



## RESEARCH PAPER

# A War of Supremacy Deciphering Peace and Security Stratagems in Pakistani and Indian Prime Ministers' Discourses: A Critical Analysis

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## ABSTRACT

This rigorous research attempts a comparative analysis of the South Asian leaders' political discourses and deciphers covert power and ideological stratagems in the selected speeches of Pakistani and Indian Prime Ministers—Nawaz Sharif and Narendra Modi. The underlying objective of the study rests in examining holistically the relationship between 'text' and clandestine elements of power and ideological stratagems that manipulate supremacy in the region. The verbal attacks by leaders give rise to animosity, rivalries and insecurity. This background entails analysis of the language that 'persuades and provokes covert motifs' (woods, 2006). The researchers employ the Faircloughian 3D-model integrated with Halliday's SFL framework as a research method that helps in analyzing discursive practices in discourses. The study finds the deliberate use of linguistic choices and expletive devices for the maintenance of supremacy and dominance. The study recommends a socio-political and pragmatic analysis of diplomatic discourses and refers further research in interdisciplinary fields: pragmatics, corpus-linguistics and sociology.

**KEYWORDS** Critical Discourse Analysis, Covert Power and Ideology, Dialectical Perspective, Endoxa, Ideological Stratagems, Political Discourse, Praxis, Rhetoric, Supremacy

## Introduction

The dexterity in political discursive practices and rhetoric skills affirms leaders' ability to cope with power conundrums and to lever power politics in the direction suited to their agendas. The power politics renders world leaders a vision that emphatically instils in them the mania for authority or to exert supremacy. The political discourses and rhetoric are highly stage-managed and rely chiefly on the metaphorical expressions, provocative slogans, snappy expressions, and cohesive and expletive devices. The rhetoric power and oratorical art for the manipulation of language to reach persuasive ends has been clasped in the past and is being well and equally welcomed in the recent era. The language of the political discourses and staged-managed rhetoric is not always based on honest means; it may equally be employed to render obscurity or twist the truth deliberately.

The strong vehicles to materialize these designs are the elements of power and covert ideologies. The best-suited medium to reflect these elements is the dexterous use of language. The political discourses are the emphatic emblems that unfurl the covert power exercised through the language and expletive devices used.

This paper attempts to analyze six speeches delivered by Pakistani and Indian Prime Ministers in the UNO General Assembly (GA), Afghan Parliament and Rewari. The selected discourses are substantially of enormous global significance in times of regional and international security turmoil. It is inevitable and exclusively crucial to decipher

ideological and power-tilting ideas contained in speeches delivered at different national and International forums.

The gargantuan importance of the PMs' rhetoric gets multiplied in an attempt by the PMs to bring closer to two extremely hostile countries – Pakistan and India. The study intends to unfurl all that is aspired by both the Prime Ministers in their official speeches pertaining to united international responsibilities, alleviation of poverty, Kashmir issue, peacekeeping missions in terrorism-shaken states, fight against terrorism, social injustice, undermining the monopoly of privileged and powerful, and authoritative and justice based role of UNO, etc. by examining and interpreting dialectically the ideological and power elements contained in the texts. It also examines how political leaders struggle for supremacy in their power games under the pretence of peace and security. This paper also looks at the success of persuasive strategies adopted by Prime Ministers Nawaz Sharif and Narinder Moodi and renders dialectical exposure of the contained ideological stratagems and realities. As CDA invites the reader or listener's interpretation, researchers intend to decipher "ideologies [that] reside in texts" (Fairclough, 1995) so the readers in general could sense the reality better – the chief end of CDA.

This study is also a surmise and assessment of Faircloughian conjecture that "ideologies embed in texts" and "texts are open to diverse interpretations" (Fairclough, 1995, p-15). The selected speeches of both Prime Ministers in terms of corpus power and ideological stratagems are critiqued and assessed. The researchers endeavour to make it overt how furtive elements of power and ideology underpin the leaders' discourses and how their discourses exercise power and ideologies to shape the opinion of the readers and listeners as "using of language involves something that goes beyond the acquisition of structures and the ability to make appropriate choices in the realization of the particular language functions" (Yalden, 1987 p-39).

This research compares two sets of discourses by leaders of two different countries from the same region. Pakistan and India have been hostile to each other since the partition of the sub-continent in 1947. India never accepted Pakistan since its inception and has been hostile towards Pakistan. The rivalries and hostilities goaded the relationship further. Both countries have been easy prey to wars. Indian attack of 1948 in Kashmir, War Theater was set in 1965 and 1971, Kargil war of 1999 and daily skirmishes on border lines aggravated the bilateral relation worst. Pakistan pleaded its case in UNO and resolutions were passed in favour of Pakistan. Later on the violation of UNO resolution and aggressions ensued could not mitigate conflict between the countries.

Their involvement in the Afghan war stems further complexities and severe animosity. Both countries have atomic installations and have atomic weapons. The danger of impending war has resulted in commotion in international communities. In these horrible backgrounds, rulers from both countries, in their speeches have been trying to fuel the fire. Their discourses contain covert elements of power and ideologies reflecting their political notions, signs of authority, clues of dominance and indications of violent temper. The researchers intend to explore the impact on social understanding and view consequently emergent changes that ensued in the region by all those covert ideologies and elements of supremacy clandestine in the phraseology of the selected speeches by the atomic hostile rivals, to facilitate the reader better. The comparative study of linguistic choices, expletive devices and antithesis etc. used by the two atomic rival leaders helps in making out better understanding of the intentions of the leaders – in the war of supremacy.

## **Literature Review**

The discourse is an integrated palette of meaning. The term “discourse” mounts to varied explications or interpretations and accepts many a definition. It integrates “a whole palette of meanings” (Titscher et. at. 1998) and encircles a variety of disciplines. Discourse is “language” analyzed [rationally] in a certain way, as a part of the social process (Fairclough, 2015, P-7) and is dialectically examined as “a form of power, a mode of forming beliefs/values, an institution, a mode of social relating, and a material practice” (Harvey, 1996 cited in Fairclough, 2015). Discourse, tied with other aspects in the process of understanding socialization, is deemed as language. This inter-connectivity does not merely restrict discourse to language rather discourse includes multi-semiotic text, facial expression, bodily positions, movement and gestures (Fairclough, 2015, P.8). Discourses are also viewed by Willgenstein as “forms of life” and “ubiquitous ways of knowing and valuing and experiencing the world” (Luke, 2016).

The power and knowledge is reflected by discourse through text protruded with varied social contexts, linguistics, philosophy and sociology. It construes that discourse is a wide-ranging term, open for multiple interpretations, and replicates wider implications than “text”. This study applies (Fairclough, 1989, P-24) definition of discourse which refers to “the process of social interaction of which text is just a part” and includes the concept of discourse as “text in context” (Van Dijk, 1997, P.3) that contains the covert notion of power and ideology. The social order of discourse contains a “hidden effect of power” that is not easily deduced or perceived from the “interactions and text” (Fairclough, 2015, P.73) that is what this study intends to expound through the political text.

## **CDA, Endoxa to Praxis –A Dialectical Approach**

CDA takes peripheral position in critical social science and is considered as a form of dialectical practical reasoning that proceeds from normative critique of discourse (Endoxa: opinion beliefs) and advances along social elements towards concrete transformation action (Praxis) that helps modification in existing reality. In recent times, Aristotelian dialects get modified by Hegel and Marx, and it is inferred that critique of language is an intrinsic part of Marx’s dialectical method that capitulates the explanatory understanding of the existing order for transformative Praxis to change the existing reality for the better (Fairclough 2015, P.18) that is also called as “contingent social constructivism” (Fairclough, Jessep and Sayer, 2004). This prevalent reality gets transformed by critiquing social practices that evolve power relations contained in spoken or written texts. This analysis and critiquing of the existing relationship between power and discourse is the chief end of CDA. The idea is strengthened by Fairclough (2015) who asserts: “People with economic power, on international as well as national levels, shape opinions attitudes, common sense assumption and action in all areas of social life.” (Ibid, 2015, P.28)

## **CDA Explicates Implicit Discourse Ideologies and Power**

The element of ideology and its relationship with society was explored by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci who termed ideology as an ‘implicit philosophy’. To Gramsci, “ideology is an implicit philosophy in the practical activities of life”. Fairclough regards “ideology as essentially tied to power relation.” He correlates commonsense and ideology. He argues “that ideological commonsense as common sense in the services of sustaining unequal relations of power.” (Fairclough, 2015 p-107). To him “it will be more helpful to say that common-sense assumption may in varying degree contribute to

sustaining unequal power relations". Ideology is well formed when its visibility is least in text that reflect its presence.

In the course of struggle of power, ideologies are underpinned through ideas in the text or material and CDA works out to interpret these ideologies as Fairclough (2015) further opines:

*"Texts do not typically spout ideology. They so position the interpreter through their cues that she brings ideologies to the interpretation of texts – and reproduce them in the process."*

Van Dijk identified the strong role of metaphor in politics. Political ideologies are entertained in a furtive way to serve the role of politicians. The chief end of the CDA research is to unearth these clandestine agendas. That's why it is advocated that the political speeches should not be analyzed at the textual level but also at the contextual level—the political and ideological features of the text. The established ideological structure used by speakers is classified under the two strategies:

- Positive self-representation, and
- Negative other-representation

Political leaders frequently employ the devices of 'polarization', 'lexicalization', and comparison in pursuit of strengthening and representing their ideologies. Every leader at a national or international forum tries to seek out justifications for their proclaimed action to mitigate, aggravate or avoid the hot issues. The body of research identifies that CDA offers an opportunity to unravel the covert ideologies in political discourses that are generally naturalized as common sense as argued by Fairclough (2010). The relationship between discourse and power is further analyzed by Van Dijk (1998) who opines CDA as an analytical apparatus that is used for discourse—written or spoken—in terms of discursive practices in the social world, like hegemony, dominance and racial discrimination.

### **CDA through the Lens of Language – Linguistic Functionality**

Halliday (1994) was the chief proponent of the functionality of linguistics. The Systematic Functional Linguistics is considered to be the primary determiner of CDA and other pragmatics theories. Renkema (2009) views a cogent interdisciplinary bond that exists between Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The authentic textual analysis is carried out through triangulation of CDA, DA and SFL. This study focuses on and attempts to integrate these varied but interconnected disciplines of studies for critical and analytical perspectives.

The primary objective of SFL is to figure out how people utilize language in their social interactions and how social groups (Worlds) in exchange are established by the use of language. This functionality of language compels us to investigate how language is ordered or framed to win socio-cultural meanings. The ardent concern of SFL is the analysis of texts of discourse by interlinking text with the social context in which it occurs. The remark-ability and worth of the functionality of the language was initially marked by Halliday who takes it as a system operating on three levels as follows:

- Semantics – the meaning system (lexico-grammar)
- Morphology – the system of wording
- Phonology – the system of sounding

The most important system, so far as this study is concerned, is semantics as the meanings of the social discourse are to workout in real situation. These three components function in parallel with each other. A clause in the text used in social discourse is an interwoven option concerning these three components in semantic functionality.

## Material and Methods

### CDA – Monolithicity to Multimodality Paradigm

Critical Discourse Analysis is not, as repertoire of research reflects, a monolithic research discipline or paradigm, or an independent field of research investigation but an assemblage of varied interdependent approaches for a scrupulous perceptive of the socially ordered discourse. Referring back to CDA as an agglomeration of approaches, its development stages stem from Frankfurt School (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). This agglomeration takes its inception from a variety of disciplines including, philosophy, language, sociology and psychology etc. CDA critiques discourse and itself is but discourse. It interprets, evaluates and explains discourse (Fairclough, 2015. P.9). CDA includes multi-semiotic texts with other semiotic forms including facial expressions bodily positions and movements gestures (body language) (Fairclough, 2015). This idea is further strengthened:

*“Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is obviously not a homogeneous model, nor a school or a paradigm, but at most a shared perspective on doing linguistics, semiotics or discourse analysis” (Van Dijk, 1993, P.131)*

Deduced from the body of literature, CDA functions under interdisciplinary techniques of textual analysis and opinions and looks at how texts reflect social identities, and social relationships across a variety of spoken and written texts, classroom talks, forms, political speeches, talk shows, newspapers, articles and commentaries of varied forms. In short, CDA is employed for any type, for any kind of discourse, in any medium by the use of varied methodologies. Keeping in view the multimodality perspective of CDA, this research study employs Fairclough’s three-dimensional model integrated with SFL framework for in-depth textual analysis. The selected text is interpreted, evaluated and then explained by the researchers. For linguistic and grammatical analysis text was examined under the SFL framework. The use of voice, anaphoric, cataphoric references, expletives, nominalization, and repetitive devices was assessed under the SFL notion and structure.

### Critical Analysis of PMs N. Sharif and N. Modi’s Speeches

#### A Tone of Supremacy and Warning to India

In-depth critical analysis of speeches delivered by the Pakistani PM in the UNO General Assembly shows his sincere well-wishes and concerns for peace in the South Asian region. Pakistan has gone extra miles to establish peace in the region, claims speaker. Confrontation and aggression must not be the destiny of our people living in Indo-Pak region. He stressed the need of dialogues to address Kashmir issue and other regional disputes. The element of power and supremacy is reflected in the discourse when PM in a tone of supremacy indicates:

*“Let us be clear: talks are no favor to Pakistan. Talks are in the interest of both countries. They are essential to resolve our differences, especially the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, and to avert the danger of any escalation.” (Sp3, Para-9).*

The message underlying the discourse is indicative that PM holds ideology of power and supremacy with which he warns the Indian rulers. It seems a war of supremacy is on. PM through his discourse intended to exercise his supreme authority over his counterpart. The speech reflected warning in advance to facilitators of terrorism whom PM held responsible for the militarization in Kashmir and Afghanistan. The language used in the discourse serves the purpose of the speaker. It indicates that if speakers' suggestions for peace are denied it could result in escalation not only by India but also by Pakistan. The hidden ideology surfaces the message that in such circumstances we are fully ready to face war and defeat such evil ends.

### **Kashmiris' Oppression and Indian Aggression**

Kashmir issue is an unattended chronic wound. Kashmiris have been the victim of untold oppression by unjust foreign occupation. The players involved displayed extreme aggression and

distorted peace talks efforts. He vigorously laments and persistently stresses, "the most persistent failure of the United Nations". The violation of the Line of control (LOC) and Working Boundary (WB) resulted in civilians' deaths of women and innocent children. The discourse justifies the PM's personality as an ambassador of peace and security in the Asian region. The Peace Initiative proposal is truly a charter of peace and security proposed by PM, if implemented and acted upon in true letter and spirit. The peace proposal encloses:

*"Muslims are suffering across the world: Palestinians and Kashmiris oppressed by foreign occupation; persecuted minorities; and the discrimination against Muslim refugees fleeing persecution or war.... Three generations of Kashmiris have only seen broken promises and brutal oppression. Over 100,000 have died in their struggle for self-determination. This is the most persistent failure of the United Nations". (Sp1, Para-11)*

### **The UN Must Regain Its Credibility and Ensure Peace and Security**

Quite forcefully, the Prime Minister indicated the failure of UNO as an international organization. He criticized the credibility of the UNO. He stressed that UNO must exercise its lawful role in controlling violations and being the guarantor of the legitimate rights of all the world over. It is the only way peace, prosperity and security of the world is guaranteed, if the reverse of it is done and favouritism is practised then horror and chaos would be the lot of this planet. He warns:

*"The UN must regain its credibility as the central instrument for the promotion of peace, prosperity and liberty. To that end, it should become more representative, transparent and accountable". (Sp3, Para-18)*

### **Critical Analysis of N. Modi's Speeches**

#### **Exercising Supremacy: Pakistan cannot be Based on Anti-Indian Politics**

The war of supremacy is interwoven in the entire discourse of PM N. Modi's speeches. It is an open warning to the neighboring country. It is claimed that Pakistan was founded and had been created on Anti-Indian politics but if it is involved in terrorist activities the life of Pakistan is threatened. Discourse apparently reflects the hidden agenda of the politicians as it is the case with PM discourse. Similarly, another idea is structured in the discourse. It is the awareness and realization on the part of political leaders that wars are not the solution of sufferings, agonies and turmoil faced by the entire humanity. It is

mutual understanding, wellbeing, fraternity and friendship that could result in prospering peace and security in any region of the world. It is suggested to the rivals and the world:

*"I want to tell this to Pakistan in clear terms that even if you were formed because of Anti-India politics, but your life cannot be based on Anti-India politics, you cannot develop through Anti-India politics... and let us all together fight against poverty, illiteracy, superstitions and give message of peace to the world from the land of Mahatma Gandhi..!" (Sp3, Para-15).*

### **Warning for Enemies and Hope for Nation**

The urge for supremacy is evident in the message posed in the lines. Leaders always weave some special notion in the texture of their discourses. The notion is warning for Pakistan and ideology of peace and security for the people of his nation. Prime Minister convinces his people by the dire need of support for his govt. That is what is woven in the texture of this speech? He assures the nation,

*"if the country is capable, neither China can raise its brow on us, nor Pakistan can trouble us the way they do and thus, we need to realize the dream of a strong government, of a strong leadership, of a strong army and a strong nation..!"*

The speaker vehemently criticizes the opposition who in his views degrades the army. As a result, youth are afraid to join the army.

### **Linguistic and Grammatical Analysis of the PMs' Speeches**

Text analysis, incontrovertibly, is an essential part of the procedure undertaken for discourse analysis, particularly in the Critical Discourse Analysis framework. Fairclough (2015) listed it (text analysis) as the first and foremost part of the discourse analysis. The three other elements, according to him include text identification, interaction and the social context. He further identifies the 'corresponding distinction' between these three levels of CDA as the description of text followed by the interpretation of the particular relationship that exists between interaction and social context. Fairclough (1989) associates text analysis with description to find out linguistic features including vocabulary, grammar, mode of speech, direct expression category, indirect expression category and the structure of interactions etc. Linguistic analysis finally leads to reveal power relation and ideological processes in discourses.

There are distinct varieties of approaches used for studying meanings of discourses, but this study chose SFL under the umbrella of Faircloughian approach as a strong mode of analyzing linguistic features in detail. The text in the selected speeches was analyzed in terms of experiential, relational and expressive values of words and grammatical features. The researchers' obligation was to work out how these values were expressed through the words used by both the Prime Ministers in their respective discourses.

### **The use of Linguistic Devices**

The textual analysis is one of the core constituents of the procedure adopted for critical discourse analysis. The key juncture in text analysis according to Fairclough (1989) is of description that identifies linguistic features (vocabulary, grammar items). Meyer (2001) argues that "lexical meanings" or "local meanings" are the product of the speaker's selection. The researchers intend to rely on Faircloughian approach to examine the selected vocabulary to express rational and experiential meanings. The following section identifies the dexterous employment of the linguistic devices used for text analysis.

The use of formal language is common in writing and speech. The speeches delivered by PMs Nawaz Shrif and N. Modi are emblems of formal choice of words to show gestures of politeness and respect.

### NS Speech 1

**Salutations:** At the very outset PM uses selected formal words as:

- "...excellencies, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen..."(Salutation section)
- "...We also pay tribute to Mr. Sam Kutesa..." (Line, 4)
- "...we are witnessing human dislocation..." (Para, 3)

### NS Speech 2

- "... I am delighted to visit Kabul and once again meet my very dear friends and brothers".(Para-1)
- "... His Excellency President Ashraf Ghani and Chief Executive His Excellency Dr. Abdullah Abdullah..." (Para-1)

### NS Speech 3

- "... Excellencies, Distinguished delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen..." (Salutation section)
- "We congratulate Mr. Peter Thomson on his election as President (Para-1)

### NM Speech1

- "...Excellencies..." (Salutation Section)
- "...Mahatma Gandhi had once said..." (Para-1)
- "...I am pleased that..."(Para-3)

### NM Speech2

- "...Your Excellency President Ghani..." (Salutation Section)
- "...Distinguished Members of both Houses..."
- "...Honourable members..." (Para-2)

### The Use of Repetition Device

The targeted recipients are communicated by the use of repeated phrases either to stress on set objectives or to influence the minds of the audience. The repetition of any word or phrase draws attention in a short space of writing (Peter, 2004). The repetition of words identifies ideology of the Prime Ministers N. Sharif and N. Modi. Different repeated words with highest frequency reflect ideological implications. For example, the repetition of *We-phrases* and *I-phrases* distinctly marked the use of repetition devices.

### NS Speeches

#### *We-Phrases*

- "...we welcome the..." (Sp1, P-11)
- "...we look forward to..." (Sp1, P-13)



**I-Phrases**

- “...I am delighted...” (Ps2, P-1)
- “...I am gratified...” (Ps2, P-1)

**NM Speeches****We-Phrases**

- “...we are meeting...” (Ps1, P-1)
- “...we are making...” (Ps1, P-7)

**I-Phrases**

- “...I consider...” (Ps1, P-1)
- “...I announce...” (Ps1, P-7)

These expressions are the clues of repeated phrases that show the ideology of the willingness of the speaker to expedite the peace struggles through the use of personal pronouns.

**Constructive Self-impression**

As the representative of the country, the PM strives to impress upon the strength of his ideology. He, being a down-to-earth leader, shows his devotion to the solution of the problems identified, and realization of the responsibilities to achieve set goals. The use of phrases “we will fight terrorism in all its forms and manifestations”, “...unless we address its underlying causes” and “we look forward to playing our part to build a brighter era of peace and prosperity” demonstrate the determination, will and resolution of the PM Nawaz Sharif to bump into the issues posed. It also urges the World to realize their united responsibilities for the peace and security of all the states. Similar other expressions are excessively found in the speeches of PM N. Sharif and N. Modi. Here is a list of such constructive self-impressions:

**NS Speeches**

- “...we have collectively committed ourselves to achieve ...” (Ps1, P-4)
- “...we are also creating a robust mechanism for the monitoring...” (Ps1, P-4)
- “...we welcome China’s vision of ‘One Belt, One Road...’” (Ps1, P-14)

**NM Speeches**

- “...we are meeting to chart a course for humanity...” (Ps1, P-1)
- “...our goals are comprehensive...” (Ps1, P-2)
- “...the sacrifices must not go in vain...” (Ps2, P-15)

**Grammatical Analysis****The Use of Voice**

The use of passive voice in communicative chunks may deter perspicacity or pose haziness to understand speaker’s stance. The mode of active voice helps clarity, lucidity

and identifies pragmatic properties of the text or speech. The PMs deliberate use of active voice in their speeches is an attempt to minimize vagueness.

### NS Speeches

- *"Pakistan is the primary victim of terrorism". (Sp1, P-9)*
- *"We have lost thousands of lives". (Sp1, P-9)*
- *"Muslims are suffering across the world". (Sp1, P-11)*

### NM Speeches

- *"We live in an age of unprecedented prosperity, but also unspeakable deprivation around the world." (Sp1, P-2)*
- *"This Parliament House brings together our two nations". (Sp2, P-3)*

### Connectivity and Cohesiveness

The linguistic devices which are used to connect previous and subsequent parts of a sentence are called cohesive devices. Cohesion in CDA is an apposite interconnectedness of the "properties of the text". A variety of cohesion devices is used in the written or spoken texts e.g. use of Collective Noun, Direct Action, Active Verb, Pre-modifier, Post-modifier, Substitution Devices, Anaphoric References, Cataphoric References, **Antonyms and Synonyms**. CDA attempts to diagnose the textual beauties associated with the use of different devices and how these devices are employed to make meanings clear. The enlisted devices contribute by explicating the importance of targets set and enhancing comprehensibility of the text implicated.

In the very outset of the speech 1 the word "we" (Line, 1) is used to congratulate Mr. Mogens, later on, the word "your" is used to substitute Mr. Mogens. This use of word "your" is called substitution. The speech is replete with such words that serve the purpose of cohesiveness and connectivity. The use of collective noun "we" instead of "I" by the PM Nawaz Sharif is an indication of convincing style and strategy that helps in creating attraction and ensues warm relation. The employment of the verbs 'speak' in the phrase, "I speak the proud..." (Sp1, Para-11) and "want" in "I want to use the opportunity" (Sp1, Para-18) are instances of the citations of direct action. There is another device called active verb. The use of word 'should' in the phrase "we should strive" is an illustration of active verb. To link some previous part with the subsequent part of a phrase or sentence with the help of a 'word' refers the use of *Anaphoric relation* e.g. "Pakistan supports a comprehensive reform..." and "we need a security council that is more democratic" (Para-7). The use of word "we" instead of "Pakistan" that refers back to previously mentioned things/objects (Pakistan) is an anaphoric reference. This reference is meant to avoid repetition. Similarly, *cataphoric reference* refers to the forward object in discourse. It is opposite to anaphoric and presents more cohesiveness and unity to text. Mr. Nawaz Sharif employs this device in sentence "later this year in Paris, we will need..." PM uses this technique to mention his willingness and commitment to resolve concerned problems. The technique of synonym is quite frequent in debates and speeches. PM also employs this device in his address. He uses "Mr. President" in the first line and subsequent use of "we share your commitment" identifies the use of synonym device.

Prime Minister N. Modi also very deftly employs these devices in his speech to influence his readers and listeners. The use of "our goals are comprehensive" (Sp 1, P-2) in which the word "our" is replaced with "we" is called substitution. The use of direct action device is also very common in PM N. Modi's speech. The frequent use of phrases such as,

"I speak about Blue revolution", "we welcome the prominence" and "we live in an age of" mark the dexterous use of action verbs. The collective nouns "we", "our" and "us" (Sp1, Para 2-3) are used time and again to show collective responsibilities and task to be accomplished. The employment of anaphoric reference is enriching the beauty of diction. PM Modi uses it in a very skilful manner as "to you, the members of Parliament, for braving violence/ voices to take your seats in this house in trust of your people" (Sp2, P-2). The word "this house" refers back to "parliament" is an anaphoric reference. In another statement the use of cataphoric reference is finely built up when PM suggests warning about the future in the words, "Then what will happen to us, have you ever thought of it." The word "it" is a cataphoric reference for "what will happen". Similar use is found in the sentence "...after 31<sup>st</sup> October, someone will come to you, and you will contribute to this unity" (Sp3, P-25). The use of synonyms devices also marks the contribution to the connectivity and cohesion of the text of the discourse. The speaker uses his utterances to reflect the use of synonym devices. The synonym "defence forces" replaces the word "army" in the sentence "We need to mobilize the army; we have to connect the vibrant youth of the nation to the defence force". The devices used by the PMs contributed in enhancing the cohesion and coherence of the thoughts interwoven in the discourses.

### Expletive Devices and Use of Antithesis

Antithesis is one of the unique devices used in language and literature to reap forceful contrastive impact of the idea presented. Cuddon (2012, cited in Kazemian & Hashemi, 2014) defines antithesis as a tool that sharpens contrasting ideas by the deft use of contradictory meanings and reflects the association between the two opposite ideas by juxtaposition existing in them. The Expletive device is the use of "single word" or short phrase" and normally suspends the flow of the speech. It is used to lay emphasis on the words that help to proximate to the expletive. The use of expletive is another beauty of expression that adds a vigorous effect in the text. The ideas presented through antithesis and expletive fortifies the connectivity in language and vision in thoughts, presented by both the PMs.

### NS Speeches

#### Use of Antithesis

- *"Despite the constraints of the Cold War, the United Nations served the international community as the beacon of hope; the repository of freedom..." (Sp1, P-1)*
- *"Cooperation, not confrontation, should define our relationship." (Sp1, P-17)*

#### Use of Expletives

- *"But, we – the peoples of the United Nations – have not succeeded in beating our arms (Sp1, P-3)*
- *"The blood that has been shed – including that of our innocent children – has reinforced our resolve to eliminate this scourge from our society." (Sp, P-7)*

### NM Speeches

#### Use of Antithesis

- *"We live in an age of unprecedented prosperity, but also unspeakable deprivation around the world." (Sp1, P-2)*

- “...it does not matter how capable our defense forces are, how modern warfare equipments we have, we will not be able to guarantee the security...” (Sp3, P-12)

### Expletive Devices

- “But, in the heart of every Indian and Afghan, there is boundless love for each other.” (Sp2, P-5)
- “But, we are here because you have faith in us.” (Sp2, P-8)

### Nominalization

In Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL), nominalization is regarded as lexicogrammatical device. It is defined by Simon-Vandenberg et al. (2003) who argues, “The processes can be symbolized as things rather than actual happening”. The use of nominalization rests usually in “the proposition comprising a subject, object and an object can be transformed into much simpler entity or a noun phrase” (Kazamein & Hashemi, 2014), as follows:

### NS Speeches

- “Today, our interdependent world possesses the financial, scientific and organizational capabilities...” (Sp1, P-4)
- “Three generations of Kashmiris have only seen **broken promises and brutal oppression...**” (Sp1, P-16)

### NM Speeches

- ‘You never doubted the sincerity of **our commitment and the strength** of our friendship...’ (Sp2, P-8)
- “...**enough capacity to capture the strength of this scene...**” (Sp, P-7)

### Analysis of the Rhetoric Diction

#### The use of ‘Tenet of Two’ (words) Joined by Conjunction ‘and’

The employed elocution—rhetoric language and aphoristic phraseology—verily adds to the beauty of a text. The ordered collocations, the use of two adjectives connected with “and”, the use of the ‘Tenet of Two’ or the ‘Tenet of Three’ etc. enrich the structural exquisiteness and contribute to the rhetoric quality of the text in hand. The use of such techniques enhances the beauty of expression, offers sonority, increases fluency, facilitates oratory and stresses the importance of the target pointed. The examples are listed here.

### NS Speeches

- “... a more just and stable world...” (Sp1, Line-3)
- “... universal peace and prosperity...” (Sp1, Para-1)
- “...poverty and deprivation...” (Sp1, Para-3)

### NM Speeches

- “...obligation to the world and responsibility to the future...” (Sp1, P-1)
- “...of poetry and beauty, of valour and honour...” (Sp2, P-1)
- “...brave men and heroes...” (Sp3, P-3)

## Analysis of Recurring Words and Connotations

The qualitative analysis of the Recurring Words (RW) and connotations used in PM Nawaz Sharif and N. Modi's General Assembly and other speeches unfold the following results. The PM Nawaz Sharif discourses consist of 4548 words and PM Narindra Modi's speeches consist of about 9280 words. The article "the" recurs 339, "and" is repeated for 227, "our" for 75 and pronoun "we" for 75 times in Nawaz Sharif's Speeches respectively. The word density or recurring occurs 746 for the article "the", the conjunction "and" is repeated for 382 and "we" appears for 214 times in his three selected discourses. The following table shows the number of recurred words and phrases in the speeches of the PMs, and the percentages are also presented.

**Table 1**  
**Comparative Analysis of the Recurring Words and Phrases appeared in the Speeches of the PMs**

Sr	Analysis of the Recurred Words Used by PM. N Sharif			Analysis of the Recurred Words Used by PM N. Modi		
	Words & Phrases	Recurrence	% age	Words & Phrases	Recurrence	% age
1	Pakistan	50	1.09	Pakistan	21	0.23
2	Peace	39	0.85	Peace	10	0.11
3	Security	27	0.59	Security	7	0.08
4	Terrorism	19	0.41	Terrorism	14	0.16
5	Challenge	7	0.15	Challenge	8	0.09
6	Threat	2	0.04	Threat	2	0.02
7	Prosperity	8	0.17	Prosperity	5	0.05
8	Poverty	6	0.1	Poverty	7	0.07
9	Justice	4	0.08	Justice	1	0.01
10	Freedom	8	0.17	Freedom	4	0.04
11	Mr. President	35	0.76	Mr. President	0	0.00
12	The United Nations	11	0.26	The United Nations	3	0.03
13	World	16	0.35	World	41	0.44
14	Danger	2	0.04	Danger	1	0.01
15	Enemy	1	0.02	Enemy	2	0.02
16	Nation	48	1.05	Nation	76	0.82
17	Army	0	0.00	Army	48	0.52
18	India	24	0.53	India	68	0.73
19	Forces	6	0.13	Forces	15	0.16
20	We	109	2.39	We	214	2.13
21	Our	75	1.65	Our	220	2.37
22	The	746	16.41	The	339	3.65
23	And	227	4.99	And	382	4.12

## Conclusion

According to CDA, the analysis – both critical and linguistic – of both Pakistani and Indian Prime Ministers' speeches involves the elements of power and ideologies that are revealed through textual and contextual features. The current discourses indubitably opine PMs' pragmatic vision which is uncovered by their rhetoric of peace and security maintenance. The dexterous employment of the linguistic devices used for text analysis reveals the power of language and helps in understanding the rhetorical power of the clandestine ideologies and power mania contained in political discourses.

The message inferred from PM N. Sharif's discourses is exclusively an emblem of his being a pleasant speaker, suggestive leader, harbinger and ambassador of peace and sympathizer of the masses. The discourses resulted in an effective strategy to make the audience understand that our silence was not our weakness rather it was a gesture not to ensue aggression. If imprudent or unfussy steps had been taken, there would have been caused appalling mayhem to this region particularly, and the world over generally. All arguments, practical steps taken and suggested collective measures, if not taken into consideration could result otherwise. This power deciphers covert power – is well received by the member states.

Comparatively, Indian Prime Minister N. Modi is reflected as more aggressive and impulsive in shaping the audiences under the fervor of his perceived ideologies. One common finding that is an integral part of their discourses is the exposure of power and supremacy. Both leaders are persuasive in exercising their dominance. PM N. Modi appears more aggressive, violent and forceful in dictating his message

It is evident, that neither PM N. Sharif nor PM N. Modi transgresses the diplomatic boundaries but the covert messages conveyed by their discourses portray a clear indication of supremacy to be exercised over the other. CDA helps in understanding their inner motives wrapped in their furtive phraseologies and makes it easier for the reader to grasp the clandestine reality. Their supposed involvement in the terrorist activities on both the sides could result in stemming suspicion and anger. It is evident, despite PMs' promises and assertions, peace and security could not be materialized, as it surfaces from the discourses.

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