Scientific Events Gate



Innovations Journal of Humanities and Social Studies

مجلة ابتكارات للدراسات الإنسانية والاجتماعية

IJHSS

https://eventsgate.org/ijhss

e-ISSN: 2976-3312



A Socio-Pragmatic Analysis of the President Braham Salih's Broadcasting Interviews Safa Naji Abd

sfanajybdtyh@gmail.com

Received 16/11/2022 - Accepted 02/01/2023 - Available online 15/01/2023

Abstract: The study aims to analyze the selected interviews of president Braham Salih as a sample of Iraqis politician from socio-pragmatic perspectives, namely, speech acts, cooperative maxims, and politeness. The study displays the impacts of socio-cultural factors on his speech. The study presents theoretical background knowledge, then, it is going to analyze the data to come up with major findings: shedding light on major types of speech acts (directive, expressive), which maxims have been adhered to or which one have been floated because of exaggeration or giving information more than required. The last findings are obtained from utilizing positive and negative politeness (as interruption, overlapping, and avoiding answer the questions).

Keywords: political interview, socio-pragmatics, speech acts, politeness, cooperative principles.

1. Introduction

Language is a tool that is used by human beings in order to fulfill their needs and pursues his aims, politician uses this tool in particular way to persuade people to be elected or motivate them to achieve their aims. The study deals with the language of political interview and its differences from the ordinary language. It attempts to investigate the pragmatics effects in the Iraqi political interview. It is crucial for those who are interested in socio-pragmatic analysis and political language since it gives an empirical analysis for the selected extracts of interviews

2. Language of Political Interview

Political language has a major influence in carrying out political issues so many academic fields such as linguistics, sociolinguistics, and pragmatics try to explicate this politician's use of language (Al-Arbawi, 2017:52).

Politician seeks to gain power and maintains it. In order to achieve his aim, he uses various tools. One of these tool is the force and the other tool is the use of language to persuade people of their ability to guide them (ibid.,).

Interview as a term comes from the French entre which means "to be insight of " (Clayman and Heritage, 2002:26). Interview can be defined as a contact that occurs when one person asks

question and the other response it. It is a meeting tackled between reporters and famous and infamous guests (ibid: 52).

Political interview is defined as "context-sensitive employment of the turn taking system, Viz. The participants-specific use of adjacency pair question-and-answer" (Canp and Okulska: 2013:74). It utilizes turn taking mechanism for interactional rules that are undergone by the participants of interview and for specific use of backchannels. In this kind of interview, the interlocutors tend to perform communicative act with particular force (Al-Arbawi, 2017:52).

There are similarities and differences between the language of everyday conversation and political discourse. The similarities can be indicated in that the Comprehension and production of language are based on pragmatics premise action and the settings are denoted by particular contextual constrains and requirements. The differences can be stated that the political discourse is institutional, which means it take the formal place, and public whereas every day conversation as small talk is viewed as an instance of non-institutional and non—public discourse (Bull and Fetzer, 2006:16).

3. Socio-Pragmatics

Socio -pragmatics is stated as a field that comes out as a result of the interference between sociology and pragmatics. It consists of different factors such as the knowledge of communicative action, power, social distance, imposition and consequences of what you do, when, to whom to analyze the meaning has related to the social context (Duwi, 2016:9-11). The aim of socio-pragmatics is to manifest the way in which social and cultural factors can affect the practice in the language and their influence on pragmatics strategies that are shown in a particular communicative context. It accounts for pragmatics phenomena ,such as deixis ,presupposition , and implicature etc., instantiations in empirical socio-cultural context to present social, cultural and situational differences in their manifestation. Socio-pragmatics wonders how linguistics forms can convey social or cultural meaning because of the close association with particular method(Aijmer and Andersen, 2011:1).

The roots of socio-pragmatics comes from Thomas when he introduced two different types of pragmatics failure which are pragmalinguistics and socio-pragmatics, the former results from systematic pragmatic differences between the source and the target language, for instance, when non-native speaker cannot interpret the pragmatics force of the utterance "good day", whereas the latter is the consequence of culturally different judgments about what regards as imposition, power, social distance or about relative right of obligations of speaker and hearer. Pragmalinguistics concerns the suitable linguistic means that are used for thanking, congratulating, requesting. Socio-pragmatics deals with the correct use of speech act in different situations (ibid: 2). In pragmatics, political interview is viewed as "an event that is used to negotiate the validity claims between the participants" (Bull and Fetzer2006:6).

3.1. Cooperative Principle

Leech states (1983:80) that the main purpose in the study of socio-pragmatics is to acknowledge how the cooperative principle is operated differently by different societies, for instance, politeness principle is given a high rating in certain situation more than cooperation or granting priority to one maxim of the politeness maxim rather than another (Leech, 1983:80).

Cooperative principle as a term is referred the information exchange between the participants in the conversation. Its function is the regulation what the participants say so that it assumed some illocutionary (bid.,)

Cooperative principle has the following maxims

- **1-Quantity and quality** principles are presented together since the amount of information that are necessary to avoid untruthful. Harnish, who presents such combination, says one must justify his claim by his evidence. The following instance illustrates this:
- (1) George ate some biscuits.

Lead us to deduce the following instance is incorrect.

- (1a) George ate all biscuits (ibid: 83).
- **2-Principle of relation** which have been given a lot of interpretations. It is treated as a particular kind of information. The definition of relevance is an utterance that associates with particular speech situation if utterance contributed to conversational goals of speaker and hearer, which mean social goals, it can be said the utterance is relevant. For example,

A-Where is my box of chocolate?

B-I've got a train to catch.

If the example is interpreted. One can get the following outcomes:

- 1-At the first stage; A wants to know the place of the box.
- 2-B is realized that Bill wants to know so.
- 3-The final state A know where the chocolate is (ibid:83-100).

The argument is that the politeness principle is more regulative than cooperative principle since it preserves social stability and their friendly relations give a clear sight about their cooperative in the first place (ibid.,).

3.2. Politeness Principle

The study adopted Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness in analyzing the content of the interview. They mention various types of politeness strategy to avoid the FTA. First of all, they are divided into two off record and on record. If that speaker utilizes off record strategy so there is no more than on transparent attributable intentions in which the speaker cannot hint himself to particular intention. In the other contrary, when the speakers utilize on record strategy, the participants be aware of the communicative intention that leads speaker to do the action. The on record strategy is also divided into two. One of them is bald on record which is doing certain acts baldly with no redress involves doing it, being direct, clear, and using face saving act. The other is with redressive act where the speaker generally recognizes the hearer's face wants and himself wants to be achieved, so he attempts to contracts a potential face threaten act by utilizing political language in such a way. In doing redressive actions. There are two ways, the first is positive politeness which is oriented toward the positive face of hearer which means the one with the act oriented with positive politeness wants to be connected or to be belong to the member of the

community whereas person with negative face the basic wants to maintain claim of territory and self-determination (ibid.,).

The study also takes Leech's theory of politeness into consideration .Six maxims have been introduced in this theory: first of all, the maxim of tact which is used in directives and commissive to minimize cost to others and maximize the benefit .Secondly ,the maxim of Genericity which can be can be found in directives and commissive .The maxim is used to minimize the benefit to self and maximize cost to self .the other one is appropriation in expressive and assertive which maximizes the praise to self and minimizes dispraise of others. The fifth maxim is of agreement and disagreement that is used in assertive to lesson disagreement to others and increase it to self. The last one is the maxim of sympathy and antipathy between self and other in which maximize sympathy to other and minimize antipathy between self and other (Jucker1986:65).

These various maxims aid to interpret utterances that cannot be accounted for by cooperative principles. Cooperative principle is violated since in read circumstances, speakers consider better to be polite than to observe (ibid.,).

Both Brown and Levinson, and Leech make the distinction between the face –threatening force of proposition and face –threatening of actual utterances. Leech views the difference between the cost-benefit scale and the weightiness of a face threating act. These differences are based upon three factors which are social distance, relative power and absolute ranking of imposition in a particular culture. If the weightiness is high because one of these factors are high that is speaker would choose an utterance implies greater indirectness, consequently leaves hearer more choice to get out of imposition (Ibid.,)

For instances.

a-Close the door.

b-Would you please be so kind as to open the door.

In the former instance the addressee has no choice. He has to do the such a thing but in the second leaves the choice and understand it as a request (ibid.,).

It is clear that the interviewee's face will be found to be threatened by the interviewer and the interviewee's themselves threaten their own faces if they can be seen to accept criticism or blame (ibid:71)

The cost –benefit scale is limited to these negative face wants; it does not play any prominent role in interviews. This scale applies only to commissives and directive. Commissive cannot be applied to interview whereas directives are restricted to requests to verbal behavior. The praise-dispraise scale has an important role in interviews since both participant seek to avoid estimated comments about each other. The interviewer might well ask to comment on himself. The other scale is disagreement and agreement scale is less applied to such type of interview. A large proportion of question are formed as yes, no question. There is no evidence that ensures that the maxim of sympathy- antipathy is used in political interview (ibid.,).

The absolute ranking of the imposition refers to seriousness which is attached to a given face-threatening act by specific society. For example, accusation of having loss a few jobs applied to politician (ibid..).

Face-threatening acts exist whenever the interviewee is questioned on his or her opinion might reduce the interviewee's face.

List of strategies can be marked the face –threaten of the interviewees which are stated as following:

- 1-Put yourself to do something it.
- 2-State a point of view on specific issue.
- 3-provide an evidence to state your point.
- 4-accept clash between your beliefs and your actions.
- 5-accept collision between your opinion and reality.
- 6-confess that the reason for doing action is humble.
- 7-give an evidence to support the action
- 8-excuse the action.
- 9-take action against something
- 10-prove that other thing's is demeaning
- 11-state the action is demeaning.
- 12-take It into your consideration the demanding of your own demeaning(ibid.,).

3.3. Speech Act Theory

Different kinds of speech acts as requesting information, providing information and giving point of view etc. The interviewer's role is fastening to the speech act of questioning that authorizes him the right to get answers of the interviewee, whereas speech act of the interviewee's role assigns him the obligation to answer the question. The interview does not only consist of speech act and parts of interview but also the audience in front of whom, for what the interview is introduced (Canp and Okulska, 2013:74).

The significant function of speech act is confirmed whether the speaker is demanding or aiding, emphasizing social distance. The speech acts do play in shaping and processing the intended meaning of politicians (Ibid.,)

Searle states five kinds of actions:

- 1-Representative speech act in which speaker has been committed to the truth. The expressed proposition as in asserting, concluding. As in the example "Pragmatics deals with language in context".
- 2-Directives speech act in which speaker wants the addressee to do something to get the addressee to do something. The verbs that might be used in this type of discourse are ask, beg, instruct, apply for which are in requesting and questioning.

- 3-Commissive speech act which expresses the speaker's willingness to up take future actions. The verbs that are used in this type of speech act as the following: promise, forgive, guarantee, etc. For instance: "I'm going to get it right next time".
- 4-Expressive speech act which is used to denote psychological state as in those utterances of thanking, apologizing, welcoming and congratulating.
- 5-Declaration speech act, this type is used is used to indicate the influence fourth right changes in the institution state of affairs that relay on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions such as excommunication, declaring war, and firing from employment in religious and civil setting "I now pronounce you husband and wife" (Levinson, 1983:240).

3.4. Sequential Patterns and Activates

Socio-pragmatics took the structural and organizational level of discourse, episode, adjacency pairs, opening and closing of conversation which dealt differently relaying on factors as speech community, medium of communication and activity type. "The sequences initiative-response and never followed by feedback from the side of the interviewer it considered as a typical of journalistic speech (Aijmer and Andersen, 2011:15-18).

Jakob Steensig emphasizes on turn-taking. He presents a comprehensive survey of resources that are available to speakers in the construction and distribution of turns. Steesing finds out that turn-taking allocation work in different ways in different cultures (ibid.,).

Anna-Brita Stenstrom focuses on hesitation and pauses. She reports how different cultures employs them (Ibid.,).

4. Research Methodology

The descriptive qualities approach is applied in the study. Iraqi's politician's sample is analyzed to shed light the interference between society and pragmatics aspects. All these extracts are taken from one interview AT 28/10/2019 on "Axios on HBO".

4.1. The Model of Analysis

The data of the study consists of three speeches of President Braham Salih in which they are going to be analyzed by the eclectic model. The first item of the model consists of the theory of speech acts, the second item deals with cooperative maxims (1989), and The third item deals with politeness theory of Levinson's.

4.2. Data collecting technique

- 1-Observing.
- 2-Choosing the appropriate interview.
- 3-Deliberate watching and listening to the interview.
- 4-Converting the verbal into written data for analysis.

5. Data Analysis

Extract 1: The interview is handled by Joathan Swan and the President Braham Salih.

Jonathan Swan: It strikes me that in many ways you feel like the political system set up as in Iraq after the invasion and fifteen years now on, has been a failure.

President Braham Salih: Look, it is not black and white. Everything is in context. Lots of successes ,but lots of setbacks . Huge setbacks . The fact that ISIS was able to sweep through the country the way it has was quite a statements about the failure about our security arrangements and our political arrangements , weeks ago, a lot of people got killed .It's a statements about the failure and the limitations of the system .I as a citizen ,I as a president ,have to acknowledge that .The fact that we have corruption rampant and schools and schools are not being built is a statement about the failure of the system .But the fact that you and I can be in Baghdad talking about the need for reform, the need for change, and the fact that Iraqi press and media and social media is talking about this .Pushing for change .Activism in this country is also that statement of change that has happened in this country. The transition in Iraq over the last 16 years were painful difficult and certainly not what Iraqis expected ,never .No,not near what Iraqi expectations were and not near ,to be fair also ,were our American friends and European friends who have come to help us overcome Saddam Hussein . That is disappointed in many, many ways . So, it is not all a failure .No.This is a transition that has been tough ,painted .But again , please put it in context .Put it in context of the United States . Whenever you have a terrorist incident, what happen to you society ?Traumatized. Whenever you have you have a shooting at a school, and I watch American media

Swan: I've heard you this. You said ten every day Virginia Tech.

Salih: indeed, I indeed I

Salih: No, but seriously.

Jonathan Swan: I know.

Salih: And this is a society –go to Sinjar .Talk to Yazidis ,whose girl were abducted .Whose men were killed .Go to Halabja ,go to southern Iraq with the mass graves of Sadam's oppression .Or go to Speicher-the camp ,military camp in which hundreds of young Iraqis were slaughtered by ISIS and Vigiled. This is a highly traumatized society. I'm not here to tell you things are hunkydory. They are not. Absolutely not. But this is our destiny. we need to make it. We need to fix it .Day in day out. And their lots of nasty things happening along the way .That is the realty of it.

Interpretation 1

The interviewer criticizes political system in Iraq because of its failure in handled the issues. In this case, the interviewer produces face- threatening act of criticism. Criticism that pertains speech acts in which the positive face of the hearer's gets threatened.

The interviewee uses many kinds of speech acts in his response to. It can be noticed that the interviewee acts as if he accepts the face threatening act when he tries to clarify the matters about the failure of the governments that lead to corruption. When the president says 'I as a citizen, I as a president' he performs speech acts of assertive and expressive. In his utterance, he indicates his awareness of his responsibility to reform the political system and distance himself as a person who has a high social rank.

The part of interview also shows the agreement –and disagreement between the interviewee and interviewer when the president say "No", the speaker rejects the interviewer's comments upon his

speech. The interviewer also performs FTA when he said "I've heard you this. You said ten every day Virginia Tech" it might indicate his disapproval of the president's answer and he never accepts that the person he talks to answer his question, thus, he violates the cooperative principles of quality and quantity.

Repetitions that is used by the president have many indication, it might be use for emphasis or persuasion. It could be to attract the attention of the addressee. Repetition is seen as a culture-specific signal which is used to manage of conversation turn-taking. When the president repeats the sentence "put it in context, put it in contexts of united states ..., etc." He wants to attract the listener's attention to the bad conditions the Iraqis political system has undergone, in doing such a thing he wants to justify the failure of the politic system. His sentence is the directive speech acts and his repetition multiplied the illocutionary forces.

As the interview goes on, the Iraqi's president demands the interviewer to go and investigate in order to investigate that his claims are right. Then, he states the need to fix political system by using declarative speech acts "we need" which it might be a request.

In the interview that have been discussed. There are many words as "the fact, obviously, to be fair and many others" are used to indicate the speaker awareness of the cooperative principle most of the conversation.

The use of positive politeness strategies by politician can be illustrated by words, pronouns and phrases that indicate friendship or acting in group as personal pronouns (we) that is repeated through the interview which enhances the to collaborate to reform and fix the political system.

Extract 2/ Iraqi president "expects" Prime minister to remain in power, after dodging the question

Jonathan said: what do you say to people who say that prime minister Mahidi is a puppet of Iranians?

Bahram Salih: I disagree with that. Prime minister Mahdi is an Iraqi patriot who fought against Saddam Hussein for years. He is a prime minister of this country. His priority is the national interests of Iraq.

Swan: What do you say to the Iraqi people who are protesting on the streets, who say he is a failure, that his government is corrupt, that they are not giving basic services and that he ought to step down?

Salih: people are entitled to demonstrate; this is their constitutional right. what happened during the protest and the killing of innocent demonstrators and some service? It is unacceptable. There is absolutely no justification for the violence that has happened. People are demonstrated because they want jobs. They want a decent life with dignity. They are entitled to do that.

Swan: If you and I do this next week, in a week's time, what are the chances that prime minister Mahdi is still the prime minister?

Salih: At the moment there is a lot of political support for him in parliament about him staying on as prime minister. On Friday, there is a demonstration planned. And my information that I have been briefed on, there are measures to make sure that what happened the last time will not be repeated again.

Swan: Your government won't be killing people.

Salih: Yes. Indeed. No lie, no weapons in the vicinity. Because what happened, that was absolutely unacceptable, so, this Friday will be quite, quite a key, key test for the government and for the country.

Swan: You didn't answer the question I asked you.

Salih: Yes, I didn't answer the question I asked you. Yes, I didn't answer it. And I will not ...

] interruption between president and interviewer

Swan: What percentage You cannot say with hundred percent certainty that he will be prime minister in one week?

President: No, I can't. Look, these are important days. Let's hope that Friday's protests are handled properly in the country. I don't want to destabilize this situation any further, my friend.

Swan: But you the prime minister sit here and say that the prime minister will be the prime minister in a week.

President: I do expect him to stay. I do expect him to stay.

Interpretation 2

The first speech act which is introduced by the interviewer is directive in this extract since he wants the interviewee answer his question. The interviewee's answer is another speech act that shows disagreement. Disagreement is complicated of expressive speech act since it reflects the conflict between speaker's opinion and a hearer's view. It is established that the disagreement is social influences which have the social distance of speaker and hearer, ranking position in specific culture that are determined the expression that is intended to fulfill the particular act. When the president shows disagreement he performs strategy 2 of face threatening-act that is occurred in interviews it is stated above when he expresses his opinion and by showing disagreement he violates the strategies that is offered by Levinson and Brown's 5,6. The interview accuses the prime minister when he says the following "Your government won't be killing people". This is the speech act of accusing that is raised the face –threaten acts to the interview.

The refusing of answering the question indicates that the president violates the Grice's cooperative principles of quality and quantity that state telling the truth and what you have adequate evidences to support and give the right amount of information.

In this extract, the interviewer's action is seen as a high level of a face-threaten act when he interrupts the interviewee. The interviewer shows disagreement upon the president comments concerning current events.

Repetition is also used in this extract to emphasis the idea that he wants to convey that protesters will not be killed and to make representative speech act when he asserts that the Prime Minister will be in his position. Here, the president's repetitions functions as strategy of persuasion.

Despite the criticism and accusation that the interviewee has received he tried to lessen threat act by using positive politeness strategies when he uses "my friend, let's". Such expressions also might be to make other participant change his speech.

Extract 3 "Iraqi president on the U.S pullback from Syria: it is truly dangerous"

Swan: so let's talk about troubles outside the palace. You have the crisis –I think it's fair to use that world in northern Syria with Turkey invading. The U. S pulling out, many hundreds of thousands of Kurds have been displaced. They fear ethnic cleansing. And know having other countries moving in. Russia filling the vacuum. You have some ISIS prisoners escaping. I know that's a concern of yours. And then you have your own troubles here in Iraq with the protests on the streets against what they say is the governments corruption. And over all of that. You have America and Iran. They 've been on the brink of war for months.

Salih: And I'm here in Baghdad. This is where all these issues are at play. This is quite a moment in history, this is in some ways the perfect storm.

Swan: You must be frightened for your country.

Salih: I'm very concerned, deeply concerned. What concerns me deeply, what is happening in Syria. Not just in Syria, but also in Iraq. The implications are huge.

Swan: You mean the American withdrawal?

Salih: Indeed. The Turkish invasion. This is new dynamic in Syria. It is truly dangerous. ISIS, we still have elements of ISIS roaming between the Iraqi and Syrian border. We have thousands of ISIS detainees. This new dynamic since Syria is unleashing these groups, empowering them to consolidate and really take us on.

Interpretation of extract 3

The interviewer starts with (lets) which an inclusive verb when he (the interviewer) uses it he acts as if he belongs to the level of the president. The interview marks Levinson and Brown's 4 strategy in which he accepts the clash. The utterances such as "you have the crisis", "you have your own troubles here in Iraq" which express the representative speech act of assertion. These utterances convey a face- act threatening. The interviewer in previous utterances acts as if he is the most powerful person in the conversation. Noticing, attend to hearer wants, needs and goods of the interviewee when he says "I know that is a concern of yours". In turns the president asserts, expresses and emphasizes his utterance when he repeats "I'm very concerned, deeply concerned. What concerns me..." in doing such a thing Iraqi president performs representative and expressive speech acts.

"And I'm here in Baghdad" and "this is in some ways the perfect storm" both indicate illocutionary force of representative speech act, in which he asserts the difficulty of the situation.

Expressions such as emphatic ones (deeply, really, I know, very and I think), which are loaded with positive evaluative connotation, are used to determine the use of directives and requests. By their nature, they are used as a threaten to the hearer's negative face. (Kravchenko and Pasternak ,2016:62)

6. Discussion

The interview is chosen since it is represented the impact of Iraqi society on the politician, particularly when he uses the directive speech act in his speech such as the following illustrates "go to Sinjar. Talk to Yazidis, whose girls were abducted. Whose men were killed. Go to Halabja,

go to southern Iraq with the mass graves of Sadam's oppression. Or go to Speicher-the camp". The Iraqi people usually speak in such way to prove the correctness of their speech.

In his speech many politeness strategies are illustrated by using hedging, exaggeration and presupposition. Repetitions and negations makes make the speech of the president more powerful, effective and more connected.

7. Results

- 1-The system of speech exchange of the political interview is distinguished from an ordinary conversation since each one follows different method.
- 2- The interview turn taking is made of questions and answers and these activates are pre-allocated between the interview and interviewer. This turn taking is violated many times in the interview for many reasons.
- 3-There is a violation of cooperative principle and some of politeness theory.
- 4- The impact of society is clear in the way of speech acts are utilized by the participants of the interview.

8. Conclusion

It is important to understand the conventions of speech of society in order to interpret correctly since each society has agreed upon certain ways of speech. Speech acts, politeness, aspects of interview such as turn-taking are differed from one society to the other. There is a correlation between speech act and politeness principles in the sense whether the utterance is polite or not can be judged according to a particular speech act. Also turn-taking relatedness to the politeness principles can be shown clearly through the instance of interruption that is presented above in the extract 2.

References

Aijmer, K. & Andersen, G.. (2011). Pragmatics of Society: Introducing the Pragmatics of Society. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

AL-Arbawi, H. H. (2017). Indirectness in Selected Political Interviews: A Pragmatic Analysis. Supervised .M.A. Thesis.Al- Qadisiyah, Iraq.

Cap, P. & Okulska ,U. (2013). Analyzing Genres in Political Communication: Theory and practice. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company

Clayman, S. & Heritage, J. (2002). *The News Interviews: Journalist and Public Figure on the Air*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Farnia, M. & Sattar, H. Q. A..2015. A Sociopragmatic Analysis of the Speech Act of Criticism by Persian Native Speakers. *International Journal of Humans and Cultural Studies*. Vol.2.Issue.3.PP:305-327.

Jucker, A. (1986). News Interviews: A Pragmalinguistic Analysis. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kravchenko, N.K. & Pasternak, T.A,.(2016). Politeness strategies via speech acts and conversational implicatures. *Science and Education a New Dimension*. *Philology*, 25: 105, pp;60-63. www.seanewdim.com

Leech, G. N.(1983). Principle of Pragmatics. London: London: London:

Levinson, S. C.(1983). Pragmatics. U k. United Kingdom: Cambridge.