A Critical Discourse Analysis of Manipulation in Theresa May's Speech on Brexit

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Abstract: This paper conducts a critical discourse analysis of manipulation in the speech of Theresa May, the former Prime Minister of UK, concerning Brexit negotiations presented in UK House of Commons on October 25, 2018. The major aims of this study are: (1) Identifying the strategies the speaker employs to convey certain manipulative messages; (2) Identifying the impact of the respective ideology of the political speaker in discursively manipulating information and fact dissemination to the audience; (3) Examining aspects of focus on particular layers of words and meanings such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs in addition to rhetorical devices to help understanding manipulation in the selected political speech; (4) Pinpointing the syntactic structures May makes use of in manipulating Members of Parliament in the House of Commons; (5) Figuring out how speech act categories participate in the construction of manipulation.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis; domination; ideological discursive strategies; manipulation.

I. INTRODUCTION

Critical discourse analysis (henceforth, CDA) investigates the way power, ideology and manipulation appear in discourse as well as the way such notions result in creating and maintaining social inequality, power abuse, and domination. The ideological functions and the power relations in discourse are usually opaque or hidden to the audience (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). CDA aims to make these hidden aspects of language visible. A text or speech reflects the writer's or the speaker's ideology and his/her perception of the world. The focus of CDA, in this case, is on the employment of linguistic elements in discourse as this helps in figuring out and giving clues about social issues in which such linguistic structures are intentionally utilized to express certain political ideologies. In addition to reflecting the perception of the world, text and talk have the potential to control people's minds. This means that discourse may have an influential role in affecting people's actions through manipulation to achieve certain political goals. The power which leads to mind control can have its intended ways that are liable to be affiliated with laws, rules, norms, and habits where such power is reproduced accordingly. Deploying particular linguistic structures in political speeches is resorted to by politicians to impose their ideology on others to naturalize and neutralize their ideologies to make them as if they were part of the knowledgebase of their audience.

In his article "Discourse and Manipulation" van Dijk (2006a: 359) highlights the necessity of paying special attention to several crucial notions in CDA as they imply discursive power abuse. One of these notions is manipulation. He argues the absence of a systematic theory concerning the structures and processes involved in manipulation. This matter results in a problematic case that reflects the need for understanding the complicated process of manipulation, penetrating it, having insight about it, and becoming aware of such a phenomenon.

Definitions of Manipulation

Manipulation, as defined by van Dijk (ibid), is a complex phenomenon that incorporates social power abuse, cognitive mind control, and discursive interaction. The manipulator attempts to control other people to the best of his interests. This type of power is a form of manipulative domination, which entails practicing an illegitimate influence and reproduction of ideology through discourse.

The important criteria of manipulation start from the fact that people are being acted upon against their interests, and that manipulation is in the best interests of the manipulator. Wittingly used by the speaker (manipulator), manipulation is a communicative and interactional practice that is oriented towards influencing the behaviour, desire, belief, and emotions of others to his self-interests arriving at certain favourable goals. Manipulation plays an important role in many fields of people's life especially in advertising, religion, and politics (Blass, 2005: 169).

For Buller and Burgoon (1994: 196), manipulation cannot happen accidentally. It is intentional. Otherwise, a particular message that is unintentionally misleading falls under the types of mistakes, gaffes, and the like. This means that an individual who aims to influence people and make them believe and do what he wants them to do can fulfill his target through particular strategies such as attestation and manifesting proof or testimony in the encountered

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communication. According to Handelman (2009: 4), manipulation is directed towards creating a certain impact to influence the target (hearer) to act in a way that under normal conditions he (hearer) would probably resist to do so because things move against his intentions and interests. He (ibid) refers to the point which states that manipulation may include the indirect exercise of an illegitimate influence employing discourse through making others do things that are in the interest of the speaker.

Wodak (2001: 88) argues that in a manipulative situation what is most negative is that the hearers cannot understand and comprehend the real motives and intentions behind the manipulator's words as well as the consequences of the aims and plans expressed by the manipulator. Wodak's emphasis here is not only on the hearer's inability to know the manipulator's intentions but also on the social consequences that may be (re)produced accordingly.

Manipulation and Critical Discourse Analysis

One of the crucial notions of CDA is manipulation. To approach manipulation, critical discourse analysts generally take an ideological approach. Their focus is on political manipulation between groups and their members. Therefore, one of the constituent parts of the developed eclectic model of analysis in the present paper is the utilization of the ideological discursive strategies.

Many linguists have criticized the traditional descriptive view of discourse. The claim that critical linguists put forward is based on the idea that ideology is linguistically mediated. They argue that by substituting one word for another a new thought could be determined.

Fowler et al. (1979: 186) argue that speakers are capable of manipulating listeners through the language they use:

X manipulates Y through language, and X pulls the wool over Y's eyes through language. But these

processes tend to be unconscious for most speech community, for much of the time. If they were not, they

would not work.

Manipulative Strategies in Discourse

Discourse is a social use of language in a particular social context. It contributes to the construction of social reality. Van Dijk (2006a: 372) indicates that the manipulative discourse is controlled by dominant political, bureaucratic, media, academic or corporate elites. His idea purports that there are certain contextual factors(constraints) that control the manipulative discourse such as the ones concerning participants, their roles, their relations and their typical actions and cognitions (knowledge, goals). However, discourse structures are not alike in terms of their efficiency in influencing the minds of recipients for the benefit of the speaker or writer. The biased use of a strategy which is in the interest of the speaker or writer to the detriment of others is termed by van Dijk's (2003) 'positive self-presentation' and 'negative other-presentation'. This typical strategy can be utilized through the structures of various levels of discourse as illustrated by van Dijk (2006a: 373):

1.   Overall interaction strategies

a.   Positive self-presentation

b. Negative other presentation

2. Macro speech act implying Our 'good' acts and Their 'bad' acts, e.g. accusation, defense

3. Semantic macrostructures: topic selection

a. (De-) emphasize negative/positive topics about Us/Them

4. Local speech acts implementing and sustaining the global ones, e.g. statements that prove accusations.

5. Local meanings Our/Their positive/negative actions

a. Give many/few details

b. Be general/specific

c. Be vague/precise

d. Be explicit/implicit

6. Lexicon: Select positive words for Us, negative words for Them

7. Local syntax

a. Active vs. passive sentences, nominalizations: (de)emphasize Our/Their positive/negative agency, responsibility

8. Rhetorical figures

a. Hyperboles vs. euphemisms for positive/negative meanings

b. Metonymies and metaphors emphasizing Our/Their positive/negative properties

9. Expressions: sounds and visuals

a. Emphasize (loud, etc.; large, bold, etc.) positive/negative meanings

b. Order (first, last: top, bottom, etc.) positive/negative meanings

Van Dijk's approach is a social-political one. The manipulative strategies he mentions in this approach are in affiliation with the overall manipulative strategy of positive self-representation and negative other representation.

Ideological Discursive Strategies

Ideology is a very important notion in the critical study of manipulation. This importance lies in analyzing the ways by which ideologies can manifest themselves in discourse. Van Dijk (2002, 2003, 2006b) lists some categories of ideological discursive strategies politicians utilize in their speech (discourse) to manipulate their audience and achieve their political goals. This list includes the following strategies identified in the speech under study:

1. *Authority:* different authorities are the result of different ideologies. Mentioning an authority means supporting a particular claim.

2. *Disclaimers:* the adoption of the ideological base of the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. It is based on using a particular coordinator such as 'but' to deny the positive description of an actor after it has been stated earlier. For example, "I have nothing against X, but... ", 'they are not all criminal, but...

3. *Evidentiality:* forms of evidentiality and authority figures can exist through claims or points of view to justify and legitimate political action.

4. *Hyperbole:* the use of semantic rhetorical devices to exaggerate a particular meaning such as using metaphors as in the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation.

5. *Polarization:* dividing people in in-group (self/us) and out-group (others/them).

6. *National Self-glorification:* glorifying or praising a speaker's country norms and values, such as hospitality, democracy, and human rights for the sake of showing or creating positive self-representation.

7. *Number-Game:* using numbers and statistics to boost an argument to sound credible.

8. *Consensus*: creating agreement and solidarity such as focusing on national interests to stand against a particular threat facing one's country.

9. *Illustration:* providing examples and illustrations as a manipulative strategy to positive self-presentation and negative other presentation.

10. *Positive self-presentation:* the speaker's emphasis on the positive features of his group or country.

11. *Negative other-presentation:* categorizing people into divisions of in-groups and out-groups similar to creating a distinction between good and bad which is mostly not value-free but ideologically oriented towards manipulating the listeners.

12. *Lexicalization:* an overall ideological strategy for negative other representation by utilizing the semantic features of particular words.

Levels of Analysis

The CDA analysis of manipulation is dealt with against the linguistic levels of pragmatics, semantics, syntax, and rhetoric.

The Level of Pragmatics

This level concerns itself with categories of speech acts. Searle (1976, 1979) states that by saying something speakers simultaneously achieve or do things. Searle focuses on the illocutionary acts the speaker performs. This illocutionary act as a term refers to using a sentence to express a particular point of view with a certain function or 'force,' called an illocutionary force. The illocutionary force refers to a speaker's intention in delivering his utterance. Searle (1976:10) puts forward a classification of five kinds of speech acts: representatives, commissives, directives, declaratives, and expressives.

1.			Representatives show the speaker's commitment to the truth of an expressed proposition and how things are in the world.

2.			Directives refer to attempts by the speaker to get hearers to do something and how the speakers fit the world to the words.

3.			Declarations show how the speaker brings a state of affairs into existence by declaring it to exist. Declaratives bring about some alternation in the status or condition of the referred object.

4.			Commissives refers to the commitment of the speaker to some future course of action and how to fit the world to the words.

5.			Expressives express the psychological state such as the speaker's feelings, attitudes, positive or negative evaluations about the world. The speaker is neither trying to get the world to match the words nor the words to match the world.

The use of speech acts has the potential of constructing certain ideologies the speaker tries to establish and maintain for the sake of manipulating and influencing the receivers' minds to the best of his benefit.

The Level of Semantics

In this level, the analyst tries to investigate the choice of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, their meanings, and their frequencies. This is based on the idea that such investigation helps to make known and show important details as far as the speakers' worldview, their intentions, and manipulative strategies are concerned.

The Level of Syntax

Careful and detailed examination of the syntactic structures can bring the conceptual world constructed in the text to conscious consideration (Chilton & Schäffner, 1997: 226). The political manipulation at the syntactic level can be described as being less obvious and more subtle as compared to the lexical one. This can be shown in the use of active and passive constructions, nominalizations, agency and topicalization.

The Level of Rhetoric

Through the study of rhetoric, the analyst can demonstrate how politics works as well as the ways particular ideologies and political stances are constructed in a political speech.   Manipulative political speeches or discourses function as ideological control. This ideological representation can be achieved through various discursive structures as mentioned earlier. This time it is expressed via using specific rhetorical structures of discourse. Examples of manipulative rhetorical structures can be found in repetition, metaphors, and hyperbole (exaggeration) as they are identified in the speech.

The combination of these different levels of linguistic analysis can give us a wide perspective and a panoramic view of understanding the various features of manipulation in political discourse in the present study.

The Analytical Model

On developing the eclectic model of analysis, the researcher makes some modifications of Vadai's (2017) tool. Such modifications intend to focus on manipulation to be critically analysed to fulfil the aims stated earlier. Thus, the rhetorical level is added to the three analytical levels of pragmatics, semantics, and syntax to have a four-level analytical model. Moreover, the use of 'adverb' which is absent in Vadai's (2017) framework, is added to fill this gap and to give further critical insight of adverbs in the eclectic analytical model in the present paper so that it can be tackled similarly to other lexical elements such as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The analysis delves into two different directions: the macro and the micro.

Macro Level Analysis

To investigate the features of manipulation in political speeches, Van Dijk (2006a: 372) looks carefully at the following: overall interaction strategies, macro speech acts, semantic macrostructures, local speech acts and meanings, the lexicon, local syntax, and the rhetorical figures such as hyperboles, metonymies, and metaphors. He also sheds light on the ideological polarization represented by the utilization of "Us" and "Them". He examines very carefully various strategies, semantic and syntactic aspects, and different speech acts in texts. He suggests a top-down method to present several manipulative moves in the discourse which begins with the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

Micro Level Analysis

The analysis of manipulation is based on studying the meaning of the manipulator's chosen linguistic structures in a political speech. Therefore, the second model of analysis moves from the bottom to the top. According to Chilton and Schäffner (1997), this analysis starts with identifying fundamental linguistic phenomena. To express their opinions and ideologies, politicians can use certain vocabularies to have their political objectives fulfilled (Hunston & Thompson, 1999).

The Eclectic Model

The analytical eclectic model developed by this study rests on various models such as those of van Dijk's (2002, 2003, 2006b) ideology and discourse, the sociocognitive approach, the ideological discursive strategies (structures), discourse and manipulation (2006a), and the ideological square (2004). These are utilized in combination with Chilton & Schäffner (1997) "Discourse and Politics".

The Microanalysis of ManipulatioThe following is the analysis of manipulation in May's speech in the light of the analytical eclectic model developed in the present paper. The speech is taken from the internet, particularly, from the British Political Speech website and the Political Speech Archive (UKPOL) website.

1.   The Pragmatic Level

Speech Acts

The speech consists of 76 sentences. All the sentences in the speech are analysed and classified according to the employed speech act categories. The speech acts are underlined in the following examples. The analysis at the pragmatic level focuses on the realization of manipulation by the utilization of the speech acts in May's speech.

May's political position as a Prime Minister of UK is a privilege by which she has access to discourse, communication, and information regarding many states of affairs, particularly the political ones; in this case, the Brexit negotiations. This privileged access represents a social resource for power and dominance. Put differently, as a Prime Minister, she has more freedom in using special discourse style to cognitively control the members of the parliament in the House of Commons. She highlights her credibility or superiority to others and emphasizes the audience's lack of knowledge especially of certain aspects of the encountered negotiations. She is a very important person who leads important discussions on security and migration, to name but a few. She knows many things related to the process of Brexit

negotiations. This can be shown by using the category of representatives in her speech to the House of Commons. Speech acts have the potentials to fulfill the speaker's intention by influencing the minds of the audience. Dissimulation, defocusing, or blurring the information as common manipulative strategies in political speeches, can be expressed by representatives:

(1)   Mr. Speaker, on the European Council, in addition to Brexit, there <u>were</u> important discussions on security and migration.(6)² (Representatives)

Her political status helps her to have an influential impact on the listeners to accept her arguments, opinions, and standpoints as disclosed in the speech. This can be demonstrated by employing the speech acts of representatives such as asserting, arguing, putting forward, and suggesting as in the examples below. The Prime Minister resorts to this category of speech acts to manipulate the audience, Members of Parliament (MPs) with the type and amount of information she has. This type of speech acts defines the speaker as an omnipotent and knowledgeable character who sees the future of the country. In this way, she can draw the map she likes and the route she believes to best achieve her political goals in delivering Brexit. May emphasizes her power and superiority by providing particular information and details of the political situation as well as the related negotiations of Brexit. She controls her manipulative speech and, consequently, her audience by limiting and expanding manipulation. The manipulative effect is triggered by her trial to influence understanding, minds, opinions, and actions of the MPs by affecting the formation of their mental models which are represented as attitudes and ideologies associated with Brexit. This control of the minds of the MPs is an example of social manipulation enacted through the genre of political discourse:

(2)   First, at last Monday's Foreign Ministers meeting my Rt Hon Friend the Foreign Secretary and his French counterpart <u>secured</u> agreement on a new EU sanctions regime on the use of chemical weapons. (8)(Representatives)

(3)   At this Council, I <u>argued</u> along with Dutch Prime Minister Rutte that we <u>should also accelerate</u> work on further measures – including sanctions – to respond to and deter cyber-attacks. (11)(Representatives)

With the use of representatives, the politician can manipulate the audience by conveying his subjective opinion and judgment of the communicative event. Moreover, he can make it more difficult for the audience to distinguish his subjectivity from fact. Manipulation can be traced in May's speech in the way she communicates a true statement to the MPs with the aim of limiting them to some options which are in the best of her interests as in the examples above. In other words, she makes use of the strategy of blurring, defocusing. In this way, manipulation can be thought of as a kind of power abuse in which the manipulator aims to affect the listeners to change their beliefs and acts:

(4)   We <u>must impose</u> costs on all those who seek to do us harm, regardless of the means they use. And this Council agreed to take that work forward. (17)(Representatives)

(5)   Since 2010, our trade with Asia <u>has grown</u> by almost 50 percent – more than with any other continent in the world. I want to develop that even further.

Indeed, Mr. Speaker, the ability to develop our new trade <u>deals is one</u> of the great opportunities of Brexit. (28) (Representatives)

In comparison with a large number of representatives, the manipulator, the Prime Minister, uses no direct orders. Rather, she employs a very few examples of directives. This use of directives is seen in the form of inviting MPs to protect Britain's trade with Northern Ireland. This invitation can be attributed to her utilization of the strategy of national self-glorification:

(6)   Northern Ireland's businesses rely heavily on trade with their largest market – Great Britain – and <u>we must protect</u> this in any scenario. (146) (Directives)

She tries to change the way the audience react to her political message, a message in which she wishes to appeal to the recipients' emotions as an attempt to impose her ideology. Accordingly, she chooses to present some facts that boost her standpoint by utilizing representatives which can be amalgamated with other types of speech acts such as expressives and commissives:

(7)   Turning to Brexit, Mr. Speaker, let me begin with the progress we <u>have made</u> on both the Withdrawal Agreement and the political declaration on our future relationship. (37)(Representative)

(8)   Second, in marking anti-slavery day, I <u>welcomed</u> the continued commitment of all EU leaders in working together to eliminate the barbaric crime of people trafficking. (20)(Expressive)

(9)   I <u>see</u> any extension – or being in any form of backstop – as <u>undesirable</u>. By far the best outcome for the UK, for Ireland and for the EU – is that our future relationship is <u>agreed</u> and in place by 1st January 2021.(114)(Expressives)

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² The numbers in brackets at the end of the examples refer to the line numbers in the speech text.

May invests covertness which is one of the manipulation components by using the category of expressives to manipulate the audience covertly. The use of expressives speech acts has the potential to emotionally involve the MPs in the situation and to have them act in the best of her interest. In the following examples, manipulation is further strengthened by the use of commissives in addition to representatives:

(10) ***I have every confidence that*** <u>***it will be***</u>***. And the European Union have said they*** <u>***will show***</u> ***equal commitment*** *to this timetable. (118) (Commissives)*

(11) *When I stood in Downing Street and addressed the nation for the first time, I* <u>*pledged*</u> *that the government I lead* <u>*will not be driven*</u> *by the interests of the privileged few but of ordinary working families. (155)(Commissives)*

Table (1) below shows the frequencies and percentages of the speech acts of representatives, commissives, expressives, and directives as they are employed in May's speech to manipulate the MPs in the House of Commons.

Table (1): The Frequencies and Percentages of the Speech Acts in May's Speech

Speech Act Category	Frequency	Percentage
Representatives	64	75.29%
Commissives	10	12.91%
Expressives	8	9.75%
Directives	3	3.52%
Total	85	100%

The analysis of the whole speech shows, as it is stated in the table above, that the category of representatives with the percentage of (75.29%) has the highest frequency and the category of directives with the percentage of (3.52%) has the lowest frequency. The percentage of the category of commissives (12.91%) is higher than that of the category of expressives (9.75%). No obvious employment of declarative is seen in the speech under investigation. This highest percentage of representatives indicates the manipulator's focus on stating and sharing information as a way of diminishing responsibility and returns regarding the negative consequences of these negotiations. Figure (1) below illustrates the use of the speech acts of representatives, commissives, expressives, and directives in May's speech.
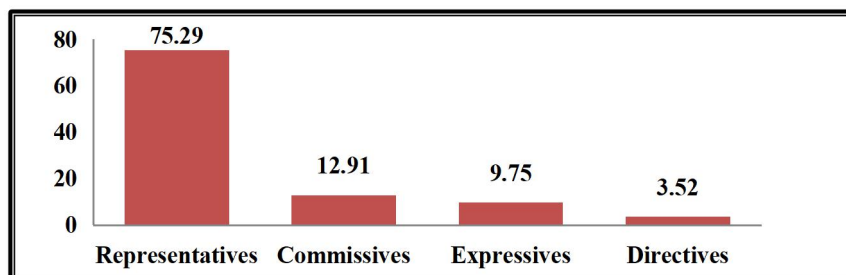

Figure (1): The Distribution of Speech Acts in May's Speech

2.   The Syntactic Level

The syntactic level of analysis deals with the following: use of active or passive; agency; and use of nominalizations and topicalizations.

Active and Passive Sentences

The focus of studying active and passive is on those structures that are dependent on the encountered social situation at which manipulation can exist by the variation in choice. This manipulative choice results in certain social consequences since the manipulative impact lies in affecting the listeners' attitudes and actions. Attributing agency in an event or conflict can be seen by raising the question of how responsibility is attributed. Expressed differently, is the agent stated explicitly or implicitly and whether the agency is shared by the speaker and the listener or not.

In a political speech, attributing agency can participate in legitimating an adopted ideology and pushing forward for the confrontation with others' political stances. With the use of many active sentences, May demonstrates her capability, dynamism, responsibility, and powerful position. The traces of manipulation can be attributed to her application of the strategy of positive self-presentation at which she polarizes 'Us' from 'Them', discredits her opponents, and emphasizes her power and moral superiority as in:

Active Constructions

(12)   At this Council, I <u>*argued*</u> *along with Dutch Prime Minister Rutte that* <u>*we should also accelerate*</u> *work on further measures – including sanctions – to respond to and deter cyber-attacks. (11)*

(13)   *Second, in marking anti-slavery day, <u>I welcomed</u> the continued commitment of all EU leaders in working together to eliminate the barbaric crime of people trafficking. (20)*

When the Prime Minister puts forward her plan, sets the related goals, and shows things that are supposed to be done, she prefers the use of active sentences:

(14)   *<u>We reaffirmed</u> our shared commitments to doing more to tackle the challenges of migration upstream. (23)*

(15)   *<u>We have to explore</u> every possible option to break the impasse and that is <u>what I am doing</u>. (153)*

Passive Constructions

On the contrary, the passive voice is employed by the Prime Minister to blur her responsibility, defocus agency to make it less clear for the audience and emphasize thematic priorities rather than defining the doer of the action. To manipulate MPs, she uses the passive constructions:

(16)   ***And Mr. Speaker, there are some limited circumstances in which <u>it could be argued</u> that an extension to the Implementation Period might be preferable if we were certain it was only for a short time. (126)***

The use of passivisation in political speeches has the role of affecting argument prominence. Taking the contextual constraints into consideration, we can say that the use of passive constructions is not innocent. It is biased towards affecting the listeners' mind and forming mental models by which the speaker thinks that her arguments will be acceptable.

In the following example, the passive is meant to convey the incapability and lack of power and domination of the privileged individuals. This also reflects the inferior political position of those who have an anti-government ideological orientation in comparison with May's superior and dominant political status. Polarizing these two sides, namely, the superior in opposition with the inferior, is an example of the utilization of the overall interaction strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation:

(17)   ***When I stood in Downing Street and addressed the nation for the first time, I pledged that the government I <u>lead will not be driven</u> by the interests of the privileged few but of ordinary working families. (155)***

The frequencies and percentages of the active and passive utilization in the whole speech can be shown in Table (2) below.

Table (2): The Frequencies and Percentages of the Active and Passive in May's Speech

Form	Frequency	Percentage
Active Form	29	93.55%
Passive Form	2	6.45%
Total	31	100%

The total number of the active and passive constructions in the whole speech which are utilized by Johnson in the manipulation of his speech is (31). There are (29) active forms and (2) passive forms. It is clear from the table above that the percentage of the active form (93.55) is higher than the percentage of the passive form (6.45). The high frequency of the active form is evidence of May's capability and dynamism. This increases the influence of manipulation on the audience and reflects the Prime Minister's power. It also reproduces her dominant ideology in a place where the ideologies of the different parties in the House of Commons are in active conflict. Figure (2)   below illustrates the utilization of the active and passive forms in May's speech.
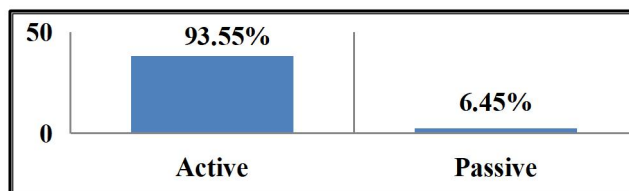

Figure (2): The Active and Passive Forms in May's Speech

Nominalization

Nominalization is another device used by the Prime Minister to mitigate the negative agency or hide the responsibility for especially negative actions. The use of nominalization helps her to control the manipulative polarization of 'Our' acts and 'Their' acts effectively. She tries to convey the message that the acts of her supporters of Brexit deal are positive in comparison to those acts of 'Others' that represent the opponents of the government particularly in the long process of Brexit negotiations. In the following examples, May tires to haze her responsibility for some concerns that may arise. She finds nominalization a suitable strategy of mystification to manipulate her audience:

(18)   *And <u>there are also concerns</u> that Northern Ireland could be cut off from accessing its most important market – Great Britain. (90)*

(19) *For example, a short <u>extension to the Implementation Period </u>would mean only one set of changes for businesses – at the point we move to the future relationship. (129)*

Topicalization

Topicalized Form

(20) *Second, <u>in marking anti-slavery day</u>, I welcomed the continued commitment of all EU leaders in working together to eliminate the barbaric crime of people trafficking. (20)*

Canonical Form

I welcomed the continued commitment of all EU leaders in working together to eliminate the barbaric crime of people trafficking <u>in marking anti-slavery day.</u>

In the sentence above, the constituent '*in making anti-slavery day'* is fronted to be in focus because the Prime Minister intends to give the audience more information regarding the anti-slavery day. This is attributed to the utilization of the general strategy of 'positive self-presentation', particularly in a democratic society where slavery as a civil relationship should be banished as far as human rights are concerned.

In the example below, topicalizing the sentence part '***So earlier this year'*** indicates the importance of finding a solution to the temporary UK-EU joint customs territory. This also reflects the Prime Minister's powerful and dominant position as well as her ideological stance concerning keeping the integrity of United Kingdom while she is negotiating the Brexit deal:

Topicalized Form

(21) *But as I said in my Mansion House speech: We chose to leave; we have a responsibility to help find a solution. <u>So earlier this year,</u> we put forward a counter-proposal for a temporary UK-EU joint customs territory for the backstop. (77)*

Canonical Form

We put forward a counterproposal for a temporary UK-EU joint customs territory for the backstop <u>earlier this year.</u>

The topicalized part '*And in a substantial shift in their position since Salzburg'* as a result of the transformation of the original sentence '*The EU is now actively working with us on this proposal in a substantial shift in their position since Salzburg.'* conveys the importance of EU change in their opinions. This positive change is a joint work of both the EU and the Prime Minister's team. May tries to appeal to the audience and manipulate them in a covertly by emotionally having involved in the negotiation to create consensus:

Topicalized Form

(22) *<u>And in a substantial shift in their position since Salzburg</u>, the EU is now actively working with us on this proposal. (81)*

Canonical Form

The EU is now actively working with us on this proposal <u>in a substantial shift in their position since Salzburg.</u>

3. The Semantic Level

Language in general has a binary structure at which nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs have their antonyms. This opposition has a role in degrading one expression and approving the other. The use of vocabulary in a political speech helps the analyst have an idea of the lexical map the speaker would like to draw. The critical analysis of vocabulary aims also to examine the role of the lexical choice in the production of the ideological discursive strategies.

Nouns

The analysis of the whole speech of the Prime Minister shows a majority use of abstract nouns with the percentage of (85.21%) whereas the percentage of concrete nouns is (14.78%) as it is shown in Table (3) below.

Table (3): The Frequencies and Percentages of the Abstract and Concrete Nouns in May's Speech

Noun	Frequency	Percentage
Abstract	121	85.22%
Concrete	21	14.78%
Total	142	100%

The percentage of the abstract nouns in comparison with that of the concrete ones indicates the high degree of formal structures. Deploying abstractness of nouns increases the speaker's role in manipulating the minds and actions of her listeners and expresses her dominant and powerful political position. It also reflects May as the guardian of truth and the creator of good things. Consequently, she presents herself as a thinker who works for the benefit of her country. As such, may has the potential to cognitively manipulate MPs' minds and actions to stand with her side in the hard negotiations of Brexit. The following are examples of abstract nouns used in May's speech:

(23) *We reaffirmed our <u>shared commitments</u> to doing more to tackle the <u>challenges</u> of <u>migration</u> upstream. (23)*

(24)   *Turning to Brexit, Mr. Speaker, let me begin with the <u>progress</u> we have made on both the <u>Withdrawal Agreement</u> and the <u>political declaration</u> on our <u>future relationship</u>. (37)*

The following are examples of concrete nouns used in May's speech:

(25)   ***How do I best take back control of our <u>money, borders,</u> and laws? (161)***

(26)   ***Mr. Speaker, on the European Council, in addition to Brexit, there were important <u>discussions</u> on security and migration. (6)***

Verbs

Dynamic and static verbs are identified in May's speech. To increase her power and domination in manipulating the listeners by impacting on their minds and actions, she utilizes a majority of dynamic verbs.

Dynamic Verbs

The dynamic verbs used in the speech are:

(get, make, secured, argued, accelerate, respond, deter, impose, welcomed, affirmed, met, has grown, discussed, agreed, have made, reported, developed, build, reach, guarantee, set out, chose, put forward, threaten, committed, see, try, say, move, accept, rely, protect, let, explore, break, stood, addressed, pledge, lead, guides, ask, demand, hold, clear, and working).

Static Verbs

The static verbs used in the speech are: (is, are, was, believe, have, and remain)

(Note: some dynamic and static verbs are utilized more than once)

Table (4) shows the frequencies and percentages of the dynamic and static verbs used in May's speech.

Table (4): The Frequencies and Percentages of Dynamic and Static Verbs in May's Speech

Verbs	Frequency	Percentage
Dynamic	47	83.93%
Static	9	16.07%
Total	56	100%

The table shows that she uses (47) dynamic verbs with the percentage of (83.93%) whereas only (9) static verbs with the percentage of (16.07%) are used. This reflects her dynamic participation in the negotiations where she has the political power and domination which control discourse and consequently influence the minds and actions of the audience. The following figure demonstrates the disparity between the utilization of dynamic and static verbs in May's manipulative speech.
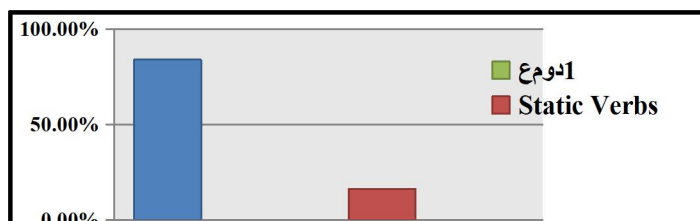

Figure (3): Dynamic and Static Verbs in May's Speech

The following are representative examples of dynamic verbs identified in the speech:

(27)   *At this Council, <u>I argued</u> along with Dutch Prime Minister Rutte that we should also accelerate work on further measures – including sanctions – to respond to and deter cyber-attacks. (11)*

(28)   *But as I said in my Mansion House speech: We <u>chose</u> to leave; we have a responsibility to help find a solution. So earlier this year, we <u>put forward</u> a counter-proposal for a temporary UK-EU joint customs territory for the backstop.(77)*

The following are representative examples of static verbs identified in the speech:

(29)   *There <u>is</u> one real sticking point left, but a considerable one, which <u>is</u> how we guarantee that – in the unlikely event our future relationship <u>is</u> not in place by the end of the Implementation Period – there <u>is</u> no return to a hard border between Northern Ireland and Ireland.(64)*

(30)   *But as I said in my Mansion House speech: We chose to leave; we <u>have</u> a responsibility to help find a solution. So earlier this year, we put forward a counter-proposal for a temporary UK-EU joint customs territory for the backstop.(77)*

Adjectives

May uses positive and negative adjectives. The selection of the adjectives is based on the polarization of 'Us/Them' distinction which is attributed to the ideological square of in-group membership and out-group membership.

The following is a list of positive adjectives used in the speech:

Positive Adjectives

(sure, new, stark, more, great, ambitious, shared, clear, broad, special, real, considerable, temporary, substantial, important, good, integral, delicate, alternative, necessary, equal, able, sovereign, preferable, full, whole, largest, possible, brilliant, precious, and historic)

The following are examples of positive adjectives used in her speech:

(31)   Indeed, Mr. Speaker, the ability to develop our <u>own new</u> trade deals is one of the <u>great</u> opportunities of Brexit.(31)

(32)   During last week's Council, I had <u>good</u> discussions with Presidents Juncker, Tusk and Macron, Chancellor Merkel and Taoiseach Varadkar and others about how to break this impasse. (92)

The purpose of using emotive lexical elements in a political speech lies in creating an appeal to the listeners' emotions by which the speaker can strengthen her manipulative language:

(33)   We would not accept a position in which the UK, having negotiated in <u>good faith</u> an agreement which prevents a hard border in Northern Ireland, nonetheless finds itself locked into an alternative, inferior arrangement <u>against our will</u>. (138)

The following is a list of the negative adjectives used in the speech:

Negative Adjectives

(barbaric, hard, worried, critical, undesirable, short, inferior, hardest, and wrong)

The following are examples of negative adjectives used in May's speech:

(34)   Furthermore, Mr. Speaker, people are understandably <u>worried</u> that we could get stuck in a backstop that is designed only to be temporary.(87)

(35)   We would not accept a position in which the UK, having negotiated in good faith an agreement which prevents a hard border in Northern Ireland, nonetheless finds itself locked into <u>an alternative, inferior</u> arrangement against our will. (138)

Table (5) shows the frequencies and percentages of the positive and negative adjectives used in the speech.

Table (5): The Frequencies and Percentages of the Positive and Negative Adjectives in May's Speech

Adjective	Frequency	Percentage
Positive Adjectives	31	77.5%
Negative Adjectives	9	22.5%
Total	40	100%

It is clear from the table above that May uses (31) positive adjectives with the percentage of (77.5%) and (9) negative adjectives whit the percentage of (22.5%).

The following figure demonstrates the disparity between the utilization of positive and negative adjectives in May's manipulative speech.
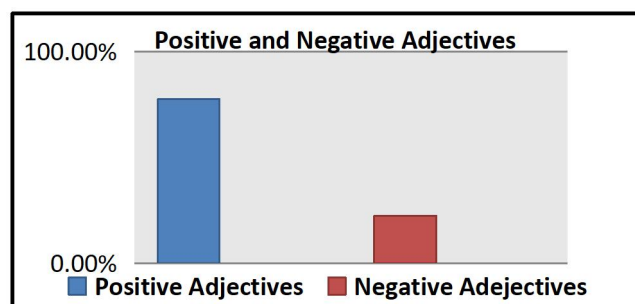

Figure (4): Positive and Negative Adjectives in May's Speech

Adverbs

May uses both positive and negative adverbs in her speech. These adverbs are attributed to the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. The government actions are described positively where others' actions and standpoints are conveyed negatively.

Positive Adverbs

The following is a list of the positive adverbs used in the speech:
 (together, shortly, forward, upstream, further, already, emphatically, certainly, actively, legally, understandably, vitally, and heavily)

    The following table shows the frequencies and the percentages of the positive and negative adverbs in the speech:

Table (6): The Frequencies and Percentages of the Positive and Negative Adverbs in May's Speech

Adverb	Frequency	Percentage
Positive Adverbs	13	72.23%
Negative Adverbs	5	27.77%
Total	18	100%

As the table above illustrates, the analysis of the whole speech of the Prime Minister shows a majority use of positive adverbs with the percentage of (72.23%) whereas the percentage of negative adverbs is (27.77%).

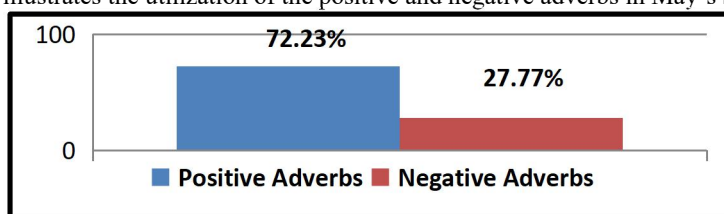   Figure (5)   below illustrates the utilization of the positive and negative adverbs in May's speech.

Figure (5): Positive and Negative Adverbs in May's Speech

    The following examples demonstrate the use of positive adverbs. The Prime Minister utilizes them to increase manipulation as she positively presents herself to appeal to her audience and influence their minds to the best of her interests. She also tries to appeal to the audience emotions by focusing on the danger of migration expressed in the connotative meaning of 'challenges. The connotative meaning promotes the manipulative impact on the listeners:

(36)   We must impose costs on all those who seek to do us harm, regardless of the means they use. And this Council agreed to take that work forward. (17)

(37)   Second, in marking anti-slavery day, I welcomed the continued commitment of all EU leaders in working together to eliminate the barbaric crime of people trafficking. (20)

(38)   We reaffirmed our shared commitments to doing more to tackle the challenges of migration upstream. (23)

Negative Adverbs

 These are the negative adverbs used in the speech:

(unlikely, not in place, indefinitely, wrong, and again)

  The adverb 'wrong' is generally considered negative. It is used by May to describe other politicians who are opponent to her project as 'out-group' members whereas those who support her are in-group-members as in the following example:

(39)   It will mean not giving in to those who want to stop Brexit with a politician's vote – politicians telling the people they got it wrong the first time and should try again. (173)

4. The Rhetorical Level

Repetition

Repetition is used by May to direct the attention of MPs to particular positions and actions she ideologically adopts. Cognitively, this involves May's attempt to control their understanding, minds, beliefs, knowledge, opinions, and ideologies which in turn control their actions. The dominant group aims to develop an ideology by repeating particular expressions so that it can reproduce and legitimate its domination and power abuse. Table (7) below shows the repeated expressions with their frequencies:

Table (7): The Repeated Expressions in May's Speech

No.	Expression	Frequency
1	progress	4
2	Future relationship	6
3	Commitment	8
4	Arrangements	6
5	Discussion	4
6	Protect	6

7	Interest	5
8	Develop	4
9	Future	2
10	Threat	3
11	How do I best…………?	4

The following are representative examples of the repeated expressions in the speech:

(40) *There is one real sticking point left, but a considerable one, which is how we guarantee that – in the unlikely event our future relationship is not in place by the end of the Implementation Period – there is no return to a hard border between Northern Ireland and Ireland. (64)*

(41) *Before any decision, I ask: how do I best deliver the Brexit that the British people voted for.*
How do I best take back control of our money, borders and laws?
How do I best protect jobs and make sure nothing gets in the way of our brilliant entrepreneurs and small businesses.
And how do I best protect the integrity of our precious United Kingdom and protect the historic progress we have made in Northern Ireland. (159)

Hyperbole

Hyperbole is another rhetorical device used by May to increase manipulation. The hyperbolic expressions are intended to manipulate the House of Commons by controlling the members emotionally. Those who disagree with the attitudes of the Prime Minister may be discredited by utilizing Us/Them polarization to show them as being opponents and dissidents.

The hyperbolic expressions used in May's speech are: (eliminate, reaffirmed, *95 percent, certainly, totality, full, heavily, largest, precious, historic, whole, and hardest)*

The following are some examples of hyperbolic expressions identified in May's speech where manipulation can also be achieved by arousing people's emotions as in:

(42) *I do not believe that any UK Prime Minister could ever accept this.*
And I certainly will not. (76)

(43) *Northern Ireland's businesses rely heavily on trade with their largest market – Great Britain – and we must protect this in any scenario. (146)*

Ideological Discursive Strategies

The former Prime Minister, May, makes use of several ideological discursive strategies to manipulate the MPs in the House of Commons to have her political plans of delivering Brexit succeed. These strategies are utilized along with the four levels of analysis employed in the current work. The following are representative examples of such utilization of these ideological discursive strategies.

Polarization

As an ideological strategy, polarization is used by May to categorize herself and her government from those who try to hurt or damage UK. Such categorization is attributed to the deployment of the dichotomy of 'US/THEM' where 'US' refers to our good actions and 'THEM' is the reference to the bad actions of others. This polarization is shown in the different ideological stances of the Prime Minister's group (in-group) and the group (out-group) of those who are not in agreement with her:

(44) *We must impose costs on all those who seek to do us harm, regardless of the means they use. And this Council agreed to take that work forward. (17)*

(45) *And how do I best protect the integrity of our precious United Kingdom, and protect the historic progress we have made in Northern Ireland. (164)*

Positive self-presentation

To cognitively influence MPs and ideologically manipulate them to the best of her interest, May utilizes the strategy of positive self-presentation:

(46) *Second, in marking anti-slavery day, I welcomed the continued commitment of all EU leaders in working together to eliminate the barbaric crime of people trafficking. (22)*

(47) *Turning to Brexit, Mr. Speaker, let me begin with the progress we have made on both the Withdrawal Agreement and the political declaration on our future relationship. (37)*

Number Game

May uses the strategy of number game to make the manipulative effect more credible and to have her arguments accepted in the House of Commons:

(48) *Mr. Speaker, taking all of this together, 95 percent of the Withdrawal Agreement and its protocols are now settled. (62)*

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(49)   Since <u>2010</u>, our trade with Asia has grown by almost <u>50</u> percent – more than with any other continent in the world. I want to develop that even further. (28)

National Self Glorification

   This strategy aims to create positive self-presentation by glorifying national sovereignty, interests, and integrity:

(50)   And how do I best <u>protect the integrity of our precious United Kingdom and</u> protect the historic progress we have made in Northern Ireland. (164)

(51)   And, if doing those things means I get difficult days in Brussels, then so be it. The Brexit talks are not about my interests. <u>They are about the national interest – and the interests of the whole of our United Kingdom.</u> (167)

Evidentiality

    To support her points of views and consequently increase the impact of manipulation to influence MPs in the House of Commons, the Prime Minister mentions some related realities as in:

(52)   <u>Since 2010, our trade with Asia has grown by almost 50 percent</u> – more than with any other continent in the world. I want to develop that even further. (28)

(53)   <u>When I stood in Downing Street and addressed the nation for the first time</u>, I pledged that the government I lead will not be driven by the interests of the privileged few but of ordinary working families. (155)

Consensus

    May utilizes the strategy of consensus to create agreement and solidarity with her ideological stance and to increase the feeling of togetherness to cognitively control the minds of the MPs and their actions:

(54)   And, if doing those things means I get difficult days in Brussels, then so be it. <u>The Brexit talks are not about my interests.</u> (167)

(55)   Serving our national interest will demand that we hold our nerve through these last stages of the negotiations, the hardest part of all. (171)

Lexicalization

   May's attempts to positively present herself and negatively present others can be found in the use of certain lexical items such as the underlined ones:

(56)   So at this Summit, we discussed how the UK can build the most <u>ambitious economic partnerships</u> with all our Asian partners as we leave the European Union. And we also agreed <u>to deepen our co-operation</u> across shared threats to our security. (33)

(57)   It will mean <u>not giving in to those who want to stop Brexit</u> with a politicians vote – <u>politicians telling the people they got it wrong the first time and should try again</u>.(173)

Illustration

    Politicians resort to supply some examples and illustrations as a manipulative strategy to strengthen their ideological stances and the political actions taken accordingly. May utilizes this strategy as in:

(58)   <u>We have developed a Protocol</u> relating to the UK Sovereign Base Areas in Cyprus.(45)

(59)   For example, <u>a short extension</u> to the Implementation Period would mean only one set of changes for businesses – at the point, <u>we move to the future relationship</u>. (129)

Disclaimer

    May starts in the following example by stating a positive action but then she produces a disclaimer with the use of 'but' in the second sentence to remind listeners of the expected problems:

(60)   And in a substantial shift in their position since Salzburg, the EU are now actively working with us on this proposal.
       But a number of issues remain. (81)

Authority

   The Prime Minister, May, mentions some of her authorities to support her plans and to increase the manipulate effect on the House of Commons:

(61)   But as I said in my <u>Mansion House speech</u>: We chose to leave; <u>we have a responsibility to help find a solution</u>. So earlier this year, we put forward a counterproposal for a temporary UK-EU joint customs territory for the backstop. (77)

(62)   That is what I am working to achieve<u>. And I commend this Statement to the House</u>. (179)

Negative Other-Presentation

    She uses this strategy to describe 'OTHER' negatively as 'out-group' members as in the following examples:

(63)   We must impose costs on <u>all those who seek to do us harm,</u> regardless of the means they use. And this Council agreed to take that work forward. (17)

(64)   It will <u>mean not giving in to those who want to stop Brexit with a politician's vote</u> – politicians telling the people they got it wrong the first time and should try again. (173)

The following table illustrates the frequency and percentage of the various discursive strategies deployed by May.

Table (8): The Frequency and Percentage of the Discursive Strategies Deployed by May

No.	Type of Strategy	Frequency	Percentage
1	Polarization	4	7.84
2	Positive self- presentation	5	9.80
3	Number Game	3	5.88
4	National Self Glorification	6	11.76
5	Evidentiality	5	9.80
6	Consensus	5	9.80
7	Lexicalization	6	11.76
8	Illustration	6	11.76
9	Disclaimer	1	1.96
10	Authority	7	13.73
11	Negative Other-presentation	3	5.88
	Total	51	100%

The table above indicates that the strategy of 'authority' with the percentage (13.73%) has the highest frequency and the strategy of 'disclaimer' with the percentages (1.96%) has the lowest frequency. This high frequency of 'authority' reflects May's utilization of her political position in abusing power, manipulating Members of Parliaments (MPs) to accept her ideas, and reproducing her dominant ideology. 'National self-glorification', 'lexicalization', and 'illustration' have the second-high frequency with the percentage (11.76). They express the Prime Minister's attempt to present herself and her government positively. Figure (6) below shows the ideological discursive strategies in May's speech:
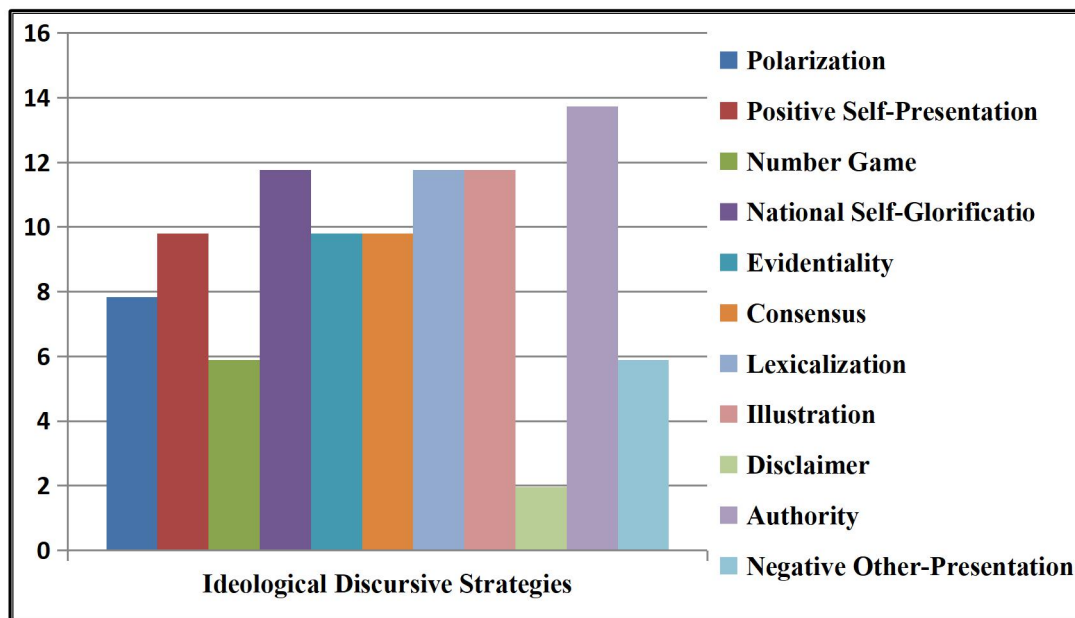

Figure (6): Ideological Discursive Strategies in May's Speech

The Macroanalysis of Manipulation

The macroanalysis of manipulation utilized in the speech is presented in the following sections.

Social Power Abuse (Domination)

The former Prime Minister, May, has the power that reflects her capacity to manipulate MPs by reflecting on their minds and consequently their action to accept her ideas in the negotiations of Brexit deal. Since this power aims to affect the social cognition of the target audience, it can be considered an instance of domination and power abuse. What helps her in so doing are the political position and the authority she has as Prime Ministers supported by the Conservative Party which holds an overall majority in the House of Commons.

Critically speaking, manipulation in May's speech can be seen by this dominant and abusive control in the interest of her dominant group. This is perceived as a way of reproducing and maintaining power and control over others, particularly those who are dissident. Manipulating others with her ideas is controlled by ideology- based mental production. Her ideas and decisions are assigned to the 'I' as she presents herself as the controlling power behind the architecture of the governmental decisions.

Dominant Ideology

Through examining the speech of May, it can be said that her dominant ideology is articulated in the language she uses. Such ideology which is based on her powerful political positions is intended to be reproduced and legitimized to have political impact on society. Her dominant ideology as one-nation conservative is unfurled in this type of political discourse. This represents the ideas and attitudes shared by the members of her group, party, and those who support her in the negotiation of Brexit. The reproduction of a particular type of ideologies aims to indirectly manipulate and control how people react concerning a certain aspect of social reality.

Power is very necessary for ideology to hit targets and succeed in fulfilling the intended impact on society. May's speech concerning Brexit is the genre at which her ideologies unfurl. It demonstrates that manipulation is motivated by her adopted ideologies which are intended to reproduce the political and social domination of her government and political party.

Ideological Polarization

The ideological polarization is clear in the social representation of Us/Them categorization or what is referred to as in-group/ out-group membership. This polarization is based on the distinction between those who support May's government and her plan of delivering Brexit and those who do not. They reproduce this polarization socially and culturally in the shape of a battle-like between 'Us' and 'Them' at which 'Us' represents the positive side whereas 'Them' the negative one. Group (party) manipulative control, domination, and social power abuse are elements of the macro level. These elements are related to the micro-level elements of discourse utilized in political speech.

Thus, manipulation is a social and discursive practice of a dominant group that aims to reproduce its power by targeting the listeners' knowledge, beliefs, and actions.

The ideological polarization in the analysed speech is recognizable in the discursive representation of positive in-group and negative out-group. This discursive act is influential in the creation of negative models about the opposite group which leads eventually to the generalization of negative attitudes accordingly. Therefore, dominance can be understood as an illegitimate exercise of power.

II.   CONCLUSIONS

The following are the main conclusions arrived at by the analysis:

1.   The manipulative strategies used by May emphasize one's power and superiority, discredit one's opponents, provide details of the facts, omit or blur information, and appeal to emotion. All these strategies can be regarded as moves of the overall general strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. In terms of the ideological discursive strategies, hyperbole, lexicalization, positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, polarization, and illustration are the most frequently used ones in the analysed manipulative political speech of May in manipulating MPs in the House of Commons as far as Brexit deal is concerned.

2.   Manipulation is ideologically oriented. The power of groups, organizations, and institutions are categories of the macro-level. The relevant analysis is that of interaction which represents the more local, situated micro-level of social structure. May tries to manipulate Members of Parliament to the best of her political interests.

3.   The choice of nouns whether they are abstract or concrete, the selection of dynamic or static verbs, the exploration of positive or negative adjectives and adverbs are not neutral. They are rather biased and ideologically stimulated. The same is true of the rhetorical devices at which repetition and hyperbole are used. They are attributed to both the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation characterized as in-group / out-group membership and the strategy of lexicalization.

4.   At the syntactic level of analysis, it has been found out that passivisation, nominalization and topicalization are utilized in manipulation.

5.   At the pragmatic level, the analysis of the data shows that the speech has used the speech act category of representatives more than other categories. The percentage of representatives in May's speech is (75.29%). The category of expressives is used less frequently than representatives. It has the percentage (9.75%). Commissives is (12.91 %). May uses directives (3.52%). No clear use of declaratives is found in the speech.

6.   In manipulating Members of Parliament by controlling their actions, May has resorted to shape or change their minds, beliefs, knowledge, and opinions. The various strategies used by her are intended to cognitively and discursively reflect on receivers. Being the leader of the dominant party as well as Prime Minister, she manipulates the audience by using her political power and domination abusively to reproduce or maintain inequality.

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