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TÍTULO: Un análisis crítico del discurso sobre la Victoria y el discurso inaugural del primer ministro Imran Khan.

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RESUMEN: Este documento analiza críticamente la victoria y el discurso inaugural de Imran Khan, Primer Ministro de Pakistán. El 26 de julio de 2018 pronunció discurso de Victoria poco después de la elección, mientras que el 20 de agosto de 2018 pronunció un discurso inaugural después de su juramento. Los resultados demuestran que ambos discursos muestran esperanzas en las masas del nuevo gobierno; teniendo la seguridad de que pronto estas esperanzas y promesas se lograrán de manera muy positiva. Esta investigación es descriptiva, aplicándose el modelo analítico tridimensional de Norman Furlough. El estudio ha expuesto agenda/ideologías que han sido priorizadas por el nuevo gobierno supervisado por el Primer Ministro Imran Khan, así como genera una visión de cómo el gobierno propone diferentes estrategias a través del uso persuasivo del lenguaje para completar tales objetivos/ideologías.

PALABRAS CLAVES: discurso político, análisis crítico del discurso, discursos políticos, discurso, ideologías.

TITLE: A critical discourse analysis of Prime Minister Imran Khan's Victory and Inaugural Speech.

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ABSTRACT: This paper critically analyses the victory and inaugural speech of Imran Khan, Prime Minister of Pakistan. Victory speech was delivered shortly after election on 26th July 2018, whereas inaugural speech was given after his oath taking on 20th August 2018. Results demonstrate that inaugural and victory speeches are showing hopes to masses by the new government; being assured that soon these hopes and promises will be achieved very positively. This research is descriptive in nature, and Norman Furlough's three-dimensional analytical model has been applied. The study has exposed those agenda/ideologies which have been prioritized by the new government supervised by Prime Minister Imran Khan, generating an insight through results that how government proposes different strategies through persuasive use of language for the completion of such chief objectives/ideologies.

KEY WORDS: political discourse, critical discourse analysis, political speeches, speech, ideologies.

INTRODUCTION.

Similar to the other discourses, political discourse is also about the text and talk but this talk is of professional politicians or political institutions. This talk is engineered very profoundly to practice the power. Presidents, prime ministers, parliament or political parties, all at the level of local, national and international are participants of this discourse; they build this discourse very

inventively. These talks/discourses are a struggle to control political, economic and social resources and put them into practical use. This all remain incomplete without language for it plays a critical role to captivate the masses' hearts. According to Bayram (2010) politics pertains to the process of struggling for power.

Politicians prepare and practice their every action by language, not only this rather, they generate a spell of their goodness with the help of language upon common people. This tool is used very profitably by the politicians in order to shape the political thoughts. They represent and sell their ideologies to electorates by language. Chimbarange, Takavarasha, and Kombe (2014) defined that the main purpose of politicians is to persuade their audience of the validity of their political claims.

To resolute the problems of the country, every party/government presents the planning very interestingly as they are the only hope to bring a new transformation in society. Politicians win confidence of people through influential ideologies and they shape the beliefs and behavior of masses. These remarks infer that politicians make their brilliant efforts to convince the voters to throw away their previous set political ideologies (of past government) and persevere to the new ones.

Similar to the political discourse, political speech can also be defined as a speech that is connected with either to get power or to practice it. It has some different features because it includes these speeches are delivered at political forums. These political speeches are given by politicians who come off diverse political status/position on various levels. Among these speeches, one of the popular political speeches is prime minister's victory and inaugural speech. The purpose of this speech is not to pursue for the electorates' votes but to appreciate and inform them of the direction of the new government (its plans). In such speech, the prime minister encourages the electorate to build hope in the new administration's plans which it has piloted.

Language in this context can be seen as an example to inculcate the ideologies in the minds of masses/voters rather than an instrument of inspiration. It is not a tool for setting the powers rather it is a tool to practice the powers.

DEVELOPMENT.

Literature review.

According to van Dijk “Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (1998: 352). He presents two levels of analysis first is “macro level” (power, dominance, inequality, ideology, gender, race) and second is “micro level (language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication). For him, CDA is to bridge the 'gap' between the said approaches. Conversely, Fairclough (2003) classifies the approaches of CDA into a detailed analysis of a text and approaches. He further contributes that CDA addresses social problems; however, CDA is interpretative and explanatory but on the other hand, discourse is a form of social action.

Discourse may indirectly have impact on people's actions as Ghilzai (2017) perceived language as a foundation of social construction and individual or group relationship. For him, studies related to sociolinguistics attempt to explain the core relationship between use of language and importance of perception.

The researchers started the study with the objective of examining the persuasive tactics of Imran Khan's political speeches as well as the covert ideology of his party's manifesto. This research was based on conceptions on critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough. This study claimed ideologies are always found in the texts and the texts expose different facts having diverse interpretations. The present study analyzed Imran Khan's speech to reveal the ideological and persuasive components which he used for persuasive strategies.

Politic is connected to those activities that influence the action of people and government policies for society. Rachman and Yunianti (2017) aimed to analyze Donald Trump's presidential campaign focusing on his utterances. They observed the utterances (illustrated political discourse in Trump's speech), delivery of political discourse, the immediate aim behind the utterances and spontaneous effect of these utterance on people using CDA's Van Dijk thematic theory. They concluded that Trump's delivery of utterances has his own ideology which indicates that he wants to gain power and to control people. His utmost purpose is to win American's heart. His political strategies made his effort true and he was elected as the presidential candidate from the Republic party.

The use of language in political activities creates different impacts on the individual and society and therefore provokes different reactions. Stobbs (2012) investigated the methods and lexis used by Barack Obama in his inaugural speech to develop a sense of inclusion of the American public. The focus of this study was on frequency and use of pronouns which he used in his speech. By using these pronouns, it was determined that how these pronouns can be helpful to include the common people in the process of government. This research discovered that Obama is significantly more inclusive than previous presidents. The article exposed at the syntactic choices that how they helped to give flow and emotion to his speech. It also analyzed some phrases and sentence structures used to synthesize a narrative of his persona as well as his presidency.

Throughout political history, it has been a practice that politicians endeavored to exercise one form of power or another over human beings through the use of language. Ashipu and Odey (2016) examined the language of politics through the inauguration of National Conference by President Goodluck Jonathan. They described that politics is a struggle to gain power in order to control political, economic and social ideas and put them into practical use.

This discussion was based on the larger corpus of Critical Discourse Analysis that examines the role of language in political discourse using the theoretical approaches of M.A.K Halliday and Bloor & Bloor. After critical analysis of the linguistic devices which were used in the speech, the authors conclusively recorded that the speech is well composed and has achieved its desired purpose of message delivery.

Most political activities are prepared and effectively manipulated through the use of language for the purposes of allocation of resources. Sharndama (2015) critically analyzed the inaugural speech of President Muhammadu Buhari. This speech was delivered after his swearing into office on the 29th May 2015. Norman Furlough's three-dimensional Analytical Models was adapted to carry out the analysis. The model involves the element of description, interpretation and explanation. The result of the study highlighted that an inaugural speech is a revelation of plans and hopes in the new government. President Buhari intends to operate good governance, international relations, foreign policies, and the nation's economy.

Although, CDA is multi-functional but one of the main functions of CDA is to give sequence linguistic categories to ideological functions. Nejad et al (2013) set out to critically analyze Palestinian and Israelis representation in George W. Bush's political discourse. The present study involved the analytical framework developed by Van Leeuwen (1996). The study also profited from the political discourse analysis (PDA) developed by Van Dijk (1998).

The quantitative analysis of data concluded that there were significant differences between Israeli and Palestinian activation. Ideologically speaking, the results also suggested that the discourse reflected the Palestinians as harshly attacking victimizers whereas the same discourse represented Israeli actors as the hopeless victimized.

Aqeel, et al (2015) aimed to open broad way in the light of Indian PM's speech in UN General Assembly. That was based on the development of international peace, security, human rights,

governance and prosperity for developing countries. The critical goal of this research article was a message to all. The analysis was focused in claiming that “text is open to diverse interpretations” (Fairclough, 1995). The study enlightened that through words issues between India and Pakistan for the economic development of Asia can be resolved. Skenderi (2014) opines that CDA considers discourse as socially constructive, which means that the way the politicians talk will influence and lead not only the way simple people talk. Indeed, the political discourses will also shape the reality. “Discourses exert power because they transport knowledge on which collective and individual consciousness feeds. This knowledge is the basis for individual and collective, discursive and non-discursive action, which in turn shapes reality” (Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

Model of analysis.

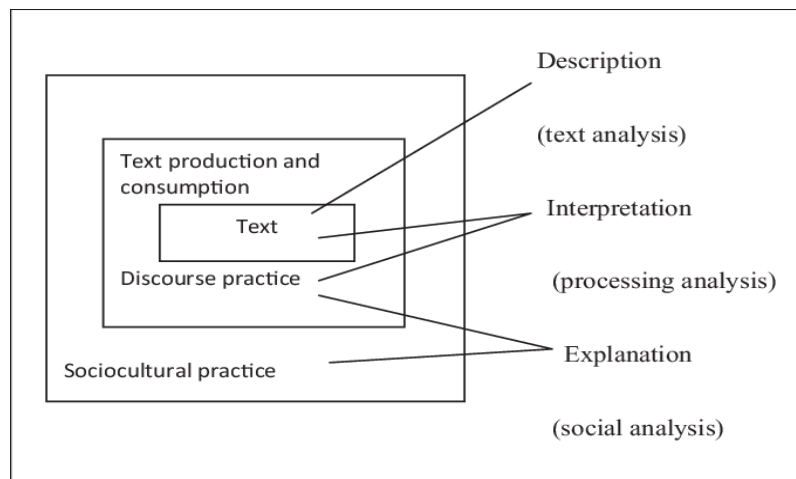
Rodgers et al. (2005) cited in Mirzaee & Hamidi (2012) consider that Fairclough’s framework includes three levels of analysis:

- (i) It is a spoken or written text.
- (ii) It is an instance of discourse practice involving the production and interpretation of text.
- (iii) It is a part of social practice.

Fairclough’s first dimension consists of an investigation of what is happening in a particular socio-cultural framework. His second dimension involves the analysis of the process of production, interpretation, and consumption. This dimension is concerned with how people interpret and reproduce or transform texts. The third dimension, socio-cultural practice, is concerned with issues of power.

For Fairclough, CDA is concerned with the investigation of the relation between two assumptions about language use. First, language use is socially shaped and secondly, language use is socially

shaping. Fairclough's model is diagrammatically represented by Lock 2004 cited in Mirzaee and Hamidi (2012) as below.



Data analysis and discussion.

For analyzing the data, the speeches have been divided into paragraphs. Firstly, results on **victory speech** has been given.

In 1st paragraph, analysis shows Prime minister has past inspiration of Mr. Jinnah. This was spoken consciously to create a spell on people that Prime minister has an ideal figure to follow in his reign. Furthermore, right after this he tries to win the hearts of people that he is obliged of masses for their contribution either it was related to their finance or lives.

Analysis of 2nd paragraph demonstrates that this election achieved its successful completion in spite of terrorist's attacks even on the election candidates. He further appreciates the people and staff who were involved in this election who sacrificed their health and wealth. Moreover, he indicates his inspiration with Prophet Muhammad PBUH and idealizes his vision for the state of Pakistan by exemplifying the state of Madina, under the rule of Prophet Muhammad PBUH.

In the 3rd paragraph, newly elected prime minister of Pakistan stating some points which would be under his government by mentioning good thoughts for the ignored lower classes and he is engaging the farmers by considering the current issues of them. He seems to take few steps down in

the current issues of the people to make them satisfied that their Prime Minister is going to overcome their all provoking issues. Further, he indicates the difference between poor and rich people and generalizes that no country can progress in such condition where rich is becoming richer and poor is becoming poorer.

The 4th paragraph's analysis demonstrates that he has no bad feeling of any kind of revenge for the people who were in against him in the election and he wants to gather the scattered nation of Pakistan under the one supervision of him. He gives example of west and mentions that he believes in the supremacy of law and implication of it because he knows very well the history of developed countries that only through the application of law would make able the Pakistan to get rid of corruption and other relevant issues.

In the analysis of the 5th paragraph, the speaker mentions the devastating economic crisis which is the reason of the deadly functioning institutions of the country. He takes out his one of the government policies and reiterates Pakistani foreigners about the reasonable business environment because he knows that it is one the productive way to take his country out of the economic crisis. He speaks on another problem of unemployment at the vast level in Pakistan and shows the determination of good governance to resolve this issue as well.

In 6th paragraph, he highlights previous rulers' fallacious and personal use of the money of the people and ensures the people about the honest and reasonable use of their money in his governance. Further, for being a poor people's leader he exposes his vision of not to use of the government legacies of Pakistan like PM House because according to him it is huge and requires heaps of money to run. So, it could be used for another purpose to raise money for the county.

The analysis of the 7th paragraphs shows that the speaker collectively talks about the focused and major problems and ignored issues of the state. He shows his interest in the favor of farmers, small businessmen and strong establishment of the anticorruption institutions.

In the 8th paragraph analysis, Prime Minister Imran Khan unveils another aim to establish relations with all Pakistan's neighbors to drive Pakistan out from all of its economic problems. According to him, Pakistan needs new policies to overcome on its current issue, and in this regard, he says, we can learn these techniques from the China as it has beaten corruption and poverty in the country.

In the analysis of 9th paragraph indicates that speaker says they want peace in Afghanistan as it would bring peace in Pakistan because Afghanistan is a source of terrorism in Pakistan because of having it in neighbors. He further describes the tenure of his government to establish well-mannered and balanced relationship with US where both countries will have clear cut terms for each other.

In the 10th paragraph, the analysis shows Imran Khan's government vision of playing key role in developing relationship with Middle East countries with each other. Imran Khan passes sad and sarcastic comments on the way in which India's Media portrayed him and he proposed in this way that India's government does not want him to be the prime Minister of Pakistan, but Imran Khan still have good thoughts of relation with India.

In the analysis of 11th Paragraph, Imran Khan displays his deep concern about the Kashmir issue and wants both countries to come together to resolve this issue. Further, he is agreed to drag his country near towards India if India would be agreeing to have friendship with Pakistan because the friendship of these both countries would prove beneficial for subcontinent.

The 12th paragraph's analysis demonstrates that Prime Minister wants people of his country to believe in his new government because his party first time got the chance to lead Pakistan. He is trying to engage people by the mature leadership aims and by giving his words for his future simplicity and about the government with new positive trends.

The analysis of 13th paragraph, highlights priorities of Imran Khan's government for the lower social class and for the minorities of the country as they are not being entertained equally in the past eras.

In the analysis of paragraph 14th, Imran Khan talks about the transparency of election and proves his clean victory by saying that election commission was formed by PPP and PML-N, his party was not involved in any kind of process of it. So, according to Imran Khan, they have not any reason to react against the process of election.

In the following, the analysis of **inaugural speech** has been presented.

In 1st paragraphs analysis, Imran Khan paints his past inspiration with Prophet Muhammad PBUH, Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Muhammad Iqbal for their dedication towards their aims of Life. He is thankful to the people who were with him in all ups and down of his 22 years' political journey. He gives credit of his victory not only the people who was with as political leader but also, he is thankful of all the workers as well. Actually, he simply quotes his struggle that he did not get this position as gift but there is 22 years of his long political struggle.

In 2nd paragraph analysis, Imran Khan describes current position of Pakistan, where he talks about the issues with economic condition of Pakistan and present cruel condition by presenting past and current ups and down figure of loan taken by former governments of Pakistan. He wants to portray the existing condition of Pakistan that what kind of Pakistan he got at the time of his governance and confesses that he shows his profound concern that he will take hold of the details of the money which is part of Pakistan's people right. It means, his government is fully ready to develop some effective policies for this purpose.

In 3rd paragraph's analysis, Imran Khan exposes the former political parties' governances which are the causes of the disappointed condition of the country due to foreign loan. He presents figures of loan and indirectly tries to prove that how unconstructively former parties ruled over Pakistan and how much responsible they are for this condition of the country where are we dwelling right now. He deliberately sheds light on the issues and positively remarks that he would resolve the issues.

In analysis of 4th paragraph, Imran khan mentions another issue and through UNDP report he portrays the insensitive and inhuman condition of Pakistan, where people have not pure water to drink and many of children die due to diseases of water. He references multiple issue regarding health's problems of Pakistanis through the healthy and unhealthy child's example, to realize them that what their country is now and what changes he would bring into the Pakistan with the help of Allah.

In 5th paragraph's analysis, Imran provokes his audience through the importance of his established priorities for making them ready to follow him and his way instead of walking on track which would lead country towards curse of debt as former parties were doing on their time.

The analysis 6th paragraph draws a picture of the rulers of the Pakistan that how do they live in huge mountainous houses and spend a lot of money to maintain their life style when they are in power but on other hand country is under heaps of debts and people are leading miserable life as they do not have the access to the basic needs of life. He is not simply objecting on the former way of governance but also depicting his incoming policies and way of governance to lead the country in a constructive way.

In 7th paragraph, Imran khan continues to make his audience realize about their basic needs that what is going to happen against their collective response. He quotes Quranic verse to motivate the Islamic republic Pakistan's people as they are not paying attention to the response of their attitude towards their basic rights, which they are drawing collectively for country as well as themselves. He says that if people continue to move on the way then it is confirmed that we will be moving towards our decline.

Prime minister is inspired by the religious figure, Hazrat Muhammad PBUH, in 8th and 9th paragraphs, and quotes example of PBUH to define the importance of Law that how impressively he (PBUH) ruled over his state by adopting the real sense of law and how even Non-Muslim of west

countries are at the top most to follow the laws of Hazrat Muhammad. He again highlights the religious figure, Hazrat Umar (RS) and describes the real soul of leadership as he wants to assure his countryman that he will follow his religious figures during his governance.

In 10th paragraphs, Imran khan describes one striking fact of the country and quotes a most relevant example from the religious point of view and another from the west to empower his concept in all the ways. He knows majority of Pakistanis are Muslims and other minorities would understand the comparison with other countries to make them understand about the elementary needs from which they are deprived of in their country. He strengthens his idea in 11th paragraph by exploring the values of the state of Madina and realizing his audience the real figures of an ideal state through giving examples of the great ruler, Hazrat Muhammad PBUH. He indicates another stimulated issue of education in Pakistan and tells people that how much Hazrat Muhammad PBUH was conscious about the importance of education for the people of his state.

In 12th paragraph's analysis, Imran khan shows his determination to make Pakistan great. He describes his purpose by giving his past examples that how people were used to speak about every action which he wanted to do. How did he make impossible things possible. He mentions his core concern to make sacrifices and cut of extra expenses which were traditionally followed in previous governments' tenure.

In 13th and 14th paragraphs, Imran khan focuses the useless way of ruling that when you are in power you are offered a legendary protocol of luxurious life. According to Imran khan, these impractical facilities which only consume money of the people and give nothing in return, would be condemned. He tries to involve people in this concern too by saying that all the details of everything would be channelized in front the audience. He also shows disrespect to the habit of taking loan and he discourages this action and condition of taking loans.

In 15th paragraph's analysis, PM Imran Khan gives his detailed view regarding the stuck and paralyzed system of tax paying and advise people to pay tax as it is a job of every citizen which is assigned by our religion and further he states initiative of the new policy to manage a special task force who would locate the money which has been moved out from the country. Imran Khan exposes his vision to uplift the industrial sight and have future aim to empower industries by inviting outsider investors in 16th paragraph.

17th paragraph introduces another concern of PM about the people who are jailed in different countries because of certain reasons, they would be helped out by the embassies under his command. Furthermore, in 18th paragraphs, He introduces another way to help Pakistan economy and asks overseas Pakistanis to do invest their money here in Pakistan and help their country to empower it.

In 19th and 20th paragraphs, Imran Khan wants to root out the corruption from Pakistan as he has provoked the sleeping people about the big issue of downfall of their country. He shows his concern to strengthen the accountability Bureau to see Pakistan without corruption. Then, he wants to implement the new term of whistleblowers act in Punjab after having good result in Pakhtunkhwa. In paragraph's analysis, Imran Khan define the reason of having the portfolio of Interior ministry because he thinks that he is more trustworthy for the people or among his cabinet to clutch the people who are involved in corruption.

In 21st paragraph's analysis, PM talks about to bring reform in the court system with the help of Chief justice of Pakistan to come out with the speedy disposal of civil cases and further he adds that they would help those who are in jail just because of not having the money to arrange any counsel. He highlights the reforms in Pakistan and comparatively says that Pakhtunkhwa's police is working more efficiently after doing reforms through the inspector general of police, Nasir Durrani and he

says Durrani is agreed to play an advisory role to bring reforms in Punjab police and Sindh government as well.

In 22nd paragraph's analysis, Imran Khan demonstrates that human rights violation would be acceptable in his government and cases like Zainab of Kasur would strictly be followed and all it would happen through Ministry of Human rights. In 23rd, Imran Khan talks about the reform in education and in government schools, so that, all children could get education equally at government sectors. He further aims to bring reforms in Madaris, so that they could also get balanced education to perform or live a good life.

Imran Khan gives an example of KPK's health reforms and gives his words that they would bring the same reform here in Punjab as well in 24th paragraph's analysis. Like KPK, he shows his interest to introduce Sehat Insaf Card in the shape of free medical to help countrymen and they will establish private health institution to provide quality of hospital service. The 25th paragraph portrays the issue of lack of water and shows his concern with the latest knowledge of agricultural technologies which is not being transferred to the farmers. In 26th paragraph's, Imran Khan mentions the importance of dams for the future and current water related problems and indicates his support for construction of dam and meanwhile he appreciated the initiative step of chief justice of Pakistan for the construction of the dams.

Imran Khan is determined to make civil services on merit base as it is paralyzed due to the violation of the merit. He shows his concern in providing equal rights to all the people equally in this regard he refers to right to public service act of KPK and once again tries to prove that KPK is ideal icon and indicates the changes which they will bring, in 27th paragraph. The 28th paragraph defines the benefits of local government again by giving example of KPK where powers have transferred to the grassroots to have an equal check and balance and he has aim to introduce local government system in province Punjab as all powers belong to MPAs and MNAs.

The 29th paragraph unpacks the plan of Imran Khan of building five million houses which would be benefited for all belonging industries to it. He has also concern with the youth unemployment as he has a plan to develop skill development program and simultaneously he discourages the motive of former government plan of giving loans to youth so that they could set up their personal businesses which was basically making the system internally feeble.

In 30th and 31st paragraphs, Imran Khan highlights another initiative that he would build playgrounds and parks for the people across the country and he enlightens one more issue of global warming and gives his plan of massive tree plantation across the country. He poses another problem of water and air pollution and indicates that Lahore and Karachi are being affected by them so he has a plan which depends on campaigns which will work for the cleanliness of sea and environment. PM shows his aim to open new tourist resorts in 32nd paragraph. According to him, he knows that Pakistan has unique geographical area of the resorts to empower the Pakistan industry of the tourism, he especially mentions that Gwadar and Karachi beaches would be developed for this purpose. Moreover, in 34th paragraph shows his aim to link union tribal areas with KPK which have been affected by terrorism. He illustrates his concern with the establishment of government election that would be taken there in any cost. He is also very concerning about lifting up the lifestyle of province Baluchistan. Further, he also has aim to bring reforms in Karachi police to sustain the economic activities in Karachi.

Imran Khan says that 20-point national plan would work as it is confirmed by all the political parties because country peace totally base on it and in 36th paragraph broadens his view that he is passionate to change the life style of the people of his country and he has aim to make clear difference between the life of human and animals.

Paragraph number 37th and 38th represents Imran khan's past inspiration with Hazrat Muhammad PBUH and follows his government's values. He wants to lead simple life during governance for the safeguard of money of the people and according to the law he would not do any business while his time of government. He says, he has not any personal issue with the people who stashed the money of the nation, but they steal the money of the nation of Pakistan, so they are his enemies too.

In 39th paragraph, Imran khan exposes his dream of having Pakistan where there is not a concept of poverty which he concluded from the religious figures, Hazrat Muhammad PBUH's life.

CONCLUSIONS.

Present study has impartially attained the objectives and successfully unveiled that both, victory and inaugural speeches have some similarities showing the deep concern for some issues as Holy prophet (PBUH) as role model, up gradation of poor masses of Pakistan, philosophy of simplicity, and relations with neighboring country. Moreover, results have exposed that speeches consist of gratitude for people, clarification of party's ideological plans for future, criticism on lifestyle of the past politicians, and assurance to overwhelm the problems in short period of time.

At this stage, PM delivered the speeches not in the way to persuade people rather he wants to convey transparent information to his people about his plans. Results also concluded that Prime minister has determination of the new government to strengthen the country in such dimensions which have never been discussed profoundly by previous governments as to build playgrounds and parks, dams, foreign relations with Middle East countries and US on set terms and conditions, policies for fighting against corruption and terrorism, and to implement the equal education system, to improve health department and to eliminate economic crisis of the country applying new strategies.

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