



***Language and revolution: A linguistic analysis of manipulation
in George Orwell's works
Langue et revolution Une analyse linguistique de la manipulation
dans les œuvres de George Orwell***

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<i>Abstract ;</i>	<i>Article info</i>
<p><i>This article tackles how language fails revolutions. It studies the linguistic techniques of manipulation that have been in Orwell's 'Animal Farm' to control the community aftermath of a revolution. The article extends its discussion of political manipulation to include Orwell's vivid article 'Politics and English Language'. This article purchases the study of Orwell's critique of political language via introducing an in-depth linguistic analysis of mass manipulation, as it was practiced in allegorical worlds.</i></p>	<p><i>Received</i></p> <p>04/07/2021</p>
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1. Introduction

A linguistic analysis of manipulation in George Orwell's works

The British writer and novelist George Orwell's project to critique political discourse in the late 1940s is perhaps the most comprehensive and influential one

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throughout the 20th Century. It took full shape in his late works especially his two novels *Animal Farm* (1945) and *1984* (1948), as well as his seminal essay, "Politics and the English Language". The comprehensiveness of Orwell's project stems from the fact that it covers many aspects of the relationships between language and power on one hand, and language, thought and society on the other (Chilton, 1984; Hall, 2008). Moreover, it takes interest in the methods adopted by people in power to produce inequality manipulative discourses as well as in the methods of resisting them at the same time (Kellner, 1990).

As for Orwell's influence, there is much evidence attesting to it. For instance, Orwell's above-mentioned novels appear in most world rankings of the best 100 novels.[1] Moreover, Orwell's essay, "Politics and the English Language", is still being studied in American secondary schools despite the passage of more than 60 years since its first publication. According to Gustafson (1992), university and secondary school students are required to read Orwell's essay because it acquaints them with the politics of language, and raises their awareness of how politicians twist facts and shape our perception of the world. One feature of Orwell's influence is the many studies in many disciplines that have been conducted over a long period of time to review and revisit his ideas on the language of politics. Furthermore, a new term has been coined, and is now widely used, i.e. "Orwellian" to describe language, discourse or expressions that twist and falsify facts, or to denote a world dominated by a deceptive and oppressive dictatorship.

This article tackles, in particular, how language fails revolutions. It studies the linguistic techniques of manipulation that have been in Orwell's 'Animal Farm' to control the community aftermath of a revolution. The article extends its discussion of political manipulation to include Orwell's vivid article 'Politics and English Language'. The goal of the study is to theorize the practices of mass manipulation in both works.

The critique of political language is the common ground in Orwell's works, but they differ in their points of focus. *Animal Farm* is an allegorical narrative that depicts linguistic deception practiced by a dictatorial authority on the make, which attempts to strike roots and impose its power. Therefore, the novel shows how language helps to create and protect this emerging dictatorship. On the other hand, in *1984*, Orwell displays the role of language in stabilizing an existing totalitarian, authoritative dictatorship. The novel provides a full theoretical discussion of the nature of the dominant political language and its influence on freeing/restricting citizens' thinking, and on forming the society at large (Joseph, Love & Taylor, 2001). Nevertheless, in his essay, "Politics and the English Language", Orwell gives a theoretical analysis of some aspects of the relationship between language and power, highlighting some techniques to resist what he calls "corrupt language".

This article analyzes the language of politics in *Animal Farm* and "Politics and the English Language" since the language of politics in *1984* has attracted great attention so much that complete volumes have been compiled to study it

(e.g. Aubrey & Chilton, 1983; Courtine & Willett, 1986; Bloom, 2009; Hama, 2016; Ashipu & Okpiliya, 2013). Many aspects of Orwellian critique of political language in *1984* were investigated thoroughly. His prophecies about the technologies of control are addressed to compare the literary imagination to reality (Haggerty & Ericson, 2000). Orwell's concept of Newspeak triggered huge interest among researchers of language and politics (Lutz, 1989; Chilton, 1984). Orwell, language and linguistics. *Language & Communication*, 4(2), 129-146. This article purchases the study of Orwell's critique of political language via introducing an in-depth linguistic analysis of mass manipulation, as it was practiced in the allegorical world of 'Animal Farm'.

How political language hijacks peoples' revolutions

Animal Farm is one of Orwell's most famous, widely read novels, and it is his first work to discuss how despotic regimes use language to achieve hegemony and control the masses. It is an allegorical novel whose characters are animals and birds living on a farm, who stage a revolution against the farm owner, Mr. Jones, because he exploits them, overworks them, and takes away the produce of their labor for himself. Mr. Jones can be regarded as a symbol of predatory capitalism to a certain extent. The animals expelled Mr. Jones and other humans from the farm and decided that the produce of the farm should go to those who work in it (i.e. the animals themselves). Therefore, they became responsible for managing the farm, organizing work, and distributing the fairly produce among themselves.

The novella opens shortly before the outbreak of a revolution (or rebellion), and describes the details of the new regime established by that rebellion and the subsequent developments. It highlights how some animals hijacked the revolution and imposed a despotic regime on other animals in the name of the revolution itself! It also depicts how the revolution is turned from a dream of democracy, liberty, welfare, and equality to a reality of established dictatorship, slavery, and deprivation. At the same time, it presents a narrative of the role of language in subduing the masses to the new dictatorial authority and forcing them to accept or condone its oppressive practices. *Animal Farm* implies a deep criticism of the deception practiced by language and its role in hijacking revolutions from the true revolutionists. It also demonstrates a dramatic discussion of the relationship between language and authority. The characteristics of this relationship are summarized as follows:

1. Using language as a tool to merge the revolting masses into the ruling regime: merging is one function of ideology. According to Abdul-Alim (1990), merging means absorbing individuals into the existing social system through a set of terms that shape their consciousness, personalities, and how they respond to reality in a way that guarantees their adaptation to the existing framework of social relationships. Consequently, the behavior would seem as if it were emanating from individuals' free will rather than being imposed upon

them from outside. Since language is the main tool of shaping ideology, it is also the main tool to achieve this merging.

There are many genres, often with symbolic connotations, that can be used to achieve merging, e.g. mottos, maxims, anthems, songs, speeches, etc. These genres are aimed to impose the ruling class's ideology as if it were the ideology of the people, and as if it were the product of the ruled citizens. This makes them think that it is natural and not imposed upon them; that it is inevitable and irresistible; and that it serves their interest; hence, they have to support it. These genres are usually expressed in a "merging" language which always talks about the "we" without separating the ruling from the ruled. Even though these genres and texts serve the interests of the rulers, the ruled majority is usually more faithful to them and would parrot them even more than the ruling class.

Many types of texts are used in *Animal Farm* to achieve this purpose, especially ritualistic texts like the song of the revolution which came to be known as "Beasts of England"; the anthem that animals used to sing on Sunday mornings after hoisting the flag; and the speeches of Napoleon (the pig who appointed himself ruler of all animals) on formal occasions. In addition to that, there are also the slogans invented by fans of the revolution which were later used by the pigs to consume the labor of animals and abort their objection. For instance, the mule Boxer has two mottos, "Napoleon is always right," and "I will work harder." Furthermore, there are the regular songs at the end of Sunday meetings, and, finally, the Seven Commandments which represented the farm's constitution after the rebellion. However, they were reduced after the anti-revolution to only one Commandment, namely, "Four legs good, two legs bad"!

We can illustrate how merging happens by citing an example from the novella: Squealer, the pig, whose job is as a minister of propaganda, justifies Napoleon's actions – reducing the rations of all animals except those of the pigs and the dogs – claiming that "a too rigid equality in rations would have been contrary to the principles of Animalism" (p. 86). At the beginning of the rebellion and before the pigs hijacked power, all the animals were equal, and they had issued what they called "Principles of Animalism" which included the values representing the world they wanted to establish, e.g. animals' rights to justice, liberty and equality. However, after the pigs had taken over, those principles were misused, and the pigs came up with new principles that serve their own interests and deprive other animals of their rights. Those new principles were introduced as the principles of all animals in order to legitimize and impose them, even though they serve only the pigs' interests.

2. Creating an imaginary world that exists only in words and introducing it as if it were the reality. This fictional world propagates the idea that nothing can be better than what actually is. This is why it stands in complete contrast with the real world. However, this function is achieved by:

A) Using euphemisms; e.g. "Squealer always spoke of it as a "readjustment," never as a "reduction" (p. 108) (Rodríguez González, 1992).

B) Naming or renaming things and individuals in order to obtain authority, or to steal it from others. In *Animal Farm*, huge projects are named after President Napoleon even though other animals exerted strenuous efforts to build them, like the windmill. An example of using titles to shape others' awareness of history is Napoleon's alteration of Snowball's title. Although he is the pig who planned, led, and defended the revolution and was awarded the "Animal Hero" medal in recognition of his heroism, Napoleon killed, or otherwise banished, him after rivalry over authority, and dubbed him "the Traitor" even though he had used to call him "comrade".

C) Employing vague and self-contradictory mottos and maxims such as "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others" (p. 126), and the motto that Napoleon used in his electoral campaign, "vote for Napoleon and the full manager" (p. 62).

D) Attributing actions to wrong individuals: Napoleon is given credit for all good works, real or possible achievements, true or false victory while all mistakes, defeats, failures, and evils are blamed on his (dead?) predecessor.

Language does not only create such a fictional world, but it promotes it and stabilizes it as well. This is achieved through using persuasive techniques involving a lot of fallacies and using numbers to compare the status quo with the past (before the revolution). This is clearly illustrated in the following passage where Squealer justifies the pigs' decision to reduce the rations of other animals:

Meanwhile, life was hard. The winter was as cold as the last one had been, and food was even shorter. Once again all rations were reduced, except those of the pigs and the dogs. Too rigid equality in rations, Squealer explained, would have been contrary to the principles of Animalism. In any case, he had no difficulty in proving to the other animals that they were not in reality short of food, whatever the appearances might be. For the time being, certainly, it had been found necessary to make a readjustment of rations (Squealer always spoke of it as a "readjustment," never as a "reduction"), but in comparison with the days of Jones, the improvement was enormous. Reading out the figures in a shrill, rapid voice, he proved to them in detail that they had more oats, more hay, more turnips than they had had in Jones's day, that they worked shorter hours, that their drinking water was of better quality, that they lived longer, that a larger proportion of their young ones survived infancy, and that they had more straw in their stalls and suffered less from fleas. The animals believed every word of it. Truth to tell, Jones and all he stood for had almost faded out of their memories (p. 108).

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Persuasive techniques in this passage include semantic ambiguity, e.g. distinguishing between "apparent reduction" and "real reduction" (of rations); employing euphemisms as in using the word "readjustment" instead of "reduction"; as well as using many comparatives in order to show that the "now" is better than the past, etc.

3. Exploiting speech acts like threatening, promising, silencing and suppressing, etc. The most striking example of this is Squealer's repeated use of rhetorical questions to the animals whenever they show any sign of objection, resentment, or complaint: "Surely, comrades... there is no one among you who wants to see Jones come back?" (pp. 51). This question, which implies threatening, closes the discussion and ends any argument, and so it aborts any possibility of objection, complaint, or resentment.

4. Aborting the chances of the ruled animals to protest the actions or words of the ruling animals. There is a scene that is repeated all over the novella where a linguistic tool is employed to silence any impending opposition. In this scene, four goats, who are the choir of the ruler, bleat two or more sentences repeatedly for a long time the moment an opposing animal is about to speak up, protest, criticize or show the mistakes in the pigs' practices or words. The goats continue to bleat the song till the protester misses the chance to protest and resorts to silence. Protesters cannot stop the bleated song, because it praises the values and maxims that the animals cannot reject. After all, it is the anthem of the farm which summarizes the commandments of "animal revolution" and the principles of "Animalism". This anthem is chanted by all the animals, individually or chorally. Therefore, rejecting it will be regarded as a betrayal of the revolution's principles. The bleating of the goats is an example of the passive responses that enhance authoritarian discourse.

Another linguistic trick used in the novella to undermine the addressee's responses and resistance to authority is using vague words which, because the listeners are ignorant of their meanings, are taken for granted without any questioning. In Chapter 5 of the novella, Squealers justifies Napoleon's advocacy of building the windmill even though he himself had previously "spoken so strongly against it" when it was proposed by his rival, Snowball.

This, said Squealer, was something called tactics. He repeated a number of times, "Tactics, comrades, tactics!" skipping round and whisking his tail with a merry laugh. The animals were not certain what the word meant, but Squealer spoke so persuasively, and the three dogs who happened to be with him growled so threateningly, that they accepted his explanation without further questions" (p. 68).

5. Using language to establish social inequality; the self-proclaimed leader of all animals,

Napoleon was now never spoken of simply as "Napoleon." He was always referred to in formal style as "our Leader, Comrade Napoleon," and these pigs liked to invent for him such titles as Father of All Animals, Terror of Mankind, Protector of the Sheep-fold, Ducklings' Friend, and the like" (p. 93).

These titles aim to distinguish Napoleon from other animals, although this fact is denied by Napoleon, for according to Squealer, "No one believes more firmly than Comrade Napoleon that all animals are equal" (p. 66). Titles also define the relationship between Napoleon and other weaker animals; all his titles revolve around him being the "Big Brother".

Pigs' language

The reader of *Animal Farm* can recognize the role of the pigs' language in establishing their authority and hegemony; creating the legend of the totalitarian leader; enhancing his dictatorship and paralyzing others' to resist or protest. The language of pigs in *Animal Farm* is a realistic example of deception and trickery, and at the same time, it is the main tool of oppression. When language cannot deceive others, it is used to oppress them. What really seems tragic in this novella is the ability of the pigs' language to control other animals' actions, shape their worldview, and the persistence of this control without any hope of resistance. What is really surprising is not the ability of the pigs' language to deceive and oppress, but the easiness with which other animals submit. Perhaps the reason behind this vulnerability to deception is the personal qualities of the animals in the novella, e.g. ignorance, weak memory, absolute trust in language, namely the relative absence of doubting and reasoning what is said to them.

Corrupting language and the world

In 1946, two years after the publication of *Animal Farm*, Orwell published his essay, "Politics and the English Language" where he introduced his ideas on the kind of political language that was used worldwide during and after World War II. This short essay attracted the interest of political language researchers over the following decades.

Although the essay was published more than half a century ago, many topics therein are still being researched. Most of the findings and views are still acceptable and applicable. The essay, which does not exceed 14 middle-sized pages, discusses many aspects of the relationship between language and politics.

The Orwellian approach to political language is based on his awareness of the mutual relationship between language and thought on one hand, and language and the ruling regime on the other. This approach entails clear identification of the functions of political language; how it performs these functions; the effects which result from its usage; as well as how to resist it and reform it.

Orwell believes that corrupt language produces corrupt thought and vice versa. This also applies to the relationship between language and the nature of the ruling regime which made him assume that German, Russian, and Italian,

too must have deteriorated under dictatorships during and before World War II. Orwell concludes with a rule stating, "When the general atmosphere is bad, language must suffer" (Orwell, 1946, p. 364).

This link between language and the ruling regime is so clear in the service political language offers to dictatorships. When "political speech and writing are generally in defense of the indefensible", this leads to the conclusion that language that can "make lies sound truthful" becomes an inevitable tool for the continuation of these dictatorships and regimes. This also leads to strengthening this corrupt, deceptive language which becomes dominant so much that it overruns good, clear language. The conflict between deceptive and genuine language is not fair because dictatorships support the former, and this leads to the emergence of a dictatorial language that excludes and silences other discourses.

Dictatorial language can achieve its essential function, i.e. "defending the indefensible" by using linguistic techniques such as euphemism (Rodríguez González, 1992), sheer cloudy vagueness, as well as stale or mixed images, convoluted, long words and exhausted idioms, etc. These are some of the linguistic and rhetorical characteristics that mark corrupt political discourse to which one turns instinctively "When there is a gap between one's real and one's declared aims" (p. 364). Orwell gives examples of these techniques:

Defenseless villages are bombarded from the air, the inhabitants driven out into the countryside, the cattle machine-gunned, the huts set on fire with incendiary bullets: this is called *pacification*. Millions of peasants are robbed of their farms and sent trudging along the roads with no more than they can carry: this is called *transfer of population* or *rectification of frontiers*. People are imprisoned for years without trial, or shot in the back of the neck or sent to die of scurvy in Arctic lumber camps: this is called *elimination of unreliable elements*.

These phenomena shroud political discourse with a vagueness which, Orwell believes, results from insincerity. He states, "When there is a gap between one's real and one's declared aims, one turns as it were instinctively to long words and exhausted idioms" (p. 264). The vagueness of political discourse leads to the obscurity of concepts and ideas, and hence, the inability to resist dangerous ones. Orwell shapes this result in the question, "Since you don't know what Fascism is, how can you struggle against Fascism?" Moreover, the lack of clear definitions divests words from their meanings. This is the aim of politicians who link certain words like *democracy* and *freedom* with positive feelings which are recalled in all contexts where these words are used without any need to tie them down to one clear definition that can deprive them of any twisted use. The same applies to words that politicians want to debase: they use them in negative contexts without any clear-cut definition. According to Orwell, this process is an abuse of language and dishonest exploitation of its words.

Orwell believes that metaphors destroy the main aim of metaphor which is to trigger your mental visual images. This is because stale metaphors are based on clashing and mixed concepts that do not produce any mental image. As

an example of these mixed metaphors, he cites: "The Fascist octopus has sung its swan song" (p. 361), stating that such metaphors hinder the reader from making any mental effort because they leave no room for thinking and lead to the vagueness of meaning.

Orwell starts his essay, "Politics and the English Language" with an ethical judgment, describing political writings as bad. He also states that the decadence of the English language is one cause of political chaos the world at his time lived in. Therefore, he believes that reforming political language could be the first step towards reforming politics. He seems so optimistic about people's ability to cure "the decay of language", as he puts it, even though he is aware that no one can influence the general development, tone, and spirit of language, and that what can be "cured" is the details. This optimism is perhaps explained by his trust in the role of conscious resistance and action of a minority.

Orwell's approach to linguistic reform depends basically on ridiculing corrupt linguistic features as far as people can, citing a successful experience at his time when a few journalists managed to rid the English language from some common expressions through continuous jeers. Orwell also suggests some linguistic features to be dropped out of the language, e.g. strayed scientific words, Latin and Greek vocabulary and stale metaphors. He also provides a practical example of these features, recommending getting rid of the "not un-" formation which was common in his time.

The Orwellian approach has laid the foundations for other critical approaches to political language. His novel *1984* has repeatedly been described as a prophecy (Franklin, H, Burnham, D & R. Waldron, 1986; Sabha, 2015). His essay "Politics and the English Language" can be described as inspiring. Some aspects of this essay's significance are its humanistic and noble aims and its vibrant spirit of fighting oppression and tyranny. The essay abounds in ideas that continue to stir rich discussions and arguments.

The last seven decades which separate us from Orwell have revealed that using language in our real life is not less atrocious and gruesome than using it in his dystopian world. What is really distressing is, it seems, that modern dictatorships, which dominate great parts of today's world and which show off their apparent democracies as models to be followed, have perhaps benefited the most from Orwell's dystopian worlds and writings. Orwell has intended his writings to be an awakening call and a warning against what a world based on oppression and linguistic deception can come to. However, it seems that those who made the most benefit of his works are the impostors who managed to reproduce real Orwellian worlds not less horrible than his fictional dystopias.

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[1] See, for instance, the July 1998 Radcliff Publishing House Ranking of the best hundred novels written in English in the 20th century where Orwell's *1984* ranked number 8, whereas *Animal Farm* ranked number 16. The two novels also featured in Sullivan University Library's ranking of the best 100 novels of the 20th Century. Moreover, the World Book Day website "<http://www.worldbookday.com/>" conducted a survey on March 27th, 2007 to choose the 10 books without which Britons cannot live. 2000 people participated in the survey where *1984* ranked eighth.