A Critical Discourse Analysis of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif's Speeches using Fairclough's Tri-Dimensional Model

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Abstract

This study aimed to analyze political discourse using a mixed-method approach that combined both qualitative and quantitative analyses to investigate the discursive techniques used by two well-known Pakistani political personalities, Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif. For this critical discourse analysis, Fairclough's tri-dimensional model was used. Two speeches from each leader were analyzed, and language patterns were measured statistically using AntConc software. In his speeches, Imran Khan typically discussed economic stability and development initiatives, arguing that these were crucial to Pakistan's progress. Nawaz Sharif, on the other hand, highlights the sacrifices made by the people in the past and argued that they were essential to the development of the country in the future. Using Fairclough's paradigm, the qualitative analysis explored the texts to show how linguistic decisions worked as texts, discursive practices, and social practices. Nawaz Sharif's speech tended towards historical tales and resiliency, whereas Imran Khan's language was more in line with economic pragmatism and regional cooperation. The study clarified the complex ways in which political figures create narratives to sway public opinion and further their goals for the prosperity of the country.

Keywords: *Political Discourse, Fairclough's Model, Speeches*

1. Introduction

Political discourse, governmental choices, and public perceptions are all greatly influenced by political speech. Using Fairclough's tri-dimensional model, this study examines the political speeches of two prominent leaders in Pakistani politics, Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif, in order to reveal the complex structure of their discourse. Three interconnected dimensions—discourse as text, discourse as discursive practice, and discourse as social practice—are distinguished by Fairclough's paradigm. Comprehending these characteristics is crucial in the context of political communication as it helps to grasp the ways in which language serves as an instrument for persuasion, policy articulation, and social reality formation.

This study uses mixed method approach, which combines qualitative and quantitative studies by measuring spoken language patterns using AntConc software, is what makes it significant. This study

attempts to shed light on the linguistic techniques Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif employed to frame their political narratives by utilising Fairclough's model. Imran Khan is primarily concerned with initiatives related to economic growth, whereas Nawaz Sharif highlights the importance of past sacrifices as the foundation for future prosperity. Understanding many rhetorical techniques leaders that use to express their ideas and win over the public requires a thorough analysis of political speech.

While previous research has examined political discourse via a variety of frameworks, there is still a deficiency in the analysis of speeches made by Pakistani political figures utilising Fairclough's tri-dimensional model. By filling up this knowledge vacuum, the research advances our knowledge of the language nuances of political communication and illuminates the ways in which leaders manage power, create identities, and influence public opinion. Studies such as Fairclough's "Language and Power" (2001) and Van Dijk's "Discourse and Power" (2008), which offer a theoretical framework for the examination of political discourse in the South Asian setting, are important sources of inspiration for this research.

2. Literature Review
2.1. Theoretical Framework

Fairclough (1989) presented a three-dimensional model for textual analysis of data. The three dimensions include text, discursive practice and social practice. First dimension called *Text* includes analysis on the micro level. It deals with the analysis of text at different levels including vocabulary, cohesion, and grammatical level. The second dimension, *discursive practice*, includes analysis on meso-level covering three functions (text production, text consumption and text distribution) while the third dimension, *social practice*, includes analysis on macro level considering it an activity carried out in a society. This tri-model by Fairclough helps in identifying the themes of text, ideologies of the people and social context of the discourse.

Figure 1

Fairclough's tri-Dimensional Model

3.2. Previous Studies

Many studies have been conducted in which texts have been analyzed using Fairclough's (1989) model to highlight the features of text, the ideologies of the people, their hidden agendas and how society perceives their discourse. Some of the important studies are discussed below:

Horvath (2009) conducted a study on the inaugural speech by Obama. The persuasive strategies and ideological components used by him were analyzed using Fairclough's three dimensional model. Apart from this model, some other concepts by Fairclough (1995) were also utilized here i.e. ideologies are present in texts which are open for various range of interpretations. It showed that meanings need to be extracted from text. The results indicated certain ideological components using concepts like unity, liberalism, and pragmatism etc. It also highlighted the most prominent features of his speech which indicated his ideology and purpose.

Stobbs (2012) conducted a study on the same speech of Obama and filled the gap of the previous study using the same Fairclough's model. In the previous study (mentioned above), the specific use of pronouns was not analyzed. So, this study analyzed the use of pronouns and the purpose behind it. Apart from this, it analyzed lexical and syntactic choices and the repetition of certain words by the speaker. The results indicated that Obama frequently used 'we' to show intimacy with the listeners. In addition, he intentionally repeated some phrases and his syntactic choices helped him in the continuation of flow and in adding the emotions in the speech.

Jalali and Sadeghi (2014) analyzed the speeches, slogans, and campaign materials utilized by Candidates in the City Council Elections using Fairclough's model. They responded to a questionnaire that the researcher had developed, which included questions about their background, goals, and motives as well as types of political propaganda. In a controlled interview, the researcher also used several questions. After that, the information gathered was examined and contrasted in order to determine the ideas and opinions that each candidate had expressed in their speech. It revealed how candidates use appropriate ideological discourse structures in their speeches to try and convince their audiences and justify their positions.

Hussein (2016) analyzed the political speech delivered by Egyptian President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi during the opening of the New Suez Canal. The goal of the study was to investigate the intended ideologies and important linguistic details of the political speech using Fairclough's model. The study focused on placing the themes within their respective social and cultural contexts. The findings of study demonstrated that this speech had unique characteristics and the speaker skillfully employed language to achieve the intended goals. The speaker used collocation, synonymy, repetition, and figures of speech to accomplish various political philosophies.

Tambunan et al. (2018) attempted to apply Fairclough's theory to Erdogan's speech given on the party's balcony in Arkan, Turkey. This study made use of the sociocultural, discourse practice, and textual analysis theories developed by Fairclough. A qualitative research methodology was employed in this study to critically analyze the text. The results showed there were three components to Erdogan's official greeting speech in case of textual analysis which include coherence, grammar, and text structure. In addition, three stages of the practice were analyzed covering the application of discourse, the deployment of the process, and the process of earning a discourse. Lastly, an examination of sociocultural practices in Erdogan's official speech contained three levels including the institutional, social, and situational levels. Ramzan and Khan (2019) have suggested that stereotyped ideological constructions are enhanced by nawabs in Baluchistan. Further, Ramzan et al.(2021) have indicated that there is a manipulation and exploitation of the public in the hands of politicians and powerful people. Khan et al.(2017) have expressed that print media acts as a tool in the hands of capitalists. Bhutto and Ramzan (2021) have claimed that there is a collusive stance and pacifier agenda of media wrapped in the strategy of power. Nawaz et al.(2021) have said that power is striving for negative them

and positive us.

Faiz et al. (2020) critically analyzed the ideology behind Donald Trump's speech at the Israel Museum. The study analyzed his illocutionary acts in speeches for this purpose. A qualitative method was used in this study. Fairclough's three CDA model was employed for analysis. The findings highlighted the use of five different categories of illocutionary acts including representatives, directives, commissive, expressive, and declaratives. He frequently used representatives in his speech. Consequently, the outcome demonstrated that Trump had used every kind of illocutionary act. Trump's speech at the Israel Museum highlighted his intention to use his influence for the purpose of bringing peace in Jerusalem.

Tariq et al. (2020) analyzed Imran Khan's speech at UNGA using Fairclough's 3-dimensional model. This speech was given on September 28, 2019. The study analyzed "Us" and "Them" using Fairclough's model. The study considered four main themes of the speech—climate change, money laundering, Islamophobia, and Kashmir. The study examined power within and behind discourse, and ideologies expressed by the leader. The Prime Minister skillfully employed language to demonstrate the ideological divisions between "Them" and "Us" in relation to Muslims and anti-Muslims, Pakistan/Kashmir versus India, and developing countries versus developed countries. As this study dealt with the deeper meaning that language conveyed, this research helped the Pakistani public understand their political leader in terms of the concept of power. Ramzan et al. (2023) have claimed that in written communication, grammar plays a vital role in ensuring that messages are conveyed clearly and effectively. Further, Ramzan et al. (2023) have suggested that motivation in English learning determines vigilant proficiency in ESL learning. Furthermore, Ramzan et al. (2023) have confirmed that social media helps facilitate the exchange of ideas, insights, and knowledge, fostering a dynamic and stimulating academic environment. By adding more, Ramzan et al. (2023) have elucidated that the English language holds significant importance in today's global society, serving as a vital tool for communication, business, academia, and more.

Zhu and Wang (2020) investigated two speeches by Trump and Wang Yi. The two speeches were analyzed using Fairclough's model. The analysis on the first dimension of text showed that there were notable distinctions between the two talks in terms of Tenacity+ resources within the Judgment subsystem. Regarding the discursive practice dimension, both leaders make extensive use of intertextuality resources. Finally, the roles played by the speaker were analyzed keeping in view their ideologies for national interests.

The aim of study conducted by Haider and Gujjar (2021) was to evaluate the impression markers used by Boris Johnson. It also identified the speech's main theme, and described its implications for society and culture. The speech was delivered by him following his recovery from a corona virus attack. He gave the people reassurance in this speech that their government was supporting them during that difficult and challenging time. He was grateful for efforts in the fight against the pandemic. He was also grateful for the English people's patience in adhering to the standard operating procedures of the government. He told the people that COVID-19 would enter its second phase in England and that the only way to stop it would be for them to follow the instructions by the NHS and the government. Throughout his speech, he employed a variety of impression markers to establish coherence and highlighted important ideas. He was successful in convincing people to be optimistic.

Shah et al. (2021) conducted a study to explore the hidden realities behind the speeches of two important political personalities. For this purpose, Fairclough's three-dimensional model was utilized.

The speeches of Imran Khan and Modi were based on Pulwama attack. It was a mixed method study. Antconc was used for obtaining the frequencies of certain lexical items. The results indicated that both the leaders used specific tactics to manipulate their language. They used specific pronouns, modal verbs and vocabulary for this purpose. It furthur analyzed how they presented their ideologies and how they controlled the thinking of the audience by their discourse.

Many researchers have analyzed political discourse especially the speeches of political leaders but the comparison of the speeches of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif as the PM of Pakistan based on similarities and differences in terms of their ideologies, identities and agendas have not been investigated. So the present study aims to fill this gap.

3. Research Questions

This present study aimed to address following research questions:

1.   What are the key strategies employed by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif in constructing their political discourse?
2.   How do Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif's speeches differ in linguistic style and rhetoric features?
3.   To what extent do Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif represented Fairclough's tri-dimensional model to frame and present their political ideologies and agendas in their speeches?

4. Research Methodology
4.1. Data Collection

Representative speeches by Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif were chosen using a purposive sampling method, with an emphasis on speeches that touched important political and developmental concerns. In order to ensure relevance to Pakistan's current political debate, the research would encompass remarks made by both leaders over a predetermined period of time.

4.2. Procedure

AntConc software was used to measure language patterns statistically. In order to add to the discourse as text dimension, the software has helped to detect terms or phrases in the speeches and their frequency, collocations, and concordances. The qualitative analysis, which addressed discourse as text, discourse as discursive practice, and discourse as social practice, was guided by Fairclough's paradigm. In order to comprehend the language elements, power dynamics, and ideological foundations of the political discourse, the speeches were examined. Based on Fairclough's approach, a coding system that included categories pertinent to every discourse dimension was created. The methodical qualitative examination of the speeches' linguistic components, discursive techniques, and social ramifications were guided by this plan. Two separate coders were involved in the interpretation of speeches in order to improve the reliability of qualitative analysis. The interpretations were discussed at regular meetings to guarantee uniformity in the use of the coding scheme. The qualitative conclusions obtained from the use of Fairclough's model were examined and connected with the outcomes of AntConc's quantitative study. The goal of this integrated approach was to offer a thorough comprehension of the language techniques used in the political speeches of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif. The study followed ethical standards, making sure that all sources were properly cited and acknowledged. All speeches were examined in their entirety, and the interpretation process was carried out with a dedication to

impartiality and academic honesty. The study recognized the inherent constraints of analysing political discourse, such as the dynamic nature of political environments and potential biases in speech selection. It was tried to lessen these restrictions by using an open approach and using caution while interpreting the data.

5. Model

Discourse as text, discourse as discursive practice, and discourse as social practice are the three interconnected dimensions that make up Fairclough's model (1989). Every factor aids in the analysis of language use in various communication contexts and the comprehension of its wider societal ramifications.

1.   *Discourse as Text:*
This dimension looks at how language is utilised to create meaning by analysing linguistic elements found in the text itself.

Features: It entails analysing the text's syntax, vocabulary, grammar, and rhetorical strategies.

Goal: Gaining an understanding of how language choices influence the way meanings and representations are constructed in discourse.

2. *Discourse as Discursive practice:*

This dimension broadens the scope of the study to take into account communication processes, such as the creation, dissemination, and consumption of discourse.

Features: It entails examining the roles played by different actors in the communication event, the power dynamics ingrained in the discourse, and the impact of the social environment.

Goal: Identifying the ways in which social practises, power dynamics, and interpersonal interactions influence language usage and are influenced by it.

3. *Discourse as Social practice:*

This dimension expands the analysis to include the institutional and social environments that discourse is embedded in.

Features: It entails examining the larger societal structures, beliefs, and power dynamics that both impact and are impacted by speech.

Goal: Gaining an understanding of how language aids in the formation and negotiation of social identities as well as how it contributes to and reflects larger social structures, norms, and practices.

6. Data Analysis
6.1. Analysis of Imran Khan's Speeches

In order to analyze the speeches of Imran Khan, wordlist was created using Antconc and the most frequent words were noted for analysis.

Word Tokens: 1850   Word types: 789

Table 1

Word List of Most Frequent Words

Words	Frequency	Words	Frequency
Pakistan	20	Gwadar	3
China	16	Investment	3
World	11	Ladies	3
Cooperation	9	Leaders	3
Excellencies	9	Opportunities	3
People	9	Peaceful	3
Belt	8	Region	3
Road	8	Shared	3
Economic	7	States	3
President	7	Successfully	3
Connectivity	6	Thank	3
Development	6	Tourism	3
Efforts	6	Work	3
Terrorism	6	Action	2
Trade	6	Afghan	2
Cpec	5	Agenda	2
International	5	Agreement	2
Prosperity	5	Comprehensive	2
Regional	5	Congratulate	2
Republic	5	Corruption	2
Vision	5	Country	2
Alleviation	4	Crime	2
Asia	4	Cultural	2
Corridor	4	Culture	2
Distinguished	4	Disputes	2
Forum	4	Equal	2
Historic	4	Government	2
Infrastructure	4	Humanity	2
Participants	4	Imperatives	2
Peace	4	Imran	2
South	4	Khan	2
Afghanistan	3	Minister	2
Against	3	Women	2
Chinese	3	Youth	2
Climate	3	Abiding	1
Conflict	3	Academic	1
Countries	3	Accentuate	1
Foreign	3	Accounts	1
Future	3	Achieving	1
Gentlemen	3	Acquisition	1

6.2.Discourse as Text

Text is the first dimension of Fairclough's three-dimensional model. Following points can be analyzed at this level:

6.3.Vocabulary

It is true that words have hidden themes inside them. For this purpose, the word list of most frequent words in the speeches of Imran Khan has been developed. Major themes which can be extracted from the above list include: Pakistan (country, nation, and culture) the people (Pakistanis, Muslims, people, minister, ladies, gentleman, youth), religion (Allah), social issues (security, economic, terrorism), Power (government, military), problem handling (alleviation, development, prosperity, conflict, abiding, equal, against), Time (Future, today). These major themes indicate that the speaker is addressing to the people of his nation. He is aware of their social issues of today and also talks about how to deal with upcoming challenges in future keeping in mind the religion.

6.4.Tense

According to Fairclough (1989), the choice and arrangement of ideological features also help in analyzing the ideology of the person. In the analyzed speeches, a variety of tenses have been used. He talked about past, present and future as well. These choices indicated the speaker is well known what was happening in the past, what is happening in the present, and what will do in future for his country. This shows his authority and control. By using past tense, he discussed how Pakistanis got this country. He reminds them the sacrifices of the nation. He also reminds of the social issues they were facing in the past. He shed light on issues of the present. Then, he used future tense to remind them that their future was in the right hands and he could give them a prosperous future despite the difficulties of the present time.

6.5.Personal Preferences

It is important to highlight the use of pronouns by the speaker. These preferences indicate the dominance of the speaker over the audience or his intimacy with the people. In these speeches, the speaker used "we" most of the time as can be seen in figure 2:

Figure 2

Concordance of 'we' in Imran Khan's Speeches

These uses of "we" indicate that he wanted to show intimacy with the people of his nation by discussing every matter and every problem with them as it belonged to all of them. On the other hand, "I" has been used only 13 times. Few examples are given in figure 3:

Figure 3

Concordance of 'I' in Imran Khan Speeches

6.6.Modality

Modality can be of two types: relational and expressive. Relational modality includes the use of words like can, will, and would. Expressive modality includes shall, may, should and might. The choice of these words shows the authority of speaker; highlight the ideological interest of the speaker and probability of truth. The frequencies of these words are given n below:

Table 2

Frequencies of Modal Verbs

Relational	Frequency	Expressive	Frequency
Shall	0	Can	2
May	1	Will	9
Should	1	Would	1
Might	0		

Some of the examples of modal verbs are given below:

Figure 4

Concordance of Model Verbs

6.7.Discourse as Discursive Practice

This is the second dimension of Fairclough's three dimensional model which deals with the themes of "diplomatic courtesies, historical ties, economic linkage and global context". As far as the text diplomatic courtesies are concerned, it is about who and what. In these speeches, Imran Khan produced the discourse and he addressed and acknowledged Kyrgyzstan in leading a SCO council and CPEC project for a bright future. He also highlighted its importance for the Pakistanis as for the country's attribution. For giving priority to his country, he frequently used Pakistan (20 times). His main

discussion revolves around projects of CPEC and Kyrgyzstan in leading a SCO council, the situation of the present, and the challenges of future in Pakistan, so he used was (1 times), is (21 times) and will (9 times).

Figure 5

Concordance of 'Pakistan' used by Imran Khan

Figure 6

Concordance of "is/was/will" in the speeches of Imran Khan
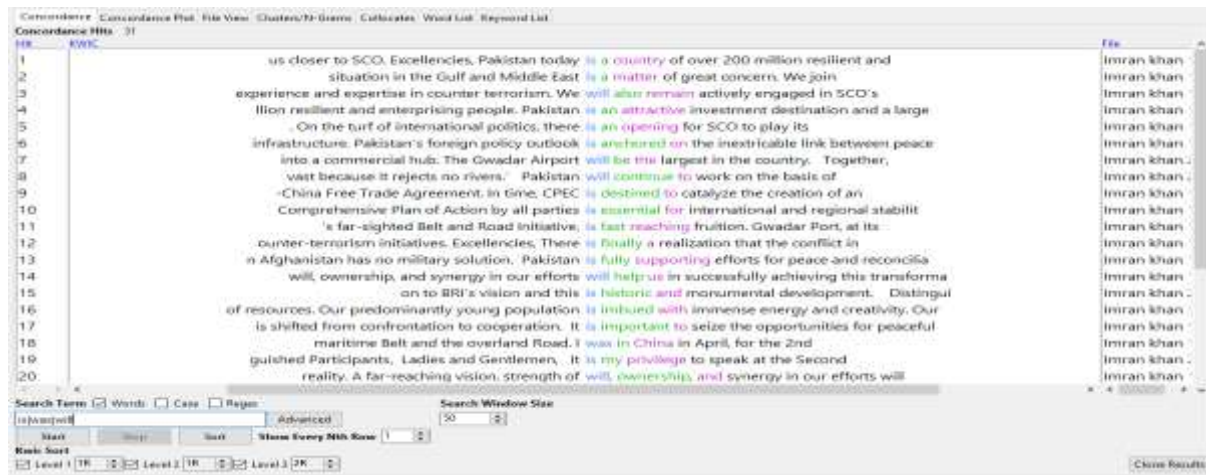
Imran Khan skillfully combines global context, economic connections, and historical relationships in his talks, demonstrating a sophisticated grasp of Pakistan's diplomatic posture. Speaking to the SCO Council of Heads of State, Khan emphasizes Pakistan's longstanding ties to the organization's member states, portraying it as a contemporary manifestation of those enduring bonds. He places a strong emphasis on the economic ties that bind China, the Middle East, Central and South Asia, and Pakistan. In his speech at the Second Belt and Road Forum, Khan enthusiastically narrated Pakistan's early and enthusiastic engagement with China in the Belt and Road Initiative, notably through the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which serves as further support for this economic story. Khan emphasizes

the value of regional cooperation by placing these connections and economic alliances within the changing global environment. This is particularly important when tackling issues like trade barriers, climate change, and terrorism. Khan skillfully combines historical continuity, economic interdependence, and a wider global perspective in both speeches to create a compelling story that establishes Pakistan as a key and proactive catalyst in both regional and global affairs.

In the distribution process, his speeches were considered optimistic. The lines and phrases of these speeches were discussed in the shows and headlines as a symbol of hope for a safe and bright future. His clarity of thought in terms of no gender, religion and racial discrimination was highlighted and appreciated.

6.8.Discourse as Social Practice

It displays the relationship between participants with the help of discourse because there will no meaning of discourse without the society. With the help of discourse, the speaker's religious, social, cultural and political identity has been identified. The speaker has a religious identity as revealed by the choice of his lexical items i.e. Allah (1 time). He considered equality among all the Pakistanis and talked about bringing unity among the nation. This showed his cultural values, his respect for the people and his ambitions as a politician and a Prime Minister. His discussion on social issues like terrorism and economy highlighted that he sincerely considered these issues of the country. His speeches as the Prime Minister of Pakistan were considered positive among majorities as well as minorities of Pakistan.

6.9.Analysis of Nawaz Sharif Speeches

In order to analyze the speeches of Nawaz Sharif, wordlist was created using Antconc and the most frequent words were noted for analysis.

Word Tokens: 2421   Word types: 853

Table 3

Word list of most frequent words

Word	Frequency	Word	Frequency
Pakistan	37	Muslims	4
Country	16	Ladies	4
Today	12	Pakistanis	4
Nation	11	Allah	4
Peace	11	Difficulties	3
People	11	Homeland	3
Government	9	Power	3
Military	8	Sisters	3
National	8	Terrorism	3
Security	8	Challenges	3
Economic	7	Development	2
Independence	7	Efforts	2
Army	6	Minorities	2
God	6	Optimism	2

United	6	Pakistani	2
Future	5	Present (Time)	2
Hope	5	Determination	2
Unity	5	Youth	1
Democratic	4		

6.10.   Discourse as Text

Text is the first dimension of Fairclough's three dimensional model. Following points can be analyzed at this level:

6.10.1. Vocabulary

It is true that words have hidden themes inside them. For this purpose, the word list of most frequent words in the speeches of Nawaz Sharif has been developed. Major themes which can be extracted from the above list include: Pakistan (country, nation, and homeland), the people (Pakistanis, Muslims, minorities, ladies, sisters, youth), religion (Allah, God, muslims), social issues (security, economic, terrorism), Power (government, military, democratic, army), problem handling (united, unity, hope, optimism, challenges, difficulties, determination), Time (Future, today, present). These major themes indicate that the speaker is addressing to the people of his nation. He is aware of their social issues of today and also talks about how to deal with upcoming challenges in future keeping in mind the religion.

6.10.2. Tense

According to Fairclough (1989), the choice and arrangement of ideological features also help in analyzing the ideology of the person. In the analyzed speeches, a variety of tenses have been used. He talked about past, present and future as well. These choices indicated the speaker is well known what was happening in the past, what is happening in the present, and what will do in future for his country. This shows his authority and control. By using past tense, he discussed how Pakistanis got this country. He reminds them the sacrifices of the nation. He also reminds of the social issues they were facing in the past. He shed light on issues of the present. Then, he used future tense to remind them that their future was in the right hands and he could give them a prosperous future despite the difficulties of the present time.

6.10.3. Personal Preferences

It is important to highlight the use of pronouns by the speaker. These preferences indicate the dominance of the speaker over the audience or his intimacy with the people. In these speeches, the speaker used "we" most of the time as can be seen below:

Figure 7

Concordance of 'we' Used by Nawaz Sharif

Concordance Hits 54

Hit	KWIC
6	es and our rivers are in full flow. We are extremely grateful to God for all the
7	ing into details of the problems we are facing today. I will take the nation
8	e great Quaid. Unfortunately, we are haunted by the threats of extremism and
9	u that despite some difficulties, we are hopeful for a better and prosperous future.
10	ugh and meet these challenges. We are located at the crossroads of competing and
11	ies in the best possible manner. We are part of the UN peace missions and
12	the forefront is something that we as a nation are very proud of. It
13	rld looked at it with envy. Have we been able to develop Pakistan on these lines?
14	t elections clearly indicates that we can depend on people's insight and that
15	r optimism. With this optimism, we can make a fresh start with renewed determination
16	cere and honest leadership that we consider as a gift of God. On the
17	ers. We got this country so that we could live freely in accordance with our cultural
18	ight for the people of the world. We desired to make it a hub of peace
19	rity of the answers are positive, we do have the right to be satisfied. However,
20	spective of personal interests. If we do not offer this sacrifice today, the future
21	abroad, I made it very clear that we do not want financial aid. Rather, Pakistan inten
22	es. Pakistan is our identity that we earned through immense sacrifices. Countless peop
23	rities in Pakistan satisfied? Did we fulfil the promise that Quaid-e-Azam made

These uses of "we" indicate that he wanted to show intimacy with the people of his nation by discussing every matter and every problem with them as it belonged to all of them. On the other hand, "I" has been used only 20 times. Few examples are given below:

Figure 8

Concordance of 'I' Used by Nawaz Sharif

Concordance | Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keywor

Concordance Hits 20

Hit	KWIC	
1	intry on the Independence Day. I also felicitate the Pakistanis wh	
2	are worried over this situation. I am also perturbed about it and	
3	ah we will defeat the terrorists. I am confident that with the activ	
4	lay of military professionalism, I am sure, would not only warm	
5	stan to decide what they want. I am thankful to Almighty Allah v	
6	that will turn despair into hope. I cite a few examples here: • The	
7	r brothers and sisters! When I delve into these questions, I rea	

6.10.4. Modality

Modality can be of two types: relational and expressive. Relational modality includes the use of words like can, will, and would. Expressive modality includes shall, may, should and might. The choice of these words shows the authority of speaker; highlight the ideological interest of the speaker and probability of truth. The frequencies of these words are as given below:
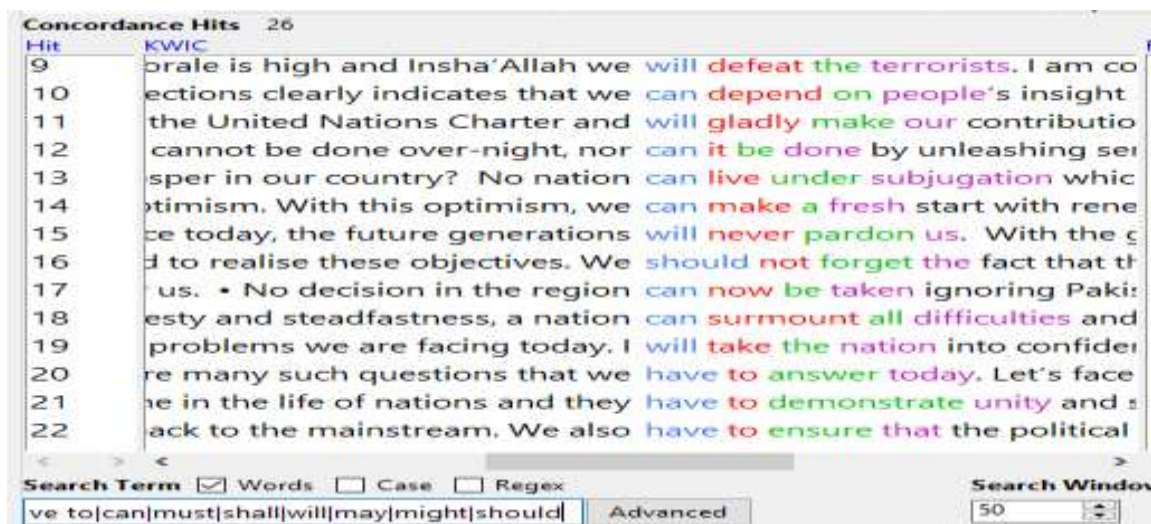
Table 4

Frequencies of Modal Verbs used by Nawaz Sharif

Relational	Frequency	Expressive	Frequency
Shall	2	Can	6
May	0	Will	9
Should	4	Would	3
Might	0		

Some of the examples are given below:

Figure 9

Concordance of Modal verbs Used by Nawaz Sharif

6.10.5. Discourse as Discursive Practice

This is the second dimension of Fairclough's three-dimensional model which deals with the themes of "production, consumption and distribution". As far as the text production is concerned, it is about who and what. In these speeches, Nawaz Sharif produced the discourse and he addressed the sacrifices that Pakistan gave and the difficulties they had to deal for a bright future. He also highlighted the contributions for army in this case. For giving priority to his country, he frequently used Pakistan (37 times). His main discussion revolves around sacrifices of the past, the situation of the present, and the challenges of future so he used was (12 times), is (31 times) and will (9 times).
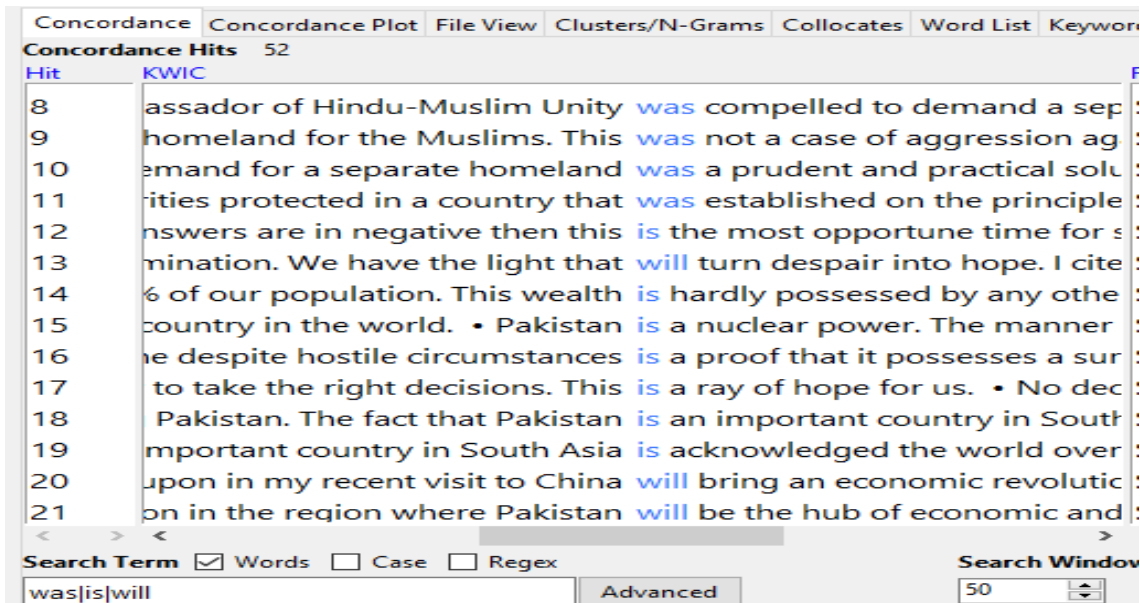
Figure 10

Concordance of 'Pakistan' Used by Nawaz Sharif

Figure 11

Concordance of 'was/is/will' Used by Nawaz Sharif

Consumption process deals with how the discourse was perceived by other people. The text included the countrymen, services chiefs, federal ministers, and members of the Parliament. The audience considered is quite emotional as it was about their glorious past and the splendid future they looked forward to. Other important personalities were appreciated too by Nawaz Sharif. They appreciated his acknowledgement that those members have contributed for the economic stability, security and prosperity of the country. They considered it as a good gesture.

In the distribution process, his speeches were considered optimistic. The lines and phrases of these speeches were discussed in the shows and headlines as a symbol of hope for a safe and bright future. His clarity of thought in terms of no gender, religion and racial discriminationwas highlighted and appreciated.

6.10.6. Discourse as Social Practice

It displays the relationship between participants with the help of discourse because there will no meaning of discourse without the society. With the help of discourse, the speaker's religious, social, cultural and political identity has been identified. The speaker has a religious identity as revealed by the choice of his lexical items i.e. Allah (4 times), god (6 times), and muslims (4 times). He considered equality among all the Pakistanis and talked about bringing unity among the nation. This showed his cultural values, his respect for the people and his ambitions as a politician and a Prime Minister. His discussion on social issues like terrorism and economy highlighted that he sincerely considered these issues of the country. His speeches as the Prime Minister of Pakistan were considered positive among majorities as well as minorities of Pakistan.

7. Discussion

The political discourse is investigated by analyzing four speeches of two political leaders as Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif. The speeches were analysed through Fairclough's model of CDA. The relevance of political discourse was apparent in the way the leaders' present Pakistan's place in the world and their domestic agendas in each of the four speeches. While Nawaz Sharif emphasized peace, stability, and economic progress, Imran Khan placed more emphasis on equality and justice, presenting Pakistan as a responsible global participant. Both leaders employed rhetoric to portray the goals of their respective administrations on the national and international arenas as well as to spread their political ideas. These speeches were instruments by which they push their political narratives and sway public opinion in Pakistan and throughout the world.

1. Political discourse Construction Key Features in Imran Khan's and Nawaz Sharif's speeches

Leading Pakistani politicians Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif used different approaches to build their political narratives. These tactics, which differed in how the public viewed them and supported them, were as follows:

Firstly, Imran Khan's key strategies of political discourse were represented as follows:

7.1.1. Imran Khan

Economic Focus: Imran Khan placed a strong focus on economic stability and growth in his speech. He frequently talked about endeavors, investments, and projects meant to promote wealth and economic progress.

Regional connection: The significance of regional connection was often emphasized in Khan's speeches, especially with reference to initiatives such as the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). He presented Pakistan as an important regional partner.

Modernization and Innovation: The discourse presented a modernizing perspective that priorities innovation, technology, and development across a range of industries, including education and information technology.

Counterterrorism: Imran Khan frequently discussed terrorism-related topics and argued for a cooperative effort to defeat the threat. In his speech, he presented Pakistan as a proactive member of regional and international counterterrorism efforts.

Empowerment of Youth and Women: Khan frequently discussed the empowerment of youth and women in his speeches, acknowledging their ability to make significant contributions to the advancement of the country.

Then, Nawaz Sharif's key strategies of political discourse were represented as follows:

7.1.2. Nawaz Sharif

Historical Narratives: Nawaz Sharif emphasized the sacrifices and hardships of the past as a basis for present and future success, drawing extensively on historical narratives in his political speech.

Infrastructure Development: Sharif frequently emphasized in his speeches the importance of infrastructure development in constructing a nation. He placed special emphasis on initiatives that advance and modernize the nation.

Economic Achievements: Like Imran Khan, Sharif emphasized his country's economic achievements, although he focused especially on the policies and triumphs he carried out while serving as prime minister.

Public Welfare: Sharif frequently brought up public welfare measures, social safety nets, and efforts meant to reduce poverty and enhance residents' quality of life.

Stability and Continuity: Sharif frequently emphasized these concepts in his speeches, casting his administration as a source of consistency and advancement for the country.

It's crucial to remember that these characteristics are not exclusive of one another and that both leaders may discuss related topics with varying emphasis and viewpoints. Furthermore, political discourse analysis is a subjective process that is susceptible to the effect of a variety of contextual circumstances.

1.   Linguistics feature and rhetoric pattern of Imran khan and Nawaz Sharif's speech

Political leaders such as Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif uses different language styles and rhetorical devices, which makes critical discourse analysis (CDA) an essential tool for analysing political speech.

The Significance of CDA in Political Conversations is of great importance as Exposing Ideological and Power Structures in which CDA facilitates the identification of the underlying ideologies, power structures, and social dynamics that underlie political speech. It draws attention to the way language is employed to create and preserve these systems. Other is Examining Persuasion and Manipulation, in order to sway public opinion, political figures frequently employs persuasive speaking strategies. By analysing these strategies, CDA makes it possible to see how language is used to accomplish particular objectives.Analysing Discourse tactics in which CDA facilitates the identification of discourse tactics used in political speech, including intertextuality, metaphor usage, and framing. These tactics are crucial for influencing public opinion and constructing the story. Understanding Social and Cultural Context, When analysing conversation, CDA takes into account the larger social and cultural context. It looks at how cultural norms, values, and beliefs are reflected in and influenced by political speech.

In their speeches, Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif used different language motifs and rhetorical devices that correspond to their respective political personas:

7.2.1. Imran Khan

Simplicity and Clarity: Imran Khan frequently spoke in an easy-to-understand manner in his remarks. He kept his message understandable to a broad audience by speaking simply and avoiding technical jargon.

Emphasis on Emotion: In order to engage his audience, Khan regularly used expressive language. He spoke in a way that stirs people's feelings and fosters a sense of unanimity and purpose.

Repetition for emphasis: Khan used repetition to emphasis important concepts and phrases in order to reaffirm his points. His arguments became more compelling as a result of this recurrence.

Direct address to Public: Khan frequently addressed the audience directly, utilising inclusive pronouns like "we" and "our." This style referred to a sense of responsibility and inclusive participation of public and himself too as a leader.

7.2.2. Nawaz Sharif

Formality and Eloquence: Nawaz Sharif frequently used both formal and elegant language in his presentations. He frequently used sophisticated words and phrase constructions to imply statesmanship.

Data and Statistics: When presenting his views, Sharif frequently used data and statistics, particularly when talking about the development of infrastructure and the economy. This gave his speech more authority and factual content.

Cultural Allusions: In order to convey a feeling of continuity and tradition, Sharif used historical allusions and cultural allusions. This spoke to a feeling of identity and national heritage.

Appeal to Experience: Sharif highlighted his prior leadership positions and experience. He presented himself as a seasoned politician with a significant amount of political experience in Pakistan.

These variations in rhetorical devices and language style are a reflection of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif's different political philosophies and personas. A wide range of people may relate to Imran Khan's direct, emotive, and populist manner. Targeting a distinct demographic, Nawaz Sharif's approach is defined by formality, data-driven arguments, and appeals to tradition and experience. These rhetorical and linguistic decisions affect how the general public views and these variations in rhetorical devices and language style are a reflection of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif's different political philosophies and personas. A wide range of people may relate to Imran Khan's direct, emotive, and populist manner. Targeting a distinct demographic, Nawaz Sharif's approach is defined by formality, data-driven arguments, and appeals to tradition and experience.

1.   Use of Fairclough's model of CDA framing by both leaders for political ideologies and agendas

In their speeches, Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif structure and convey their political objectives using components of Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) paradigm. Three dimensions are the emphasis of Fairclough's CDA: text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. Let's examine how much each leader makes use of this structure in their speeches:

7.3.1. Imran Khan

Text Analysis: Imran Khan frequently spoke in straightforward, emotionally laden words. His writing was intended to be understood by a wide range of people while upholding the principles of anti-corruption, simplicity, and transparency. He presented his political program as a fight for the rights of the people and against the corrupt elite. This text analysis is consistent with Fairclough's emphasis on the ways in which language forms discourse and creates meaning.

Discourse Practice: Khan emphasized shared aims and communal responsibilities in his direct communication to the public, which is a defining feature of his discourse practice. He made his remarks remember by using methods like repetition, which is consistent with Fairclough's analysis of the ways discursive strategies affect persuasion and communication.

Sociocultural Practice: Fairclough's emphasis on the larger social and cultural environment is in line with Imran Khan's sociocultural practice. He presented himself as a supporter of social justice and appeals to public opinion by using Pakistan's historical and cultural themes. His agenda was a reflection of his disdain of established political methods and his yearning for change.

7.3.2. Nawaz Sharif

Text Analysis: The formality and expertise of Nawaz Sharif's writing were evident. He frequently backed up his claims with facts and figures, which was consistent with Fairclough's focus on the language decisions that shape political discourse. In order to situate his leadership inside Pakistani customs, he also used historical background and cultural allusions in his speeches.

Discourse Practice: Sharif placed a strong focus on leadership and expertise in his speech. He presented himself as a seasoned statesman and politician with experience leading. This practice aligned with Fairclough's analysis of the ways in which language shapes identity and authority.

Sociocultural Practice: The conventional power structures of Pakistani politics served as the foundation for Nawaz Sharif's sociocultural practice. He appealed to people who cherish the political establishment and the history of the country because he stood for stability and continuity. This strategy fits well with Fairclough's investigation into the ways that larger sociocultural elements influence political discourse.

In their speeches, Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif both developed and expressed their political agendas and ideas using components of Fairclough's CDA model. Imran Khan emphasizes transformation and the fight against corruption in a more emotive and populist manner. Nawaz Sharif, on the other hand, presents himself as an accomplished leader who places a premium on history and continuity through his formal, data-driven manner. Their ability to appeal to various Pakistani demographic groups and to shape their political identities is greatly aided by these discourse and language choices.

8.   Conclusion

It is important to reveal the identities, hidden agendas, and ideologies of the public figures as they play an important role in the manipulation of our thought through their discourse. So, the present study analyzed the speeches of Imran Khan and Nawaz Sharif as the Prime Ministers of Pakistan. Using mixed method approach, there speeches were analyzed with the help of Fairclough's tri-dimensional

model by keenly looking for similarities and differences among their point of views, ideologies and the way they expressed their thoughts and persuaded their audience. The study is limited because only four speeches were analyzed. Future researches should be conducted based on large number of data to highlight the ideologies of different politicians about different topics and issues of the society.

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