

**JIHOČESKÁ UNIVERZITA  
V ČESKÝCH BUDĚJOVICÍCH  
PEDAGOGICKÁ FAKULTA**  
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V ČESKÝCH BUDĚJOVICÍCH  
PEDAGOGICKÁ FAKULTA  
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**Function of Pragmatic Markers  
in Political Interviews  
Based on Pragmatic and Sociolinguistic  
Research**

**Funkce pragmatických markerů  
v politickém interview  
Pragmatický a sociolinguistický výzkum**

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Declaration:

I hereby declare that this diploma thesis titled “Pragmatic Markers in Political Interviews. Based on Pragmatic and Sociolinguistic Research.” and the research to which it refers, are the result of my own work and that all used sources are quoted in the enclosed bibliography.

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# Abstract

The thesis focuses on the occurrence and communicative function of pragmatic markers as interactive reinforcement between the interviewer and the interviewee in three political interviews found on the Internet. The analysis is based on pragmatic and sociolinguistic research. At first, terminology which is necessary for understanding the following analysis is introduced. Then, corpora as well as speakers are described. Attention is paid to background data, which can influence the occurrence, frequency and function of the markers. The thesis also observes several interpretations of the term “pragmatic marker”. A detailed examination of individual pragmatic markers adopting the quantitative as well as qualitative approach follows. The occurrence, frequency and function of pragmatic markers in this genre is summarised at the end of the work.

# Anotace

Diplomová práce je zaměřena na frekvenci výskytu a komunikativní funkci pragmatických markerů v žánru politického interview jako prostředku posílení interakce mezi moderátorem a osobou, která je dotazována. Analýze jsou podrobena tři politická interview, jejichž zdrojem je internet. Práce je založena na pragmatickém a sociolingvistickém výzkumu. V první kapitole je představena terminologie, která je nutná pro pochopení celé studie. Dále se práce zabývá jednotlivými interview a jejich mluvčími. Pozornost je zaměřena na původ mluvčích a jejich život, který může ovlivnit výskyt, frekvenci a funkci markerů. Práce sleduje různé interpretace termínu „pragmatický marker“. Následuje rozbor jednotlivých markerů z kvantitativního a kvalitativního hlediska. Výskyt, frekvence a funkce pragmatických markerů v tomto žánru je shrnuta v závěru práce.

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# List of Abbreviations

CCED      Collins Cobuild English Dictionary for Advanced Learners

# Introduction

This thesis concentrates on the function of pragmatic markers in three political interviews. The analysis is based on pragmatic and sociolinguistic research. The topic has been chosen according to a prior similar study that analysed an interview with the Australian Prime Minister John Howard, which was submitted at the Pragmatics Course at the University of South Bohemia. It was my five-month-long stay in Australia which inspired the first study. Since the examination of pragmatic markers with the head of government of the Commonwealth of Australia, I have also become interested in politicians from other countries. Having lived in the UK, I became interested in the life of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Tony Blair, not only because I was influenced by the local media but also because he is described as: "... a highly skilful media performer who comes over as charismatic, informal and articulate."<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, since current world events are to a great degree influenced by the President of the United States of America, George W. Bush, I have decided to include his interview in this thesis. Thus, I have decided to analyse the speeches of three politicians: Tony Blair, George W. Bush and John Howard.

It is certainly interesting to study how political speeches influence the masses. In this analysis, however, attention will be paid to the function of pragmatic markers in political interviews and how they influence the message. I suppose that any type of conversation can lead to some misunderstandings as the hearer can misinterpret the message conveyed by the speaker. I assume that the analysis of the pragmatic markers, examined not only from the pragmatic but also from the sociolinguistic point of view, will show to which extent this can be the case. Furthermore, I am going to concentrate on the language of all participants in the interview, both the politicians and journalists.

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1 - <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tony\\_Blair](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tony_Blair) >

I believe that all participants, although playing different roles in the interviews, are equally important in analysing political discourse.

To sum up, the following are the main aims of the research to be conducted as well as the structure of the thesis.

### **Main aims of the thesis**

1. the frequency of pragmatic markers in all interviews
2. the function of pragmatic markers as interactive reinforcement between the interviewer and the interviewee in political interviews
3. the results of each individual analysis will be compared and contrasted

### **Structure of the thesis**

1. Chapter 1 introduces different terminology which is necessary for the understanding the examination that follows.
2. In Chapter 2, common features of the interviews and the participants are outlined.
3. In Chapter 3, a detailed description of the term “pragmatic markers” is presented and an analysis of pragmatic markers is carried out.
4. Chapter 4 focuses on the results of the study.

# Chapter I

## Theoretical Background

In this section, I am going to outline different terminology, which will serve as background foundation for Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

### 1.1. Pragmatics

The most general term here is pragmatics. According to the *CCED* (2001: 1202): “Pragmatics is the branch of linguistics that deals with the meanings and effects which come from the use of language in particular situation.” Yule in his *Pragmatics* (1996: 3) defines the term as follows: “Pragmatics is the study of speaker meaning, contextual meaning, of how more gets communicated than is said, of expression of relative distance.” In contrast with the *CCED* (2001), Yule as a linguist specifies the definition. In my view, he is more exact as he argues that pragmatics can include more than one meaning. Furthermore, he considers the amount of quality of the message.

### 1.2. Discourse

Discourse is a type of communication, spoken or written, and it can be on any subject. There are numerous types of discourse such as classroom discourse, personal experience discourse, direction discourse, introduction discourse, legal discourse, media discourse, etc. Discourse can be further divided into subclasses. For example, media discourse, the one to be analysed here, can be divided into a political interview, newspaper reporting, etc.

## 1.3 Media Discourse

Using the expression “media”, one conceives of equipment such as newspapers, magazines, radio, television or the Internet. It is very difficult to imagine today’s generation living without these mediums as: “The media reflect and influence the formation and expression of culture, politics and social life.” (Bell and Garrett 1998: 4). Since the invention of television and, several decades later, the Internet, the life of many people has changed dramatically. Because of these technological innovations, people socialize less, but, on the other hand, these media are a great source of information. However, a serious and rapidly growing problem in today’s society is that people are often unaware of the influences that media have on them. Thus, it is important that one ask him/herself how the media influences the lives of people. The power of the media and its influence continues to be a common and important research topic. In my view, the influence can be examined from two different angles. Firstly, from a psychological point of view, the media mostly influence children, teenagers and uneducated people. Crime and violence is rising and experts are considering how serious the problem is and whether the mass media contributes to the problem. Secondly, from the linguist point of view, the media can influence anyone as it either furnishes information or entertains people. The two previously mentioned types of influence are interchangeable. On the one hand, some films, for example, are recorded for entertainment but they can also inform the viewers. On the other hand, a piece of newspaper reporting, for example, can be entertaining, although it was originally written to inform the readers. Our understanding of the message might differ as it depends on the age, sex, education, experience or country of origin of the hearer, reader or viewer.

Although all the analysed interviews have been presented in different types of media, being the newspaper, radio and television, they all deal with serious issues. I assume that they serve the first purpose, which is providing information. Whether it is the case in the three interviews, however, cannot be detected until the analysis is accomplished.

## 1.4. Political Discourse

Political discourse is one of the fields of media discourse. According to Fairclough (1995: 142), political discourse is “... seen as an ‘order of discourse’ which is continuously changing within wider processes of social and cultural change affecting the media themselves and other social domains which are linked to them.” Furthermore, Fairclough (1995: 147) comments on the changes of contemporary politics in detail. He argues that the changes are supposed to be caused by societal systems, such as the political system, social system and economy. Next, he refers to Held (1987) who raises the question as to where a political system begins and where it ends. In his terms, a political system includes political parties, Parliament, etc. In my view, the party a politician is a member of, can play an important role in the discourse. Politicians of different parties take a different view of the world, which can influence their opinions and beliefs as well as their language. However, this cannot be analysed in this study as the politicians come from different countries with different political systems.

The next claim is to the social system (cf. Fairclough 1995 referring to Held 1987). Again, I agree that the social system of the country is important in a discourse. For example, if we were to compare political discourses from the US and Malawi, there would be a greater difference in the language used. The reason is that Malawi belongs to the poorest countries in the world whereas the United States is one of the most developed countries in the world. The difference would not necessarily be as apparent in countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom, since both are among the most developed.

Lastly, Fairclough (1995) refers to Held (1987) who comments on the economy of the country, in which the discourse is conducted. I believe, that the structure of political discourse also depends on how rich or poor the country is. Again, there would certainly be some difference between a discourse in the US and Malawi.

Another linguist who focuses on political discourse is van Dijk. In his *Discourse as Social Interaction* (1997: 214), he defines three linguistic approaches to political discourse. He introduces a pragmatic, a semantic and a syntactical approach to political discourse. I suppose that these approaches can also be applied to other types of discourse. Nevertheless, this analysis is a pragmatic analysis, thus it examines an interaction among speakers and hearers. The participants in a political discourse can be politicians, journalists or any citizens of a country taking part in a political discourse. The previously mentioned speakers must not necessarily be a part of a political interview but can be found on a current affairs program, a phone-in programme or a chat show.

It could be argued that political discourse can also be the most powerful discourse as it can lead to extremes, e.g. the charismatic oratories of the German politician Adolf Hitler that changed the lives of millions of people in the world. This means that it is not only interesting but also important to follow the discourses of the world leaders as they influence the masses.

## **1.5. Spoken Discourse**

Spoken discourse is defined by Urbanová (2003: 20) as: "... an exchange between at least two interlocutors who share some degree of mutual knowledge ... determined by their socio-cultural background and whose communicative intention triggers their interaction." Furthermore, she claims that the language used in spoken discourse is "phatic, conative and expressive" (Urbanová 2003:20). Nevertheless, I suppose that spoken discourse does not only include language but also body language, which can have a great influence on both the hearer and the speaker. This is also stressed by Urbanová in *On Expressing Meaning in English Conversation* (2003: 20) and defined as "paralinguistic features". However, this study concentrates on spoken language only because of the difficulty of analysing body language from a written record of an interview.

## 1.6. Conversation Analysis

Conversational analysis examines all types of conversations. It can be divided into two subclasses. First, it is an institutional conversation, such as at the doctor's or in a school. In these cases, the speaker and the hearer are at different social hierarchy level and have some social distance, which certainly influences their language. Second, it is a casual conversation, such as talking to friends or family members. The language used in these cases tends to be very informal. In my view, the type of a conversation also depends on the participants - whether they are present or not at the time of the conversation. When both, speaker and hearer, are at the same place, the conversation is called face-to-face conversation. This can be further divided into a speech, a debate, etc. On the other hand, in the case of a phone conversation, for example, the speaker and the hearer are not directly present at the same place during the actual conversation. The fact that they cannot see each other can influence not only the language but also the message.

## 1.7. Interview

As the focus in this study is on different interviews, the term should be defined here. The entry in the *CCED* (2001: 821) defines interview as follows: "...a meeting in which someone is asked questions about themselves for a newspaper article, television show, etc." Furthermore, Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998) divide interviews into three subclasses: structured, semi-structured and unstructured. All the interviews to be analysed here are semi-structured interviews as Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998) specify in their different types of interviews. In their *Conversational Analysis* (1998: 178), they claim that: "...the interviewer is not reading questions from a written list. Consequently the 'same' questions may be worded differently on each occasion." The structure of an interview is usually set prior to the actual interview. Moreover, there is usually a set rule in interviews when the interviewer is supposed to ask questions while the interviewee answers the questions. The power of the interview is in hands of

the interviewer although he/she might be on a lower social status than the interviewee might. This means that the politicians can feel uncomfortable, as they are most of the time superior to the others. Moreover, the journalist can possibly influence the way he/she answers the questions. We will consider whether there is a difference between the use of pragmatic markers by politicians and journalists later in this study, in Chapter 2.

### **1.7.1. Political Interview**

Political interviews fall within the domain of mass media communication. Political interview belongs to public discourse as the purpose of the interviews is to be broadcast in the mass media. Furthermore, the broadcasting belongs to the most powerful public process of communication as it reaches large audiences.

#### **Newspaper**

In my view, an interview which is to appear in a newspaper differs from the one presented in other media. Firstly, there is no pressure on the speakers, as the interview is not published at the time of recording. Secondly, the politician reads the interview before it is printed and deletes anything he/she does not wish to have published. Furthermore, there is no pressure on the readers as they can proceed at their own pace.

I assume, the newspaper, as a type of media, is the most formal one of the three types presented. Newspapers tend to be more intellectual, informative and serious than the radio or television. Of course, we have to take into consideration the type of newspaper for which the journalist works.

There are three types of newspapers: the broadsheet, the tabloid and the Berliner. It is expected which articles will be published in the different types of newspapers. Broadsheets are associated with intellectual newspapers, whereas tabloids are perceived as sensationalist and less formal; they are of a smaller format. Berliners are placed in size and contents between broadsheets and tabloids. However, the size and contents of a newspaper differ from country

to country. Furthermore, the size changes from time to time and thus the observations cannot be generalised.

## **Radio**

In my view, this medium ranks between newspapers and television. A political interview that is to be presented on the radio can either be pre-recorded or recorded live. Again, the topics can be discussed before the recording starts. In contrast to newspapers, the content of the live interview broadcast on the radio cannot be changed.

In my view, the broadcast of a political interview on the radio tends to be less formal than a political interview published in the broadsheet. Furthermore, on the radio, the tone of voice often suggests emotions of the speaker hence the message passed to the hearer is perceived on a more personal level.

## **TV**

Television belongs to the most commercialised media. In my view, the main functions are to entertain, educate and inform viewers. However, there are also other definitions of the function of television such as: "...provoking, mind-numbing, uniting, dividing, challenging, comforting, scaring, loving, aggravating, communicating,..."<sup>2</sup>

In television broadcasts, politicians are able to reach people on a personal level as they can be both seen and heard at the same time. In a TV broadcast, politicians draw viewer's attention to politics which can be also considered as free advertising. Furthermore, the overall effect of the message on the audience sent through this type of media is greater than that of other media as there are probably more people watching television than reading one particular article in a newspaper. I suppose that this medium is the least formal one as there is a wide range of people who prefer being entertained than having to concentrate on important issues.

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2 - <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2007/nov/26/mondaymediasection.television>>

To sum up, in political interviews, in contrast to other types of discourse, speakers usually discuss the topics included in the interview beforehand to avoid confusion, major misunderstandings or unfamiliarity with the subjects of the conversation.

Although all interviews presented here appear in different types of media, they all share a unifying feature which is politics.

# Chapter II

## Corpus Description

## Sociolinguistic Characteristics

### 2.1. Interviews

To find suitable interviews for analysis is not an easy task. To make the analysis valid, all interviews have to share a common ground. As the most common topic in many interviews is the Iraq war, three interviews (see Appendix) with this theme are chosen. The interviews are also related in other ways:

1. All three interviews belong to political interviews.
2. They all were presented in some type of mass media:
  - a) Tony Blair's interview was recorded at Chequers, which is the country residence of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and was published in The Times which is a broadsheet newspaper.
  - b) George W. Bush's interview was recorded in the Roosevelt Room of the White House. It was broadcast in a programme called Morning Edition which is distributed by the National Public Radio.
  - c) Mr. Howard's interview was probably recorded in a TV studio as it was broadcast on Australian television in Meet the Press.
3. All interviews deal with more than one topic. The topics are as follow:
  - a) Interview I - PM, Labour Party, government, reforms, Iraq war and immigrants
  - b) Interview II - Iraq war, Iran, climate change and taxes

c) Interview III - Aboriginal issues, Iraq war, industrial relations, Prime Minister's age and broadband

4. The performance of all the interviews takes part within twelve months. The interview with Mr. Blair takes place on 31<sup>st</sup> August 2006. The second interview with Mr. Bush occurs on 29<sup>th</sup> January 2007 and the last one with Mr. Howard is on 24<sup>th</sup> of June 2007.
5. All the interviews were found on the Internet.
6. The length of the chosen transcripts is slightly different but the analysis will take this fact into consideration. The interview with T. Blair includes 8.173 expressions; the interview with George W. Bush contains 5.126 expressions and the one with John Howard 3.899 expressions.

## **2.2. Speakers**

The speakers I am focusing on come from the most developed countries in the world – America, Australia and the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, I do not wish to concentrate only on the domicile of origin of the speakers but I would like to draw my attention to the life of the participants. I assume that all of the politicians come from similar family backgrounds and are well-educated to be able to hold the highest position in their countries. Therefore, the language of the politicians does not necessarily have to be much different. There can be, however, slight difference between the vocabulary of each speaker as they all speak different varieties of English – American, Australian and British. Furthermore, there can be a difference between the language of the politicians and the journalists, as the journalists do not necessarily have to be highly educated. Alternatively, they might have studied different subjects. Thus, I would like to concentrate on all speakers.

I believe that the following information about the speakers can play a role in the result of the analysis:

1. Age
2. Family background
3. Education
4. Career

The data has been located on the Internet, as the origin of the analysed interviews is also the Internet. The main sources for the information are various web sites with biographies of the speakers. I suppose that I will not be able to find a biography of all participants as some of them are more well known than the others. Therefore, I will try to include all pieces of information that can be found. The information will be paraphrased and the source of the data will be presented at the end of this study.

The speakers are divided according to the original interview into three sections:

1. Interview I - Tony Blair, Peter Riddell and Phillip Webster
2. Interview II - George W. Bush and Juan Williams
3. Interview III - John Howard, Paul Bongiorno, Jennifer Hewett and Peter Hartcher

### 2.2.1. Interview I

The speakers in the first interview are Tony Blair, Peter Riddell and Philip Webster.

#### 2.2.1.1. Tony Blair

Anthony Charles Lynton Blair was born on 6<sup>th</sup> May 1953 in Edinburgh, Scotland. He has two siblings, a brother and a sister. Blair's elder brother is a barrister and Queen's Counsel, who: "... are, in England, Wales and Northern Ireland barristers, or in Scotland advocates, appointed by letters patent to be one of "Her Majesty's Counsel learned in the law". They do not constitute a separate order or degree of lawyers.“<sup>3</sup> Blair's younger sister works as the head of publishing at the Association for Information Management. Blair's father worked as a junior tax inspector while studying law at the University of Edinburgh. During the 1950's, the family lived in Adelaide, Australia as Mr. Blair worked as a lecturer at the University of Adelaide. After returning to England, Tony's father worked as a lecturer at the Durham University. Living in Durham, Tony attended Durham's Chorister School. Later, he boarded at Fettes College in Edinburgh. In 1975, Blair graduated from St John's College at the Oxford University where he had studied law. After graduating from Oxford, he worked as a barrister. In 1980, he married Cherie Booth, a future Queen's Counsel. They have four children Euan, Nicky, Kathryn and Leo. Blair's political career began in 1975, when he joined the Labour Party. He has been the leader of the Labour Party since 1994 and has served as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from 1997 to 2007. He is the second youngest Prime Minister's of the UK; he became a PM at the age of 43.



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3 - <<http://www.123exp-orgs.com/t/00514093919/>>

#### 2.2.1.2 Peter Riddell

Peter Riddell has been a leading political commentator and an Assistant Editor for The Times since 1991. He writes mainly about British politics. Riddell has published several books on British politics, including two on Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair. In the book *The Unfulfilled Prime Minister*, Riddell provides an informed account of Labour's longest-serving Prime Minister. Moreover, he describes where he has succeeded and where it has all gone wrong.



#### 2.2.1.3 Philip Webster

Philip Webster works as a Political Editor for the Times. “The Times is a daily national newspaper published in the United Kingdom.”<sup>4</sup>

Peter Riddell and Philip Webster are not analysed separately as the transcript refers to the interviewers as belonging to The Times.

### 2.2.2. Interview II.

The participants are George W. Bush and Juan Williams.

#### 2.2.2.1. George W. Bush

George W. Bush was born on 6<sup>th</sup> July 1946 in Connecticut, USA but he grew up in Midland and Houston, Texas. Bush is the eldest of five siblings. He attended Phillips Academy in Massachusetts and like his father; he studied history at Yale University. Later, Bush served as a pilot in the Texas Air National Guard.



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4 - <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Times](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Times)>

In 1970, Bush applied to the University Of Texas School Of Law but was rejected. In 1975, he received an MBA degree from Harvard Business School. Bush married Laura Welch, a former teacher and librarian, and they have twin daughters, Barbara and Jenna. Bush started his career in the energy business. In 2001, he was elected the President of the United States and re-elected in 2004. Before his Presidency, Bush served as the Governor of the State Texas.

#### **2.2.2.2. Juan Williams**

Juan Williams was born in 1954 in Colón, Panama. His birthplace is near the Panama Canal Zone, which was a United States territory at the time. At the age of four, his family moved to New York City. He studied philosophy at Haverford College in Pennsylvania. Later, he worked for The Washington Post and since 1997, he has been a Fox News Channel



political contributor. Fox News Channel is a cable and satellite news channel which broadcasts both in the United States and Canada. Williams is also a senior national correspondent for the National Public Radio, working on the Morning Edition. “Morning Edition is an American radio news program produced and distributed by National Public Radio (NPR).”<sup>5</sup> Williams is described as “Knowledgeable and charismatic...”<sup>6</sup> and he “...brings insight and depth - hallmarks of NPR programs - to a wide spectrum of issues and ideas.”<sup>7</sup>

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5 - <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morning\\_Edition](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morning_Edition)>

6 - <<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1930705>>

7 - <<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1930705>>

### **2.2.3. Interview III.**

The participants in the interview are John Howard, Paul Bongiorno, Jennifer Hewett and Peter Hartcher.

#### **2.2.3.1. John Howard**

John Winston Howard was born in Sydney on 26<sup>th</sup> July 1939 and has four brothers. As a child, Howard suffered a hearing impairment. This left him with a slight speech impediment. For this reason, his early academic performance was limited. Nevertheless, he had an excellent memory and so he later studied law at the University of Sydney. After his studies, he practiced as a solicitor for twelve years. He married to Janette Parker in 1971 and has three children: Melanie, Tim and Richard. He was elected to Parliament in 1974. He became Minister for Trade and Business and later Treasurer. In 1995, Mr. Howard was elected leader of the Liberal Party and took over as the Leader of the Opposition. In 1996, he began serving as the Prime Minister of Australia and eventually became the second-longest serving Australian Prime Minister. Howard's government was re-elected in the 1998, 2001 and 2004 elections, but was defeated in the 2007 election.



#### **2.2.3.2. Paul Bongiorno**

Paul Bongiorno is married and has two daughters. He studied Theology at the Pontifical Urban University in Rome and later worked as a Roman Catholic priest. Bongiorno has been in television journalism since 1974. He is Australia's foremost political journalist, chief political correspondent for Ten News and a member of the Canberra Press Gallery which is: "...given to the approximately 180 journalists and their support staff, including producers, editors



and camera crews, who report the workings of the Australian Parliament.”<sup>8</sup>  
He hosts a Sunday morning show, Meet the Press, where he interviews politicians.  
“Meet the Press is an Australian television program based on the national political agenda...”<sup>9</sup>

#### **2.2.3.3. Jeniffer Hewett**

Jeniffer Hewett has worked as a senior writer on politics and business for the Financial Review and the Sydney Morning Herald. She is a former Washington correspondent for the Sydney Morning Herald and The Age.



Now she works as a National Affairs Correspondent for The Australian.  
“The Australian is a national daily broadsheet newspaper published by Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation.”<sup>10</sup>

#### **2.2.3.4. Peter Hartcher**

Finally, Peter Hartcher, is a political editor and international editor for The Sydney Morning Herald: “The Sydney Morning Herald (SMH) is a daily broadsheet newspaper published by Fairfax Media in Sydney, Australia.”<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, he is Chair Editor of The Diplomat, which is an Australian foreign affairs journal. Hartcher is a visiting fellow at the Lowy Institute for International Politics in Sydney and is the only Australian who won the English Speaking Union's international public speaking competition in London.



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8 - <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canberra\\_Press\\_Gallery](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canberra_Press_Gallery) >

9 - <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meet\\_the\\_Press\\_\(Australian\\_TV\\_program\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meet_the_Press_(Australian_TV_program))>

10 - <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Australian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Australian) - 23.2.2008, 11:35>

11 - <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Sydney\\_Morning\\_Herald](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Sydney_Morning_Herald) 23.2.2008, 11:40>

#### **2.2.4. Concluding Remarks**

The search for some background information about the speakers proved that there are many different biographies about the politicians on the Internet but not many about the journalists. They would not be as well known as the politicians and for privacy reasons, they probably avoid giving out too much information about themselves.

To sum up, the background information about these speakers for the analysis has been researched and the common ground that all the interviewees share is the following:

##### **Interviewees:**

1. All of them are white males.
2. All of them have a university degree – Mr. Blair and Mr. Howard both studied law whereas Mr. Bush history and business administration.
3. All are older than 50 and younger than 70 years of age.
4. All of them play a leadership role in the politics in their country.

In contrast to the data found about the politicians, the only information in common that is shared by all the journalists is their current occupation. Therefore, I consider it as unnecessary to compare in detail the data about only two interviewers – J. Williams and P. Bongiorno. The only information, which I believe can have a strong influence on the language of the speakers, is their education. Both journalists have a university degree. It suggests that their language will be sophisticated and thus should be not much different from the politicians. Moreover, I suppose that all other journalists will probably also have graduated from a university or a school of journalism. This suggests that there will not be a major difference between the language used by the interviewers and interviewees.

**Interviewers:**

Based on the research, only the following information about the interviewers can be summarised: all of them work as journalists for a newspaper, TV or the radio in their home country

# Chapter III

## Discourse Analysis

### 3.1. Linguistic Approaches to Pragmatic Markers

In this part of the diploma thesis, I am going to attempt to define and classify pragmatic markers with the help of a few linguists.

Reading secondary literature on pragmatics and discourse, I became confused which expressions belong to the class of pragmatic markers. Are they adverbs, conjunction, interjections or even phrases? Who decides whether an expression will belong to pragmatic markers? Why and where are they used? Firstly, there is little agreement among linguists about markers. Furthermore, they examine pragmatic markers from different angles. However, Brinton (1996) summarizes some of the linguistic approaches as follows:

1. Pragmatic markers are used mainly orally as the appearance is caused by lack of time (Östman 1982).
2. In written discourse, they show lack of fluency and care (Brinton 1996).
3. Pragmatic markers are often phonologically reduced or unstressed (Schiffrin 1987).
4. Pragmatic markers have little meaning (Schiffrin 1986).
5. Some pragmatic markers have no clear grammatical function (Goldberg 1980).
6. Pragmatic markers are optional features (Brown-Yule 1983).
7. Pragmatic markers can belong to interjections (James 1972), adverbs, particles (Stubbs 1983), function words (Fries 1952), phrases, idioms, fragments of a sentence and clauses (Fraser 1988; Watts 1988).

8. If pragmatic markers are omitted, the discourse can sound unnatural, unfriendly or even impolite (Svartvik – Stenström 1985).
9. A discourse without pragmatic markers would be incomprehensible for the listener (Svartvik – Stenström 1985).

Schiffrin (1986: 328), on the other hand, sums up a number of factors which help to identify a pragmatic marker:

1. it has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence.
2. it has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance.
3. it has to have a range of prosodic contours e.g. tonic stress and followed by a pause, phonological reduction.
4. it has to be able to operate at both local and global levels of discourse, and on different planes of discourse. This means that it either has to have no meaning, a vague meaning, or to be reflexive (of the language, of the speaker).

In contrast to the previous linguistic approaches, Stenström (1994) claims that pragmatic markers organize and hold the turn and mark boundaries in the discourse. In her terms, pragmatic markers are used as:

1. slot fillers (fills a slot in a turn) serve as frames and sometimes starters. Frames are the boundary in the utterance and starters help to start an utterance.
2. empathizers which engage listeners and make them feel a part of the conversation.
3. hedges which modify and make an utterance less harmful or bad.
4. stallers which can have the same function as hedges as they play for time.
5. fillers which are lexically empty items which fill a conversation gap.

In my view, markers can generally have different functions and meanings in an utterance and every individual can understand the meaning differently. It often depends on the shared knowledge, experience, and the emotional state of the

speakers and listeners. Thus, this analysis can be considered as a subjective approach to the markers as not only the speaker or hearer might interpret the markers in a different way, but also the analyst can have a different interpretation. Hence, I am going to compare my interpretation of the markers with the *CCED* (2001). Furthermore, I will compare the results of the analysis of the markers with the above stated linguistic approaches.

### 3.2. Pragmatic Markers

I have investigated many books on pragmatics and discourse for lists of all pragmatic markers. Nonetheless, there is again no complete agreement among linguists about pragmatic markers. Here I present three linguists who deal with pragmatic markers in their works. Schifffrin (1987), Aijmer (1996), Brinton (1996) and Aijmer (2002) referring to Stenström (1994) list pragmatic markers but use them for a variety of analyses.

1. Schifffrin (1987) analyses a discourse of argument and includes markers *and, because, but, I mean, now, oh, or, so, then, well and you know*.
2. Aijmer (1996: 203) groups markers from the London-Lund Corpus into two functional classes – local and global. This detailed list of as she calls the markers: “a subgroup of markers” includes in the first group fixed or semifixed phrases like *as far as we can see, believe it or not, by the way, if you ask me, strictly between us*, etc. The second group contains phrases like *to put it another way, now you come to mention it, to put you in the picture*, etc. However, these markers are not defined as markers in any other literature.
3. Brinton (1996) sums up pragmatic markers in Modern English but does not specify for which analysis they can be used. Among others, he includes markers like *o.k., yes/no, and if*.

4. Aimer (2002) concentrates on the London – Lund Corpus of Spoken English that includes face-to-face conversations, telephone conversations, discussion, and public and prepared speeches.

In my analysis, I concentrate on the most frequent pragmatic markers found in the transcripts of all three interviews and these are *but, I mean, just, now, of course, so, well, you know*. All the pragmatic markers are included in the lists of markers by all linguists mentioned above.

Studying and presenting the base for the analysis - media discourse, participants in the interviews and different linguistic approaches to the markers, I am going to illustrate a few questions, which my analysis of pragmatic markers will address.

The questions are as follows:

### **1. Quantitative and qualitative approach**

- 1) Which marker is the most frequent one in all interviews?
- 2) What are the semantic meanings of the markers?

### **2. Personal approach to all participants**

1. Which participant is the most frequent user of the markers (considering the total number of expressions of each speaker)?
2. Does the social status of the speakers and the varieties of the English language influence the use of the markers?
3. Does the use of the markers depend on individual speakers?

### **3. Approach to genre**

1. Why are pragmatic markers used in political interviews?
2. What role do the markers play in this genre?

These questions are important guidelines for my analysis and will place the study of the pragmatic markers in a broad analytical context.

### 3.3. Analysis of Pragmatic Markers

In the analysis of individual markers, I am going to examine pragmatic markers applying the quantitative approach and the quantitative approach.

To make the analysis transparent, instead of using common A, B, C or initials as a speaker's code, I have decided to use the surnames of the speakers. Moreover, to distinguish the politicians from the journalists, the surnames of the politicians are in the Tables indicated in bold. Pragmatic markers are presented here in bold italics.

#### 3.3.1. Section 1

##### Quantitative Approach

The quantitative approach consists of numbers, thus the total number of turns, expressions, pragmatic markers and the frequency of the markers will be examined here. I assume that the politicians use a higher number of pragmatic markers than the journalists do, for it is expected that they will reply to the questions in detail. Moreover, the journalists have usually the questions prepared beforehand, which means that they often do not have to react to the replies of the politicians.

For this analysis, we have to take into account that all the interviews are of a different length. Therefore, it is not how many times the marker occurs, although that is important, but it is the frequency of the markers in the interview that is significant. To find the frequency of the marker in an utterance, I have taken the total number of expressions and divided them by the total number of pragmatic markers. The result equals the average frequency of the marker in the utterance. Hence, and as demonstrated in the Tables, the lower the frequency of the marker, the more frequent is the marker found in the utterance.

Table 1 shows the results of the general quantitative approach where the number of the turns, expressions, pragmatic markers and the total frequency of the markers in every utterance is presented.

**Table 1: Number of turns, total number of expressions, total number of pragmatic markers and the frequency of pragmatic markers, depending on each speaker**

|                  | Turns | Expressions   | Pragmatic marker | Frequency of markers |
|------------------|-------|---------------|------------------|----------------------|
| <b>Blair</b>     | 39    | 6.641         | 181              | 37                   |
| Riddell, Webster | 39    | 1.532         | 36               | 43                   |
| <b>Bush</b>      | 27    | 4.290         | 96               | 45                   |
| Williams         | 27    | 836           | 25               | 33                   |
| <b>Howard</b>    | 30    | 2.322         | 46               | 50                   |
| Bongiorno        | 21    | 1.100         | 17               | 65                   |
| Hewett           | 10    | 279           | 6                | 47                   |
| Hartcher         | 6     | 198           | 3                | 66                   |
| <b>Total</b>     |       | <b>17.198</b> | <b>410</b>       |                      |

### 3.3.1.1. Number of Expressions

The analysis deals with 17.198 expressions (see Table 1). The longest interview is Interview I. It includes 8.173 expressions whereas the shortest interview is Interview III, which contains 3.899 expressions (Table 2, 3, 4, 5).

The longest utterance is Blair's utterance as he himself says 6.641 expressions. The least frequent speaker is Peter Hartcher, one of the journalists in Interview III, who utters 198 expressions. The reason for such a small number of expressions is the fact that there are three journalists present during the interview. If we were to look at this interview as we look at Interview I and II, we would have to state that the total number of expressions used by the journalist is 1.577. Thus, journalists in Interview III would use a higher number of expressions than journalists in Interview I. Nevertheless, I am going to focus on all the interviews separately, other than Riddell and Webster.

As presented above, the number of expressions used by the politician and the journalist in an interview differs. There is an asymmetry between the utterance of a politician and a journalist. The explanation of the asymmetry is that the speakers are influenced by the pattern used in a political interview. The journalist is there to ask questions whereas politicians are there to reply to the questions in detail. Thus, it is expected that the politician's answers will be much longer. The findings in Table 1 show the different amount of expressions used by the politicians and journalists in the interviews. Furthermore, Tables 3, 4, 5 indicate the discrepancy in the numbers. Table 6 demonstrates the number of expressions used by the most communicative speaker Tony Blair.

**Table 2: Total figure of expressions, depending on the interview**

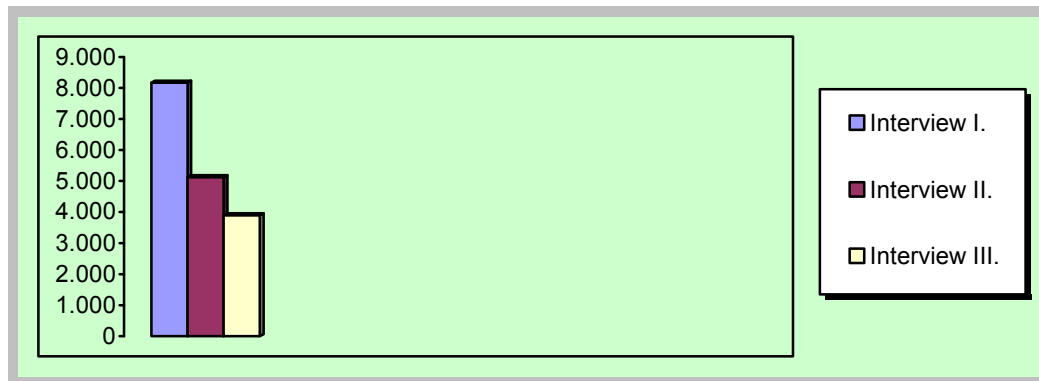


**Table 3: Number of expressions depending on the speakers in Interview I**

| Interview I      | Expressions  |
|------------------|--------------|
| Blair            | 6.641        |
| Riddell, Webster | 1.532        |
| <b>Total</b>     | <b>8.173</b> |

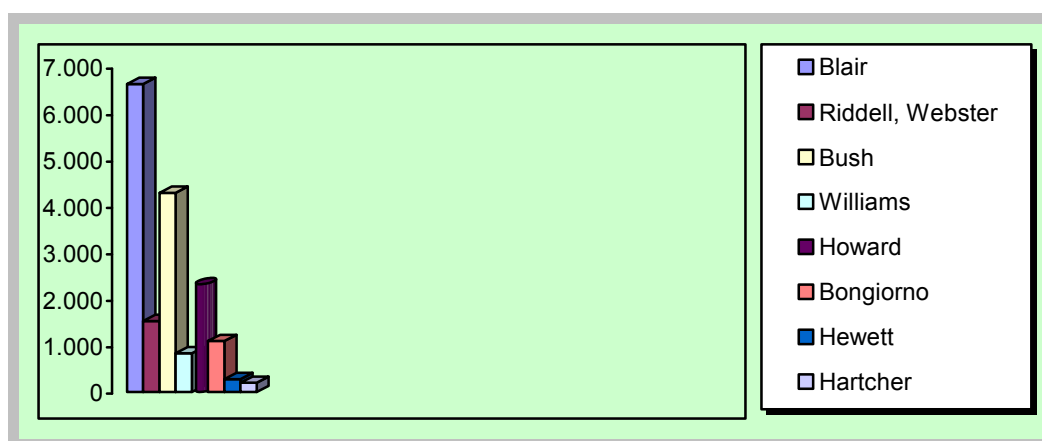
**Table 4: Total figure of expressions depending on the speakers in Interview II**

| Interview II | Expressions  |
|--------------|--------------|
| Bush         | 4.290        |
| Williams     | 836          |
| <b>Total</b> | <b>5.126</b> |

**Table 5: Total figure of expressions depending on the speakers in Interview III**

| Interview III | Expressions  |
|---------------|--------------|
| <b>Howard</b> | <b>2.322</b> |
| Bongiorno     | 1100         |
| Hewett        | 279          |
| Hartcher      | 198          |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>3.899</b> |

**Table 6: Total number of expressions, depending on the speaker**



### 3.3.1.2. Occurrence and Frequency of Pragmatic Markers

So far I have concentrated on the total number of expressions in the interviews. Next, I would like to state the occurrence of each marker in all interviews. Furthermore, I will focus on the most frequent user of the markers.

The highest figure of pragmatic markers occurs in Blair's utterance, it is 181 pragmatic markers (see Table 7). The least common user is Mr. Hartcher who uses 3 pragmatic markers in his speech.

As the interviews differ in length, I have to focus on the frequency of the markers. The most frequent user of the markers is not a politician as expected. It is surprisingly a journalist, participating in Interview II, Juan Williams. The findings in Table 8 show the results. In William's utterance, every 33<sup>rd</sup> expression is a pragmatic marker. Williams had probably his questions only very briefly prepared in advance. On the contrary, the rarest recurrence of pragmatic

markers was found in the Interview III. The speaker is also a journalist, Peter Hartcher. Every 66<sup>th</sup> expression in his utterance is a pragmatic marker. It suggests that Peter Hartcher had his questions carefully prepared before the interview started. Therefore, he did not need to think much about the questions he was going to ask or he did not react in any way to what the politician stated.

**Table 7: Occurrence of pragmatic markers, depending on the speaker**

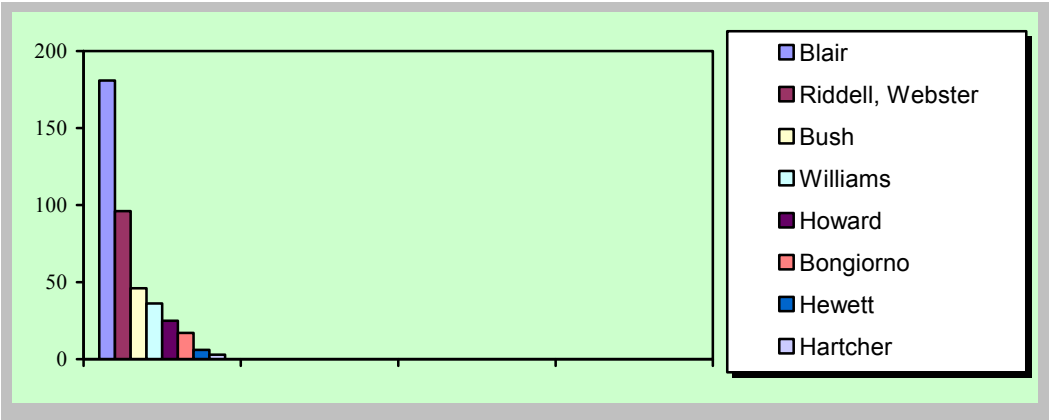
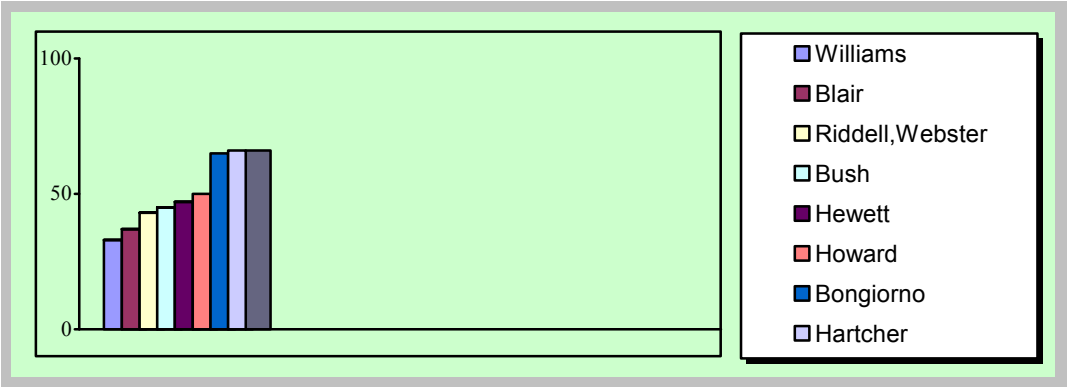


**Table 8: Frequency of pragmatic markers, depending on the speaker**



### 3.3.1.3. Variety of English

Next, I will examine the occurrence of the markers in relation to the country of origin of the speakers. Table 9 shows that the country the speakers are residents of does not play an important role in the frequency of use of the pragmatic markers. The most frequent user of the markers, as already stated above, is Juan

Williams from the USA. Tony Blair, who comes from the UK, follows him in 2<sup>nd</sup> place. Riddell and Webster, and Hewett from the UK, occupy the 3<sup>rd</sup> place.

As presented in Table 9, the speakers from the USA and the UK are more frequent users of pragmatic markers than speakers from Australia. This result suggests that the variety of the English language can influence the frequency of use of pragmatic markers.

**Table 9: The most frequent users of pragmatic markers**

|    |                  | Frequency of the Use of Markers | Country of Origin |
|----|------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. | Williams         | 33                              | USA               |
| 2. | <b>Blair</b>     | 37                              | UK                |
| 3. | Riddell, Webster | 43                              | UK                |
| 4. | <b>Bush</b>      | 45                              | USA               |
| 5. | Hewett           | 47                              | AU                |
| 6. | <b>Howard</b>    | 50                              | AU                |
| 7. | Bongiorno        | 65                              | AU                |
| 8. | Hartcher         | 66                              | AU                |

#### **3.3.1.4. Social Status**

I expect that there can be a difference in the use of the markers among speakers of different social status. I suppose that politicians should be more precise and that they would concentrate more on how they express themselves than the journalists do. Nevertheless, as presented in Table 10, the most frequent user of the markers is a journalist, the second a politician, and the third again a journalist. Consequently, we can state that there is no relationship between social status and the frequency of the use of pragmatic markers.

**Table 10: All users of pragmatic markers, depending on social status**

|    | Social Status | Name             | Frequency of Pragmatic Markers |
|----|---------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | Journalist    | Williams         | 33                             |
| 2. | Politician    | Blair            | 37                             |
| 3. | Journalist    | Riddell, Webster | 43                             |
| 4. | Politician    | Bush             | 45                             |
| 5. | Journalist    | Hewett           | 47                             |
| 6. | Politician    | Howard           | 50                             |
| 7. | Journalist    | Bongiorno        | 65                             |
| 8. | Journalist    | Hartcher         | 66                             |

### 3.3.1.5. Occurrence of Individual Pragmatic Markers

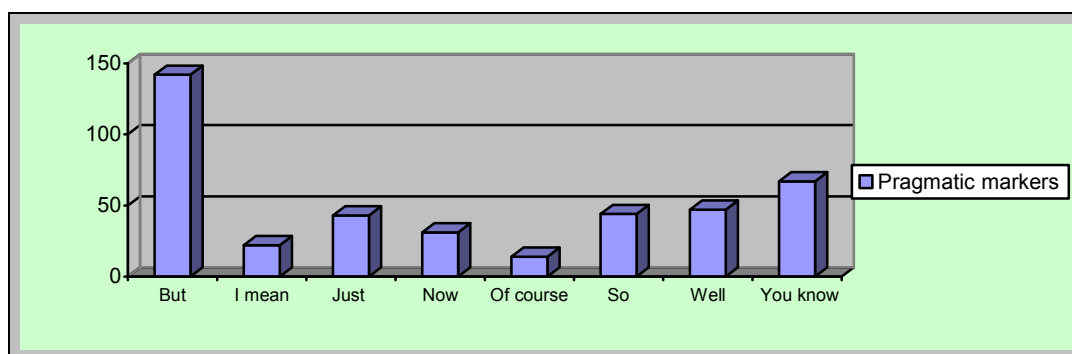
The objective is to examine pragmatic markers in detail. I am going to focus on the occurrence of every pragmatic marker in each interview. The number of the markers suggests how vague the speech is as those expressions or phrases often have very little meaning (Brinton 1996 referring to Schiffrin 1986). I agree with Schiffrin as the frequency of the markers can show how much has been communicated.

Table 11 and 12 present the occurrence of individual markers and the occurrence of all markers in all utterances. The most frequently occurring pragmatic marker in all interviews is **but**. It appears 142 times in the interviews. **But** is followed by **you know** which occurs 67 times and **well** appearing 47 times. The least frequent marker is **of course** which appears 14 times.

**Table 11: Occurrence of pragmatic markers, depending on the speaker**

|                  | <i>But</i> | <i>I mean</i> | <i>Just</i> | <i>Now</i> | <i>Of course</i> | <i>So</i> | <i>Well</i> | <i>You know</i> |
|------------------|------------|---------------|-------------|------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|
| <b>Blair</b>     | 64         | 12            | 15          | 19         | 7                | 16        | 13          | 35              |
| Riddell, Webster | 22         | -             | 6           | -          | -                | 2         | 2           | 4               |
| <b>Bush</b>      | 22         | 7             | 9           | 6          | 1                | 16        | 16          | 19              |
| Williams         | 4          | -             | 2           | 3          | -                | 5         | 3           | 8               |
| <b>Howard</b>    | 19         | 3             | 6           | 2          | 3                | 4         | 8           | 1               |
| Bongiorno        | 8          | -             | 2           | -          | 2                | 1         | 4           | -               |
| Hewett           | 2          | -             | 1           | 1          | 1                | -         | 1           | -               |
| Hartcher         | 1          | -             | 2           | -          | -                | -         | -           | -               |
| Total            | 142        | 22            | 43          | 31         | 14               | 44        | 47          | 67              |

**Table 12: Occurrence of all pragmatic markers in all interviews**



### 3.3.1.6. Concluding Remarks

In this section, I have presented the quantitative analysis of pragmatic markers. I have analysed the number of expressions, the occurrence of pragmatic markers and the most frequent users of the markers and here are the results:

1. The longest interview is Interview I.
2. The most communicative speaker is Tony Blair.
3. The highest figure of pragmatic markers occurs in Blair's utterance.
4. The most frequent user of pragmatic markers is Juan Williams.
5. The variety of English can play a role in the use of pragmatic markers.
6. There is no relationship between the social status of the speakers and the frequency in the use of pragmatic markers.
7. The use of the markers depends on every individual.

8. The highest rate of use is of the pragmatic marker **but** followed by **you know** and **well**.

### 3.3.2. Section 2

#### Qualitative approach

In contrast to the quantitative approach, which is related to figures, the qualitative approach evaluates pragmatic markers according to their function. The pragmatic markers will be analysed alphabetically in the following order:

1. **But**
2. **I mean**
3. **Just**
4. **Now**
5. **Of course**
6. **So**
7. **Well**
8. **You know**

#### 3.3.2.1. **But**

Schiffrin (1987) argues that **but** is a discourse coordinator with a very wide pragmatic effect. Thus, what are the pragmatic meanings of the marker **but** included in the analysed interviews? To examine **but** or any other marker is a difficult task because the preceding as well as the following utterance must be examined very carefully. Nevertheless, in some cases we might not be able to distinguish the meaning of the marker, as in the following example:

- (1) **Blair ( 369 – 372):**  
“Yes, it will. We are at quite a critical stage in that debate now and it is probably not sensible to say any more about it. **But** you know immigration is a classic example. Every single country, you know what is the biggest domestic issue in the US at the moment? – Immigration.”

I suppose that **but** in (1) can have the meaning of addition, can be a sign of the coming change of the topic or can introduce a new idea. In the example, prior to the marker, Blair does not want to give any further comments on the debate. However, he decides to mention one of the topics from the discussion. It means that he changes his mind as to what he was going to reveal and adds some information that he was not going to mention before. This suggests that in some cases, the marker can include more than one meaning at a time and that it can be ambiguous in the function that it plays.

Before the analysis, I am going to examine the uses of **but** as defined in the *CCED* (2001: 203-204). This dictionary states the following purposes of **but**, however, it does not mention the context of the expression – as in, whether it is spoken or written.

1. You use **but** to introduce something which contrasts with what you have just said, or to introduce something which adds to what you have just said.
2. You use **but** when you are about to add something further in a discussion or to change a subject.
3. You use **but** after you have made an excuse or apologised for what you are just about to say.
4. You use **but** to introduce a reply to someone when you want to indicate surprise, disbelief, refusal, or protest.
5. You use **but** to mean `except`.
6. You use **but** to mean `only`.

### **Analysis of *But***

Firstly, I am going to separately examine the occurrence and frequency of **but** in all interviews by adopting the quantitative approach. Secondly, I am going to analyse the meaning of each **but** individually applying the qualitative approach.

The occurrence and frequency of the pragmatic marker is shown in Table 13. Table 14 demonstrates the highest figure of the markers. It appears in

Blair's utterance. He uses the marker 64 times. However, Blair is not the most frequent user of the marker. It is Riddell and Webster, who use **but** in the place of every 74<sup>th</sup> expression (see Table 15). There can possibly be a connection between the frequent use of the marker and the variety of English as the most frequent users of **but** are from the UK followed by the speakers from Australia. Thus, we can say that **but** tends to be more common in the UK than in Australia or the USA.

**Table 13: Occurrence and frequency of *but*, depending on the speaker**

|               | Speaker          | The total number of <i>but</i> | Frequency of the marker <i>but</i> |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Interview I   | <b>Blair</b>     | 64                             | 104                                |
| Interview I   | Riddell, Webster | 22                             | 74                                 |
| Interview II  | <b>Bush</b>      | 22                             | 186                                |
| Interview II  | Williams         | 4                              | 238                                |
| Interview III | <b>Howard</b>    | 19                             | 125                                |
| Interview III | Bongiorno        | 8                              | 112                                |
| Interview III | Hewett           | 2                              | 148                                |
| Interview III | Hartcher         | 1                              | 214                                |
|               | <b>Total</b>     | <b>142</b>                     |                                    |

**Table 14: Occurrence of the pragmatic marker *but* , depending on the speaker**

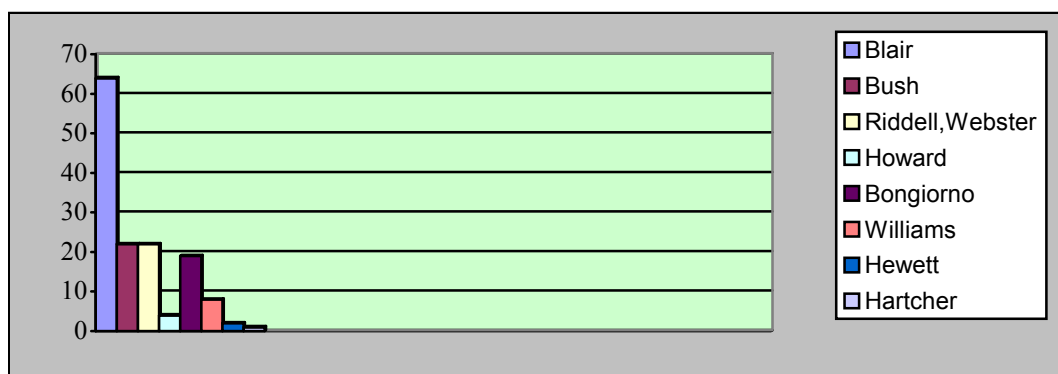
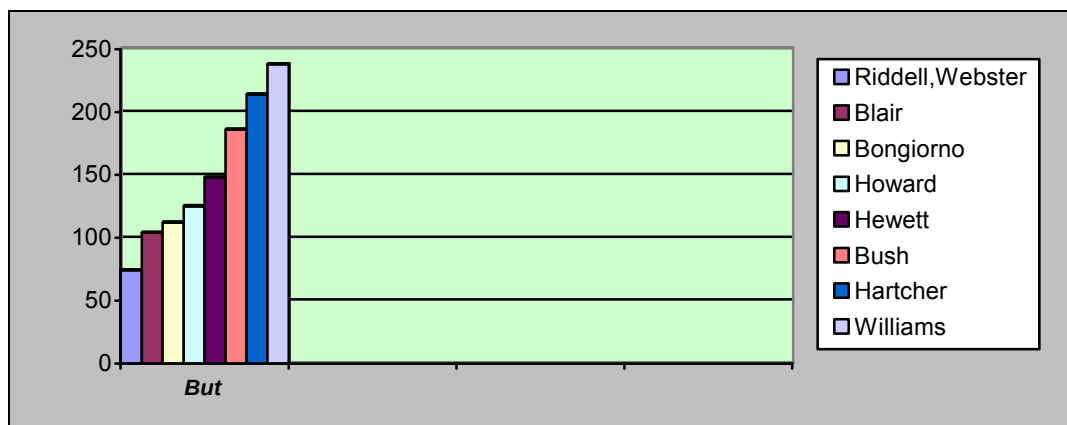


**Table 15: Frequency of the pragmatic marker *but*, depending on the speaker**



## **Interview I**

This marker occurs in the first interview 86 times. Blair uses *but* 64 times. In his utterance, there is *but* in the position of every 104<sup>th</sup> expression. The occurrence of the marker in Riddell, Webster's utterance is less frequent. They use this marker 22 times. However, during their utterance, the marker appears in the place of every 74<sup>th</sup> expression.

Reading the transcript, I have noticed that *but* can be found either in the front or in the middle position in an utterance. Therefore, I will consider the possible difference of meaning of the marker occurring in different places in the utterance.

### **1) Placement analysis**

#### **a) Front position**

I have detected in this interview that *but* in the front position often occurs with some type of agreement – here with *yes* or a short answer *it does*. Some people might disagree, as the marker does not occur exactly in the front position. Nevertheless, the preceding expression or phrase tends to only express some agreement and therefore I consider *but* to be an expression that carries more meanings.

In (2), I assume that Blair wants to express politeness at the beginning of his turn despite the fact that he might disagree as he tries to change the topic immediately after the agreement. Urbanová (2003: 13) claims that “Politeness phenomena include tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement and sympathy”. I suppose that Blair tends to be careful not to express something infelicitous or false. Stenström, on the other hand, might argue that this is a paradigm for hedging which, however, has the same meaning as stated by Urbanova (2003).

(2) **Riddell, Webster (239-240):**

*“Sometimes we wonder. But if you communicated that more clearly and explicitly, you wouldn't be caricatured in the way that you are.”*

**Blair (241-242)**

*“Yes, **but** you know in the end, without appearing to be overly carping about it, that is the way the modern media is conducted...”*

## b) Middle Position

The next two examples show that politeness has not been detected in the middle position of **but**. Therefore, it seems that the meaning of the marker in certain position in an utterance tends to differ in politeness only. The examples of **but** can also be included in the contextual analysis as they do not tend to have a special meaning in this position in the utterance.

In (3), Blair changes the topic and adds some information.

(3) **Blair (241-246)**

*“Yes, but you know in the end, without appearing to be overly carping about it, that is the way the modern media is conducted. I mean the truth of the matter is that if people heard the full argument, for example in the Los Angeles speech, I think some may agree, some may disagree, **but** they would at least say well that is an argument. But you just put up with that, **but** it has been difficult in foreign policy ever since September 11. ...”*

(4) is an example of contrasting ideas. Riddell and Webster contrast the different 5-year plans with the help of **but**.

(4) **Riddell, Webster (409-412)**

*“One thing coming up, the big thing this winter is the CSR. The last CSR you linked it with 5 year plans, well mainly for health, **but** 5 year plans for the main public services. Are you going to do the same again this time?”*

## 2) Contextual Analysis

Contextual analysis refers to and examines the language surrounding pragmatic markers. My aim here is to examine **but** focusing on the preceding as well as the subsequent comments.

### **a) Change of subject**

In my opinion this **but** discusses a change of subject as Riddell, Webster move the topic from the concern of leaving the office to some speculation about a ruined Conference.

(5) **Riddell, Webster (3-6)**

*“...A former Labour Minister said yesterday that your extended departure was bleeding the Party. You clearly don't want to go just yet, **but** how can you stop the next few weeks and the Conference being ruined by speculation?”*

### **b) Addition**

The following **but** adds some information to what has been previously mentioned. I assume that Blair is aware of the fact that there are many changes in the health system. In addition, he knows that there are some changes to be done.

(6) **Blair (92-96)**

*“... We have got to be out there saying in fact we have real and significant changes for the good in the Health Service and Education **but** there are a lot of lessons we have got to learn from what we have done and we can improve the situation still further in the areas of Public Service. ... “*

### **c) Refusal**

In my view, Riddell and Webster refuse Blair's argument. Blair argues that the reform programmes have been in progress for some time, but the journalist disagrees with this.

(7) **Blair (427-436)**

*“Well I think there is a misconception about that, and then I have got a strong defence of what we have done. The misconception is that we have only begun*

*these reform programmes recently. We actually haven't. but some of those reform programmes, I mean to set up for example the choice and independent treatment centres and so on in the Health Service, the work on that began straight after the 2001 election. Now you might have said well reform actually, I suppose it did really begin before that with the NHS Plan that was published in the year 2000. So I think sometimes, and the City Academy programme has been several years in its concept and development, and that is just the way these reform programmes are."*

**Riddell, Webster (437)**

*"But they have only recently been set up."*

#### **d) Contrasting meaning**

Riddell and Webster contrast Blair's wishes. On one hand, they compare what he wanted to achieve and on the other hand, what he did not manage while in office.

**(8) Riddell, Webster (502-507)**

*" Looking at your longer term... what you want to do now, and we are clear on that, it is just as you in a sense took forward and developed some of the things left over by the Thatcher/Major years, might not your legacy be to leave to David Cameron taking forward what new Labour has done, that he could take forward, or some of the things you would like to have done **but** haven't been able to do?"*

#### **e) Summary**

The pragmatic marker **but** helps to summarise what Blair has previously expressed. This is the first explanation of the meaning of the marker, which does not fit in the list of meanings in the dictionary. However, it can also have the meaning of addition to what has been mentioned before.

**(9) Blair (388-396)**

*" ... And that is why I keep saying there are two questions here, and despite what people say, in fact as a government we have toughened up the position on asylum and immigration, **but** it is a real challenge for every modern major country now, in Europe it is the major issue for any of these governments, you know you talk to the Spanish Prime Minister, and there it is, a socialist government, but talking language on migration that a few years ago would have had eyebrows raised if it had come from the right, but he is having to do that because he can see that the problems that it is causing in terms of internal cohesion in his own country. ..."*

#### **f) Critical Disagreement**

Prior to this **but**, Riddell and Webster criticise Blair for not holding different opinions from those of the USA and Israel. Blair then criticises the newspaper. Riddell and Webster try to side-step the criticism by then being critical of Blair's

approach. Here, the marker is used after deflecting a criticism to enable a criticism to be given in return.

(10) **Blair (238)**

*“...you are not an underground organisation.”*

**Riddell, Webster (239-240)**

*“Sometimes we wonder. **But** if you communicated that more clearly and explicitly, you wouldn’t be caricatured in the way that you are.”*

## **Interview II**

This interview includes 26 occurrences of **but**. The majority of the instances of the markers occur 22 times in Bush’s utterance. It means that **but** can be found in the place of every 186<sup>th</sup> expression in his utterance. Furthermore, **but** appears in the front position 8 times and in the middle position 13 times. The other speaker in this interview, Mr. Williams, uses the expression only 4 times. The marker occurs in the place of every 238<sup>th</sup> expression in his utterance. In the front position it is found once and the rest of the times **but** occurs in the middle position. In contrast to Interview I, there is no occurrence of some agreement preceding **but** in this interview. Furthermore, **but** does not often appear at the beginning of the turn in this interview. Thus, as there is no typical co-occurrence of **but** and some of the other expressions in this interview, I will focus my attention on a contextual analysis.

### **1) Contextual Analysis**

#### **a) Change of subject**

Bush wanted to leave Iraq before the actual interview took place but it did not happen. So instead, he changes this topic and moves to the present situation, which worries him.

(11) **Bush (38-43)**

*“...I fully understand it’s going to be up to the Iraqis to solve their problems. I was hoping to be in a different position. In other words, I had hoped I’d be able*

*to interview with you and say, well, I know, we're not needed as much anymore, **but** I fully recognize that unless the violence in Baghdad, the capital city of Iraq, the sectarian isn't going to happen. ..."*

### **b) Only**

Bush mentions his plans about the reduction of fuel use. I suppose that this **but** means *only*. Furthermore, it can even be interchangeable with *only* as it is only necessary to pay for some research and development.

(12) **Bush (248-251)**

*"...And I believe the goal I set, which is a very bold goal, of reducing gasoline usage by 20 percent in 10 years is an attainable goal, **but** it's going to require the Congress funding the research and development initiatives that I have put in my budgets. ..."*

### **c) Addition**

In this example, **but** is followed by *also* which suggests that some extra information will be added. Here I suppose, another discourse coordinator, *and*, could replace the marker with no significant change in meaning.

(13) **Bush (399-405)**

*"...And I guess – you know, I'm going to work – I think it's important for me to continue to reach out to the Democrats, and will – and Republicans, for that matter – and explain the strategies and the way forward, **but** also to explain to them that presidents and Congress will be dealing with this ideological struggle for quite a while, and therefore it makes sense to work together now to help not only us succeed, but help them succeed."*

### **d) Contrast**

Bush contrasts and also emphasises the emotion felt by himself and many Americans by using **but**.

(14) **Bush (167-169)**

*"...And I appreciate that soldier, and I hope this message gets to him that not only do I appreciate him, **but** a lot of Americans appreciate him."*

### **e) Disbelief**

On the one hand, William questions what Bush has mentioned by expressing his doubts. On the other hand, Williams first adds some information on what is said to be happenings in Iraq.

(15) **Williams (171-175)**

*“ ... Iran's ambassador to Iraq says Iran is planning to greatly expand its economic and military ties with Iran – with Iraq. You said you have proof of Iran's role in attacks on U.S. forces in Iraq. I know you want to take care of this diplomatically – I've heard you say that – **but** if Iran escalates its military action in Iraq, how will the U.S. respond?”*

**f) Protest**

This example of **but** can have the meaning of a protest as it is followed by *no*. Bush is protesting what has been mentioned before – that he has not done enough for the people living in Mississippi and Louisiana.

(16) **Bush (225-228)**

*“ ... If there's bureaucratic slowdowns in Washington, we've got a man named Don Powell who is working to address them. **But** no, our response to the Katrina recovery has been very robust.”*

**Interview III**

Here, the pragmatic marker is used 30 times. Howard uses the expression **but** 19 times. In his utterance, every 125<sup>th</sup> expression is a **but**. In the front position, he uses the marker 5 times and the rest occurs in the middle position. Bongiorno's utterance includes 8 **but**. Two of them occur in the front and 7 in the middle position. During their utterance, the marker appears in the place of every 112<sup>th</sup> expression. In Hewett's utterance, there are 2 **but** and in Hatcher's 1. In Hewett's utterance **but** occurs in the place of every 148<sup>th</sup> expression and she uses **but** once in the front and once in the middle position. The least frequent user of **but** is Mr. Hatcher. The markers can be found in the place of every 214<sup>th</sup> expression.

**1) Placement analysis**

I will now consider whether the meaning of **but** in the front and in the middle position differs. This is however not the most important issue in the analysis thus I will only briefly consider this area of study.

### a) Front position

We do not exactly know what Hewett was going to mention in the following example of the use of **but**. It is Mr. Howard, who interrupts her when she was either going to protest against what he had said or express some kind of disbelief. Howard, on the other hand, adds some extra information to what he had expressed before he had been interrupted.

(17) **Howard (279-281)**

*“Well, the understanding we had with the Americans, when we originally participated, was that after the sharp end was over we weren’t going to have any troop presence.”*

**Hewett (282)**

*“But...”*

**Howard (282-286)**

*“But you should remember that was the history. I know this because I was involved in the discussions with both President Bush and the then Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and I made it very clear that we would commit forces...”*

### b) Middle position

The first **but** expresses some doubt, as Howard is uncertain about the decline of unions. Furthermore, the second **but** also shows some uncertainty. In addition, it can express some contrast or surprise as the situation might change soon.

(18) **Howard (206-213)**

*“ I think there’ll always be a role for unions. My sense is that the decline will start to flatten out. It’s come down dramatically. When you get to 15% in the private sector, I don’t think it can get much lower. It might get a bit lower, but my sense is that it’s probably fallen about as far as it’s going to fall. There’ll be further falls perhaps but they will be pretty incremental. Our real complaint is not of course about the existence of unions, and we support tenaciously people’s right to belong and unions’ right to exist and to advocate the cause of their members, there’s not an argument. ...”*

## 2) Contextual Analysis

### a) Change of subject

This example of the use of **but** is clear and there are no other hidden meanings of the marker. Bongiorno introduces the guest, without greeting him, following with a change of the topic as he turns his attention to that day’s papers.

(19) **Bongiorno (14-16)**

*“The Prime Minister is our guest. **But** first. What the nation’s papers are reporting this Sunday June 24 – The ‘Sun-Herald’ leads with “Drug tests for all MPs. ...”*

**b) Only**

Here, Bongiorno comments on the problem of violent behaviour between adults and children in the north of the country. He states that it is a sensitive issue so it should be dealt with carefully. I suppose that this **but** is interchangeable with ‘only’ as it means that the issues should be handled with care and nothing more.

(20) **Bongiorno (21-22)**

*“Northern Territory child abuse expert Lesley Taylor is pleased with the Howard Government’s intervention **but** warns it needs to be handled with care.”*

**c) Addition, surprise**

In my opinion, Howard is surprised that the first approach to child abuse did not solve the problem and adds what the next approach will be.

(21) **Howard (38-41)**

*“ We’d persevered with that, we’d worked the old paradigm, **but** we just came to the conclusion that that wasn’t going to work and we’ve decided in effect to put aside the old approach and to adopt in the short-term a highly interventionists approach. ....”*

**d) Refusal**

Howard is aware of the fact that the next approach to child abuse is not the best to be adopted. However, he refuses to stop the plan as he considers that helping the children is more important than following the rules.

(22) **Howard (41-44)**

*“...It is highly interventionist, **but** we don’t apologise for that, because protecting innocent children is far more important than subservience to a doctrine or a philosophy or the niceties of some inter-governmental arrangement. ...”*

**e) Contrast**

As in Blair’s utterance, there is also a contrast of meanings in Howard’s utterance. Again, the only contrast is between the participants. Hartcher is contrasting the quality “of their rollback” and “your rollback”.

(23) **Hartcher (171-172)**

*“... Why is that their rollback is bad **but** your proposed rollback, your actual rollback, is good?”*

## **f) Summary**

I suppose that Howard summarises what he has mentioned before – helping the US troops during the invasion, leaving the troops on the ground and later leaving the forces only on the sea and in the air. However, I suppose that this **but** can also contrast the first idea of leaving forces on the ground during the invasion with the general idea of not leaving the troops on the ground at all.

(24) **Howard (277-284)**

*“But you should remember that was the history. I know this because I was involved in the discussions with both President Bush and the then Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and I made it very clear that we would commit forces - if we did commit forces, they'd be committed for the sharp operational stage, the invasion stage if you like, and then after that, we would not be leaving forces on the the ground, we would leave some naval and air units and obviously a security detachment to look after our embassy in Baghdad, **but** the whole idea was not to have troops on the ground.”*

## **Concluding Remarks**

In the analysis of **but** I have tried to present some examples of the use and different meanings of the marker. First, I examined the meanings of this marker in the *CCED* (2001). Second, I focused on the position of the marker in the utterance. Last, I examined the meanings of the marker without paying any attention to the position in the utterance.

The meanings of the pragmatic marker **but** were not always clear and obvious. The transcripts have been examined a few times but every time I was of a different opinion what the marker can mean. Nevertheless, the most common use of the marker is expressing ‘contrastive meaning’ which occurs 53 times (see Table 16a, 16b). ‘Adding information’ which appears 44 times was the second most used meaning of **but**. I have only found one extra meaning, which is not defined in the *CCED* (2001). In the transcripts, **but** is followed by ‘summary’ of what has been stated before (occurs 3 times). This instance of a pragmatic meaning of **but** has been found in Blair’s and Howard’s utterance.

**Table 16a: Meanings of *but* in all interviews**

| <i>But</i>       | Change the subject | Only     | Addition  | Surprise |
|------------------|--------------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| <b>Blair</b>     | 5                  | -        | 24        | -        |
| Riddell, Webster | 3                  | -        | 5         | -        |
| <b>Bush</b>      | 5                  | 2        | 9         | -        |
| Williams         | 2                  | -        | -         | -        |
| <b>Howard</b>    | 5                  | 1        | 5         | -        |
| Bongiorno        | 4                  | 1        | 1         | 1        |
| Hewett           | -                  | -        | -         | 1        |
| Hartcher         | -                  | -        | -         | -        |
| <b>Total</b>     | <b>24</b>          | <b>4</b> | <b>44</b> | <b>2</b> |

**Table 16b: Meanings of *but* in all interviews**

| <i>But</i>              | Refusal  | Contrast  | Summary  | Disbelief | Protest  |
|-------------------------|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| <b>Blair</b>            | 2        | <b>28</b> | 2        | 3         | -        |
| <b>Riddell, Webster</b> | -        | <b>11</b> | -        | 2         | 1        |
| <b>Bush</b>             | -        | 5         | -        | -         | 1        |
| <b>Williams</b>         | -        | 1         | -        | 1         | -        |
| <b>Howard</b>           | 2        | <b>5</b>  | 1        | -         | -        |
| <b>Bongiorno</b>        | -        | 1         | -        | -         | -        |
| <b>Hewett</b>           | -        | 1         | -        | -         | -        |
| <b>Hartcher</b>         | -        | 1         | -        | -         | -        |
| <b>Total</b>            | <b>4</b> | <b>53</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>6</b>  | <b>2</b> |

To sum up the different meanings of ***but*** in all utterances I state here the most frequent meanings occurring in each interview.

1. Interview I – ‘contrasting ideas’
2. Interview II – ‘addition of information’
3. Interview III – ‘changing subject’

Trying to describe the marker in a systematic way, led me toward a more detailed analysis than I had anticipated. Consequently, I will focus in detail on two additional pragmatic markers – ***so*** and ***well***. The choice has been made according to the occurrence of the markers in all interviews. However, I am not

going to focus in this analysis on phrases but on pragmatic markers consisting of one word. Thus instead of *you know*, *so* is analysed here.

However, the analysis will proceed as planned at the beginning. It means that I am going to concentrate on all markers in an alphabetical order. The meanings of the markers are not analysed in detail as such an analysis would be beyond the scope of this work.

### 3.3.2.2. *I mean*

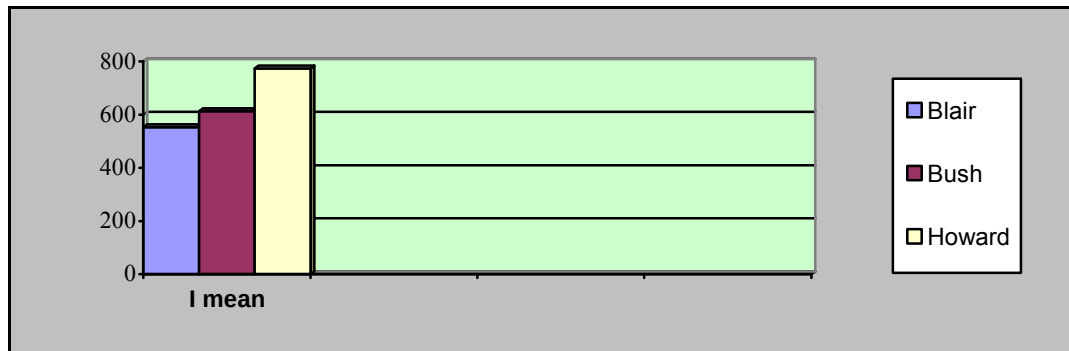
The total number of this marker in all interviews is 22 (see Table 17). The most frequent user of this marker is Blair, who uses *I mean* 12 times and it appears in the position of every 553<sup>rd</sup> expression (see Table 18). This marker is the second least frequently used marker in the interviews.

It is interesting that *I mean* occurs in the utterance of the politicians only. It could mean that this pragmatic marker tends to be resorted to by speakers of a higher social status. However, I presume that the use of the marker is a result of the fact that journalists do not state their ideas or opinions in a political interview.

**Table 17: Occurrence and frequency of *I mean*, depending on the speaker**

|                  | <i>I mean</i> | Frequency of markers <i>I mean</i> |
|------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| <b>Blair</b>     | 12            | 553                                |
| Riddell, Webster | -             | -                                  |
| <b>Bush</b>      | 7             | 613                                |
| Williams         | -             | -                                  |
| <b>Howard</b>    | 3             | 774                                |
| Bongiorno        | -             | -                                  |
| Hewett           | -             | -                                  |
| Hartcher         | -             | -                                  |
| <b>Total</b>     | 22            |                                    |

**Table 18: Frequency of the pragmatic marker *I mean*, depending on the speaker**



The first examination is of *I mean* in the *CCED* (2001: 959) which defines this word as follows:

1. You say *I mean* when making clearer something that you have just said [spoken].
2. You can use *I mean* to introduce a statement, especially on that justifies something that you have just said [spoken].
3. You say *I mean* when correcting something that you have just said [spoken].

In contrast to the *CCED* (2001), Urbanová (2003: 73) claims that this marker expresses “subjectivity of judgement and opinion”. Furthermore, she argues that *I mean* “show involvement and sound persuasive”. I agree with the explanation by Urbanová because although being confused Bush wants to sound persuasive. I also accept the definition of *I mean* in the *CCED* (2001) as Bush wants to make clear what he has just mentioned. Moreover, it can also be as a justification for what has been stated.

(25) **Bush (257-259)**

*“Yeah. Well, that was an oversight then. **I mean**, I’m not trying to needle. Look, I went into the hall saying we can work together and I was very sincere about it. I didn’t even know I did it.”*

Referring to the analysis of *I mean*, the interpretation of the message can vary. Thus, close attention should be paid to every expression in the utterance as one or a few words can change the way the message is interpreted.

### 3.3.2.3 *Just*

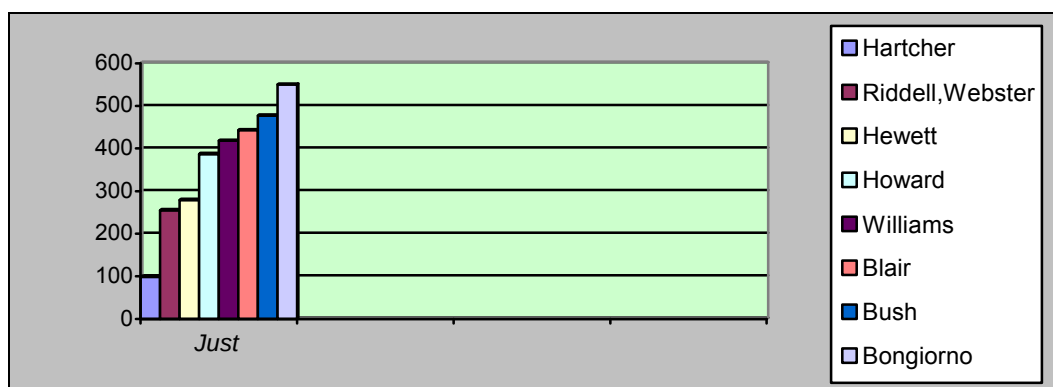
*Just* is a frequent marker in the interviews (see Table 19). Table 20 shows the most frequent user of the marker was Mr. Hartcher. Although he uses *just* only twice, it occurs in the place of every 99<sup>th</sup> expression as shown in Table 20. The second most frequent users are Mr. Riddell and Mr. Webster and while *just* appears in their utterance only 6 times, it can be found in the place of the 255<sup>th</sup> expression.

The marker *just* tends to be used by journalists more frequently than by the politicians. I suppose that journalists use *just* in order to make the question less difficult.

**Table 19: Occurrence and frequency of *just*, depending on the speaker**

| Speaker          | <i>Just</i> | Frequency of markers <i>Just</i> |
|------------------|-------------|----------------------------------|
| <b>Blair</b>     | 15          | 443                              |
| Riddell, Webster | 6           | 255                              |
| <b>Bush</b>      | 9           | 477                              |
| Williams         | 2           | 418                              |
| <b>Howard</b>    | 6           | 387                              |
| Bongiorno        | 2           | 550                              |
| Hewett           | 1           | 279                              |
| Hartcher         | 2           | 99                               |
| Total            | 43          |                                  |

**Table 20: Frequency of the pragmatic marker *just*, depending on the speaker**



There are many different meanings of ***just*** used in conversations. According to *CCED* (2001) ***just*** is synonymous with *only, barely, merely, simply, now, very soon, or very recently*. The *CCED* (2001:1051) lists a number of meanings but specifies as spoken only two when speaking. The entry is defined as follows:

1. You use just with instructions, polite requests, or statements of intention, to make your request or statement seem less difficult [spoken].
2. If you say that you can just see or hear something, you mean that it is easy for you to imagine seeing or hearing it. [spoken].

In my view, the following example of ***just*** means *only*. Howard is not sure what to reply to Bongiorno's question which is not only expressed by the pragmatic marker but also by the perplexity of the utterance which follows the marker.

(26) **Bongiorno** (106-108)

*"One of the successes of Cape York of course is Noel Pearson. He's up there, he's part of that community. Are there Noel Pearsons that you can identify?"*

**Howard** (109-111)

*"Can I **just** say, we're getting away from - we're falling into the old Canberra trap of talking about this as some kind of generalised philosophical debate. ..."*

### 3.3.2.4. Now

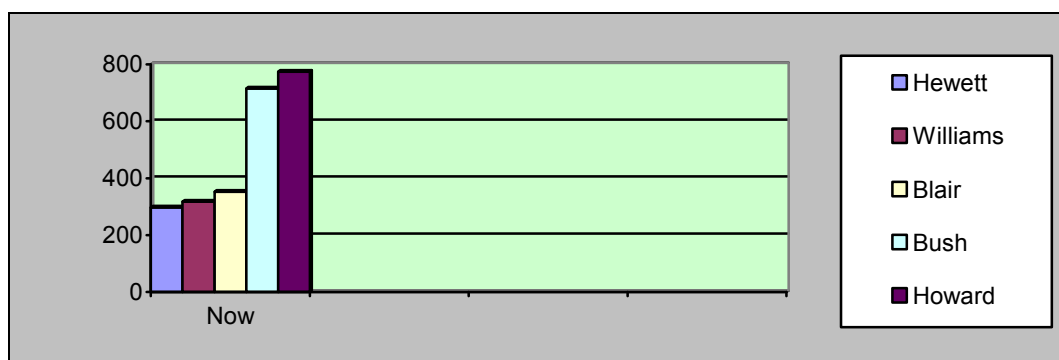
Table 21 shows the occurrence of the pragmatic marker ***now***. In the interviews, it appears 31 times. The highest number of times that ***now*** appears is

in Blair's utterance. However, Ms. Hewett is the most frequent user of the marker. She uses **now** in the place of every 297<sup>th</sup> expression, see Table 22.

**Table 21: Occurrence and frequency of *now*, depending on the speaker**

| Speaker          | <i>Now</i> | Frequency of marker <i>Now</i> |
|------------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Blair</b>     | 19         | 352                            |
| Riddell, Webster | -          | -                              |
| <b>Bush</b>      | 6          | 715                            |
| Williams         | 3          | 318                            |
| <b>Howard</b>    | 2          | 774                            |
| Bongiorno        | -          | -                              |
| Hewett           | 1          | 297                            |
| Hartcher         | -          | -                              |
| Total            | 31         |                                |

**Table 22: Frequency of the pragmatic marker *now*, depending on the speaker**



In (27), the occurrence of **now** shows that the expression seems to be overused. In one part of Blair's turn, **now** occurs 5 times. However, not all uses of **now** function as pragmatic markers. This fact has to be taken into consideration, as the occurrence of temporal adverbs referring to the time is high in the interviews. There are 32 uses of **now** as a temporal adverb and 31 uses of it as a pragmatic marker. I have observed that, as a pragmatic marker **now** tends to be placed in the initial position in the utterance. In the next exchange, 2 of the 5 expressions of **now** are pragmatic markers. In my view, the first use of **now** suggests a change of topic. Blair has reached a certain point in the utterance where

he wants to express agreement with what has been achieved. Using the second **now**, Blair introduces a new topic.

(27) **Blair (443-459)**

*“... But there is not much resistance **now** to the change within the Health Service, because people, you know if you are talking about the GPs, and for the first time we are bringing in new providers and so on, and all the rest of it, they are the best paid in Europe. **Now** I am kind of saying that is great. **Now** incidentally there are all sorts of issues we **now** have to deal with the GPs, like bureaucracy and paperwork, of which there is too much, and we need to tackle it and all the rest of it, but to that basic idea that if a service isn't being provided properly we should be able to contest it, I think the resistance is far lower **now** than it ever was. ...”*

My interpretation of the two pragmatic markers corresponds with the definitions of **now** in the *CCED* (2001: 1051), which provides 5 different meanings of **now** in speech.

1. Some people say **now** when they are thinking of what to say next [spoken].
2. You can use **now** to indicate to the person or people you are with that you want their attention, or that you are about to change the subject [spoken].
3. You use **now** to give a slight emphasis to a request or command [spoken].
4. You can use **now** to introduce information which is relevant to the part of a story or account that you have reached, and which needs to be known before you can continue [spoken].
5. You use **now** to introduce something which contrasts with what you have just said [spoken].

In contrast to my analysis, none of the meanings of **now** defined in the *CCED* (2001) suggests that **now** mostly appears in the initial position.

### 3.3.2.5. **Of course**

**Of course** appears 14 times in the interviews. As shown in Table 23, the most frequent occurrence of the marker is in Blair's utterance – 7 times. Regarding the number of expressions, the most frequent user is Ms. Hewett.

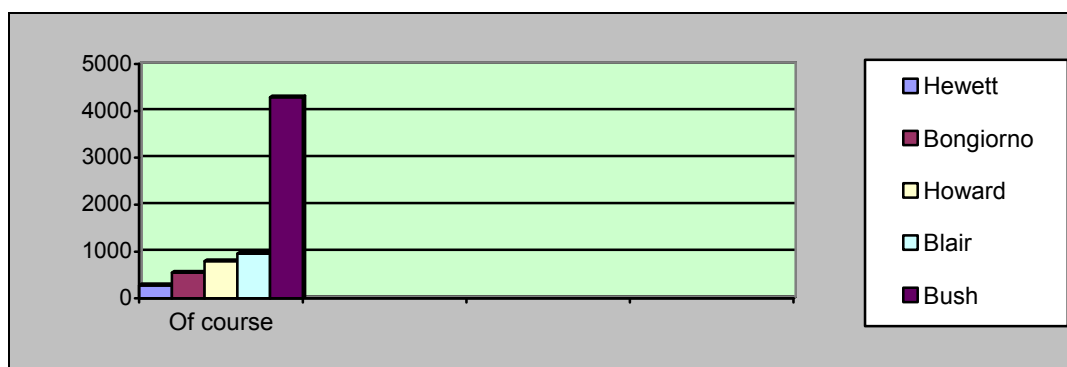
She uses the marker only once but her utterance contains 279 expressions thus the marker appears in the place of every 279<sup>th</sup> expression.

Table 24 demonstrates the frequency of the marker. As this pragmatic marker occurs more frequently in the utterances of speakers in Australia, we can state that this marker tends to be more common in this country than in the UK or the USA.

**Table 23: Occurrence and frequency of *of course*, depending on the speaker**

| Speaker          | <i>Of course</i> | Frequency of <i>Of course</i> |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>Blair</b>     | 7                | 955                           |
| Riddell, Webster | -                | -                             |
| <b>Bush</b>      | 1                | 4.288                         |
| Williams         | -                | -                             |
| <b>Howard</b>    | 3                | 791                           |
| Bongiorno        | 2                | 550                           |
| Hewett           | 1                | 279                           |
| Hartcher         | -                | -                             |
| Total            | 14               |                               |

**Table 24: Frequency of the pragmatic marker *of course*, depending on the speaker**



As an example of the use of *of course*, I present here an utterance from Interview III where the occurrence of this marker is the highest of all three analysed interviews. It is Mr. Howard, who uses *of course* twice in the same turn. I suppose that the first pragmatic marker expresses an act, which, in Howard's terms, is supposed to be ordinary. Mr. Howard suggests that it should not be surprising that Australians helped their allies in the Iraq war. The second *of course* also suggests

that what happened during the stay of Australian corps in Iraq was normal and not surprising.

(28) **Howard (287-291)**

*“...We are a willing friend and ally, but we did have that understanding, and we **of course** along with only the British and the Americans and some other help I think from the Polish, were the only countries that were involved in the original phase and that was **of course** a very important actual as well as symbolic contribution. ...”*

My interpretation of the two **of course** is also mentioned in the *CCED* (2001). The entry of the pragmatic marker is defined in the *CCED* (2001: 1064) as follows:

1. You say **of course** to suggest that something is normal, obvious, or well known, and should therefore not surprise the person you are talking to [spoken].
2. You use of course as a polite way of giving permission [spoken].
3. You use of course in order to emphasize a statement that you are making, especially when you are agreeing or disagreeing with someone [spoken].
4. **Of course not** is an emphatic way of saying no [spoken].

### 3.3.2.6. So

As the next marker to be analysed, I was considering the phrase **you know** and **so**. I have decided to examine the latter since in this work I pay special attention to one word pragmatic markers.

**So** is among the analysed pragmatic markers in Schifffrin's *Discourse Markers* (1987). She examines **so** together with **because** in a structure as main and subordinate units. According to her study (1987: 191) **so** is: “a complementary marker of main idea units”. Furthermore, she argues (1987: 217) that “...**so** functions in the organization of transitions in participation framework.” She also states that **so** can mean ‘result’, ‘inference’ and ‘action’.

In contrast to Schiffrin (1987), the *CCED* (2001: 1477) is more elaborate and defines **so** as follows:

1. You use **so** to refer back to something that has just been mentioned.
2. You use **so** when you are saying that something which has just been said about one person or thing is also true of another one.
3. You say **so** and so that to introduce the result of the situation you have just mentioned
4. You can use **so** in stories and accounts to introduce the next event in a series of events or to suggest a connection between two events.
5. You can use **so** in conversations to introduce a new topic, or to introduce a question or comment about something that has been said
6. You can use **so** in conversations to show that you are accepting what someone has just said.

## Analysis of so

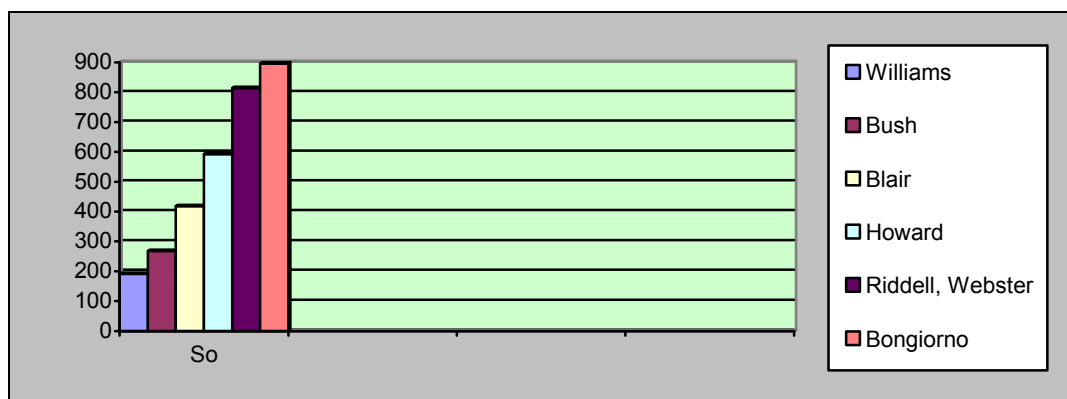
First, I am going to examine the occurrence of this pragmatic marker depending on the speaker and the interview. Second, the meanings of **so** will be analysed individually.

Table 25 demonstrates the occurrence of **so** in all interviews. The total amount of occurrences is 44. The most frequent user is Mr. Williams with the marker occupying the place of every 191<sup>st</sup> expression, see Table 26. The marker tends to appear more frequently in American English as the first two most frequent users come from the USA.

**Table 25: Occurrence and frequency of so, depending on the speaker**

|               | Speaker          | Total number of So | Frequency of So |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Interview I   | <b>Blair</b>     | 16                 | 418             |
| Interview I   | Riddell, Webster | 2                  | 814             |
| Interview II  | <b>Bush</b>      | 16                 | 268             |
| Interview II  | Williams         | 5                  | 191             |
| Interview III | <b>Howard</b>    | 4                  | 593             |
| Interview III | Bongiorno        | 1                  | 896             |
| Interview III | Hewett           | -                  | -               |
| Interview III | Hartcher         | -                  | -               |
|               | <b>Total</b>     | <b>44</b>          |                 |

**Table 26: Frequency of the pragmatic marker *so*, depending on the speaker**



### **Interview I**

Studying the interview, I have detected that **so** does not always occur as a pragmatic marker. It often appears as a phrase. The most frequent example as a phrase is: *and so on*. In this interview, it occurs 10 times. According to the *CCED* (2001: 1373), the entry *and so on* is characterised as a phrase and the meaning is as follows: “You use **and so on** or **and so forth** at the end of a list to indicate that there are other items that you could also mention.” **So** also co-occurs with an adverb such as *strongly* or an adjective such as *focused*. Here it emphasises the quality of the subsequent expression. In my view, the meanings mentioned above are literal and thus a phrase containing **so**, and **so** preceded or followed by an adverb/ adjective will not be examined here.

Furthermore, I have also noticed that **so**, just as with the previously analysed marker **but**, can occur in different places in the utterance. However, the frequency of the marker in the middle position is insufficient for finding any reliable results. Thus, an analysis of the meaning based on the position in the utterance will not be studied in detail.

The expression **so** occurs in this interview 35 times, however, as a pragmatic marker only 18 times. Tony Blair uses the marker **so** 16 times. In his utterance, every 418<sup>th</sup> expression is a **so**. Riddell and Webster use **so** 2 times. During their utterance, the marker occurs in the place of every 814<sup>th</sup> expression.

## 1) Contextual Analysis

### **a) Result**

In my opinion, (29) expresses a result of the previous statement. Blair informs that the Labour Party has no experience with being the leading party for two or even three consecutive terms. Therefore, the party has not been in power for 10 years in sequence.

(29) **Blair (19-24)**

*“...Now to deal with each of these three in turn. Those who are worried about the polls. It is true the polls are difficult for us at the moment and the problem is that the Labour Party has no similar experience to draw upon because the Labour Party has never had two full consecutive terms, let alone three, **so** the Labour Party has never been in its tenth year of consecutive government, not ever in its hundred years of history. ... “*

### **b) New Topic**

**So** in the following utterance signifies a new topic. The journalists have just started the interview and want to introduce a topic, which is concluded by the first question for Blair. Furthermore, **so** introduces a question:

(30) **Riddell, Webster (1-3)**

*“We thought we would kick off on the area which people are talking about at the moment. **So** you have come back and your future is again the main subject. ...”*

### **c) Question**

In (31), the speaker is going to introduce a rhetorical question. Here, again, a few other interpretations of the meaning are possible. Firstly, Blair refers back to the preceding statement. He is aware of the fact that he will not be re-elected and expresses his attitude towards the new leader. Secondly, the marker can signify a summary of what he has mentioned before, or even a change of topic.

(31) **Blair (130-136)**

*“...And the last thing I am going to be doing, and I can absolutely assure you, is to be hanging about making mischief for whoever comes after us, I think it is the worst form of vanity that anyone can ever have after they leave the job is in thinking that anyone is interested in what you say afterwards, other than causing trouble for your successor. **So** that is not an issue for me, but what is an issue for me are the right ideas for you know 10 years in, how do you then renew?”*

#### d) Time to Think

It is difficult to analyse the marker in (32) as it stand on its own and therefore creates an utterance on its own. This instance of the marker is surrounded by extremely long utterances. It appears as if Blair needs to take a deep breath after such a long statement and this marker gives him the opportunity to do so. Furthermore, in my view, it can be a start of a new topic as it is followed by another pragmatic marker **but**. Blair moves his attention from Thatcherism to commenting on the wishes of common people and follows with the Tories and the Labour Party.

(32) **Blair (324-334)**

*“Yes, but we are going to have a change of leader, aren't we, because I have said that. you see when people say it shouldn't be like the end of Thatcherism, it is not going to be like the end of Thatcherism, people are sensible, because the whole point about it, three and a half years into the third term, is that she said that she was going to go on, and on, and on. **So**. But it depends what people want, and of course for the Tories there was a real policy issue in relation to the poll tax as well, but I think there is a more fundamental question for the Labour Party which is are we really about renewing new Labour, or are we actually about saying I think we have had enough of all that radical revolutionary new Labour stuff, now let's go for a quieter life. ...”*

#### Interview II

Examining this interview, I came across 9 markers which are preceded by *and* creating a phrase **and so**. Since *and* is analysed as a pragmatic marker in Schiffrin's *Discourse Markers* (1987), we could consider the markers as a cluster of markers as they stand close to each other in the utterance. There is, however, no explanation of such occurrence of the marker in the *CCED* (2001). As I am not examining the meaning of the expression *and* here, it is difficult to decide whether this cluster of markers should be analysed. However, I assume that it should be included in the analysis because the meaning of the marker **but** is similar to *and*, as both expressions are regarded as a discourse coordinator. Furthermore, it is not defined in the *CCED* (2001) as a phrase. Thus, I will include **and so** in the analysis as a cluster of markers..

**So** occurs 26 times in this interview, and as a pragmatic marker, 21 times. There are 5 times that **so** appears as an emphasis. **So** usually emphasises the quality of the following expressions. In (33), **so** emphasises the expression *vehement*.

(33) **Williams (130-132)**

*“How long can you sustain the policy, though, with people **so** vehement in their doubt, the Congress voting as the Congress is voting, the polls showing what they're showing?”*

The majority of the markers occur in Bush's utterance, being 16 times. The marker appears in the place of every 268<sup>th</sup> expression. Williams uses the expression only 5 times but the marker occupies the place of every 191<sup>st</sup> expression. It means that in Williams' speech the marker occurs more frequently than in Bush's utterance. Since Williams and Bush are the most frequent users of this marker, we can say that it is more likely to be found in American English than in British or Australian English.

In this interview, the marker appears 6 times in the front of the utterance but only once at the beginning of the turn. It signifies that it is unnecessary here to analyse the marker regarding the position in the utterance.

## 1.Contextual Analysis

### **a) Question**

In the following example, **so** introduces not only the turn but an utterance which is finished by a question. Moreover, the question comments on what has been previously stated where Bush tries to convey how he will deal with the future budget.

(34) **Bush (298-301)**

*“...And that is going to be – that is good for the country. And in so doing, we are dealing with the short-term deficits, but we have also got to deal with the long-term deficits inherent in, for example, programs like Social Security and Medicare.”*

**Williams (302-303)**

*“**So**, some people would say, well, if you believe in spending restraint, why haven't you vetoed one bill, you know, one appropriations bill?”*

## b) Result

In (35), I presume that the cluster of markers serves the purpose of expressing a result. Bush lists the problems the Iraqis and Americans have to solve. As a result, he reached the conclusion that the military force has to be strengthened.

(35) **Bush (38-46)**

*“...I fully understand it's going to be up to the Iraqis to solve their problems. I was hoping to be in a different position. In other words, I had hoped I'd be able to interview with you and say, well, you know, we're not needed as much anymore, but I fully recognize that unless the violence in Baghdad, the capital city of Iraq, the sectarian violence and the criminality is dealt with, then the political reconciliation necessary to unite the country isn't going to happen. **And so** I made a tough decision, and that is to reinforce our troops there and put a new commander there in the hopes of breaking the sectarian violence – or helping the Iraqis break it.”*

## c) New topic

In the last example, I suppose that Bush, using **and so**, moves to a different topic. This is suggested by the following *the other thing* is. Furthermore, he is trying to be more general – stating some facts about the role of a president.

(36) **Bush (327-332)**

*“My own view is that history will take care of itself. History has a long reach to it. I told people that last year I read three analyses of Washington's administration, and my attitude is if they are still writing about the first president, the 43rd doesn't need to worry about it. **And so**, the other thing is, is that, I think it's very important for people – for a president to make decisions based upon principles. You know, you can be popular, but you may be wrong.”*

## Interview III

In the interview, the expression **so** occurs 7 times. However, it appears 5 times as a pragmatic marker. Here is an example of the expression **so** emphasising the quality of the adjective.

(37) **Hewett (270-272)**

*“Prime Minister, he's right, isn't he? If this is **so** important, why aren't our soldiers doing more of the heavy lifting on the ground in areas like Baghdad?”*

Howard uses the marker **so** 4 times. In his utterance, every 593<sup>rd</sup> expression is a **so**. Bongiorno's utterance includes 1 **so**. Neither in Hewett's nor in Hatcher's utterance can the marker be found.

### 1. Contextual Analysis

The marker appears 3 times in the front and twice in the middle of the utterance. As the frequency of the marker is not extremely high in this interview, I will not concentrate on the meaning of the marker appearing in different places in the utterance but I will concentrate on the contextual meaning of the marker.

#### **a) Question**

The marker introduces a question. This occurrence of **so** in initial position is interesting as it is a frequent phenomenon in the interviews.

(38) **Bongiorno (89-92)**

*"...And the next point that's been made is that the dramatic shortage in the Territory of trained medical staff, doctors to begin with, but others as well. **So**, what sort of time scale are we looking at here."*

#### **b) Result**

Another example of **so** in the front position is to offer emphasis to the consequences or the results of what was previously mentioned.

(39) **Howard (241-247)**

*"Jennifer, this came up in 2001, came up in 2004 and on the eve of the 2004 election, you know what happened, the Leader of the Opposition predicted that there was going to be a by-election in Bennelong some time after the 2004 election and the irony of all of that was there ended up being a by-election in Werriwa which was the seat held by the then Leader of the Opposition. **So** we've played this little game before and it sort of hasn't worked. ..."*

#### **c) New topic**

The last example of the marker appears in the middle of Howard's utterance. Here, using **so**, he introduces a new topic and sums up what he has mentioned before about sending police to the north of the country.

(40) **Howard (72-78)**

*"...For the last 18 months, he's been negotiating with the Northern Territory for three extra police there, their houses, a police station and a police launch and the*

*Commonwealth paying for all of that, and we've only just got all the final details from the Territory Government to make that work, so there's a big need to increase basic policing and, once you've done that, it becomes possible to go to the next stage, and the next stage is sending more doctors and medical people in.*“

## Concluding Remarks

Table 30 shows that **so** conveys meanings of 'result', 'introduction of a new topic', 'introduction of a question' and 'time to think'. I have presented some examples of different meanings of the marker. I focused not only on the meanings but also on the position of the marker in the utterance. However, a detailed analysis of the marker occurring in different parts of the utterance has not been conducted due to an insufficient figure of the markers.

I have detected 4 different meanings (see Table 27) of the marker whereas the *CCED* (2001) defines 6 meanings and Schiffrin (1987) 3 meanings. The three sources of the explanations of the pragmatic marker differ. In this study, I focus on pragmatic markers in political interviews, whereas the *CCED* (2001) does not mention whether the meanings are also used in spoken language and Schiffrin concentrates on discourse of argument. The investigation of the different meanings of the marker shows the most frequent meaning of **so**:

Interview I – 'result'

Interview II – 'result'

Interview III – 'result' and 'introduction of a new topic'

**Table 27: Meanings of the pragmatic marker *so*, depending on the speaker**

|               | Speaker          | Result    | New topic | Question | Time to think |
|---------------|------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|---------------|
| Interview I   | <b>Blair</b>     | 12        | 2         | 1        | 1             |
| Interview I   | Riddell, Webster | -         | 1         | 1        | -             |
| Interview II  | <b>Bush</b>      | 10        | 3         | 3        | -             |
| Interview II  | Williams         | 2         | -         | 3        | -             |
| Interview III | <b>Howard</b>    | 2         | 2         | -        | -             |
| Interview III | Bongiorno        | -         | -         | <b>1</b> | -             |
| Interview III | Hewett           | -         | -         | -        | -             |
| Interview III | Hartcher         | -         | -         | -        | -             |
|               | <b>Total</b>     | <b>26</b> | <b>8</b>  | <b>9</b> | <b>1</b>      |

### 3.3.2.7. *Well*

During the analysis of the meaning of the marker **but**, I have realised how difficult it is to examine in detail the meanings of the marker in an utterance. While reading the interviews and concentrating on the marker, I have come across some other forms of **well**. The forms include *as well as*, *as well* and *doing well*. Do the phrases belong to pragmatic markers? Should they be examined here? I am going to focus on the phrases and consider whether they will be included in the detailed analysis.

Firstly, there is a prepositional phrase *as well as* used in the interviews. Can this phrase, however, be considered as a pragmatic marker? Brinton (1996) quotes Fraser and Watts (1988) who state that pragmatic markers can belong to conjunctions, phrases, idioms, fragments of a sentence and clauses. I do not absolutely agree with their characterisation of the markers. In my view, *as well as* functions as a connector in an utterance. Here are two examples of this phrase found in Interview I:

(41) **Blair (66-69)**

*“New Labour is simply the name we gave to what was a different idea which was a Labour Party able to appeal to business **as well as** Unions, a Labour Party that stood for aspiration and ambition **as well as** simply compassion and a Labour Party that was prepared to take hard-headed decisions and stick by them. ...”*

I suppose that the speaker wants to mention something connected with the subject which he is discussing. Thus, I consider the phrase *as well as* as a connector with no pragmatic meaning. Furthermore, there has not been a linguist so far, who would consider this phrase as a pragmatic marker.

Next phrase which includes the expression **well** is *as well*. Again, we have to consider whether this form of **well** will be among the analysed markers. In my view, this marker possesses only one meaning, which is *too*. The following example proves that *as well* is interchangeable with *too*.

(42) **Blair (328-334)**

*So, but it depends what people want, and of course for the Tories there was a real policy issue in relation to the poll tax **as well**, but I think there is a more fundamental question for the Labour Party which is are we really about renewing*

*new Labour, or are we actually about saying I think we have had enough of all that radical revolutionary new Labour stuff, now let's go for a quieter life.*

Moreover, there is a clear explanation of the phrase in the *CCED* (2001: 1775): “You use **as well** when mentioning something which happens in the same way as something else already mentioned, or which should be considered at the same time as that thing.” For the two reasons, I will not deal with this phrase in the analysis.

**Well** can be also used as an adverb. In the interviews, the adverb **well** usually follows a verb. According to the *CCED* (2001: 1774-1775): “If you do something well, you do it to a high standard or to a great extent”. It signifies that this **well** only possesses one meaning, which is presented in the following example. Here Blair states that he is aware of the fact that he is successful to a certain degree only and that not all people can appreciate all he does.

(43) **Blair (548-551)**

*“You know you have to end up understanding that you never please all of the people all of the time, you please some of the people some of the time, you are **doing quite well** ... feels like. ...”*

Next, I am going to focus on the pragmatic marker **well** which is also described in detail in Schiffrin’s *Discourse markers*. However, I would like to look at **well** from a different point of view as Schiffrin’s analysis differs from this analysis. The difference between both examinations is that this work concentrates on discourse analysis of political interviews but she focuses on discourse analysis of argument. Furthermore, she analyses group interviews. In the following analysis, I would like to focus on the characterisation by Svartvik (1980) mentioned by Schiffrin (1987) and the *CCED* (2001). I consider Svartvik’s description more transparent. Svartvik (1980) divides **well** into five classes: as a filler, hesitator, initiator, interjection and particle. In contrast, Schiffrin analyses **well** together with local and non-local coherence. In my view, the functions described by Svartvik can be further divided into subclasses depending on the exact meaning and function of the pragmatic marker in the text.

In contrast to Svartvik, the *CCED* (2001) divides the meanings of **well** into the following categories: discourse uses, adverb uses, phrases, adjective use, noun uses and verb uses. The following explanations of **well** belong to the discourse uses defined by the *CCED* (2001: 1774-1775):

1. You say well to indicate that you are about to say something.
2. You say well to indicate that you intend or want to carry on speaking.
3. You say well to indicate that you have reached the end of a conversation.
4. You say well to make a suggestion, criticism, or correction seem less definite or rude.
5. You say well just before or after you pause, especially to give yourself time to think about what you are going to say.
6. You say well when you are correcting something that you have just said.
7. You say well to express your doubt about something that someone has said.
8. You say well to express your surprise or anger at something that someone has just said or done.
9. You say well to indicate that you are waiting for someone to say something and often to express your irritation with them.
10. You use well to indicate that you are amused by something you have heard or seen, and often to introduce a comment on it.

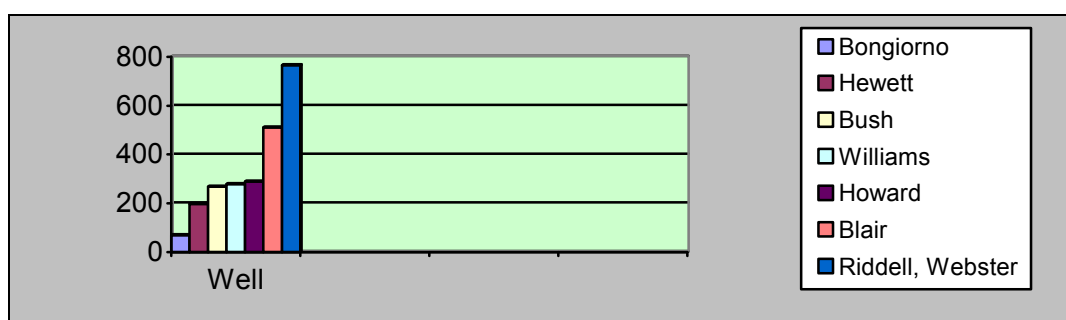
### **Well in the Interviews**

**Well** is the third most frequently used pragmatic marker in the interviews. The highest figure of the markers appears in Bush's utterance where it appears 16 times (see Table 28, 29). The most frequent user of **well** is Bongiorno who uses the marker 4 times but it appears in the place of every 70<sup>th</sup> expression. **Well** tends to be a common pragmatic marker in Australian English as the second, fourth and fifth most frequent users of the marker are Australian speakers. In American English **well** also tends to occur frequently.

**Table 28: Occurrence and frequency of *well*, depending on the speaker**

| Speaker          | <i>Well</i> | Frequency of markers |
|------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| <b>Blair</b>     | 13          | 511                  |
| Riddell, Webster | 2           | 766                  |
| <b>Bush</b>      | 16          | 268                  |
| Williams         | 3           | 279                  |
| <b>Howard</b>    | 8           | 290                  |
| Bongiorno        | 4           | 70                   |
| Hewett           | 1           | 198                  |
| Total            | 47          |                      |

**Table 29: Frequency of the pragmatic marker *well*, depending on the speaker**



### **Interview I**

Tony Blair uses the expression ***well*** 13 times. Every 511<sup>th</sup> expression is a ***well*** in his speech. The marker is used in his speech 7 times at the beginning of the turns. This suggests that he is using the expression as an initiator. In the middle of the utterance, he uses this pragmatic marker 6 times. I have noticed that Blair uses ***well*** frequently with some form of the verb *say*, which is located in the middle of the utterance and it occurs 5 times in his utterance. Using this verb, I suppose that the speaker tries to express other people's ideas. It can also suggest that the leader is attempting to speak for the nation.

(44) **Blair (242-246)**

*"...I mean the truth of the matter is that if people heard the full argument, for example in the Los Angeles speech, I think some may agree, some may disagree, but they would at least say ***well*** that is an argument. But you just put up with that, but it has been difficult in foreign policy ever since September 11..."*

Furthermore, he uses this marker 3 times with the phrase *I think* which gives him more time before expressing his ideas. Furthermore, *I think* is a subjective phrase which emphasises the coming opinion as his own.

(44) **Blair (413-415)**

*“Well I think inevitably you see it as the next set of programmes for the future, and obviously we will discuss that in government, but I don't think we are at the stage yet of settling those types of issues.”*

Riddell and Webster have the same number of turns as the previous speaker but they use **well** only twice. Both of the markers occur in the middle position, one of which is again connected with the verb *say*. This marker occurs in Riddell and Webster's utterance in the place of every 766<sup>th</sup> expression (see Table 32).

## 1. Contextual Analysis

### **a) End of conversation**

Based on the characterisation by Svartvik (1980) demonstrated by Schiffrin (1984), in the following sentences **well** has the function of an initiator. It appears at the beginning of the utterance and it can suggest a new train of thought. Nevertheless, in (45), Blair also uses **well** to indicate that he has no wish to give any further attention to the question and he goes on to state as much. In accordance with the CCED (2001), he wants to indicate that he has reached the end of a conversation.

(45) **Riddell and Webster (312-314)**

*“But if you became convinced personally that the speculation was impossible to contain and that you thought it was damaging the party, going to make the conference a fiasco, would you change your position on that?”*

**Blair: ( 315-316)**

*“Well, I think I have said all I am going to say, to be absolutely frank. “*

### **b) Time to think**

The following **well** is to be found in the middle of the utterance and it can have a function of a filler or a hesitator. It is here followed by *I think*, which I suppose

emphasises the fact that the speaker needs some extra time to recall what he has heard before or what he thinks people would say about him.

(46) **Blair: (36-38)**

*“...In respect of the second group of people, those who say **well** I think he is just doing to go on, an on and on, I have done what no other Prime Minister has ever done in a similar situation. ...”*

**c) Suggestion**

In the following utterance, Blair is giving himself some time to think about what is he going to say. It can also have a meaning of starting a new topic. However, I suppose that he is suggesting what the government should consider doing.

(47) **Riddell, Webster (1-6)**

*“We thought we would kick off on the area which people are talking about at the moment. So you have come back and your future is again the main subject. A former Labour Minister said yesterday that your extended departure was bleeding the Party. You clearly don't want to go just yet, but how can you stop the next few weeks and the Conference being ruined by speculation?”*

**Blair (7-9)**

*“**Well** it is a tough time for the government but the most important thing at this stage of a government is to ask whether you have got the right policies and if you have to stick by them and see them through. ...”*

**d) Criticism**

I suppose that in (48), Blair tries to criticise the journalists who criticise the way he leads the country. This example shows that **well** can eliminate the fact that the speaker might sound impolite or even rude if he did not use the marker.

(48) **Blair (582-589)**

*“And let's be clear, because I mean you know you guys are very experienced at asking the questions, and I am experienced in answering them now, and your great danger is that you either appear to be sort of arrogantly saying I am going on forever, or you appear to be saying **well** I am just about to leave, and it is a very, very difficult balance, and I have tried to give people a sense that allows us to strike that balance properly, without getting yourself into a situation where you know you cause a lot of difficulty. But the trouble is politics is, you know, difficult.”*

**e) Continuance**

In (49), the preceding conjunction *or* is used to connect different possibilities as Blair explains the two possibilities for how to accept the Labour Party. People either accept the way it functions now or they have to learn how it might work

in a different way. The marker **well** suggests that the speaker is going to continue in his speech explaining the possibility.

(49) **Blair (156-160)**

*“...Now for example you take the Labour Party itself, you can either decide to carry on as the Labour Party is with its very traditional structures, or you can decide **well** actually for a modern political party you have got to learn the lessons of how a successful voluntary organisation works today, or a successful campaigning organisation. ...”*

**f) Irritation**

Blair seems to be slightly irritated by the media as we can see in the previous utterances. Again, **well** is preceded by *say*, which means that he is trying to express the opinion others might have from what they have heard.

(50) **Riddell, Webster (239-240)**

*“Sometimes we wonder. But if you communicated that more clearly and explicitly, you wouldn't be caricatured in the way that you are.”*

**Blair (241-245)**

*“Yes, but you know in the end, without appearing to be overly carping about it, that is the way the modern media is conducted. I mean the truth of the matter is that if people heard the full argument, for example in the Los Angeles speech, I think some may agree, some may disagree, but they would at least say **well** that is an argument. ...”*

**g) Addition**

Using the marker **well**, Riddell and Webster add some extra information which specifies the CSR.

(51) **Riddell, Webster (409-411)**

*“One thing coming up, the big thing this winter is the CSR. The last CSR you linked it with 5 year plans, **well** mainly for health, but 5 year plans for the main public services. ...”*

**h) Surprise**

In this example, the marker starts the turn. It suggests that the speaker is going to answer the question. Furthermore, the marker can emphasise surprise, as Blair probably does not know much about the wish list.

(52) **Riddell, Webster (466-468)**

*“What are you going to be saying to the unions about their wish list? All the big unions have produced a wish list, every single item of which presumably you disagree with?”*

**Blair (469-470)**

*“Well I haven't actually seen it all in detail, but I know the basic pitch, and they know the basic answer.”*

## **Interview II**

Both speakers in this interview have 27 turns. Bush uses the expression **well** at the beginning of the turns 13 times. It suggests that he uses the expression mainly as an initiator. It gives him more time to formulate what he is going to express and it suggests that he intends to answer the question. In contrast, he uses this pragmatic marker 3 times in the middle of the utterance. This marker occurs in Bush's utterance in the place of every 268<sup>th</sup> expression (see Table 31). Williams uses the marker 3 times and it appears in the place of every 279<sup>th</sup> expression.

### **1) Contextual Analysis**

#### **a) Correction**

**Well** appearing in the following example refers to the previous utterance. In my view, Bush is correcting Williams. Here, he is not as precise as the journalist is as his explanation of the concern is more general.

(53) **Williams (19-22)**

*“Well, now, one of the concerns might be that you have – the gunmen were trying to assassinate clerics and pilgrims – Shia pilgrims. So I'm wondering if that's an indication of a civil war – a term that, you know, you've been reluctant to use.”*

**Bush (23-25)**

*“Well, I think it's an indication that there are murderers who will kill innocent people to stop the advance of a form of government that is the opposite of what they believe. ...”*

#### **b) Continuance**

In the next example, Williams starts his turn with **well** which returns to his previous question about Vice President Cheney. The marker gives Williams a chance to continue with the same topic.

(54) **Williams (47-49)**

*“Now, you've got a vote tomorrow in the Senate to consider a resolution opposing the troop buildup. Vice President Cheney said last week that vote would validate the insurgents' strategy. And so, do you agree?”*

**Bush (50-58)**

*“Well, there's a lot of strong opinions about it. My attitude is – my feeling to the Senate echoes what Joe Lieberman said the other day – Senator Joe Lieberman – and that is it is ironic that the Senate would vote 81 to nothing to send a general into Iraq who believes he needs more troops to do the job and then send a contradictory message. The legislatures will – legislators will do what they feel like they've got to do, and, you know, we want to work with them as best we can to make it clear what the stakes of failure will be, and also make it clear to them that I think they have a responsibility to make sure our troops have what they need to do the missions. “*

**Williams (59-61)**

*“Well, another question about Vice President Cheney – he said last week that – here I'm quoting – “ we've encountered enormous successes and we continue to have enormous successes in Iraq.” ...”*

### c) Disagreement

The speaker does not agree with what has been previously stated. Furthermore, he corrects what he has mentioned before.

(55) **Bush (205-211)**

*“...I don't know how anybody can then say, **well**, protecting the troops means that we're going to invade Iran. If that's what he's talking about, there's – I mean, we will protect our interests in Iraq. That's what the American people expect us to do. That's definitely what our troops want to do, and that's what the families of our troops want us to do. And if we find the Iranians are moving weapons that will end up harming American troops, we'll deal with it...”*

### d) About to say something

In (56), the marker is again preceded by the verb say. This suggests that Bush is trying to quote how the Americans would possibly react. Possibly, he wants to point out that he is going to state that he and many Americans are confused about the war.

(56) **Bush (359-360)**

*“... And so – look, I'm like a lot of Americans that say, **well**, if it wasn't right in Iraq. How do you know it's right in Iran?... ”*

### e) Time to think

In the following utterance, **well** has the meaning of hesitation. The hesitation is subsequently intensified by using another pragmatic marker **you know** which is

used as an aid to explain the idea more clearly and to draw attention to what the speaker is trying to say.

(57) **Bush (39-43)**

*“In other words, I had hoped I’d be able to interview with you and say, **well**, you know, we’re not needed as much any more, but I fully recognize that unless the violence in Baghdad, the capital city of Iraq, the sectarian violence and the criminality is dealt with, then the political reconciliation necessary to unite the country isn’t going to happen. “*

**f) Surprise**

Bush expresses surprise about the question. The beginning of Bush’s utterance is intelligible. In my opinion, **well** does not help him to organise his thoughts thus he uses another pragmatic marker, **you know** to obtain more time.

(58) **Williams (130-132)**

*“How long can you sustain the policy, though, with people so vehement in their doubt, the Congress voting as the Congress is voting, the polls showing what they’re showing?”*

**Bush (133-135)**

*“Yeah. **Well**, I’m – you know, I’m hopeful that the decision I have made is going to yield enough results so that the Iraqi government is able to take more of the responsibility. ...”*

**g) Criticism**

In my view, Bush tries to make the criticism on his speech less definite. Furthermore, he tries to explain a reason for not mentioning some places which were affected by the hurricane.

(59) **Williams (212-215)**

*„Let’s talk for a second about the State of the Union speech. You didn’t mention Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans, or the Gulf Coast. A lot of people from Louisiana, including David Vitter, the Republican senator, say they regret that. Do you?”*

**Bush (216-219)**

*“**Well**, I gave a speech that I thought was necessary to give. On the other hand, I had been talking a lot about Katrina and about the fact that I worked with the Congress to get about \$110 billion sent down to both Mississippi and Louisiana to help them on their reconstruction efforts...”*

**h) Suggestion**

In (60), the marker is followed by Bush’s suggestion what the next technology protecting the environment should concentrate on. The marker precedes

a rhetorical question which also might give Bush some time to organise his thoughts. Furthermore, a rhetorical question often catches the listener's attention.

(60) **Bush (239-241)**

*"...And what kind of technologies? **Well**, if you're really interested in global warming and climate change, then it seems like to me that we ought to promote technologies to advance the development of safe nuclear power. ..."*

### **Interview III**

In this interview, the pragmatic marker **well** is used 13 times. Howard uses the expression **well** 8 times. In the front position, he uses the marker 6 times and twice in the middle position. As shown in Table 31, **well** occurs in the place of every 290<sup>th</sup> expression. Bongiorno's utterance includes 4 occurrences of **well**. All of those are in the front position. The marker can be found in the place of every 70<sup>th</sup> expression. In Hewett's utterance, there is 1 **well** and in Hatcher's none. In Hewett's utterance **well** occurs at the beginning of her turn.

#### 1) Contextual Analysis

##### **a) ...About to say something**

After Bongiorno had introduced the newspapers and greeted Howard, he wanted to start the interview with the first topic, child abuse, which also was reported in the newspapers. In my opinion, he wants to draw attention to the question which follows.

(61) **Howard (32)**

*"Paul."*

**Bongiorno ( 33-35)**

*" **Well**, Prime Minister, by one count there have been 13 reports in the last 11 years documenting child sexual abuse, three of them Federal, 10 of them State. What made you act dramatically now? "*

##### **b) Criticism**

The marker tries to introduce Howard's reaction to the criticism about his duty as PM. He defends himself from being criticised for his misunderstanding of the situation.

(62) **Hewett (180-181)**

*“Mr Howard, to what extent do you take personal responsibility for misreading the public mood on WorkChoices 'Mark I'?”*

**Howard (182-186)**

*“Well, Jennifer, if things go wrong, the Prime Minister is always to blame. I accept ultimate responsibility for the decisions of the Government and I take ultimate responsibilities for the political misjudgements of the Government and I suppose occasionally if I get something right I'm entitled to get some of the credit. ...”*

### **c) Time to think**

In my view, Howard only needs some time to organise his thoughts before continuing the utterance.

(63) **Howard (193-195)**

*“It guarantees that won't happen. Now, if that means that we've listened to people, well, that's a good thing, because Government should always listen to people's concerns.”*

### **d) Amusement**

It is clear that in the preceding utterance, Hartcher, who mentions the age when people should retire, amuses Howard. After the marker, Howard is explaining the reason for retirement at certain age.

(64) **Hartcher (215-218)**

*“Mr Howard, we're just about to see the retirement of a High Court judge, Justice Ian Callinan, because he's going to hit the mandatory retirement age of 70. If 70 is a good enough retirement age for High Court judges, do you think it should apply to Federal politicians?”*

**Howard (219-221)**

*“(Laughs) I could see this coming. Well, there's no law requiring it. The reason why 70 is the required retirement age is because we had a referendum requiring people to retire by that age. ...”*

### **e) Summary**

The last example of the use of **well** presents the meaning of a summary. I suppose that Hewett summarises what Howard has previously mentioned. Furthermore, it is followed by another question.

(65) **Howard (287-291)**

*“...We are a willing friend and ally, but we did have that understanding, and we of course along with only the British and the Americans and some other help I think from the Polish, were the only countries that were involved in the original phase and that was of course a very important actual as well as symbolic*

contribution.”

**Hewett (292-296)**

*“Well, there's been of course quite a few changes in the attitudes about Iraq over the last couple of years. You used to talk always about finishing the job, but it now seems as though finishing the job even on the most optimistic assessments will take many years. Is that how long you expect Australian troops to be there? “*

## Concluding Remarks

In the analysis of **well**, I had to concentrate on the meanings extremely carefully as this pragmatic marker can possess many different meanings. All pragmatic markers have been analysed and the results are demonstrated in Table 33a, 33b and 33c.

The meanings of **well** are as follows: ‘end of conversation’, ‘time to think’, ‘suggestion’, ‘criticism’, ‘correction’, ‘surprise’, ‘...about to say something’, ‘addition’, ‘continuance’, ‘irritation’, ‘summary’, ‘disagreement’, ‘amusement’. The most frequent meaning is when the speaker is going to say something and when he/she needs some extra time to organize his/hers thoughts. All the meanings of **well** are also defined in the *CCED* (2001). The only definition not appearing in the interviews is ‘anger’. This meaning is, however, not expected to appear in a political interview.

The most frequent use of the marker appears in American and Australian English. In British English, **well** does not tend to occur very frequently.

**Table 30a: Meanings of the pragmatic marker *well*, depending on the speaker**

|               | Speaker          | End of conversation | Time to think | Suggestion | Criticism |
|---------------|------------------|---------------------|---------------|------------|-----------|
| Interview I   | <b>Blair</b>     | 1                   | 1             | 2          | 1         |
| Interview I   | Riddell, Webster | -                   | 1             | -          | -         |
| Interview II  | <b>Bush</b>      | -                   | 4             | 2          | 1         |
| Interview II  | Williams         | -                   | 1             | -          | -         |
| Interview III | <b>Howard</b>    | -                   | 1             | -          | 1         |
| Interview III | Bongiorno        | -                   | -             | -          | 1         |
| Interview III | Hewett           | -                   | -             | -          | -         |
| Interview III | Hartcher         | -                   | -             | -          | -         |
|               | <b>Total</b>     | <b>1</b>            | <b>8</b>      | <b>4</b>   | <b>4</b>  |

**Table 30b: Meanings of the pragmatic marker *well*, depending on the speaker**

|               | Speaker          | Correction | Surprise | ...about to say sth. | Addition |
|---------------|------------------|------------|----------|----------------------|----------|
| Interview I   | <b>Blair</b>     | 1          | 1        | 2                    | -        |
| Interview I   | Riddell, Webster | -          | -        | -                    | 1        |
| Interview II  | <b>Bush</b>      | 1          | 2        | 3                    | -        |
| Interview II  | Williams         | -          | -        | 1                    | -        |
| Interview III | <b>Howard</b>    | -          | -        | 3                    | -        |
| Interview III | Bongiorno        | -          | -        | 3                    | -        |
| Interview III | Hewett           | -          | -        | -                    | -        |
| Interview III | Hartcher         | -          | -        | -                    | -        |
|               | <b>Total</b>     | <b>2</b>   | <b>3</b> | <b>12</b>            | <b>1</b> |

**Table 30c: Meanings of the pragmatic marker *well*, depending on the speaker**

|               | Speaker          | Continuance | Irritation | Summary  | Disagreement | Amusement |
|---------------|------------------|-------------|------------|----------|--------------|-----------|
| Interview I   | <b>Blair</b>     | 3           | 1          | -        | <b>2</b>     | -         |
| Interview I   | Riddell, Webster | -           | -          | -        | -            | -         |
| Interview II  | <b>Bush</b>      | 2           | -          | -        | 1            | -         |
| Interview II  | Williams         | -           | -          | -        | -            | -         |
| Interview III | <b>Howard</b>    | -           | -          | -        | -            | 2         |
| Interview III | Bongiorno        | -           | -          | -        | -            | -         |
| Interview III | Hewett           | -           | -          | 1        | -            | -         |
| Interview III | Hartcher         | -           | -          | -        | -            | -         |
|               | <b>Total</b>     | <b>5</b>    | <b>1</b>   | <b>1</b> | <b>3</b>     | <b>2</b>  |

### 3.3.2.8. *You know*

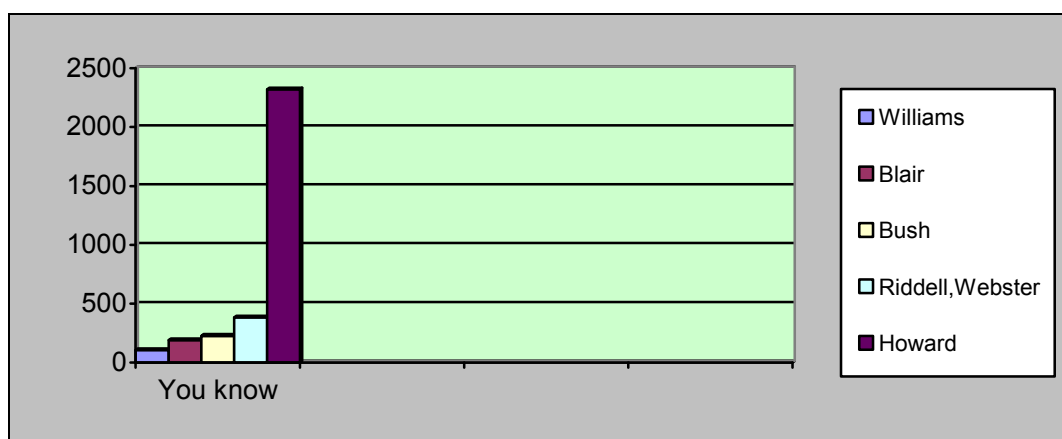
The pragmatic marker appears very frequently in the interviews. Both the occurrence and the frequency of the pragmatic marker is presented in Table 31. The highest figure of *you know* can be found in Blair's utterance but the most frequent user of the marker is Mr. Williams. In his utterance, *you know* appears only 8 times but it occurs in the place of every 105<sup>th</sup> expression.

The marker tends to be used more frequently by American and British speakers of English as it appears only once in the utterance of Australian speakers (see Table 32)

**Table 31: Occurrence and frequency of *you know*, depending on the speaker**

|                  | <i>You know</i> | Frequency of <i>You know</i> |
|------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| <b>Blair</b>     | 35              | 190                          |
| Riddell, Webster | 4               | 383                          |
| <b>Bush</b>      | 19              | 226                          |
| Williams         | 8               | 105                          |
| <b>Howard</b>    | 1               | 2.322                        |
| Bongiorno        | -               | -                            |
| Hewett           | -               | -                            |
| Hartcher         | -               | -                            |
| <b>Total</b>     | <b>67</b>       | -                            |

**Table 32: Frequency of the pragmatic marker *you know*, depending on the speaker**



As an example, I present the utterance in Interview I. In (66), *you know* appears twice. The first marker can be used to attract the attention of the hearer. Riddell and Webster express their concern about people who worry. I suppose that this fact is to be emphasized. The second *you know* is uttered by Mr. Blair. His turn starts with 2 pragmatic markers, with *of course* and *you know*, which can be considered as a cluster of pragmatic markers. The use of the two markers gives the speaker more time to prepare what he is going to state next. Furthermore, it can emphasise what will follow. I suppose that by using this marker, both the speaker and the hearer also make contact.

(66) **Riddell, Webster (69-74)**

*“But there is one thing in the last few weeks, which is partly because of Lebanon and so on, is there is now more disgruntlement amongst PLP people, even those who don't fit certainly in the last group of wanting policy change, people who simply say to you they are worried, and in some respects about polls, you know*

*are very uneasy about what happened in the Lebanon and just generally uneasy. You have got a task of reassurance. “*

**Blair (76-79)**

*“Of course, and **you know** I totally understand why people are worried about it, particularly when our position on the Lebanon was really parodied as saying well we really don't care if Israel just carries on doing whatever it wants to do and we have given them carte blanche, which is not what we were saying at all...”*

My interpretation of the two meanings of the markers corresponds with the definitions of **you know** in the *CCED* (2001:859) which defines the pragmatic marker as follows.

1. You use **you know** to emphasize or to draw attention to what you are saying [spoken].
2. You use **you know** when you are trying to explain more clearly what you mean, by referring to something that the person you are talking to knows about [spoken].

## Summary

The examination of pragmatic markers in political interviews has shown that pragmatic markers are a complex area of study which cannot be touched in great detail in this thesis. Moreover, the study of this phenomenon appears to cover more areas of research than anticipated at the beginning of my examination.

The aim of the thesis is to analyse pragmatic markers in political interviews. To find suitable transcripts of political interviews is, however, not an easy task, as they should have some unifying features. One of them is the language of origin of the participants, such that they all have to come from English speaking countries – in this case Australia, the UK and the USA. The politicians are well educated and as national leaders they are the most important people in the state. Furthermore, all interviews share a common topic, which is the Iraq war. The main distinctive feature in the interviews is the fact that they were published in different types of media. This fact, however, does not play an important role in the analysis. The main reason for the selection of the interviews is that they all belong to the same genre which is a political interview.

I have concluded that the highest figure of pragmatic markers appears in Interview I, in Tony Blair's utterance. Nevertheless, the most frequent user is Mr. Williams, who is a journalist in Interview II. It is Mr. Blair, who is the second most frequent user of pragmatic markers. The third most frequent user of pragmatic markers are journalists from Interview I, Mr. Riddell and Mr. Webster. The sequence of the speakers suggests that the use of the markers does not depend on their social status of the speaker or the variety of the English language. Thus, we can say that the use of pragmatic markers is influenced and decided by every individual and is also connected with the type of discourse.

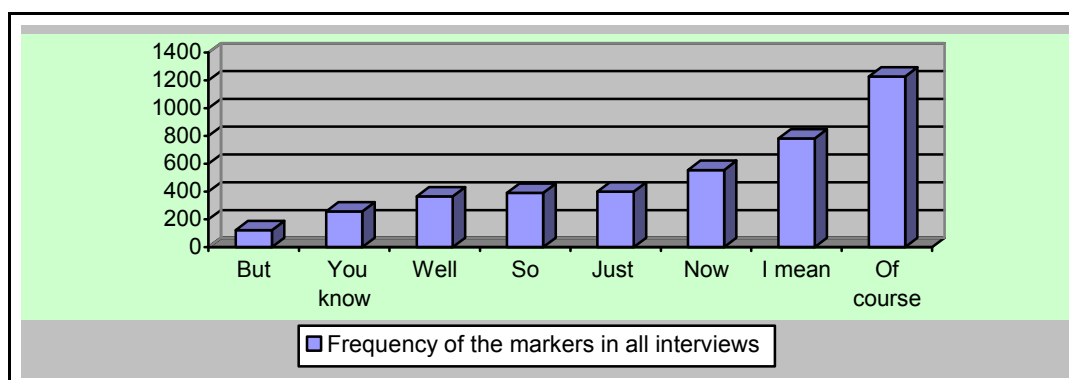
In the analysis, I have focused on how politicians and journalists use certain expressions during a political interview: **but, I mean, just, now, of course, so, well, you know**. I began my inquiry by noticing the occurrence and the frequency of the pragmatic markers and continued with the contextual analysis of the

markers. Trying to describe in a systematic way the first marker **but** led me toward a more detailed analyses of only two other markers, **so** and **well**. I have chosen the two markers as they both consist of one expression only and, after **but**, are the most frequent markers appearing in the interviews. Furthermore, a complete analysis of all markers would be beyond the scope of the thesis. Nevertheless, the remaining markers have also been analysed primarily using the quantitative approach.

**Table 33: Frequency of the markers in all interviews**

| Markers                                    | <i>But</i> | <i>I mean</i> | <i>Just</i> | <i>Now</i> | <i>Of course</i> | <i>So</i> | <i>Well</i> | <i>You know</i> |
|--------------------------------------------|------------|---------------|-------------|------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|
| Frequency of the markers in all interviews | 121        | 782           | 400         | 555        | 1228             | 391       | 366         | 257             |

**Table 34: Frequency of the markers in all interviews**



Let us have a look at the results of the analysis of pragmatic markers. Table 34 shows the frequency of markers in all interviews. The lower the number in the table, the more frequent is the existence of the marker in the interview. The most frequently used marker is **but**. Hence, it can be considered as the most important marker occurring in a political interview. The marker often appears when different ideas are contrasted, some extra information is added or as a sign of the coming change of the subject. The next marker **I mean** belongs to the least common pragmatic markers in the interviews and it is used only by politicians. As this phrase contains a personal pronoun, it expresses the speaker's personal

beliefs and persuades the listener to believe what is communicated. In contrast to *I mean*, the next pragmatic marker, *just*, appears more frequently. Moreover, this marker is more common in the utterances of the journalists. *Now* as a pragmatic marker should not be mistaken as it often appears as an adverb. In the political interviews, it appears at the beginning of an utterance and introduces something new. On the contrary, *of course* occurs in the middle of the utterance. Furthermore, it is the least frequently used marker in the interviews. *So* is the 4<sup>th</sup> most used marker in the utterances. It is to be found where a new topic, a question and a result are introduced. Moreover, it appears as a filler which fills a conversation gap and gives the speaker more time. *Well* as a pragmatic marker has various meanings. It is often used as a filler and as a sign that the speaker wants to communicate what he/she thinks. The last marker *you know* is the second mostly used pragmatic marker in the interviews, see Table 37. It is primarily used in British and American English thus there can be a link to the variety of the English language. In the interviews, *you know* draws the attention of the speaker to the hearer.

The above stated meanings of pragmatic markers suggest that the markers can have very little meaning on their own but if found in an utterance, the meanings can be indefinite and are often ambiguous. The results of my investigation proved that if the markers are omitted, the discourse will sound unnatural, incomprehensible and possibly even impolite.

By observing the markers that are used, I am able to state the tendency in their use in political interviews. The markers tend to have various meanings. For example, they start a new turn which often means the appearance of a new topic. Furthermore, they can be found in places where the speaker tries to change the topic. The use of the marker also draws attention to what the speaker conveys. It seems that the use of pragmatic markers in this genre do not differ from other formal discourse although the interviews are not as formal as I would have anticipated. For example, G.W. Bush uses the first name of the journalist when communicating with him. Furthermore, the interview with Mr. Howard is amusing when they discuss the age of the PM. Thus, the interviews do not serve

the purpose of only giving information as I had expected before the analysis began.

A pragmatic marker is a very interesting area of study. However, pragmatic markers require much more and deserve a more concise examination which remained beyond the scope of this thesis. It would be interesting to compare contextual meanings of pragmatic markers in different genres because analysing pragmatic markers in political interviews cannot answer the two questions I have articulated in Chapter 3: why are pragmatic markers used in political interviews and what is the role they play in this genre? I would have to compare the meanings of the markers in different genres to be able to reply to these questions. In conclusion, this diploma thesis contributes a primarily general overview to the comprehensive field of research that is required to assess pragmatic markers in political interviews.

# Shrnutí

Rozbor pragmatických markerů v politických interview ukázal, že pragmatické markery nemohou být analyzovány v této práci velmi podrobně, protože rozsah výzkumu je velmi široký. Studie tohoto jevu pokrývá více oblastí výzkumu, než jsem očekávala na začátku této práce.

Tato diplomová práce analyzuje pragmatické markery v politických interview. Avšak najít vhodné přepisy politických interview není jednoduché, protože by měly mít některé rysy společné. Jedním z nich je rodný jazyk mluvčích. Ti pocházejí z anglicky mluvících zemí, v tomto případě z Austrálie, Velké Británie a USA. Všichni zde analyzovaní politici jsou vzdělaní a jako hlavy státu jsou nejdůležitějšími osobnostmi ve své zemi. Dalším společným rysem je téma hovoru, čímž je válka v Iráku. Hlavním rozlišujícím faktorem je, že interview byla publikována v různých médiích. Tento fakt ale nehrál ve výběru interview důležitou roli. Hlavní důvod pro výběr je, že všechna interview patří do společného žánru, čímž je politické interview.

Dle rozboru se nejvyšší počet pragmatických markerů nachází v promluvě Tonyho Blaira v Interview I. Nicméně nejčastějším uživatelem markerů je pan Williams, novinář v Interview II. Na druhém místě je ministerský předseda Blair. Třetí místo obsadili novináři Riddell a Webster v Interview III. Pořadí mluvčích naznačuje, že používání pragmatických markerů nezávisí ani na sociálním postavení mluvčího, ani na variantě angličtiny. Můžeme tedy říci, že použití pragmatických markerů je ovlivněno každým jednotlivcem a je také spojeno s druhem promluvy.

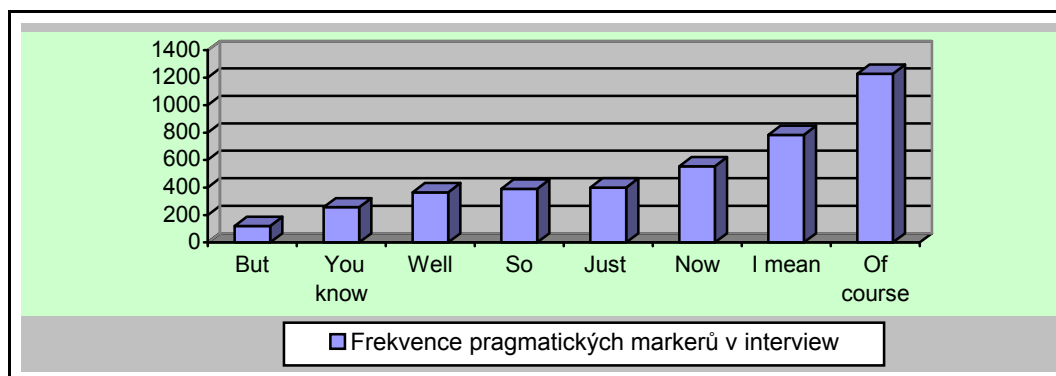
Analýza pragmatických markerů je zaměřena na užití různých výrazů v promluvách politiků a novinářů v politických interview. Jedná se o výrazy: **but**, **I mean**, **just**, **now**, **of course**, **so**, **well** a **you know**. Zkoumání začalo zapisováním výskytu a frekvence pragmatických markerů s následnou kontextovou analýzou markerů. Systematický popis prvního pragmatického markeru mě vedl k detailnímu rozboru jen dvou dalších pragmatických markerů **so** a **well**. Tyto markery byly vybrány, protože se skládají pouze z jednoho výrazu a jsou

po **but** nejčastěji užívané markery ve všech interview. Úplná analýza všech pragmatických markerů by byla nad rámec této práce. Přesto jsou zbývající markery analyzovány především s použitím kvantitativního přístupu.

**Tabulka č. 33/1: Frekvence markerů ve všech interview**

| Markery                              | <i>But</i> | <i>I mean</i> | <i>Just</i> | <i>Now</i> | <i>Of course</i> | <i>So</i> | <i>Well</i> | <i>You know</i> |
|--------------------------------------|------------|---------------|-------------|------------|------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|
| Frekvence markerů ve všech interview | 121        | 782           | 400         | 555        | 1228             | 391       | 366         | 257             |

**Tabulka č. 34/1: Frekvence markerů ve všech interview**



Podívejme se na výsledek analýzy pragmatických markerů. Tabulka č. 34/1 ukazuje frekvenci markerů ve všech interview. Čím nižší je číslo v tabulce, tím vyšší je frekvence markerů ve všech interview. Nejfrekventovanější marker je **but**, proto může být tento marker považován za nejdůležitější marker v politickém interview. Marker **but** se nejčastěji objevuje, když jsou porovnávány různé myšlenky, když je dodatečně přidána nějaká informace nebo jako znamení, že se změní téma hovoru. Další marker **I mean** patří k nejméně běžným markerům v interview a je používán pouze politiky. Tato fráze obsahuje osobní zájmeno, které naznačuje osobní přesvědčení mluvčího a přesvědčuje posluchače o sdělovaném. Na rozdíl od **I mean** další pragmatický marker **just** se objevuje s větší frekvencí. Nicméně se tento marker také objevuje častěji v projevu novinářů. **Now** jako pragmatický marker by neměl být podceňován kvůli svému výskytu jako příslovce. V politických interview

se **now** objevuje na začátku promluvy a uvádí něco nového. Naopak **of course** se objevuje uprostřed promluvy a je nejvzácněji se vyskytující marker ve všech interview. **So** je čtvrtý nejčastěji užívaný marker. Lze ho najít tam, kde se uvádí nové téma, otázka nebo výsledek. Dále se objevuje jako výplň konverzačního místa a dává mluvčímu více času na myšlení. **Well** jako pragmatický marker má více významů. Často se užívá jako výplň anebo jako znamení toho, že mluvčí chce něco sdělit. Poslední marker **you know** je druhý nejčastěji užívaný pragmatický marker, viz tabulka 34/1. Nejčastěji se užívá v britské a americké angličtině, proto by užití tohoto markeru mohlo být spojováno s variantou angličtiny. Pragmatický marker **you know** poutá pozornost mluvčího k posluchači.

Již zmíněné významy pragmatických markerů nasvědčují tomu, že markery mohou mít samy o sobě jen velmi malý význam, ale v případě, že jsou umístěny do promluvy, tak mohou mít neomezený a často nejednoznačný význam. Výsledek výzkumu prokázal, že v případě vypuštění markerů může promluva znít nepřírozeně, nesrozumitelně a možná i nezdvořile.

Sledování markerů mi umožňuje uvést tendenci v používání těchto výrazů v politických interview. Markery inklinují k různým významům, jako například mohou stát na začátku promluvy, což většinou znamená uvedení nového tématu. Dále se mohou vyskytovat v místech, kde se mluvčí snaží změnit téma. Užití pragmatického markeru také poutá pozornost ke sdělení mluvčího. Zdá se, že se užití pragmatických markerů v tomto žánru neliší od ostatních formálních promluv, ačkoliv analyzovaná interview nejsou tak formální, jak se očekávalo. Jako příklad uvádím G. W. Bushe, který oslovuje novináře křestním jménem při komunikaci s ním. Interview III. s ministerským předsedou Howardem je humorné, když se hovoří o věku ministerského předsedy. Interview z těchto důvodů neslouží jen k předání informací, jak se očekávalo na počátku práce.

Pragmatické markery jsou zajímavou oblastí výzkumu. Přesto pragmatické markery vyžadují více pozornosti a zaslouží si přesnější a výstižnější zkoumání, které je nad rámec této práce. Bylo by zajímavé porovnat kontextuální význam pragmatických markerů v různých žánrech, protože analýza pragmatických

markerů v politických interview nemůže zodpovědět dvě otázky kladené v kapitole 3: Proč se používají pragmatické markery v politických interview a jakou roli hrají v tomto žánru. Abych byla schopna na tyto otázky odpovědět, bylo by nutné porovnat význam markerů v různých žánrech. Tato diplomová práce přináší v první řadě všeobecný přehled komplexního zkoumání, které se vyžaduje k vyhodnocování pragmatických markerů v politických interview.

# Glossary of Terms

|                                        |                                                                                       |
|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>contextual meaning</b>              | refers to the language surrounding the analysed expression                            |
| <b>conversation analysis</b>           | examines and describes an interaction                                                 |
| <b>corpus</b>                          | data to be analysed                                                                   |
| <b>discourse</b>                       | spoken or written communication on any subject                                        |
| <b>empathizer</b>                      | engages the listener in the utterance                                                 |
| <b>filler</b>                          | an expression with no meaning                                                         |
| <b>frequency of pragmatic markers</b>  | frequency of the markers depending on the total figure of expressions in an utterance |
| <b>hedge</b>                           | modifies and make an utterance less harmful or bad                                    |
| <b>interview</b>                       | a meeting where one person asks questions and the other person replies                |
| <b>media discourse</b>                 | spoken or written communication used in mass media                                    |
| <b>occurrence of pragmatic markers</b> | total figure of pragmatic markers in an utterance                                     |
| <b>placement analysis</b>              | an analysis of an expression depending on the place in the utterance                  |
| <b>political discourse</b>             | spoken or written communication on politics                                           |
| <b>political interview</b>             | public spoken discourse on politics                                                   |
| <b>pragmatic marker</b>                | has no meaning on its own but can have various meanings in an utterance               |

|                                 |                                                                                 |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>pragmatics</b>               | a part of linguistics which concentrates on speaker meaning, contextual meaning |
| <b>qualitative approach</b>     | approach which concentrates on meaning                                          |
| <b>quantitative approach</b>    | approach which concentrates on figures                                          |
| <b>slot filler</b>              | fills a conversational gap                                                      |
| <b>sociolinguistic research</b> | research based on the background of the speakers                                |
| <b>spoken discourse</b>         | communication between at least two speakers                                     |
| <b>staller</b>                  | gives the speaker more time to think                                            |
| <b>variety of English</b>       | different types of English: American, Australian, British English, etc.         |

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# Appendix

## **Author's note:**

The analysed material, the full text of three interviews originally from the Internet, is reprinted here.

The interviews with Tony Blair, George W. Bush and John Howard were chosen regarding to the following unifying features. First, all of them are political interviews. Second, they all share the same topic – the war in Iraq. Third, they all were recorded from 2006 to 2007. Last, they all were found on the Internet. The interviews also share a distinctive feature which is the length of the interview.

The transcripts are presented as follow:

1. Interview I
2. Interview II
3. Interview III

## Interview I

1 THE TIMES: We thought we would kick off on the area which people are  
2 talking about at the moment. So you have come back and your future is again  
3 the main subject. A former Labour Minister said yesterday that your extended  
4 departure was bleeding the Party. You clearly don't want to go just yet, but  
5 how can you stop the next few weeks and the Conference being ruined by  
6 speculation?

7 PRIME MINISTER: Well it is a tough time for the government but the most  
8 important thing at this stage of a government is to ask whether you have got the  
9 right policies and if you have to stick by them and see them through. But there  
10 are really three groups of people - it is perfectly understandable that people are  
11 debating this, and personally I think whatever I said about my future they  
12 would be debating this in one form or another because that is what happens in  
13 the third term of a government. You need to go back to the post-1987 period to  
14 see that with the Conservatives. But there are really three groups of people:  
15 there are those who are worried about the polls; there are those who are  
16 worried about me going on, and on, and on; and then there are those - probably  
17 the largest part - who actually don't simply want a change of leader but a  
18 change of direction.

19 Now to deal with each of these three in turn. Those who are worried about the  
20 polls. It is true the polls are difficult for us at the moment and the problem is  
21 that the Labour Party has no similar experience to draw upon because the  
22 Labour Party has never had two full consecutive terms, let alone three, so the  
23 Labour Party has never been in its tenth year of consecutive government, not  
24 ever in its hundred years of history. But the Conservative Party has been in that  
25 position reasonably frequently and if you look at the polls then they were  
26 roughly the same for that government because once you get into your tenth  
27 year in government people are fed up, you disappoint people, you have got  
28 people impatient for change and so on.

29 The most foolish thing you can do at that point is to have an internal debate  
30 that assesses the governing party rather than an external debate about the  
31 policies that are good for the country. So my belief is that people who are  
32 worried about the polls should realise that this is what happens in a third term  
33 of government. If your policies are correct, and you believe in them, then stand  
34 by them, fight for them, and have the confidence and self-belief that you will  
35 see it through.

36 In respect of the second group of people, those who say well I think he is just  
37 going to go on, and on and on, I have done what no other Prime Minister has  
38 ever done in a similar situation. I have said that I won't fight another election  
39 and I have also said, on the record, that I will give ample time for my  
40 successor. Now I think for anyone reasonable that should be enough to realise  
41 this is not the same as Mrs Thatcher in the 1990s who said she would go on,

42 and on, and on. There will be change but the important thing that people  
43 generally want - stable and orderly change - is not to keep obsessing about it in  
44 the meantime but instead to get on with the business of government, because  
45 what will increase our problem in the polls is if people think that we are either  
46 paralysed as a government or have run out of steam because we are debating  
47 this issue continually.

48 Now the truth is we are not paralysed or running out of steam. The fact is this  
49 government is pursuing a programme of NHS reform which is revolutionary.  
50 Most people would accept that. We have the Trust Schools and City  
51 Academies that we need to get a critical mass of. We have Pensions and  
52 Energy policies which we have now secured policy for but then need  
53 consequent legislation for. We have got massive issues on Law and Order and  
54 Immigration which we can come back to in a moment, and then we have got  
55 major foreign policy questions that of course we are deeply involved with. So I  
56 see this as a government in policy terms that is pushing ahead on all fronts and  
57 that is what we need to get across to people as opposed to an internal debate  
58 that in the end I think people will, if they think that we are mishandling that  
59 debate, not help us at all.

60 And the third thing, which is a very significant number of the group, including  
61 some of the former Ministers that you referred to, actually want a change of  
62 direction. They don't believe in NHS reforms and the Trust Schools, in the  
63 Energy policy and so on and for those people I am afraid, and this is the single  
64 biggest danger that we face, is that my view is we only won as a Labour Party  
65 because we were a different type of Labour Party. We must maintain that. New  
66 Labour is simply the name we gave to what was a different idea which was a  
67 Labour Party able to appeal to business as well as Unions, a Labour Party that  
68 stood for aspiration and ambition as well as simply compassion and a Labour  
69 Party that was prepared to take hard-headed decisions and stick by them.

70 Now I think we have at least one major factor that supports the case that I am  
71 making which is, to go back to the point I started with, that this is the first time  
72 in one hundred years of the Labour Party's existence that we have ever been in  
73 the tenth year of government. So that is what I think and you know I think I  
74 have said enough for anyone reasonable to know that I will do my best for the  
75 country and the Party to make sure that when I do depart it is done in a stable  
76 and sensible and orderly way, but in the meantime I shall get on with the job of  
77 PRIME MINISTER and we should get on with the job of governing the  
78 country. And if we are talking about the issues that concern people then they  
79 will respond to us far better.

80 THE TIMES: But is it possible to concentrate on the issues? You mentioned  
81 you have got this speech coming up at the TUC and you did a briefing note on  
82 Friday I think talking about the things that are coming up in that speech. Is it  
83 possible for you and the Party and everybody to concentrate on that unless you

84 get this timing thing out of the way in however vague way you do it? They  
85 don't want you to give a date, they want you to give a sort of broad of that.

86 PRIME MINISTER: I have given a broad indication, haven't I? I have said I  
87 am not fighting the next election and I will leave ample time for my successor.  
88 And I really think, you know what is absurd is that for the people who say you  
89 must stop this continual speculation about the leadership continually to  
90 speculate about it, I mean I am not the one who keeps raising this issue. What I  
91 think is important for us is to be talking for example about these issues to do  
92 with immigration and terrorism which are huge issues for the country. We have  
93 got to be out there saying in fact we have real and significant changes for the  
94 good in the Health Service and Education but there are a lot of lessons we have  
95 got to learn from what we have done and we can improve the situation still  
96 further in the areas of Public Service.

97 We have got to be the people with the answers on the next stage of how you  
98 make Britain competitive as an economy. In other words it has got to be about  
99 ideas and in the end the most important thing to work out, irrespective of who  
100 is the Leader of the Labour Party, is what is the direction for the Labour Party?  
101 Now I happen to believe passionately that it is New Labour or bust for us. That  
102 is what I believe. If people have different ideas, or a different way of doing it,  
103 or something different they want to do with the Labour Party, let us have that  
104 debate. Now is the time to have it. You know we have only been elected just  
105 over a year ago. You have got three years to go to the next General Election.  
106 Now is the time to have the debate about ideas. And the reason I think this is  
107 really important is that the danger for the Labour Party, in my view, is not that  
108 it can't handle all the issues that are to do with being in government, you get  
109 recurrent "scandals", you get really difficult, difficult, difficult decisions like  
110 Iraq that you have to take and whichever way you take them it is going to be  
111 very difficult. All of that is part of the business of government and there is no  
112 escaping those types of decisions or those types of problems, and when you are  
113 in the government everything gets magnified and we live in a very hyperbolic  
114 and occasionally - if you don't mind me saying so - hysterical media world.  
115 That is the way it is today.

116 Right, so all of that is what you just have to accept as part of the business of  
117 government. but the essence of remaining in government is to have the right  
118 basic position, and the right basic position is in my view the one that we  
119 adopted in 1997. However, the policies and the ideas that represent that  
120 position will be different in 2007 from what they were in 1997. And therefore  
121 the real issue to do with renewing the Labour Party is how do you then take  
122 that basic position, but renew it a decade on in government. That is the debate  
123 the party should be having at the moment, and it should be an open debate.

124 THE TIMES: But how much should that be in joint with your likely successor?  
125 Say last week the feeling is are you trying to pre-empt what is going to happen  
126 after you have gone, accepting ample time, accepting everything to do with

127 that, that you are trying actually, or people assess you to be trying to tie the  
128 hands on what happens over the next few years?

129 PRIME MINISTER: ... When you get a new leader they are the new leader.  
130 And the last thing I am going to be doing, and I can absolutely assure you, is to  
131 be hanging about making mischief for whoever comes after us, I think it is the  
132 worst form of vanity that anyone can ever have after they leave the job is in  
133 thinking that anyone is interested in what you say afterwards, other than  
134 causing trouble for your successor. So that is not an issue for me, but what is an  
135 issue for me are the right ideas for you know 10 years in, how do you then  
136 renew?

137 THE TIMES: Yes, but in practice, given the timescales we are talking about,  
138 given that what you are announcing now are going to be policies which unfold  
139 over the next 5 or 6 years and implemented, even people who say, the fairer  
140 critics of yours say, they would be much more reassured if this was a kind of  
141 joint operation with Gordon, of renewal this autumn?

142 PRIME MINISTER: It is very important that the whole of the government  
143 works now together, and this is what we have tried to do. OK we have had an  
144 iterative and sometimes difficult process in relation to things like pensions and  
145 energy policy and so on, but you know we have got to carry on with the  
146 business of governing. And the world is changing very fast and it is important  
147 that we are continually updating and modernising the positions that we have  
148 got. And look, the reason why in the end I am optimistic both about the Labour  
149 Party is that ultimately I have complete confidence in the policy divisions that  
150 we have got. I am not saying that we have always been right in every respect  
151 and we haven't made mistakes, of course all governments do that, but the basic  
152 positions that we have got I think are positions that we can defend with a lot of  
153 ease. but the problem is that we are at the stage now when it is right to talk  
154 about renewal, and that renewal is not simply about the person that leads the  
155 Labour Party, it is about the basic ideas that underpin the government and the  
156 Labour Party for the modern world. Now for example you take the Labour  
157 Party itself, you can either decide to carry on as the Labour Party is with its  
158 very traditional structures, or you can decide well actually for a modern  
159 political party you have got to learn the lessons of how a successful voluntary  
160 organisation works today, or a successful campaigning organisation. If you  
161 look at the ways that some of the pressure groups operate in terms of how they  
162 communicate with people, of how they link up across traditional structures and  
163 boundaries where there are constituencies or elsewhere, you know that is the  
164 way it happens. It is one of the reasons why I support the idea of Labour  
165 supporters having a bigger role in the Labour Party.

166 So at each stage in this process you should be asking what is then the next  
167 generation of ideas that represent that basic new Labour position. And as I say  
168 the danger for the Labour Party is not that it goes back to being militant Arthur  
169 Scargill, Tony Benn and all the rest of it, that is absurd, there may be people

170 who want that but they are a tiny, tiny number. The danger for the Labour  
171 Party is actually status, in other words that it doesn't realise that 2007's new  
172 Labour is not 1997's new Labour. That is why for example what Charles  
173 Clarke said today, and apparently it has been taken as some criticism, I actually  
174 agree with what he says today, that is the type of debate you need. Now I may  
175 not agree with him on certain of the things, he may be against nuclear energy, I  
176 may be in favour of nuclear energy, but for sure the issue of whether you can  
177 have a serious attack on climate change and a secure supply of energy without  
178 nuclear power is a major question to be debated. And you see I don't think a  
179 political party loses from that, I think it gains from it.

180 THE TIMES: You are going to be asked in every interview, so we might as  
181 well ask you now - do you expect this coming conference to be your last as  
182 leader?

183 PRIME MINISTER: I have said everything I intend to say on this, and people  
184 can just draw whatever conclusions they want. I think that I have set out with a  
185 reasonable enough clarity for people to know.

186 THE TIMES: What is that? Do we know the answer to that question?

187 PRIME MINISTER: Look, what is the difficulty here? Everybody knows it,  
188 you said it in your own editorial, the difficulty is if you start laying down  
189 timetables then what you do is you just provide for another endless bout of  
190 speculation and the authority of the Prime Minister's position becomes difficult  
191 in those circumstances. Now as I say, you have three groups of people, and if  
192 you take that middle group, those who worry I am going on, and on, and on, I  
193 have done what no other PRIME MINISTER: has ever done before me, I have  
194 said I am not going to go on, and on, and on, and I have said I will leave ample  
195 time for my successor. Now at some point I think people have got to accept  
196 that as a reasonable proposition and let me get on with the job.

197 THE TIMES: But there is one thing in the last few weeks, which is partly  
198 because of Lebanon and so on, is there is now more disgruntlement amongst  
199 PLP people, even those who don't fit certainly in the last group of wanting  
200 policy change, people who simply say to you they are worried, and in some  
201 respects about polls, you know are very uneasy about what happened in the  
202 Lebanon and just generally uneasy. You have got a task of reassurance.

203 PRIME MINISTER: Of course, and you know I totally understand why people  
204 are worried about it, particularly when our position on the Lebanon was really  
205 parodied as saying well we really don't care if Israel just carries on doing  
206 whatever it wants to do and we have given them carte blanche, which is not  
207 what we were saying at all. What we were saying was however you could not  
208 talk about a meaningful cease-fire unless it was one that was agreed within a  
209 political framework that meant it stopped on both sides. And actually I like to  
210 think that we worked as hard as anybody to get the United Nations resolution

211 that actually brought it to an end. But of course I totally understand that, and  
212 incidentally part of the trouble with politics, particularly today when it is  
213 conducted by way of headline, is that you are either in the position of not  
214 standing up and being resolute in the position that you have, or alternatively  
215 you are resolute in that position and people present you as sort of unreasonable  
216 and kind of deluded for not accepting that there is a legitimate case against  
217 what you are doing, or there is a legitimate argument against it. My position  
218 has always been of course there is a perfectly legitimate set of worries, and in  
219 particular in part because of the way the position came across, I think yes I  
220 think it did cause real disquiet.

221 On the other hand I am afraid for me in general terms the position we have  
222 taken in respect of this battle against global terrorism is for me non-negotiable.  
223 I believe in it absolutely and totally and passionately and I believe I would fail  
224 in my duty to the country if I didn't point out that I think all these different  
225 issues are linked, that they are not going to be resolved unless we understand  
226 we are in the middle of a battle and we need to fight that battle at the level of  
227 ideas, as much as at the level of security, but we need to fight it and we are not  
228 fighting it correctly at the moment in my view.

229 THE TIMES: The problem has been both in relation to, looking beyond before  
230 Lebanon to Iraq, the ... that when we talk to you it is shaded in nuance, but it  
231 comes across because you don't want to publicly disagree with the US and  
232 don't want to publicly disagree with Israel, as not nuanced, it comes across in a  
233 way. And in terms of your own influence and position, if you said well you  
234 know we are not giving carte blanche to Israel, we have our worries about what  
235 has happened in Iraq and so on.

236 PRIME MINISTER: But I did say that.

237 THE TIMES: Yes, you say that to us, but if you had said it more ...

238 PRIME MINISTER: ... you are not an underground organisation.

239 THE TIMES: Sometimes we wonder. but if you communicated that more  
240 clearly and explicitly, you wouldn't be caricatured in the way that you are.

241 PRIME MINISTER: Yes, but you know in the end, without appearing to be  
242 overly carping about it, that is the way the modern media is conducted. I mean  
243 the truth of the matter is that if people heard the full argument, for example in  
244 the Los Angeles speech, I think some may agree, some may disagree, but they  
245 would at least say well that is an argument. but you just put up with that, but it  
246 has been difficult in foreign policy ever since September 11. I took the view  
247 then, and I take it now, that it was right for us to stand shoulder to shoulder  
248 with the Americans. I still believe that, I think we are in a battle and I think the  
249 western world, a large part of it, is in a complete state of denial about it. Now I  
250 feel so strongly about it that I can't back away from that. And I think that we

251 are in real danger in a large part of the western opinion of completely  
252 misunderstanding the nature of the battle and the need to fight it, and we are  
253 really not fully appreciating the force that has been put against us, and you  
254 know this is not a set of isolated incidents, this is a global movement with an  
255 ideology that is fighting us in a very modern and clever way, and we have not  
256 got the strategy in place, sufficiently agreed across the western world, to defeat  
257 it at the moment.

258 THE TIMES: And by across the western world you mean in Europe  
259 particularly?

260 PRIME MINISTER: Yes, but I also think in parts of our own opinion. You  
261 know we haven't really talked about this yet, but we will not in my view defeat  
262 this terrorism here in this country until we take it head on, and by that I don't  
263 simply mean tough new laws, although I think you need to have tough laws on  
264 it, but I mean mobilising opinion to take on the sense of grievance that is being  
265 fomented in parts of the Muslim community against the west that is completely  
266 and totally false and wrong and unjustified. And until you take that head on  
267 and say we don't simply disagree with your methods, we disagree with your  
268 ideas, we disagree with this presumed sense of grievance, you don't have a  
269 sense of grievance that is justifiable, I mean the one element that I think, and  
270 this is why I am also so focused on the Palestinian question, the one thing I  
271 think that is really, really necessary, is to make progress on that because even  
272 though I don't think that in any shape or form justifies terrorism at all, I think it  
273 is the one issue that from a strategic point of view is capable of uniting even  
274 quite moderate opinion.

275 THE TIMES: Just finally on that, what role do you see yourself having? You  
276 are going to be going to the region soon, what role do you see yourself having?  
277 Will you be able to really reach out, given the stance and the way it has been  
278 portrayed in Lebanon? Who will you be able to talk to about ... and the  
279 Palestinians seem to be in denial at the present?

280 PRIME MINISTER: You know one of the great myths in this is that by  
281 pursuing a foreign policy that is closely allied with America, although I may  
282 say that Germany and other countries also took a similar position as us, that  
283 somehow you forfeit your influence in the Arab world. That is not my  
284 experience at all, whatever people say, and no-one would recognise that  
285 description from the conversations I have had regularly with the Lebanese  
286 Prime Minister over the past few weeks.

287 THE TIMES: What are you particularly, what objectives have got you got in  
288 mind when you go there?

289 PRIME MINISTER: I think I will explain that a little bit nearer the time.

290 THE TIMES: When do you expect to go?

291 PRIME MINISTER: I can't be sure yet, probably best not to give ...

292 THE TIMES: Can I just completely ... the issue? Can we sort of ask you  
 293 categorically will you, before the conference or during the conference, set out  
 294 any clearer picture on timing than you have given us today, or is a that formula  
 295 that you intend to stay with during the autumn?

296 PRIME MINISTER: Yes, I believe I have said enough on this.

297 THE TIMES: And if that provokes charges that you are in denial, that you are  
 298 failing to face up to your party's ....

299 PRIME MINISTER: I think I would just go back to the answer I gave, which is  
 300 to say that I think if people are reasonably worried that I may go on and on, or  
 301 that I may not leave ample time for my successor, I have already said on the  
 302 record that neither of those two things will happen. Now I really don't know  
 303 what more you need to give. And you know I have set out a programme which  
 304 I am right in the middle of doing, on NHS reform, on getting a critical mass for  
 305 trust schools and so on. If you want my real view about this, I think that if it is  
 306 the speculation people worry about, there is a very simple answer, which is to  
 307 stop speculating. If what they are really worried about is timing, I think most of  
 308 you can look at what I have said and draw conclusions about that. Now that is  
 309 all I am going to say. And I actually think if people carry on, and carry on, it is  
 310 for another reason, which is that what they actually want to do is to change  
 311 direction.

312 THE TIMES: But if you became convinced personally that the speculation was  
 313 impossible to contain and that you thought it was damaging the party, going to  
 314 make the conference a fiasco, would you change your position on that?

315 PRIME MINISTER: Well I think I have said all I am going to say, to be  
 316 absolutely frank.

317 THE TIMES: You were around in the Shadow Cabinet in the last year, 18  
 318 months of Mrs T'. Do you feel any kind of feeling it is like that with people in  
 319 the party stirring and so on and that. As you said earlier, third terms are  
 320 difficult, the first time Labour has been in that position, but that is also not  
 321 comforting when you look back at what happened to Tory third terms.

322 PRIME MINISTER: Yes, but they went on and won a fourth term.

323 THE TIMES: After a change of leader.

324 PRIME MINISTER: Yes, but we are going to have a change of leader, aren't  
 325 we, because I have said that. You see when people say it shouldn't be like the  
 326 end of Thatcherism, it is not going to be like the end of Thatcherism, people  
 327 are sensible, because the whole point about it, three and a half years into the

328 third term, is that she said that she was going to go on, and on, and on. So, but  
329 it depends what people want, and of course for the Tories there was a real  
330 policy issue in relation to the poll tax as well, but I think there is a more  
331 fundamental question for the Labour Party which is are we really about  
332 renewing new Labour, or are we actually about saying I think we have had  
333 enough of all that radical revolutionary new Labour stuff, now let's go for a  
334 quieter life. And that in my view would be a real wrong turning for the party.  
335 And I think the most sensible thing and important thing for us to do at the  
336 moment is to debate the ideas, you know debate the ideas so that we work out  
337 that if you want to renew, you can't do that except through a process of  
338 dialogue and debate.

339 THE TIMES: And any new forums for that? Are you going to be bringing in  
340 Labour MPs more than before?

341 PRIME MINISTER: Yes, but I think the interesting thing, and this is what we  
342 are trying to do with this, and it doesn't get any publicity because people don't  
343 bother with these things unless they are hit by controversy, but actually through  
344 the whole let's talk business that we have been engaged in, and the policy  
345 process of the party now is far more thrown open, we have people, many of  
346 whom, most of whom probably won't be party members, coming in, but who  
347 are broadly sympathetic to the aims and debating policy with us, and the most  
348 important thing is to go out and talk to the public and work out what they are  
349 worried about. You know for example at the moment I think the number one  
350 worry of the public is that I think they see this force of globalisation, really for  
351 the first time people are really anxious about it because they see with it is not  
352 just economic displacement, but terrorism, immigration, and all these things  
353 become mixed up together. And I think it is a real task of political leadership  
354 and political ideas to disentangle some of those issues and analyse them,  
355 otherwise we are going to end up with taking really wrong directions, either on  
356 terrorism or on immigration.

357 THE TIMES: On immigration, how are you going to deal with the  
358 Romanian/Bulgarian issue?

359 PRIME MINISTER: I don't know. We will have to think about it very  
360 carefully, and that is a debate going on in government at the moment. but you  
361 know people should remember that once they are in the European Union there  
362 is freedom of movement.

363 THE TIMES: Yes, but freedom of movement isn't the same as ....

364 PRIME MINISTER: Yes, but you have then got to analyse carefully what are  
365 the lessons, the real lessons, from the A10 countries. but there are a whole  
366 series of issues there that we are examining in government and we should  
367 examine very carefully before coming to a final decision on it.

368 THE TIMES: But it should happen fairly soon.

369 PRIME MINISTER: Yes, it will. We are at quite a critical stage in that debate  
370 now and it is probably not sensible to say any more about it. but you know  
371 immigration is a classic example. Every single country, you know what is the  
372 biggest domestic issue in the US at the moment? - Immigration.

373 You know when I was in California recently, you know the moment they heard  
374 me talking to British journalists about immigration there was a sort of wry  
375 smile came on all their faces, because they are all facing exactly the same  
376 issue. And the problem is this. Migration is good and necessary for a modern  
377 developed country. The trouble is - and most people really accept that - in their  
378 heart of hearts they understand that there is a dynamism and in a sense a  
379 renewal that can often come for a country with people with influences that  
380 come in from outside, and this particularly so in a world of economic  
381 globalisation. So if we were to cut off all migration we would do ourselves  
382 damage, and I think most people accept that. What they worry about is they  
383 think it is uncontrolled, they think it is unfair in some of its consequences. And  
384 what they really want to know is, can you put in place a system that allows us  
385 to take the decisions about migration rather than having migration happen in a  
386 haphazard way as a consequence of globalisation over which we have no  
387 control. Do you see what I mean?

388 And that is the issue for people. And that is why I keep saying there are two  
389 questions here, and despite what people say, in fact as a government we have  
390 toughened up the position on asylum and immigration, but it is a real challenge  
391 for every modern major country now, in Europe it is the major issue for any of  
392 these governments, you know you talk to the Spanish Prime Minister, and there  
393 it is, a socialist government, but talking language on migration that a few years  
394 ago would have had eyebrows raised if it had come from the right, but he is  
395 having to do that because he can see that the problems that it is causing in  
396 terms of internal cohesion in his own country. So these are really tricky issues.

397 Now on questions like that, you know we need to be as a political party out  
398 there leading the debate, talking about it. And you see I think we have got a  
399 fantastic opportunity as well, because I don't believe the Conservatives have  
400 yet woken up to the fact that new Labour was not about a re-imaging or re-  
401 branding, it was actually about a set of ideas. And my own view is that the  
402 Tories aren't really worked out, you know they have been massively given, as  
403 you do as an opposition in a third term government, you are given massively  
404 the benefit of the doubt. But in my view if we are sensible, hold our nerve,  
405 debate policy, get the right set of policies for the future, I think the Tories, you  
406 only have to see their debate over something like nuclear power, it has not  
407 worked out. You know to come out with a statement in the end that says oh  
408 OK, we will go along with it, but only as a last resort - that is not leadership.

409 THE TIMES: One thing coming up, the big thing this winter is the CSR. The  
410 last CSR you linked it with 5 year plans, well mainly for health, but 5 year  
411 plans for the main public services. Are you going to do the same again this  
412 time?

413 PRIME MINISTER: Well I think inevitably you see it as the next set of  
414 programmes for the future, and obviously we will discuss that in government,  
415 but I don't think we are at the stage yet of settling those types of issues.

416 THE TIMES: But are you worried, if you look back over the 10 years, in a  
417 sense it has all been a bit late, you know you are very happy to reform  
418 programmes now, but a lot of the increase in spending was on unreformed  
419 programmes, you could raise the question about consultants and GP contracts,  
420 and that the reforms are coming in just when spending growth is slowing down,  
421 and it is going to slow down very sharply. But therefore you are bringing in  
422 reform when actually the money will be very tight, and in some respects some  
423 of the Health Service problems reflect that, and all that will get worse. So in  
424 part, have you blown an opportunity when you should have produced reform  
425 when the spending was increasing, instead of which it is coming at the end of  
426 the process, not at the beginning?

427 PRIME MINISTER: Well I think there is a misconception about that, and then  
428 I have got a strong defence of what we have done. The misconception is that  
429 we have only begun these reform programmes recently. We actually haven't.  
430 But some of those reform programmes, I mean to set up for example the choice  
431 and independent treatment centres and so on in the Health Service, the work on  
432 that began straight after the 2001 election. Now you might have said well  
433 reform actually, I suppose it did really begin before that with the NHS Plan that  
434 was published in the year 2000. So I think sometimes, and the City Academy  
435 programme has been several years in its concept and development, and that is  
436 just the way these reform programmes are.

437 THE TIMES: But they have only recently been set up.

438 PRIME MINISTER: Well the other point I was about to make was this, that I  
439 think that ultimately you wouldn't have got the same ability to open up the  
440 Health Service in the way that we have now begun to do, unless we had put the  
441 money in. You know if you were talking about a reform programme in the  
442 circumstances of funding of the year 2000, I just don't believe you could ever  
443 have got it off the ground. But there is not much resistance now to the change  
444 within the Health Service, because people, you know if you are talking about  
445 the GPs, and for the first time we are bringing in new providers and so on, and  
446 all the rest of it, they are the best paid in Europe. Now I am kind of saying that  
447 is great. Now incidentally there are all sorts of issues we now have to deal with  
448 the GPs, like bureaucracy and paperwork, of which there is too much, and we  
449 need to tackle it and all the rest of it, but to that basic idea that if a service isn't  
450 being provided properly we should be able to contest it, I think the resistance is

451 far lower now than it ever was. Ditto I think with Trust Schools, I don't think if  
452 we had not had the experience of specialist schools we would have ever got the  
453 consent for Trust Schools and City Academies.

454 THE TIMES: ... In your Group 3 that you mentioned earlier, obviously you are  
455 referring to the likes of Derek Simpson, who came out this week and talked  
456 about wanting to return to a classic Labour agenda. How can you convince the  
457 public that they are not going to have more influence on policy when you  
458 actually do need their money a bit more than you did, you are now going to be  
459 relying on them probably more ...

460 PRIME MINISTER: ... it is a simple answer to that, and that is why as I say if  
461 you are talking about renewal of the Labour Party, you have also got to talk  
462 about a different way of a political party working.

463 THE TIMES: You mean you must not rely on ...

464 PRIME MINISTER: You can't go back to a situation where 90% of the funding  
465 is provided by trade unions.

466 THE TIMES: What are you going to be saying to the unions about their wish  
467 list? All the big unions have produced a wish list, every single item of which  
468 presumably you disagree with?

469 PRIME MINISTER: Well I haven't actually seen it all in detail, but I know the  
470 basic pitch, and they know the basic answer.

471 THE TIMES: And will you be telling them that in a couple of weeks time?

472 PRIME MINISTER: Yes. Look, I don't think it is going to come as a great  
473 surprised. I don't think they put this forward in the expectation that I am going  
474 to say: "That is a good idea folks. Yes, let's repeal all the trade union laws." I  
475 mean let's have that argument back again. One of the interesting things is,  
476 because sometimes people say I don't pay enough attention to Labour Party  
477 history, actually I am a student of Labour Party history. In place of strife was a  
478 moment where the Labour Party had exactly the right idea, the leadership at the  
479 time was told it was crazy, divisive, unnecessary, the leadership backed off it,  
480 and I believe you can actually track a lot of the 18 years of opposition to that  
481 decision, quite apart from the fact that they then lost the next election.

482 THE TIMES: Do you take any personal responsibility for the row that we have  
483 had over cash for peerages, which is resulting in this investigation? Weren't  
484 donors being asked to act secretly, or excessively secretly, as a way of  
485 concealing how much was being given?

486 PRIME MINISTER: I think once this has been done and dusted I will have a  
487 lot to say on it, but I think for the moment I won't really.

488 THE TIMES: Would you hope, while you are still PM, to sort out the future of  
489 party funding?

490 PRIME MINISTER: Basically if we can get an agreement on it, the key is  
491 always, I don't think an issue like party funding is really to sort that without a  
492 consensus. So we will wait and see. All I would say to people is there is no  
493 easy way of resolving this question, and people forget that the only reason that  
494 anybody knows who funds any political party is because of the legislation we  
495 brought in. No-one has the faintest clue where any funding or donations were  
496 for the Conservative Party prior to 1997. So anyway. And what that does, and I  
497 don't say that to make a political point, so much as to say even with the best  
498 intention you could end up getting snags, and even those political systems that  
499 are supposed to have immensely transparent ways of funding political parties  
500 end up with problems from time to time, which I think the American  
501 experience and also the European experience shows.

502 THE TIMES: Looking at your longer term ... what you want to do now, and  
503 we are clear on that, it is just as you in a sense took forward and developed  
504 some of the things left over by the Thatcher/Major years, might not your legacy  
505 be to leave to David Cameron taking forward what new Labour has done, that  
506 he could take forward, or some of the things you would like to have done but  
507 haven't been able to do?

508 PRIME MINISTER: Yes, but in the end the best people to take it forward is the  
509 Labour Party, and the whole point about it is that before I become leader we  
510 had lost 4 elections in a row. Now we have won 3, and I don't say that  
511 arrogantly, because it wasn't just me, it was the whole of the Labour Party and  
512 its collective leadership. But before you as it were discard the basic position  
513 that has led to that revolutionary change in the Labour Party's position, and the  
514 Labour Party's standing, you want to think pretty long and hard about it. And  
515 that is why I say the renewal of new Labour is about taking forward and  
516 developing still further.

517 And I think the whole next agenda is about what I would call empowerment,  
518 which is a sort of plunky (phon) word, but what I mean by that is that the  
519 danger for the Labour Party is that we are seen as the party of the big state.  
520 What we have got to be is the party of the enabling state whose purpose is to  
521 put power in the hands of the individual. That is why patient choice is  
522 important in the NHS, that is why parents having a greater choice and greater  
523 diversity in provision in schooling is important, that is why we should be using  
524 the voluntary sector and the independent sector as a means of delivery, with the  
525 public sector in more of a commissioning role. That is why we need to be  
526 really strong in areas like law and order and social exclusion and so on, and  
527 that for me is what the whole next stage is about.

528 And it is about also understanding, and the environment is a classic issue. I  
529 mean the environment for example is a really interesting issue in this regard. I

530 think if we had attempted in 1997 to put forward the programme we put  
531 recently on energy policy, which was really quite bold on renewables, on  
532 emission trading, on business going green, I mean a lot of the publicity was on  
533 nuclear power, for understandable reasons, but actually there were a whole set  
534 of radical components on that. Now my view is that if we had tried that in  
535 1997, people would have just held up their hands in horror, business would  
536 have said this is absolutely ridiculous, you are penalising us, bla, bla, bla, it  
537 would have been a real nightmare for us. Today a large section of business, not  
538 all of it, but a large section of business is actually pushing us in this direction.  
539 So part of the rest of the thing is also to understand there are issues that crop up  
540 now in a completely different way than they would have 10 years ago, and you  
541 have got to stop those things happening as well, you know, work-life balance  
542 for example, which we had spotted again, but you need to work out what are  
543 the new ways of dealing with this.

544 And as I say, the trouble with politics in a way is that because so much happens  
545 by way of process and personality now, and it is just the way it is, there is no  
546 point in complaining about it, if you are not careful you kind of insult the  
547 public by not understanding that ultimately they do judge it on policy and a feel  
548 for whether a political party really understands and gets their life. You know  
549 you have to end up understanding that you never please all of the people all of  
550 the time, you please some of the people some of the time, you are doing quite  
551 well ... feels like. But in the end if we renew new Labour in that way, I think  
552 we will still be in a very strong position ...

553 THE TIMES: And you don't feel cut off from your party in any way, because  
554 that does happen to leaders in their third term?

555 PRIME MINISTER: It does, but you know people have been saying that to me  
556 ever since I became leader, and before I became Labour leader, and after I  
557 became Labour leader. And I am not saying things don't get more difficult,  
558 because they obviously are, I mean 10 years in you know we are not 20 points  
559 ahead in the opinion polls, we are 9 points behind, or whatever it is. So of  
560 course it is different, but in the end I am not either dismissing the worries  
561 people have, but I am trying to answer them as best I am capable of giving  
562 what I think is the right answer for the problem. Because the perennial delusion  
563 of all progressive parties in government, if they are not careful, is that you have  
564 a moderate progressive government that becomes unpopular for all sorts of  
565 reasons governments become unpopular, and then people who actually wanted  
566 something more fundamental, or fundamentalist if you like, then end up using  
567 that unpopularity in order to pool the progressive government into position and  
568 it actually means it simply can't win ... to win an election. And you know the  
569 in-place of strife thing (phon) in the '60s is quite an interesting example of that,  
570 because if you remember once they had ditched it, they did go back up in the  
571 polls, but a fat lot of good it did them at the election.

572 THE TIMES: When you next meet the PLP, the centre of that meeting with the  
573 PLP in May was they were asking you, some of them mentioned Gordon as  
574 well, but I think they were talking about you working to ensure an orderly  
575 transition, whenever that happens. Will you be able to satisfy them when you  
576 next go before them that the right moves are under way to ensure that that  
577 transition happens?

578 PRIME MINISTER: What you can do in the end is to make it clear to people,  
579 as I say it depends whether people are going to be reasonable about it or not. I  
580 have done things, and said things, that no-one in my position has done in  
581 British politics before, precisely in order to deal with the problem that previous  
582 Prime Ministers have had, which is the on, and on, problem. And let's be clear,  
583 because I mean you know you guys are very experienced at asking the  
584 questions, and I am experienced in answering them now, and your great danger  
585 is that you either appear to be sort of arrogantly saying I am going on forever,  
586 or you appear to be saying well I am just about to leave, and it is a very, very  
587 difficult balance, and I have tried to give people a sense that allows us to strike  
588 that balance properly, without getting yourself into a situation where you know  
589 you cause a lot of difficulty . But the trouble is politics is, you know, difficult.

590 THE TIMES: But there is a middle position which is in a sense saying, and my  
591 impression from Labour MPs - and I am sure Phil's is too - is to say that is  
592 absolutely fine, that is quite reasonable, and those who are not out and out to  
593 you know to cut your throat. But they would be much more reassured if there  
594 was you and Gordon discussing a joint programme together and things like  
595 that.

596 PRIME MINISTER: Yes, well fine, but you know we discuss this the whole  
597 time.

598 THE TIMES: You discussed it in the election, when you did a lot together, but  
599 for you to appear, to almost make the orderly transition flush by doing it  
600 together?

601 PRIME MINISTER: We work together the entire time on these issues, which is  
602 what I find slightly puzzling about it. You know pensions is a very good  
603 example of a process whereby at the end of it we could get an agreed policy.

604 THE TIMES: Perhaps Gordon has a better idea than we do as to when you are  
605 going.

606 PRIME MINISTER: I think I have said enough on that.

607 THE TIMES: Inaudible.

608 PRIME MINISTER: It is different now from where it was two or three weeks  
609 ago. It depends what happens, is the answer. I think the official line is we keep  
610 it under review.

## Interview II

1 JUAN WILLIAMS: Mr. President, we can't say thank you enough for giving  
2 NPR this time, so thank you.

3 PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH: You bet.

4 MR. WILLIAMS: All right, Mr. President, the reports that 300 militants were  
5 killed, an American helicopter shot down yesterday in Najaf – that's one of the  
6 deadliest battles of the war, what can you tell us?

7 PRESIDENT BUSH: You know, Juan, I haven't been briefed by the Pentagon  
8 yet. One of the things I've learned is not to react to first reports off the  
9 battlefield. I will tell you, though, that this fight is an indication of what is  
10 taking place, and that is the Iraqis are beginning to take the lead, whether it be  
11 this fight that you've just reported on where the Iraqis went in with American  
12 help to do in some extremists that were trying to stop the advance of their  
13 democracy, or the report that there's militant Shia had been captured or killed.  
14 In other words, one of the things that I expect to see is the Iraqis take the lead  
15 and show the American people that they're willing to the hard work necessary  
16 to secure their democracy, and our job is to help them.

17 So my first reaction on this report from the battlefield is that the Iraqis are  
18 beginning to show me something.

19 MR. WILLIAMS: Well, now, one of the concerns might be that you have – the  
20 gunmen were trying to assassinate clerics and pilgrims – Shia pilgrims. So I'm  
21 wondering if that's an indication of a civil war – a term that, you know, you've  
22 been reluctant to use.

23 PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I think it's an indication that there are murderers  
24 who will kill innocent people to stop the advance of a form of government that  
25 is the opposite of what they believe. You know, we can debate terms, but what  
26 can't be debated is the fact that Iraq is violent, and the violence is caused by  
27 Sunni Arabs like al-Qaida, who have made it clear that they want to create  
28 chaos and drive the United States out so they can have safe haven, and then  
29 they could launch attacks against America. No question the attack on the  
30 Golden Mosque of Samarra, which is a Shia holy site, caused Shia extremists  
31 to retaliate.

32 Now, there is some criminality going on, Juan, when there is no push-back in  
33 society; criminals are able to – you know, to have their way, and now the  
34 question is whether or not it's worth it in our interest – whether it's in the  
35 interests of the United States to help the Iraqi government do what's necessary  
36 to deal with these extremists. And I've obviously made the decision, I think it  
37 is.

38 I fully understand it's going to be up to the Iraqis to solve their problems. I was  
39 hoping to be in a different position. In other words, I had hoped I'd be able to  
40 interview with you and say, well, you know, we're not needed as much  
41 anymore, but I fully recognize that unless the violence in Baghdad, the capital

42 city of Iraq, the sectarian violence and the criminality is dealt with, then the  
43 political reconciliation necessary to unite the country isn't going to happen.  
44 And so I made a tough decision, and that is to reinforce our troops there and  
45 put a new commander there in the hopes of breaking the sectarian violence – or  
46 helping the Iraqis break it.

47 MR. WILLIAMS: Now, you've got a vote tomorrow in the Senate to consider a  
48 resolution opposing the troop buildup. Vice President Cheney said last week  
49 that vote would validate the insurgents' strategy. And so, do you agree?

50 PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, there's a lot of strong opinions about it. My attitude  
51 is – my feeling to the Senate echoes what Joe Lieberman said the other day –  
52 Senator Joe Lieberman – and that is it is ironic that the Senate would vote 81 to  
53 nothing to send a general into Iraq who believes he needs more troops to do the  
54 job and then send a contradictory message. The legislatures will – legislators  
55 will do what they feel like they've got to do, and, you know, we want to work  
56 with them as best we can to make it clear what the stakes of failure will be, and  
57 also make it clear to them that I think they have a responsibility to make sure  
58 our troops have what they need to do the missions.

59 MR. WILLIAMS: Well, another question about Vice President Cheney – he  
60 said last week that – here I'm quoting – "we've encountered enormous  
61 successes and we continue to have enormous successes in Iraq." Two weeks  
62 ago you said, quote, "there hadn't been enough success in Iraq." So it sounds  
63 like there's a conflicting message there.

64 PRESIDENT BUSH: Oh, I don't think so. I think that the vice president is a  
65 person reflecting a half-glass-full mentality, and that is he's been able to look at  
66 – as have I, and I hope other Americans have – the fact that the tyrant was  
67 removed, 12 million people voted, there is an Iraqi constitution in place that is  
68 a model for – and unique for the Middle East.

69 I will tell you, 2005 was a great year for freedom, and then the enemy took a  
70 good look and said, what do we need to do to stop the advance of freedom, and  
71 2006 was a tough year. And I have said that the progress is not good enough. In  
72 other words, people have asked me about whether or not I approve of the  
73 situation in Iraq and my answer is no. We can do better, but it's going to  
74 require an Iraqi government that does several things. One is provide security  
75 for its people, and therefore it's in our interest to train with them, to embed with  
76 them, and to fight alongside them for a period of time until Baghdad is secure.  
77 Two, they've got to reconcile.

78 In other words, they've got to make it clear to the 12 million people that made a  
79 conscious decision to vote and say, we want a unity government, to reach out  
80 to disparate elements. They've got to make sure that oil revenue, for example,  
81 is available to all of the people and not just a faction that may happen to be in  
82 power. They've got to make sure that those who were involved with the  
83 Saddam government in the past, so long as they weren't killers or terrorists,  
84 have a chance, for example, to be reinstated as school teachers.

85 In other words, there's a lot of things politically that can happen, Juan, and –  
86 you know, I made a decision that – and, listen, I listen to a lot of folks here in  
87 Washington. I listen to the military people, I listen to people who are critical of  
88 the policy, I listen to Republicans, I listen to Democrats, and I listen carefully  
89 for which strategy would yield – would most likely yield success, and the one I  
90 picked is the one I believe will.

91 And I understand it's controversial and I understand people are skeptical, and I  
92 understand there's pessimism here. I also want your listeners to know that a lot  
93 of people here in Washington also understand that failure in Iraq would be a  
94 disaster for the Iraqi people and for the American people.

95 MR. WILLIAMS: But there's no distance between you and Vice President  
96 Cheney in terms of the strength of his resolve that things are going, as he put it,  
97 you know, successfully.

98 PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, we both agree that something needed to change. In  
99 other words, when I made the decision to change the strategy in Iraq with a  
100 focus on Baghdad – in other words, reinforcing our troops, he fully understands  
101 that needed to happen and supported it.

102 MR. WILLIAMS: All right. You know, people are praying for you; people –  
103 the American people want to be with you, Mr. President, but you just spoke  
104 about the polls and they indicate the public – and you know about what's going  
105 up on Capitol Hill with the Congress, some in the military. Even many Iraqis,  
106 according to the polls, don't like the idea of sending more troops into Iraq. So I  
107 wonder if you could give us something to go on, give us something – say, you  
108 know, this is a reason to get behind the president right now.

109 PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, one way to – and one of the things I have found  
110 here in Washington amongst those who were skeptical about whether the Iraqis  
111 will do what it takes to secure their own freedom, is to remind them of what  
112 would happen if there's failure. In other words, there would be chaos. If we did  
113 not work to secure Baghdad and help the Iraqis to secure Baghdad, the country  
114 could evolve into a chaotic situation, and out of that chaos would emerge an  
115 emboldened enemy.

116 See, the difference, Juan, between other conflicts in the past and this one is that  
117 failure would endanger the homeland. In other words, the enemy isn't going to  
118 be just contained in the Middle East if they succeed in driving us out or  
119 succeed in wrecking the Iraqi democracy. The enemy would be likely to follow  
120 us here. And that's why I tried in my State of the Union speech, why I  
121 reminded people that September the – the lessons of September the 11th need  
122 to be remembered. It is a – and look, September the 11th changed my attitude  
123 about a lot of things. It really did. And I recognize that the world we live in is  
124 one where America cannot be isolated from the ills in other parts of the world.  
125 As a matter of fact, those ills can come home to haunt us.

126 And so, as I said in my speech, we'll do everything we can to protect the  
127 American people, and continue to stay on the offense, but we've also got to

128 defeat the ideology of hate with an ideology of liberty, because in the long run  
129 it's going to secure peace for your children and grandchildren.

130 MR. WILLIAMS: How long can you sustain the policy, though, with people so  
131 vehement in their doubt, the Congress voting as the Congress is voting, the  
132 polls showing what they're showing?

133 PRESIDENT BUSH: Yeah. Well, I'm – you know, I'm hopeful that the  
134 decision I have made is going to yield enough results so that the Iraqi  
135 government is able to take more of the responsibility. Listen, they want the  
136 responsibility. You've heard their prime minister say, we're ready to go. And in  
137 my judgment, and more importantly, the judgment of the military folks, they're  
138 not quite ready to go. And therefore, it is in our interest to help them with an  
139 additional 21,000 troops, particularly in Baghdad, to help bring this violence  
140 down and to deal with these radicals, whether they be Sunni radicals or Shia  
141 radicals.

142 And, you know, I'm reluctant to put timetables on the situation because there  
143 are people who listen to what I say and others in America say, and are willing  
144 to adjust their timetables to our timetable. It is a – I'm optimistic, I'm realistic, I  
145 understand how tough the fight is, but I also understand the stakes, and it's very  
146 important for our citizens to understand that a Middle East could evolve in  
147 which rival forms of extremists compete with each other, you know, nuclear  
148 weapons become developed, safe havens are in place, oil would be used as an  
149 economic weapon against the West. And I'm confident that if this were to  
150 happen, people would look back at this year and say, what happened to those  
151 people in 2006? How come they couldn't see the impending threat?

152 MR. WILLIAMS: All right. You know, you mentioned timetables. NPR has a  
153 reporter embedded with the Minnesota National Guard in Iraq, and one of the  
154 soldiers there asked the question – says, my name is Specialist Ryan Schmidt  
155 (sp) from Forest Lake, Minnesota, and my question for you, Mr. President, is  
156 what if your plan for a troop surge to Baghdad does not work?" What do you  
157 think?

158 PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I would say to Ryan, I put it in place on the advice  
159 of a lot of smart people, particularly the military people who think it will work,  
160 and let us go into this aspect of the Iraqi strategy feeling it will work. But I will  
161 also assure Ryan that we're constantly adjusting to conditions on the ground.

162 MR. WILLIAMS: Let's talk about Iran for a second, Mr. President.

163 PRESIDENT BUSH: And let me also say to Ryan, thanks for serving. I mean,  
164 one of the amazing things about our country is that we have people who  
165 volunteer to go. And one of the things I look for is whether or not we're able to  
166 recruit and retain, and we are. And it's a remarkable country, Juan, where  
167 people are saying I want to serve. And I appreciate that soldier, and I hope this  
168 message gets to him that not only do I appreciate him, but a lot of Americans  
169 appreciate him.

170 MR. WILLIAMS: We'll get it to him, Mr. President.

171 Iran's ambassador to Iraq says Iran is planning to greatly expand its economic  
172 and military ties with Iran – with Iraq. You said you have proof of Iran's role in  
173 attacks on U.S. forces in Iraq. I know you want to take care of this  
174 diplomatically – I've heard you say that – but if Iran escalates its military  
175 action in Iraq, how will the U.S. respond?

176 PRESIDENT BUSH: If Iran escalates its military action in Iraq to the  
177 detriment of our troops and/or innocent Iraqi people, we will respond firmly.  
178 We – it makes common sense for the commander-in-chief to say to our troops  
179 and the Iraqi people and the Iraqi government that we will help you defend  
180 yourself from people that want to sow discord and harm. And so we will do  
181 what it takes to protect our troops.

182 One of the things that is very important in discussing Iran is not to mix issues.  
183 Our relationship with Iran is based upon a lot of different issues. One is what is  
184 happening in Iraq. Another is their ambitions to have a nuclear weapon. And  
185 we're dealing with this issue diplomatically, and I think this can be solved  
186 diplomatically. And the message that we are working to send to the Iranian  
187 regime and the Iranian people is that you will become increasingly isolated if  
188 you continue to pursue a nuclear weapon.

189 The message to the Iranian people is that your government is going to cause  
190 you deprivation. In other words, you've got a chance to really flourish again as  
191 a great tradition. However, if your government continues to insist upon a  
192 nuclear weapon, there will be lost opportunity for the Iranian people. They  
193 won't be able to realize their full potential.

194 The Iranian people have got to know that this government and the United  
195 States bears no hostility to them. We're just deeply concerned about a  
196 government that is insisting upon having a nuclear weapon, and at the same  
197 time, rewriting history – the history of the past, and regards, for example, the  
198 Holocaust. It troubles a lot of people in this world, and I'll continue to work  
199 with, you know, friends and allies to send a clear message.

200 MR. WILLIAMS: By the way, just quickly, Harry Reid, the Senate majority  
201 leader says that if you have an incursion into Iran, he expects that you would  
202 come to the Senate for approval.

203 PRESIDENT BUSH: I have no intent upon incur—going into Iran. I mean, this  
204 is the kind of thing that happens in Washington. People ascribe, you know,  
205 motives to me beyond a simple statement – of course we'll protect our troops. I  
206 don't know how anybody can then say, well, protecting the troops means that  
207 we're going to invade Iran. If that's what he's talking about, there's – I mean, we  
208 will protect our interests in Iraq. That's what the American people expect us to  
209 do. That's definitely what our troops want to do, and that's what the families of  
210 our troops want us to do. And if we find the Iranians are moving weapons that  
211 will end up harming American troops, we'll deal with it.

212 MR. WILLIAMS: Let's talk for a second about the State of the Union speech.  
213 You didn't mention Hurricane Katrina, New Orleans, or the Gulf Coast. A lot

214 of people from Louisiana, including David Vitter, the Republican senator, say  
215 they regret that. Do you?

216 PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I gave a speech that I thought was necessary to  
217 give. On the other hand, I had been talking a lot about Katrina and about the  
218 fact that I worked with the Congress to get about \$110 billion sent down to  
219 both Mississippi and Louisiana to help them on their reconstruction efforts.  
220 Obviously, there is more work to be done. But to take the housing issue, for  
221 example, we have sent money down to the Louisiana folks, Louisiana  
222 Recovery Authority, to fund their plan. And the money is there and the money  
223 is available. And now it's up to the folks down there to get this plan  
224 implemented so people can start rebuilding their houses.

225 If there's bureaucratic slowdowns in Washington, we've got a man named Don  
226 Powell who is working to address them. But no, our response to the Katrina  
227 recovery has been very robust. And I appreciate the taxpayers of the United  
228 States helping the folks down there in Mississippi and Louisiana.

229 MR. WILLIAMS: Now, also in the State of the Union, you talked about the –  
230 quote here – "the serious challenge of global climate change." Were you  
231 talking about global warming there?

232 PRESIDENT BUSH: Absolutely, and it's a serious challenge. And one of the  
233 things that I am proud of is this administration has done a lot on advancing new  
234 technologies that will enable us to do two things – strengthen our economy,  
235 and at the same time, be better stewards of the environment. In 2002, I talked  
236 about an energy efficiency standard, which says new technologies will enable  
237 us to grow our economy, and at the same time, improve the environment, and  
238 we're meeting certain standards that I set for the country.

239 And what kind of technologies? Well, if you're really interested in global  
240 warming and climate change, then it seems like to me that we ought to promote  
241 technologies to advance the development of safe nuclear power. It's a  
242 renewable source of energy, and at the same time has no emissions to it. But  
243 also, we're advancing clean-coal technologies. The goal is to have a zero-  
244 emission coal-fired plant. And then, in the State of the Union, I talked about  
245 another aspect of economic security and environmental quality, and that is  
246 changing the habits – or changing how we power our cars. And I want more  
247 people driving automobiles with, you know, ethanol, for example, or biodiesel.  
248 And I believe the goal I set, which is a very bold goal, of reducing gasoline  
249 usage by 20 percent in 10 years is an attainable goal, but it's going to require  
250 the Congress funding the research and development initiatives that I have put  
251 in my budgets. And I expect them to do so.

252 MR. WILLIAMS: By the way, in the speech, you spoke about the Democrats.  
253 You said, you congratulated the Democrat majority. And I notice your  
254 prepared text said Democratic majority. I surely think that you know that for  
255 the Democrats, they think when you say Democrat, it's like fingernails on the  
256 blackboard. They don't like it. They like you to say Democratic.

257 PRESIDENT BUSH: Yeah. Well, that was an oversight then. I mean, I'm not  
258 trying to needle. Look, I went into the hall saying we can work together and I  
259 was very sincere about it. I didn't even know I did it.

260 MR. WILLIAMS: OK.

261 PRESIDENT BUSH: And that I did, I didn't mean to be putting fingernails on  
262 the board, I meant to be saying why don't we show the American people we  
263 can actually work together? There is a lot of politics in Washington – in my  
264 judgment, needless politics. And it's almost like, if George Bush is for it, we're  
265 against it, and I – and if he's against it, we're for it. And the American people  
266 don't like that.

267 And I'm going to tell you some big issues we need to work on. One is  
268 entitlements. Your grandchildren are going to grow up with a Social Security  
269 system that is broke unless we do something about it. Now, I understand how  
270 hard that is. I mean, it's—But the solution can be done. But it requires a lot of  
271 political, you know, capital to be spent. And there is distrust in Washington. I  
272 am surprised, frankly, at the amount of distrust that exists in this town. And I'm  
273 sorry it's the case, and I'll work hard to try to elevate it. So the idea that  
274 somehow I was trying to needle the Democrats, it's just – gosh, it's probably  
275 Texas. Who knows what it is. But I'm not that good at pronouncing words  
276 anyway, Juan.

277 MR. WILLIAMS: Mr. President, you're bringing out a new budget next week,  
278 and I presume you're going to have healthcare, health insurance plan in it. To  
279 pay for some of the plan, some people who don't pay taxes on their health  
280 insurance plan now will have to pay taxes. Isn't that a tax increase for them?

281 PRESIDENT BUSH: No, really what it is, it's a rewriting of the tax code.  
282 We've got a tax code today that says if you get your insurance from a large  
283 employer, for example, it's part of your – it's a non-taxable event. And yet if  
284 you're an individual, like Juan Williams out there as an independent contractor,  
285 and you buy your own health insurance, you're at a tax disadvantage. And so  
286 I'm asking the Congress to reform the tax code to treat everybody fairly. And in  
287 my judgment, such a plan will encourage and enable more individuals to be  
288 able to buy health insurance, which will help us deal with the uninsured.

289 MR. WILLIAMS: Will the budget be balanced through spending restraint or  
290 taxes?

291 PRESIDENT BUSH: The budget is going to be balanced by keeping taxes low.  
292 In other words, we're not going to raise taxes. And as a result of keeping taxes  
293 low, the economy is doing just fine, and when the economy is doing well, it  
294 yields a certain level of tax revenues that we can live with. And then making  
295 sure that we constrain federal spending, and you do that by setting priorities.  
296 And our priority has got to be this global war on terror and supporting our  
297 troops, and protecting the homeland, and that is what our budget will say, and  
298 we can balance the budget within five years. And that is going to be – that is  
299 good for the country. And in so doing, we are dealing with the short-term

300 deficits, but we have also got to deal with the long-term deficits inherent in, for  
301 example, programs like Social Security and Medicare.

302 MR. WILLIAMS: So, some people would say, well, if you believe in spending  
303 restraint, why haven't you vetoed one bill, you know, one appropriations bill?

304 PRESIDENT BUSH: Because the United States Congress that was controlled  
305 by Republicans exercised spending restraint. Now, I didn't particularly like –  
306 the size of the pie was what I requested. It's some of the pieces of the pie that I  
307 didn't particularly care for, but that is why the president needs a line-item veto,  
308 and that is why Congress has got to reform the earmark process. What the  
309 American people need to understand is that sometimes special projects get put  
310 into bills without ever having seen the light of the day. In other words, they  
311 don't get voted on; they just show up, and we need transparency in the earmark  
312 process, and expose the process to hearings and votes so that the American  
313 people will know that any project was fully heard on the floor of the House and  
314 the Senate.

315 MR. WILLIAMS: Mr. President, you have talked about Harry Truman and the  
316 challenges that President Truman faced during his time here. He wasn't popular  
317 toward the end of his presidency, but history ended up judging him very well.  
318 Is that your hope now?

319 PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, you know, Juan, my hope is that we see  
320 improvement in Baghdad. My vision is dealing with the problems at hand. I  
321 have got a lot on my agenda and believe we are going to get a lot done. At  
322 home, we want the economy to remain strong, and we want our children  
323 educated. That is why I'm pushing for a reauthorization of the No Child Left  
324 Behind Act. And abroad, I'm not only working with a great team to deal with  
325 Iraq, but we're dealing with Iran, Middle Eastern peace, North Korea. I mean,  
326 there is a lot of issues we are dealing with.

327 My own view is that history will take care of itself. History has a long reach to  
328 it. I told people that last year I read three analyses of Washington's  
329 administration, and my attitude is if they are still writing about the first  
330 president, the 43rd doesn't need to worry about it. And so, the other thing is, is  
331 that, I think it's very important for people – for a president to make decisions  
332 based upon principles. You know, you can be popular, but you may be wrong.  
333 And I would rather, when it's all said and done, get back home and look in the  
334 mirror and say, I didn't compromise the principles that are etched into my soul  
335 in order to be a popular guy. What I want to do is solve problems for the  
336 American people and yield the peace that we all want.

337 MR. WILLIAMS: One last thing, Mr. President. When you look at the quality  
338 of intelligence that you're getting about the nuclear program in Iran right now,  
339 do you think it's better than the quality of intelligence you were getting about  
340 weapons of mass destruction in Iraq?

341 PRESIDENT BUSH: No question that there is a certain skepticism about  
342 intelligence. We all thought that that – that there were weapons of mass

343 destruction in Iraq, and "we all" being not only the administration, but  
344 members from both political parties in the Congress. The previous  
345 administration felt that the intelligence indicated there was weapons of mass  
346 destruction. The international community – in other words, I just want you to  
347 know that there was a universal belief that Saddam Hussein had weapons of  
348 mass destruction including critics of Iraq, like the French, who voted for 1441  
349 in the Security Council.

350 And therefore when it turned out not to be true, there is a certain skepticism  
351 about intel. And however, the skepticism about intel, while it needs to be  
352 tempered by, you know, the – by an analysis of statements or other fragments  
353 of intelligence – what I am trying to say that I take the Iranian nuclear threat  
354 very seriously even though the intel on Iraq was not what it was thought to be,  
355 and we have to.

356 Now – so how do you solve the problem on intel? Well, you get more human  
357 intelligence. You constantly reevaluate the system itself and make sure that  
358 these really fine souls that work for the different intelligence agencies are given  
359 the tools they need. And so – look, I'm like a lot of Americans that say, well, if  
360 it wasn't right in Iraq, how do you know it's right in Iran? And so we are  
361 constantly evaluating, and answering this legitimate question by always  
362 working to get as good intelligence as we can.

363 MR. WILLIAMS: And Negroponte's departure, did it concern you – do you  
364 feel like the CIA, all of these intelligence agencies are doing a better job now?

365 PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I think they understand the lessons of Iraq. And  
366 you know, we put the Silverman Robb Commission together, and wanted to  
367 make – look, the president needs the best intelligence. This is a war against a  
368 group of killers that still want to come and kill us, that is going to require  
369 accurate intelligence to give us the data necessary to act to protect Americans  
370 before the attack. And therefore we are all pulling for good intelligence.

371 And Negroponte is much needed at the State Department. He is one of these  
372 public servants who brings a lot of skills, and a lot of really – and a lot of good  
373 judgment. And I asked him to go to the State Department to help Condi, and  
374 found a very suitable replacement, a guy named Mike McConnell. And the  
375 change of personnel really is not a reflection upon whether or not the intel is  
376 getting better or worse; the change of personnel is putting our best players in  
377 the best positions as we head into the final two years of the administration.

378 MR. WILLIAMS: One last thing, Mr. President, with the Democrats. You  
379 asked the Democrats on a bipartisan basis to form an advisory council and  
380 monitor the war, work with you. They haven't responded at all. What do you  
381 take from that?

382 PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, I'm going to have to keep working with them and  
383 explain that my notion is to – is to put in place a consulting-type group that will  
384 be able to talk about the war on terror in general. In other words, I don't want –  
385 I think that a lot of these folks aren't happy we're in Iraq to begin with, and I

386 understand that, and then they are – they don't believe we are going to succeed  
387 in Iraq, and I understand that too. I think what some may be afraid of is I'm  
388 trying to get them into an Iraq-type situation where they are forced to say  
389 something they don't want to say. I don't know.

390 MR. WILLIAMS: Oh, that they would be co-opted by cooperating or working  
391 with you?

392 PRESIDENT BUSH: Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah, and that may be part of the issue.  
393 My purpose really is to – listen, we want to consult in Iraq, and we will  
394 continue to do so, and we will be very much involved with members of  
395 Congress, don't get me wrong. But the greater purpose is to help this country  
396 succeed in the ideological struggle that we're going to be in today and  
397 tomorrow and the next day.

398 This is – what I'm describing to the American people is this war on terror is  
399 going to take a while, and Iraq is just a part of it. And I guess – you know, I'm  
400 going to work – I think it's important for me to continue to reach out to the  
401 Democrats, and will – and Republicans, for that matter – and explain the  
402 strategies and the way forward, but also to explain to them that presidents and  
403 Congresses will be dealing with this ideological struggle for quite a while, and  
404 therefore it makes sense to work together now to help not only us succeed, but  
405 help them succeed.

406 MR. WILLIAMS: Mr. President, I want say thank you from National Public  
407 Radio.

408 PRESIDENT BUSH: Juan, thank you, buddy. Glad you're here.

409 MR. WILLIAMS: I appreciate it, sir.

410 PRESIDENT BUSH: Yes sir.

411 MR. WILLIAMS: Thank you again.

412 PRESIDENT BUSH: Camera's off? (Chuckles.)

### Interview III

1 MEET THE PRESS PRESENTER PAUL BONGIORNO: Hello and welcome  
2 to Meet the Press. Mid-year, the opinion polls still show Labor in a  
3 commanding position. As MPs leave Canberra for the winter break, the  
4 political temperature ratchets up.

5 PRIME MINISTER JOHN HOWARD (Tuesday): His social attack was  
6 'unfairness'. His economic attack was 'productivity'. And last week he came  
7 unstuck on both of them, and the more questions he asked about productivity,  
8 the more he demonstrates an abysmal failure to understand the first thing about  
9 the economic concept of productivity.

10 OPPOSITION LEADER KEVIN RUDD (Tuesday): Australia's annual average  
11 growth rate for productivity since 2002 has been ranked 24th in the OECD.  
12 Prime Minister, is this performance good enough to set up Australian families  
13 for a prosperous future once the mining boom is over?

14 PAUL BONGIORNO: The Prime Minister is our guest. But first, what the  
15 nation's papers are reporting this Sunday June 24 - The 'Sun-Herald' leads with  
16 "Drug tests for all MPs." Liberal Senator Bill Heffernan says politicians should  
17 be subjected to random tests for illicit drug use. He says politicians should lead  
18 by example. The 'Sunday Telegraph' has "Shark hands Laura \$100 million."  
19 Golfer Greg Norman has agreed to the massive settlement ending his 25-year  
20 marriage. The 'Sunday Age' reports "Black aid plan could do more harm than  
21 good." Northern Territory child abuse expert Lesley Taylor is pleased with the  
22 Howard Government's intervention but warns it needs to be handled with care.  
23 The 'Sunday Mail' says "Adoption ban on obese." Overweight couples  
24 desperate to adopt babies in South Korea, Taiwan or China are being told  
25 they're too fat to make good parents. John Howard left it until the last day  
26 before the long winter break to drop his bombshell, dramatic and significant  
27 intervention in the Northern Territory to stop child sex abuse in Aboriginal  
28 communities. Warren in the 'Daily Telegraph' saw it more as another rabbit out  
29 of the hat to reverse his political fortunes, but whatever the sceptics say, who  
30 can deny it is a national disgrace, demanding action? And good morning and  
31 welcome back, Prime Minister.

32 JOHN HOWARD: Paul.

33 PAUL BONGIORNO: Well, Prime Minister, by one count there have been 13  
34 reports in the last 11 years documenting child sexual abuse, three of them  
35 Federal, 10 of them State. What made you act dramatically now?

36 JOHN HOWARD: Because I felt the old approach had totally failed. We have  
37 gone along with the idea that these are State and Territory responsibilities,  
38 which technically they are. We'd persevered with that, we'd worked the old  
39 paradigm, but we just came to the conclusion that that wasn't going to work

40 and we've decided in effect to put aside the old approach and to adopt in the  
41 short-term a highly interventionist approach. It is highly interventionist, but we  
42 don't apologise for that, because protecting innocent children is far more  
43 important than subservience to a doctrine or a philosophy or the niceties of  
44 some inter-governmental arrangement. In the end, solutions and outcomes are  
45 far more important than doctrine.

46 PAUL BONGIORNO: Tony Abbott the Health Minister yesterday signalled  
47 that police and troops would be going into Mutitjulu - that's near Ayer's Rock,  
48 or Uluru - this week. What will they be doing?

49 JOHN HOWARD: I think you've got to get the order correct. The first thing to  
50 do is to establish law and order, and Mal Brough will be saying a bit more  
51 about this later today, but that's the first requirement, and I would expect that  
52 we'd have some additional police presence within the next week or 10 days. It  
53 can't be done overnight. We have had offers of extra police from NSW and  
54 Victoria, I thank them for that and I expect the other States to do likewise, they  
55 can do no less. In addition, there will be a number of additional Federal police,  
56 but the first thing is to establish law and order and to start to clean the place up.  
57 The next stage will be the medical operation. You can't expect the medical  
58 operation to start until you've established better law and order.

59 PAUL BONGIORNO: Just on the first stage - is it only Mutitjulu within the  
60 fortnight?

61 JOHN HOWARD: No, no, please don't tie me in. I don't think anybody should  
62 get tied to days and particular communities. We will have additional police  
63 resources in the Territory within the next 10 days.

64 PAUL BONGIORNO: Do you need your legislation to do that?

65 JOHN HOWARD: No, because they're going to be sworn as officers of the  
66 Northern Territory police force and they can begin enforcing, along with their  
67 Northern Territory colleagues, enforcing the Northern Territory laws. There are  
68 many Northern Territory laws relating to alcohol, for example, that just go  
69 unenforced and that is part of the problem. Mal Brough told me of a  
70 community - Galiwinku - in the Cape which had 3,000 people, it was the first  
71 community he visited as Minister, and there was not one police officer there.  
72 There were 3,000 people. For the last 18 months, he's been negotiating with the  
73 Northern Territory for three extra police there, their houses, a police station and  
74 a police launch and the Commonwealth paying for all of that, and we've only  
75 just got all the final details from the Territory Government to make that work,  
76 so there's a big need to increase basic policing and, once you've done that, it  
77 becomes possible to go to the next stage, and the next stage is sending more  
78 doctors and medical people in.

79 PAUL BONGIORNO: On that, the big question posed by Aboriginal leaders  
80 who support you is how can it be made to work, Professor Mick Dodson put it  
81 this way.

82 PROFESSOR MICK DODSON, RECONCILIATION AUSTRALIA (Friday):  
83 Well I share concerns that this is too top-down in its approach and unless it's  
84 adjusted and measures are taken and resources are put in place, it's going to  
85 fail. That's what concerns me more than anything.

86 PAUL BONGIORNO: Some of the issues that Professor Dodson raised, for  
87 example, were that alcoholic parents, they would need detoxification, they  
88 would need rehabilitation, that's one thing, the other point is housing, you've  
89 got a lot of this abuse occurs in houses where 20 people sleep and live. And the  
90 next point that's been made is that the dramatic shortage in the Territory of  
91 trained medical staff, doctors to begin with, but others as well. So, what sort of  
92 time scale are we looking at here?

93 JOHN HOWARD: You're not looking at it happening within a few weeks or a  
94 few months. You're not. You're looking at a start being made and a significant  
95 start during that period, but my overwhelming response to Mr Dodson is to  
96 simply say this - the old approach has failed. It's all very well to make - the  
97 problem with these debates, they always descend into generalised philosophical  
98 exchanges instead of a serious debate about how you make a difference on the  
99 ground.

100 PAUL BONGIORNO: But do you concede that you will need Aboriginal  
101 leaders to be onside to work with the community?

102 JOHN HOWARD: What do you mean by Aboriginal... if you mean people a  
103 long way away from the communities, no. I mean, that's part of the problem -  
104 that we have listened too often to people a long way away from the  
105 community. What we need...

106 PAUL BONGIORNO: One of the successes of Cape York of course is Noel  
107 Pearson. He's up there, he's part of that community. Are there Noel Pearsons  
108 that you can identify?

109 JOHN HOWARD: Can I just say, we're getting away from - we're falling into  
110 the old Canberra trap of talking about this as some kind of generalised  
111 philosophical debate. The biggest single problem in these communities is that  
112 the women and the children are scared to death of complaining about the  
113 violence and the molestation, and unless you get police on the ground, unless  
114 you establish the atmosphere of physical security or a greater atmosphere of  
115 physical security, nothing is going to change, and that is the first and most  
116 important requirement. Then you need to start to clean up the place so that  
117 there is a sense of community returning. If you can get those two things, then  
118 you can create the situation where you can start doing other things, but unless

119 you remove that terrible fear that you'll get bashed and treated even worse,  
120 which is the problem, unless you do that, you're not going to get anywhere.

121 PAUL BONGIORNO: Prime Minister, just before we go to the break, Liberal  
122 Senator Bill Heffernan today wants random illicit drug tests for MPs. Do you  
123 support that?

124 JOHN HOWARD: This has come up before. The point Bill is making is that if  
125 there's evidence that there's a problem with politicians, then they should be  
126 treated no different from anybody else.

127 PAUL BONGIORNO: When we return with the panel - is the Government's  
128 backpedalling on WorkChoices working? And the pay rise of the week went to  
129 our politicians.

130 LIBERAL MP DAVID JULL (Wednesday): You've got to start paying them  
131 some money or you just won't attract the best brains in the country and this  
132 place needs the best brains in the country.

133 REPORTER: Do you think you're one of the best brains in the country?

134 DAVID JULL: I would never say that and I won't be here much longer.

135 LABOR MP BOB MCMULLAN (Wednesday): I don't do it for the money.  
136 They could pay me less, I'd keep doing it, but don't tell anybody.

137 PAUL BONGIORNO: You're on Meet the Press with the Prime Minister. And  
138 welcome to the panel, Jennifer Hewitt from the 'Australian'. Good morning,  
139 Jennifer.

140 JENNIFER HEWETT, THE 'AUSTRALIAN': Good morning.

141 PAUL BONGIORNO: And Peter Hartcher from the 'Sydney Morning Herald'.  
142 Good morning, Peter.

143 PETER HARTCHER, THE 'SYDNEY MORNING HERALD': Good  
144 morning, Paul.

145 PAUL BONGIORNO: In the last election campaign, the Liberals had an IR  
146 policy promising special treatment for small business and exempting  
147 businesses with 20 employees or fewer from unfair dismissal laws, and of  
148 course they defended the individual contract or AWA arrangements already in  
149 place.

150 JOURNALIST 1 (September 28, 2004): The 20 allowable matters that are  
151 currently in Federal awards, do you think in the interest of workplace  
152 flexibility the Government would consider reducing the number of allowable  
153 matters in awards?

154 JOHN HOWARD: We don't at this stage, Mark, have proposals to do so,  
155 because they've worked pretty well, I mean, you've got to look at what's  
156 happened. It's not bad to have generated 1.3 million new jobs and to have real  
157 wage rises of 13%.

158 JOURNALIST 2: Have you achieved most of the major reforms...

159 JOHN HOWARD: Not all of them. We would like to go further in the way  
160 that's been outlined in the policy Mr Andrews has released.

161 PETER HARTCHER: Mr Howard, once you were re-elected, you completely  
162 changed approach to take a much broader deregulatory approach to the labour  
163 market. When that proved politically unpopular, you've moved to soften that.  
164 What guarantee did the Australian voting public have that after the next  
165 election you won't revert to some more draconian policy?

166 JOHN HOWARD: Well, I think the fact that we have made some changes in  
167 response to perceptions in the community that people's penalty rates and  
168 overtime payments might be traded away without adequate compensation, the  
169 fact that we've done that, is the best guarantee of all.

170 PETER HARTCHER: You've said that the Labor Party's pledges to roll back  
171 the IR changes would derail the economy. Why is it that their rollback is bad  
172 but your prosed rollback, your actual rollback, is good?

173 JOHN HOWARD: The evidence is that they would return regulation of the  
174 labour market to a system that operated 20 years ago. I mean, my argument is  
175 that our changes have helped the economy and the evidence of that is the  
176 360,000 new jobs since WorkChoices, the fact that the long-term unemployed  
177 have fallen by 26% in the last year, that we have a 33-year low in  
178 unemployment, the lowest number of strikes since 1913, real wages rising  
179 20%. Why on earth would you want to disturb that?

180 JENNIFER HEWETT: Mr Howard, to what extent do you take personal  
181 responsibility for misreading the public mood on WorkChoices 'Mark I'?

182 JOHN HOWARD: Well, Jennifer, if things go wrong, the Prime Minister is  
183 always to blame. I accept ultimate responsibility for the decisions of the  
184 Government and I take ultimate responsibilities for the political misjudgements  
185 of the Government and I suppose occasionally if I get something right I'm  
186 entitled to get some of the credit. But, look, in the end, politics is about a  
187 balance of driving forward with good policy but making sure that as you drive  
188 forward the community goes along with you. There was a perception in the  
189 community, there's no doubt about that, that you might have your entitlements  
190 like penalty rates and holiday loading and overtime traded away without proper  
191 compensation, and the fairness test guarantees that that won't happen.  
192 Incidentally, the same guarantees aren't available in Labor's policy, but that's

193 another matter. It guarantees that won't happen. Now, if that means that we've  
194 listened to people, well, that's a good thing, because Government should  
195 always listen to people's concerns.

196 JENNIFER HEWETT: Mr Howard, the other issue is that unions have been  
197 obviously on a steady decline. If you were re-elected would you expect that to  
198 accelerate and do you think in a modern economy there is a really important  
199 role for unions?

200 JOHN HOWARD: I think there'll always be a role for unions. My sense is that  
201 the decline will start to flatten out. It's come down dramatically. When you get  
202 to 15% in the private sector, I don't think it can get much lower. It might get a  
203 bit lower, but my sense is that it's probably fallen about as far as it's going to  
204 fall. There'll be further falls perhaps but they will be pretty incremental. Our  
205 real complaint is not of course about the existence of unions, and we support  
206 tenaciously people's right to belong and unions' right to exist and to advocate  
207 the cause of their members, there's not an argument. The argument is that in an  
208 age where 15% of the private sector workforce only belongs to the union  
209 movement, why should you hand back a monopoly of the bargaining process to  
210 the union movement, because that is the essence of Labor's policy, stripped of  
211 all of the debate about individuals, my central complaint with Labor's policy is  
212 that it would in fact return a monopoly of the bargaining system to the trade  
213 union movement. That's always been my complaint about Labor's industrial  
214 relations approach.

215 PETER HARTCHER: Mr Howard, we're just about to see the retirement of a  
216 High Court judge, Justice Ian Callinan, because he's going to hit the mandatory  
217 retirement age of 70. If 70 is a good enough retirement age for High Court  
218 judges, do you think it should apply to Federal politicians?

219 JOHN HOWARD: (Laughs) I could see this coming. Well, there's no law  
220 requiring it. The reason why 70 is the required retirement age is because we  
221 had a referendum requiring people to retire by that age. It's part of the law, but  
222 there are plenty of fields of endeavour where people continue very actively in  
223 their careers well after they're 70s. I'm familiar with an Australian-born media  
224 proprietor who's much beyond the age of 70 who still wields a lot of influence  
225 and nobody doubts that and probably the man who occupied the most powerful  
226 economic position in the world held that position in his late 70s.

227 PETER HARTCHER: In those cases, we're talking about the late 70s. Is that  
228 what you think should be a reasonable limit?

229 JOHN HOWARD: No, I'm just saying that the only significance of Ian  
230 Callinan's retirement is that the law requires it because there was a referendum  
231 in the late 1970s putting that into the Constitution.

232 JENNIFER HEWETT: Do you think it's perfectly reasonable then to go to the  
233 next election as a 71-year-old asking for re-election?

234 JOHN HOWARD: This next election, I won't be 71 yet! (Laughs)

235 JENNIFER HEWETT: The election after this?

236 JOHN HOWARD: Well, let's take one election at a time.

237 JENNIFER HEWETT: It's just that issue of saying to people that you want re-  
238 election this time and everybody thinks that you will definitely retire in the  
239 next term. It's a little hard to do that, isn't it, to ask people's support when there  
240 is that expectation?

241 JOHN HOWARD: Jennifer, this came up in 2001, came up in 2004 and on the  
242 eve of the 2004 election, you know what happened, the Leader of the  
243 Opposition predicted that there was going to be a by-election in Bennelong  
244 some time after the 2004 election and the irony of all of that was there ended  
245 up being a by-election in Werriwa which was the seat held by the then Leader  
246 of the Opposition. So we've played this little game before and it sort of hasn't  
247 worked. We can play it again, but in the end people are going to pay on  
248 performance and what the Government is doing to solve their problems.

249 PAUL BONGIORNO: After the break - a top US commander, General  
250 Petraeus, forecasts American troops will be in Iraq for another 10 years. Will  
251 Australia's job be done before that? And from the best of Nicholson cartoons  
252 on the 'Australian's website there's this animated view.

253 GEORGE BUSH CHARACTER: Well, soldier, soon it will be time for to us  
254 leave Iraq but first we got to erect a symbol of our great achievement here,  
255 democracy.

256 PAUL BONGIORNO: You're on Meet the Press. According to leaked research  
257 done for the Business Council by pollster Mark Texta, national security has  
258 slipped to number six in voters' concerns this election, but one of the points of  
259 difference between the Government and Opposition is the withdrawal timetable  
260 from Iraq. When Defence Minister Brendan Nelson visited our troops there in  
261 April, the question from the diggers was not when we're getting out but rather  
262 why aren't we doing more?

263 ADF SOLDIER (April): I just wondered about your comment to the media  
264 about other NATO nations not pulling their weight when it certainly can be  
265 argued that Australia is not pulling its weight in these conflicts. And that  
266 there's really a very real sense that our forces are being withheld from actual  
267 combat roles with the exception of the SF. I think that some of our coalition  
268 partners are starting to certainly make comment on the ground to soldiers about  
269 that.

270 JENNIFER HEWETT: Prime Minister, he's right, isn't he? If this is so  
271 important, why aren't our soldiers doing more of the heavy lifting on the  
272 ground in areas like Baghdad?

273 JOHN HOWARD: Well, the understanding we had with the Americans, when  
274 we originally participated, was that after the sharp end was over we weren't  
275 going to have any troop presence.

276 JENNIFER HEWETT: But...

277 JOHN HOWARD: But you should remember that was the history. I know this  
278 because I was involved in the discussions with both President Bush and the  
279 then Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and I made it very clear that we  
280 would commit forces - if we did commit forces, they'd be committed for the  
281 sharp operational stage, the invasion stage if you like, and then after that, we  
282 would not be leaving forces on the the ground, we would leave some naval and  
283 air units and obviously a security detachment to look after our embassy in  
284 Baghdad, but the whole idea was not to have troops on the ground. And it  
285 wasn't until much later when the Japanese engineering corps wanted some  
286 help, that we agreed at the request of the Americans and the British to send that  
287 force to Al Muthanna. We are a willing friend and ally, but we did have that  
288 understanding, and we of course along with only the British and the Americans  
289 and some other help I think from the Polish, were the only countries that were  
290 involved in the original phase and that was of course a very important actual as  
291 well as symbolic contribution.

292 JENNIFER HEWETT: Well, there's been of course quite a few changes in the  
293 attitudes about Iraq over the last couple of years. You used to talk always about  
294 finishing the job, but it now seems as though finishing the job even on the most  
295 optimistic assessments will take many years. Is that how long you expect  
296 Australian troops to be there?

297 JOHN HOWARD: I'm not going to put a time on it, except to say that I don't  
298 believe coalition forces should come out, and that includes Australians, until  
299 we are reasonably satisfied the Iraqis can look after themselves. Now, I'm not  
300 going to put a time on that. It is quite difficult, and what they're doing in  
301 southern Iraq is very important. It is helping to provide stability in an area  
302 which is relatively free of the sort of violence that's occurring in Baghdad, and  
303 there is no guarantee that if our forces were taken out of southern Iraq and  
304 other forces were taken out of southern Iraq, that some of the violence which is  
305 occurring in other parts of the country wouldn't come to southern Iraq. You  
306 have to understand what would be the displacement effect of our forces coming  
307 out of there. But I'm not going to put a time on it. It's something that has to be  
308 driven by events and outcomes and not by timetables.

309 PETER HARTCHER: Mr Howard, just returning to Aboriginal policy in the  
310 Northern Territory, you've told us about phase one and law and order and

311 stabilisation, can you tell us some more about the contents of phase two? What  
312 comes after that initial...

313 JOHN HOWARD: The next real phase is that relating to health and education.  
314 You can't send a whole lot of additional medical people into this area and hope  
315 to carry out the sort of medical examination and medical checks that we would  
316 like until you've established a climate of greater personal security and stability.  
317 I said earlier that the greatest fear that the women and children have in this part  
318 of Australia, sadly, is that they will get further ill treated and molested and  
319 bashed if they go to the authorities and until you remove that and establish  
320 some climate of confidence and reassurance, you can't hope to deal with the  
321 medical things, so what I'm really stressing is the importance of sequencing the  
322 intervention. The first thing is law and order and a physical cleaning up of the  
323 place, the next step is to implement the health and education moves.

324 PAUL BONGIORNO: Prime Minister, the Australian General Practice  
325 Network is warning that we have to be careful not to fall into a fallen - stolen  
326 generation type situation. For example...

327 JOHN HOWARD: See, the very injection of those words is designed to sort of  
328 discredit this operation.

329 PAUL BONGIORNO: Well, the doctors are worried.

330 JOHN HOWARD: Can't we just be practical?

331 PAUL BONGIORNO: Kate Carnell, the CEO of the General Practice Network  
332 says many doctors are willing to go up in the first phase. They say within two  
333 weeks, three weeks, four months, there does need to be follow-up and there  
334 simply aren't the people to do that.

335 JOHN HOWARD: Paul, nobody is disputing that. We will provide all of the  
336 additional resources.

337 PAUL BONGIORNO: One of the problems is we can't get doctors to go to  
338 towns in NSW and Victoria.

339 JOHN HOWARD: There are plenty - we can say, "Well, this all too difficult  
340 and let's not do it." This in a sense has been the problem in the past, and in a  
341 way people have avoided confronting the practical challenge on the ground by  
342 debating the philosophy. Why we inject concepts like stolen generation, we're  
343 not talking about stealing a generation, we're talking about saving a generation  
344 and I think that ought to be our prime obligation.

345 JENNIFER HEWETT: Mr Howard, on another issue, broadband has obviously  
346 been a very very important issue for the Labor Party, now you say you have a  
347 broadband policy. It seems as if in the end Telstra will not participate in laying

348 a high-speed broadband network to the cities. Is that a good outcome as far as  
349 you're concerned?

350 JOHN HOWARD: I'm not sure that that is the outcome.

351 JENNIFER HEWETT: They seem to think it is.

352 JOHN HOWARD: But they seem to say different things on different times. But  
353 this is a free country. We're going to have a committee, we're going to have a  
354 process and we invite Telstra to participate, and I find it hard to believe that  
355 that giant, wonderful organisation would stay apart from this.

356 PAUL BONGIORNO: (Laughs) Thank you very much for being with us today,  
357 Prime Minister. And thanks to our panel, Jennifer Hewitt and Peter Hartcher.  
358 Until next week, goodbye.