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"…to meet our common challenge": ENGAGEMENT strategies of alignment and alienation in current US international discourse

In a recent paper (2002), Candlin puts forth the following proposition:

> In my view, one of the most significant challenges that now faces the description of languages (discourses) for professional or special purposes is the delineation of these different [co-adaptive alignment, contradictory or supportive] strategies, especially in terms of any association they may have with particular professional groups or with particular sites of engagement. (2002: 31)

This paper directly engages this challenge, with specific reference to the post-9/11/01 global site of political power struggle which, it is argued, 1) is currently being actively constructed, first and foremost, in and by US hegemonic political discourse, and, 2) can be seen to be in evidence in the specific, illustrative document that will be closely examined: US President George W. Bush's speech to the UN on September 12, 2002, a rhetorical positioning of the global community vis-à-vis US policy on Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

The linguistic and discursive strategies of speaker-hearer alignment and/ or alienation will be the focus of analysis in this sample text. On the basis of a socio-political background knowledge of the substantial, context-specific (Toulmin 1958) issues involved, it is posited here that such strategies are often aimed at negotiating an inherent fundamental conflict between the US-as-speaker's discursive position and that of the international community. The primary focus of the paper can thus be said to be, to once again borrow Candlin's, but also Bakhtin's (1986), term, "alterity management" – alterity taken as 'naturally' occurring in, and conditioned by, socio-cultural contexts and discourses. With reference to this specific extant international crisis context, a

Gramscian 'war of positions' (Gramsci 1971; Anderson 1977), alterity is noticeably "open to expropriation for particular communicative purposes [i.e.,] used in some sense strategically" (Candlin 2002: 28). One aim of such strategy is seen as being that often 'necessary' complement to hegemony: i.e., coercion (Anderson 1977). Such coercion, however, is of an essentially covert nature, and even makes artful use of the linguistic manufacture of consent (Chomsky 2001).

For the purposes of this study, Candlin's definition of 'discourse', "in terms of thinking and talking in action and involv[ing] the management of alterity" (2002: 34) is adopted, together with the need for a dynamic perspective on such discourse. Put differently, even the systemic functional grammarian must 'shunt' (Halliday 1961/ 2002) between levels of instantiation and stratification in the analysis of discourse, rather than focus solely on 'structure'. And yet, although systems may be the more 'proper' issue for such a study, and must comprise, besides those of language and discursive practices, those of knowledge, experience, belief and value in general, linguistic structure will *not* be abandoned, as the systemic multidimensional model within which this analyst works (Halliday 1985/ 1994) sees grammar and meaning as inextricably linked and always already contingent on their eco-social environment, or 'context of situation', but also on that of the material and symbolic culture, in which texts/ discourses are produced/ consumed. Grammar in this perspective is thus posited as a theory of human experience and an enactment of social processes, and any text is seen as the product of the interaction of these two (Halliday and Hasan 2000: 207).

In particular, the paper makes use of the still ongoing modelling within systemic functional linguistics of a framework for analysing speaker evaluation and stance in texts: APPRAISAL SYSTEMS (Martin 2000; Martin and Rose 2003, chapt. 2; White 2002a, 2003 & forthcoming), focussing, however, on the ENGAGEMENT SYSTEM, which is concerned with how intersubjective relations of alignment and dis-alignment are linguistically construed, negotiated and made rhetorically functional by means of wordings that have been analysed under comparable headings in alternative frameworks that include modality, polarity, evidentiality, hedging, intensification, concession, attribution, consequentiality and metadiscursivity (see, e.g., Labov 1972 & 1984; Biber

and Finnegan 1988 & 1989; Chafe 1986; Hyland 1996 [1]). Relying on the by now widely influential work of Bakhtin (1981), Engagement is concerned with speaker/ hearer positioning in terms of the interrelated notions of: *heteroglossia*, i.e., the outside voices explicitly included in the text; *dialogism*, or alternative positions which the text can be seen to assume, invoke, reference or anticipate, and *alignment*, i.e., what has been variously termed the 'intended', 'ideal', 'model' or 'implied' reader/ hearer, what Bakhtin himself called the "super-receiver", the ideal recipient whose absolutely appropriate understanding every author more or less imagines (Todorov 1984: 110). Working 'top-down', from system to instance, the resources realizing such positioning will be explored, in an attempt to account for how relations of status, power and solidarity are textually enacted by means of patterns of lexicogrammatical choices. Finally, as an evident result of such a perspective and framework, an equally important theoretical premise of the paper will be intertextuality (e.g., Lemke 1995), i.e., in terms of the essential, if obvious, proposition that:

> The meaning of a text depends directly on the kinds of connections made in a particular community between it and other texts. (Lemke 1995: 85)

Bush's text must thus be seen as located within the belief and value system in and by which it functions: a set of interrelated and fundamentally alterity-*inhibiting* 'American' discourses that function, synchronically and diachronically, to centripetally construe the self-sufficient nation/ people of the US ('us') (Bayley and Miller 1993; Miller in press, forthcoming a & b). Space restrictions, however, allow but brief mention of the *US National Military Strategy* policy paper which was signed by the President and published by the White House just five days after his UN speech, on September 17, 2002. It is suggested that this second document is part of a strategic follow-up to the experiential, but especially interpersonal, meanings construed with the first, and thus is part of the ongoing linguistically constructed struggle for US hegemony in the current 'anti-terrorist' world order, a process of rhetorically enacted consent and contestation that it is the essential aim of this paper to explore.

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[1] As space does not allow for citing the myriad sources of this related work, the reader is referred to the ample coverage given in White (2003). For additional studies of Appraisal in texts, and also corpora, see, e.g., Miller (1999, 2002 a & b, forthcoming a & b).

1. *The contextual configuration of the text*

In the systemic-functional perspective (Halliday and Hasan 1985/ 89), it is the context of situation which activates the meanings realized in any text. As a result, a cursory description of the material and symbolic Field (or, What is going on?), Tenor (or, Who is taking part?) and Mode (or, How the meanings are being exchanged) of Bush's discourse to the UN is in order. Since any such description necessarily reflects the choices of the describer, it is only right, vis-à-vis this communicative event, to declare from the start this writer's own anti-'preemptive'-war against Iraq position. The socio-culturally rooted, ideological nature of readers' (and analysts') subjective responses to texts is, of course, always a thorny question. But bias we can only be *a*ware, and *be*ware, of – and, of course, declare.

The *field* can be said to be the social activity of speech-making with a view to influencing global policy, in an institutionally legitimated setting: the UN General Assembly. The subject matter is how to deal with Saddam Hussein's continuing infringement of the often-cited post-first-Gulf War Security Council's resolutions (1991) [2], and the threat to civilization that Saddam-in-power continues to represent [3].

The *tenor* involves the valued institutional status of the speaker as President of the US: a permanent member of the Security Council of the UN, and, not insignificantly, the world's sole remaining 'super-power' [4]. His discourse role is to exhort his hearers to the concerted action of waging war against Iraq – *unless* Saddam speedily perform a series of specified actions in line with the above-mentioned resolutions. The potentially negatively connoted word *war*, however, is never used with reference to this promised/ threatened required future action. Unsurprisingly, the speaker's attitude is: [+'tough'] on Iraq's leader and terrorism, explicitly linked; [+concerned] regarding the threatened future of the US, the UN and the world, as well as that the Iraqi people, and [+solidary] towards his hearers, except in significant

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[2] The specific Security Council Resolutions appealed to as 'ours' are: 686, adopted with 1 vote against (Cuba) and 3 abstentions (China, India and Yemen); 687, Cuba again voting against and Ecuador and Yemen abstaining, and 688, passed unanimously.

[3] There are 4 instances of NG "threat" in the text, and 2 of VG "threatened". For a penetrating corpus-based and register-specific study of the word, see Bayley, Bevitori and Zoni (forthcoming).

[4] That George W. Bush may not have written a word of the speech he delivers is not a concern here. It is he as US President, as speaker for the nation, that is of interest for our purposes.

semantic locations in which he is [+distant]. On the whole, the text presumes, and/ or creates, consensus on the issues and the monolithic/ monologic world view implied in evaluation of these. Conversely, however, its message is that, should such consensus be lacking, the US will go it alone.

The *mode* of the text is that of a ritualized monologue, delivered orally and pre-written to be read, but also distributed as a press release and available on the White House web pages. The object of analysis is the written text only. Its rhetorical structure can be globally sketched as:

- Introduction – in which the historical, but also current, commitments and duties of the UN and the threats and dangers of terrorism that assail "civilization" are detailed;
- Elaboration and Particularization, in terms of a long list of abuses by "one regime" (i.e., Iraq), Evaluated as "contempt for the United Nations";
- Pivotal Statement of the "difficult and defining moment" the UN "now faces" regarding how to deal with that regime;
- Ultimatum: a grammatically parallel list of what, "If the Iraqi regime wishes peace", that regime *must* do;
- Proclamation of "my nation" 's intention of working "with the UN security Council *to meet our common challenge*", immediately followed by:
- Qualification in terms of a Countering Warning: "But the purposes of the United States should not be doubted", foreshadowing the speech's Closing and then Elaborated on;
- Detailed Description of two conflicting future scenarios: one based on action; the other on a failure to act;
- Closing, in which the obligation to act in the face of the "common challenge" is reiterated, but "the United States of America" 's stance is explicitly predicted, *no matter what*, as it were.

Discursive staging will be more locally examined with reference to Engagement resources below.

2. *The ENGAGEMENT SYSTEM*

Rhetorical potential for meaning-making is of course largely a question of context, and therefore of particular registers and discursive domains. Having entered that caveat, I will now outline the system.

The basic distinction drawn within the system of ENGAGEMENT is between the *dialogic heterogloss*, which acknowledges in some way the diversity associated with

all utterances, and the *undialogized monogloss*, which ignores that diversity. These basic systemic options are illustrated in Fig. 1.

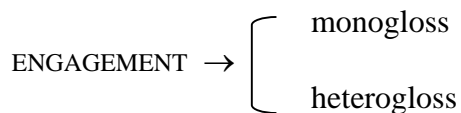ENGAGEMENT $\rightarrow$ monogloss
heterogloss

Fig. 1: The basic ENGAGEMENT SYSTEM

Heteroglossic Engagement acknowledges alternative positions, but to a degree which can vary greatly. It can act to dialogically *contract* (i.e. to reject, counter, rule out, etc.) alternative voices, or to *expand* (i.e. entertain, acknowledge, be open to, etc.) them [5]. Within the category of Contraction, two sub-categories are hypothesized: 1) Proclamation, through which the textual voice represents the proposition as a reliable, grounded, valid one, and 2) Disclamation, through which it positions itself as being at odds with some contrasting position.

The resources for realizing Proclamation are three: (1) Pronouncements – formulations making use of intensifications or explicit authorial interventions, often of a deontic nature; (2) Concurrences – wordings such as *of course*, and certain types of 'rhetorical questions', and, (3) Endorsements – foregrounding others' convincing voices through attribution to external sources. To the extent that hearer-Concurrence is being presumed, Contraction acts to increase the interpersonal 'cost' to those who would challenge the stance being advanced by the text. As will be seen, Bush's rhetoric, when not a question of bare monogloss, typically behaves in precisely this manner.

Disclamation is achieved through either straight Denial (negation), or Countering, which involves referencing another's viewpoint for the specific purpose of rejecting it, by means of concessives, adversatives and other resources such as conjunctives of time, contrast and cause, as well as continuatives that adjust expectancy such as *still*, *only* and *even*. An overview of Contraction is provided in Table 1 below:

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[5] The following account relies heavily upon White's work (2003 & forthcoming in particular).

| **Dialogic Contraction:** |
| Proclaim: |
| •   Pronounce |
| •   Concur |
| •   Endorse |
| |
| Disclaim: |
| •   Deny |
| •   Counter |

Table 1: An overview of Contraction (from White, forthcoming)

Opening up the dialogic textual space to alternative positions gives us Expansion, which is divided into the categories of Entertain and Attribute. Resources for actively Entertaining dialogic alternatives include: deductive wordings, notably absent from Bush's text, such as, *seems*, *appears*, *suggests*, *apparently*, etc.; polarity and epistemic modality resources, e.g., modal operators, adjuncts and related speaker 'comment' forms on likeliness, and 'expansive' rhetorical questions, also absent. Attribution, involving projection (Halliday 1985/ 1994), is of two kinds. It can either work through 'neutral' framing to Acknowledge the possibility of a proposition's validity, or it can function to distance the speaker from the proposition, by representing it as open to question, as with the use of *X claims*. An overview of Expansion is provided in Table 2 below:

| **Dialogic Expansion:** |
| Entertain: |
| •   Deductive wordings |
| •   Modality/ Polarity |
| |
| Attribute: |
| •   Attribute/ Acknowledge |
| •   Attribute/ Distance |

Table 2: An overview of Expansion (from White, forthcoming)

The final mode of heteroglossic Engagement is what White (2003) calls Justification, and glosses as *modal consequentiality*. This has to do with the substantiation, often implicit, used to ground arguments 'for' *non*-factual propositions. Seen as typically signalling Justification are 'internal' conjunctives of Cause: reason and purpose, such as *this is why*, *in order to*, and of Consequence, e.g., *therefore*, *thus*. Recalling that this

account of the typology of resources for intersubjective positioning is intended to aid in the study of the linkage between patternings of such resources and the rhetorical construction of 'model' speakers and readers, I now turn to the examination of the text.

3. *ENGAGEMENT in current US international discourse: Bush to the UN, September 12, 2002*

I begin this section of the paper with an overview of methodology and proceed with a report of the findings which emerged. Analysis was basically manual, but computer-assisted. For a preliminary logical meanings analysis, the first step was to divide the 2,825 word text into clause complexes and identify ranking (non-embedded) clauses, then further classified. Global results are marshalled in Table 3 below, description being based on Halliday (1994):

Total no. of clause-complexes (sentences): 152
of these, **single-clause sentences**: **80**

152: **Total no. of primary clauses** +
 91 paratactic or hypotactic expansions, or (only hypotactic/ reported) projections =

243: Total no. of ranking clauses, *of which*:

paratactic = **15**
divided into:
elaborating: **2**
extending: **13**

hypotactic = **76**
divided into:
expansions: 58 (predominantly enhancing-type) +
projections = 18 (6 'idea', 12 'locution', all 'reported')

Table 3: Overview of clause numbers and types in the text

The single-clause sentences account for nearly 53% of the total number and for approximately 33% of all ranking clauses. Their overlap with monoglosses is noted below. Moreover, hypotaxis accounts for over 84% of all expansions and projections within clause-complexes. Expansions are of various types, the main ones however

being, with 13 instances each: Purpose (principally and simplistically the 'good' aims of the UN *vs.* the 'evil ones of Saddam's Iraq), and Condition (notably the 6 co-occurring parallel structures "If the Iraq regime wishes peace […]"). Projections are all reported rather than quoted. The rhetorical functions of clause interdependencies and logical connections will be selectively analyzed below.

3.1 The monogloss

The next step was to identify the monoglosses. Of the 74 identified in the text, 46 are single-clause sentences – slightly more than 62% of the total number of these, perhaps short of the figure that might have been predicted [6].

For White (2002b), the monogloss is typically a bare assertion that construes either *solidarity* or *power*. In the case of solidarity, a proposition is represented as common knowledge, a given, and thus as uncontentious, while in the case of power, the textual voice assumes sufficient status or moral authority to be able to exclude alternative viewpoints. 'Power' monoglosses are typically either 'arguable' evaluations (for which the notation used is: **me**) [7], or observations of the mental states of *other* social actors, be they specifically targeted or not, (**mo**), whereas 'solidarity' monoglosses purport to present indisputable, 'factual' versions of events (**mv**). With reference to Bush's speech, however, this distinction proves unreliable, and thus analytically impracticable, the three types most often being conflated, as in the very first clause-complex of this text on Iraq, which cunningly opens with reference to 9/11 and terrorists:

> (1)   Mr. Secretary General, Mr. President, distinguished delegates, and ladies and gentlemen: We meet one year and one day after a terrorist attack brought grief to my country, and brought grief to many citizens of the world.

Here the 'fact' of 9/11 may be indisputable, but the attitudinal lexis, notably twice-reiterated *grief*, construes strong, if generally uncontested, negative evaluation.

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[6] The remaining monoglosses correspond to the independent clauses of hypotactically expanded complexes, paratactic ones being separately counted.
[7] It should be noted that Engagement is seen as an 'attendant' system, typically operating in conjunction with ATTITUDE SYSTEM evaluation resources; these , however, cannot be elaborated upon here.

Moreover, the Classifier *terrorist* itself can be said to evoke the mental state of the perpetrators of the "attack". Indeed, it is strongly suggested that the effect of such a conflation of types is to simultaneously (attempt to) realize *both* solidarity and power. Here Bush assumes the moral authority to exclude any potential alternative viewpoint on what occurred "one year and one day" ago, while at the same time assuming that his model(led) hearers are operating within the same value system in which his statement is rooted. Indeed, 41 of the 74 monoglosses conflate all 3 types; 37 at least 2, typically **me** and **mv**, and a mere 4 can be said to be instantiating unmistakably 1 type only: invariably the uncontentious **mv**, e.g.:

(2)   The United States helped found the United Nations.

Space restrictions preclude extensive exemplification. The choice is thus to offer some of those occurring in significant semantic locations. The carefully constructed linkage between Iraq and terrorism is one such site:

(3)   In the *attacks* on America a year ago, we saw the *destructive intention* of our enemies.
(4)   This *threat* hides within many nations, including my own.
(5)   In cells and camps, *terrorists* are *plotting* further *destruction*,
(6)   and building new bases for their *war against civilization*.
(7)   In one place – in one *regime* – we find all these *dangers*, in their *most lethal and aggressive forms*, exactly the kind of *aggressive threat* the United Nations was born to confront.

The above propositions are seemingly presented as indisputable (**mv**); once again, however, attitudinal lexis (in italics) and experiential grammar also work to construe assumed-to-be-shared evaluation (**me**), principally negative Judgement. Moreover, words like *intention*, *plotting* and *threat* imply intimate knowledge of the mental state of the enemy (**mo**).

Another vital monogloss semantic location features the lists of grievances against Saddam's Iraq, offered as 'proofs' of the guilt of the defendant by prosecutor Bush. Interestingly, these are structurally and functionally reminiscent of those marshalled against George III in *The Declaration of Independence, 1776* (Bayley and Miller 1993):

(8)   Iraq continues to shelter and support terrorist organizations that direct violence against Iran, Israel, and Western governments.
(9)   Iraqi dissidents abroad are targeted for murder.
(10)   In 1993, Iraq attempted to assassinate the Emir of Kuwait and a former American President.
(11)   Iraq's government openly praised the attacks of September the 11th.

To be noted in (8), in the embedded clause post-modifying *terrorist organizations*, is one illustration of how additional potentially disputable messages are regularly, and covertly, injected as non-arguable nominalizations. In addition, in (10), we find an instance of the ubiquitous temporal rooting of the accusations made. Often such temporality is also thematically highlighted, as here.

A final significant location again recalls the *Declaration*, in its 'we've done all we can' section: an argument for the good moral character of the speaker but also, with that all-inclusive *we*, the aligned hearer:

(12)   Delegates to the General Assembly. We have been more than patient.
(13)   We've tried sanctions.
(14)   We've tried the carrot of oil for food, and the stick of coalition military strikes.

Further occurrences of the monogloss will emerge in analysis below.

3.2 Dialogic Expansion: Entertain and Attribute

Resources of Dialogic Expansion in Bush's text are basically non-existent. Indeed, no resource for Entertaining is ultimately enacted as such. The few there initially seem to be are invariably subverted and made to function to claw back and Contract the speaker's meanings. One means of doing this is through Attribution of external sources of ideas, locutions or grammatical 'Facts' (Halliday 1994: 264 ff.) which are clearly being speaker-Endorsed. Indeed, no Acknowledgement is ever performed without this occurring subsequently – co-textually. Typically the reported locution is used to this effect. The UN's 'reports' and renewed 'demands' function 5 times in this way with projection, as exemplified in (33) below, and another 4 in single clauses as Verbiage. Another way of defeating Dialogic Expansion is by using explicit 'distancing' means vis-à-vis Attribution of *un*reliable sources (e.g., Saddam/ Iraq),

ultimately made to function to Disclaim/ Counter. A perfect example is the Acknowledge/ Counter pair illustrated in (34) - (35) below. In addition, modality options in the text are typically deontic, and strongly Contractive. Indeed, even what epistemic realizations of likeliness there are, are almost invariably couched in grammatical Facts and/ or explicit speaker Pronouncements or Endorsements, and thus also Contractive. The same can be said of the "will" of speaker certainty/ predication, regularly also interpretable as deontic willingness, or even as 'ought' statement, and located within overtly Contractive speaker interventions, e.g.:

(15)   If the Iraqi regime wishes peace, it *will* immediately end all support for terrorism and act to suppress it, as all states are *required* to do by U.N. Security Council resolutions.

But even the potentially Entertaining segment in which Bush delineates the non-interventionist way in which "Events can turn" – basically a series of qualified, conditional predictions – is not only subsequently Contracted by his second, rosy, interventionist scenario, but is already being implicitly de-legitimized and Contracted, clause by clause, as it is being proposed:

(16)   If we fail to act in the face of *danger*, the people of Iraq will continue to live in *brutal submission*. The regime will have *new power to bully and dominate and conquer* its neighbors, *condemning* the Middle East to more years of *bloodshed and fear*.

The intensely negatively evaluated potential scenario, but even just the evoked cowardice enacted by the abstract circumstance of Location in which the hypothesized failure to act is taking place ("in the face of danger"), have little chance of being attractive to the 'super-receiver' that the text would construe. Indeed, even the resisting sceptic must fail to seriously Entertain these as desirable consequences. Only comparison with various reference texts could adequately attest the significance of these findings regarding resources of Expansion, yet even in their absence, such significance is still cautiously put forth.

3.3 Dialogic Contraction: Proclaim and Disclaim

Space prevents more than a representative summary of the myriad Contractive resources at work in the text. I begin with the category of Proclamation, and, within that, Concurrence, and, to the lexicogrammatical features which White includes as typically enacting these meanings, I add the use of the personal and possessive deictics *we*, *us*, *our* and *my*.

3.3.1 Who does *we* include?

The use of personal deictics as an obvious strategy of speaker-hearer alignment or alienation has fittingly received much critical attention, certainly since Benveniste (1966/ 1971). Findings are summarized in Table 4 below:

Deictic / Referent	We	Our	Us	My
US (+ all present)	21	16	3	
US (+FMs of UN)	3	2		
US only	3	1		4
ambiguous	7	2		
TOTAL	**34**	**21**	**3**	**4**

Table 4: Alignment/ Alienation through pronominal reference

Only 21 of the 34 instances of *we* explicitly reference all hearers present – as in (1) and the 'patience' monogloss sequence in (12) - (14), above. This use is plainly Contractive. An instance of the second, again Contractive, category, US + Founding Members (FMs) of UN, is:

(17)   *We* created the United Nations Security Council […]

whereas the ambiguous uses are of the type:

(18)   Today, *we* turn to the urgent duty of protecting other lives, without illusion and without fear.

where reference *may* be primarily to the US, or include, together with the US, all present, or even all nations which would protect their people against terrorist attacks. More telling are the 3 co-occurring cases of US-only reference:

> (19) *We* want the United Nations to be effective, and respectful, and successful.
> (20) *We* want the resolutions of the world's most important multilateral body to be enforced.
> (21) *We* will work with the U.N. Security Council for the necessary resolutions.

The first two of which are projected proposals of ideas and Contractive Pronouncements of a sort, separating desirous speaker, however, from the UN, of which it is a part. The last, though an indirect offer of US cooperation, is similarly divisive – a division then further underlined by the text's immediately following Warning/ Threat/ Promise:

> (22) But the purposes of *the United States* should not be doubted. The Security Council resolutions will be enforced – the just demands of peace and security will be met – or action will be unavoidable.

The 3 occurrences of *us* are all-inclusive, while *our* functions not dissimilarly from *we*, all-inclusive choices extending 4 times, however, beyond the confines of the situational setting to comprise the "world". Potentially consensus-creating instances include "*our* common security", "*our* partnership of nations" [8], and the NG featured in the title to this paper, "*our* common challenge". The sole instance of US-only reference is:

> (23) As a symbol of *our* commitment to human dignity, the United States will return to UNESCO. (Applause.)

– a preliminary carrot cast in sentence 15 of the text to an evidently appreciative audience, as subsequent "APPLAUSE" is recorded. The 4 instances of *my* invariably pre-modify *country* or *nation*. Along with the 7 self-referential occurrences of *The*

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[8] Interestingly, in 1996 this NG was the then-Conservative British government's title to their platform for that year's European Union Intergovernmental Conference. As is ultimately true of its use here too, the function of the word "partnership" in that context was clearly, if ironically, not to propositionize any genuinely equal or united EU, the Conservative position for a loose and solely economic confederation of European states being well-known. See Miller (1997).

United States, and the 6 of *America* – one within the full and solemn *The United States of America* – these function to circumscribe that nation's positioning with reference to the Palestinian and Iraqi people and the same UN. More importantly, they also function to distance the US from any potential alternative stance. The locations of this function are pivotal: (22) above, and the penultimate line, to be treated below, where it works antagonistically with the sole instance of *you*.

3.3.2 (More) Dialogic Contraction: Proclaim and Disclaim

I make no attempt to divide treatment of Proclaiming and Disclaiming resources in this section, since an admixture of these is typical. Recalling that Proclamation is seen as having 3 categories: Concur, Pronounce, and Endorse, I begin with the first of these.

In Bush's text, another rhetorically functional means of enlisting hearer Concurrence is through the use of the kind of Rhetorical Question that would construe hearer-adherence to the speaker's own stance, as in the 2 instances below:

(24)   We *know* that Saddam Hussein pursued weapons of mass murder *even* when inspectors were in his country. *Are we to assume that he stopped when they left?* The history, the logic, and the facts lead to one conclusion: Saddam Hussein's regime is a grave and gathering danger. To suggest otherwise is to hope against the evidence.

Besides the Rhetorical question itself, this segment is rich in Contracting features. Firstly, it begins with a Pronouncement: a grammatical 'Fact', which all-inclusive *we* are said to "know". Secondly, within that 'Fact', the concessive *even* already functions to Counter any hearer-expectations to the contrary. At this point, the metaphor of mood is opted for, the required and 'common sense' answer to which is, clearly, "No". Then, one might speculate that the following 2 monoglosses serve to explicitly compound the meanings enacted by the preceding propositions and the preferred answer to the question itself, as well as to flatter those hearers who have cognitively Concurred and to increase the 'cost' of dissent.

The second, dual, instance, immediately preceding segment (19) - (21) above, is:

(25)   All the world now faces a test, and the United Nations a difficult and defining moment. *Are Security Council resolutions to be honored and enforced, or cast aside without consequence? Will the United Nations serve the purpose of its founding, or will it be irrelevant?*

The questions are preceded by two, solemn, speaker-hearer monoglosses that set the rhetorical scene. They also come after Bush has seen fit to explicitly bring to his hearers' minds the main participants in these questions – i.e., the 'intentions' of the UN's Founding Members and Iraq's numerous infractions of what are UN, and thus speaker-hearer, resolutions. They can thus be seen to function once again to elicit Concurrence with their 'obvious' answers: in both cases the first options of the either/ or structures. Alternative positions are, at least momentarily, rendered rhetorically untenable. In addition to 'Facts', 'Pronouncement' wordings also include explicit speaker interventions, such as the self-promoting monoglosses:

(26)   The United States has *no* quarrel with the Iraqi people.
(27)   The United States supports political and economic liberty in a unified Iraq.

As well as the 2 propositions which immediately precede the list of Iraq's offences:

(28)   We can harbor *no* illusions – and that's important today to remember.

Examples (26) and (28) also include Disclamation: Denial: negation – of any hearer's pre-conceived ideas to the contrary. Additional instances of Pronouncement are construed with deontic modulation, variously enacted. Of the 5 instances of *must*, the following Contractively Proclaim:

(29)   To assume this regime's good faith is to bet the lives of millions and the peace of the world in a reckless gamble. And this is a risk we *must not* take.
(30)   If Iraq's regime defies us again, the world *must* move deliberately, decisively to hold Iraq to account.
(31)   We *must* stand up for our security, and for the permanent rights and the hopes of mankind.

Example (29) includes implicit Disclamation: Countering of others' potential disagreement, together with overt Denial: negation. All instances are obviously laden with additional inherent and evoked Appraisal resources as well. Endorsement in the text, as noted above, consists mainly of Attribution to external sources of locutions and ideas which the speaker can be seen to underwrite, some of which can also be classified as 'Facts', e.g.:

> (32)   United Nations' inspections also revealed *that Iraq likely maintains stockpiles of VX, mustard and other chemical agents, and that the regime is rebuilding and expanding facilities capable of producing chemical* **weapons**.

The word *weapon(s)*, unsurprisingly, occurs 21 times in the text and is variously classified as "biological", "chemical", "nuclear" and, as superordinate, "of mass destruction" (WMD). The argument is that Saddam still has, and is still capable of producing and using, such weapons – despite UN resolutions to the contrary, but also despite Iraq's pretence at compliance with these. Interjected into the argument, in mantra-like fashion, is an initially Entertaining, ellipted Attribution, which, however, is no sooner Acknowledged, than it is overturned, Disclaimed: Countered, by a proposition construing what in the dominant US value system is still at least rhetorically represented as heinous behaviour. A single example of such wordings, reiterated 5 times in the text, is:

> (33)   In 1991, the U.N. Security Council, through Resolutions 686 and 687, demanded that Iraq return all prisoners from Kuwait and other lands.
> (34)   *Iraq's regime agreed.*
> (35)   *It broke its promise.*

Instance (33) enacts another Contracting Attribution, a reported locution, the source of which is the UN and thus speaker-hearer; this is also thematically marked with circumstance of Time, adding factivity to the speaker's assertion, as noted above. The circumstance of Manner: Means following the Subject functions similarly.

Disclamation: Denial is achieved by overt VG, NG and AG negation solely through *not* or *no* 14 times in the text, typically functioning to implicitly 'correct' real or potential alternative assumptions, select instances of which have already been seen. A

final occurrence is located in the closing to the speech, attention to which I have promised. The segment immediately follows the 'what will happen if we *don't* act, or *do*' scenarios, only the latter of which is construed of course as feasible:

(36)   And we will *show* that the promise of the United Nations can be fulfilled *in our time*.
(37)   *Neither* of these outcomes is certain.
(38)   Both have been set before *us*.
(39)   We *must* choose between a world *of fear* and a world *of progress*.
(40)   We *cannot* stand by and do *nothing* while dangers gather.
(41)   We *must* stand up for our security, and for the permanent rights and the hopes of mankind.
(42)   *By heritage and by choice, the United States of America will make that stand.*
(43)   *And, delegates to the United Nations, you have the power to make that stand, as well.*
(44)   Thank you very much.

In (36), an *irrealis* 'Fact' – the last of the list of the positive predicated outcomes of that sole option to be made – is first of all predicted, with presumed allusion to Chamberlain's 1938 post-Munich announcement of "peace in our time", which itself resonates intertextually with *The Book of Common Prayer* (Howell 2003) [9]. Through Denial, with *neither* in (37), a cautiously Entertaining stance is taken, but then immediately Countered – with what I read as an implicit adversative logical connection between this and the next monogloss (38), reiterating the options before speaker-hearer (*us*). Then, Pronouncement (39) enacts once again the necessity of a choice, here encoded in grammatically parallel NGs, differing only in their Qualifiers: "of fear" and "of progress". The inherent and obviously conflicting cultural values of these leave no doubt as to what the 'right' choice is. The main clause of (40) Disclaims: Denies the possibility of failing to act, which, recall, was the first scenario prospected, while its hypotactically linked temporal clause but further strengthens such Denial. (41) once again Pronounces the necessity for action, the Goals of which are again heavily positively evaluated Things which 'common sense', within the consensual cultural paradigm being presumed-as-shared, would dictate. From (42), which Pronounces/

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[9] The full supplication is "Give peace in our time, O Lord" and is from the "Forms of Prayer for the Anniversary of the Accession of the Reigning Sovereign". For more information on the history and contents of the *Book* itself, see Howell's website, http://www.eskimo.com/~lhowell/bcp1662/.

predicts the speaker's epistemically certain future position, the hearer is excluded. It is here that the sole instance of the full title of the nation, "The United States of America", is opted for. With (43), beginning with a direct, interpersonal address to the hearers, it seems clear that their effacement has been deliberate – that they have been ultimately and explicitly positioned as separate, and negligible, participants in the processes of this speech and the situational and cultural 'reality' whose purposes it finally serves. Bush's proposition limits itself to giving the (gratuitous) information that his hearers also have the possibility/ capacity to do as his nation *will* do, "By heritage and by choice" [10]. The message is frankly alienating: the USA will do X; You other nations can opt to do so too, or not. To what the USA has already decided to do, however, your choice will make no real difference.

3.4 Justification, or modal consequentiality

Only a word can be said about this final category of heteroglossic Engagement in the text. Recalling that Justification is a question of *internal* logical substantiation of non-factual propositions, typically signalled by conjunctives of Purpose and Consequence, it is noteworthy that explicit connection of this type is on the whole eschewed. The following segment, comprising the envisioned apocalyptic 'failure to act' scenario, is the sole locus of such reasoning. The propositions are hypothetical, and so non-factual, yet not 'internally' metadiscursive. At the same time, however, the substantiation functions to construct the cornerstone upon which the global textual argumentation of 'act now or else…' rests. Explicit connections are in italics and implied ones in square brackets:

(45)   If we fail to act in the face of danger, [then] the people of Iraq will continue to live in brutal submission. The regime will have new power *to bully and dominate and conquer its neighbors*, [thus] condemning the Middle East to more years of bloodshed and fear. The regime will remain unstable – the region will remain unstable, with [= thus having] little hope of freedom, and [thus being] isolated from the progress of our times. With every step the Iraqi regime takes toward gaining and deploying the most terrible weapons, [as a result] our own options to confront that regime will narrow. And if an

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[10] That the decision is represented as in part obliged by legacy but, in equal part, 'freely' made significantly veers from a long-standing US political rhetoric which puts the accent squarely on 'tradition' and indeed 'destiny' as Initiator of US foreign policy.

emboldened regime were to supply these weapons to terrorist allies, *then* the attacks of September the 11th would be a prelude to far greater horrors.

5. In closing

As is well-known, after months of at least apparently attempting to marshal Security Council backing for its action, and failing, on 19 March, 2003, Bush proclaimed that "at this hour, American and coalition forces are in the early stages of military operations to disarm Iraq, to free its people and to defend the world from grave danger". On 1 May, 2003, he announced that combat operations had, successfully, ended. It is outside the direct concerns of this paper that none of the aims of the war may turn out to have been achieved, that the reasons for waging it be proven contrived, or that the US be forced to rely on UN help in controlling the Pandora's box it unlocked. What is rather of great interest is the fundamentally 'solo' stance that the US adopted on this occasion, in the name of 'legitimate defence' in the face of threatened Iraqi aggression [11]. What I would point up here, in short, is that the US, together with select cooperative allies, decided to make its war without extensive international institutional backing, and that it effectively announced it would so on September 12, 2002.

In the *US National Military Strategy* policy paper, published 5 days after, on 17 September, 2002, this unilateral position is further developed:

> While the United States will constantly strive to enlist the support of the international community, we will not hesitate to act alone, if necessary, to exercise our right of self defense by acting preemptively against such terrorists, to prevent them from doing harm against our people and our country.

The use of the *we* in this segment and throughout the document would appear to be 'royal', inclusive of the executive branch of government alone, and so inherently undemocratic, because presuming to operate not only without the consent of the

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[11] Although Chapter 7 of the UN Charter includes "legitimate defence" as a justification of the use of force, a majority of the Security Council did not consider this to be a fair representation of the Iraqi case. As a result, a formal vote was never taken. Paradoxically however, according to the same equivocal chapter 7, when the legitimate defence justification is 'real', no such vote is even required.

international community, but even without the consent of the governed (Berry 2003). Assumed consensus, or coercion, or even suppression, of the alterity of even the 'good guys' – US allies and the people of the US itself – is thus represented, if "necessary", as legitimate. As Berry (2003) elegantly, if disturbingly, also puts it, "The rule of law in the world, then, is to be upheld by a nation that has declared itself to be above the law".

This paper has aimed to explore linguistically and discursively constructed alignment and alienation in President Bush's 12 September, 2002 speech to the UN. Analysis has at least in part shown how the Engagement resources at work in the text, despite extensive tactical use of consensus-presuming strategies, ultimately construe an alterity-rejecting position. It is proposed that these findings be seen as illustrating the diachronically-rooted, 'chosen-nation' rhetoric (Longley 2002; Miller in press) which is currently enacting the struggle for US hegemony of meaning-making practices in the current post-9/11 global crisis context.

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