanding in which there were no American citizens who were not heroic. The first and last prominent element delimit the tonic segment, which the speaker uses to project a given context of interaction; such a context is thus speaker-related and relevant in the here-and-now communicative process. Examples showing how relevant a given selected tonic segment is were discussed in relation to their being modified to play down evaluative items deemed to be necessary in the context of interaction.

Though the relation between prominence and invoked attitudinal lexical items was not as straightforward as with inscribed items, we were able to observe that prominence was functional to the speaker's communicative intentions. Ideational tokens were used to extend the prosodies of affect and judgement already specified by inscribed lexical items. They serve the purpose of extending these prosodies in opposite senses, though. When referring to the US, they move towards the positive end of affect (especially towards happiness and satisfaction) and judgement (especially capacity and tenacity). However, while referring to al-Qaeda, they move towards the negative end of affect (especially insecurity) and judgement (veracity and propriety). We observed that prominence also helps reinforce a repeated intonational organization in examples which exhibited parallel Theme-Rheme structures. All in all, we can say that our hypothesis (a) regarding prominence is confirmed, though we could add that it is more stable when information is inscribed rather than invoked.

The system of tone is used by speakers to project information as part (or not) of their shared worlds of understanding. That is, by using the *r* tone the speaker projects the information contained in a tone unit as belonging to the common ground and by using the *p* tone, a speaker indicates that the area of common ground will be enlarged. An extended discussion was offered regarding the content 'Bin Laden' and all other possible manifestations of it as to its status as part (or not) of the common ground. The implication of the functions of both tones was that Osama Bin Laden was expected to be intoned mostly with *r* tones since he was already part of the conversation. However, we here observed that the *p/r* opposition, as presented in the DI model, does not properly apply to the description of political discourse. Of the 17 mentions of the content Bin Laden, 13 (76%) were pronounced with *o* tone, 2 with *p* and 2 with *r*. Such a finding led us to propose that Obama's speech was strategically manipulative in terms of its orientation. A speaker oriented towards a putative hearer (direct orientation) exploits the *p/r* opposition based on the state of convergence with him/her. Conversely, a speaker may

orient him/herself towards the language exchange (Oblique orientation) without any regard to the context of interaction. Under this last mode, the speaker has no grounds for making choices in the *p/r* system. We propose that in his speech President Obama strategically manipulated his orientation so that his reading sounded as minimally involved, uninterested or even emotionless. That is, while the distribution of tones shows that Obama's orientation is oblique, situational discourse conditions show he cannot be detached from his context-specific hearer. We thus propose an artificial orientation which served Obama the purpose of *sounding* as if he were giving the news, with no involvement at all. We then complemented Brazil's (1997) proposal of common ground with House's (1990) proposal of background and foreground information and were able to analyse instances of language located as part of the background against which foreground information would be processed. One interesting example we examined was the case of the initial paragraph of the speech for which we suggested that the relevant information containing contextual effects was the 'killing of Bin Laden'; however, this information was presented as background against which to calculate he was 'the leader of al-Qaeda' and a 'murderer of thousands'. This description informs us about the speaker's decision on a given elaboration of his message. Obama knew beforehand that the real piece of news in his speech was the official announcement about 'the killing' of Osama Bin Laden, while the rest of the announcement did not include new information, not at least in a strict real sense. Most people knew who Bin Laden was and what he had done.

Further examples were explored in which we observed which appraised items were in the background and which ones were in the foreground. We found out that there is no clear relation between information presented in the background or foreground and a given type of attitude. We pointed out that information in the background is not open to discussion while information in the foreground is. In general terms, we observed that Obama brings to the background negative affectual evaluation of insecurity which he purposely uses to create the necessary searing background against which to process the impact of the 'images of 9/11'. Therefore, once this affectual background is created, the impact of the images in the foreground can be processed as doubly affectual. Obama presents two sets of images. The fact that the first group of images is presented in the foreground and the second group of images in the background is related to their being (or not) directly accessed through the media. Thus, while the arguments for the first set of images, which are self-evident in the media, form part of the foreground (which is open to discussion), those for the second set of images, which depend on a more sympathetic hearer, are relegated to the background, and thus not open to discussion. That is, in the

second set of images Obama effectively generates the necessary emotive background that will provoke in his audience the required emotional state to sanction al-Qaeda's behaviour negatively, and thus justify Bin Laden's killing. Two main aspects related to our initial hypothesis (b) deserve our attention: the first one is related to the speaker's state of convergence with his audience and the second with his choices regarding which information to produce in the background and which one in the foreground. Bearing in mind the first point, we can conclude that Obama took an artificial orientation which allowed him to manipulate his stance towards his audience. With regard to the second point, though we did not observe a clear pattern of organization between evaluative language and background or foreground, we were able to describe the strategic use of certain information in the background to doubly elicit the affectual response of the information in the foreground. Though not in the strict sense stated in our hypothesis, the system of tone is persuasive and manipulative.

We pointed out before that within the system of key, high key is probably the one that best contributes to expanding the meaning potential of appraised lexis. Brazil (1997) has recognised three significant pitch heights for key: high, mid and low. For a given item to be in high, mid or low pitch, it must be prominent first. We observed above that inscribed attitudinal lexis is further enhanced in its attitudinal force simply because it is shifted from mid to high pitch. In mid pitch, a given item is additive; however, in high key the item is contrastive. With regard to this last point, we observed that making an evaluative item high in pitch gains the additional meaning of 'X not Y'. That is, it gains a contrast not yet assented to by the hearer: the item in high key goes against any presumed expectation. We saw some examples regarding high key in which we discussed the effects it brought to items like 'three thousand' in (58) or 'worst' in (59). We discussed the use of high key in those situations in which contrast was required and stated that if the situation did not require a given contrast and high key was used, the message would be redundant but tolerable. However, if the situation did require contrast and the speaker did not produce high key, essential information would be lost. We thus propose that the phonological stratum plays a significant role even in the affectual response already deployed by the lexico-grammar. This much is related to inscribed lexical items. In examples (60) and (61) we discussed the effect of high key in lexical items which were not in themselves attitudinal in nature. As before, high key helps create a more attitudinal message and the special case discussed here is the pronoun 'we' deploying positive judgement of capacity. The effect has been described as 'we not X' including the entire American society in their pursuit of social togetherness and of mutual support. The use of low key on a given tone unit indicates that it has an equative meaning

to what preceded it. Our discussion regarding the equative meaning of low key demonstrates that attitudinal meanings in a given tone unit are reinforced by the addition of a further tone unit in low key. That is, we observed that the equative meaning expressed by the use of low key did not only reinforce the semantic content of what went before, but also its evaluative meaning. In examples (62) and (63) we observed that both 'capability' and 'and destruction' contribute to the reinforcement of the attitudinal message presented in the tone unit immediately before. We said above that this is precisely the type of extra gains that offer tautological but effective information to evaluative language when uttered in low key.

As in key, in the system of termination there are three significant contrasts: high, mid and low. Brazil (1997) explains that in selecting mid termination the speaker anticipates an expected endorsement while in selecting high termination the speaker invites an act of adjudication. For the former, the expected act of endorsement is viewed as a manifestation of passivity by the listener: he is expected to concur; while for the latter, the act of adjudication is conceived of as an independent activity, a manifestation of active verbal intervention. We analysed and discussed examples in which Obama invited adjudication on a given idea which he knew beforehand was not open to discussion and required endorsement (see example (56) for instance). We suggested that this strategic use of high termination is typical of politicians' rhetoric and is frequently comparable to the use of rhetorical questions.

In addition, we observed that termination played a significant role in the organization of the message into larger processing units defined by Brazil (1997) as the 'pitch sequence'. Brazil et al point out that "the downward drift of pitch is in fact exploited as an organising mechanism" (1980:61). We were able to describe the use of this mechanism as manipulated by Obama to increase the attitudinal communicative value of his speech (see examples (64) and (65)). In Obama's uttering his initial paragraph as one single pitch sequence, he is offering his audience one single assertion to react to, a single unified assertion which announces the 'killing of a terrorist responsible for the murder of thousands'. In relation to hypothesis (c), we can confirm that pitch height does have a clear relation with evaluative language, with special reference to the use of high and low key. The use of low termination is also manipulative as to its function in the generation of the pitch sequence as an organising mechanism which guides the hearer in the processing of information.

Finally, we proposed a description of what we termed the 'tactical boundary'. The segmentation of spoken language has frequently been problematic. We therefore

propose a discussion, not on the location of the boundary, but rather on its function with regard to evaluative language. Consequently, we developed the idea of a tactical boundary as an extra enhancing resource exploited by politicians which helps reinforce two main aspects in political speech: the gradual release of information and the addition of evaluative information. We identified two subtypes of tactical boundaries: the tactical boundary proper, which measured less than 0.70 seconds and the long tactical boundary whose length ranged between 0.70 and 1.4 seconds. The use of the tactical boundary reflects the speaker's intention to break his message into several, frequently unnecessary, tone units. However unnecessary they may seem, they do present a required function from a more pragmatic standpoint. We observed that Obama frequently made use of this tactical boundary to segment what could have been said in one single tone unit by gradually releasing bits of information so that the whole chunk could be processed altogether at the end of what we called the inter-long boundary segment (see examples (88-90)). In addition, the long tactical boundary was used when evaluative information was deemed to be required by the speaker to satisfy his communicative intentions. We pointed out above that there is no clear correlation between the boundaries identified and a given type of evaluation; however, we did identify a close relation between the long tactical boundary and the introduction of an attitudinal comment, whether positive or negative, inscribed or invoked. Bearing in mind hypothesis (d) we are able to state that the selection of a boundary is often manipulative and persuasive in political discourse. The use of short boundaries frequently help segment the message into bits which, chained together, form the required context against which to process a more attitudinal comment; the connection between the chain of bits and the evaluative comment is taken up by a long tactical boundary.

5.2 Some methodological and theoretical limitations of the present work and further implications for future work

We are fully aware that the present results are not to be interpreted as general behaviour of political discourse. This is a case study and our results showed us a given set of correlations between the phonological features researched and the use of evaluative language in Obama's announcement on the death of Bin Laden. We are well aware now that further research needs to be done; especially some more comprehensive research which includes a larger number of sample data to be analysed. Another area which needs further development in our work is the one related to statistical analysis. A more detailed statistical analysis would render both more stable results and a more general and reliable discussion. Take, for instance, the case of our tactical pause. Had

we proceeded in a more statistical manner, we could have observed the boundaries in a more principled way, or we would have been able to determine the difference between a short and long boundary in a more reliable manner, rather than our arbitrary decision about it. Furthermore, we were not able to specify further correlations that may be of great interest. Some of these are expressed in the form of question below:

- Most inter-long-pause segments end in *p* tone. In what ways is tone related to the evaluative comments delimited by long boundaries?
- Similarly, all pitch sequences end in *p* tone; thus, what is the general meaning of the *p* tone as used to close the pitch sequence?

Other related questions are:

- Is there any relation between the pitch sequence and telling increments?
- Is the pitch sequence and/or the telling increment related to our inter-long-boundary segment?
- How do sentences generally relate to pitch sequences in this (and other political) speech(es)?

These and probably many other related questions need further exploration. Our work was intended to research the two unexplored areas of Phonology and Appraisal in one speech; undoubtedly there is much more research to do. Probably the best contribution this thesis can offer is its creative descriptive-analytical insight which allows readers to observe discourse interaction from a different point of view, namely that of analysing the oral realization of evaluative language in political discourse.

At this point, it is probably worth quoting van Dijk (1997c) as he argues about the structure and strategies of political text and talk itself. He poses the question

“whether there are any structures of text or talk that are exclusively or prototypically ‘political’ in the sense that they appear primarily in political discourse, and precisely signal or constitute the political nature of such discourse. [...] Most, if not all, discourse structures may have many functions, in many different contexts and in many different genres. [...] we can hardly expect that structures that have so many functions could be reserved only for political genres and contexts”. (van Dijk, 1997c:24)

We may conclude that resources and prosodic features used in political discourse are the same as those used in everyday language or any other genre; however, what distinguishes them as used in political discourse is that they are employed to manipulate and persuade the audience for the benefit of political leaders. As van Dijk (1997c) states

“the specifics of political discourse analysis therefore should be searched for in the relation between discourse structure and political context structure”

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APPENDIX A

Obama's Transcript

“The death of bin Laden marks the most significant achievement to date in our nation’s effort to defeat al-Qaeda.”



Barack Obama stands after addressing the nation on TV from the East Room of the White House. Photograph: Getty Images.

[1] Good evening. Tonight, I can report to the American people and to the world that the United States has conducted an operation that killed Osama Bin Laden, the leader of al-Qaeda, and a terrorist who's responsible for the murder of thousands of innocent men, women, and children.

[2] It was nearly ten years ago that a bright September day was darkened by the worst attack on the American people in our history. The images of 9/11 are seared into our national memory – hijacked planes cutting through a cloudless September sky; the twin towers collapsing to the ground; black smoke billowing up from the Pentagon; the wreckage of Flight 93 in Shanksville, Pennsylvania, where the actions of heroic citizens saved even more heartbreak and destruction.

[3] And yet we know that the worst images are those that were unseen to the world. The empty seat at the dinner table. Children who were forced to grow up without their mother or their father. Parents who would never know the feeling of their child's embrace. Nearly 3,000 citizens taken from us, leaving a gaping hole in our hearts.

[4] On September 11 2001, in our time of grief, the American people came together. We offered our neighbors a hand, and we offered the wounded our blood. We reaffirmed our ties to each other, and our love of community and country. On that day, no matter where we came from, what God we prayed to, or what race or ethnicity we were, we were united as one American family.

[5] We were also united in our resolve to protect our nation and to bring those who committed this vicious attack to justice. We quickly learned that the 9/11 attacks were carried out by al-Qaeda – an organisation headed by Osama Bin Laden, which had openly declared war on the United States and was committed to killing innocents in our country and around the globe. And so we went to war against al-Qaeda to protect our citizens, our friends, and our allies.

[6] Over the last 10 years, thanks to the tireless and heroic work of our military and our counterterrorism professionals, we've made great strides in that effort. We've disrupted terrorist attacks and strengthened our homeland defense. In Afghanistan, we removed the Taliban government, which had given Bin Laden and al-Qaeda safe haven and support. And around the globe, we worked with our friends and allies to capture or kill scores of al-Qaeda terrorists, including several who were a part of the 9/11 plot.

[7] Yet Osama Bin Laden avoided capture and escaped across the Afghan border into Pakistan. Meanwhile, al-Qaeda continued to operate from along that border and operate through its affiliates across the world.

[8] And so shortly after taking office, I directed Leon Panetta, the director of the CIA, to make the killing or capture of Bin Laden the top priority of our war against al-Qaeda, even as we continued our broader efforts to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat his network.

[9] Then, last August, after years of painstaking work by our intelligence community, I was briefed on a possible lead to Bin Laden. It was far from certain, and it took many months to run this thread to ground. I met repeatedly with my national security team as we developed more information about the possibility that we had located Bin Laden hiding within a compound deep inside of Pakistan. And finally, last week, I determined that we had enough intelligence to take action, and authorised an operation to get Osama Bin Laden and bring him to justice.

[10] Today, at my direction, the United States launched a targeted operation against that compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan. A small team of Americans carried out the operation with extraordinary courage and capability. No Americans were harmed. They took care to avoid civilian casualties. After a firefight, they killed Osama Bin Laden and took custody of his body.

[11] For over two decades, Bin Laden has been al-Qaeda's leader and symbol, and has continued to plot attacks against our country and our friends and allies. The death of Bin Laden marks the most significant achievement to date in our nation's effort to defeat al-Qaeda.

[12] Yet his death does not mark the end of our effort. There's no doubt that al-Qaeda will continue to pursue attacks against us. We must – and we will – remain vigilant at home and abroad.

[13] As we do, we must also reaffirm that the United States is not – and never will be – at war with Islam. I've made clear, just as President Bush did shortly after 9/11, that our war is not against Islam. Bin Laden was not a Muslim leader; he was a mass murderer of Muslims. Indeed, al-Qaeda has slaughtered scores of Muslims in many countries, including our own. So his demise should be welcomed by all who believe in peace and human dignity.

[14] Over the years, I've repeatedly made clear that we would take action within Pakistan if we knew where Bin Laden was. That is what we've done. But it's important to note that our counterterrorism cooperation with Pakistan helped lead us to Bin Laden and the compound where he was hiding. Indeed, Bin Laden had declared war against Pakistan as well, and ordered attacks against the Pakistani people.

[15] Tonight, I called President Zardari, and my team has also spoken with their Pakistani counterparts. They agree that this is a good and historic day for both of our nations. And going forward, it is essential that Pakistan continue to join us in the fight against al-Qaeda and its affiliates.

[16] The American people did not choose this fight. It came to our shores, and started with the senseless slaughter of our citizens. After nearly ten years of service, struggle, and sacrifice, we know well the costs of war. These efforts weigh on me every time I, as Commander-in-Chief, have to sign a letter to a family that has lost a loved one, or look into the eyes of a service member who's been gravely wounded.

[17] So Americans understand the costs of war. Yet as a country, we will never tolerate our security being threatened, nor stand idly by when our people have been killed. We will be relentless in defense of our citizens and our friends and allies. We will be true to the values that make us who we are. And on nights like this one, we can say to those families who have lost loved ones to al-Qaeda's terror: Justice has been done.

[18] Tonight, we give thanks to the countless intelligence and counterterrorism professionals who've worked tirelessly to achieve this outcome. The American people do not see their work, nor know their names. But tonight, they feel the satisfaction of their work and the result of their pursuit of justice.

[19] We give thanks for the men who carried out this operation, for they exemplify the professionalism, patriotism, and unparalleled courage of those who serve our country.

And they are part of a generation that has borne the heaviest share of the burden since that September day.

[20] Finally, let me say to the families who lost loved ones on 9/11 that we have never forgotten your loss, nor wavered in our commitment to see that we do whatever it takes to prevent another attack on our shores.

[21] And tonight, let us think back to the sense of unity that prevailed on 9/11. I know that it has, at times, frayed. Yet today's achievement is a testament to the greatness of our country and the determination of the American people.

[22] The cause of securing our country is not complete. But tonight, we are once again reminded that America can do whatever we set our mind to. That is the story of our history, whether it's the pursuit of prosperity for our people, or the struggle for equality for all our citizens; our commitment to stand up for our values abroad, and our sacrifices to make the world a safer place.

[23] Let us remember that we can do these things not just because of wealth or power, but because of who we are: one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

[24] Thank you. May God bless you. And may God bless the United States of America

APPENDIX B

Obama's speech phonological transcription.

Paragraph 1

H		<u>NIGHT</u>		<u>PEOPLE</u>
M	//p good <u>EVEning</u> // r+ to	// r+ I can rePORT to the aMERican	// p AND	
L	1.45	0.56	0.27	
H		<u>STATES</u>		<u>KILLED</u>
M	to the <u>WORLD</u> // o that the uNITed	//o has conDUCTed an oPeRation that	//	
L	0.83	?		0.22
H				
M	o oSama bin <u>LAden</u> // p the LEAdEr of al- <u>QAE</u> da // o and a <u>TERR</u> orist //o who's resPONsible //			
L	0.69	0.96	?	?
H				
M	p for the MURder of <u>THOU</u> sands // o of innocent <u>MEN</u> //o <u>WO</u> men // p and //			
L	0.31	0.71	0.38	<u>CHIL</u> dren

Paragraph 2:

H		<u>NEARly</u> TEN		
M	//p it was	<u>YEARS</u> ago//o that a BRIGHT sep <u>TEM</u> ber day // o was <u>DARK</u> ened		
L		0.80	?	?
H		<u>WORST</u> at		
M	//o by the	<u>TACK</u> // p on the aMERican PEOPle in our	// o the Images of NINE	
L		0.15	<u>HIS</u> tory 1.24	
H		<u>SEAR</u> ed		<u>PLANE</u> s
M	e <u>LE</u> ven // o are	//p into our NAtional	//p HIjacked	//o CUTting
L	?	0.27	<u>MEM</u> ory 0.97	?
H			<u>TWIN</u>	
M	<u>THROUGH</u> // o a <u>CLOUD</u> less // o sep <u>TEM</u> ber <u>SKY</u> // p the	<u>TOW</u> ers //p collAPsIng to		
L	0.23	0.45	0.85	?
H		<u>SMOKE</u>		
M	the	// p BLACK	//p BILlowing up from the <u>PEN</u> tagon // p the WRECKage of	
L	<u>GROUND</u> 1.07	0.18		1.04
H				
M	FLIGHT ninety <u>THREE</u> //o in <u>SHANKS</u> ville //p PENNsyl	// o where the ACtions of		
L	0.34	0.15	<u>VAnia</u> 0.52	
H		<u>CIT</u> izens saved		
M	heroic	// p Even MORE <u>HEART</u> break //p and de	//	
L	0.80	0.18	<u>STRU</u> ction	

Paragraph 3:

H		<u>KNOW</u>	<u>WORST</u> images	
M	//o and YET we	//o that the	//p are THOSE that were un <u>SEEN</u> to the	
L		?	?	
H			<u>CHIL</u> dren	
M	world // o the EMPTy <u>SEAT</u> //o at the <u>DIN</u> ner table //o	//o who were FORCED to grow		
L	1.26	0.18	0.99	?
H			<u>PAR</u> ents	
M	UP without their <u>MOT</u> Her //o or their <u>FA</u> ther // p	//o who would NEVer KNOW the		
L	0.34	1.27	?	

H		THREE THOUsand	
M	<u>FEEL</u> ing //o of their CHILD's em <u>BRACE</u> // p nearly	<u>CIT</u> izens //	
L	?	1.47	0.43
H			
M	p <u>TAK</u> en from us // p leaving a GAPing <u>HOLE</u> //p in our	//	
L	0.72	0.19	<u>HEARTS</u>

Paragraph 4

H	TEMber e		
M	//o on sep <u>LE</u> venth //p two THOUsand and //p in our TIME of <u>GRIEF</u> //p the		
L	?	<u>ONE</u> 1.0	0.68
H	PEOPLE came to	Offered our NEIGHbors a	
M	american	<u>GETH</u> er //p we	<u>HAND</u> //
L		1.13	0.18
H		REaf	
M	p and we OFFered the WOUNDED our	//o we <u>FIRM</u> ed//p our TIES to each <u>OTH</u> er//	
L		<u>BLOOD</u> 1.11	? 1.06
H	<u>MU</u> nity	THAT	
M	o and our LOVE of com	//p and <u>COUN</u> try//o on	<u>DAY</u> //p no matter WHERE we
L	0.69	1.23	0.17
H			
M	<u>CAME</u> from // p what GOD we <u>PRAYED</u> to //o or what RACE or ethNICity we <u>WERE</u> //		
L	0.69	0.70	0.70
H	WE		
M	o were uNITed //p as ONE aMERican	//	
L	0.33	<u>FAM</u> ily	

Paragraph 5:

H	ALso uNITed in our re	<u>NA</u> tion	BRING
M	//p we were	<u>SOLVE</u> // o to proTECT our	//o and to
L		0.46	0.56
H		QUICKly	
M	<u>THOSE</u> // o who comMITted this Vicious at <u>TACK</u> //p to JUSTice // o we	<u>LEARNED</u> //	
L	?	0.45	1.16 ?
H		<u>QA</u> eda	ORganiSATion
M	o that the NINE eleven at <u>TACKS</u> // p were CARried out by al-	//o an	
L	?	0.70	
H	<u>HEAD</u> ed by	Openly deCLARED	
M	//o oSama bin <u>LA</u> den which //o had	<u>WAR</u> //r+ ON the united	
L	?	0.30	?
H	<u>STATES</u>	MITted	KILLing <u>IN</u> nocents
M	//r+ and was com	//o to	//o in our
L	?	?	?
H	around the	WENT to	
M	<u>GLOBE</u> // o and so we	<u>WAR</u> //p a <u>GAINST</u> al-qaeda //	
L	0.99	?	0.84
H	<u>CIT</u> izens		
M	o to proTECT our	//o our <u>FRIENDS</u> // p and our	//
L	0.48	0.65	<u>ALL</u> ies

Paragraph 6

H	LAST TEN		
M	//p over the	<u>YEARS</u> //p THANKS to the <u>TIRE</u> less//o and heROic work of our	
L		0.47	?
H			
M	<u>MIL</u> itary //p and our COUNterterrorism pro <u>FES</u> sionals //p we've MADE great STRIDES		
L	0.53		0.63
H			
M	in that	// r+ we've disRUPTed TERrorist at <u>TACKS</u> // p and STRENGTHened our	
L	<u>EFF</u> ort 1.10		?
H		<u>GHAN</u> istan	<u>MOVED</u>
M	HOMELand de	//r+ in af	//p+ we re // r+ the TALiban <u>GOV</u> ernment //
L	<u>FENSE</u> 0.87	?	?
H			<u>PORT</u>
M	o which had GIVen bin <u>L</u> Aden //o and al- <u>QA</u> eda // p safe HAVen and sup //		
L		?	1.03
H	aROUND the <u>GLOBE</u>	WORKED	
M	o and	// o we	with our FRIENDS and <u>AL</u> lies //p to CAPture
L		?	?
H	<u>SCORES</u>		
M	or KILL	//o of al-QAEda <u>TER</u> rorists //r including SEVeral who were a <u>PART</u> //	
L		?	0.50 0.50
H			
M	p of the NINE eleven	//	
L		<u>PLOT</u>	

Paragraph 7

H	oSama bin <u>L</u> Aden		
M	//o <u>YET</u> // r	//p avoided <u>CAP</u> ture // r* ⁶ and esCAPED across the AFghan	
L	0.42	0.59	
H			TINued to
M	<u>BOR</u> der // p into	// r+ <u>MEAN</u> while // o al- <u>QA</u> eda //o con	<u>OP</u> erate //
L	0.17	<u>PAK</u> istan 1.19	? ? ?
H	a <u>LONG</u> that border		
M	p from	// o <u>AND</u> // p <u>OP</u> erate through its affILiates //p aCROSS the //	
L		? 0.90	0.25 <u>WORLD</u>

Paragraph 8

H	SHORTly after		
M	//p and so	taking <u>OF</u> fice//r i diRECTed leon pa <u>NET</u> ta//p the diRECTor of the Ci //	
L		0.55	0.55 <u>A</u>
H	MAKE the <u>KILL</u> ing		
M	o to	//r+ or <u>CAP</u> ture //o of bin <u>L</u> Aden //o the TOP priORity of our <u>WAR</u> //	
L	0.67	? ?	?
H	a <u>GAINST</u> al-qaeda	<u>BROAD</u> er efforts	
M	p	//r even as we conTINued our	//o to dis <u>RUPT</u> //
L		0.80	0.27 0.29
H			
M	o dis <u>MAN</u> tle // p and de <u>FEAT</u> //p his	//	
L		0.47 ?	<u>NET</u> work

⁶ We have used the symbol r^* to represent “the ‘arrested fall’ or ‘fall to mid level’, which functions as and may be considered a phonetic variant of the fall-rise” (House, 1990:50)

Paragraph 9

H	<u>THEN</u>	<u>YEARS</u>		
M	// r+ // p LAST <u>August</u> // p after // o of PAINStaking <u>WORK</u> // p by our			
L	0.46	0.54	0.17	?
H			<u>LEAD</u> to Bin Laden	
M	inTELligence com <u>M</u> unity // o I was <u>BRIEF</u> ed // p on a POSSible // p it was			
L		0.72	0.13	1.17
H	<u>CER</u> tain			
M	FAR from // o and it took MANy <u>MONTHS</u> // p to RUN this THREAD to <u>GROUND</u> //			
L	0.73		?	1.11
H		<u>CUR</u> ity team		
M	r i met rePEATEDly with my NATIONAL se // r* as we ... deVELOped more			
L			?	
H			LOCated	
M	infor <u>M</u> ation // o about the POSSi <u>BIL</u> ity // o that we had bin <u>L</u> aden // r* HIDing within			
L	?	?	0.40	
H				
M	a <u>COM</u> pound // p DEEP inside // r and FInally // p LAST <u>WEEK</u> // r+ i deTERmined			
L	0.43	<u>PA</u> kistan 1.23	0.34	0.59
H				
M	that we had e <u>NOUGH</u> // o inTELligence // p to TAKE <u>AC</u> tion //			
L	0.19	?	0.71	
H	AUthorised an Ope			
M	o and <u>RA</u> tion // r to <u>GET</u> osama bin laden // p and //			
L	?	0.53	BRING him to <u>JUST</u> ice	

Paragraph 10

H	<u>DAY</u>			
M	// r+ to // p at my di <u>RE</u> ction // r+ the uNITED states <u>LAUNCHED</u> // o a TARgeted			
L	0.54	0.69		?
H		GAINST that		
M	Ope <u>RA</u> tion // r a <u>COM</u> pound // o in ab <u>BOT</u> tabad // p // r+ a SMALL			
L	?	0.40	0.40	<u>PA</u> kistan 1.02
H			TRAORdinary	
M	TEAM of a <u>MER</u> icans // o CARried out the Ope <u>RA</u> tion with // o ex <u>COUR</u> age //			
L	?	?		0.29
H				
M	p and CApa // o NO a <u>MER</u> icans // p were // p they took <u>CARE</u> //			
L	<u>BIL</u> ity 1.01	?	<u>HARM</u> ed 0.74	?
H		<u>FIRE</u> fight		
M	r* to a <u>VOID</u> // p ciVILian <u>CAS</u> ualties // r+ AFTer a // r+ they KILLED oSama bin			
L	0.11	0.92	0.52	
H				
M	<u>L</u> aden // o and TOOK <u>CUS</u> tody // p of his //			
L	0.45	0.25	<u>BOD</u> y	

Paragraph 11

H	Over TWO			
M	//p for <u>DEC</u> ades //o bin LAden has been al-QAeda's <u>LEAD</u> er // p and //			
L		0.25	?	<u>SYM</u> bol 0.79

H	TINued to		
M	o and has con	PLOT atTACKS //o aGAINST our COUNtry//p and our FRIENDS and	
L		?	?
H			NIFicant aCHIEVEment to
M	// o the DEATH of bin LAden //o marks the most sig		DATE //
L	ALLies 1.02	0.21	0.25
H		FEAT al-qaeda	
M	o in our NAtion's EFFort // p to de	//	
L		?	

Paragraph 12

H	DEATH		
M	// o yet his	//o does NOT MARK //p the END of our EFFort //r+ there's no DOUBT //	
L		?	1.17 ?
H		SUE attacks GAINST us MUST	
M	r* that al-QAeda will contINUE to pur	// p a //r+ we //	
L		?	0.98 0.66
H	WILL VIGilant		
M	p and we // r remain //p at HOME and //		
L	0.59	0.34	aBROAD

Paragraph 13

H		NOT	
M	// p AS we DO // o we must ALso reafFIRM // r+ that the uNITed states is // r and NEver		
L	0.52	?	0.32
H	WILL be		
M	// p at WAR with isLAM // p I've made CLEAR // p just as PREsident BUSH // p did		
L	?	1.23	0.45 0.31
H			
M	SHORTly after nine eLEVen // o that our WAR is not against isLAM // p bin LAden was not a		
L		0.69	0.28
H		MURderer	
M	MUSlim LEADer // p he was a MASS	// p of MUSlims // o inDEED al-QAeda	
L	0.90	?	0.77
H	SCORES		
M	has SLAUGHtered // r of MUSlims in many COUNtries // p inCLUDing our OWN //		
L	?	0.27	1.06
H	deMISE	ALL who believe in PEACE	
M	o so his // o should be WELcomed // o by //		
L	?	?	0.46
H			
M	p and HUman //		
L	DIGNity		

Paragraph 14

H		Action withIN	
M	//r+ over the YEARS //p i've REPEATEDly made CLEAR //r* that we would take		
L	?	0.42	
H			
M	pakistan // p if we KNEW where bin laden WAS // p THAT is what we've DONE // r+ but it's		
L	0.36	0.97	1.04

H	PORTant to	WITH pakistan	
M	im	NOTE // o that our COUNterterrorism coopeRation	//
L		?	0.24
H	LEAD us to bin laden		
M	p helped	// o AND the COMpound // p where he was HIDing //	
L		?	1.01
H			
M	o inDEED bin LAden //o had deCLARE WAR // p aGAINST PAKistan as WELL //		
L		?	0.70
H	Ordered at		
M	o and	TAKS // p aGAINST the PAKistani //	
L		?	PEOple

Paragraph 15

H	NIGHT	DARI	TEAM has
M	//r+ to	//r+ i CALLED president zar	//p and my ALso SPOKEn with their//
L	0.37	0.32	0.30
H			GOOD and hisTORic
M	p PAKistani COUNterparts // p they aGREE //o that this is a		DAY //
L	0.91	0.33	?
H			SENtial
M	p for BOTH of our nations // r and going FORward //p it is es		// r+ that PAKistan
L	0.69	0.45	?
H			
M	conTINue // o to JOIN us in the FIGHT against al-QAeda //p and its affILiates //		
L	0.45	0.47	

Paragraph 16

H	the aMERican PEOple		
M	//p	did not CHOSE this fight //o it CAME // p to our SHORES //	
L		1.24	0.22 0.83
H			NEARly TEN
M	o and STARTed with the SENSEless //o SLAUGHTer //p of our CITizens // o after		
L		?	0.26 1.07
H			
M	YEARS //o of SERvice //o STRUGgle //p and SACrifice //r we know WELL // p the COSTS of		
L	?	0.39 0.49 0.78	0.35
H			
M	// o these efforts WEIGHT on me every TIME i // r* as comMANDer-in-CHIEF //		
L	WAR 1.36	0.42	?
H			
M	o have to SIGN a letter to a FAMily // p that has lost a LOVED one //		
L		?	0.96
H	LOOK into the eyes of a SERvice member		
M	p or	//p who's been GRAVELy WOUNDED //	
L		0.79	

Paragraph 17

H	aMERicans	COUNtry	
M	// o so	// p underSTAND the COSTS of	// o YET // o as a //
L	0.25	WAR 1.35 0.23	?

H	WE				
M	r+ will never <u>TOLerate</u> // p our seCUrity being <u>THREATened</u> // o nor STAND idly <u>BY</u> //				
L	?			0.71	
H		<u>WE</u>			
M	p when our PEOPle have been <u>KILLED</u> // o will be // p re <u>LENT</u> less // p in deFENSE of our				
L		1.23	?	0.31	
H			<u>TRUE</u>		
M	<u>CIT</u> izens // p AND our friends and <u>AL</u> lies // p WE will be // p to the VALues that MAKE				
L	0.41	0.87	0.28		
H					
M	us who we // r+ and on <u>NIGHTS</u> // p like <u>THIS</u> one // o we can <u>SAY</u> // o to those <u>FAM</u> ilies //				
L	<u>ARE</u> 1.33	?	0.59	?	?
H					
M	o who have LOST <u>LOVED</u> ones // r+ to al-QAeda's <u>TER</u> ror // r* <u>JUS</u> tice // p has been //				
L		0.26	0.95	0.22	<u>DONE</u>

Paragraph 18

H	<u>NIGHT</u>				
M	//r+ to //o we give <u>THANKS</u> //o to the <u>COUN</u> tless //o in <u>TEL</u> ligence //o and				
L	?	?	?	?	
H					
M	COUNterrorism pro <u>FES</u> sionals // r* who've worked <u>TIRE</u> lessly // p to a <u>CHIEVE</u> this				
L		?	0.35		
H	aMERican				
M	outcome // o the <u>PEOP</u> le // o do not SEE their <u>WORK</u> // p NOR know their //				
L	1.20	0.48	0.57	<u>NAMES</u>	
H	<u>NIGHT</u> <u>THEY</u>				
M	o but to // r* <u>FEEL</u> // p the SATisFACtion of their // r* and the re <u>SULT</u> //				
L	0.91	0.28	?	<u>WORK</u> 0.81	0.24
H					
M	p of their pur //				
L	<u>SUIT</u> of justice				

Paragraph 19

H	<u>THANKS</u>				
M	// o we give // p for the MEN who carried OUT this op <u>ER</u> ation // r* for <u>THEY</u>				
L	0.31		0.38		
H	<u>PAT</u> riotism UNparalleled <u>COUR</u> age				
M	exEMplify the pro <u>FES</u> sionalism // r* // r* and // p of <u>THOSE</u>				
L	0.49	?	?		
H					
M	who SERVE our // p and they are PART of a <u>GENe</u> Ration // o that has <u>BORNE</u> //				
L	<u>COUN</u> try 1.07		0.26	?	
H					
M	r* the HEAViest SHARE of the <u>BUR</u> den // p since THAT september //				
L	?		<u>DAY</u>		

Paragraph 20

H	SAY to the				
M	//o <u>F</u> inally //o let me <u>FAM</u> ilies // p who lost <u>LOVED</u> ones on nine e //				
L	0.41	?		<u>LEV</u> en 1.18	

H	WE have <u>NE</u> ver			<u>W</u> Avered	
M	<i>o</i> that	// <i>p</i> forGOTten your	// <i>o</i> nor	// <i>o</i> in our comMITment to	
L		?	<u>LOSS</u> 0.84	?	
H	WE				
M	<u>SEE</u> // <i>o</i> that	<u>DO</u> // <i>o</i> whatEVer it <u>TAKES</u> // <i>o</i> to preVENT// <i>p</i> another atTACK on our		//	
L	?	?	0.30	0.18	<u>SHORES</u>

Paragraph 21

H	LET us			<u>U</u> nity	
M	// <i>r</i> + and to <u>NIGHT</u> // <i>o</i>	think <u>BACK</u> // <i>p</i> to the SENSE of		// <i>p</i> that preVAILED on nine	
L	1.07	?		0.28	
H	<u>KNOW</u> that			DAY'S a <u>CHIEVE</u> ment	
M	// <i>o</i> i	// <i>o</i> it <u>HAS</u> // <i>o</i> at <u>TIMES</u> // <i>p</i> <u>FRAY</u> ed // <i>o</i> yet to		//	
L	e <u>LEVEN</u> 1.27	0.50	?	?	1.10
H	is a <u>TE</u> stament			deTERmi	
M	<i>o</i>	// <i>p</i> to the GREATness of our	// <i>o</i> and the	<u>N</u> ation //	
L	0.33	<u>COUN</u> try 0.70		?	
H					
M	<i>p</i> of the aMErican <u>PE</u> ople //				
L					

Paragraph 22

H	CAUSE of seCURing our		comPLETE but	<u>NIGHT</u>	
M	// <i>o</i> the	<u>COUN</u> try // <i>p</i> is not	// <i>r</i> + to	//	
L		0.32	0.81	?	
H	ONCE again re	MErica can		EVER we set our	
M	<i>o</i> we are	<u>MIND</u> ed // <i>o</i> that a	<u>DO</u> // <i>p</i> what	<u>MIND</u> to //	
L		?	?		1.37
H	STORY of our			<u>PE</u> ople	
M	<i>p</i> that is the	<u>HIS</u> tory // <i>o</i> whether it's the purSUIT of proSPERity for our		//	
L		1.05			0.68
H					
M	<i>o</i> or the STRUGgle for eQUALity for all our <u>CIT</u> izens // <i>o</i> our comMITment to STAND up for				
L			0.88		
H					
M	our VALues a <u>BROAD</u> // <i>p</i> and our <u>SAC</u> rifices // <i>o</i> to MAKE the <u>WORLD</u> // <i>p</i> a SAFER			//	
L	0.79	?		0.51	<u>PLACE</u>

Paragraph 23

H	LET us re	WE can		NOT just beCAUSE of	
M	// <i>o</i>	<u>MEM</u> ber // <i>o</i> that	<u>DO</u> these things // <i>o</i>	<u>WEALTH</u> //	
L		?	?	?	
H					
M	<i>o</i> or <u>POW</u> er // <i>p</i> but beCAUSE of WHO we	// <i>p</i> one <u>N</u> ation // <i>o</i> under <u>GOD</u> // <i>p</i> indiVISible //			
L	0.86	<u>ARE</u> 1.21	0.84	0.90	0.68
H					
M	<i>o</i> with <u>LIB</u> erty // <i>p</i> and <u>JUS</u> tice // <i>p</i> for			//	
L	0.48	0.20	<u>ALL</u>		

Paragraph 24

H			
M	//o <u>THANK</u> you //o may god <u>BLESS</u> you //o and MAY god <u>BLESS</u> //p the uNITed states		
L	0.73	0.73	0.19

H		
M	of a //	
L	<u>ME</u> rica	

APPENDIX C

Fox's Bill O'Reilly Obama interview. Transcript.

By [Lynn Sweet](#) on September 4, 2008 10:45 PM | [87 Comments](#)

MR. O'REILLY: Thanks for staying with us. I'm Bill O'Reilly. In the Impact Segment tonight, our first conversation with Senator Barack Obama. It's been a long time coming, as you know, but this afternoon, I met with the senator in York, Pennsylvania. Now, we're going to play you the first part of the interview right now, and the rest of it which is fairly extensive and provocative will be seen next Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

Roll the tape.

(Begin videotaped interview.)

Well, first of all, thanks for being a man of your word.

SEN. OBAMA: You bet.

MR. O'REILLY: But I was worried there for a while.

SEN. OBAMA: (Laughs.)

MR. O'REILLY: It's been nine months since we last met in New Hampshire.

SEN. OBAMA: It took a little while. I've had a few things to do in between.

MR. O'REILLY: I understand.

SEN. OBAMA: Yeah. But I appreciate you having me on the show.

MR. O'REILLY: Okay. Let's start with national security. Do you believe we're in the middle of a war on terror?

SEN. OBAMA: Absolutely.

MR. O'REILLY: Who is the enemy?

SEN. OBAMA: Al Qaeda, the Taliban, a whole host of networks that are bent on attacking America, who have a distorted ideology, who have perverted the faith of Islam. So we have to go after them.

MR. O'REILLY: Is Iran part of that component?

SEN. OBAMA: Iran is a major threat. Now, I don't think that there is the same—they are not part of the same network. You know, you got Shi'a and you got Sunni. We gotta have the ability to distinguish between these groups because, for example, the war in Iraq is a good example where I believe the administration lumped together Saddam Hussein, a terrible guy, with al Qaeda which had nothing to do with Saddam Hussein.

MR. O'REILLY: All right. We'll get to that in a minute.

SEN. OBAMA: And as a consequence, we ended up, I think, misdirecting our resources. So they're all part of various terrorist networks that we have to shut down and we have to destroy. But they may not all be part and parcel of the same ideology.

MR. O'REILLY: But I still don't understand—and I'm asking this as an American as well as a journalist—how threatening you feel Iran is. See, look, if Iran gets a nuclear weapon, okay, to me, they're going to give it to Hezbollah if they can develop the technology. Why not? And so we don't have anything to do with it. So therefore, the next president of the United States is going to have to make a decision about Iran,

whether to stop them militarily. Because I don't believe—if diplomacy works, fine. But you've got to have a plan b. And a lot of people are saying, look, Barack Obama's not going to attack Iran.

SEN. OBAMA: Here's where you and I agree. It is unacceptable for Iran to possess a nuclear weapon. It would be a game changer, and I've said that repeatedly. I've also said I would never take a military option off the table.

MR. O'REILLY: But would you prepare for one?

SEN. OBAMA: Well, listen—

MR. O'REILLY: Answer the question, Senator. Anybody can say options. Would you prepare for it?

SEN. OBAMA: Look, it is not appropriate for somebody, who is one of two people who could be the president of the United States, to start tipping their hand in terms of what their plans might be with respect to Iran. It's sufficient to say I would not take the military option off the table and that I will never hesitate to use our military force in order to protect the homeland and United States interests.

But where I disagree with you is the notion that we've exhausted every other resource. Because the fact of the matter is that for six, seven years during this administration, we weren't working as closely as we needed to with the Europeans to create—

MR. O'REILLY: Diplomacy might work. You might be able to strangle them economically.

SEN. OBAMA: Sanctions, maybe.

MR. O'REILLY: Maybe. But that's just all hypothetical.

SEN. OBAMA: Well, everything is hypothetical. But the question is, are we trying to do what we need to do to ratchet up the pressure on them to change their—

MR. O'REILLY: Okay. We'll assume that you're going to ratchet everything you can ratchet.

SEN. OBAMA: Right.

MR. O'REILLY: But I'm going to assume that Iran's going to say, "blank" you, we're going to do what we want. And I want a president, whether it's you or McCain, who says, you ain't doing that.

All right, let's go to Iraq. I think history will show it's the wrong battlefield, okay. And I think that you were perspicacious in your original assessment of the battlefield.

SEN. OBAMA: I appreciate that.

MR. O'REILLY: I think you were desperately wrong on the surge. And I think you should admit it to the nation that now we have defeated the terrorists in Iraq. And the al Qaeda came there after we invaded, as you know. Okay, we've defeated them. If we didn't, they would have used it as a staging ground.

We've also inhibited Iran from controlling the southern part of Iraq by the surge which you did not support. So why won't you say, I was right in the beginning, I was wrong about that?

SEN. OBAMA: You know, if you've listened to what I've said, and I'll repeat it right here on this show, I think that there's no doubt that the violence is down. I believe that that is a testimony to the troops that were sent and General Petraeus and Ambassador

Crocker. I think that the surge has succeeded in ways that nobody anticipated, by the way, including President Bush and the other supporters.

It has gone very well, partly because of the Anbar situation and the Sunni—

MR. O'REILLY: The awakening, right.

SEN. OBAMA: -- awakening, partly because the Shi'a—

MR. O'REILLY: But if it were up to you, there wouldn't have been a surge.

SEN. OBAMA: Well, look—

MR. O'REILLY: No, no, no, no.

SEN. OBAMA: No, no, no, no, no, no, no.

MR. O'REILLY: If it were up to you, there wouldn't have been a surge.

SEN. OBAMA: No, no, no, no. Hold on.

MR. O'REILLY: You and Joe Biden—no surge.

SEN. OBAMA: No. Hold on a second, Bill. If you look at the debate that was taking place, we had gone through five years of mismanagement of this war that I thought was disastrous. And the president wanted to double-down and continue on open-ended policy that did not create the kinds of pressure in the Iraqis to take responsibility and reconcile—

MR. O'REILLY: It worked. Come on.

SEN. OBAMA: Bill, what I've said is—I've already said it succeeded beyond our wildest dreams.

MR. O'REILLY: Right! So why can't you just say, I was right in the beginning, and I was wrong about the surge?

SEN. OBAMA: Because there is an underlying problem with what we've done. We have reduced the violence—

MR. O'REILLY: Yeah?

SEN. OBAMA: -- but the Iraqis still haven't taken a responsibility. And we still don't have the kind of political reconciliation. We are still spending, Bill, 10 (billion dollars) to \$12 billion a month.

MR. O'REILLY: And I hope if you're president, you can get them to kick in and pay us back.

SEN. OBAMA: They've got \$79 billion in (New York ?)!

MR. O'REILLY: And I'll go with you!

SEN. OBAMA: Let's go!

MR. O'REILLY: We'll get some of that money back.

SEN. OBAMA: (Laughs.)

MR. O'REILLY: All right. Let's go to Afghanistan. Look, there's no winning the Taliban war unless Pakistan cracks down on the guys that are in Pakistan.

SEN. OBAMA: You and I agree completely.

MR. O'REILLY: Okay, yeah, we all know that.

SEN. OBAMA: Right.

MR. O'REILLY: You gave a speech in Denver—good speech, by the way—

SEN. OBAMA: Thank you.

MR. O'REILLY: -- but you bloviated about McCain not following him to the cave. You're not going to invade Pakistan, Senator, if you're president. You're not going to send ground troops in there. You know it.

SEN. OBAMA: Here's the problem. John McCain loves to say, I would follow him to the gates of hell.

MR. O'REILLY: Well, he's not going to invade, either.

SEN. OBAMA: The point is, what we could have done is—

MR. O'REILLY: Not "could." Let's stay now.

SEN. OBAMA: What we can do—

MR. O'REILLY: Yeah.

SEN. OBAMA: -- is stay focused on Afghanistan and put more pressure on the Pakistanis.

MR. O'REILLY: Like what?

SEN. OBAMA: Well, for example, we are providing them military aid without having enough strings attached. So they're using the military aid that we use—

MR. O'REILLY: For nothing!

SEN. OBAMA: -- to Pakistan, they're preparing for war against India.

MR. O'REILLY: So you're going to pull out and let the Islamic fundamentalists take them over?

SEN. OBAMA: No, no, no, no. What we say is, look, we're going to provide them with additional military support targeted at terrorists, and we're going to help build their democracy and provide the kinds of funding—

MR. O'REILLY: The things that we're doing now. Negroponte is over there, and he's doing that now.

SEN. OBAMA: That's not what we've been doing. We've wasted \$10 billion with Musharraf without holding him accountable for knocking out those safe havens.

MR. O'REILLY: All right. So you are going to, again, more diplomacy—and we need it, absolutely—try to convince the Pakistani government to take a more aggressive approach and saying, if you don't, we're going to pull the funding.

SEN. OBAMA: And what I will do is, if we have bin Laden in our sites—

MR. O'REILLY: Yeah.

SEN. OBAMA: -- we target him, and we knock him out.

MR. O'REILLY: But everybody will do that. That will be the biggest win Bush could have if he could do that.

SEN. OBAMA: Of course.

MR. O'REILLY: But you can't send ground troops in because if all hell breaks loose.

SEN. OBAMA: We can't have—nobody talked about a full-blown invasion of Pakistan. The simple point that I made was we've got to put more pressure on Pakistan to do what they need to do.

(Pause videotaped interview.)

MR. O'REILLY: All right. Again, the rest of the interview will be seen on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday of next week, and it is lively.

Phonological Transcript

MR. O'REILLY: Well, first of all, thanks for being a man of your word.

H // o well FIRST of all //
 M r THANKS for being a MAN of your WORD //
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SEN. OBAMA: You bet.

H
 M //1 p you //
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MR. O'REILLY: But I was worried there for a while.

H WORried there for
 M //p + but i was //
 L

SEN. OBAMA: (Laughs.)

MR. O'REILLY: It's been nine months since we last met in New Hampshire.

H NINE MONTHS HAMPshire
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SEN. OBAMA: It took a little while. I've had a few things to do in between.

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MR. O'REILLY: I understand.

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SEN. OBAMA: Yeah. But I appreciate you having me on the show.

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MR. O'REILLY: Okay. Let's start with national security. Do you believe we're in the middle of a war on terror?

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 M // p o //p let's START with NATional se // p do you beLIEVE we're in the
 L KAY CURity
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SEN. OBAMA: Absolutely.

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MR. O'REILLY: Who is the enemy?

H
M //p WHO'S the //
L Enemy

SEN. OBAMA: Al Qaeda, the Taliban, a whole host of networks that are bent on attacking America, who have a distorted ideology, who have perverted the faith of Islam. So we have to go after them.

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MR. O'REILLY: Is Iran part of that component?

H
M //p is iRAN PART of the com //
L PQonent

SEN. OBAMA: Iran is a major threat. Now, I don't think that there is the same—they are not part of the same network. You know, you got Shi'a and you got Sunni. We gotta have the ability to distinguish between these groups because, for example, the war in Iraq is a good example where I believe the administration lumped together Saddam Hussein, a terrible guy, with al Qaeda which had nothing to do with Saddam Hussein.

H 21 22 23 24
M //o iRAN IS //p A MAJor THREAT //o now i DON'T THINK that there's a //o the SAME //
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MR. O'REILLY: All right. We'll get to that in a minute.

H
M //p all // p we'll GET to that in a minute//
L RIGHT

SEN. OBAMA: And as a consequence, we ended up, I think, misdirecting our resources. So they're all part of various terrorist networks that we have to shut down and we have to destroy. But they may not all be part and parcel of the same ideology.

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MR. O'REILLY: But I still don't understand—and I'm asking this as an American as well as a journalist—how threatening you feel Iran is. See, look, if Iran gets a nuclear weapon, okay, to me, they're going to give it to Hezbollah if they can develop the technology. Why not? And so we don't have anything to do with it. So therefore, the next president of the United States is going to have to make a decision about Iran, whether to stop them militarily. Because I don't believe—if diplomacy works, fine. But you've got to have a plan b. And a lot of people are saying, look, Barack Obama's not going to attack Iran.

H
M //o but i STILL DON'T underSTAND //p and i'm ASKING this as an aMERican //p as WELL
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H RAN gets a
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SEN. OBAMA: Here's where you and I agree. It is unacceptable for Iran to possess a nuclear weapon. It would be a game changer, and I've said that repeatedly. I've also said I would never take a military option off the table.

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M //p HERE's where YOU and I a //o it is unacCEPTable for iIRAN
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MR. O'REILLY: But would you prepare for one?

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SEN. OBAMA: Well, listen—

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MR. O'REILLY: Answer the question, Senator. Anybody can say options. Would you prepare for it?

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H PARE for it
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SEN. OBAMA: Look, it is not appropriate for somebody, who is one of two people who could be the president of the United States, to start tipping their hand in terms of what their plans might be with respect to Iran. It's sufficient to say I would not take the military option off the table and that I will never hesitate to use our military force in order to protect the homeland and United States interests.

But where I disagree with you is the notion that we've exhausted every other resource. Because the fact of the matter is is that for six, seven years during this administration, we weren't working as closely as we needed to with the Europeans to create—

H 62 63 64 65
M //p LOOK //p it is NOT apPROpriate //o for SOMEbody who //o is ONE of TWO PEOple //
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H 66 67
M //p who could be the PRESideNt of the united STATES //o to start TIPing their HAND //
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H	68	69	<u>RAN</u>	70
M	//o in terms of what their PLAN might <u>BE</u> //p with reSPECT to I //o it's sufFicient			
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H	71	72	<u>Table</u>	73
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L				
H	74	<u>USE</u>	our military force	75
M	NEVer <u>HES</u> itate //p to //o in ORDer to proTECT //r + the <u>HOME</u> land			
L				
H	77	<u>IN</u> terests	78	79
M	//p and uNITed states //p <u>BUT</u> //p where i DISa //p is the NOTion			
L				
H		<u>RE</u> source	81	
M	that we've eXHAUSTed every other //r+ because the FACT of the <u>MAT</u> ter is //			
L				
H	82	83	84	
M	r that for SIX SEVen <u>YEARS</u> // r during this adminiSTRATion //o WE <u>WER</u> en't //			
L				
H	85	86	87	
M	o WORKing as CLOSEly as we <u>NEE</u> ded to //p with the euro //o to creATE //			
L				

MR. O'REILLY: Diplomacy might work. You might be able to strangle them economically.

H			
M	//o dipLOMacy might	//o you MIGHT be able to STRANgle them eco	//
L	<u>WORK</u>	<u>NOM</u> ically	

SEN. OBAMA: Sanctions, maybe.

H	88	89	90
M	//o <u>SANCT</u> ions //o <u>SANCT</u> ions //p may //		
L		<u>BE</u>	

MR. O'REILLY: Maybe. But that's just all hypothetical.

H	MAY	THAT's ALL hypoTHETical
M	//o <u>BE</u> //p <u>MAY</u> be //p but //	
L		

SEN. OBAMA: Well, everything is hypothetical. But the question is, are we trying to do what we need to do to ratchet up the pressure on them to change their—

H	91	92	EVERything	93	94
M	//o <u>WELL</u> //r is <u>HY</u> pothetical //o but the QUESTion <u>IS</u> //o are we <u>TRY</u> ing //				
L					
H	95	96	97	98	99
M	o to <u>DO</u> //r+ what WE need //o to RATchet <u>UP</u> //o the <u>PRESS</u> ure on them //o to				
L					
H					
M	<u>CHANGE</u> their //				
L					

MR. O'REILLY: Okay. We'll assume that you're going to ratchet everything you can ratchet.

H
M //o we'll aSSUME // o that you're going to RATchet //p EVerything you can //
L RATchet

SEN. OBAMA: Right.

H 100
M //p //
L RIGHT

MR. O'REILLY: But I'm going to assume that Iran's going to say, "blank" you, we're going to do what we want. And I want a president, whether it's you or McCain, who says, you ain't doing that.

H I'm
M //o but going to aSSUME //o that iRAN's gonna SAY //p BLANK //
L YOU

H
M // r we're gonna DO what we WANT //r+ and I want a PRESident //
L

H
M // r+ whether it's YOU or mcCAIN //o who SAYS //p+ you AIN'T DOing that //
L

All right, let's go to Iraq. I think history will show it's the wrong battlefield, okay. And I think that you were perspicacious in your original assessment of the battlefield.

H
M // p all //p let's GO to I //o I think HISTory will SHOW us //p it's the WRONG
L RIGHT RAK

H
M // r+ oKAY //o and i THINK you were PERSpiCACious //o in your oRIGinal
L BATTle field

H
M aSSESSment // p of the BATtlefield //
L

SEN. OBAMA: I appreciate that.

H 101
M // p I aPPREciate that //
L

MR. O'REILLY: I think you were desperately wrong on the surge. And I think you should admit it to the nation that now we have defeated the terrorists in Iraq. And the al Qaeda came there after we invaded, as you know. Okay, we've defeated them. If we didn't, they would have used it as a staging ground.

We've also inhibited Iran from controlling the southern part of Iraq by the surge which you did not support. So why won't you say, I was right in the beginning, I was wrong about that?

H SURGE
M // r+ I think you were DESPerately WRONG //p on the //
L

H NOW
M // o and I THINK you should adMIT it to the NATion //r that //
L

H HAVE CAME there
M //o we deFEATed //r+ the TERRORISTS //r+ in IRAK //r and the al QAEDA //
L

H FEATED them
M //r+ after we inVADED //r+ as you KNOW //o OKAY //p we've de //
L

H DIDN't
M // o if we //p they would have USED it as a //
L STAGING ground

H ALSO in
M //o we've HIBITED IRAN //p from CONTROLLING the SOUTHERN PART of i //
L RAK

H PORT
M //r+ BY the SURGE //p which YOU did NOT sup //o so WHY wouldn't you SAY //
L

H
M //o I was RIGHT in the beGINning //p I was WRONG about THAT //
L

SEN. OBAMA: You know, if you've listened to what I've said, and I'll repeat it right here on this show, I think that there's no doubt that the violence is down. I believe that that is a testimony to the troops that were sent and General Petraeus and Ambassador Crocker. I think that the surge has succeeded in ways that nobody anticipated, by the way, including President Bush and the other supporters.

It has gone very well, partly because of the Anbar situation and the Sunni—

H 102 103
M //o you KNOW //o if you've LISTened to what I've SAID //
L

H 104 105
M // p and I'll rePEAT it right HERE on this //o I THINK that there's no DOUBT //
L SHOW

H 106 107
M //r+ that the VIOlence is DOWN //o I beLIEVE that that is a TESTimony //
L

H 108 109 110
M //o to the TROOPS that were SENT //o and GENeral PeTRAeus //o and amBASsador
L

H 111 112
M CROcker// //p I THINK that the SURGE has sucCEEded //p in WAYS that NObody
L

H 113 114 115
M anticipated // // r by the WAY inCLUDing //o PRESident BUSH //p and the OTHer
L

H 116 117PARTly 118
M supPORTers // // p it has GONE VERY //r //o because of the ANbar //
L WELL

H 119 120
M o situATion //r+ and the SUNny aWAKening //
L

MR. O'REILLY: The awakening, right.

H
M // p the aWAKening // p //
L RIGHT

SEN. OBAMA: -- awakening, partly because the Shi'a—

H 121
M //o PARTly because // the SHI'A //
L

MR. O'REILLY: But if it were up to you, there wouldn't have been a surge.

H
M // ? but if it were UP to YOU // p there wouldn't have been a SURGE //
L

SEN. OBAMA: Well, look—

H 122 123
M //o WELL // p LOOK //
L

MR. O'REILLY: No, no, no, no.

H
M //p no no no NO //
L

SEN. OBAMA: No, no, no, no, no, no, no.

H 124
M //p no no no no no NO //
L

MR. O'REILLY: If it were up to you, there wouldn't have been a surge.

H
M //r+ but if it were UP to YOU // p there wouldn't have been a SURGE //
L

SEN. OBAMA: No, no, no, no. Hold on.

H 125
M //p no no NO //o HOLD ON //
L

MR. O'REILLY: You and Joe Biden—no surge.

H BIDen SURGE
M // p YOU and JOE //p no //
L

SEN. OBAMA: No. Hold on a second, Bill. If you look at the debate that was taking place, we had gone through five years of mismanagement of this war that I thought was disastrous. And the president wanted to double-down and continue on open-ended policy that did not create the kinds of pressure in the Iraqis to take responsibility and reconcile—

H 126 127 128 129
M //r+ NO // r+ hold ON a SECond bill //o if you LOOK at the deBATE //p that was TAKing
L

H 130 WE 131 132
M //o had GONE //o through FIVE YEARS //o of mis MANagement of this
L PLACE

H 133 134 135
M WAR //p that i THOUGHT was di //r and the PRESident //r wanted to
L SAStrous

H 136 TINue 137 138
M DOUBLE DOWN//o and con //o on Open-ended POLicy //o that did NOT creATE //
L

H 139 140 141 142
M //o the KIND of PRESsure //o ON the iRAQis //o to TAKE responsiBILity //o AND //
L

MR. O'REILLY: It worked

H
M // but it WORKED //
L

SEN. OBAMA: reconcile. Well look

H 143 144
M //o reconCILE //p well LOOK //
L

Mr. O'REILLY: Come on.

H ON
M //p come // //
L

SEN. OBAMA: Bill, what I've said is—I've already said it succeeded beyond our wildest dreams.

H 145 SAID is 146 SAID 147
M //o bill what I've //o I've already //p it sucCEEDed beyond our WILDest
L

H
M DREAMS //
L

MR. O'REILLY: Right! So why can't you just say, I was right in the beginning, and I was wrong about the surge?

H RIGHT
M //p //o so WHY can't you SAY //r+ I was RIGHT in the beGINning //
L

H SURGE
M //p and I was WRONG about the //
L

SEN. OBAMA: Because there is an underlying problem with what we've done. We have reduced the violence—

H 148 149 150 151
M //o beCAUSE //r there's an UNderlying PROBlem //o WITH //p what we've DONE //
L

H 152
M //p+ we have reDUCED the VIOlence //
L

MR. O'REILLY: Yeah?

H
M //r+ YEAH //
L

SEN. OBAMA: -- but the Iraqis still haven't taken a responsibility. And we still don't have the kind of political reconciliation. We are still spending, Bill, 10 (billion dollars) to \$12 billion a month.

H 153 BILity 154
M //p+ but the iRAQis still haven't TAKEN response //o and we STILL don't HAVE //
L

H 155 156 STILL SPENDing Bill
M //r+ the KIND of poLITical reconciliATion //r+ we're //
L

H 157 158
M //o TEN to TWELVE BILlion DOLLars //p a MONTH //
L

MR. O'REILLY: And I hope if you're president, you can get them to kick in and pay us back.

H BACK
M //r+ and I HOPE if you're PRESident //o you can GET them to kick IN //p and pay us //
L

SEN. OBAMA: They've got \$79 billion in (New York ?)!

H 159 GOT seventy-NINE billion DOLLars in new YORK
M //p they've //
L

MR. O'REILLY: And I'll go with you!

H GO with you
M //p and I'll //
L

SEN. OBAMA: Let's go!

H 160 GO
M //p let's //
L

MR. O'REILLY: We'll get some of that money back.

H MONey back
M //p we'll GET some of that //
L

SEN. OBAMA: (Laughs.)

MR. O'REILLY: All right. Let's go to Afghanistan. Look, there's no winning the Taliban war unless Pakistan cracks down on the guys that are in Pakistan.

H NO WINning
M //p all //p let's GO to //p LOOK //o there's //
L RIGHT afGHANistan

H
M //r+ the TALiban WAR //o unLESS //o PAKistan //r+ CRACKS DOWN //r+ on the GUYs//
L

H
M //o that ARE in //p PAKistan //
L

SEN. OBAMA: You and I agree completely.

H 161
M //p YOU and I aGREE comPLETely //
L

MR. O'REILLY: Okay, yeah, we all know that.

H
M //r+ oKAY //p YEAH //p we ALL KNOW that //
L

SEN. OBAMA: Right.

H 162
M //p //
L RIGHT

MR. O'REILLY: You gave a speech in Denver—good speech, by the way—

H
M //r+ you gave a SPEECH //r in DENver //p good SPEECH //r+ by the WAY //
L

SEN. OBAMA: Thank you.

H 163
M //p THANK you //
L

MR. O'REILLY: -- but you bloviated about McCain not following him to the cave. You're not going to invade Pakistan, Senator, if you're president. You're not going to send ground troops in there. You know it.

H CAVE
M //r+ but you BLOViated //o about McCAIN //p not FOLLOwing him to the //
L

H NOT
M //o you are going to inVADE PAKistan //r+ SENator //r+ if you're PREsident //
L

H NOT KNOW it
M //r+ you're going to SEND GROUND troops in there //p you //
L

SEN. OBAMA: Here's the problem. John McCain loves to say, I would follow him to the gates of hell.

H 164 165 166 167
M //p HERE's the //p JOHN mcCAIN//p LOVES to //o I would FOLLow him //
L PROBLEM SAY

H
M
L

MR. O'REILLY: Well, he's not going to invade, either.

H
M //p well he's NOT going to invade //
L EITHer

SEN. OBAMA: The point is, what we could have done is—

H 169 170 COULD
M //r and the POINT is //r+ what we have DONE //
L

MR. O'REILLY: Not "could." Let's stay now.

H
M //p not COULD //p let's STAY NOW //
L

SEN. OBAMA: What we can do—

H 171 CAN
M // p what we do //
L

MR. O'REILLY: Yeah.

H
M //p YEAH //
L

SEN. OBAMA: -- is stay focused on Afghanistan and put more pressure on the Pakistanis.

H 172 173
M //p is stay FOCUsed on AF //p and put more PRESSure on the paki //
L GHANistan STANis

MR. O'REILLY: Like what?

H WHAT
M //p like //
L

SEN. OBAMA: Well, for example, we are providing them military aid without having enough strings attached. So they're using the military aid that we use—

H 174 175 176 177
M //P WELL //r+ for eXAMple //o WE are proVIDing them //r+ MILitary AID //
L

H 178 179 STRINGS attached 180
M //o with OUT //p HAVing enough //o so they're USing //
L

H 181
M //r+ the MILitary AID that WE USE //
L

MR. O'REILLY: For nothing!

H NOThing
M // p for //
L

SEN. OBAMA: -- to Pakistan, they're preparing for war against India.

H 182 TO 183 INdia
M //r PAKistan // p they're prePARing for WAR against //
L

MR. O'REILLY: So you're going to pull out and let the Islamic fundamentalists take them over?

H
M //o so you're gonna pull OUT //r+ and let the isLAMic fundaMENTalists //
L

H
M //r+ take them OVer //
L

SEN. OBAMA: No, no, no, no. What we say is, look, we're going to provide them with additional military support targeted at terrorists, and we're going to help build their democracy and provide the kinds of funding—

H 184 NO no no 185 186 187
M //p NO //o what we SAY is //p LOOK //o we're going to proVIDE them //
L

H 188 189 190 TERRorists 191
M //o with aDDITional //o MILitary suPPORT //r TARgeted at // r AND //
L

H 192 193 194
M //o we're gonna HELP them //r BUILD their deMOCracy //o and proVIDE //
L

H 195
M //o the KINDS of FUNDing //
L

MR. O'REILLY: The things that we're doing now. Negroponte is over there, and he's doing that now.

H
M // p the THINGS that we're doing //p negroPONte is over there //p an d he's DOing //
L NOW THAT

SEN. OBAMA: That's not what we've been doing. We've wasted \$10 billion with Musharraf without holding him accountable for knocking out those safe havens.

H 196 197
M //p that's NOT what we've been DOing //o we've WASTed TEN billion DOLars //
L

H 198 199
M //p with muSHARraf //o withOUT holding him aCCOUNTable //
L

H 200
M //p for KNOCKing out those safe HAVens //
L

MR. O'REILLY: All right. So you are going to, again, more diplomacy—and we need it, absolutely—try to convince the Pakistani government to take a more aggressive approach and saying, if you don't, we're going to pull the funding.

H YOU
M //p all //p so are gonna aGAIN //o more diPLOMacy //r and we NEED it //
L RIGHT

H VINCE the pakistani
M //p ABso //o try to con GOVernment //
L LUTely

H MORE
M //o to take a aggressive apPROACH //
L

H DON'T
M //o and saying if you //p we're gonna PULL the //
L FUNDing

SEN. OBAMA: And what I will do is, if we have bin Laden in our sites—

H 201 202 203
M // r+ and what I will DO is //r+ IF we HAVE // r+ bin LADen in our SITES //
L

MR. O'REILLY: Yeah.

H
M //p //
L YEAH

SEN. OBAMA: -- we target him, and we knock him out.

H 204 205 OUT
M // r we TARget him //p and we KNOCK him //
L

MR. O'REILLY: But everybody will do that. That will be the biggest win Bush could have if he could do that.

H
M // p but EVerybody would do that // o I mean that will be the BIGgest WIN //
L

H
M //o BUSH could HAVE // p if he COULD do //
L THAT

SEN. OBAMA: Of course.

H 206 207
M //o WELL //p of COURSE //
L

MR. O'REILLY: But you can't send ground troops in because if all hell breaks loose.

H
M //o but you CAN'T send ground TROOPS in //p because if all HELL breaks loose //
L

SEN. OBAMA: We can't have—nobody talked about a full-blown invasion of Pakistan. The simple point that I made was we've got to put more pressure on Pakistan to do what they need to do.

H 208 209
M //o we CAN'T HAVE //p then nobody TALKed about //
L

H 210 211
M // r some FULL-blown inVASion of PAKistan //o but the SIMple point that I MADE was //
L

H 212 213
M //o we've got to PUT more PRESsure on PAKistan //p to DO what they NEED to //
L DO