Deictic Strategies and Identity Construction in Political Discourse: A Case Study of Pakistani Leadership Transitions

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Abstract

This study examines the shifting identities constructed by Pervaiz Musharraf in two public addresses: one as a military leader and the other as President of Pakistan. The speeches are processed via AntConc using purposive sampling. Social Identity Theory guides analysis of how first-person deixis includes/excludes audiences. The analysis focuses on the nominative and possessive cases of first-person deixis to trace identity construction. Deixis frequency and collocation patterns are compared across speeches. Findings show Musharraf used exclusive deixis in military and inclusive in political roles. The statistical deviation in of collocation of deixis in military address is contrasting with presidential address where collocation has higher frequency. The study contributes to understanding linguistic identity construction in political discourse.

Keywords: *Political discourse, Identity construction, Corpus-assisted discourse analysis, Deixis, Inclusive and exclusive pronouns, In-group and out-group*

1. Introduction

Addresses and speeches are the form of interaction that communicate speaker's intention, emotions and information to the listeners. Politicians are the personalities who deliver speeches, addresses, give interviews and with each speech or address respond to the events and communicate as they are the members of a specific group. Through these media, they interact with their followers and manage to draw multipurpose communicative objectives that sometimes align them with the speakers and sometimes detach them and all this is due to the varying roles a speaker performs.

The challenges of leadership encompass both external opposition and internal conflict. Leaders always have a point to prove for their followers and opponents; however, their struggle for identity construction is harder than anything else. They depend more on their followers that is why they labor their all the efforts to convince them that they are 'one of them' and for that sake leaders highlight the common attributes that are in line with their commonalities of the public so that they may be reckoned as prototypical of the same group (Haslam., 2011). Their multifaceted roles necessitate the adoption of diverse personas when engaging in public discourse, formulating national and international policies, presenting economic strategies, and addressing sensitive issues; consequently, they prioritize semantic precision over colloquial expression.

Identity is multifaceted, manifesting at both the individual and group levels, and is constructed from numerous attributes, including ethnicity, language, race, and occupation (Safdar & Yasmin, 2021; Yasmin et al. 2019a). Nonetheless, verbal communication has significantly influenced the ability of leaders to forge identities compatible with specific groups (Yasmin et al. 2019b). Individuals employ speech to construct a fluid identity, adapting to situational dynamics.

The fluidity of identity has spurred considerable scholarly inquiry within the field of political discourse, broadly categorized into essentialist and constructivist perspectives; the former static, the latter dynamic (Yasmin, 2024). A study of Augoustinos and De Garis (2012) is worth mentioning here in which they report Barak Obama's 2008 election campaign. They highlight how Barak Obama successfully positioned himself as a proponent of American dream and proved

himself as a prototypical leader for the Americans. His successful campaign was the main reason that he was able to convince the Americans to trust him as a member of the same social group despite the fact he was not a native American as he was a descendent from an African family but his speeches and addresses were so influential that he used language and extended a web of belief toward which American were attracted in great numbers that eventually resulted in his victory.

Inspired from the above-mentioned studies which elaborate how language is used as a vehicle by the leaders, constructing their identities that enable them to win the support of certain groups, the researcher has selected two addresses of Pervaiz Musharaf and idea is to select only the first addresses which he delivered right after assuming the charge of the martial law administrator and the president of Pakistan with each role he behaved differently and used distinct discourse which posits his different personality marking a change in identity.

This study will be beneficial for the future studies because it is looking to investigate the new perspective of varying identities of one person who changes his approach to include and exclude people in the in-group and out-group and discourse has been employed as vehicle to carry this task forward. Here are the two addresses were delivered on two different times:

> i. General Pervaiz Musharraf's address as the Martial Law Administrator to the nation on October 17, 1999 (with 2047 words tokens)
> ii. General Pervaiz Musharraf's address as the President of Pakistan on January 12, 2002 (with 5129 words tokens)

The research questions for the study are as below.

1. What is the variation in the use of deixis for himself and the listeners?
2. How does Pervaiz Musharaf project varying identities by using inclusive and exclusive 'we'?
3. How does the use of deixis reflect social membership of a social group?

2. Literature Review

This study investigates the diverse identities projected by Pervez Musharraf in his addresses, differentiating between his roles within and outside his in-group. This research is informed by previous studies, most notably Gocheco (2012), whose analysis of pronouns in political advertisements highlighted their effectiveness as persuasive tools for politicians. His investigation was based on the first-person plural form in which he analyzed the inclusive and exclusive nature of pronouns in political statements. Through this study, he concluded that I-statements are very important and politicians use these statements for discursive purposes, as cited by Ramzan et al. (2022).

Research on pronouns unfolds many aspects of the discourse of political leaders and martial law administrators. Pervaiz Musharaf has been one of the most influential martial law administrators and many studies have been conducted on his speeches and interviews. Khan and Malik (2016) also reported a similar study where they investigated personal pronouns from the autobiography of Pervaiz Musharaf and found that he used personal pronouns in a way that made rationalizing acts ineffective and pleasant, the use of personal pronoun had reduced the original impacts of his decisions related to war and other internal and external matters during his tenure as a military dictator. His employment of personal pronouns served to mitigate the impact of critical issues such as the Kargil conflict, obscuring his responsibilities as a martial law administrator. His other objective was to create intimacy and familiarity that further built a sense of inclusion and collectivity with the reader and excluded himself from the decision makers or it can better be understood that the responsibility was inflicted to other decision makers or non-actors that enabled him to present his positive picture. This study can be complemented with another study of Shazia (2017) who investigated interviews of Pervaiz Musharaf where he employs and manipulates such

linguistic choices that present him as a fair and honest leader segregating him from traditional politicians. She argued that leaders carefully curate and promote their ideologies and conduct to project an image of integrity and impartiality, differentiating themselves from other political figures. Above discussion highlights that there is a lot of work that has already been done on the speeches, interviews and addresses of Pervaiz Musharaf but this study is different from all the previous studies which are discourse analysis of his speeches either on his military or political content however, this study compares the language strategies specifically deixis he adopted in the addresses as the Martial Law Administrator and the President of Pakistan and the study is delimited to analyze the varying identities of Pervaiz Musharaf which he posits in his two different roles as the Martial Law Administrative and the President of Pakistan.

In the perspective of identity, Jessica Hakansson (2012) conducted a comparative study of speeches of American Presidents: Barak Obama and George Bush. She analyzed all types of personal pronouns and found out that both the leaders share same policies due to their same political alliance as found from their use of personal pronouns. They manipulate first person singular to exclude themselves and first person plural to include listeners, by using these pronominal choices they obscure their policies. The same case is with third person pronoun where they make their policies and ideologies ambiguous as cited by Khan and Malik (2016).

The main dividing line in the world has been varying identities that categorize people in groups, countries, religion etc. and these groups have further sub divisions. Language is one of the key factors of identity construction as language and discourse are viewed as social practice and leaders use language as a tool that is used to construct messages which have specific meanings that are paired with linguistics forms (Burnnet, 2017). Discourse is treated as event and that event is created to construct identity through certain messages (Flowerdew,2004). In a similar vein, Yasmin et al. (2020) and Yasmin and Yasmeen (2021) emphasize how institutional norms and hierarchical roles in Pakistan restrict discursive practices and hinder autonomy, paralleling the challenges political figures face in shaping inclusive discourse.

Identity has been the widely discussed topic for long time now and everybody sees him/her as part of an in-group which further pushes the boundary of researches to social system characterization thus identity construction can be analyzed in the two perspectives: social identities and personal identities which are labelled as customized social practices e.g. father, merchant etc. or abstract social identities such as ethnicity and nationality and both of these identities are pair of overlapping constructions. This overlapping nature of identities obscure the identities of the politicians as they represent multiple identities at one time which can be viewed in the words of Castells (1996) who says that there is no precise definition of identity, recalling essence of various ideas and concept it can be brought to one line that identity is based on inclusiveness of a common group who shares same beliefs, experiences and values therefore identity means shared beliefs, goals, values and ideologies that create cohesion among people.

Cohesion is the key for the politicians as they always want to be in public which they achieve by constructing dynamic identity through specific discourse that has been a long and laboring task for them and their task is carried forward by the vehicle of discourse (Augoustinos & De Garis., 2012). Leadership is not a product of leader's personality, attitude, behavior rather, it is the tool or process to inspire and influence a group that a leader aims to represent. Thus, leadership and his emergent traits as leader are to be viewed as the byproduct of that particular group that changes the individualistic perception of leaders and forces him to use such expressions and traits that help him to build mutual expectations to enhance the effect of social interaction which in return influences

and inspires the public and also align him with the in-group (Judge et al. 2002). This discourse in return triggers the responses as in-group rather than an individual (van Knippenberg, 2011).

The main idea for the current study arises from the studies discussed above and finding the gap from the above discussion, the researcher looks to analyze the language of Pervaiz Musharaf in his two addresses one as martial law administrator and the other as president of Pakistan. The delimitation of language analysis is focused on deixis (first person, second person and social deixis) and the analysis of deixis is based on the variation or frequency and collocation of deixis which is analyzed with the lens of social identity theory. The main aim is to find those varying identities of Pervaiz Musharaf which he adopts as he switches his role from the martial law administrator to president of Pakistan.

3. Methodology

Identity construction is hard but rewarding work that is a regular phenomenon in political discourse and it can be augmented in these words "hard but rewarding work of identity management" (Haslam et al. 2011, p. 192). Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) provides strong basis for social influence which helps to persuade and influence people (Platow., 2007). People are more inclined to be influenced and persuaded by the in-group member of the society rather than the out-group member and this can further be supported by the work of Cohen (2003) who analyzed communication of self-identified liberals who were politically more persuaded from Democrats rather than Republicans that proved the point that people are readily influenced by "we" rather than "them" (Gleibs et al., 2010).

Personal deixis serve as a very strong base for meanings in a discourse that refers to "the symbolic references to the participants or relevant roles encoded in speech activities" (Chen, Z. A., & Peng, X. W., 1994). The personal deixis represent persons in three categories i.e. first person, second person and third person. Li Zhanzi, (1994) believes that personal deixis are context dependent representing various interpersonal meanings.

The special focus of this study is on varying interpersonal meanings with the role shift of Pervaiz Musharaf as he performs two distinct roles in his tenure in Pakistani political horizon. The objective is achieved by the analysis of deixis with special focus on first person deixis singular/plural and social deixis. The main object is to focus on varying identities of Pervaiz Musharaf. For this purpose, collocation of possessive case is analyzed and it is based on the characteristics of variation in the addresses and the analysis is conducted through the lens of Social Identity Theory. It is used as theoretical framework that provides insight into the interpersonal relation of speaker and listener. Beside this it also provides information about how speaker shifts his language choices as the identities vary to maintain his social relation.

The data for the current study is taken from the two addresses of Pervaiz Musharaf i.e. his address to the nation on October 17, 1999 as General Pervaiz Musharaf with 2047 word tokens and his address to the nation after assuming the charge as the President of Pakistan on January 12, 2002 with 5129 word tokens. A corpus of the addresses has been compiled which is processed with AntConc 3.5.9 software and the analysis of person deixis is delimited to first person singular and plural forms with nominative and possessive cases. The data is presented in three sets for comparison: first frequency of deixis (first person singular/plural) from the two addresses is analyzed and then collocation of possessive cases of first person and second person is analyzed with window span of 0R to1L and minimum 1 collocate frequency sorted by stats where the contrastive results are given to highlight the key differences in the two addresses highlighting his two distinct identities. For this purpose, the researchers have used explanatory sequential mixed

method analysis technique which is suitable for this study as first the data is processed with AntConc and then it is explained in discussion. (Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D.2017).

Non-probable purposive sampling technique is adopted (Patton, 1990) as cited in Neergaard, (2007) which focuses on information-rich cases because this technique allows the researchers to select samples based on their own judgement. Moreover, purposive sampling was more convenient for this study because information-rich information was suitable as AntConc software was used as a research tool.

4. Findings

The primary aim of this study is to identify the varying identities of Pervaiz Musharaf who assumed the charge of two distinct offices during his administrative roles i.e. as the Martial Law Administrator and the President of Pakistan. During this period, he displayed two different identities fitting well with the roles he performed. This study is primarily concerned with the differences in the choices made by the speaker and the choices are further related to the situation which shifts as the role changes. Hence data is analyzed in mixed method and presented in the three layered sequence: Nominative case deixis frequency, possessive case collocation of "our" and "my" and it has been chosen based on the characteristics of dissimilarity in the two addresses.

Table 1

Variation in the use of deixis

Deixis	Sr. No.	Military/ %	Pronouns (Personal & Social)	President/ %
Person	1	1.66	I	1.61
1st Person	2	0.68	My	00
	3	0.19	Me	00
	4	1.17	We	1.89
	5	1.95	Our	0.77
	6	0.24	Us	0.31
Social /Honorific	7	0.19	My dear Countrymen!	00
	8	0.04	My dear fellow!	00
	9	0.04	My fellow Pakistanis!	00
	10	00	Pakistani brothers and sisters!	0.019

Deixis play very important role in the realization of language that allows the speaker to encode multiple information and serves as referents to the speaker himself, the listener, the person and objects being referred to. Deixis are used by the speakers to communicate different interpersonal meanings that are context dependent and have pragmatic purposes. Personal deixis are categorized on the speaker, speaking to and being spoken about. The one who is speaking is the first person and to whom he is speaking is termed as the second person while the person being talked about is third person. There are social deixis as well which are used to call the persons with titles of honor and other referents. Personal deixis also have cases based on their usage i.e. nominative case (I, we, you, he, she, it, they), possessive case (my, our, his, her, its, their) and accusative case (me, us, you, him, her, its, them).

Current study has delimitated its scope and focuses on nominative and possessive cases of first person deixis and social deixis that are used in the addresses where speaker based on his changing roles includes the listeners in some situations and excludes them in other while using the plural form of first person and the choices he adopts of social deixis are also interesting that highlight two identities of the same speaker. First person singular deixis is more dominant in General Pervaiz Musharaf's first address where he is more concerned with his own self and does not include or align the listeners. The repeating nature of first person is due to his justification of military takeover and repeatedly maintains his stance by stressing the need for that step. The frequency of first person singular "I" is 1.66% in military address and 1.61% in presidential address which shows that he is giving almost the same emphasis to himself or his stances which he took but in military address he uses it as to give his stance on national and international policies as compared to presidential address his focus is on clarifications and local policies dealing directly with public. When possessive case is analyzed it is obvious that in military address he is more focused on his actions and stances to justify military coup where he not only excludes his listeners but also excludes political groups whereas, in presidential address he is more inclined to be in the same group with listeners. The varying role is an emblem of varying identity which is prevalent from the difference in contrasting percentage of military address i.e. 0.68% and 0% in presidential address. Same is the case with accusative case where the absolute contrast is 0.19% in military address and 0% in presidential address.

Social deixis just like person deixis are also very important in the production of contextual meanings which serve pragmatic purposes for the speaker. The two addresses are not only different in terms of personal deixis but they are also different in terms of social deixis which are also kind of honorific that a speaker uses to address his listeners and from these referents the importance of listeners and their relation with the speaker is gauged. The military address begins with social deixis "My dear countrymen" which is used four times in the speech covering 0.19% of the total words and this use of honorific is not found in his address as the President of Pakistan. It is also used as a symbol of formal relation with the listeners and this use emphasizes nationalism but when the beginning of presidential address is analyzed it begins with "My dear brothers and sisters" where speaker forms the closer relation. His shift from countrymen to brothers and sisters is due to shift in his military administrator's role to a political role where he tries to form an informal relation which is closer and emotional, here he tries to include the listeners in a kind of close relation whereas in military address listeners are included in a geographical bond or state bounded relation. It is complemented with some other examples e.g. "My dear fellows" and "My dear Pakistanis". The three social deixis used by General Pervaiz Musharaf are obvious examples of how the speaker excludes listeners from closer relation but in other address where he uses the words of "brothers and sisters" forming a closer relationship with the listeners and the speaker is keen to include listeners in very informal and close relation. He is more focused to inculcate the sense of ownership with the listeners as he is communicating as representative of a political institution. Whereas, in military address he is not concerned about their votes and supports. The contrasting deixis highlight the context dependent interpersonal meaning of deixis that serve pragmatic purpose for the speaker.

When second person plural "We" is analyzed the percentage is almost similar because there are two aspects of second person plural i.e. inclusive-we and exclusive-we which can further better be discussed from the collocation of possessive case given in the tabular form below.

Table 2

Comparison of our-colocation and in-group/out-group

	Military				**President**		
Out-group	**Sr. No**		**Our/Collocation**	**Stats**	**In-group**	**Sr. No.**	**Our/Collocation**	**Stats**
	1	National	Our kashmiris	4.67737		1	Patriotism	Our soil	7.00253
	2		Our minorities	5.67737		2		Our motherland	7.00253
	3		Our borders	4.09240		3		Our blood	6.00253
	4		Our forces	3.09240		4		Our nation	5.41757
	5		Our armed	3.67737		5		Our land	5.41757
	6	International	Our relations	3.35544		6		Our society	5.58750
	7		Our international	3.35544		7		Our identity	7.00253
	8		Our external	5.67737		8		Our national	6.00253
	9		Our foreign	4.67737		9	Religious	Our faith	5.41757
	10	Private	Our actions	5.67737		10		Our religious	2.68061
	11		Our efforts	5.67737		11		Our mosques	4.68061

Pervaiz Musharaf uses deixis in his speeches for different pragmatic purposes and the purpose depends on his varying identity. The context decides his use of word clusters which are meaningful because they are context dependent and emphasize speaker's intention. Possessive case of 'we' is analyzed on the bases of their collocation and it is divided into three brackets; national and international affairs in which he addresses or presents his local and foreign policy another collocation of 'our' is with private words i.e. 'actions' and 'efforts' he uses of these words in his first address as a military administrator where he uses "our collocates" with minorities, Kashmiris, borders, armed and forces which show speaker's is more concerned with relationship of the neighboring countries and the condition of law and order across borders. His use of these collocations also highlights his military mindset which he uses to glorify the sacrifices and services military provided for their country. The main intention is to clear and vindicate the ambiguous atmosphere which is created after his coup and he uses deixis as tool to exclude the listeners treating them as out-group. Another perspective is his role of chief of army and he is taking this address as an opportunity to emphasize the role of forces in the country's dignity, borders and disputed issue of Kashmir which is the most sensitive issue for the people of Pakistan. Here again his choice is based on exclusive-our. This address represents his military mindset and also stresses the main point that he is more concerned about the previous political government which he had toppled as it was failed to pay attention to these issues and also highlights his intentions and commitments to do anything that is required to restore the dignity of the people, border security relations with the neighbors etc. The second bracket of 'our' collocation is with relations, international, external and foreign where again he excludes listeners and presents his foreign policy as a leader. The third bracket of 'our' collocation is with private words that he uses to clarify his personal actions and efforts. If all this is delimited, it is there to be analyzed that he was trying to address national, foreign and local issues at one and same time because he was aware of the situation that unfolded with his coup.

He uses different collocations with possessive case of 'we' when he addresses people as the political leader who needs their support. The possessive 'our' collocates with motherland, soil, blood, nation, land, society, identity and national to represent the country and here his aim is to

induce sense of patriotism among the public because he wants to represent himself as political leader and for that he wants their support and votes. This collocation shows that the speaker is more keen in emotional and psychological relation with the people in comparison the previous speech is more focused on encompassing policies than forming a relation. As a result, he uses inclusive pronouns and treats public as in-group. In the second bracket, possessive case collocates with faith, religious and mosque which are absent or in low collocation in the first address. These combinations show that his main focus is to bridge the gap between people and the leader because his collocations with possessive cases are clearly including public in in-groups but in the first address, his focus is not on the gap rather his focus is on clearing his act of toppling the government and giving out his plans for future.

Table 3

Comparison of my-collocation and out-group/in-group

Military				President			
Sr. No.		**My collocation**	**Stats**	**Sr. No.**		**My collocation**	**Stats**
Out-group	1	My request	7.19194	**In-group**	1	My opinion	9.15454
	2	My advice	7.19194		2	My view	6.83261
	3	My dear	7.19194		3	My knowledge	7.56957
	4	My fellow	7.19194		4	My brothers	8.15454

Speaker's choice of deixis depends on situation and context as he looks to create interpersonal meaning. Pervaiz Musharraf as a military chief uses possessive case of singular first person deixis that collocates with request and advice which demand some kind of action from the listeners as compared to opinion, view, knowledge in other address as the President of the state which does not serve as prompt but allows the reader to make his own decision based on his understanding by using their leader's opinion, views and knowledge as cue for action. Thus, the difference of the tone in the president address qualifies the collocations as inclusive-my whereas the instances of collocation in military address are embodiment of exclusive-my. Same is the case with social deixis i.e. my dear and my fellow if it is compared with collocation used in president address i.e. my brother here speaker uses my-inclusive as compared to my-exclusive in military deixis.

5. Discussion

The role of deixis is very important as far as interpersonal meaning is concerned as this study is focused on the possessive cases of first-person deixis and social deixis. This has already comparatively analyzed deixis in terms of variation and the collocation of possessive case has been discussed above. Pervaiz Musharaf switches his identity from General to President or from Military chief to political head which forces him to switch his language choices specially deixis choices. The changes or differences in the use of deixis and their collocation with different word combination is analyzed in different contexts. First person plural deixis are analyzed and the results prove that as military chief he was more contented with exclusive-our and when situation and context changes, he switches from exclusive-our to inclusive-our because he was more interested in the listeners and wanted to have stronger relation whereas as military head his priority was on his own self thus excluding the listeners and stressing the importance of his decision was more important for him. First person deixis changes as per the situation and context inclusive-we and inclusive-our are used frequently in the address as the president and exclusive aspects of deixis are used when he addressed as the military chief. This proves that how context effects the interpersonal meanings as tenor changes his roles meaning has to be changed so choices are also changed

whether they are personal deixis or social deixis that are used as honorific referents. Speaker demonstrates different identities and all this is due to the change in context and role which ultimately serve as the main factors that cause the variation in deictic choices and collocations

6. Conclusion

This study explored the variation in two addresses of Pervaiz Musharaf with lens of social identity theory and analyzed personal deixis and social deixis. The study found that as speaker's role changes from the military to the political head and his choices of deixis also change. In the political address, he is focusing on inclusive-deixis whereas, his priority is more inclined to use exclusive-deixis when he addresses the public as the Martial Law Administrator because he was looking to present his international and national policy as the whole world was waiting for his answer on that act which he had to describe. When he assumes the office of the president of the state which is a political office that is where his interpersonal relation with the listeners change and he prioritizes inclusive aspects of deixis which are more suitable to his position. He addresses the public and tries to make them feel affinity whereas as a martial-law administrative his objective was not to seek support and empathy rather than to explain his action and give his policies for local and international matters.

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