



Critical Discourse Analysis of the Political Speech of Prime Minister of Pakistan (PMOP) Imran Khan delivered on 27th of September 2019

Awais Rubbani, Lecturer in English, Department of Linguistics & Communication, University of Management and Technology Sialkot Campus, Pakistan, awaisrubbani786@gmail.com

Alia Awan, Department of Linguistics & Communication, University of Management and Technology Sialkot Campus, annimalik688@gmail.com

Syeda Mehwish Batool Shamsi, Education Department, Govt. of Punjab, syedamehwishbatool05@gmail.com

Abstract- The aim of this research is to analyze the purpose, real intention of Prime Minister of Pakistan (PMOP) Speech. Critical Discourse Analysis is an approach that investigates the connections between language and social, political aspects in which they occur. It explores issues such as gender, politics, ethnics, economy, religion etc. The current study is a corpus-based qualitative study; takes a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Political Speech of PMOP of Pakistan of Imran Khan delivered in 27th September, 2019. The results of this study are based on CDA model of Fairclough. According to Fairclough, there are main three stages of CDA. This model was helpful in understanding and interpreting this speech. This research paper answers the three main questions of “what”, “which”, and “why”. The results of this study show that PMOP great respect to humanity and try to control the bad conditions and injustice of Indians, Non-Muslims towards Muslims. The study is limited to sufficient amount of data. The study can prove helpful for researchers for further studies about CDA.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Prime Minister of Pakistan (PMOP), Corpus-based, Fairclough model, three stages, qualitative, three questions, prove helpful.

I. INTRODUCTION

The fundamental purpose of this paper is to analyze the Politician Speech in social context. Critical Discourse Analysis becomes very important in Education. Critical Discourse Analysis is very crucial in writing as well as in spoken form. The basic purpose of this study is to examine politician speech and also understand the hidden meanings, intentions. Critical Discourse Analysis means how language work, how meanings are created in different social context, situations. It can be applied to written, spoken, verbal, non verbal communication as gestures and tone etc. The purpose of CDA is to understand the message correctly. It is different from other approaches, methods that focus only on language use. It focuses on the social aspects and the ways people use to achieve specific effects as to build trust, to create doubt, to stir up emotions, to manage stress etc.

Critical Linguistics is also called Critical Discourse Analysis. Discourse Analysis examines how language work or how speakers see communication in their contextual functions. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a methodology. While using this methodology, we can understand how people perceive the message or interpret in their full social, textual context. Discourse Analysis focuses on the larger contents of language or communication instead of focusing on smaller chunks. Critical Discourse Analysis analyzes the text on any level whether it is smaller or bigger (Vocabulary, Grammar, Register, and Genre etc).

According to Norman Fairclough, there are three stages of discourse. The first stage is “Description” (Vocabulary, Grammar, lexical form); the second stage is “Interpretation” (Intention, hidden meanings). The second stage also includes “Speech Act Theory” propounded by Austin and Searle. The third stage is “Explanation” (Social context, period as Feminism, Racism etc). The Systemic Functional Grammar or Systemic Functional Linguistics is the foremost foundation of Critical Discourse Analysis as well as other theories of Pragmatics propounded by an Australian Linguist Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday (M.A.K Halliday). CDA has a most important debate of publication in the journal *Discourse & Society* started in 1990 and edited by Van Dijk, also won astonishing success with students and scholars.

All these mentioned studies have some issues and limitations such as insufficient size of data, issues in model implication etc. Many research authors worked on CDA. Some previous studies were based on CDA

model in the perspective of politician speech. Many educational researchers approach to analyze the Foreign Politician Speeches. Some studies based on the Van Dijk model or some on Fairclough model. Such gaps force the researchers to explore the purpose of Pakistani Politician Speeches. Research questions of the current study are What is the outline of PM speech?, What is the type of (vocabulary, grammar) sentences? What is the hidden meaning or purpose of this speech? Why PM focuses on all these topics? The current study is a corpus based study base on CDA model. The methodology, theoretical framework or data analysis is based on Fairclough model of CDA.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Discourse generally concerns with spoken, written communication though its usage is differs in various approaches, circumstances, and according to situations. In linguistics, discourse refers to a unit of language longer than a single sentence. Discourse Analysis is a research method for studying written or spoken language in relation to its social context. It aims to understand how language is used in real life situations. Through CDA we can better understand the meanings, intentions of speakers or any text.

Wang(2010) took a study. This study focuses on a very crucial point. The paper was based on CDA theory SFG to analyze the Barak Obama's speech from the point of transitivity and modality of his slogan "Change has come" to rebuild the confidence of his public. His language was easy and also presents the religious aspect which shortened the distance between him and Audience. Through this political speech, he won the public support easily and also enhances the confidence of his public.

Bayram(2010) conduct a research paper. This paper basically based on the relationship between language and perception. This research paper aimed to analyze the ideological component and linguistic background, for this purpose discursive strategy of Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Recep Erdogan was focused. This paper reveals that the language knowledge helps to understand others as well as own self. Context is important for the understanding of text or any message(Van Dijk, 2006).

Memon, Ali, Bux(2014) took a research on last speech of Benazir Bhutto. The paper critically analyzed the underlying ideology of this election campaign. The study focuses on the content of the discourse to analyze how linguistic features are used to publicize the ideologies. Socio_ cognitive approach to CDA has been adopted. The study reveals that political discourse is used to control the mind of people.

Rababah and Hamdan(2019) accomplish a contrastive study. This paper analysis the speeches of Gaza War delivered by Prime Minister and President (Netanyahu and Abbas). This paper was based on Van Dijk's ideological square and Halliday's Framework perceived the comparison between "self" and "other". The results of this study reveal that these are two different opposing ideologies. Both speakers present "self" as "strong" human and honorable in contrast to the "other" that is considered to be a "dire threat" and an "agent of destruction". Moreover, the Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar was used via particular transitivity. The results also shown that Material process were more dominant in Abbas's speech.

Blommaert, Bulcaen(2020) conduct a research paper. This paper describes the Fairclough's CDA model in details. The main programmatic features and domains of enquiry, ideology, inequality, and power elements were discussed. According to this paper, the main purpose of CDA is to analyze the power, relationship of dominance, control, and prejudice through language(Wodak 1995). Three dimensional model also discussed in details. According to this model first facet is (discourse as text) description(choices, patterns,vocabulary grammar, text structures etc), second facet is (discursive practice) interpretation, (Cognitive aspects to produce something, coherence, intertextuality etc), third facet is (discourse as social practice) explanation (hegemony process and ideological effects) (Fairclough, 1992a).

Language plays an important role in every field of life. We can judge people, understand their ideology, intentions behind their communication.

The current study aims to analyze the Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan's speech. This research paper uses the Qualitative method in this regard. The results are declared while using the CDA model of Fairclough.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Tool

This research tool of the current research based on CDA model of Fairclough. There are three main stages of this model. Through these stages we can understand the message easily and correctly.

3.2. Sampling and Population

The Sample for this Corpus-based study is taken from PM Imran Khan Speech delivered in 27th September 2019, taken from internet <https://www.brecorder.com/2019/09/27/524851/full-transcript-of-prime-minister-imran-khans-speech-at-the-unga/>. The basic purpose of this study is to analyze the purpose or ideology of this speech.

3.3. Data Collection

The data selected for this study from internet, consist of PM of Pakistan Imran Khan Speech delivered in 2019. With the help of Fairclough model as a theoretical framework the purpose or motive of Speech were analyzed.

IV. RESULTS, FINDINGS, AND ANALYSIS

CDA plays an important role in understanding the message. We can understand the hidden meanings while using the models of CDA.

The following questions or main points have been identified from the Prime Minister of Pakistan (PMOP) Imran Khan Speech delivered in 2019, for analysis.

- Religious Aspects (see paragraph # 01)
- Justice (see paragraph # 01)
- Warning (see paragraph #05)
- Emotional Attachment (see paragraph # 04)
- Historical Background (see paragraph # 05)
- Non-Muslims Cruelty over Muslims (see paragraph # 02)
- Kashmiri (see paragraph # 02)
- Terrorism (see paragraph # 02)
- Racism (see paragraph # 03)
- Reaction of other Countries (see paragraph # 04)

1) Again; with minorities. In Islam, it was a sacred duty to protect places of worship of all religions. It was announced that all human beings were equal. The 4th caliph of Medina lost a court case against a Jewish citizen. No 1 was above the law.

When a Muslim community is unjust to a Minority, it is going against the teachings of our religion. Our Prophet (PBUH) lives in our heart, and when he is maligned, it hurts us.

I always imagined what I would say and educate the world about Islam if I ever stood on this forum.

In western society, the holocaust is treated with sensitivity because it hurts the Jewish community. So that's the same respect we ask for; do not hurt our sentiments by maligning our Holy Prophet (PBUH). That is all we ask.

The PM Imran Khan shows the religious aspects in his speech. The PM explains Islam in details. According to Islam all human beings are equal, no one superior. Islam is the religion of Prophet PBUH, and also shows love about Islam that Prophet PBUH in our heart. Also shows the consequences of injustice with minority. If someone challenges the justice of any society, religion, it hurts them. So never hurt any religion. Also give the example of justice of 4th Caliph of Islam in this regard.

2) Now I want to move on to talk about Kashmir. When we came into power; my first priority was that Pakistan would be that country that would try its best to bring peace.

So my first move was to reach out to Modi & I said let's work our differences, leave our past behind & our main priority should be our people as we have similar problems; poverty & climate change. Highest number of people reside in subcontinent.

On zero response from India; we thought we should wait till the Indian elections since BJP is a nationalist party. Meanwhile, a Kashmiri boy radicalized by Indian forces blew himself up on an Indian convoy. Immediately India blamed Pakistan.

I told India to give us any proof and we'd act. We had actual proofs of Indian intervention in some terrorist attacks in our Balochistan province. We even caught their spy Kulbhushan Yadav who admitted to crimes. Instead of sharing proofs of any Pakistani's alleged involvement in Pulwama attack, they tried to bomb us. We retaliated. We captured their pilot; but returned him the next day because we did not want the situation to escalate. In the election campaign, Mr. Modi used terms like "This was just a trailer. The movie is yet to come." We thought post the elections we would go back to a normal relationship. But that was not the case. Post the elections, we realized Indians were trying to push us on the FATF blacklist to economically isolate us. That's when we realized there was an agenda. And then the revocation of the article 370 happened which used to give Kashmir special status. They escalated the number of troops in Kashmir and put 8 million people under curfew. What kind of a mindset locks up 8 million people? Women, children, sick people. What I know of the west, they wouldn't stand for 8 million animals to be locked up. These are humans.

The cruelty, injustice of India is also very prominent. Indians cruelty towards Muslims, Kashmiries, is getting increased day by day. Due to their injustice many Muslims, Kashmiries lost their lives. The Muslims wanted peace anywhere in the world, but Non-Muslims, especially Indians never want this, and also gave example that Pakistan caught an Indian terrorist Kulbhushan Yadav from Balochistan Province and Indian pilots but forgive and return them. Indians killed Kashmiries without any crime and ruin the peace of Muslim World; another example of their cruelty is the curfew that devastates their peace and deprives Kashmiries from their rights. All these conditions also affect the economy, and cause the poverty and climate changing. That is all their injustice towards Islam, Muslims.

3) Mr. President; I have to explain what the RSS is. Mr. Modi is a "life member" of RSS. An organisation inspired by Hitler and Mussolini. They believed in racial superiority the same way that the Nazi's believed in the supremacy of the Aryan race. This is open knowledge. RSS believes in the racial superiority of Hindus. It was hatred for the Muslims & Christians. They believe that the golden age of Hinduism halted b/c of Muslim rule. They openly stated hatred for Muslims and Christians. This is all open knowledge. You can all just google the founding fathers of the RSS like Golwalkar. This ideology of hate murdered Mahatma Gandhi. The hate ideology allowed RSS goons under Modi's CM ship in Gujarat to butcher 2000 Muslims. The Congress party gave a statement that terrorists were being trained in RSS Camps. Modi was not allowed to travel to the US. What kind of a mindset locks up 8 million people? Women, children, sick people. What I know of the west, they wouldn't stand for 8 million animals to be locked up. These are humans. The way Kashmiris are caged like animals in homes. Their political leadership arrested, even pro India ones. 13,000 boys picked up & taken to unknown locations. Youngsters blinded with pellets. This will only lead to further radicalisation.

The PM also clear that the Indian miss-use their superiority. Racism is important than equality for them. (Racism where the people of one race is better than other races). How can you manage justice, if racism is important for you then equality? Youngsters of any nation are the Leaders of tomorrow. But Kashmiries ruin their future. 8 million people of Kashmiries who are under their hatred and in look up. Animals are better than Human beings for them. They never behave like this with their Animals. All these reasons increase hatred for Muslims, Kashmiries as well as for Christians, Minorities. Because Minorities have no value in the eye of Majorities. The enemies of Islam, justice, equality train their peoples in this killing and all this is against the Islam.

4) How would the Jewish community react if even 8000 Jews were under lockdown? How would the Europeans react? How would any human community react? Are we children of a lesser God? Don't u know this causes us pain.

We've been brought up watching films; a good guy doesn't get justice.... he picks up a weapon, and a whole cinema cheers him on. What has been the response of the world community on any atrocities in the Muslim world? When people lose the will to live, they pick up guns. A movie "Death Wish" depicts how a boy picks up guns and starts killing all muggers. If you are doing this to human beings, pushing them, you are leading to radicalisation.

Islam said; behave others as you like for own self. Because it guides us and realizes us how these behave hurts or happy others, in this way, justice would establish and whole world remains in peace and prosperity. But no one imagines it and wants to enjoy all pleasures of life and deprive others from their happiness. If we understand other people's feelings or emotions, we never hurt them.

Kashmiries under lockdown but no one take action of it. But how they react if they are under this bad situation? In this way, rebels would born, as PM Imran Khan gave example of a movie, where a guy pick up a gun to get justice, Indians and other non-Muslims countries born terrorists and blame Muslim countries. In this way, what will be the future of Kashmir? People lost all hopes of living. Non-Muslims have no respect for others countries especially Muslims, Kashmiries and for minorities. The Prime Minister of Pakistan (PMOP) has rightly understand Indians ideology behind all these discriminations.

5) I feel we are back in 1939; Munich. Czechoslovakia has been taken. Will the word appease a market of 1.2bn or will it stand up for justice and humanity? If a conventional war starts between 2 countries, nuclear countries anything could happen. Supposing a country 7 times smaller than its neighbour; faced with a question. Either you surrender, or you fight till the end. I ask myself this question. And my belief is 'La ilaha illAllah', there is no God but one. We will FIGHT!

I am not threatening here about a nuclear war; it is a worry. It is a test for the United Nations. You are the one who said Kashmir right to self determination. This is not the time for appeasement like that in 1939 in Munich. This is the time when you, the United Nations, must urge India to lift the curfew; to free the 13,000 Kashmiris who have disappeared meanwhile and this is the time when the UN must insist on Kashmir's right to self determination!

Here PMOP Imran Khan gave the historical background and requests the UN to advise Indian to avoid all these miss use of power, also won them for these situations. The model of CDA clears us the doctrine of Non-Muslims towards Muslims.

This study is based on Norman Fairclough model, and analysis the PMOP Imran Khan speech at all stages of model. In this way the reader is familiar better about this speech and able to get the hidden meanings of this speech.

V. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

According to Fairclough model, there three stages of analysis. The first stage is "Description"; in first stage we have total ten questions first four questions about vocabulary, lexical form, the next four questions about grammar, what kinds of sentences are, whether the sentence is interrogative, declarative and active voice or passive voice etc. The next two questions, ninth question is about equality, whether all the topics under discussion have equal time or focus on all topics equally or not etc. The last question of first stage is about structure, means starting, ending structure climax etc, through structure we can better convey or understand the message. What kind of message, we want to convey it depends on structure.

The second stage of Fairclough model is "Interpretation". In this stage we try to understand the intention, purpose of speaker, or any text, why he or she is talking about it. What are the hidden motives? This stage also include the term "Member resources" means meanings convey through mind, first interpret and then understand the purpose and also include the "Speech Act theory" (Acts as threat, prohibition, promise etc). All cognitive aspects include in this stage.

The third and last stage is "Explanation", include the social analysis of any text, in which era, period text is written. Whether the text is about Colonialism, Racism, and Gender Discrimination or about Feminism etc. What social issues are under discussion?

While using Fairclough model, the researcher try her best to answer better, of all above mentioned questions one by one.

1) What is the outline of PM speech?

OR

2) Which topics are more prominent?

on September 27, 2019 Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan gave an impassioned speech at the UNGA. PM Khan touched on four major themes: Climate change, Money laundering, Islamophobia, and Kashmir.

There were main four topics under discussion in PM Speech. The PMOP tries his best to solve all problems regarding these topics.

3) What is the type of (vocabulary, grammar) sentences?

I stand here at this forum of world leaders where we have a chance to discuss the problems the world is facing. I especially came to this forum despite a difficult time in my country; facing challenges... I would not have come had there not been a very urgent problem that the world must address.

First let me talk about climate change: I have seen a lot of leaders talk about this. But I don't see world leaders really realizing the urgency of the situation. We have a lot of ideas; but as they say, ideas without funding is mere hallucination. The rich countries must show political will; they can not allow this flight of capital from poor countries through corruption. How can poor countries meet the United Nations SDG's when money for human development can easily leave our countries? (for full speech) link; <https://www.brecorder.com/2019/09/27/524851/full-transcript-of-prime-minister-imran-khans-speech-at-the-unga/>

In his speech PM Imran Khan uses all types of sentences. First he used explanatory sentences and then interrogative. All sentences are active voice. PMOP never try to hide the agent. The vocabulary used in this speech is simple that anybody understands it. The focus on all major topics is equal and there are major four topics of his speech. PM discuss all topics in detail and equally.

4. What is the hidden meaning or purpose of this speech?

The vocabulary, grammar is simple and understandable and all types of sentences are also used. The purpose of this speech is to understand the hidden meaning and also builds confidence of Muslims that shortened the distance between him and his Audience. PMOP tells us the causes of Kashmir's bad condition. Explain the injustice of Non-Muslims over Muslims and especially towards Kashmiris and minorities. The main motive is to manifest the reality of Indian and all Non-Muslims towards Muslims. The Indians and Non-Muslims considered them self powerful. The hidden meaning of this speech is love of PMOP for religion, Islam, love for country, respects of humanity, also for all the principles of Islam especially for equality, which Non-Muslims deprived the Muslim nations. The PMOP of Pakistan, Imran Khan shows the real picture of Indians, Non-Muslims that they are the enemy of Islam and Muslims, also warn them to stop this miss-behavior, if they do not stop it, they will be the responsible of all consequences. While using the Fairclough model the ideology of PM of Pakistan is very clear to everyone.

5. Why all these topics are important?

OR

6. Why, PM focus on all these topics?

Man builds society and societies together build Nations. PM Imran Khan focuses on above mentioned four topics because the social situation and political instability forces him. Social and Political issues are interlinked with each other. If a society is under difficult circumstances, it affects the politics and economy. The PM explains in details that the condition of Kashmir and the misconception of Non-Muslims towards Muslims, Pakistan, money laundering cases and this condition affect the economy and political situation of country and what will be the future of like this country, if all youngsters become rebel to stop this situation. The PMOP Imran Khan wants to change all these situations and wanted peace for all humanity whether it is his own homeland, Kashmir, or minorities etc.

While using the Fairclough model of CDA the aim of this study reveals that, is to control this situation, handle this, and struggle for the better days, harmony and opulence. CDA model helps us to understand the real motive of conversation whether it is written or spoken, verbal or non-verbal etc. CDA examines how stretches of language is interpreted in their social, political context.

On the other hand, if we compare the results of previous studies as the researchers analyzed the Barak Obama's speeches. His language is very easy and idiomatic as he used first person pronouns and religious beliefs in his speech. So, in this way he tried his best to build confidence in his public and shortened the distance between him and his audience. All these speeches persuade the public to accept whatever he is saying and support him in his policies.

All these studies and references show clearly how researcher use CDA and its different models to reveal the hidden ideology. The basic purpose is not to understand language but also to understand its meanings, intends.

VI. LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

This Corpus based study consists on CDA of Political Speech of PMOP, Imran Khan taken from Internet that, PMOP delivered on 27th of September, 2019. Other limitations of this study are that, it is the analysis of only one Speech that based on Fairclough model of CDA. The researchers can use this study for taking help for conducting further researches.

REFERENCES

1. Junling, W. (2010). A Critical Discourse Analysis of Barak Obama's Speech. *Journal of language teaching and research*, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp; 254-261, May 2010.
2. Fatih, B. (2010). Ideology and Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Erdogan's Political Speech. *ARECLS*, 2010, Vol. 7, 23-40.
3. Nazish, M, Faraz, A. B., Illahi, B, C. (2014). Critical Analysis of Political Discourse: A study of Benazir Bhutto's last Speech. *Balochistan Journal of Linguistics*, Volume 02 2014 January-December, 2014, pp; 72-87.
4. Alaa', G. R, and Jihad, M. H. (2019). A Contrastive Critical Discourse Analysis of Netanyahu's and Abbas's Speeches on the Gaza War (2014). *Journal of language teaching and research*, Vol. 10, No 1, pp; 178-189, January (2019).
5. Jan, B. and Chris, B. (2020). Critical Discourse Analysis. 04-08-20, pp, 447-466.
6. Fairclough, N. (1995). *A Critical Discourse Analysis; The Critical study of language*, New York, Longman.
7. Van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Politics, ideology and discourse. *Encyclopedia of language and Linguistics* Oxford: Elsevier, 728-740.
8. Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). *An introduction to functional grammar*. Edward Arnold: London.
9. Wodak, R. (1995). Critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis. See Verschueren et al 1995, pp. 204-10