Person Deixis as Biased Political Pronouns in George W. Bush's Speeches on Iraqi War II

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Abstract

Misrepresentation and manipulation in discourse can be weapons of mass deception. As politicians rely on language as their tool of trade, language users may opt for a language game to achieve their political ends. This is, in fact, the objective of the present study that focuses on the manipulation of person deixis in political discourse. The current research paper sheds light on the perception of Arabs and Muslims from a western perspective. More specifically, the speeches of George W. Bush, delivered between March 2003 and June 2004, and related to Iraqi War II, are analyzed within Fairclough's socio-cultural approach to CDA. The results of this study show that the use of political pronouns in G. W Bush's speeches reflects a WE\THEY dichotomy that divides the referents into pro-US and anti-US groups. The selection of pronouns distorts the truth and misrepresents the referents by allocating negative\pejorative words to them and categorizing them as proliferators of weapons of mass destruction. This research analyzes political pronouns in discourse within the framework of CDA and explains how person deixis is used in a language game to deceive public opinion.

1. INTRODUCTION

Person deixis may function communicatively to uncover the speaker's attitude and 'social standing' (Wilson, 1990, p. 46). The use of the pronominal system highlights the political and ideological backgrounds on which politicians base their political discourse. Pronouns can be distributed in discourse to serve the politicians' political agendas as well as their ends (Van Dijk, 2004). This pronominal manipulation may establish distal\proximal relations between the speaker and the people involved in her discourse. The speaker can distance herself from the events and issues that are discussed in text and talk (Chilton, 2004; Marmaridou, 2000; Wilson, 1990). The study of political pronouns is pertinent to the present research because it uncovers the kind of relations between the different referents, in this case, G. W. Bush and Saddam Hussein, in particular, and the USA and the Iraqi regime, in general, during Iraqi War II (2003-2004). This relational structure may unveil the biased attitude of the ex-US president and uncover the deceptive language he uses to manipulate the audience.

The present study aims to answer the following questions:

a) What experiential, relational and expressive values does person deixis have in G. W. Bush's discourse?

b) How is person deixis manipulated to misrepresent Arabs and Muslims in Bush's discourse?

c) Does discourse sustain or alter the existing social structures?

d) How do political pronouns reveal the speaker's biased attitude and hidden agenda?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Person Deixis

Generally, there are three kinds of person deictics: first-person deictic - or the speaker, second-person deictics - or the hearer, and third-person deictics, which refer to people or things that are not involved in the communicative event. Table 1 illustrates the different person deictics and their variants:

Table 1. Person Deictics and their Variants

Person deictics	Their variants
I	My, me, myself
You	Your, yours, yourself(ves)
He	His, him, himself
She	Her, herself
It	Its, itself
They	Their, them, themselves
We	Our, us, ourselves

The following sub-sections will examine the three types of person deixis, namely first, second and third person deictics, along with the unspecified references 'one' and 'it'.

2.1.1. First-person deixis

First-person deictics include both the singular pronoun 'I' that refers to the speaker and the plural pronoun 'we' that identifies the speaker and people with her. First-person singular is also expressed through its variants 'my, me and mine', while first-person plural is expressed via its variants 'our, us and ours' (Joly, 1973). First-person singular is important since it encodes the speaker's commitment to what she says or does. It also signals her involvement in the communicative event (Wilson, 1990). The pronoun 'I' refers to the role played by the speaker. Similarly, the first-person plural is a crucial deictic feature used by politicians to achieve personal and political goals (Marmaridou, 2000; Wilson, 1990). The pronoun 'we' includes not only the speaker but also the addressees involved in the speech event.

'We' can be both 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' (Marmaridou, 2000, p. 76). Politicians use the 'inclusive we' to engage themselves and hearers to what is said or done. However, they opt for the 'exclusive we' to distance themselves, on the one hand, and commit participants to the discussed issue, on the other (Wilson, 1990, p. 62). Unlike the inclusive 'we', which marks social proximity between the speaker and the hearers, the exclusive 'we' widens the social distance between them. This is especially when politicians want to separate themselves from the institutional and governmental view (Marmaridou, 2000; Wilson, 1990). When it comes to political discourse, the pronominal 'we' can be a powerful tool for politicians to serve political goals. They can use the inclusive 'we' to guarantee the help and support of their communities. However, they may opt for the exclusive 'we' to avoid blame and criticism and assume less responsibility for wrongly taken decisions.

2.1.2. Second-person deixis

The presence of the speaker 'I' presupposes the presence of her deictic counterpart that is the hearer or the addressee. As such, a 'you' depends on the presence of an 'I'. In English, 'you' refers to second person singular and second person plural. It can be expressed by other deictic features, like 'your, yours and yourself' (Joly, 1973; Triki, 1989). 'You' may not encode reference to a specific addressee, and then may replace impersonal pronouns (Marmaridou, 2000). It may also be inclusive and means 'we' when connected with 'I'. The use of pronouns

'brings the addressees closer to the speaker's self and distances others' (Triki & Sellami Baklouti, 2002, p. 144). As such, the direct second person establishes a proximal relationship or 'a common bond' between the speaker and the hearers. Such a close relationship between the addresser and the addressees can be both physical and psychological.

It is important to mention the notion of 'proximization' that is employed by Chilton (2004) and Cap (2008). With reference to Cap (2008), proximization is a rhetorical strategy that is used by the speaker to depict 'the occurring events and their actors as directly affecting the addressee' (p. 29). The involvement of the hearer minimizes the distance between the speaker and the interlocutors. This can also be construed as a 'legitimization' policy used by the speaker to influence the audience and justify her actions via the selection of person deixis (Cap, 2008). This spatial framework produces proximization effects and narrows the distance between the addressee and the deictic center. This idea, however, presupposes that the opposite can be true in a different context. Indeed, 'you' can be used to show distance from the speaker or the center. This enhances the possibility of removing 'you' to the periphery, a place that is physically, psychologically and mentally remote from the 'ego' (Marmaridou, 2000, p. 100). Consequently, the pronominal choice may serve as a distancing strategy to depict 'you' as absolutely different from 'I'.

As the present study focuses on George W. Bush's speeches on Iraqi War II, 'you' may refer to American citizens, soldiers or allies, Saddam Hussein, Iraqi people or terrorists in general. Therefore, decoding the relational system, which is embedded in the function of 'you' in political discourse and based on 'Proximity\ Distance' or 'Near\Far' dichotomies (Cap, 2008; Wilson, 1990), helps to clarify the kind of relationships between Bush and the audience. This also reveals whether the hearers are friends or enemies, or whether they are supporters of Bush's policy or opponents of the U.S. intervention in Iraq.

2.1.3. Third-person deictics (he /she/they)

Third-person deictics can be identified in English by the third-person singular 'he' or 'she' and their variants 'his, him, himself' and 'her, herself', or by the third-person plural 'they' and its deictic markers 'their, them and themselves' (Joly, 1973; Triki, 1989). The third person pronoun may refer to humans, animal entities, or objects (Chalker, 1984). Generally, third person deictics refer to neither the speaker nor the addressee, but to people or things outside an interaction. Third-person pronoun is also considered as absent or excluded from the situation of an utterance. In terms of its relation to first person singular, Triki (1989, p. 26) revises Joly's (1973) view and considers the third person as 'the 'pure not-I, doubly distanced from 'I', yet necessarily presupposing 'I' for its very definition'.

Third-person pronouns are, generally, used by the speaker to distance herself from others. The speaker does not distance herself from the addressees only, but distances herself from the ideas and beliefs adopted by others (Wilson, 1990). This leads to another dichotomy, namely a 'we\they' dichotomy. The latter enhances the 'center vs. periphery' dichotomy with 'we' in the center of the speech event and 'they' in the periphery. 'We' signals proximity and closeness, whereas 'they' indicates remoteness and distance from the center (Wilson, 1990). In this context, deixis corresponds to an 'Idealized Cognitive Model' (ICM) that suggests an image-schematic structure based on a Center vs. Periphery dichotomy (Marmaridou, 2000, p. 100). According to this schema, the center is more important than the periphery. Besides, the periphery always depends on the center. 'I', or the 'ego', is viewed as the center; hence the term 'egocentricity', with the pronoun 'we', whereas 'he' or 'they' deictics are removed to the periphery. This evokes another image schema proposed by Johnson (1987), namely 'Near\Far' schema. The speaker is perceived as 'spatially' as near, while the 'others' are mentally mapped or localized in the margin (Marmaridou, 2000, p. 100).

Pronouns are also used as 'in-group' or 'out-group markers' in political discourse (Van Dijk, 2004, p. 10). This pronominal division shows conflict and disagreement between different groups that have different political attitudes and biased personal representations about the members of other groups. More specifically, "political speeches, interviews, programs or propaganda typically focus on the preferred topics of 'our' group or party, on what we have done well, and associates political opponents with negative topics, such as war, violence, drugs, lack of freedom, and so on" (Van Dijk, 2004, p.10). The speaker, therefore, relates everything positive to the self and everything negative to the opponents or others.

2.1.4. One/it pronouns

Third impersonal pronouns 'one' and 'it' are considered as generic subjects that encode no participant roles. Drawing upon Rees' pronominal scale (1983), it is important to note that the choice of the pronominal 'it' signals a more distancing strategy than when choosing 'he, she, or they' (Wilson, 1990). The same applies to the definite and indefinite 'one', which can be used in political discourse for distancing purposes. Like other pronouns, these unspecified referents may minimize the role of the speaker and keep the producer of the utterance unknown to the audience. These pronouns are also used as a means of avoidance when the pronoun 'one' is used instead of 'I' to designate 'an unspecified group of people that paradigmatically includes the speaker' (Frajzyngier, 2006, p. 520). The replacement of the first person singular by the indefinite reference 'one' is a linguistic tool used by the speaker to assume less responsibility for her utterances.

The study of personal pronouns in a political context may be fruitful since the manipulation of political pronouns reveals the kind of relationships between politicians and the audience (Wilson, 1990), and politicians and referents in political discourse. The pronominal choice measures the distance between the speaker and other people, as it pictures the speaker's view of the addressees, people with them and people against them (Van Dijk, 2004). Such a distance may encode a sense of exclusion and rejection of those who are our opponents, and recognition and inclusion of those who are our supporters. This entails a mental mapping of entities according to specific criteria. For instance, in political discourse, people may be framed or categorized on ideological, cultural or ethnic bases (Bednarek, 2005; Van Dijk, 2004). They may be mentally localized as proximal to the center or distal from it. Since the center is the speaker, or 'I', these entities, or political, cultural or ethnic groups, are perceived in terms of another entity that is the speaker (Marmaridou, 2000). This stereotypical categorization of people emanates from the shared mental models that entail 'positive self-presentation' and 'negative other-presentation' (Van Dijk, 2004, p.12). This framing may be social, cultural, political, ideological, geographical, etc. (Bednarek, 2005).

In short, the pronominal selection in discourse is very significant since it structures the relationship between participants and helps to uncover the attitude of the speaker and her views of events, objects, people and the world around her.

2.2. Socio-cultural Approach to Discourse Analysis

What prompts the use of Fairclough's model (1989, 1992a, 1995) is the view that CDA aims at revealing the hidden link between text, or the linguistic description of texts, and social context, or the description of social structures, relations, and practices via both linguistic and social analyses. Fairclough's model is a three-dimensional approach as it encompasses three levels of analysis, namely textual description, interpretation of the link between the discursive processes of production and interpretation of the text, and explanation of the link between the discursive processes and social processes.

Figure 1 schematizes the dialectical relationship between the different levels of analysis:
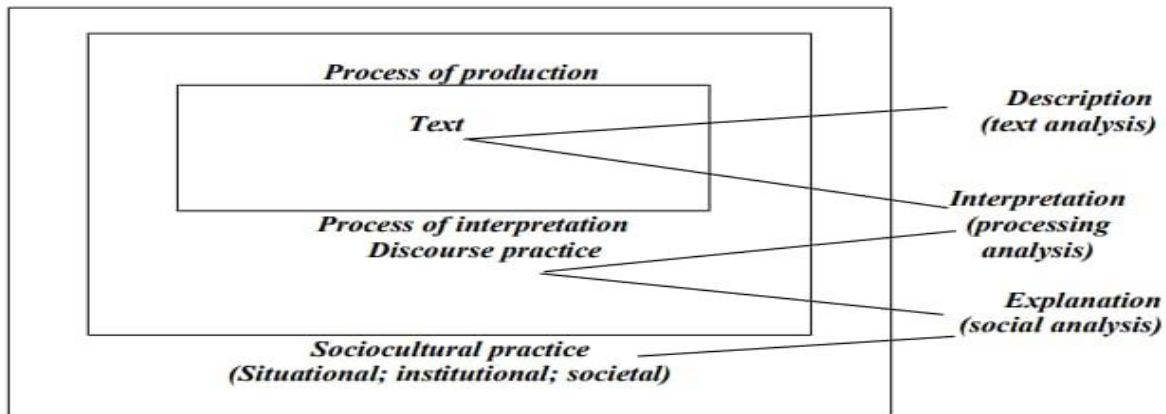

Figure 1. Diagrammatic Representation of the Three Dimensional Concept of Discourse (Fairclough, 1995)

As figure 1 shows, the first stage of analysis corresponds to 'description', which is concerned with the identification of the linguistic features relevant to the study. These text's formal features are crucial because they reveal the experiential, relational and expressive values. Experiential values deal with the way the writer or the speaker experiences the world. Relational values show how social relations are enacted in the text. However, expressive values indicate how subjects are positioned in the text and how their social identities are referred to. The first stage is illustrated in table 2.

Table 2. Formal Features: Experiential, Relational and Expressive Values (Adopted from Fairclough, 1989, p. 112)

Dimensions of meaning	Values of features	Structural effects
Contents Relations Subjects	Experiential Relational Expressive	Knowledge/beliefs Social relations Social identities

At the descriptive level, the focus is on linguistic features. At the interpretation level of analysis, however, the focus is on discursive practices or discourse processes, namely text production and text interpretation, and their dependence on participants' background assumptions or members' resources (MR). Thus, the analyst has to draw upon both 'what is in the text and what is 'in' the interpreter' (Fairclough, 1989, p. 141). At the explanation level, one has to investigate power relations and social struggles at the societal, institutional and situational levels. More specifically, one has to examine MR that are related to ideologies, like assumptions about culture, social relations and social identities encoded in participants' MR (Fairclough, 1989).

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Corpus

The corpus of the present study is a collection of speeches delivered by the ex-US president George W. Bush. The corpus consists of 78 speeches that are downloaded from http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases. These speeches are selected after deleting all the speech parts that do not deal with the Iraqi issue. Bush's speeches are organized according to the date/month of delivery during a period that is limited between March 2003 and June 2004.

3.2 Research instrument

Simple Concordance Program (SCP) will do the quantitative analysis of person deixis in the corpus. SCP identifies the occurrence of keywords, the context in which these words are used and their frequencies in a text. It also enables the user to find references, such as page numbers and line numbers, where certain words appear in the text.

3.3 Data Analysis and interpretation
A- Description
1- What experiential values does person deixis have?

To answer this question, we have to make word frequency lists of personal pronouns in the corpus.
2- What relational values does person deixis have?
One has to examine the distribution of person deixis in the corpus in terms of their relational values. The use of person deictics shows how relations between participants are enacted in discourse.
3- What expressive values does person deixis have?
The analyst has to focus on the expressive values of person deictics, mainly the negative or positive evaluations collocated with some political pronouns via the analysis of the lexical items around them.
B- Interpretation
The second level consists of interpreting the situational and inter-textual contexts, along with member resources or MR[1].
C- Explanation
The third level necessitates the investigation of power relations and social struggle between participants at the societal, institutional and situational levels or facets[2].

4. FINDINGS
This section is devoted to describing, interpreting and explaining the findings of the present research.
4.1 . Description
4.1.1.   Experiential values of person deixis in the corpus.
With the help of SCP as an analytic instrument, the experiential values of person deictics will be analyzed via the study of their distributions in the corpus. What follows is a word frequency list of person deictics in the corpus:

I: 86 I, 15 my, 8 me, 1 myself.   It: 78 it, 20 its, 4 itself
You: 34 you, 16 your, 2 yourself   They: 102 they, 80 their, 39 them, 4 themselves
He: 51 he, 28 his, 4 him, 1 himself   We: 345 we, 206 our, 26 us, 0 ourselves
She: 0

The variants of each person deictic are gathered in one category. The word frequency lists are converted to table 3:

Table 3. Frequency Distributions of Person Deixis in the Corpus

Person deictic	Frequency
I	110
You	52
He	84
She	0
It	102
They	225
We	577

According to the data shown in table 3, the first-person plural 'we' is the most frequent pronoun (577), and third-person plural pronoun 'they' (225) comes second. The impersonal pronoun 'it' can be classified as fourth (102) after the first-singular pronoun 'I' (110). Second-person singular and plural pronoun 'you' (52) and the third-person singular pronoun 'he' (84) are also prevalent in the corpus. What is important to note is that Bush's speeches are based on a 'We' versus 'They' dichotomy. 'We' refers to the ex-US president in 2003-2004, the U.S. government, American people and pro-American countries at that time, especially coalition partners. However, most uses of 'they' refer to the Iraqi regime, led by the ex-Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, Iraqi people and terrorists in general.

4.1.2. Relational values of person deictics in the corpus.

To consider the relational values of person deixis in the corpus, the focus has to be on how relations are established between referents through the investigation of the ex- president's manipulation of person pronouns and their variants. The analysis will focus on the use of 'I/He' and 'We/They' to identify the kind of relationships between them. The person deictic 'you' will also be analyzed to examine the relation between the speaker and the addressees. As for the impersonal pronoun 'it', G. W. Bush's perception of Iraq and Saddam's regime will be highlighted.

While examining the singular person deictics 'I' and 'he', one has to focus on whether the speaker refers to a friend or an enemy when she uses the third-person singular masculine pronoun 'he'. Table 4 displays the distribution of the pronouns 'I' and 'he' in the corpus:

Table 4. Distributions of 'I' and 'he' Items in the Corpus

I = 110		HE = 84			
Referent	**Item**	**Categorization**	**Referents**	**Frequency**	**Total**
G.W. Bush	I 86	The U.S. enemy = 55	Saddam Hussein	He: 31	54
				His: 22	
				Himself: 1	
	My 15		The enemy	He: 1	1
	Me 8		Tony Blair	He: 1	1
	Myself 1		P.M. Allawi	He: 7	12
				His: 3	
				Him: 2	
		The U.S. friend = 29	General Abizaid	He: 5	5
			Ambassador Bremer	He: 1	1
			Ayatollah	He: 2	5
				His: 3	
				Him: 0	
			U.S. General in Fallujah	He: 1	1
			John Negroponte	He: 2	2
			The Iraqi Defense Minister	Him: 2	2

As table 4 shows, 'I' and its variants are repeated 110 times. Reference to the ex-Iraqi president is, however, conveyed through the third person singular pronoun 'he' (31) and its variants 'his' (22) and 'himself' (1). The American President uses 'he' deictic 54 times in the

corpus to refer to Saddam Hussein, like in (a) 'He is a danger to his neighbors. He is a sponsor of terrorism'. The same pronoun 'he' is used 29 times to refer to America's loyalists, such as Tony Blair (1), the Iraqi Prime Minister Allawi (12), General Abizaid (5) and the Iraqi Defense Minister (2), who represent members of post-war Iraqi government. Other 'he' items refer to the U.S. officials, like Ambassador Bremer (1), the U.S. General in Fallujah (1) and John Negroponte (2), who was appointed by Bush as the U.S. envoy to Iraq. The remaining items (5) refer to Ayatollah Hakim, who was exiled by the ex-Iraqi leader and was assassinated by Saddam's followers after the collapse of the regime.

As far as the plural pronouns 'we' and 'they' are concerned, the analyst has to highlight the 'We/They' dichotomy. The first-person plural deictic 'we' serves to designate the American community, its allies and friends. 'We' is depicted as the opposite of 'they', or the enemies. As one can notice in Appendix I, 'we' (577) designates different referents. Most first person plural deictics refer to either the ex-U.S. president and coalition nations or forces (255), or the American ex-president, troops and people (253). This is illustrated in (b) 'This is a fight we will win. We are being tested in Iraq'. 32 items refer to Bush and the members who signed the PSI3 or launched the IAEA4. The 'we' inclusive of America's friends and the civilized world is used 19 times, as in (c) 'The murders in Madrid are a reminder that the civilized world is at war. Each of these attacks on the innocent is a shock and a tragedy, and a test of our will'. Other occurrences of the inclusive 'we' are opted for 3 times to invite the international community to join the U.S. process of liberating Iraq.

Additionally, the data shown in Appendix 1 reveal the unequal distribution of the third person plural deictic 'they' (225). Nearly, one half of 'they' items refer to terrorists and enemies, like in (d) 'They're terrorists'. 59 items refer to Iraqi civilians, as in (e) 'They're beginning to understand that they need to step up and be responsible citizens if they want to live in peace and a free society', while 18 deictics refer to coalition troops, especially American soldiers in Iraq. Only 4 instances refer to congressmen, while the remaining occurrences refer to non-personal entities, like weapons of mass destruction (9) and nuclear threats (3).

The presence of 'I' presupposes or necessitates the existence of 'you'. In the corpus, the person deictic 'you' is used 52 times, as illustrated in table 5.

*Table 5. **Distribution of 'You' Items in the Corpus***

You			
Referents	**Items**	**Number**	
Iraqis	-you -your	710	17
Rend al-Rahim	- you	2	2
Iraqi Symphony musicians	- you	1	1
American troops + veterans + people	-you -your	175	22
Journalists + T.V. reporters	-you -your -yourself	402	6
Saddam Hussein + the enemy + nuclear proliferators	- you	3	3
President Sorenson + American officials	- your	1	1
Total		**52**	

Table 5 shows that second-person deictic 'you' is used to refer to Iraqis (20), including Rend al-Rahim (2) and the Iraqi Symphony musicians (1). For instance, in (f) 'The nightmare that Saddam Hussein has brought to your nation will soon be over', G. W. Bush directly

addresses the Iraqi civilians to create feelings of solidarity with Iraqi people and persuade them to join his cause. Besides, 22 items address the U.S. troops and their families, American veterans and people, such as (g) 'You see, Iraq is recovering not just from weeks of conflict, but from decades of totalitarian rule'. Only 6 'you' items refer to journalists and T.V. reporters. What strikes the analyst's attention is that only 3 items are used by ex-president Bush to address Saddam Hussein, the enemy and nuclear weapons' proliferators, like in (h) 'Our message to proliferators must be consistent and it must be clear: We will find you, and we're not going to rest until you are stopped'. This can be explained by the speaker's willingness to devaluate the ex-leader of the fallen regime. This can also be explained by Bush's refusal of communicating with terrorists and proliferators. The choice of the pronoun 'they' instead of 'you' sets a 'distal' relationship that is based on a lack of dialogue between the speaker and the referents.

To unveil Bush's perception of non-personal entities, like Iraq and the Iraqi regime, the focus should be on the impersonal pronoun 'it'. Table 6 illustrates the distribution of 'it' items in the corpus.

*Table 6. **Distribution of 'It' Items in the Corpus***

It			Total
Referents	Items	Number	
Empty/no reference	- it	33	
The Iraqi regime	- it - its - itself	1 5 3	9
Iraq	- it - its - itself	3 6 0	9
Coalition + U.S. military + America	- it - its	3 2	5
Freedom+ a stable Iraq + Iraq's liberation	- it	9	9
U.N.	- it - its	4 4	8
Work in Iraq+ helping Iraqis + war on terror	- it - its	9 2	11
IAEA	- it - its	1 1	2
Others	- it - itself	15 1	16

(Total: 102)

As shown in Table 6, one third of the 'it' items (33) is empty in the corpus. Other items (16) refer to various objects and textual features. However, our concern will be about the non-person deictic 'it' that designates the Iraqi regime (9), such as (i) 'In areas still under its control, the regime continues its rule by terror'. The noun 'regime' is repeated 69 times, either in the singular or in the plural forms. The same number of instances is used to refer to Iraq. Similarly, an equal number of items (9) refers to freedom, Iraq's liberation, or the creation of a stable Iraq. 11 items are utilized to designate the U.S. mission in Iraq. The other occurrences of 'it' refer to the U.N. (8), the US, or the American military (5) and the IAEA. As one can notice, the relational values of person deictics demystify the perceptions of referents and the kind of

relationships between them; whether they are based on enmity or alliance. The following sub-section examines the expressive values of these features in the corpus.

4.1.3. Expressive values of person deictics in the corpus.

At this stage of analysis, one has to tackle the expressive values of person deixis. First, person deictics will be related to the lexical items that occur in proximity to them. The aim behind examining the lexical features is uncovering the positive or negative evaluation of referents and the speaker's bias against Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi regime. For instance, the ex-US president uses 'he' deictic 54 times in the corpus to refer to Saddam Hussein. Hussein is related to nouns, like 'dictator' (21), 'dictator's' (5), 'tyrant' (2), 'enemy' (22), 'danger' (9) and 'threat' (23), like in (j) 'The dictator of Iraq and his weapons of mass destruction are a threat to the security of free nations'. Hussein is then categorized as an enemy that endangers the U.S.A and the world peace. Being the perceptual center, Bush colors the truth and imposes his views of the world. Likewise, being the cognitive center, the ex-US president conceptualizes people, events and entities by performing a mental act of evaluation. His evaluations, like 'terrorist', 'criminal', 'dictator' and 'killers', are subjective since they are merely psychological and cognitive models that do not necessarily coincide with the experiential and real world.

According to Appendix 1, it is clear that the largest number of 'we' deictic (508) is used to refer to the US and its allies. Reference to coalition nations and their mission in Iraq is collocated with nouns, like 'democracy' (24), 'freedom' (90), 'justice' (21), 'peace' (54) and 'security' (41). This can be illustrated in (k) 'Together, we're helping the Iraqi people move steadily toward a free and democratic society'. One can also notice the repetition of adjectives, like 'democratic' (15), 'human' (13) and 'humanitarian' (6) to evaluate the US cause. From the prevalence of positive nouns and adjectives over negative ones, one can infer the dominance of the American voice over the terrorists' voice and the imposition of the US principles over the enemies'. By overusing words, such as 'democracy', 'freedom' and 'peace', Bush aims to defeat the adversary both linguistically and militarily. He makes use of both linguistic and physical force to achieve complete victory over his Iraqi rival and his regime.

After examining the descriptive stage and highlighting the experiential, relational and expressive values of person pronouns, one has to focus on the interpretative and explanatory levels of Fairclough's model.

4.2 . Interpretation

At the second stage of Fairclough's three-dimensional approach, the interpreter has to start with the interpretation of the situational context via the analysis of the external cues of particular situations in particular contexts. MR correspond to mental representations of both social and institutional orders that lead to ascribing a given situation to a particular context. Concerning the corpus of the present study, the most common institutional settings are 'presidency', 'politics', 'diplomacy' and 'media'. Consequently, the major situation types are those of delivery of speeches, press conferences and radio addresses delivered to the American people. It is crucial to point out that each situation type may involve one or more of the previously noted institutional settings. For instance, a press conference may include the four types of institutional settings that are presidency, politics, diplomacy and media together. Table 7 illustrates both the situational and institutional types that are found in the corpus as well as their frequency of occurrence:

Table 7. Frequency Distribution of Institutional Settings and Situation Types in the Corpus

Speech number	Institutional settings	Situation type	Frequency	Total
Speeches 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 20, 24	Presidency and politics	Speech delivery	14	
Speeches 15, 18, 22, 25, 26	Presidency, politics and diplomacy	Speech delivery	5	26
Speeches 1, 10, 17, 21, 23	Presidency, politics, diplomacy and media	Press conference Interview (23)	5	
Speeches 8, 14	Presidency and politics	Radio address	2	

One cannot, however, neglect participants' properties, since our concern is with political discourse as a socio-cultural practice that includes speaking. The person, who plays the role of the speaker, is George W. Bush. As the speech parts, where other participants intervene are omitted from the corpus, Bush is the only speaker, and participants, like Prime Minister Tony Blair, Prime Minister Barroso, President Aznar, Prime Minister Koisumi of Japan, are mere listeners. According to Fairclough (1992a, p.79), there are three types of audiences. First, the 'addressees', like the American armed forces, Iraqi people, American people, are directly addressed by the ex-US president. Second, the 'hearers', such as the American citizens, represent the audience who are not present, or who are indirectly addressed. Third, the 'over-hearers' are not part of the 'official audience', like Arab and middle-eastern countries and people who are concerned with issues in the Middle East.

In this regard, participants, in case of delivery of speeches, are the audience members whether addressees, hearers or over-hearers. In case of press conferences, journalists fill the position of the addressees. Other presidents, prime ministers or officials play the role of hearers, while American people and the world nations are supposed to be the over-hearers. Moreover, journalists are referred to as interviewers, and Bush is identified as the interviewee. As for radio addresses, Americans stand for the addressees, while over-hearers may be non-American listeners. After identifying the situational and institutional settings as well as the participants' properties at the interpretation level, one has to shed light on the last stage of Fairclough's approach to CDA.

4.3 . Explanation

To start with, the analysis of the social context of discourse suggests the study of the social structures that determine the discourse of the present corpus. This can be conducted through the study of power relations at the situational, institutional and societal levels. George W Bush, as the President of the U.S.A during Iraqi War II and the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. military forces at that time, exerts power over the hearers and shows authority over them by directing discourse to achieve strategic purposes. At the situational level, the president's authority is manifested in all situation types. He exercises power over the audience in speeches, radio addresses and press conferences. As the source of information, he controls the length of the speeches he delivers, limits the questions of the journalists, presses on clarity and organizes turn-taking between them.

Bush's power at the situational level reflects his power at the institutional level. In fact,

at the level of institutions, Bush is the commanding person, who makes decisions and exercises this institutional authority to enforce the accomplishment of these decisions. This subsequently indicates that Bush is in a position that allows him to play a very important role at the societal level. As the president of the United States of America during Iraqi War II, Bush is the most famous figure in America and one of the most important public figures worldwide. This also entails that power relations surpass the conventional situational, institutional and societal levels to manifest at the international and political levels. For Bush, the USA, as a superpower, has the right to settle order and peace overseas with the help of NATO's nations and can attack other nations to deter terrorists and hamper the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

The second step at the explanation level is the study of the ideological investment of MR. In this respect, one can notice that MR include the cultural assumptions as well as the representations about social identities that are determined by specific power relations. While examining the corpus of the present study, it has been noticed that Bush has drawn upon various MR, or ideologically invested assumptions. The ideological background of Bush, as information emitter and speech producer, has been uncovered through the use of particular adjectives and nouns that describe or refer to Saddam Hussein and his supporters, inside and outside Iraq. Consequently, Bush's control of discourse and the topics to be discussed grants him the opportunity to enhance his own opinion and perception of the world and the referents in his speeches. He, therefore, imposes his views and representations on listeners. These views encode assumptions about cultural, social, religious or socio-political aspects.

In this regard, the assumption that Saddam's regime is an outlaw government that promotes 'terror' and supports 'terrorist networks' is clear in Bush's discourse. Moreover, the view of Iraqis as proliferators of weapons of mass destruction is stressed, on several occasions. In addition, he presents the ex-Iraqi president Saddam Hussein as a 'tyrant', a 'dictator' and a 'criminal'. These nouns and adjectives encode ideological assumptions that aim to justify Bush's invasion of Iraq and his removal of Saddam's regime. These lexical features portray Saddam's loyalists and friends as 'cold-blooded killers', 'mass murderers', 'corrupt gangs', 'evil people', 'brutal regimes', the recruiters of hatred', 'trained torturers', 'violent thugs', 'groups of fanatics', 'an embittered few', the forces of murder and chaos' and the 'enemies of freedom'.

These value-laden lexical items serve as ideological tools, or manipulative instruments, to justify waging a war on Iraq in an age that was characterized by the rule of the international law and the prevalence of sovereign and independent nations. This also stresses the stereotypical categorization of Saddam followers as 'freedom haters' and Americans and pro-Americans as 'freedom promoters' and 'peacemakers'. This, subsequently, demystifies the widening gap between the opponents of democracy and the supporters of human rights. As such, Saddam and his supporters all over the world are framed as 'evil', while the USA and coalition nations are categorized as 'good' forces that fight evil powers in different parts of the globe. These representations are, therefore, ideologically invested to serve strategic and political purposes.

Ideology is an interest theory that serves personal, social, cultural, religious or political ends. Indeed, ideological frames are constructed by the US ex-president to create mental models with considerable amounts of background knowledge (See Chilton, 2004). Bush's language and his motives behind the war on Saddam Hussein are not transparent and neutral. His hidden agenda is to manipulate the understanding of the hearers to build cognitive models that prototypically feature Arabs and Muslims, who oppose the American policy in the Middle East, with ideologically, culturally and religiously grounded image schemas (See Collins & Glover, 2000). The ex-US president is, therefore, playing a language game that aims to deceive the recipients and exploit the manipulative function of language to dichotomize the world into two camps: 'WE' vs. 'THEY', or Bush's friends vs. his enemies.

5. DISCUSSION

After describing the findings of Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to discourse (1989, 1992a, 1995), the last part of the present study discusses the results with regard to the research questions. The first question relates to the experiential, relational and expressive values of person deixis. At the experiential level, the first person pronoun 'I' refers to Bush as the speaker, the information provider and the US president at that time. 'He' refers to Saddam Hussein as the enemy, or the leader of a terrorist regime. 'We' refers to Bush, his compatriots and supporters. When 'they' refers to the enemy, it is collocated with pejorative or derogatory expressions. This highlights the importance of nouns and adjectives because they reveal the speaker's representation of the experiential as well as perceptual worlds.

As for the relational values, person pronouns uncover the relations between G. W. Bush and Saddam Hussein, on the one side, and the USA and Iraq, on the other side. This can be made clear through the use of 'I\HE' and 'WE\THEY' dichotomies to widen the gap between the American president, as freedom promoter, and Saddam Hussein, as a dictator and a killer. This dual division of the world into 'We', or pro-Americans, and 'They', or anti-Americans, establishes a distal relationship between democratic countries and terrorist networks. Such a division is further demystified via the use of nouns and adjectives that set a contradiction between two spheres, or two poles that adopt different principles and have different cultural and political backgrounds.

Regarding the expressive value of person deixis in Bush's political discourse, one has to focus on the positive or negative evaluations they encode. The first person singular and plural pronouns 'I' and 'we' are evaluated as positive, whereas the third person singular pronoun 'he' that refers to the ex-Iraqi president is negatively presented. The same can be noted about the third person plural pronoun 'they', which refers to Saddam's loyalists and proliferators of weapons of mass destruction. Such a distinction is further clarified through the analysis of nouns and adjectives because they are classified into synonyms and antonyms. The opposition between the two camps is depicted via the use of antonymous words, such as friendship vs. enmity, democracy vs. dictatorship, peace vs. war, security vs. terror, tolerance vs. intolerance. 'I' and 'we' are allocated positive evaluations. However, 'he' and 'they' are collocated with derogatory and offensive words that deliberately ascribe negative characteristics to pro-Saddam's regime.

As for the manipulation of person pronouns, one can note that G. W. Bush overstates and exaggerates the danger of Saddam Hussein and his regime before and during Iraqi War II, like in (l) 'And by defending our own security, we are freeing the people of Iraq from one of the cruelest regimes on earth'. After the collapse of the Iraqi regime, the ex-US president marginalizes the opponents of the American intervention in Iraq and describes them as 'a few' dissidents, 'a ruthless few' etc., like in (m) 'Now, with the regime of Saddam Hussein gone forever, a few remaining holdouts are trying to prevent the advance of order and freedom'. In the first case, Bush magnifies the threat of Saddam's loyalists to guarantee the support of the world nations. In the second case, he minimizes their danger to convince the public opinion that the majority of Iraqis appreciates the fall of this oppressive regime.

G.W. Bush, therefore, opts for a language game to solicit ideologically driven and biased categorizations of Hussein and his followers. His main purpose is to reduce the understanding of the public opinion and drive the hearers to judge people and events from his perspective; that is through the subjective categorization and framing of Hussein and his regime as terrorists and nuclear proliferators. His goal is also to highlight the view that the American ideals and principles are in stark contrast with the ideals and principles of the Iraqi ex-leader and his

supporters. This imposition of the speaker's views sustains the existing unequal power relations between these two poles or parts of the world.

While studying the kind of relationships between participants in the corpus, it has been noticed that the speaker has, approximately, complete power over discourse practices. Indeed, George W. Bush, as the president of the USA in 2003-2004, controls both the distribution and choice of wordings and topics. As the information provider, he, sometimes, foregrounds given topics and backgrounds others to direct the audience's attention. In addition, he manages the time of his speech and allows other participants to take the turn to speak. He is also the person who decides whether to keep or reduce the distance between him and his partners, the military or journalists.

As for MR or the assumptions that participants draw upon while interpreting discourse, the aspects about culture, society and identities are ideologically tainted assumptions. For instance, assumptions about people, like Saddam Hussein, Ayatollah Hakim, and PM Allawi; about countries, in this case, Iraq; organizations, like al-Qaeda, Saddam's regime, are obvious in Bush's political discourse. They are ideologically invested to divide the world into two spheres and sustain the existing power relations between the superpowers and weaker countries.

Since the aim of the present study is uncovering G. W. Bush's biased representations of Iraq's ex-president Saddam Hussein, his regime and people, and the kinds of relationships that exist between them, one has to focus on Bush's manipulation of 'they' items as well as the referents' position vis-à-vis the speaker or the center. Bush is distinguishing between 'THEY = terrorists' and 'THEY = Iraqi civilians'. This distinction invites a 'NEAR-FAR' image schema that locates Iraqis in a nearer position than terrorists and Saddam's followers. This also suggests that 'WE' stands in the center, while 'THEY = terrorists' is moved to the periphery to establish a distal relationship with the enemy, like in (n) 'The terrorists are doing all they can to stop the rise of a free Iraq'. The same applies to 'WE' and 'HE' to show the stark contrast between the speaker and the enemy, like in (o) 'We are helping to rebuild Iraq, where the dictator built palaces for himself, instead of hospitals and schools for the people'.

Unlike the pronoun 'WE', which is depicted positively, 'THEY' referents are presented as 'terrorists' (61), 'criminals' (4), 'killers' (19), 'murderers' (4) and 'proliferators' (5), like in (p) 'When terrorists go on missions of suicide and murder, they defile the high ethical teachings of Islam, itself'. They are further qualified as 'dangerous' (12), 'brutal' (12), 'cruel' (6) and 'evil' (3) to enhance the semantic prosody of 'threat' and 'terror'. It is important to note that the previous nouns and adjectives are prototypical features that portray 'terrorists' or Saddam's followers. Iraqis (53) are, however, described as 'innocent' (20) people, while the U.S. and its partners are collocated with positive connotations and presented as peacemakers or missionaries. Consequently, Bush is drawing a clear distinction between 'they/terrorists' and 'they/Iraqi civilians'. Similarly, he stresses the relationship of belligerence between 'WE' and 'THEY' in terms of the value system adopted by each deictic category. 'THEY' is collocated with what is 'wrong' and 'false', whereas 'WE' is associated with what is 'right' and 'true'. Bush's discourse, therefore, enhances a dual vision of the world reflecting two values, or two ideologies.

Dealing with the non-person deictic 'it', a considerable number of 'it' items designates the Iraqi regime (9). The noun 'regime' is repeated 69 times, either in the singular or plural form, and it is collocated with negative words, like 'brutal', 'cruel', 'oppressive' and 'aggressive'. The same number of instances (9) is used to refer to Iraq, like in (q) 'But it is a world away from the tormented, exhausted and isolated country we found last year'. It is important to note that the noun 'Iraq' is frequently related to adjectives, like 'free' (103) and 'secure' (14); and nouns, such as 'peace' (54) and 'security' (41). This reveals the speaker's agenda in Iraq and the cause behind waging a war on Iraq under the pretext of the war on nuclear weapons.

In the light of the above results, and inspired by Chilton's (2004) spatial proximization, one can illustrate the relations between Bush and other referents as follows:
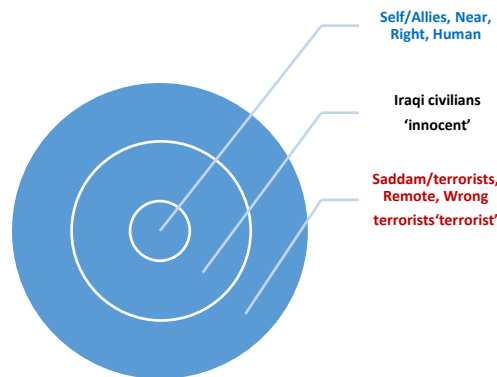

Self/Allies, Near,
Right, Human

Iraqi civilians
'innocent'

Saddam/terrorists,
Remote, Wrong
terrorists'terrorist'

*Figure 2. **George W. Bush's Psycho-Cognitive Spatial Proximization***

According to figure 2, Bush, or the ego, is situated in the center of the mental map. He is surrounded by his coalition partners and pro-American nations that joined the US cause. The environment around the center is mentally perceived as 'true', 'right', 'near' the self and 'human'. Being the cognitive source, Bush allocates his supporters positive values that represent the prototypical features of Americans and their allies. On the contrary, Saddam Hussein and his regime's loyalists are located in the periphery of this map. This mental mapping excludes 'they' or 'others', who are prototypically described as 'false', 'wrong', 'remote' and 'terrorists'. Moreover, this cognitive scale portrays Bush's friends as 'insiders' or the 'in-groups', while the Iraqi terrorists are depicted as 'outsiders', or the 'out-groups'. When he scalarizes his relations with his friends or his enemies, the American ex-president relies on shared knowledge that entails positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. These Idealized Mental Models (ICM) divide the world into right vs. wrong, true vs. false, human vs. inhuman, peace vs. terror, near vs. far, center vs. periphery, the civilized vs. the uncivilized and democracy vs. totalitarian regimes.

6. CONCLUSION

First, one can conclude that G. W. Bush's political pronouns are ideology laden. The ideological background is constructed by human minds on the bases of language use and the shared knowledge of both the ex-US president and other participants. Bush has succeeded to create biased mental representations about Saddam Hussein and the opponents of the US intervention in Iraq. These mental representations have pictured Saddam's loyalists as monolithic, fanatic criminals and murderers. This mental mapping entails a rejection of this category of people because Bush addresses terrorists and nuclear weapons' proliferators as a geopolitically versatile and distant group. In short, linguistic, political, socio-cultural and ideological perspectives have been intertwined to unmask the subjective tone of the ex-US president.

Person deixis gives a clear idea about how participants organize the world in terms of reference. As the pronominal distribution leads to a 'distance-proximity' dichotomy, this idea evokes an important characteristic of deixis, namely 'egocentricity', which defines the speaker as the deictic center around whom everything revolves. "He\They" referees are, however, in the periphery of the speech event. This deictic center moves from one referee to another to set 'Near\Far' image schemas. In addition, person deictics encode participant roles since the pronominal choice is influenced by the roles played by both the speaker and the hearers. As such, personal pronouns are biased political pronouns in political discourse.

While conducting the current research, some difficulties have been encountered. First,

Bush's speeches are very rich in terms of pronouns. A considerable period has been devoted to analyzing this huge quantity of data. Second, the referent 'we' is, in some instances, confusing because it is sometimes difficult to determine whether Bush refers to himself, American troops, or coalition forces. The present study attempts to investigate biased attitudes in political discourse via the analysis of political pronouns. However, the investigation of political pronouns and related lexical features represents one facet of a multifaceted approach to critical discourse analysis.

NOTES

1 See Fairclough's (1989) model for more details about the interpretative level.
2 See Fairclough's (1989) model more details about the explanation stage.
3 PSI stands for the Proliferation Security Initiative.
4 IAEA stands for the International Atomic Energy Agency.

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