

AL-`AMEED

**Quarterly Peer-Reviewed Journal
for
Humanist Research and Studies**

Issued by

Al-`Abass Holy Shrine
Al-Ameed International Centre
for Research and Studies

Licensed by

Ministry of Higher Education
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Reliable for Scientific Promotion

Ninth Year, Ninth Volume 33rd Edition
Rajab1441 March2020



**Secretariat General
of Al-'Abass Holy Shrine**



**Al-Ameed International
Centre
for Research and Studies**

Print ISSN: 2227-0345

Online ISSN: 2311 - 9152

Consignment Number in the Housebook
and Iraqi Documents: 1673, 2012.

Iraq - Holy Karbala

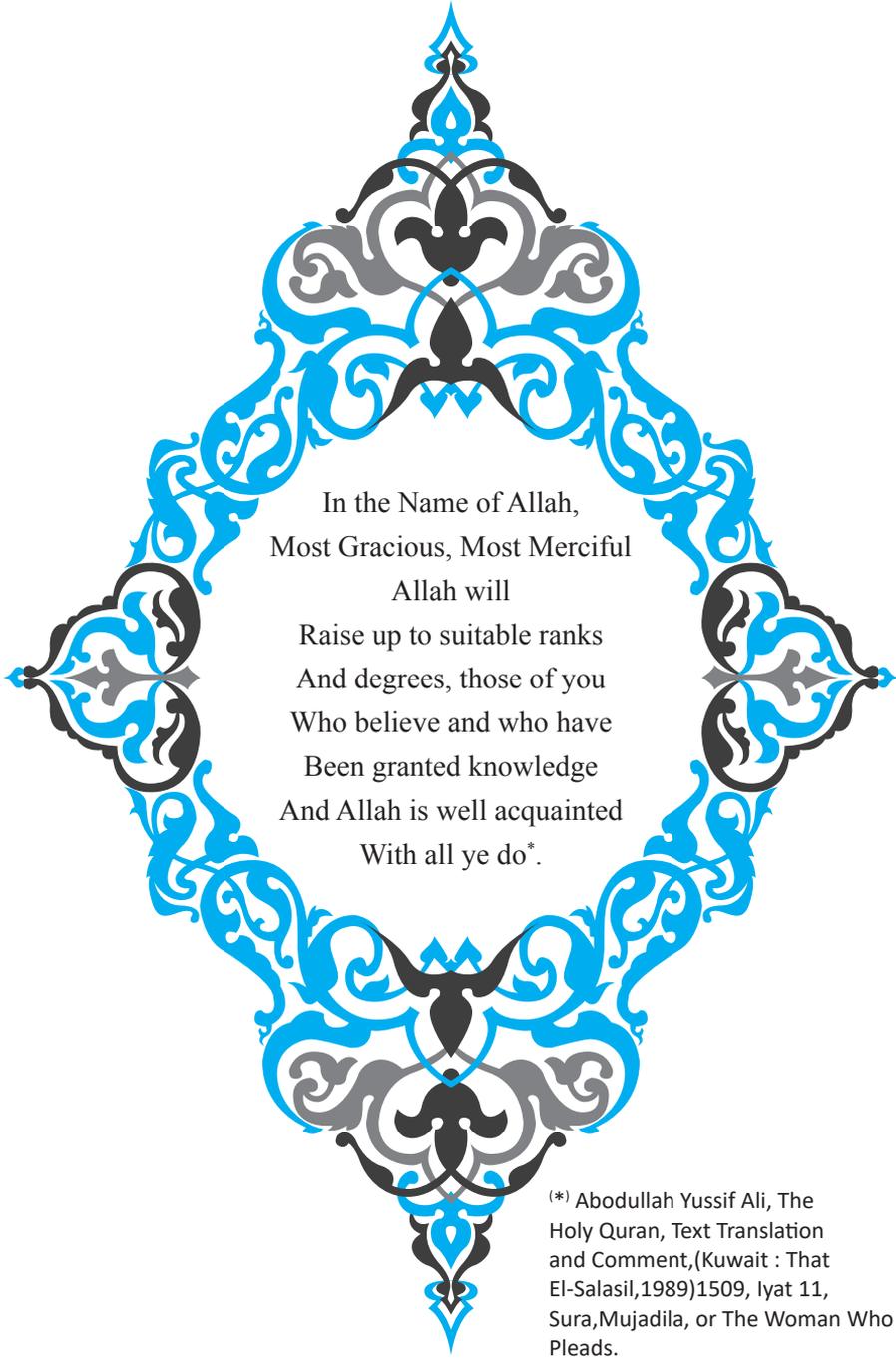
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DARALKAHEEL



In the Name of Allah,
Most Gracious, Most Merciful
Allah will
Raise up to suitable ranks
And degrees, those of you
Who believe and who have
Been granted knowledge
And Allah is well acquainted
With all ye do*.

(*) Abodullah Yussif Ali, The Holy Quran, Text Translation and Comment, (Kuwait : That El-Salasil, 1989) 1509, Iyat 11, Sura, Mujadila, or The Woman Who Pleads.

Al-Abass Holy Shrine. Al-Ameed International Centre for Research and Studies.

AL-`AMEED : Quarterly Peer-Reviewed Journal for Humanist Research and Studies / Issued by Al-Abass Holy Shrine Al-Ameed International Centre for Research and Studies.-Karbala, Iraq : Al-Abass Holy Shrine, Al-Ameed International Centre for Research and Studies, 1433 hijri = 2012 -

Volume : Illustrations ; 24 Cm

Quarterly.-Ninth Year, Ninth Volume, 33rd Edition (March 2020)-

ISSN : 2227-0345

Includes bibliographical references.

Text In English ; Summaries in English and Arabic.

1.Humanities--Periodicals. A. Title.

LCC : AS589.A1 A8365 2020 VOL. 9 NO. 33

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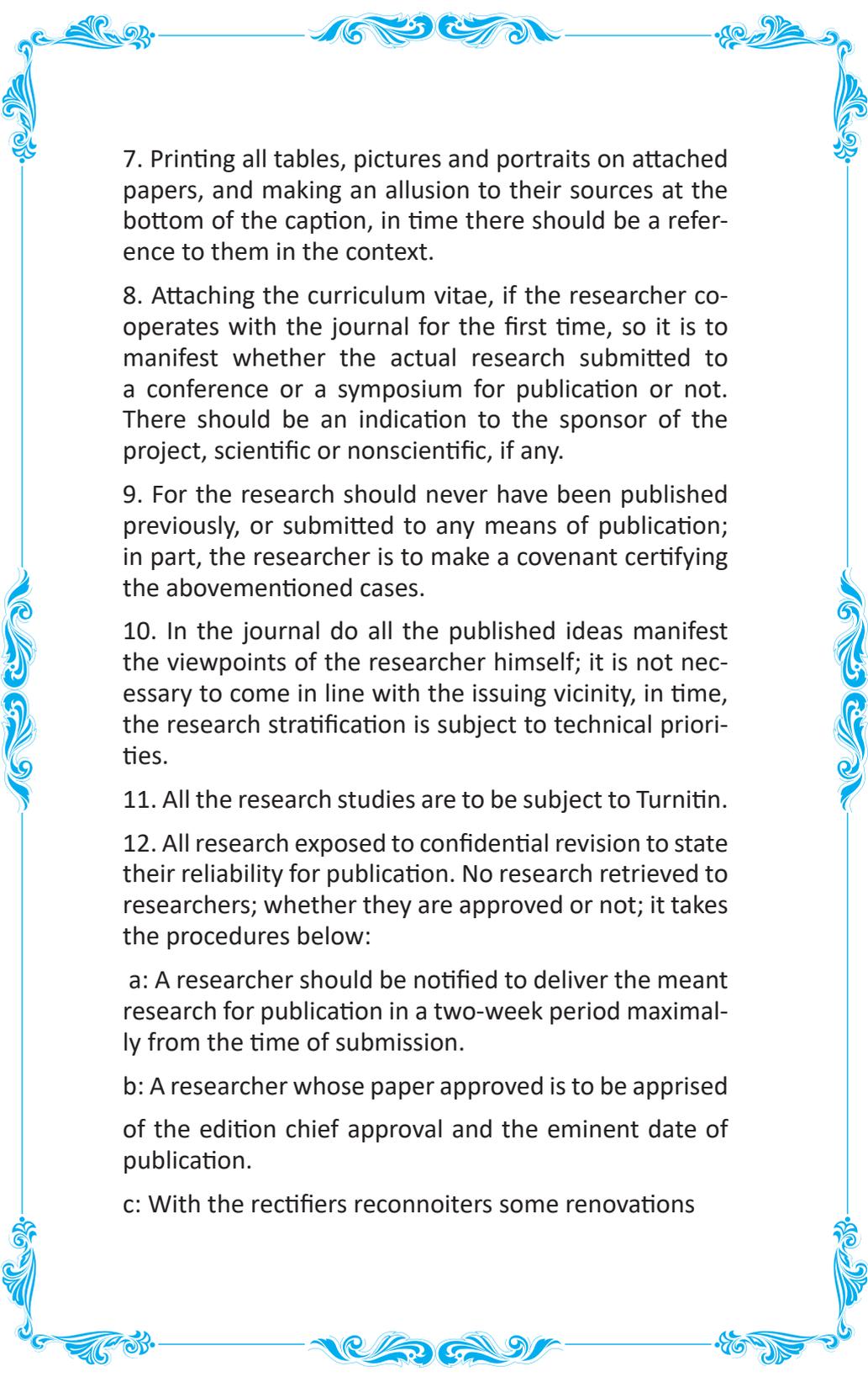
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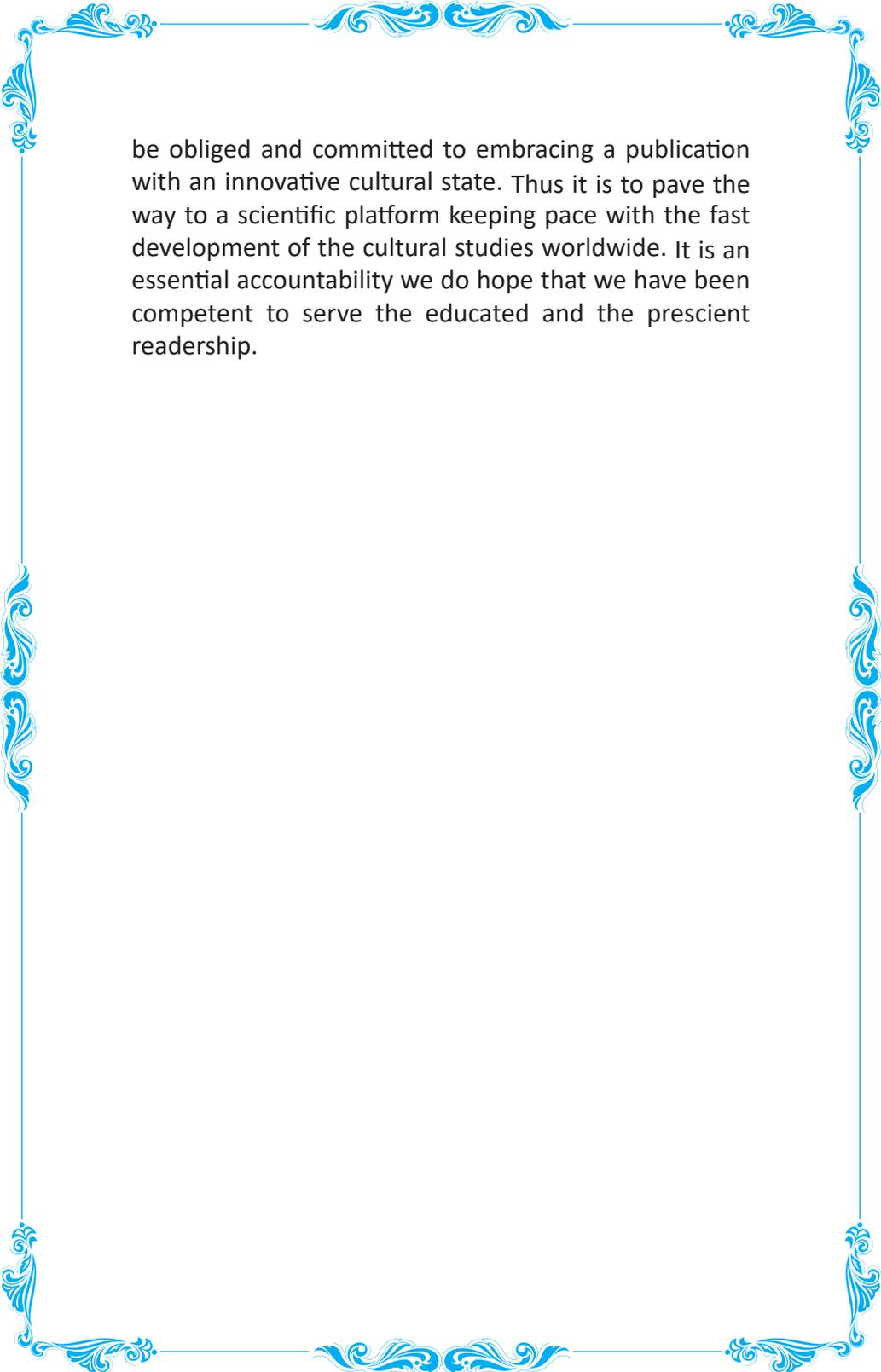
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be obliged and committed to embracing a publication with an innovative cultural state. Thus it is to pave the way to a scientific platform keeping pace with the fast development of the cultural studies worldwide. It is an essential accountability we do hope that we have been competent to serve the educated and the prescient readership.



Fadek Sermon: Induction, Impact and Intertextuality



A Semantic Application of the
Default Semantic Theory to an
Interview with Tony Blair

تطبيق دلالي لنظرية علم الدلالة الافتراضي لمقابلة
مع توني بلير

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الافتراضي لمقابلة مع توني بلير

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Received:1/9/2014

Accepted:23/4/2014

Turnitin - passed research



ABSTRACT

The study is put into two sections , the first of which provides an overview about the DS theory and its Merger Representation Σ . In addition to the processes , sources as well as its principles . The other section is put forward to present relevant selected extracts of some exchanges using the framework of DS theory in the domain of semantics. It is a practical applications of DS theory aspects on these exchanges in order to obtain the goals of the study as well as seeing the validity of the hypotheses . The study , at the end, provides some general conclusions , where the hypotheses are confirmed.

ملخص بحث :

تقع هذه الدراسة في فصلين تناول الفصل الأول معلومات خاصة عن نظرية الدلالة الافتراضية وتمثلانها فضلا عن مصادرها ومبادئها . بينما اهتم الفصل الثاني في تقديم مقتضبات مختارة لبعض التعاملات التي عولت على نظريه الدلالة الافتراضية في ضوء علم الدلالة . وتعد هذه الدراسة بمثابة التطبيق العملي لأنماط نظرية الدلالة الافتراضية على هذه التعاملات من اجل البلوغ لهداف الدراسة الحالية وكذلك التأكد من صلاحية الفرضيات . وقد انتهت الدراسة بخلاصة عامه حيث أكدت مجمل الفرضيات .



List of Abbreviations and Symbols

ACC acceptability operator in DS

ACCA acceptability operator of the type of modality

CD cognitive default

CPI 1 conscious pragmatic inference¹

DS Default Semantics

e event

rf regular future

s 1. state; 2. Assignment

tf tenseless future

⊢ it is the case that

⊆ representation of eventuality

[] .semantic value

Σ Merger Representation

Σ' Representation of the situation on which ACC operates.

Default semantics (DS) is a formalized theory that conforms to neo-Gricean and contextualists whose focal point is the semantic representation for different kinds of expressions with respect to its being a discourse interpretation model. DS theory comes to encourage the new move of semantic theories which try to study in addition to the meaning of sentences, the aspects of the addressee's intended message, i.e., the primary meaning (according to DS). In order to reach this meaning, Jaszczolt- the theorist of DS theory- puts forward some sources of information and processes which collaborate to the utterance representation- called merger representa-



tion and symbolized by Σ .

Sizable number of linguists (like, Bach(1994,1995), Sperber and Wilson(1995), Levinson (2000), Recanati(2010),etc.) exhaustively study what is called default meaning . It is worthy to note that they all tackle this concept as a pragmatic phenomenon. What Jaszczolt (2005-2014) offers in her theory 'Default Semantics' is the semantic representation for the default meaning. Therefore, it is beneficial to shed light on this new perception for this meaning via giving an overview about the application of DS theory to the domain of semantics, and this is one of the basic aims for the study at hand. In addition, it plans to investigate the sources of information to see how do they participate in obtaining the addressee's default sense in relation to some particular exchanges. Finally, it tries to determine the pragmatic role for this semantic theory. To accomplish these aims , it is argued that despite DS theory focuses on the equal influence of the sources of information (world knowledge WK, word meaning and sentence structure WS, the situation of discourse SD, human inferential system IS, and stereotypes and representation about society and culture SC) without giving priority for anyone of them , the (cognitive discourse CD, conscious pragmatic inference CPI, and word meaning and sentence structure WS processes) have priority over social (cultural and world knowledge defaults SCWD). Besides , it is hypothesized that the processes (CD, and WS) help to enrich the truth condition of the utterance which is the default reading, whereas, the CPI, in turn , triggers the non-default reading.



DEFAULT SEMANTICS

1.1 Introduction

Default meaning earns a substantial attention by neo- Gricean pragmatists like: (Bach(1995) , Levinson (2000), Recanati(2010), etc.) who consider this meaning as a pure pragmatic- concept. They , advocate a wide range of insights about what is called this meaning which commonly refers to the salient meaning the speaker intends and the hearer presumed to be recuperated with no assistance of inference from the intentions of the addresser or conscious inferential process (Jaszczolt, 2005:5). Thus, this concept is undertaken diversely by scholars. Default meaning for Bach (1995:680) refers to the implications or the implicit meaning in what is said which is resulted from the fleshing of the sentence meaning to reach its intended proposition. For Levinson (2000:22-28) the default meaning is the presumptive meaning which can be reached via the heuristics Q, I, and M. Recanati (2010: 65, 87) ,in his theory ‘Truth conditional pragmatics ‘, considers what is resulted from the unaware enrichment of the utterance as its default meaning.

Nevertheless, it seems that the conflict series between pragmatics and semantics is ongoing .This is clearly observed with some semanticianists, like Jaszczolt (2005-2014) who exhibits- in her Default Semantic theory- different insight about this concept. What brings attention in her theory is Jaszczolt’s insistence on the semantic, rather than pragmatic, perspective of the default meaning .

1.2 Default Semantics

Professor Jaszczolt in her theory Default semantics (DS) (2005, revised in 2009,2010) principally argues for a distinct default meaning .DS theory ,contrary to other contemporary theories which believe in several levels of meanings for utterance interpretation , looks at utterance interpretation as “one level of meaning to which various types of information contribute”(Jaszczolt, 2005:1). For DS the question that should be answered is “where does meaning

come from?" not "what levels of meaning representation can be distinguished?" (Jaszczolt:2005:2). It means this theory is after the sources of obtaining the utterance meaning. Hence, this theory as it is the theory of "acts of communication", assumes that pragmatics has its role in the truth-condition of utterance. At the same time, it is totally a compositional-semantic theory since the utterance meaning can be interpreted as "representations of meaning that pertain to utterance ... and their strings (discourse)." (ibid: xvi). These representations which are semantic are known as 'Merger Representation' (MR, Σ). Some of the vital postulations this theory refuses are the level of meaning in-between sentence meaning and speaker's meaning, the semantic under specification and the ambiguity, replacing them by the merger of meaning components. In addition, it declines the main concern preference of grammar-logical form as the main source for semantic meaning. Instead, a number of sources, whether linguistic or non-linguistic, equally participates to support this meaning, which is the meaning representations. The meaning representation is then "a merger of information from various sources where all the sources are treated equally." (Jaszczolt, 2005:9).

The compositionality Jaszczolt argues for in her theory is the merger compositionality whose outcomes are more reliable if they are compared by those reached by logical form composition (ibid).

In a nut shell, the DS is a truth-conditional and dynamic theory whose content is supported by pragmatic inference and its default meaning is a cognitive and social cultural. The pragmatic partaking observed in most neo-Gricean theorists works, is purely in favor of pragmatics; whereas, for DS this partaking is in favor of semantics. Moreover, it can be said that this is the basic postulation of this theory (ibid:xvi-xvii).

1-3 Merger Representations(Σ):

Despite the fact that the DS theory distinguishes between sen-

tence meaning and utterance meaning , yet it refers to the former just as one source of the merger. Utterance meaning is defined as “what the speaker is taken by the addressee to mean by it .”(ibid: 11). The speaker’s meaning in this theory is reserved to utterance meaning in addition to its appropriate inferences which may “lie outside utterance meaning”(ibid).

Jaszczolt(2014:7)defines utterance meaning as “the outcome of merging of information that comes from [different]...sources.” These sources of information represent the constituent ingredients for the last interpretation of meaning.(Jaszczolt ,2007:6).

1-4 Sources of Σ :

Jaszczolt starts her DS theory by adopting four sources which result in the Σ but in her revised versions (2006,2009,2011) , she adds one to be five sources. The sources are as follows:

1-WS: it is the abbreviation of word meaning and sentence structure , which refers to the productions of the evolution of the logical form.(Jaszczolt,2014:7).

2-SD:it refers to the situation of discourse which “pertains to the context provided by the situation in which the utterance is issued , including the participants , location, time , and co-text”.(Jaszczolt ,2007:7).

3-IS: It stands for the properties of human inferential system. The information resulted from this source is the default referential as it is the production of the “structure and operations of the human brain that are responsible for the emergence of standard , default interpretations of certain types of expressions , unless the addressee has evidence that this standard interpretation is not intended”(ibid). This means some intellectual activities are responsible for certain interpretations.

4-SC: it stands for the “stereotypes and presentations about society and culture” and it is related to the “ background knowledge of so-



cietal norms and customs of cultural heritage”(ibid)and finally:

5-WK: it refers to world knowledge “encompasses information about physical laws , nature , environment , etc.”.(Jaszczolt ,2014:7)

With no superiority for any of these sources , the results or productions of these sources combine and their outputs are of the same importance. The following figure (fig.1),shows these sources of information in (Jaszczolt 2009: ,351) :

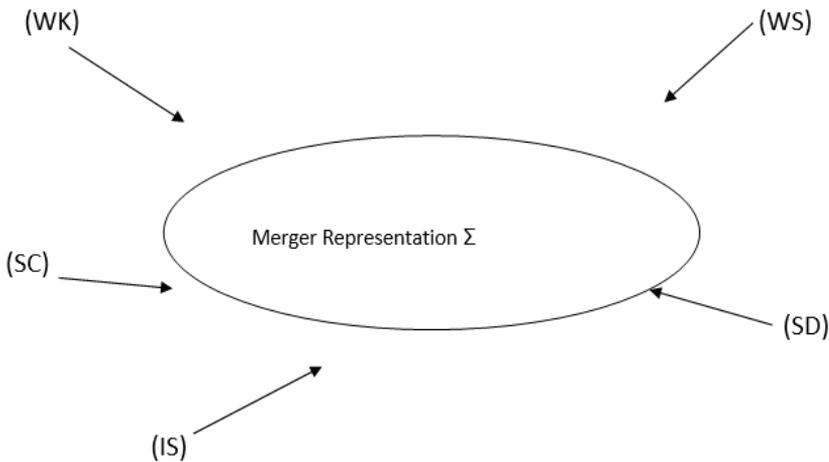


Fig.1:Sources of information contributing to merger representation Σ .



1-5 Types of processing Modal in DS :

Jaszczolt (2014:7-8) identifies three types of processes that participate in finding out the utterance interpretation , which is not necessarily to be similar to its logical form. This means that the final meaning obtained is not identical to its logical form and this is what is called primary meaning. Types of processing are processed as follows:

1-The processing of the sentence which is the fusion of word meaning and sentence structure (WS).

2-Conscious pragmatics inference : abbreviated as CPI. This is achieved via the mixture of SD , SC and WK which are sources of information. Jaszczolt in her theory DS differentiates between the primary CPI1 or CPIpm which has a vital role for the semantic representation, and the secondary CPI2 or CPIsec that has a role in favor of pragmatic prospects. As this study has nothing to do with the latter ,therefore the use of the CPI in this study refers to the former one, i.e., CPI1 or CPIpm.

3-Default meanings:

a- Cognitive default (CD): it rises from IS source of information.

b-Social cultural and world knowledge defaults (SCWD).

The interaction of these processes leads to the primary meaning which is the merger representation that is the explicit content and the most salient meaning of the utterance .Jaszczolt represents some instances for the outputs of these processes , therefore the output resulted from WS can be changed principally if it is measured up to the outputs of other processes .For instance :

1-Child : Can I go punting ?

-Mother: You are too small.

For the neo-Gricean like , Bach (1994), Sperber and Wilson



(1996), Levinson (2000) and Recanati (2003, 2004, 2010), (example 1-a) could be the best representation for what is said:

1-a- The child is too small to punting.

But for the DS, the explicit content which is the primary meaning can be represented in 1-b.

1-b- The child can't go punting.

This means the WS output is overridden by CPI in order to obtain this result which is the merger representation (Jaszczolt, 2010a :128-131, 2014, 7-8).

The CD, in turn, refers to the default interpretation that mental status is responsible for. It can be said that default representation of CD is particular rather than general as it is referential i.e., refers to a particular entity rather than attributive to refer to who/whichever entity. This default interpretation highly relies on the strength of the referentiality and cognitively, the strength of the aboutness. With no doubt, the strongest of both, reference and aboutness, will be the automatic or the default meaning (Jaszczolt, 2010 :196). For instance :

2-a- The painter of Monalisa was a genius.

Is immediately interpreted as 2-b-

2-b- da Vinci was a genius.

SC and WS are other types of interpretations relied on the socio-cultural background of the participants, For instance :

3-a- The baby cried and the mother picked it up.

b- The baby cried and the baby's mother picked it up.

This interpretation is raised due to the default knowledge that the mother takes care of her own baby.



1-6 Primary Meaning

It is undeniable that the conflict between semantics and pragmatics –regarding the speaker’s meaning (utterance meaning) is oscillating between giving priority to either one of them or even reduce or eradicate one for the sake of the other .Cappelan and Lepore (2002:275) –the theorists of Insensitive Semantics – for instance , claim against the direct relation between the speaker’s meaning and the sentence meaning where semantics has nothing to do for the former meaning .Pragmatics role is thus “to determine something about a particular act [speech act] in a particular context,”(ibid)

Stanley(2002:152), on the other hand , admits the close relation between utterance meaning and sentence meaning as the former could be a result of filling in the gaps of the latter . Stanley believes that not all syntactic structures are pronounced , therefore , the logical form should be enriched in order to reach the speaker’s meaning .Recanati (2005, 2010), although he believes in the semantic context which should be separated from the utterance context , he believes in the more minimal semantic context. He (1989a :98), like other post –Gricean, makes a distinction between the pragmatically filled in explicit content called ‘what is said’ and Grice’s what is said . This content is consciously attained via unconscious pragmatic processing i.e., they are not inferential(Recanati, 2002b:109) The question raised is where is the DS insight from these mentioned above? Although DS shares the insight that meaning is construed contextually ,yet it is principally separated from them in refusing the relying on enrichment of the logical form to constitute the main meaning(Jaszczolt, 2010 a :194, 2012:327).DS is after the primary meaning which is ‘ the main message intended by the Model speaker and recovered by the Model addressee and it becomes the primary object of semantic analysis independently of its relation to the syntactic form of the uttered sentence.”(Jaszczolt, 2010:196)This meaning is not isomorphic with the logical form .The contextualists , for instance , consider 4-b as the standard development for 4-a:



4-a-Everybody is going to Egypt this Spring.

4-b-All of the speaker's close friends and family are going to Egypt this Spring

Even when the intended meaning is different from this development and this development may help to reach it. Jaszczolt argues against the middle meaning as she thinks that what the speaker intends is a fact and it is the only message s/he wants to deliver . Therefore, (4-a)can be interpreted as (4-c)or (4-e)composed from the merger of information resulted from different sources and processes of representatives:

4-c-Egypt seems to be a popular destination among the people the speaker knows .or

4-e-The interlocutors should consider the going on holiday to Egypt this spring.(Jaszczolt, 2009:347-8)

Moreover, the explicit (primary)meaning for 5B could be 5Ba:

5-A-Smith doesn't seem to have a girlfriend these days.

B- He has been paying a lot of visits to New York lately.

B-a- Smith may have a girlfriend.`

Semantics for DS is " understood as the theory that provides the intuitive truth conditions of utterance , [which are]...more intuitive... than other [theories].(Jaszczolt, 2012:40-41)

1-7 Principles of DS

From the very beginning of establishing her theory ,Jaszczolt(1999a,b, 2000,2005)offers three principles that lead the DS . They are parsimony of levels(abbreviated to Pol.), Degrees and Intentions (abbreviated to DI),and the Primary Intention(abbreviated to PI).Pol. refers to "levels of senses [which] are not to be multiplied beyond necessity." (Jaszczolt, 2005:96-97).This means that the



merger representations in addition to sentence –based utterance representation , they are representations for longer discourse units which can be attained via pragmatic inference or cognitive defaults. (ibid, Jaszczolt, 2006:3-5).As a result merger representations obey the principles of parsimony of representation rule to keep only one level of meaning in which “all meaning –giving information merges|”(Jaszczolt, 2005:96)

DI and PI both focus on the intentionality and its role on merger representations. The concept of intentionality can be identified in the following instance :

6-The best Italian painter painted this picture.

The definite description may referentially give rise to a specific painter like, Michelange lo, or it may mistakenly refer to another painter like Picasso, or finally, it may attributively refer to whoever painter. These alternates refer to the degrees of intentionality where they grade from the strongest to the weakest .From these three representations only the strongest is compatible with the default meaning unless the addressee ,depending on the situation context or other background, has proof that it is not the case. (ibid)

Jaszczolt(2003,2005,2006) differentiates between de re reading and de dicto reading . The default representation which is about a specific determined referent is in accordance with de re reading , whereas , if it is the opposite talking about whoever referent , in this case it is de dicto reading . The purpose of DS is to reduce the model of utterance processing , to adopt the most economical one and not to distract the attention to other possible levels.



1-8 The Merger Representation of Variable Expressions

Jaszczolt(2010: 207-11) demonstrates the MR Σ of some different description including two aspects .The first of which ,whose reference is direct (type-referential) includes the ordinary proper names , some pronouns, like demonstratives . The other type (token – referential)which takes its reference from the context , includes the definite noun phrases which have specific rather than generic reference .For instance , when the speaker finishes reading the poem “the Snake” and says :

7-The poet is ingenious .

By the processing of Σ , the possible readings are obtained

(a) via filling in the demonstrative as in :

-The poet of “Snake “ whoever he is ingenious.

(b) referentially:

-Lawrance is ingenious.

(c) attributively:

-Elliot is ingenious.

What matters the addressee is the referential intention of the speaker which can be weaker or stronger .According to DS principles (DI) and (PI) Σ which reflect different degrees of intentions and intentionality, (b) is the strongest interpretation as it is the default meaning resulted by cognitive default (CD) .The human inferential system (IS), in this case, secures this interpretation . As regard (a) and (c), they are the weaker interpretations as the former requires identification , whereas there is no accurate reference in the latter.



Therefore, the Σ for (b) can be shown in figure 2:

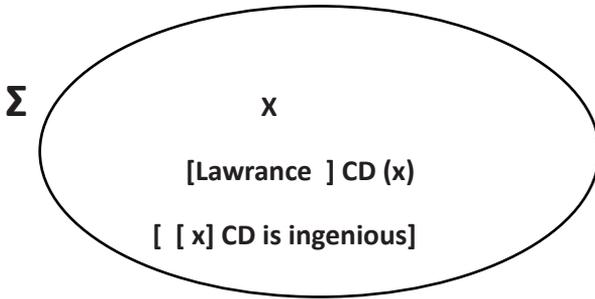


Fig. 2 : Σ for the default meaning of instance (7- b).

X in this figure stands for the ‘discourse referent ‘ represented by Lawrence in this instance, whereas the formula stands for the ‘discourse conditions’ . It is clear that the square brackets are followed by subscripts which represent the type of information participated in producing MR Σ .

The inaccurate referential represented by (c)is the interpretation resulted by the contact between the (CPI pm)and (WS) information, can be represented in figure 3:

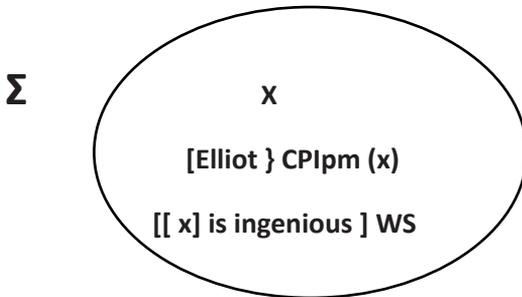


Fig.3: Σ for the inaccurate referential reading of instance (7- c)

The attributive interpretation represented by (a) which is the weakest reading for this example as it represents the weakest referential intention and intentionality, can be identified in figure 4:

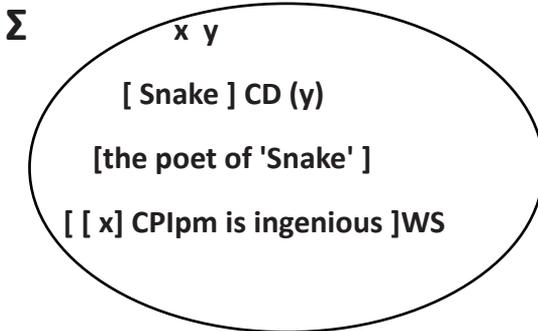


Fig.4: Σ for the attributive reading of instance (7-a)

(y) stands for the discourse referent ‘Snake’ .It is obvious that the Σ is obtained throughout the combination of (CPI pm)identification of the referent and the WS . Because the demonstrative pronoun belongs to the (type-referential) kind which has direct reference (this poem), it is replaced by its referent ‘Snake’ which is reached via (CD).

Ds theory also focuses on the Σ of futurity . Hence , futurity expressed by instances (8-16) bellow has different representations. Therefore, the formula (will do) and (will be doing) as in instances 8 and 9 – are referred to as regular future for DS , whereas , future time represented by present progressive or simple – as in 10 and 11- which express the sense of prediction and arrangement and are considered as ‘tenseless’ future ,are taking over as ‘futurative progress’ . The use of (be going to do) , on the other hand , is referred to as standard as in(12). Others represented by (may be doing, or might do)as in (13 and 14) are expressions for ‘ epistemic possibility future’ .Whereas , those represented by (must/ought to /should be doing) – as in 15 and 16- are ‘epistemic necessity future’ .(Jaszczolt, 2009:22-23).

8-Ann will attend the appointment for registration tomorrow morning.

9-Ann will be attending the appointment for registration tomorrow morning.

10-Ann is going to attend the appointment for registration tomorrow morning.

11-Ann is attending the appointment for registration tomorrow morning.

12-Ann attends the appointment for registration tomorrow morning.

13-Ann must be attending the appointment for registration tomorrow morning.

14-Ann ought to/should be attending the appointment for registration tomorrow morning.

15-Ann may be attending the appointment for registration tomorrow morning.

16-Ann might attend the appointment for registration tomorrow morning.

The different ways for expressing the futurity “ are assessed with respect to the degree of modality[Δ] , corresponding to the degree of epistemic detachment from the situation expressed by the sentence “(ibid). Furthermore , the sentential operator of epistemic modality which is used to express temporality is a part of the Acceptability[ACC]operator . This, for instance, is clearly shown in (example 8) which can be represented in figure 5:

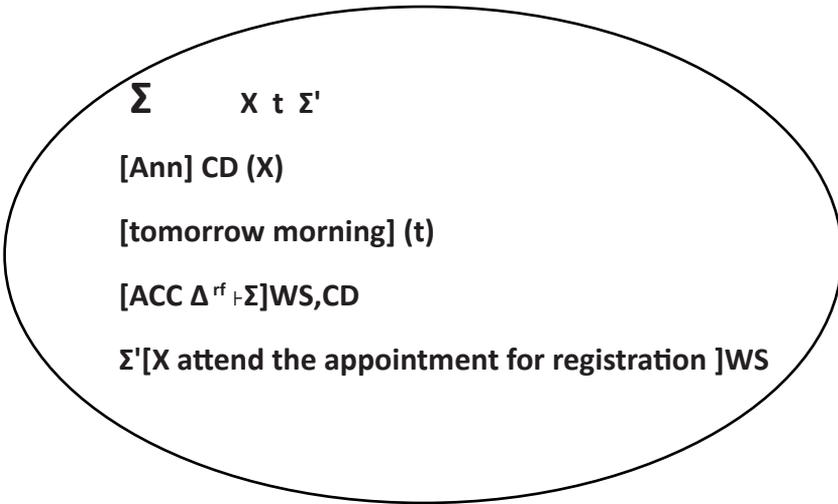


Fig.5: Σ for example 8: default meaning for regular future.

Thus, $ACC\Delta \vdash \Sigma$ will be read as “ it is acceptable to the degree Δ that Σ is true”(Jaszczolt, 2005:209).

2-1 –The Data of Analysis

The study under investigation tackles some extracts from an interview with the former prime minister Tony Blair about his memories. It was for the guardian, held on Wednesday 1 September 2010 ,and led by Martin Kettle. Blair talks about the book he writes himself and his memories about his ministry.

The extracts selected are analyzed according to DS theory. The analysis is about the Σ of each relying on the sources of information (WS, SD,IS,SC, and WK) and the processes (CD, WS,CPI, and ,SCWD).Moreover three principles of DS theory are of considerable influence for the analysis of these extracts.

TB and MK , are abbreviations for Tony Blair and Martin Kettle, respectively. The interview is transcribed on the guardian official site.



2-2- Analysis of the Data

Extract 1:

MK: "I wanted to start by asking you some particular stuff about the book you wrote"

Σ

x y z

[I]CD (x)=Martin Kettle

[you]CD(y)=Tony Blair

[the book you wrote]CD=(z)

[X wanted to start by asking

Y some practical stuff about [z] CD] WS

Fig.1: Σ s for extract (1): the default reading .

In this extract, (x) , (y)and (z) are the discourse referents for Martin Kettle ,Tony Blair, and the book written, respectively. These referents are in accordance with de re as they refer to specific determined referents. According to DS principle of (DI) and (PI)of intentionality , it is supposed that this is the strongest referential intentionality which is reached via the interface of WS with CD i.e., the exact referential interpretation for (1) is the default interpretation of the cognitive type that is reserved by the human inferential system (IS).

Extract 2:"I wrote it myself."

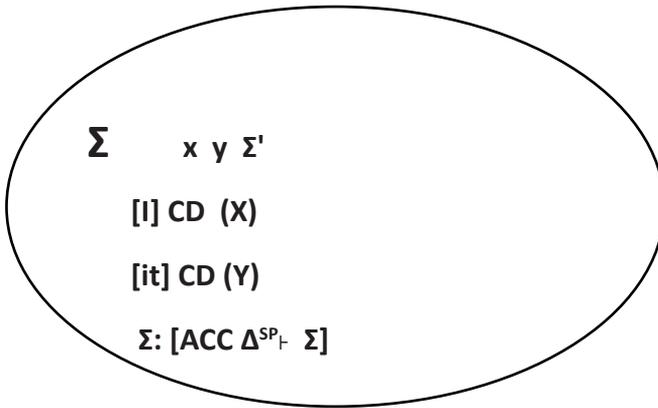


Fig. 2: Σ s for (2): the default sense for Simple past .

The reading with referential intentionality exhibits the stronger form of intentionality as well as referentiality .Its reference is obtained by cognitive default (CD) which signifies the fact that the ACC of the degree the speaker presented in its default use. The past which is expressed by the past tense form is certificated by the syntactic form alone i.e., the use of the past is to reference.

Extract 3: “ Everything I receive from the publisher I will give.”

Σ X,Y,Z, e1, e2
[Everything] CD(X) = Money
[I] CD (y)
[the publisher] CD(z)
If e1 , e2
E1: [y receive x from z] WS
E2: [y give]WS
[ACC Δ^{fr}e1]WS

Fig. 3: Σs for extract (3).The de re reading .

(x, y, z) are the discourse referents for extract 3 representing by (everything , I, the publisher) , respectively. The events in this instance is represented by (e1,e2).It is noticed in the representation of this instance that the futurity of e1 (the first event) is tensless future represented as [ACC Δ^{fr} e2]WS,CD , e2 is obtained by WS as well as CD.



Extract 4: TB: “I led the labour party for 13 years”

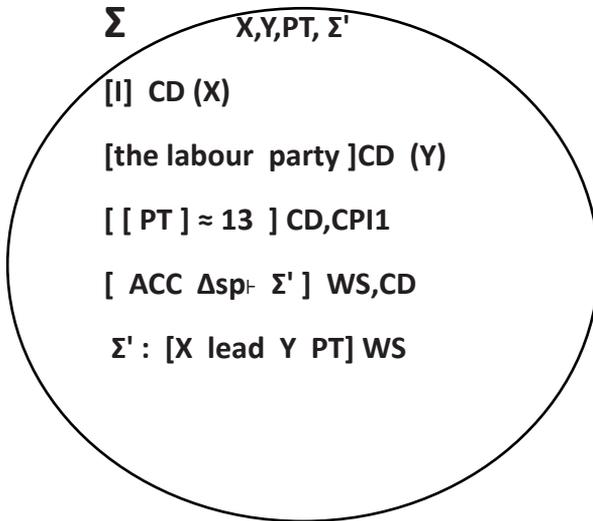


Fig.4 Σ for extract (4) for cardinals approximation.

Pt stands for the discourse referent for the period of time ,[PT] stands for the cardinality of the set of units as the period of years .(≈), on the turn stands for ‘approximately equals’. ‘exactly 13’ is arrived at by applying CD but when this punctual sense is combined with what is resulted from CPI1 : pragmatic loosening , the default sense for this period of time will be the ‘ approximately meaning as this period is rounded. As semantics is after truth- conditional representation, DS in this case admits that CPI1 loosen CD interpretation . Therefore, it can be said that the MR of such a kind of sentences can be referred to as non- default MR (Jas., 2005:234).



Extract 5: “ I led it to three election victories”

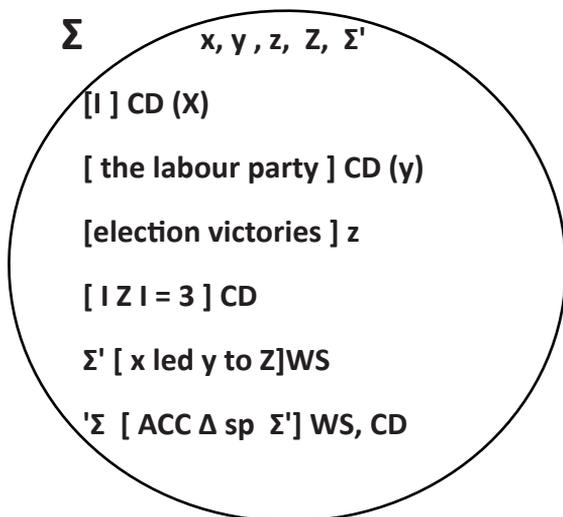


Fig.5 : Σ s for extract 5 of ‘ exactly three’.

Z is the discourse referent of the plurality of the set of ‘zs’ whose cardinality is 3.It is represented as $|Z|=3$ which is obtained , as a condition, by CD .Therefore, this is the default , salient meaning of the cardinal in this sentence where the output of CD is merged with the WS output.



Extract 6:” My voice has been silent for three years deliberately “

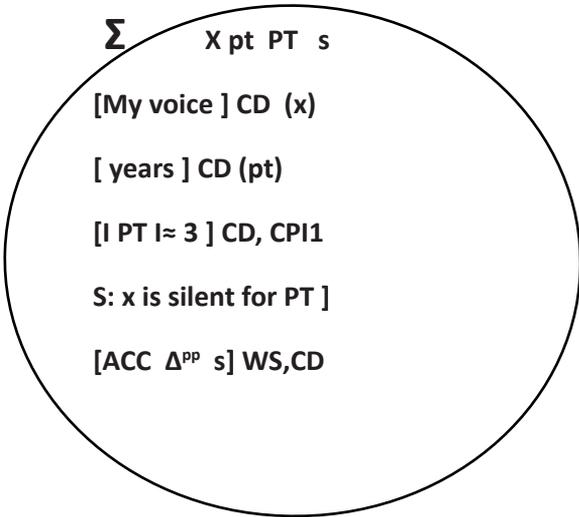


Fig.6: Σ for approximately 3 years ‘with present perfect representation .

Following the DS , (s) stands for the state , (pt) is used as the discourse referent for the years (period of time) and PT is the set of these years (3). The condition (|PT| \approx 3) is obtained via the collaboration of merging CD with CPI1 . This instance is also a representation for the non-default MR as this representation is cognitive pragmatic –dependant. The [ACC Δ^{pp} s]stands for the states is acceptable for the speaker as the pp(present perfect tense) is used in its default reading obtained by WS and CD .



Extract 7: ‘If I stayed there, people would have been asking me for my views the whole time.’

Σ **x I y z e1 e2**
[I] CD (x)
[PLACE OF UTTERANCE](I)
[people] CD(y)
[me] CD (x)[x's views] =(z)
If e 1 , e2
e1:[I stay their] WS
e2: [y asks x for z]WS,CD
[ACC Δ^{pper} e] WS

Fig.7: MR for extract (7):the default reading .

Epistemic necessity past (ep)(also called inferential evidentiality) conveyed by the modal ‘would’ is directly related to the properties of human inferential system(IS)source . The MR of this sentence is represented via the word meaning and sentence structure (WS) in addition to the cognitive default (CD) as the meaning is achieved by the meaning of words , syntax and the default sense of ‘would’ .

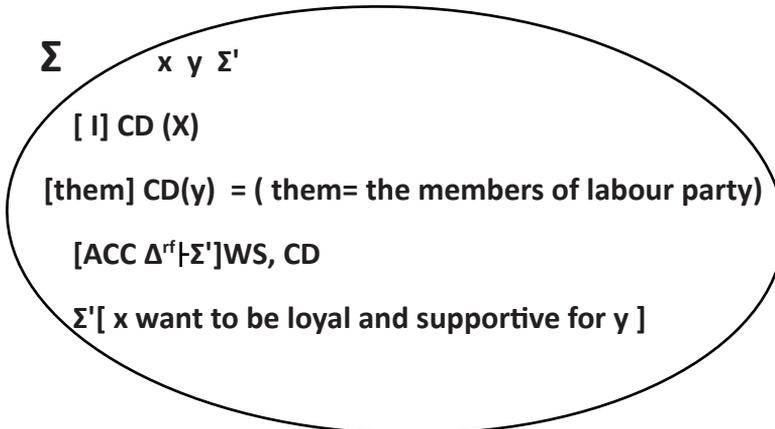
Extract 8 : “ I will want to be loyal and supportive for them”

Fig. Σ s for extract 8 : the default of regular future .

The meaning of this utterance is arrived at by word meanings , the grammar and the default use of the modal ‘will’. The superscript (rf) on Δ indicates that the degree of volitional modality associated with regular future. The relying on WS in this instance does not give its representation as (will) has wide range of uses that cannot be limited unless the cognitive default (CD) participates in obtaining the default sense .

Extract 9: ‘ All countries are having to discover their place in a totally challenged geo- political landscape’

Σ X p1 p2 Σ'
 [All countries] CD(x)
 [their place] CD(p1)
 [landscape] CD (p2)
 [ACC Δ fp \vdash Σ'] WS, CPIpm
 Σ' [x discover p1 in p2] WS

Fig. Σ s for extract 8 : the default of regular future .

Fig.9: Σ s for extract (9) : future progressive .

P1, in this instance, stands for countries position and P2 for geo-political landscape. The futurity expressed in this utterance is conveyed by the present progressive . Consequently, the subscript CPIpm on ACC refers to the futurity which is reached via conscious pragmatic inference (CPI) which adds to the primary meaning.



Extract 10:” M y view is that , ... we should have moved further on public service reform.”

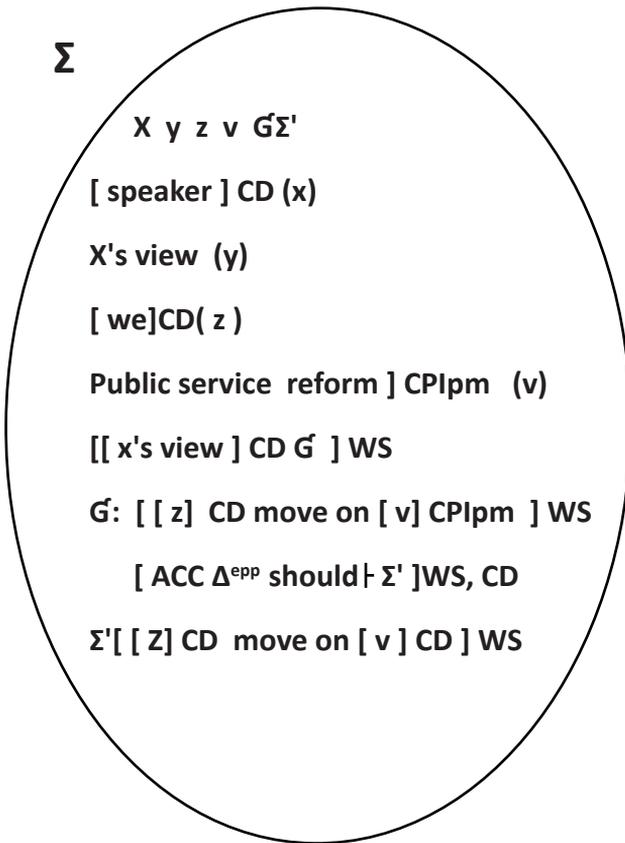


Fig. 10:Σs for extract (10) :default reading .

(X)is the discourse referent associated with the speaker (Tony Blair) and abbreviated via CD . The default reading (de re reading) is then Blair’s view (X,G')which is in harmony with [[X's view]CD G']WS .This means that ,G' is Blair’s belief of [[z]CD move on [v]CD] WS



Extract 11: MK'' ... the current government is heading in the right direction on these issues .''

Σ

$X \ y \ \Sigma'$

[government] CD (x)

[these issues] CD (y)

[ACC $\Delta^{pprog} \vdash \Sigma'$] WS .CD

Σ' [x head in the right direction on (y) CD] WS

Fig.11. Σ_s for extract 11: default (de re) reading for present progressive .

The indices following [ACC $\Delta^{pprog} \vdash \Sigma'$] identifies that the present representation is the result of word meaning and sentence structure which is accompanied by the default cognitive (CD) . The present – time reference of the present progressive form 'is heading ' is arrived at by word meaning , grammar , as well as the default value of (is + v ing).

Extract 12: TB: “We made the largest ever investment”

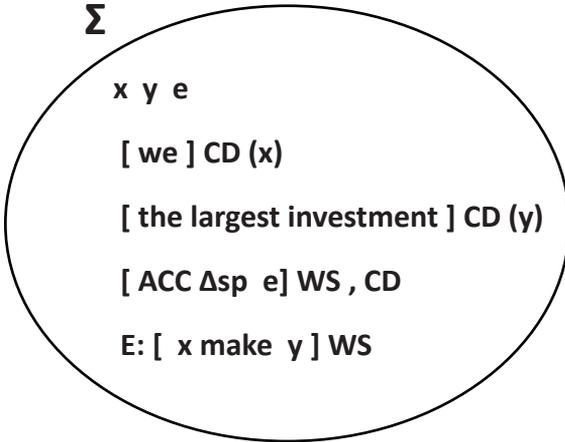


Fig.12:Σs for extract 12: default sense for past simple.

For the DS the past simple is stronger than other syntactic representations for the past tense. (x) stands for the discourse referent (we) which is interpreted as the members of the former government for the UK. DS in this instance offers a construction for the integrated image for different degrees of modal extrication. These degrees are explicitly set in the lexicon as well as grammatical representations. Moreover the means for representing past time reference represents the usefulness of this theory of meaning which depends on the collaboration of grammatical forms with the lexicon idiosyncrasies of the words and sentences in addition to other sources . Hence , the meaning for extract (12) is obtained by the MR where the CD represents that ACC of the degree ‘sp’ is used in its default sense.

Extract 13: " This is what happened during our government. We introduced huge reforms , ..."

Σ

X y e

[We] CD(x)

[huge reforms] CD (y)

[ACC Δ pn e] WS, CPI1

E: [x introduce y]

Fig.13.MR for extract 13 the past of narration: non-standard reading .

(X, Y) stand for discourse referents , whereas (e) stands for event .The subscript (pn) , on the other hand , is the 'past of narration' . The condition [ACC Δ pn e]WS, CPI1 is read as ' it is acceptable to the degree pn that is the case that e ' . Word meaning and sentence structure (WS) and the conscious pragmatic inference (CPI1) are the sources of the information about this instance which is represented by past simple.

Extract 14: "... I would have gone far further in changing the normal rules of burden of proof."

Σ

x y Σ'

[I] CD(x)

[the normal rules] CD (y)

Σ' : [x go far further in changing y]WS, CD

[ACC Δ epp would $\vdash \Sigma'$] WS

Fig.14. Σ s for extract 14: epistemic necessity past.

(x, y) stand for the discourse referents (I , and the normal rules, respectively).The epistemic necessity past which is conveyed by 'would' (epp would) is related to the information resulted from the cognitive default(CD) which is accentuated by the information existing by means of the word meaning and the sentence structure . Besides, since this epistemic necessity is classified as inferential evidentiality .(Jaszczolt, 2010 a : 26), the properties of the human inferential system (IS) participates in reaching the MRs of this instance.

Extract 15: "If you are not careful , people will find it hard to give franc advice."

Σ

X y s1 s2

[you]CD (x)

[people] CPI1, CD (y)

If s1, s2

S1: [x not careful] WS

S2: [y hard to give frank advice] WS

Fig.15: Σs for extract 15:tenseless future.

(X and Y) in this instance , stand for the discourse referents (you and people), respectively. (s1 and s2) stand for the states of eventuality . For s1 it is presupposed that it is tenseless future which

is arrived at by word meaning and sentence structure (WS) which indicates its emptiness of modal (Jaszczolt ,2005:201). The s_2 , on the other hand, which is expressed by $[ACC \Delta^{rf} s_2]$ WS,CD is reached by the collaboration of cognitive default (CD) as well as word meaning and grammar(WS). It represents the regular future(rf) as 'will' is used in its default sense . Therefore, the condition $[ACC \Delta^{rf} s_2]$ WS,CD stands for the acceptability of the state s_2 to the degree regular future (rf) that is the case that s_2 .

3-CONCLUSIONS

1-It is confirmed that although the five sources of information (SD, WS, IS, WK, and SC) are of equal importance for reaching the Σ , yet the process (SCWD) contributes less than (CPI, CD, , and WS) processes. Moreover, despite the fact that all the sources participate in Σ , they do not work at the same time. This is clearly reflected with the factors CD, and WS as they are the first factors the addressee depends on to interpret the utterance and then the other factors are triggered by these two factors.

2-According to DS theory , it is proved that the default meaning is a semantic prospect rather than pragmatic.

3- All factors (CD, SD, WS, IS , SCWD, SC and WK) help to enhance the default sense except the factor (CPI) which in turn helps in obtaining the non- default sense.

4- It is proved that DS theory is an absolute semantic theory by which the default sense is reached automatically with the assistance of some factors.

5-It is authenticated that the pragmatic contribution for DS theory is in favor of semantics rather than pragmatics.



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APPENDIX

MK: I wanted to start by asking you some practical stuff about the book. What was the process? When and how did you write it?

TB: I wrote it myself, in longhand, usually in chunks of three days at a time because I've been so busy with all the other things I've been doing that I couldn't, as it were, dedicate weeks or months at a time to it. But also because I found that in the rhythm of the writing that allowed me to do it in a manageable way and a way that kept me interested all the time I was writing it. I also wrote it out of chronology.

MK: It's not a conventional memoir?

TB: I had one very simply starting point because I knew I couldn't write it unless I wrote something that I thought I would enjoy reading, if you see what I mean. Most political autobiographies that I have read – without mentioning any names - are ones that I have found extremely easy to put down and quite hard to pick up again. So what I wanted to do was to write it in a more personal and a different way and describe a journey rather than a series of events written in a conventional manner with a chronology. You've got to be careful. If you take it simply in chronological order you can start with a great amount of enthusiasm and then if you're not careful you run out of the enthusiasm and so the deadline approaches and the publisher starts to get agitated and you just finish it quickly.

MK: This is a much more engaged book. You are having a debate and even an argument with the reader, with the Labour party. It's quite a committed book. You've got something to



prove, something you want to say.

TB: I've got something to say and I've also got something to explain, in a way. And I'm also fascinated and interested in the topics I write about because they are not topics that remain with the period in which I was prime minister. It's very much prospective as well as retrospective because the arguments that I am talking about whether in terms of security or public services or the nature of progressive politics are arguments that are every bit as live today as they were 10 years ago.

MK: Can we deal with the money question. Until two or three weeks ago this was one of the things that people said about you, the millionaire Tony Blair lifestyle. Can you confirm the sum and explain why you have given it to charity.

TB: Everything I receive from the publisher I will give. So it works out roughly £4m because we didn't do a serialisation so there's a deduction from the original advance. Its roughly that. That's the minimum that they will get. Obviously if the book sells they'll get more than that. I decided this before I wrote the book – not specifically that it would go to RBL [Royal British Legion] but that I would give the proceeds away to a charity that was something to do with the armed forces. I wasn't sure at the time exactly which.

MK: Why?

TB: Because it was a way for me to honour the commitment that they've shown, to give respect and also to give help.

MK: And when people say it is the sign of a guilty conscience or some sense of unease about your record with the armed



forces?

TB: People can say whatever they want to say, to be frank about it. I know why I did it and I did it for the reason I have given. What is true is that I feel an enormous debt of gratitude to them. Precisely because I believe that what they have been doing in Iraq and Afghanistan and actually in my case also in respect also of the help they gave Kosovo and Sierra Leone they are genuine heroes and I respect them and want to show that respect and I can't think of anything better. Since the book itself deals to a significant extent with the foreign policies and decisions I was involved in it seems the right and the appropriate thing.

MK: Was there any element in this decision that was about wanting to show that you were not just a man who lives a jet-set lifestyle and wanting to show something else?

TB: No. It was a decision I took as I was leaving office and signing up to do a memoir which is what most former prime ministers do. It was a decision that I took then that that's what I wanted to do. Look, the bulk of my time is spent on the Middle East peace process, for which I am the unpaid envoy of the quartet. I have two major foundations now, one in relation to religious faith and interfaith relations which now operates in 12 to 15 different countries, and the Africa governance initiative which is in three African countries today and which again is a major charitable initiative and which employs 30-40 people. There are lots of things written about what I do now. Actually what I spend most of my time doing is that. Now it's correct I also am very lucky that I've got the ability to make money and I do and that in part helps support the rest of what I do. But

what defines me, what motivates me, what gets me up in the morning with a sense of purpose is still the same things that ever did.

MK: Having said that, a lot of people think you have parlayed what you were for an inappropriate lifestyle, maybe even been on the make?

TB: You know I've probably worked harder now, or at least as hard, as I have ever worked. I have just come back from three or four days in Israel and Palestine. You know I work very hard at what I do. Now it's correct that most of that is abroad, so I do spend a lot of my time travelling around the world. And it's correct I'm able to earn money. But as I always say to people I'm essentially a public service person. I could have stayed at the Bar and made money if that was what I wanted to do. I went into politics and I spent almost 25 years in parliament.

MK: Does having a lot of money matter to you?

TB: No. The only thing that matters to me is what you can do with it. If you are in conventional public service, you are on a public service salary, as I was as prime minister. I was happy with that as prime minister as I would when the issue came up of the presidency of the European Union. I would have gone back into public service. I may still at some time. I don't know what the future holds. But if you are not doing that and you are not in that role, then if you want to build, as I do, major charitable foundations and if you like pursue the goals of public service but in a different way then all the money does is give you the freedom to do that in the way you want. That's the important thing for me. So I am able to have this office here and employ the people. I have to raise all the money for that.

That's fine. I'm able to do that. Now if I went back into conventional public service I'd be doing a public service job.

MK: It's intriguing you raise that. Is this return on the cards?

TB: You never know. I honestly don't know. I don't say that with anything specific in mind. I just say that when the European job came up last year, if they had asked me to do it I would have done it. And then I'd have been back living in Brussels on a public service salary. So if you ask me what it is that motivates me it has got nothing to do with making money, it's got to do with achieving certain goals. And if I'm not in public service in a conventional public service job those goals are best served by doing what I do now. If I want to support my Africa work or my faith foundation, to raise the money for those things I've got to go to people who have money and ask them to give some. That's what former prime ministers or presidents do when they're doing charitable work. If I can actually support those charities through the commercial enterprise that's for me what it's about.

MK: You talk about Labour having become "separated from normal people", a "cultural as well as apolitical divide". Do you think there's a cultural divide between you and the Labour party now, which disturbs people?

TB: I understand that. But what people should understand is that I adore the Labour party. I led the Labour party for 13 years. I led it to three election victories. I always had the view though that the Labour party had to be a party that competed on equal terms with the Tories and was capable of governing for sustained periods of time because that's what is necessary to bring about social change. When I left in 2007 – and let's

be frank about this – I didn't leave exactly voluntarily after the coup in September 2006 – I was then faced with a choice. What did I do? Did I sit around in the House of Commons where I would have been a huge irritant and source of disunity.

MK: Is that a threat or a promise?

TB: Or did I basically keep my own counsel and go off and do something else? My voice has been silent for three years deliberately, because I didn't want to do anything that undermined Gordon or undermined the Labour party and I thought that was the most respectful thing I could do for the Labour party. Whereas if I'd stayed there people would have been asking me for my views the whole time. If I'd raised an eyebrow. I got stories that I thought this and thought that even when I wasn't doing it. So in the end I had no option but to do that. But don't be in any doubt at all. I feel, as I say in my introduction, I feel the most enormous debt of gratitude to the Labour party and huge loyalty to it. I just want it to win. I want to see it win because I think that a modern progressive Labour party is better for the country than a Tory party.

MK: Is your vow of silence now at an end as far as domestic politics are concerned? Will you be going to Labour party conference for instance?

TB: Look, let's give it some time. Whoever leads the Labour party again I will want to be loyal and supportive to them. It's difficult frankly because the minute you make a comment about anything it can be turned round. I am very conscious of the fact, and I always used to think when I was prime minister, that when I retire the last thing I want to be is someone who causes trouble for the prime minister who comes after me. Or

any other prime minister, and that includes the current one. Because I know how tough a job it is. I know how difficult it is to do and, frankly, why would anyone be interested in what I have to say about the government other than to cause trouble for it?

MK: Having said that, there is a Labour party leadership election. Who are you going to vote for?

TB: I decided at the outset that I wasn't going to start endorsing people. People know where I stand in the Labour party and what I believe in. But I don't want to get into the business of making formal endorsements and so on.

MK: But you are going to vote?

TB: Yes, I am a member of the Labour party so I have the right to vote.

MK: We'll maybe come back to that in a bit.

TB: When you get my guard down?

MK: Who can say?

TB: I'm out of practice doing interviews, you know. I do masses of interviews, of course, but they're all about the Middle East and it's amazing how completely different it is to be back doing interviews about yourself again.

MK: Let's move to some of the substantive things in the book. Arguably the main theme in the book is a reiterated defence of New Labour and the reform of the public services. You write that the longer you were prime minister the more you became committed to reform. Was all that really just abandoned in



2007?

TB: First of all, the reason I became more and more committed to reform is because I think the fundamental challenge for a country like Britain in the 21st century is how fast can you change? One thing I have learned in these three years, and where I get a passion about being involved in the debate about Britain, is that I didn't realise, until I left, the degree to which there is a paradigm shift going on in the world. Power is moving east. All countries are having to discover their place in a totally changed geopolitical landscape. The financial crisis has hastened that process. We cannot afford, we just cannot afford, to stand still as a country. And therefore the issue to do with public services and welfare, and it's the same for all European nations, is how fast can you reform. How fast can you change. So that's the reason. The reason is the world is changing very quickly and you have to keep up with it otherwise you end up with a situation where your welfare system is backward, your public services are insufficiently responsive to the consumer of those services and they're too expensive. Therefore we needed to move further. My view is that, post 2007, we should have moved further on public service reform. Gordon and his team took a different view. So that was a disagreement, if you like, and there's no point in hiding that. It was part of the disagreement that was going on through my last few years as prime minister. But it is a fundamental question.

MK: You say in your book that you have a middle-class view of public services.

TB: What I mean by a middle-class view of public services is



that, in the end, whether you like it or not, what people expect from public services is increasingly what they get in every other part of their life. The thing that has been most extraordinary to me is just understanding the revolutionary nature of the technological advances and changes. And what these are basically doing is, they are not making people any less socially concerned but it means they spend their lives making choices, deciding to do things in a customised, individual way. It doesn't mean they give up those social and community bonds, but it does mean – my kids as they are growing up just live in a completely different world – that they don't live in the kind of world they used to inhabit. That middle-class view which is – “I will decide, thank you very much, not you the state; you the state may help me, but I decide” – that view is, I think, where people are. If you look at the emerging countries of the world today and what they're doing about creating public services in education and health, what they are looking at, increasingly, is how they can avoid some of the postwar settlement errors of the developed nations, because they can see that they are getting their own middle class that is going to be demanding services delivered and developed in a quite different way. The political consequence of that for public service is that there is a premium on providing services with choice and with excellence and recognising that the concept of fairness or equity cannot be a levelling down. If it is, you will end up with a fatal divide between a middle class that is not going to put up with that – and therefore will start to go outside the system to get their services, leaving the system as one that is increasingly paternalistic, bureaucratic and basically there for the people who can't afford to get out of it.

MK: Does that mean the current government is heading in the



right direction on these issues?

TB: I don't want to get into commenting on what the government is doing or not. What I would say is this. Obviously I believe strongly in the academy programme. I think that, done properly, this concept of self-governing independent state schools is definitely the right way to go. I think in relation to health the single most important thing is that the power gets to the patient. I don't know enough about how the government reforms are going to work but one thing I am sure is that our health service reforms were heading in the right direction and that that needs to be deepened. I think the single most important thing, and I was saying this during the course of the 2010 election, is "where was the National Health Service as an issue"?

MK: To which the answer is?

TB: Well it didn't really feature, did it?

MK: Because?

TB: Because actually we sorted the basic problem of the health service. Now that's not to say that we don't still need to do far more. But when I came into politics in 1983 I would say that in every election until possibly 2005 and certainly 2010, the National Health Service was a major and sometimes the major issue. Now that is a huge achievement of the Labour government. That was done by a mixture of massive investment and reform. And if there is anything I have to say to the Labour party today about the period I was in government it is that it was a hugely progressive era. We made the largest ever investment in health and education. We introduced huge reforms, things



like the minimum wage, civil partnerships, maternity pay, paternity pay and leave, big, big changes in the way politics operated. In relation to the present situation, obviously I don't know the ins and outs of government policy at the moment, but I have no doubt at all that the basic reform programme, that was Freud on welfare, Adair Turner on pensions, the reforms of health and education and on law and order were the right reforms to make.

MK: In your view is Labour turning away from that record. Is there a danger that everything now becomes Fight The Cuts? Defend, defend, defend rather than reform, reform, reform?

TB: Well Labour's got to make sure it doesn't do that. Labour succeeds when it is at the cutting edge of the future. That's when Labour succeeds. When it can ally progressive values to the modern world. And therefore we've got to be the people leading the case for reform of public services and welfare. And also on areas like law and order, where there are answers to the issues like personal security and immigration and so on but they require really bold radical thinking.

MK: Which means?

TB: Things like the government cutting back on DNA. That's a huge opportunity for Labour. The whole law and order space at the moment I would say is a big big opportunity for Labour.

MK: You say in the book: "Except on law and order I am by instinct a liberal." A lot of people think that that instinct was one of the most intolerable things about the last government.

TB: I totally understand that and one of the things I say in the

book is that this is a really difficult argument. But – and I am a social liberal in the sense that I am totally in favour of equality, whether on grounds of race or gender or sexuality, and we did a lot of good and radical changes in all those areas – I am absolutely hardline on law and order. I think that the single most horrible thing for people living in areas where there is high crime, high levels of vandalism and antisocial behaviour is just the utterly destructive nature of that type of culture. You cannot be liberal on it. You've got to be completely uncompromising on that. It is not right that people have to suffer this. And I hate it. I hate seeing it. And the trouble is, because of the way the modern world works, and this is my point about technology, whether it's ID cards or DNA or what we introduced in the proceeds of crime legislation, where probably I would have gone far further in changing the normal rules of burden of proof, I don't think you can deal with this law and order issue by the attitudes and policies of the early 20th century when people's anxiety and concern was in an era of large scale poverty that people were being unfairly victimised and treated by the criminal justice system. I don't think that is today's world. You've got these organised crimes that are brutal and merciless in the way that they engage in drugs or people-trafficking. You can't pussyfoot around with them. You've got to get absolutely heavy with them. And that's my view. I really do feel very very strongly about it. I think one of the 21st century challenges is how does the developed world get a real grip on social exclusion and law and order issues.

MK: In the book you say striking things on two of the libertarian agenda issues. One is hunting, where you say you regret your decision to ban it. The other is Freedom of Information where you say you regret your decision to permit it. Why didn't you

say this at the time? Was it a mistake?

TB: On hunting, I think yes on balance it was in the end. It's not that I particularly like hunting or have ever engaged in it or would. I didn't quite understand, and I reproach myself for this, that for a group of people in our society in the countryside this was a fundamental part of their way of life. Anyway, we came to a compromise in the end that, as I think I say in the book, was not one of my finest policy moments but got this through. Freedom of information? I am slightly tongue in cheek about it. MK: It doesn't read like it. You beat yourself up about it in ways a lot of people would like you to beat yourself up about other subjects whereas this is one that these same people see as one of your achievements.

TB: The trouble with it is it's not practical for government. You end up in circumstances where if you are not careful people will find it hard to give frank advice and have frank conversations if they think what they are going to say is going to be reduced to writing and then published. And in my view this is just a simple practical reality. When it comes to the working of government at the highest level you've got to be able to have a completely frank conversation, in cabinet committees, between civil servants and their ministers where things can be reduced to writing and analysed. And if you look round the world at people who've introduced freedom of information what actually happens is you have to find ways of having those conversations not reduced to writing.

MK: There will be a suspicion that your view of freedom of information is shaped by the fact that your government took part in questionable procedures arising out of the terrorist cri-

sis, including torture and extraordinary rendition for instance, that you just don't want people to know about.

TB: Well that's just not correct. One thing I want to say before the Guardian readership particularly is that this notion that I have ever condoned or would ever condone torture in any circumstances is complete rubbish. I totally disagree with it and I would never condone it, not in any set of circumstances. I think it is not just morally wrong. I think it is an extremely foolish and stupid way to try to gather information. I don't know where this has all come from. I don't know whether people in other countries, like the US, were doing these things. I honestly don't know. And therefore when people say "Will you condemn it?" I say I'm not going to condemn something I really don't know about. But what I do know is that nobody in the UK system, as far as I know, would ever have either engaged in that or condoned it. I actually feel strongly about it, so it's just simply not true.

MK: George Bush. You mount a serious defence of him as a politician and a person. Why do you defend this most repudiated figure so much.

TB: I disagreed with George Bush on lots of things. Climate change. The Middle east from time to time. But I took the same view about the fundamental nature of the security threat. I suppose what's happened to me is this. I haven't changed at all as a person. You've known me for years and years and years. I really haven't changed at all. The only thing I have done as a political leader is come to the view that you really do have to be true to yourself. And the fact is I would not feel comfortable, having worked with him all those years, just turning round and

just accepting the conventional wisdom, because I don't see it like that. One of things I have tried to do in the book all the way through is to say to people, look, you may dislike me or disagree with me or do both those things powerfully, but I'm prepared to have a conversation with you and have a conversation with me. And that's what the book is. The tone of it is not strident at all. It's actually quite open. I can see why people disagree with the things that I've done, or the things that I stand for, but here's my explanation of why I stand for them. I think one of the saddest things about politics today is that it has to be conducted with such venom and vitriol on both sides of an argument. It's a problem. You see this in the US today, where things have moved on from the way you are describing. I watched the health care debate with a degree of unease.

MK: So is this book your attempt to get a hearing from the British people again?

TB: I don't feel as defensive as that about it. It's really that there is a big debate to be had about the security issues, and the economic issues, the social issues and the cultural issues that we face in the world today. And I think we've got to be careful of ending up not debating but ending up with views that become hardened into conventional wisdom very, very fast. With the world in which we live today you're not really seeing the complexity of some of these issues and the other side of the argument. The reason why I think this is particularly important today is because of the shift of power to the east. It's the single most important thing. All western nations today have got to come to terms with the fact that, for the first time in centuries – not in 20 or 30 years but in centuries – the east will be as powerful as the west, if not more so.



MK: Which leaves Europe where?

TB: We are crazy in Europe if we do not understand the way the world is changing. The European Union is an absolute necessity. For a country like Britain, Europe is vital to our strategic national interest in the future. We are going to be 60 million people in a small geographic space. We're still going to be a major country in years to come. But you are going to have China with a population, what, 20 times that of the UK, and India, roughly the same, whose economies are going to dwarf ours in the future and who are going to have a political and economic power that is vast, with massive social and economic implications for us. And that's just China and India. And look at Brazil and Indonesia, also massive players. So all over the world you have this paradigm shift. And we're in danger of having a 20th century political debate. You can't afford that any more.

MK: Apologies for jumping around from subject to subject but we only have a brief time left. You describe an amusing conversation with Alex Ferguson in which he says, essentially, if you have a difficult player in your teams, leave him out. Why didn't you leave your difficult player out.

TB: And, as I say, so what happens if he's still in the squad and the dressing room afterwards. I didn't ask his advice. I assure you I didn't debate reshuffles with Alex, but he was always very good value on leadership. As I say in the book, the thing about Gordon was that he could be brilliant but impossible.

MK: But you were tempted to sack him.

TB: The plans were often discussed more in the office than I had advanced in my own thinking. No, in the end I decided



that it was right to keep him, because I thought that his contribution was still immense. And it was immense. It was probably only in the last couple of years of my time as prime minister that it became really difficult. People also have this view that I didn't play much part in economic policy. I had an absolutely very strong grip and view about economic policy.

MK: In the book you say independence of the Bank of England was your policy and you "let" him make the announcement. Not his view, I think.

TB: Well, we both came to the same conclusion. It was a very strong view of mine. But probably also the whole macro policy. Probably the policy where I most let go was probably to do with the tax credit stuff, I think. For me economic policy was absolutely the central thing the whole way through. That's why the fundamental savings review which was the thing I tried to get put in place in 2005 in retrospect it's a real pity we didn't do that.

MK: So looking at it all together, what should be the verdict on the Blair period and the Blair-Brown period and the New Labour years?

TB: On the last three years I've made clear where there were disagreements on policy. But if you take the 10 years for which I was responsible I have no doubt that in time to come it will come to be seen as a great reforming government. And Gordon's part in that, incidentally, will be seen as very significant. If you look at the changes that were made – not just in areas like the constitution, devolution and so on, the mayoral reforms, and the changes in public services and welfare, the major changes in how Britain is or was as a country, symbolised

when we won the Olympic bid – there have been huge changes. The Labour party had never won two successive terms. We won three. We were in power for 13 years, twice as long as the next longest serving Labour government in our 100-year history.

MK: And you?

TB: I don't know. There's no point me speculating about it.

MK: Do you deserve more generous treatment from history?

TB: Well we're not historians and I'm not looking for generosity. The changes we made speak for themselves in the end