Critical Discourse Analysis:
A Case Study of Pakistani Politicians' Rhetoric

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Abstract
This article is an effort to deconstruct the language used in Pakistani politicians' speeches using Fairclough's model of critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA). To highlight the projection of ideology in the political discourse we have chosen some excerpts from the speeches of some of the leading politicians of Pakistan. The rhetorical devices (such as persuasion through emotional exploitation, repetition, and the use of threes) and discursive linguistics choices (such as figurers of speech) of the politicians have been analyzed. The article also highlights the politicians use of language characterized by ideological underpinnings; thus showing how the art of rhetoric and persuasion through arousing emotions of the masses are used to achieve political ambitions.

Introduction

The language of politics is a discourse. It has certain features which distinguish it from other discourses. For instance, the discursive choice of words, phrases, sentence structures and verbal plays used to persuade others make the language of politics different from the language used in religious ceremonies, in the marketplace, media and literary discourses. We can say that it is peppered with the use of metaphors, the art of spin, special rhetorical devices, synthetic personalization, etc.

Language is often believed to be a tool of manipulation i.e., a single story may be manipulated and reported in different ways, depending upon the ideology of the reporter. Moreover, language is a means of communication, a means of presenting and shaping argument and political argument is nothing else, but ideological. So language is not some thing separate from the ideas it contains. Rather the way language is used says a great deal about how the ideas have been shaped. So when we are analyzing the language of a political text, we have to look at the ways the language reflects the ideological position of those who have created it. Similarly to argue that language depicts truth or valid

argument is quite debatable issue. Philosophers distinguish between truth and validity. Beard[1] says, 'A valid argument is one where the logic is correct; it does not have to lead to a true conclusion.' It means that a true conclusion may come from an invalid argument. It is only the use of language in an argument that counts. An invalid argument may be presented in a way that it may appear as a true conclusion.

Critical discourse analysis

'Critical goals mean aiming to elucidate such naturalization, and more generally to make clear social determinations and effects of discourse which are characteristically opaque to participants'.[2] CDA has its roots in critical linguistics, which is a branch of discourse analysis that goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of how and why particular discourses are produced.

The term critical is a key theoretical concept in CDA that needs some explanation here. The word signals the need for analysts to unpack the ideological underpinnings of discourse that have become so naturalized over time that we begin to treat them as common, acceptable and natural features of discourse. In other words, ideology has become common belief or even common sense. The word critical in CDA also singles a departure from the purely descriptive goals of discourse analysis. 'The term critical (and the associated term critique) refers to human matters, interconnections and chains of cause and effect that may be distorted out of vision'.[3] CDA thus moves from the surface attentiveness of discourse analysis to recognition of the crucial role played by deeper, larger social forces existing in a dialectical relationship with the discourse.

Though CDA is a relatively new discipline, its roots can be traced as far back as Marx, whose ideas on social theory and organization have had a tremendous impact on subsequent social thinkers. For instance, Gramsci (1971) and Althusser (1971) have both stressed the significance of ideology for modern societies to sustain and reinforce their social structures and relation. 'Critical Linguistics/discourse theorists have developed a radically different form of analysis, which inflects the term discourse slightly differently'.[4] The critical discourse theorists have been concerned to develop a political

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[1]   A Beard, *The Language of Politics* (London: Routledge, 2000), p.15.
[2]   Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*: the *Critical Study of Language* (Harlow; Longman 1997), p.28.
[3]   *Ibid.*, p.36.
[4]   S. Mills, *Discourse* (USA, Canada: Routledge, 1992), p.140.

analysis of text. Particularly linguists such as Norman Fairclough have integrated Michel Foucault's definition of discourse with a systematic framework of analysis based on a linguistic analysis of text. In this way, critical linguists such as Fairclough can be seen providing working models and forms of practice from Foucault's theoretical interventions, together with a description of the effects of discursive structures on individuals. There is a shift away from mere description to a more analytical and critical perspective, which is a significant reinterpretation of Foucault's work.

The use of rhetorical devices

Beard writes, 'Rhetorical speeches are going to be needed if the audience is to both pay attention and be persuaded'.[5] Rhetoric is defined by Cokcroft and Cockroft in their book '*Persuading People*' as 'the art of persuasive discourse.'[6] The word discourse here has been used to refer to both spoken and written communication.

The Greek philosopher Aristotle wrote extensively on the art of the rhetoric. He believed it an important part of human activity. Hence he categorized and defined it extensively. Plato, on the other hand, believed rhetoric to be the manipulation of an audience by people who were essentially insincere in their motives. So rhetoric has always been thought an important factor in all human communication.

Rhetoric, thus, refers to speech, and more specifically to a certain type of formal public speaking. Its one common feature is that it is a skill of speaking persuasively that is far more important than a personally held belief in the topic under debate. The politicians are judged by their rhetorical skills, and their ability to speak persuasively, rather than the honesty of their views. Insincerity is even acceptable provided the rhetorical skills used to communicate it are good enough. Generally a speaker is rewarded for his/her rhetorical skills rather than honesty and truth. A good speaker is one who successfully persuades the audience to agree with his/her ideas, rather than to adjudicate on what reality is.

Aristotle classified the means of persuasion into three broad categories. Cockcorft and Cockroft[7] describe them as:
1. Persuasion through personality and stance
2. Persuasion through the arousal of emotion

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[5]   A Beard, *op.cit*.
[6]   R. Cockcroft and S.M. Cockroft, *Persuading People* (London: Macmillan, 1992).
[7]   *Ibid*.

3.   Persuasion through reasoning

All the categories are used by a general speaker as part of his/her performance. The speaker is decided to be sincere or manipulative depending upon how well these three categories are constructed in his/her speech, and how the audience respond to them.

As far as the political speeches are concerned, the position and use of the rhetorical skills is not very clear. However, one may argue that the politicians, no doubt, put forward policies that they genuinely believe in, and they manipulate the audience into agreeing with them, which really serve only the desire of the politicians to gain or keep power. Hence, to achieve their ends the politicians do use rhetorical devices in their speeches. The popular devices are the sound bite, the importance of three, shift from public to personal and vice versa, and sisterlike friendship.

Nowadays the politicians make most of their public speeches to invited audience of their own supporters. For instance, at partly conferences and party rallies only supporters of the party are invited or only supporters go to attend such conferences or rallies. So in conference hall or rally's park, the audience is vital to the whole process. However, millions of the audience are also those people who on account of the one reason or the other cannot come to the conference hall or rally's park. They either read about the speeches in newspapers, or hear/see them on Radio and T.V.

In Britain and America, politicians' speeches for such public gatherings are usually written. The leading politicians have teams of speechwriters to prepare material for them. So speeches prior to conference/rally are distributed to the press. But the broadcasters cannot broadcast the whole speech unless the event is very special. Thus, the broadcasters only broadcast the highlights of speech in the same fashion as goals are shown from a football match or the wickets falling are shown from a cricket match. These highlights from speeches are called sound bites. The word sound bite has been derived from the idea of a computer 'byte', which in turn means a bite or chunk taken out of something. The audience, however, play vital role in the success of the sound bites. In Pakistan the situation is a bit different. Usually the leading politicians do not get their speeches written for public rallies. They usually make their speeches in public gathering extempore. However, the sound bites they do use and the success of sound bites in Pakistan also depends upon the response of the audience.

One of the most common means of politicians of eliciting approval of their ideas is the use of what Atkinson[8] called a list of three. 'Repetition and contrast are frequently used together as a rhetorical device.'[9]

The fact is that whatever the nature of the speech act, political speech or casual conversation, the three part list is attractive to the speakers and listeners because it is embedded in certain cultures as giving a sense of unity and completeness. Talbot *et al* quotes the Labor Party slogan, 'Education, Education, Education', as an example of the three part list. From Pakistani politics the popular slogan of Zulfiqar Ali Bhttoo 'Roti, Kapra Aur Makan' can be quoted here as an example of the list of three. The effect of these lists does not rest solely in the repetition; they are spoken aloud, so prosodic features, such as pitch, tempo and rhythm, also play a major role in their effect. Moreover, the three part list does not have to be mere repetition. It can have different words, or phrases with a similar general meaning.

So contrastive pairs is a common feature of political speeches. Whereas the three-part list contains three parts, which essentially complement each other, the contrastive pair contains two parts, which are in some ways in opposition, but in other ways use repetition to make the overall effect. A good example of this is Neil Armstrong's words when he became the first person to set foot on the moon in 1969: 'One small step for man; one giant leap for mankind.' The use of contrast and repetition can involve a number of linguistic features; it can include lexical repetition, semantic repetition, or contrast including the literal contrasted with metaphorical, syntactical repetition and phonological repetition.

A politician at times shifts from public to personal, or personal to public. Such a shift has transgressive potential, in which personalities are born. Language use, gestures and expressions play a vital role in establishing a synthetic personality. At times, the speaker appears to be a normal person, and then, in the next moment, s/he incorporates into a more authoritative styled leader. Then s/he requires display of assertiveness, and this s/he may achieve through slow delivery, modality choices and so on. This technique of shift creates the political personal of the speaker.

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[8] M. Talbot, K. Atkinson, and D. Atkinson, *Language and Power in the Modern World*, Crown Well Press, 2003, p.22.

[9] *Ibid*.

        The political speakers at times establish what Atkinson[10] calls synthetic sisterhood. They establish an imaginary community, which consists of them and their audience. Thus, in this way, they try to simulate a friendly relationship. Brown and Levinson write, 'This kind of friendly behaviour, the signaling of closeness, and interest in another person, is sometimes known as being positively polite.'[11] It involves the participants' attention to positive face. It means that participants (here participants mean the speaker and the audience) are required to be liked by each other, approved of by each other, or even flattered by each other. So politeness strategies on the part of speaker contribute in establishing a synthetic personalization and an informal friendly relationship between him/her and the audience. Hence, the use of positive politeness strategies is an effective device often employed by the politicians in their speeches.

The use of metaphors and their power

Beard writes: 'Both politicians, and those report politics, use these metaphors.'[12] Metaphor refers to a word or a phrase used to establish a comparison between one idea and another. Metaphor is deeply embedded in the way we construct the world around us and the way the world is constructed for us by others. Two common sources of metaphor in politics are sports and war. Both of them involve physical contest of some sort. For instance, in Britain, boxing metaphors are particularly common, which convey a sense of toughness and aggression. Lakoff and Johnson write about the British election of 1997 that 'When the British Election of 1997 was announced, one newspaper had the headline. The Gloves are off, suggesting not boxing, but a bare knuckle fight.'[13] Similarly in the USA, baseball metaphors abound in politics i.e., 'a whole new ball game,' 'a ball park figure', 'to play ball,' or to be 'back at first base' can be quoted as a few examples. In Pakistan, the politicians usually use cricket metaphors. For instance, after his being acquitted from the cases, Asif Ali Zardari gave a statement in the newspapers that if the next general elections are held fair, PPP will play in the style of Shahid Afridi.

        Gibbs points out the metaphors from sports and war are 'not rhetorical devices for talking about politics, for they exemplify how

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10   *Ibid.*
11   Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson, *Politeness*: *Some Universals in Language Usage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
12   A Beard, *op.cit.*
13   G. Lackoff, and M. Johnson, *Metaphor We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

people ordinarily conceive of politics–for instance metaphors from sports and war often delude people into believing that negotiation and compromise are forbidden by the rules.'[14] In other words, it can be said that because so much language which surrounds political issues is rooted in metaphors of war, contest or sport–that if we had not been consciously aware of their roots, we would have then no idea that politics could be anything other than confrontation. Moreover, the key metaphors of politics involve concept of enemies and opponents, winners and losers. They do not suggest that government can be achieved through discussion, cooperation, working together.

Sometimes metaphors are used to replace the name of something with something that is connected to it, without being the whole thing. For instance, the US President, government and advisors are sometimes replaced by the much simpler term 'the While House'. Similarly in Britain the British royal family is replaced by 'the Buckingham palace'. In Pakistan, any announcement on behalf of president or prime minister or foreign office is announced as 'The Islamabad said…'

However, metaphors use is not random, but systematic. There is always a logical connection between the thing and the thing that replaces it. For instance, if you are asked to look at the face of someone, after looking at the facial portrait of that person, you will almost be satisfied that you have seen the person. If, however, you are shown a picture of that person's legs, without the face, you will certainly demand to see more. Metaphors affect the audience's perception of and attitude to the original thing. For instance, if a US politician states that the White House today threatened Saddam Hussain with military action over the UN inspectors' affair, here the metaphor, the White House, replaces the president of USA and his advisors, and Saddam Hussain replaces the country or people of Iraq. In the above-mentioned sentence, the metaphor has been used to give a favourable view of the American position. There is a hidden advantage for the US president in not himself being named. For instance, attacking a foreign country is a dangerous decision. It is not something an individual will want to be held responsible for. It seems better if the threat is reported emerging from an impressive building. On the other hand, by directing threat to Saddam Hussain, and not to the people of Iraq, means that he alone will suffer the results of attack. Metaphors in fact give more deeper and unseen meaning to an argument. 'When analyses are used, therefore the reader

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[14]   R.W Gribbs, *The Poetics of Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

must not just accept them but must evaluate their strength as a piece of argument.'[15]

So far we have been discussing the metaphors' operation at word or phrase level. They establish comparison between one idea and another. However, sometimes-political argument involves comparison on a larger scale. A metaphor may operate by comparing two objects of different types, but these two objects have certain elements in common. For instance, the object of the kind has certain characteristics, and we do not know that the second object has them or not, but by comparison we conclude that since objects of the two kinds have certain things in common, they may have other things in common as well. However the strength of a metaphor depends on the degree of similarity between the objects being compared and whether they are similar in ways that are relevant to the argument being made. We can quote here the example in which Margrate Thatcher used a metaphor in a favourite economic argument --- she compared the economy of the nation with the economy of an individual household. She said that just as it was dangerous for a family to run up a debt, so it was dangerous for a country to do the same.

The art of spin
'The activities of politician are seen to be devious'.[16] Though the art of spin is associated in America with the PR experts employed by the politicians to channel facts to the media and the term spin doctors is also used for these experts, yet the politicians in America do not admit employing spin-doctors themselves, they refer to them as their press agents, or use some such similar term for them. The word spin relates to baseball in America (in Pakistan it relates to cricket). The word, however, employs that spin is a pitcher's technique (in cricket a bowler's technique) to fool or deceive the opponent. Thus, in America, a spin–doctor is someone who deceives, and is one who presents a false picture to suit the politician. In Pakistan, however, the politicians themselves employ the same technique to present a false picture to the audience or to the opponent, though the press agents are also employed by Pakistani politicians.

The art of spin is used in speech by presenting the facts in a different light or by approaching a figure in a different way. So spin often involves either claiming credit or distributing blame. Blame or credit can be attributed, for instance, by either emphasizing the role of participants or by minimizing it. One way of exploring how blame or

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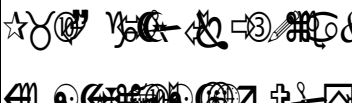
15   A Beard, *op.cit.*, p.28.
16   *Ibid.*

credit is attributed is to look at the way transitivity works in a text. Similarly, we can also assess blame or credit by finding out naming labels given to the participant as well as the grammatical foregrounding or backgrounding of their role, i.e. one of the most obvious ways in which participants can be foregrounded, backgrounded or omitted entirely is by using the active or passive voice.

What follows is a critical analysis of a few Pakistani politicians' use of language in public gatherings. By virtue of their art of rhetoric, all of them have been the most popular politicians among masses in Pakistan.

Analysis of politicians' language

Two segments of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speeches: In Z.A. Bhutto's speeches, any utterance (utterance is a unit of speech in between pauses e.g. in Table 1 *dobi hoi kashti* 'the sunk boat' is an utterance) in the aftermath quickly supplies a new information. One utterance moves up a scale producing utterances of greater strength and scope. His descriptions, especially in the public speeches, circulate about the same event. Moreover, they involve scalar expressions ranging from weak to strong. Consider the Tables 1 and 2 (each table presents one speech segment of the speaker).

In each table the first expressions in the series, as they apply in a temporally unfolding context, quickly gives way to a perceived stronger point. However, the movement from weaker to stronger takes place in a variety of ways. It enlarges the scope of his expression. Moreover, his expression entails a movement from concrete to abstract, and, then, from abstract to concrete.

TABLE 1

Original	English	Critique
	When the boat had sunk in the fire, the flames said, 'Now, plunge into it, take charge of the boat.'	A scalar expression ranging from weak to strong. Persuasion through personality & stance, the arousal of emotions.

	I said, 'The condition is pathetic, every thing is destroyed, the half part is lost… it is under control of Hindustan. The problems are deep-rooted, even here the problems are so great.	A scalar expression ranging from weak to strong. Persuasion through personality & stance, the arousal of emotions.
	'What should I do? I am popular among masses. I am famous in public. I have a respected place in public. You … will you Zulfiqar Ali … will you spoil your popularity! … destroy your respected place! … how will you handle it!'	The art of spin. The three part list. The contrastive pair.
	'I thought … I said no. The question is not of my honour. The question is not of my honour. The question is not of my popularity. The question is of my nation. The question is of my Pakistan. The question is of my poor masses.'	The art of spin. The three part list. The contrast between two three part lists.

This segment of speech adopts an interesting position as it contains a dialogue between the speaker and an abstract noun *(sholay)* the flames. This abstract noun is personified here as a living entity, talking to the speaker. The metaphors abound in the entire segment. For instance, *(angar)* fire, *(sholay)* flames, and *(dobi hoi kashti)* the sunk boat come in the beginning. Thus, the use of the three here is employed to build a rhythmic rapport and involvement with the masses leading to a crescendo. Hence, this is a technique of the persuasive art. They introduce the pathetic predicament of the country. This initial cognitive representation helps the speaker to set the agenda he has in his mind. This segment also shows a shift in the speaker's attitude from public to personal, and from personal to public.

The speaker also employs the list of threes twice. Each of these lists contains three phrases. The first list contains *(meri awam mein maqboliat hai)* 'I am popular among masses', *(meri awam mein shorat hai)* 'I am famous in public', *(meri awam mein izat hai)* 'I have a respected place in public'. The second list contains *(meri qoam ka sawal hai)*, 'The question is of my nation', *(mere Pakistan ka sawal hai)* ' The question is of my Pakistan', *(mere gharibo ka sawal hai)* 'The question is of my poor masses'. If we compare these two lists of threes, we can find that *(izat)* 'honour' in the first list is replaced by *(qoam)* 'nation' in the second; then again *(izat)* 'honour' in the first list is replaced by Pakistan in the second; *(shorat)* 'popularity' in the third phrase of the first list is replaced by *(ghariboo)* 'the poor masses' in the second list. This comparison highlights speaker's ideology---i.e. twice he uses the noun *(izat)* 'honour', but never does he attach it to the poor masses. First he attaches honour to nation, then to Pakistan. Honour is thus depicted here as something that one can get rectified and protected only when one attaches it to something great and socially important, like nation, country, etc. Perhaps, one can not get one's honour rectified and protected if one attaches it to *(ghariboo)* the poor masses.
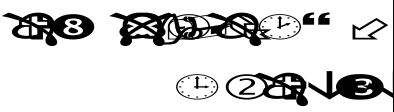
TABLE 2

Original	English	Critique
↗ ☻ ☉⭐✖✦†③↗ ☯⭐✖" ✖↗ ⬓⬕⬙◧▤ &✦	I am born of masses. The power of masses has led me to my destination.	The repetition of noun *awam* (masses). The art of spin.

(Urdu text in symbol font)	How can I be apart from masses? How can there be distance between me and masses? I will not let walls be built between me and masses…	Persuasion through arousal of emotions. The shift from personal to public & public to personal.
(Urdu text in symbol font)	If today … if fish can remain alive outside water, if perfume can be separated from flower, then and only then can Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto live apart from masses.	The use of metonymy.

This segment of speech is a compact whole from the beginning to the end. The noun masses or public *(awam)* is repeatedly used here. It is the most strong linguistic unifying feature of this speech. At six different places the noun masses *(awam)* is used here. The thought in this speech begins with masses in the first sentence and ends with masses in the last sentence. Masses is given here the role of parents, as the parents give birth to child, the speaker says that he has gotten birth from the masses. No doubt, he talks of his birth as a politician. Masses has been then presented here as a source of *(taqat)* power; masses has been portrayed as a beloved to whom the lover (the speaker) can not think of deserting.

The metaphors of *(machli)* fish and *(pani)* water, *(khushboo)* perfume and *(phool)* flower have been employed to prove the strength of the relationship of the speaker with the masses. In both the metaphors the speaker has chosen an active role for himself, and has assigned a passive role to masses. For instance, in the first metaphor, the speaker compares himself with *(machili)* fish and *(awam)* masses with *(pani)* water. It is fish which actively moves in water, and not the vice versa. Moreover, water can remain without fish but fish cannot live with out water. Thus, the metaphor, on the one hand, suggests that the speaker *(machili)* can swim and penetrate in the ocean of masses *(pani)*. And the ocean of masses *(pani)* can not swim and penetrate into him. Thus, the metaphor suggests that the speaker has access to all sections of masses, but the

masses can not have access to all sections of *(machli)* the speaker. It means that the *(awam)* can not have access to all shades (ideology) of the speaker. On the other hand, *(machili)* (the speaker) is a kind of life in *(pani)* water, without it *pani* will only be an inanimate element of nature. In the second metaphor, *(khusboo)* perfume stands for speaker, and *(phool)* flower for masses. *khushboo* is the essence of *phool*. Metaphorically speaking, the *phool* can die, but *khusboo* can be immortalized by converting it into perfume. So, here, the speaker tends to immortalize himself vis-à-vis the general public.

    Two segments of Benazir Bhutto's speeches: In these segments the speaker employees the sister like friendship, she establishes synthetic sisterhood with the audience. She addresses them as if they were not masses but her friends and relations.

TABLE 3

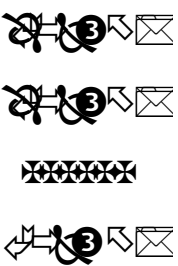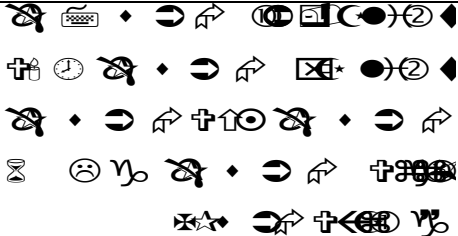| Original	English	Critique
[text in symbolic script]	My brothers, respected aged fellows, sisters, the youth and companions.	The synthetic sister hood.
[text in symbolic script]	I have come to the city of Lahore, which has always in an honorable way … which (the city of Lahore) has respected this sister and elected for the National Assembly.	The use of metonymy.
[text in symbolic script]	I am thankful to my brothers.	From feminist's point of view, she neglects those women who cast their vote for her.

    This segment of speech begins in a very formal way. The speaker addresses the audience as if they were her family members and relations. Hence, since the very first line the speaker employs the sister

like friendship technique; she establishes a synthetic sisterhood with the audience. She establishes an imaginary community which consists of her (the speaker) and the audience only. In the words of Brown and Levinson[17] such positive face on the part of speaker is an effort to simulate a friendly relationship. 'It was definitely published to give her publicity'.[18] Though the above statement was given in reviewing her well celebrated book *Daughter of the East*, yet it seems quite appropriate about her speeches as well.

From feminists' point of view, we can say that the speaker, although a woman herself, recognizes the power that men yields in the society. For instance, in the last sentence she thanks only men of the city for casting vote in her favor, and neglects the women.

Another important linguistic feature of this speech is that the speaker uses metonymy i.e. she addresses the people of Lahore not as the people of Lahore, but as *(Lahore shar)* the city of Lahore. She even propounds that the city of Lahore, and not its people, has elected her as member for the National Assembly. She then thanks the city and declares herself as a sister of the city.

TABLE 4

Original	English	Critique
✐②	O friends!	The synthetic sisterhood.
⚥❸⬎✉ ⚥❸⬎✉ ✶✶✶✶✶✶ ⚥❸⬎✉	On 5th of July, On 5th of July, --------------- On 5th of July	Repetition
⬥ ⟳ ☞ ⬤②◀ ✙☉⚥ ⬥ ⟳ ☞ ⊠✦ ⬤②◀ ⚥ ⬥ ⟳ ☞✙↻◉⚥ ⬥ ⟳ ☞ ⌛ ☹♋ ⚥ ⬥ ⟳ ☞ ✙♋ ⊠✦ ⟳☞✙⟨⬤ ♋	This conspiracy was not directed against one person. It was directed	The art of spin.

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17   Penlope Brown and Stephen Levinson, *op.cit.*
18   http://micropakistan.org/blog/2007/04/10/daughter-of-the-east-a-review/

	against public, the poor masses, the oppressed, the labourers, and the people of lower classes.	

This segment of the speech begins in a formal way. The speaker calls the audience her friends *(sathio)*. This noun also suggests that the speaker includes the audience in the struggle she is carrying against those who dismissed her government on July 5. The repetition of July 5 highlights its importance for the speaker. The speaker also declares the removal of her government as conspiracy *(sazish)*. This was actually directed against the rule of one person only, and not against others. 'Miss Bhutto is portrayed as the victim of all victims without a faulty gene in her body'[19] seem to be the main thought of this chunk of her speech. By establishing synthetic relationship with masses the speaker declares it a conspiracy against the oppressed people. The speaker who in fact belongs to one of the leading big families of Pakistan, declares the removal of her government not as the loss of that class (elite class), but declares it a loss of poor labour class. The speaker also uses the noun *(humare awam)* our masses. The noun *(humare)* shows on the one hand the social superiority of the speaker. On the other hand, it shows that the speaker is not alone. Rather she is part of a collective struggle.

A similar theme of collective struggle runs through the following excerpts from the speeches of Mian Shahbaz Sharif and Altaf Hussain, leaders of two of the most popular political parties in Pakistan. This further strengthens our argument that Pakistani politicians use similar rhetorical devices to win the consent of the masses in public rallies.

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[19]   *Ibid*.

A speech segment of Shahbaz Sharif

TABLE 5

Original	English	Critique
(text in symbol font, illegible)	Why God gifted us this region? Why millions of people sacrificed their lives (at the time of independence), even the rivers became red with their blood? How the scarfs were torn off from the heads of our sisters, their honours were looted, bloodshed occurred … what for all this happened?	A scalar expression ranging from weak to strong. Persuasion through personality & stance. The arousal of emotions. The three part list. The contrastive pairs.

	Only for this that a small number of people must lead a life of comfort and luxury … their big palaces must be lighted up with electric lamps? And in the house of a poor man, nothing should be present to prepare meal … even not a single earthen lamp should be there to light his mud house? On the one hand, wealth must be piled up, riches must be piled up, and each comfort of life must be present at their doorstep? … And, on the other hand, poverty should have arrested a great proportion of population, life should be a curse for them and they should not be able to get even a single meal?	A scalar expression ranging from weak to strong. Persuasion through arousal of emotions. The art of spin. The contrastive pairs.

TABLE 6

A speech segment of Altaf Hussain:

Original	English	Critique
[Urdu text rendered in symbol font]	My brothers …. mothers, sisters, respected old fellows!	The synthetic sisterhood.
[Urdu text rendered in symbol font]	In the province of Punjab, among the respected old fellows, youth, mothers, sisters of the Punjab, a negative propaganda was started against Altaf Hussain and MQM.	The synthetic sisterhood. A scalar expression ranging from weak to strong. Persuasion through personality and stance, the arousal of emotions.
[Urdu text rendered in symbol font]	MQM was declared an enemy of the country … MQM was labeled with an allegation of terrorism, MQM was declared an enemy of Punjabis, Sindis, Balochis and Pakhtoons … MQM was labeled with an allegation of creating Jinnah Pur.	The arousal of emotions. The contrastive pairs. The art of spin.
[Urdu text rendered in symbol font]	My brothers, respected old fellows!	The synthetic sisterhood.
[Urdu text rendered in symbol font]	All the allegations labeled against me or MQM are not true.	Persuasion through personality & stance. The arousal of emotions. The art of spin.

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Summary and discussion

To surmise it can be said that in the political speeches, the politicians present themselves to public like commodities for consumption. It is this feature which marks their resemblance very clearly to the advertisements on television. Their speeches are like political advertisements. They make their advertisements more and more effective and acceptable for general masses by using a particular language in them. Moreover, they use language to construct a particular ideology. Through our analysis of Pakistani politicians' speeches and the preceding theoretical discussion, we hope to have shown that the language of political discourse is the art of persuasion. By looking at figures of speech, the art of spin and other rhetorical devices, we have suggested that the politicians' use of these devices is not random, but their language is systematically and ideologically loaded. Hence, language is central in this discourse to the construction and naturalization of ideology. The rhetoric devices are used discursively by the politicians e.g. sister like friendship is not to be taken at its face value, but it is a device to further their political aim. Hence, these devices are means to an end.