The Construction of Ideology in Political Discourse: A Deictic Analysis

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ABSTRACT

This research is conducted on political discourse of a high profile Pakistani politician and a former famous cricketer Imran Khan in the context of Pakistani politics. It aims to understand the ideological process and project of creating a New Pakistan *(Naya Pakistan)*, and that how this project influences the way Imran Khan shapes the political reality during his speeches. The analysis reveals that Imran Khan indexes more often his personal identity as a strong leader of the Tahreek-e-Insaaf party rather than the common or national identity. The results assert this point because the transformation of the country may seem to be only possible under his identity as a leader of Tahreek-e-Insaaf. From the spatial deixes analysis, it manifests that Imran Khan wants to reach to the ideological space or destination of New Pakistan where everyone will have equal rights. This projection of New Pakistan is presented like a utopian world where all things would be right and there would be justice, cooperation and peace. The deixes such as 'here', 'now' and 'today' represent Old Pakistan (*Purana Pakistan*) which is its present state. But the future along the temporal axes is full of hope that reflects the vision of the founding father of Pakistan 'Quaid-e-Azam' in the form of New Pakistan. A comparative study of various other politicians may bring forth further elicitation of political discourse in Pakistani context in future.

Key words: Political Discourse, Ideological Project, National Identity, Spatial Deixes, Temporal Deixes Naya Pakistan, Purana Pakistan

INTRODUCTION

This research is conducted with the intention to critically analyze the political discourse of a famous former cricketer and now the President of Pakistan Imran Khan. In Pakistan, politics has been tough and since 1947, it staggered due to various factors such as corruption, violence, wars with the neighboring countries, crimes within the country, the participation of violent groups and weak economic conditions. Owing to these problems, the country has faced a lot of political, economic, geographical and ethnic instability.

With all these issues, it is an established belief that the political actors play a crucial role in the progress as well as degeneration of a country. And how they do this is to use their political rhetoric to justify their modes and actions of political conduct. Farr (1989) says "politics as we know it would not only be indescribable without language, it would be impossible. Emerging nations could not declare independence, leaders instruct partisans, citizens protest war, or courts sentence criminals. Neither could we criticize, nor plead, promise, argue, exhort, demand, negotiate, bargain, compromise, counsel, brief, debrief, advise nor consent. To imagine politics without these actions would be to imagine no recognizable politics at all".

Imran Khan during his speeches before the 2018 general election promises great fortunes for the country. His speeches reflect ideas of a new emerging and economically strong Pakistan; good relations with the neighboring countries, amnesty schemes for the poor, housing schemes, shelter homes for the homeless, development of tourism industry, corruption free Pakistan, making Pakistan green projects, development in education sector and accountability (*ehta'saab*) of the corrupt leaders. All these promises combine to reflect the manifesto of the Tahreek-e-Insaaf party and of its leader Imran Khan which is present in his speeches.

The Naya Pakistan agenda is a kind of new ideology that may prove to be persuasive for the masses to vote in the general elections of 2018. This political reality is new for the public promising corruption free Madinah (*Madinah ki rayaa'sat*) sort of state with revolutionary policies under his leadership. So doing a critical discourse of his speeches may support the claim that discourses are ideological and that there is no arbitrariness of signs (Wodak & Cillia, 2006).

Background of the Study

Pakistan got independence from India in 1947. Since its dependence, it has been oscillating between Military and Civilian rule which has prevented it from achieving a stable political order. The administrative institutions have been unstable due to misuse of political power causing dysfunction,

ineffectiveness and malfunctioning in governance. Pakistan has also been poor in achieving socioeconomic development and becoming industrialized as compared to other post colonial states. Although it has developed a large amount of warfare due to the posing threats from the neighboring countries especially India and became the only nuclear armed Muslim country in the world.

The political governance in Pakistan is linked to the politicians, political parties and bureaucrats who collectively take part in running the country. Most of the times, they are only concerned about their own interests and do not think of doing something good for the country. During the elections, they spend millions of rupees to win seats and raise slogans to convince the public about their sincerity and leadership.

There are several prominent political parties in Pakistan such as Pakistan People's Party (PPP), Pakistan Muslim League (N) and Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaaf (PTI) which one after the other try to rule the country. Sometimes, these parties create situations that may be marked as unlawful, unconstitutional and undemocratic (Adnan & Bushra, 2018) causing difficult situations for the country. The corrupt politicians of such parties play political games and try to divert the attention of the public from the corruption that they do through their sugary tongue and fake promises.

Amidst all these circumstances of uncertainty, Tahreek-e-Insaaf party has taken the stance to wipe out all this corruption. This party which started in 1996 by Imran Khan pledges to transform the chaotic political situation of the country. It staggers and struggles for twenty two years and now is recognized as a major party among the others. In July 2018, PTI wins the general elections and Imran Khan becomes the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The party cabinet and the public are hopeful that whatever Imran Khan has promised, he will prove this true and create a New (naya) Pakistan where education, equality and justice will be provided.

Aims and Objectives

The political stance that Imran Khan has taken in his speeches relates to an ideological project which seems to have the potential to bring change in the country. His ideology of creating New Pakistan is abundantly found in his pre and post-election speeches. In such discourses, CDA claims that "major social and political processes and movements have a partly linguistic-discursive character" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 271).

As this research relies on Critical Discourse Analysis, the theoretical approach and the methodological procedures are all drawn from it. Being an interdisciplinary field, it does not only cover the linguistic analytic level of the discourse, but also the sociopolitical contexts. As a whole, the aim of this research is to conduct a Critical Discourse Analysis of the political speeches of Imran Khan in the context of Pakistani politics.

At first, the researcher examines the way Imran Khan as a politician indexes his identity when he talks about local politics in Pakistan at various forums such as jalsa (gathering

for a political cause), dharna speeches (in this case, it specifically includes the speeches of Imran Khan delivered during his dharna movement), press conference or party meetings within Pakistan. This makes the researcher to formulate a question with the objective to look at how Imran Khan indexes his identity through political discourses.

The other objective is to see that how does the construction of such an identity will help Imran Khan to overcome the political ethos of the present and that how it can be interpreted in a way towards the construction of a Naya Pakistan.

The third objective is the examination of linguistic discourse strategies that are used by Imran Khan in his political discourses. This objective is based on the stress laid by Critical Discourse Analysis that linguistic signs are not arbitrary but rather point out relationships between the political actors and his discourses. To perform such an analysis, the technique of the grammar of modality is employed.

In this way, the findings and interpretations of the discourse strategies that Imran Khan uses will help to inspect the political division among the masses, the references made to the problematic political past of the country, the future goals and importantly, the ideological project of Naya Pakistan i.e., the process of transforming Pakistan into a corruption free successful country.

So the present inquiry looks and interprets the ideology of the political discourse that guides the movement of Naya Pakistan. It is to specify that the term 'ideology' used in this article represents the "schematically organized complexes of representations and attitudes with regard to certain aspects of the social world" (Dijk, 1993). Moreover, this study not only circles the CDA domain, but is also related to the political studies in Pakistan.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of the study is to critically look at the specific corpus of Imran Khan's speeches delivered between 2014 and 2018. The analytic framework of Critical Discourse Analysis is adopted for the data analysis within the limited context of Pakistani politics. The results provide critical insights to the understanding of linguistic strategies employed by Imran Khan while projecting his identity and constructing the ideology of Naya Pakistan at the same time.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this mixed method study is to critically analyze the corpus of speeches of Imran Khan in terms of identity, ideology, discourse strategies and conceptualization of political reality.

Theoretical Framework

This study follows the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as an overall research methodology. Within this research methodology, the theoretical frameworks of Kress and Fowler, Santon Wortham and Lakoff and Johnson's are adopted for the analysis.

Research Questions

i. How does Imran Khan index his identity through deixes in political discourses?
ii. How does the historical disposition of Pakistan help to construct the ideology of New Pakistan?

Theoretical Framework

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LITERATURE REVIEW

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The term 'discourse' has many definitions and there is no single definition that the philosophers have been agreed upon. It then integrates the whole palettes of meanings (Titscher, 1998, p. 42) in a broad range of disciplines like philosophy, sociology, psychology, linguistics and other social sciences. Van Dijk (1997) explains the notion of discourse as the use of language, the cognitive aspect that relates to the communication of beliefs and the social interactions in societies. These aspects of discourse render it to analyze from a multi-disciplinary perspective.

The fossils of CDA are found in the critical theory of Frankfurt School but the focus on discourse and language started after the emergence of critical linguistics in the late 1970s (Fowler & Kress, 1979). Its critical development is also found in disciplines of sociolinguistics, psychology and social sciences as has been said before. As such, CDA may be seen as a reaction against the dominant formal (often asocial or uncritical) paradigms of the 1960s and 1970s (Dijk, 1997). Indeed, the terms CL and CDA have been used interchangeably especially when referring to political discourse and are at most have a shared perspective on doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse analysis (ibid).

In CDA, the assumption to be believed is that language use is always social and that discourse both reflects and constructs the social world. With this assumption in mind, the critical analysts analyze the notions of ideology, power, identity, dominance, hegemony, race, class, gender, discrimination, reproduction, interests, social orders and social powers (Dijk, 1993) through deconstructing and challenges the discourse while relating them to different experiences, beliefs and worldviews (Clark, 1992). In case of political discourse, ideology and power are the notions that are most prominent.

In recent years, the scope of CDA is widened and extended to intertexual discourse analysis. Moreover, it takes in itself the discourses of media and news (Fairclough, 1995), gender issues, racism (Dijk, 1991), education, and business fields. This makes CDA a multipurpose analytic tool that draws on various methodological approaches. Therefore, CDA has been largely debated upon by analysts due to the lack of clear cut and accurate methodological approaches.

Political Discourse Analysis (PDA)

Like CDA, Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) also seems to be ambiguous in a way to answer the question that what constitutes a political discourse. More obviously, it may be described as a discourse that deals with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or dominance through political discourse; including the various forms of resistance or counter power against such forms of discursive dominance (Fairclough, 1995 & Dijk, 1993). But the most part of political studies is about the discourse of professional political actors like presidents, prime ministers; political institutions like government, political parties, parliament and forums nationally and internationally. To this sphere of political discourse, Dijk (1997) also includes the public that take part in the political communicative events.

Based on the criteria drawn on what constitutes political discourse and what is not by Dijk (1997) in his paper "What is Political Discourse Analysis", the present research is a prototypical of it. The criteria have the following points: the discourse should be of prime ministers, presidents or leaders of political parties, the text or talk of the discourse should contain a political process or the discourse should have done in politically contextualized communicative events. Van Dijk further goes on to define the properties of political text and context to distinguish it from the rest of the discourse. Such a discourse may have political system, political values, political ideologies, political institutions, political organizations, political groups, political actors, political relations, political process, political actions, political discourse and political cognition. Moreover, in the process of politics, there may involve other actors or groups carrying political leaflets and shouting political slogans (Reboul, 1975). There may also be variation in the contexts where such political processes take place in terms of time, space (location), objects around and the buildings (Dijk, 1997).

Discourse analysis in politics has also been done in languages other than English. Zimmermann (1969) has produced work on Bonn's politicians in the West and Klaus (1971) formulated the "semiotic materialist theory" in the former East in Germany. The analysis of speech acts (Holly, 1990); the language of war and peace (Pasierbsky, 1983) and the use of fascist language (e.g., propaganda, the lexicon, language of media and politics) have also been done in Germany (Ehlich, 1989).

France has produced more work on corpus related studies in political discourse with more formal, quantitative and automatic analysis of large datasets, often combining it with critical ideological analysis (Pecheux, 1969, 1982 & Guespin, 1976). Spain and Latin America too contributed work in critical semiotics (Dorfman & Mattelart, 1972) and Pardo's work on legal discourse (1996). In the context of Pakistani politics, there is still a large space for doing PDA.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

Having looked at the type of data collected, the researcher has decided to apply the CDA methodology combining it with that of case study. A case study typically refers to a

detailed research performed on a single individual, group, incident or community in order to observe its behavior in a particular context. The case study strategy is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth, within its real-life context (Yin, 2003, p. 13).

The strategy of case study is selected over others such as historical, experimental, survey or ethnographic research so that it complies with the research objectives of the study. For instance, the case studies of programs, events, persons, processes, institutions, social groups, and other contemporary phenomena have been completed. And so sometimes, people use the term case study as a catchall category for research that is not a survey, an observational study, or an experiment and is not statistical in nature (Dawson & Algozzine, 2006, p. 15).

Sampling and Data Collection

The data for this study is collected through convenient sampling. The reason for choosing this technique is to select only those speeches containing the data that meet the objectives of this study. The corpus of the speeches of Imran Khan is selected carefully to make generalizations about his ideology and party. But these generalizations will not be very broad as only a small number of speeches are selected with more or less similar contexts. If random or stratified sampling were employed, the study could have been generalized at a larger scale.

The corpus under analysis for this study comprises of complete five speeches of Imran Khan containing 8,939 words taken from the official website of Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaaf party and other online Pakistani English and International news forums (URLs are provided at the end). All these speeches are copied as it is and are available in translated forms in English language. The links and sources are mentioned in the reference section at the last of this study.

Data Description

Again, it is important to mention that the speeches included in the study belong to the restricted context of local politics excluding the international speeches such as delivered at World Economic summits, United Nations or other forums of discussion. Some of the speeches are found on Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaaf official website; some on the reputable newspaper websites while a few are published on personal blogs and social media mainly Facebook. Also, not all of the speeches are in English language. The description of the corpus is as follows:

i. Pre-election speech at 'Azadi Jalsa PTI'- Source: Transcript from 'Insaaf Students Federation' Facebook page, Islamabad, 30th Nov, 2014
ii. Pre-election speech 'Pakistanis Toady'- Source: Transcript from 'PTI official' Facebook page, Hazaara, 30th June, 2015
iii. Pre-election speech 'I am not fighting against politicians but a mafia'- Source: Transcript from 'I support PTI' website, Mandi Bahauddin, 29th Oct, 2017

iv. Pre-election speech of PTI 'dharna convention'- Source: Transcript from 'PTI official' Facebook page, Islamabad, 18th Jan, 2018
v. Pre-election speech at 'Minar-e-Pakistan'- Source: Transcript from 'PTI official' website, 29th April, 2018.

Data Analysis Procedure

The study follows a procedure in which several aspects of the corpus are analyzed to achieve an overall Political Discourse Analysis. The linguistic categories that are analyzed do not cover a broad range of aspects as the purpose is to attain the qualitative results. But it is also considered that the research may not digress from the main methodological approach of CDA which is to analyze a limited number of linguistic categories (Mayer, 2002).

It is important to point out that the linguistic forms that political actors use in their speeches serve very important and specific purposes and so are not used arbitrarily. "The selections which speakers make from among the total inventory of forms and processes are principled and systematic […] The selection of one form over other points to the speaker's articulation of one kind of meaning rather than another" (Fowler & Kress, 1979, p. 188).

Fowler and Kress (1979) in their article "Critical Linguistics" talk about the linguistic features which are important and relevant to carry out a critical analysis. It includes five headings that provide a checklist of linguistic features for analysts to pursue their own CDA. This heading includes: The Grammar of Transitivity, The Grammar of Modality, Transformations, Classification and Coherence, Order and Unity (ibid.). Hence, this study adopts one heading from these five that seems most suitable for the current critical analytic study i.e., 'the grammar of modality'. Moreover, the technique of 'deictic mapping' is also adopted from Santon Wortham (1996).

The grammar of modality

The grammar of modality is defined by Fowler and Kress (1979) as: this covers linguistic constructions which may be called 'pragmatic' and 'interpersonal'. They express speakers' and writers' attitudes towards themselves, towards their interlocutors and towards their subject-matter; their social and economic relationships with the people they address that is; deictic categories found in their discourses. In the same way, Chilton and Schäffner (2002) point out that the employment of linguistic resources to perform 'deixis' are 'indexical expressions' (p. 30). In this way, the listeners or the readers decode meanings from the discourse by identifying such indexical expressions and relating them with the deixis. Furthermore, the deixis that this study explores and analyzes from the speeches of the Prime Minister of Pakistan Imran Khan are the person, spatial and temporal deixis. Regarding the importance of deixis and pronouns as the subject of linguistic analysis, Mayer (2002) states that they are the part of CDA and so "explicitly or implicitly CDA makes use of a concept of the so-called linguistic surface" (Meyer, 2002, p. 16). Moreover, pronouns form a whole class of

words employed to carry out deictic functions especially the first person plural (we, us, our) can be used to induce interpreters to conceptualize group identity, coalitions and parties and the like, either as insiders or as outsiders. Social indexicals arise from social structure and power relations and not just from personal distance (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002, p. 30).

Apart from first person plural pronouns (we, us, our), temporal and spatial deixes have their own political significance. Temporal deixis are bound with particular historical contexts (nowadays, today, now) while spatial deixis are conceptualized in terms of social or political deixis and vice versa. For example, "close allies, distant relations, rapprochement are the part of the vocabulary of politics" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and so "spatial representations, including metaphorical ones, take on an important aspect in political discourse" (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002, p. 30).

The study examines these pronouns in political discourse fragments to see which ones are used and interpret them. The pronouns searched for are personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns but the main focus is on the first person plural (we) to see its relationship with that of identity performance of the political actors. With this, the researcher looks that whether the politician plays his own identity as a leader of his party or keeps his national identity upfront.

Deictic mapping

Santon Wortham (1996) developed this unique technique of deictic mapping to highlight the position of the speaker/hearer with regard to the other participants in the interaction. In such interactions, pronouns play a key role and the shifting of pronouns result in the change of interactional positions of the participants. Deictic mapping is thus a framework for the analysis of the use of pronouns in the interaction that is; it is "[…] a methodological technique- which I call 'deictic mapping' that can help analysts uncover interactional patterns established through deictics" (ibid). This analysis is established by mapping the charts that systematically show the deictics. These charts are complex and so because the researcher is not using transcribed texts of the speeches (transposed texts are used instead), the charts of the maps are going to be drawn which show the deictics present in each line of the text.

With the help of these mapping tables, the relationship between speakers and hearers can be analyzed. Moreover, it will show that how with change in pronouns (indexical expressions) can bring a change in the relations among interlocutors. Also, this mapping technique helps to analyze the person, spatial and temporal deixes in a single chart. Fillmore (1982, p. 37) explains the spatial deixis as: "that aspect of deixis which involves referring to the locations in space of the communication act participants; it is that part of spatial semantics which takes the bodies of the communication act participants as significant reference objects for spatial specification". In PDA, spatial deixes (see Figure 1) keep a special position and does not only refer to the physical location in the immediate context but "spatial indexicals relate to political or geopolitical space" (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002, p. 30).

Temporal deixis on the other are also of immense political importance as these do not only refer to the temporal point in immediate context (see Figure 1) but "it can require one
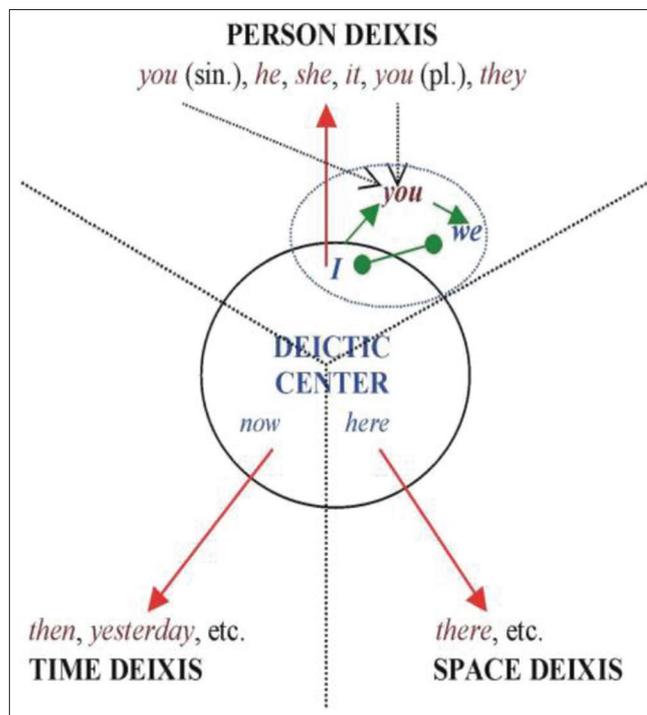

Figure 1. It shows trilateral coordinate system- a scheme showing person, space and time deixes (Botha, 1980)

Table 1. Showing an excerpt taken from the speech of Imran Khan during his PTI Dharna Convention- Islamabad held on January 18, 2018. It shows how each line of the discourse fragment is numbered

60	In our Naya Pakistan there will be justice for all, no discrimination.
61	A government that will spend money on developing human capital, not metros.
62	Once human capital is developed the metros and infrastructure follow.
63	Naya Pakistan will have rights for people; focus on schools focus on hospitals.
64	Wherever PTI's voice went through the dharna, in every city people came out on three days' notice.
65	We empowered women and saw their participation like never before.
66	In conservative places like Mianwali too. We saw that the system of justice does not work.
67	We saw a politicized police force.
68	But we also saw police officials who refused to follow wrong orders.
69	It is sad that the good ones are sidelined and the Gullus
70	who follow their orders put forward. What you see today, Nawaz Sharif's Pakistan has shut
71	down Pakistan with the petrol crisis.
72	This happens when the system of merit ends.
73	Why is the Muslim world left so far behind?
74	Because we have no system of merit like the western world.
75	Why do our people struggle to get foreign visas?

Table 2. From the above table of texts (table 1), its deictic maps are built. The number of certain pronouns is indicated in parenthesis if it occurs more than once and refers to the same object in the same line (Skënderi, 2014)

LINE	SPEAKER	1ST PERSON	2ND PERSON	3RD PERSON	SPATIAL	TEMPORAL
60	Imran Khan	our- the speaker (including Pakistani citizens)			there	
61	Imran Khan					
62	Imran Khan					
63	Imran Khan					
64	Imran Khan					
65	Imran Khan					
66	Imran Khan	we- the speaker (including his party *Tahreek e Insan*)		their- the people who attended the dharna i.e., specifically women		before
67	Imran Khan					
68	Imran Khan	we- the speaker (including his party members)				
69	Imran Khan	we- the speaker (including his supporters)				
70	Imran Khan	we- the speaker (including his supporters)				
71	Imran Khan			it- expletive subject		
72	Imran Khan		you- the public			today
73	Imran Khan					
74	Imran Khan					
75	Imran Khan	we- the Pakistan country				
76	Imran Khan	our- Pakistani citizens				

to assume historical periodization - for example nowadays, today, or just now could require to be understood as 'after the revolution', 'after the fall of the Berlin Wall', 'after the election of New Labour', or some such" (ibid). In the same way, the temporal deixes analyzed keep a crucial position when referring to the problematic past of Pakistan through historical periodization by the political actor.

In the analysis part of the study, such mapping of deixes or deictics is followed for all the speeches. The comparison and use of inclusive versus exclusive 'we' is also made to see that how identity and ideology is performed by Imran Khan. This might also show that how he positions himself both spatially and temporally with regard to the deictic centre that is; how near or remote the speaker positions himself to the interpreter or hearer from its deictic centre.

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Analysis on Personal Deixes

Table 3. It shows the frequencies of the pronouns used in the 'Azadi Jalsa' speech.

Interpretation

In this speech in Table 3, the politician Imran Khan used the same number of both inclusive and exclusive 'we' pronouns. This way, he indexes his identity both as a chairman

Table 3. It shows the frequencies of the pronouns used in the 'Azadi Jalsa' speech

Pronouns	No. of times used
I (or other first person singular related pronouns)	23
Inclusive WE (or other first person plural related pronouns)	4
Exclusive WE (or other first person plural related pronouns)	4

Table 4. It shows the frequencies of the pronouns used in the 'Pakistanis Today' speech

Pronouns	No. of times used
I (or other first person singular related pronouns)	26
Inclusive WE (or other first person plural related pronouns)	46
Exclusive WE (or other first person plural related pronouns)	34

of opposition party Tahreek-e-Insaaf and as a common man like the other Pakistanis.

For example, when Imran Khan says "if we go back to our homes now, than there will be no value of your vote, as all the elections will be rigged" (Khan, 2014), the 'we'

in this statement which is inclusive indicates that here he is indexing his identity as a common man who wants justice so that his party wins the elections and the rigging is avoided like all other his party supporters. On the contrary, the statement "if Nawaz Sharif don't accept our demands, than we will give our next plan and you corrupt people would be unable to bear it" (ibid), there is the use of exclusive 'we' where he only indexes himself as a chairman of the opposition party Tahreek-e-Insaaf. Here he is referring to the party plan that he would adopt next irrespective of the public.

The frequency of the use of 'I' pronoun is highest which shows his detached identity from the people and presents him as the leader of Tahreek-e-Insaaf party. His use of 'I' pronoun indicates the stress that he gives on his ideology of *Naya* Pakistan including his policies that can bring a change in the country. The statement "I can clearly see a *Naya* Pakistan being made" and "I want to make you all aware of what is happening with my Pakistanis, how did they rigged the elections" (ibid) shows that concern.

Interpretation

In this Table 4, the results indicate that this time, the focus of the politician is on 'we' meaning that he wants to show his national identity. He shows his identity as a Pakistani who is equally suffering the corruption, injustice and inequality in this country. This use of inclusive 'we' helps him to show that he truly knows the suffering of his people and that he can bring them out of this suffering if he wins the election. He invokes support and cooperation from the people when he says "where will Pakistan be if we do not stand for rights and truth, and do not break shackles of fear, that we will be killed" (Khan, 2015). The use of exclusive 'we' again shows his identity as a leader of his party when he says "they say we are not letting democracy work, how will it work when your elections are not free and fair" […] (ibid).

Thus, in this political discourse, Imran Khan indexes himself as a person who wants to construct his national identity as a common Pakistani.

Interpretation:

The Table 5 shows that the number of use of inclusive 'we' is almost half of the use of exclusive 'we'. This indicates that exclusive 'we' is dominant in this speech and Imran Khan preferred to use this pronoun to refer to the struggle that his party Tahreek-e-Insaaf is doing especially against the opposition (he referred to it as mafia) when he says "our fight is against a mafia who get people victimized and killed" (Khan, 2017). The inclusive 'we' refers to the tasks that he wants to be done collectively with the public and want their support in his endeavor to transform Pakistan. This use of inclusive 'we' shows his solidarity with the people and in return requires their support when he says "we will be a self confident nation, and I will never ever let you bow your hands to anyone" (ibid).

Further, the use of the pronoun 'I' indicates his identity as a person who wants to bring change and uplift people. His statement "I vow to you here today, I will show you how we

Table 5. It shows the frequencies of the pronouns used in the speech titled 'I am not fighting against politicians but a mafia'

Pronouns	No. of times used
I (or other first person singular related pronouns)	31
Inclusive WE (or other first person plural related pronouns)	18
Exclusive WE (or other first person plural related pronouns)	35

Table 6. It shows the frequencies of the pronouns used in the speech titled 'PTI Dharna Convention'

Pronouns	No. of times used
I (or other first person singular related pronouns)	33
Inclusive WE (or other first person plural related pronouns)	18
Exclusive WE (or other first person plural related pronouns)	56

will increase revenue in this country. I am that Pakistani who collects the most money in Pakistan; every year I collect billions for the cancer hospital and for Namal University. I will fix the FBR, who collects taxation" (ibid). Here he indexes his identity as a leader of the Tahreek-e-Insaaf party as well as a Pakistani.

Interpretation

Table 6 interprets that this political speech shows a noteworthy amount of the use of exclusive 'we' pronoun. This convention is held after the PTI party members and supporters ended the dharna movement of one twenty seven days. In this way, the use of exclusive 'we' is justified that it symbolizes the struggle of the party workers and the people who attended this dharna and it is not meant to include the other people. Here, he strongly portrays his identity as a leader of the Tahreek-e-Insaaf struggling to get its rights as he believes that rigging has been done in the elections. His statement "we started in hot summers and ended in winters. You people stood with us" (Khan, 2018) elaborates this point.

The use of the inclusive 'we' pronoun occurs only 18 times in contrast to the exclusive 'we' which occurs 56 times. Less use of inclusive 'we' accounts for the fact that this dharna movement is purely political and the party supporters/workers leave their houses to become part of it in a chance to liberate Pakistan from the opposition party. Imran Khan uses less inclusive 'we' because his focus is on the public who is present in the Dharna rather than all the public of Pakistan for example, he states "our youth who were martyred during dharna, their mother are here today" (ibid). He specifically indexes his identity as a leader of Tahreek-e-Insaaf and does not index himself as a common Pakistani. The use of the pronoun 'I' is redundant in this speech, which again identifies him as a leader who shares his vision of the *Naya* Pakistan.

Interpretation

Table 7 shows that the use of exclusive 'we' is used 70 times in contrast to the inclusive 'we' which is used only 16 times in this particular speech. Apparently, this indicates like the previous speeches that the focus of the politician is on the Tahreek-e-Insaaf party which indexes his personality as the leader. He insists upon the use of exclusive pronoun to indicate what his leadership and party has to offer to the public. His statement "we want to make a Pakistan where common man has dignity. This country should own its people as welfare states do. The accumulated debts have created security threats for us now" (Khan, 2018) manifests what he has planned for the country. Moreover, it shows his ideology of making Pakistan a welfare state and providing its people with all the basic facilities of life. This speech is replete with the ideological views of *Naya* Pakistan. Time and again he mentions the potential that the people of this land have that can change the destiny of the country. He make references like "my Pakistanis, I want to tell you how blessed you are to have an exceptional tourist spots here" (ibid) which again lights upon his vision and ideology.

Another striking feature of this political discourse is the use of 'I' pronoun which is 127 times and is almost 2 times greater than the use of exclusive 'we'. It points to his self-centered approach in politics presenting his identity as a leader who can bring change in the country. This use is also marked by redundant sharing of his own experiences in order to convince people that change is possible; that everything can be done if one persists in one's pursuit of it. The references like "I asked wealthy people for donations…I told them that I swear to God that I can make the hospital without your money...but I am confident I can raise Rs. 8000 arab from this very nation" (ibid) etc, indicates his will power and wit to convince people of his leadership skills.

The use of inclusive 'we' is used only 16 times that indicates his desire for corporation and help from the people as he says "this system cannot propel us any further unless we stand up to the tyrant against it. *Naya* Pakistan is only possible if we stand with the oppressed, the fruit hawkers, the nurses, and the 2.5 million out of school children" (ibid).

If the frequency of the use of pronouns in all the five speeches is compared, it is evident that the use of 'I' and other first person singular related pronouns is 127 times in the Minar-e-Pakistan speech is the highest. The use of exclusive 'we' is also the highest in the same speech which is 70 times. In the Azadi Jalsa speech, the use of inclusive and exclusive 'we' pronouns are the same as 4 times and the use of 'I' pronoun which is 23 times.

Table 7. It shows the frequencies of the pronouns present in the speech titled 'Minar-e-Pakistan'

Pronouns	No. of times used
I (or other first person singular related pronouns)	127
Inclusive WE (or other first person plural related pronouns)	16
Exclusive WE (or other first person plural related pronouns)	70

The inclination towards the use of 'I' indicates that the speaker does not just consider himself a common politician but a high profiled one. Imran Khan, as it is mentioned in the introductory part that he is a famous cricketer who led Pakistan to win the world cup in 1992. After he gets in politics he becomes more of a star who is invited to television shows and is hailed as the most handsome man. This way, his tendency to use 'I' pronoun shows that he holds the "appropriate authority to make certain statements" (Skënderi, 2014). "The 'I' of action is also a regular (but less fore-grounded) feature of signed investigative and eye-witness reporting, where it seems to suggest exclusivity and authenticity" (Fowler & Kress, 1979, p. 201).

If both the inclusive and exclusive 'we' are analyzed, these are used far greater in number than the personal pronoun 'I'. In Urdu language, which is the native language of the politician and in which he addresses the nation, the pronoun 'hum', and hamain' are used as equivalents to 'we' in English. These pronouns mark first of all solidarity; that the speaker intends to show a bond between himself and the public, secondly; it shows that the speaker seeks help, co-operation, unity and a sense of responsibility on the part of the nation. Thus, these pronouns have much more political significance than one can realize. It implicitly drives people to act and work for the cause, manifesto and ideology of the Tahreek-e-Insaaf party.

Analysis on Spatial and Temporal Deixes

Spatial and temporal deixes play a significant role in political discourse. As Chilton and Schäffner (2002) states "language in use- as a process in which reader/hearers set up discourse worlds (conceptual domains or ontological spaces), which carry a deictic 'signature' for space, time and modality, and relationships among them" (p. 138). In the same way, Pakistani politicians situate themselves in deictic centers and from this center they evoke other people, places, past events and future expectancies. In the following spatial and temporal analysis of speech, temporal deixes are placed on the horizontal axis while the spatial deixes are represented through the vertical axis. The future time is represented by the extreme right side of the horizontal axis and the past time is represented by the extreme left of the same horizontal axis.

In case of spatial deixis, the spatial axis is drawn vertically that positions the events occurring at different spaces (places) with regard to the space of the speaker that is; spaces are organized in relation to the space of the speaker invoking geographical frames. Chilton (2004) calls this "deictically organized geopolitical knowledge". But it is important to know that such graphing of the spatial axis do not provide with distance measurements from the self, rather, "the idea is that people tend to place people and things along a scale of remoteness from the self, using background assumptions and indexical cues" (ibid).

In the following temporal and spatial graphs, the indexicals are going to be presented on space and time axes.

Interpretation

Figure 2 shows that the upper left quadrant of the graph refers to the *Naya* Pakistan movement and the progress that is being made during the last twenty two years of Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaaf Party. The lower left quadrant in contrast refers to the problematic political past of Pakistan and describes the political history of some ruling parties in the past.
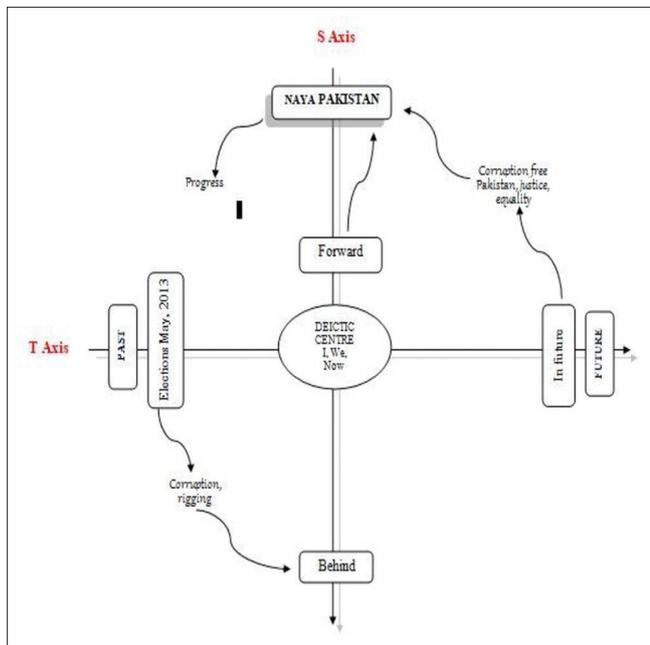
Actually, the left hand side lower quadrant describes the prominent events that took place and played a role in shaping today's Pakistan.

About the political past, this speech tells about the corruption that has always been the cause of hindrance in country's progress. This corruption includes money laundering by the politicians, the stealing of mandate in the elections of 2013 and the abuse of power by politicians for personal interests like when Imran Khan says "they are using public's money for campaign against me" and "I want to make you all aware of what is happening with my Pakistanis, how did they rigged the elections" (Khan, 2014).

The quadrant on the upper right hand denotes the agenda of the speaker that he plans to implement after he becomes the prime minster of Pakistan. The deictic center is where the speaker stands now and the agenda is the future that he wants to achieve. His ideology of the *Naya* Pakistan will encompass all these points that this quadrant presents such as corruption free Pakistan, justice and equality for all. The upper left quadrant represents the expectancies that are to be achieved in this *Naya* Pakistan represented with curved arrows.

Interpretation

Figure 3 shows that in this speech, Imran khan makes reference to the glorious past of the Muslims when they ruled for 700 years in Europe and other parts of the world. This reference is made to remind his audience that what Muslims used to be and what they became now. The speaker wants to inspire the public that they can be great again and
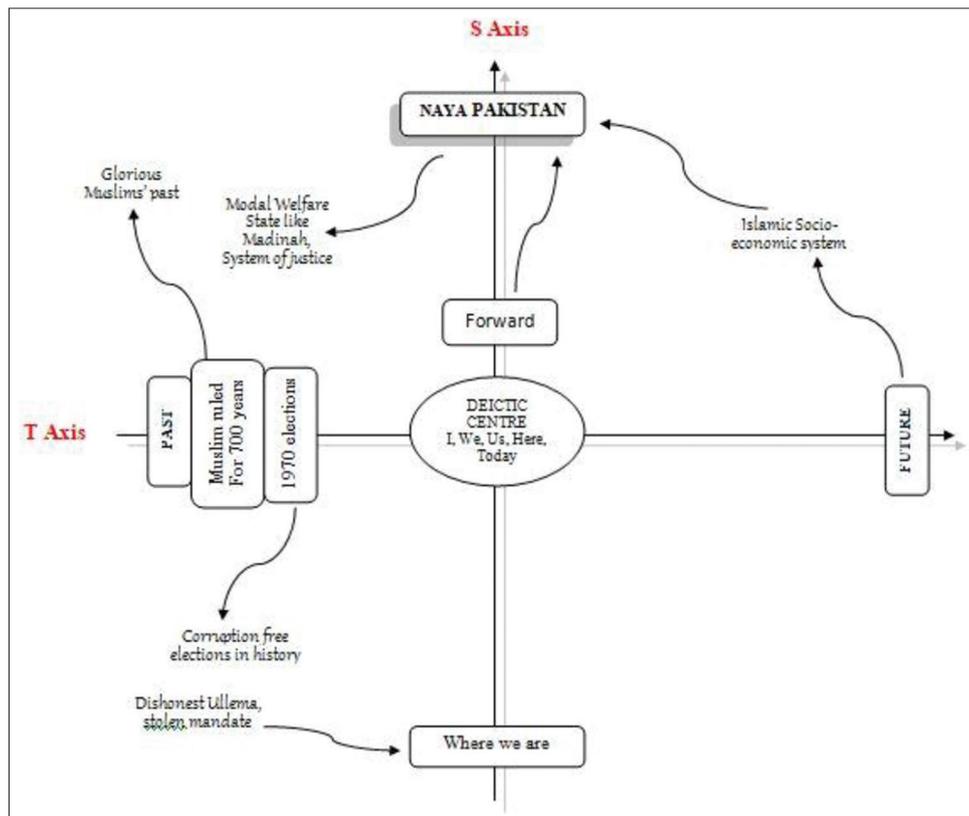

Figure 2. Events from the Azadi Jalsa speech

Figure 3. Events from the speech 'Pakistani's Today'

rule the world if they adopt the same principles which those Muslims had. He made this analogy to make the Pakistani nation realize that it is the time to wake up and fight for their rights and make this country a welfare state like Madinah.

Another important reference is made about the corruption in elections which has become a tradition in Pakistan. He points out towards the 1970 elections of the past that he considers to be the only fair elections in the history. He overtly states that after 1970, there has been no election which he can claim to be fair and just. To him, elections decide the fate of the nation and if a corrupt politician rules the nation, it is deemed to be destroyed. He also says that the past history of Pakistan is so dark because of the Ullema (preachers of Islam) who did not stand against the corrupt politicians and injustice.

In his speech, he presents Madinah as a model state which he wants to copy and implement on his country. He strongly favors that a country cannot survive without a system of justice where everyone should be accountable for one's actions. But he implores for the present condition when he says "we were supposed to be an Islamic Welfare State; but we are mired in poverty. Eleven Crore Pakistanis cannot eat two meals a day, and one little group of people is looting the nation in front of us" (Khan, 2015). The upper right quadrant presents his future endeavors to bring Islamic socio-economic system in the country which can glorify and transform it into a welfare state like Madinah and hence, can create a *Naya* Pakistan.

Interpretation

Figure 4 shows that in this speech is delivered at Mandi Bahauddin and the events are placed on spatial and temporal axes. Talking about the past, Imran Khan makes a reference

to 30 years rule of two political parties namely PPP and PML-N. He mentions that these two political parties have looted, corrupted and bankrupted the country. An important reference is found about the extra-judicial killings which the speaker claims used to be done on the orders of the political leaders of these parties. Moreover, 10 billion dollars are siphoned off annually from the country in the form of money laundering that has weakened the economy and creates an economic crisis situation. Amidst this crisis, the country has to take loans from IMF (International Monetary Fund) and other countries to fill the economic deficit.

The lower right quadrant shows that Punjab has been ruled by the PML-N party since the last 30 years and their hijacking of the Punjab police thus creating a mafia in the province when he says "Shahbaz Sharif got 14 people shot in Modal Town. Is this politician does or is this mafia dons do" (Khan, 2017). The speaker says that this hijacking will be eliminated and all the provincial departments will be free to work on merit and justice without any political influence.

Regarding the future quadrants above on the graph, the speaker intends to fix NAB (National Accountability Bureau) department, increase the national revenue and reduce taxes. All these steps will lead him to transform the country into a *Naya* Pakistan; a nation of self confidence. "But they can never compete with the wave of change that has come within the people of Pakistan. Do what you can; you can never defeat an awakened nation" (ibid).

Interpretation

Figure 5 shows that this graph illustrates the future concerns of Imran Khan in the upper quadrants by stressing upon the
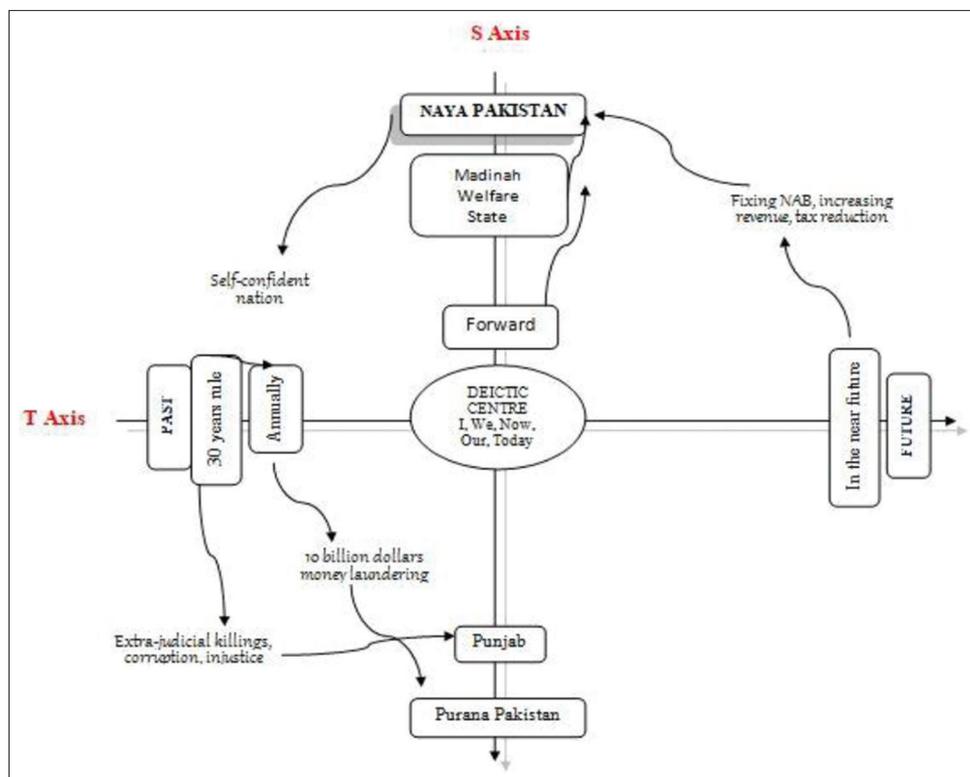

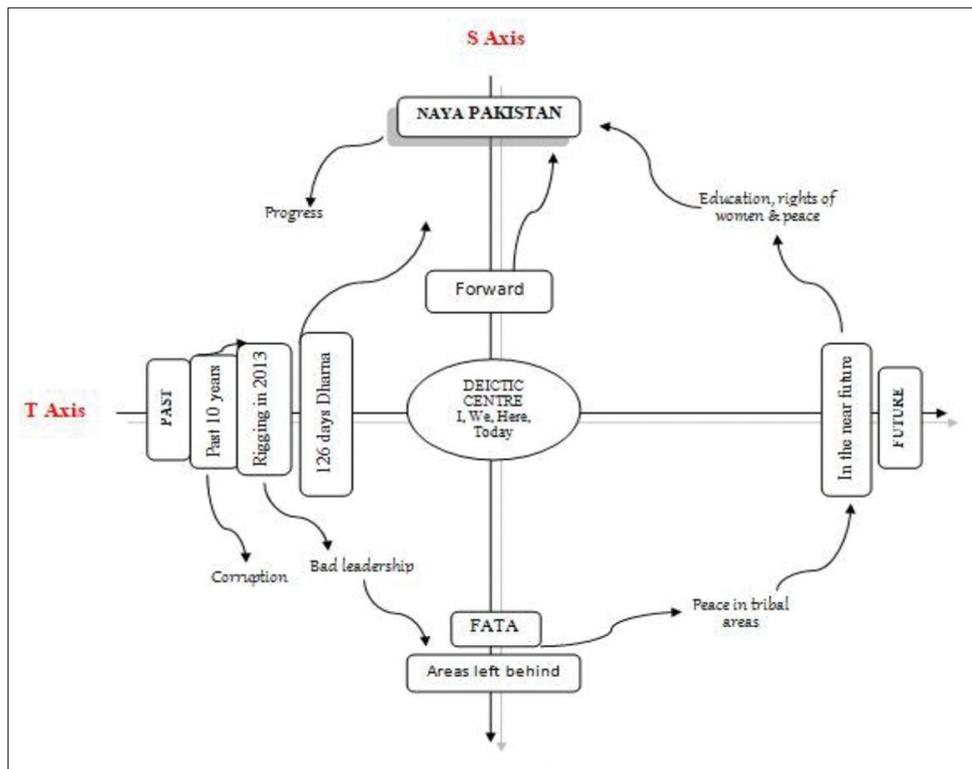**Figure 4.** Events from the speech 'I am fighting against Mafia'

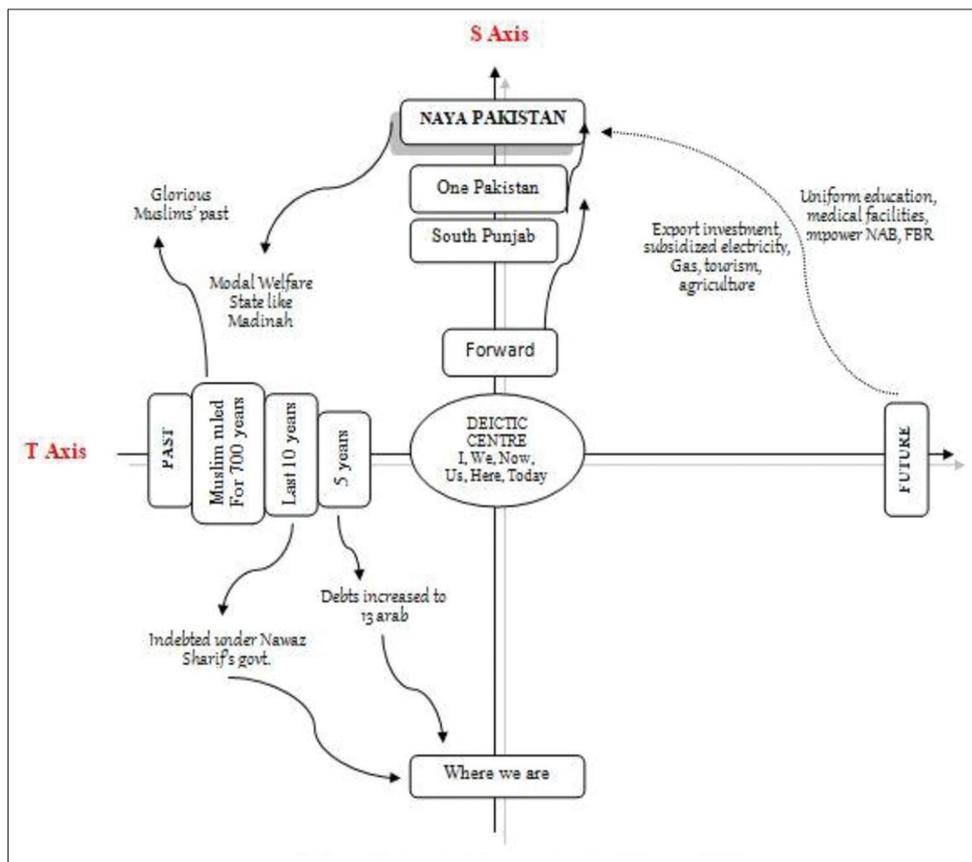**Figure 5.** Events from the speech PTI Dhama Convention

Figure 6. Events from the speech 'Minar e Pakistan'

importance of equal opportunities of education for all lower and middle class people of Pakistan. He wants to take the stance on women education and the protection of their rights in order to bring change in the country. Above all, his main

future concern is to bring peace and prosperity which to him is the only solution if he wants to transform the country into a *Naya* Pakistan.

But peace is only possible if people get educated. His blame that the previous governments did not focus on education shows his concern about it in the speeches.

In the lower quadrants, the speaker talks about the problems of the past mainly the corruption by the previous governments. Corruption destabilized the economy, affected the state departments and caused the country to stay back in the world progress. "We saw a politicized police" and "why the Muslim world is left so far behind?" (Khan, 2018) is due to bad leadership in the country. Regarding the disturbed areas, peace in FATA is inevitable for progress as "the key to peace there lies with the people of FATA" (ibid).

Interpretation

Figure 6 shows that some references of the past are repeated in this speech like mentioning the glorious Muslim history of 700 years. The purpose seems to invoke the nation to wake up and take the stance against tyrannical rulers and their injustice. The rulers have indebted the country to 27 billion rupees during the last five years leading it to "a self-destruction mood" (Khan, 2018).

Despite all these economic, geographic and political crises, Imran Khan idealizes the country's future where everyone will have uniform education, uniform medical facilities and corruption free state departments like NAB (National Accountability Bureau) and FBR (Federal Board Revenue). He presents future Pakistan (*Naya* Pakistan) as an ideal Madinah type Welfare State where people will get all basic human facilities.

On the spatial horizon, he wants to empower the local administrative bodies and the creation of the South Punjab as a separate province. His vision encompasses a united and one Pakistan based upon the ideology of Allama Muhammad Iqbal. All this struggle is to reach his goal and the goal is *Naya* Pakistan.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSIONS

Following conclusions may be drawn on the basis of the research conducted:

i.   One of the objectives of the research is to analyze how Imran Khan Indexes his identity in the discourse fragments that is; whether he performs a national/common identity or projects his own distinct identity in it. The results of the pronouns elicited from the corpus shows that Imran Khan indexes his personal identity as a leader of the Pakistan Tahreek e Insaaf party more often than the national identity.

ii. From the counting of the inclusive and exclusive pronouns, it is evident that the use of exclusive pronoun 'we' is used higher in number than the inclusive 'we'. These results conclude that Imran Khan projects more of his personal identity than the national identity because he presents himself to be the leader of a party who claims to transform the country into a *Naya* Pakistan.

He wants people to conform to his ideology and join his party so that they all would work together to create a *Naya* Pakistan under his leadership. These pronominal deictics do not always result in favor of national identity as "there is no such thing as one national identity in an essentialist sense, but rather that different identities are discursively constructed according to context, i.e., according to the degree of public exposure of a given utterance, the setting, the topic addressed, the audience to which it is addressed, and so on. In other words, discursive national identities should not be perceived as static, but rather as dynamic, vulnerable and rather ambivalent entities" (Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl & Liebhart, 2009). These results are also in line with the view of analysts such as Fowler and Kress (1979), Chilton and Schäffner (2002) and Cramer (2010).

iii. The other objective of the research is to analyze how Imran Khan place information along the spatial and temporal axes as these bear greater political significance in political discourses. The results from the spatial deixes reveal that the politician tends to reach the destination or space which is *Naya* Pakistan. This space is still far away but the nation can reach there through the implementation of justice, equality; providing basic human facilities, equal rights for women, uniform education, medical facilities, subsidized electricity and gas; creation of local administrative bodies, peace in tribal areas, fixing the State Departments; increasing revenue, reduction in taxes and accountability of the corrupt politicians. The deixes such as 'here', 'now' and 'today' represent Pakistan in the present state (*Purana* Pakistan).

iv. In contrast, temporal deixes represent the past which was once glorious where Muslims ruled the world for 700 years but the recent past of Muslims (with reference to Pakistan) is full of corruption, bad leadership, killings of the innocent people, rigging in elections and injustice to people. But the future seems to be full of hope with equal rights and facilities for the people: system of justice and better opportunities. This future along the temporal axis reflects the vision of Quaid-e-Azam and Allama Iqbal in the form of *Naya* Pakistan. The results drawn from spatial and temporal deixes are thus in line with the view of Chilton and Schäffner (2002).

CDA considers that discourses are socially constructed which means that politicians influence the people through their talk and lead them towards the ideology they propagate. They tend to regulate, reinforce actions and therefore exert power (Meyer, 2002). The comprehensibility and the quality of being inter-textually connected make discourses supra-individual. Discourses transfer knowledge which forms the basis of discursive and non-discursive actions of the individuals and as well as collectively, "which in turn shapes reality" (ibid).

Recommendations

This article applies the CDA analytic approach to the political discourse of a Pakistani politician. The results provide a

deep insight to the critical linguistic workings of techniques that politicians adopt during their discourses. But at the same time, this study is limited so the results drawn cannot be generalized for every politician or political contexts. So, following are the recommendations for scholars who want to do PDA in future:

i.   The scholars may adopt the same approach of CDA but in a broader aspect in order to shed light on power relations, implicit ideologies, indexing of identity and the use of strategic techniques in political discourses.

ii.   If similar research is conducted on larger corpora than the present, the results can be generalized.

iii. PDA is helpful in conducting research on the political problematic past of a country. This may help in analyzing and solving political conflicts among the countries.

iv.   Also, a comparative study of two or more corpora of politicians who belong to the same or different contexts may be of great importance. For example, a comparative study of Pakistani and Indian politicians may be done to look for similarities and differences in the use of linguistic strategies.

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