

Use of Repetition as a Political Discourse Manipulation Device in the Speeches of a Pakistani Prime Minister

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the ideological function of repetition and positive-self vs. negative-other representation strategy in the political discourse. The data for this study comprises of the speeches of a former Pakistani Prime Minister, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, which has been analyzed in the light of theoretical framework for political discourse analysis (PDA) as well as discourse historical approach (DHA) focusing on to highlight the change in the Mr. Sharif's ideology/stance over the period of time, and describe major reasons behind the said change. As a result, Mr. Sharif has been observed to change his stance over the period of time to manipulate his political speeches due to self-centeredness, and to convince the audience of his political agenda to stay in power.

Keywords: *discourse manipulation; ideology; political discourse analysis; positive-self and negative other strategies; repetition; stance*

Introduction

In the view of Van Dijk, “political discourse is the discourse of politicians” (2002: 20), “to which political actors put their words (Chiluwa, 2015: 216). Political discourse, says Nartey (2018), has emerged as a significant field of discourse studies during the last 30 years. Many researchers have explored different aspects of political discourse e.g. political discourse in general (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2013; Geis, 1987; Wilson, 1990), ideology and power (Fairclough, 2001; Van Dijk, 1998), evasion (Clayman, 2001; Friedman, 2017), categorization (Edwards, 2004; Luedar, Marsland, & Nekvapil, 2004), military, war, politics and political discourse (Achugar, 2004; Hodges, 2013), politics and media (Bednarek, 2005; Ciaglia, 2013), terrorism and discourse (Bhatia, 2008, 2009; Chiluwa, 2015), metaphor and political discourse (Charteris-Black, 2011; Lakoff, 2004).

Political discourse “is not a straightforward enterprise” (Van Dijk, 2002: 20). Rather, it is considered one of the complex text genres. The complexity of political texts and nonlinguistic social factors as power and ideology are interrelated. The preferred words and structure of sentences are not chosen arbitrarily but politicians pick it decisively, particularly if the speech is delivered at a critical time (Schaffner, 1997). Political discourse, adds Chiluwa, is multidimensional in nature and offers an interesting area for research on resistance discourse based on such a political language as functions to highlight conflicts, group relations, and resistances (2015). Political discourse utilizes emotional, incomprehensible and

persuasive language (Chilton, 2008 cited in Khdaire, 2016) which aims to deliver a specific agenda which is mostly far from truth by hiding the real meaning (Van Dijk, 1998).

Ideology is considered as the hidden part of the political discourse (Van Dijk, 2008). Therefore, this research focuses on 'ideology'. In fact, politicians make use of indirect language to convey their ideologies to the public. Therefore, studying "repetition" is a powerful way to discover the structure of hidden ideology (Khdaire, 2016). Repetition means the repeating of a word with a changed or exactly the same form (Johnstone, 1994). In its nature, repetition is a pervasive, fundamental, infinitely useful language strategy (Tannen, 1987) which according to Reynolds (1995: 185) presents "multiple instances of an idea or word, and the greater the number of repetitions the more we notice it". Reynolds further adds saying that repetition is the "quantity of occurrences" which is utilized to emphasize meaning and attract attention. Some of the functions of repetition include: to give different meanings, to answer a question, to emphasize something supposed to be difficult for the audience (Carel, 2006), for coherence and interpersonal involvement in discourse (Tannen, 1987), for informational value i.e. it provides a framework to interpret what is new (Hoey, 1991), emotional and persuasive effect on audience (Johnstone, 1994), talking strategy (Fischer, 1994), emphasis and strong effect on different ideas (Dillon, 1995), emphasis on meaning (Reischild, 2006), persuasive strategy (Suchan, 2010), Repetition has various form e.g. lexical, and structural repetition (see Johnstone, 1994). However, this study focuses on lexical form of repetition which helps create lexical cohesion (Halliday, 1994) which can help further follow the meaning (Halliday & Hasan, 1976).

Politicians use repetition as a rhetorical and manipulative tool to deceive the audience. In fact, politicians play with language and use it to achieve their political ends (Khalil, Islam, Chattha & Kazalbash, 2017; Khdaire, 2016; Najaradegan, Dabaghi & Eslami-Rasekh, 2017; Post, 2009) i.e. to gain political benefits, firmly control the public against their political interests or turn the people into the vibrant citizens (Aschale, 2013). Rhetorical aspect provides sufficient space to the politicians within the linguistic system to hide their intentions. Moreover, they indirectly use the language to influence the political thoughts of the public. Manipulation is the key idea attributed to the political language which reflects the behavioural as well as ideological thinking of the politicians by which they convince their audience to achieve the ends (Wilson, 1990). Chilton adds saying that political language, being rich in the use of figurative devices, serves an intentional role at the hands of the politicians (2008) who use it to express their ideologies (Van Dijk, 1998). Ideologies are further utilized by the politicians to compare as well as compete themselves with other politicians. For this purpose, they use selected sentence structures or words to convey their ideologies.

The critical discourse analysis approach helps unite the "repetition" with "ideology". Identifying "repetition" reveals the ideologies of politicians. This research aims to reveal the ideology of Nawaz Sharif, by analyzing the repetition in his political speeches of different times. It also tries to explore the selfishness of Nawaz Sharif behind his changed political discourse by investigating the use of 'us vs. them' strategy in his speeches. Because in almost every political activity there is the opposition camp ('them'), as well as that of the allies ('us'), which results from politics being concerned with a struggle for power and dominance

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(Wirth-Koliba, 2016). Political actors try to win public support using us versus them discourse (Barr, 2009).

Objectives of the Study

The objective of this research is to connect repetition, as a rhetorical device, to the ideology of the politicians, and through this study aims to:

1. Explore the ways politicians utilize repetition as a rhetorical device to achieve ideological as well as political ends; and
2. Explore the changes in the stance of politicians over the period of time.

Research Questions

1. Is there any change in the political stance of Nawaz Sharif over the period of time?
2. Whether the change in Nawaz Sarif's political discourse is due to his varying ideology or it symbolizes self-interest?
3. What does the 'new' intended ideology of Nawaz Sharif illustrate?

Research Methodology

This is a qualitative research based on the analysis of the political speeches in the light of CDA's analytical method based on Van Dijk's (1997) socio-cognitive theory of political discourse analysis and discourse historical approach (DHA) by Resigil and Wodak (2007). The data for this research consists of the speeches by Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif Ex. Prime Minister of Pakistan, which have been downloaded from youtube and the website of Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The required discourse from speeches has been transcribed for detailed analysis. The speeches available in Urdu have not been translated into English due to maintaining the originality of message. The data for this research has been collected through convenient sampling. That is because the interest of this research is to analyze the speeches of Nawaz Sharif to observe the cause of change in his political stance, thus the convenient sampling technique is quite relevant. Additionally, this research deals with 'ideology' which is the concealed part of each political discourse (Van Dijk, 2008). The politicians always try to manipulate language to hide their intended ideologies. If we differentiate theoretically, unlike semantic, syntactic and stylistic structures, the rhetoric operations are generally optional i.e. their presence usually has persuasive function which is significant in political discourse. It is not unexpected therefore that the analysis of political communication was frequently reduced to the study of 'political rhetoric' (among a large number of studies, (see Billig, 2003; Campbell & Jamieson, 1990; 1991; Tetlock, 1993; Windt & Ingold, 1987 quoted by Van Dijk, 1997). Therefore, to find out the hidden ideology behind the change in the political discourse of Nawaz Sharif this study utilizes rhetorical device 'repetition'.

Observations and Interpretations

Below given tables show the repetition of text about certain issues discussed by Nawaz Sharif's in his political speeches. Repetition is a term which is defined as "the recurrence of words and collocation of words in the same discourse" (Tennen, 2007: 2). Depending on the given discourse genre, repetition performs particular functions. The political speech is one of the genres that rely heavily on repetition

(Boychev, 2003). Politicians believe in its function of confirmation and strong persuasive effect, so they use this strategy for ideological and functional reasons (Khdair, 2016). Repetition operates at the level of sound, sentence and meaning. It is the most common rhetorical device used by political personalities to emphasize certain ideas, gain attention of the audience and to have active response of addressees for their own benefits (Van Dijk, 1997).

Table 1.1: Statements about establishing a commission for the investigation of Panama Leaks

Frequency	Context
01	April 05,2016 addressed as Prime Minister (PM) of Pakistan on television
01	April 22,2016 addressed as (PM) of Pakistan on television
01	May 16,2016 addressed as PM in National Assembly of Pakistan

Background

“The leak of 11 million documents held by the Panama-based law firm Mossack Fonseca identified links between many political and business leaders around the world and offshore companies and accounts. Among them was the Pakistani prime minister’s family” (Panama Papers: Pakistan PM Nawaz Sharif to face investigators, 2017).

The month of April, 2016 proved upsetting for the Sharif family because the leaks revealed that three children of Pakistani PM Nawaz Sharif owned offshore companies and assets which were not shown in their wealth statement. These companies had been used to channel funds to obtain foreign benefits. The insinuation that the companies aimed to hide or launder illegal wealth or avoiding taxes challenged his credentials. Although the name of Nawaz Sharif was not mentioned in it yet the criticism questioned his reputation. Mr. Sharif and his family denied about their unlawful activity. In November, they told the Supreme Court that their London property had been purchased through investments in companies owned by the dominant family of Qatar (Panama Papers: Pakistan PM Nawaz Sharif to face investigators, 2017).

Analysis

After Panama Leaks, PM Pakistan Nawaz Sharif kept on claiming his incorruptibility. He stressed upon establishing a commission in his speeches after Panama issue, for the investigation against his family and himself. Table 1.1 shows the repetition of his statements where he ordered to set up a commission to prove his honesty. The following chunks are taken from different speeches of Nawaz Sharif, to support the figures of table 1.1:

“Me ne ek jamhuri mulk ke wazir-e-azam honay ki zimadari nibhatay huay ek azad aur ghair janibdar commission bnanay ka ilaan kiya” (2017, April 22).

“Me ne opposition ke kisi bhi mutalbay se pehlay qom se khitab kiya or Supreme court ke judge sahiban ki sarbrahi mein ek commission ke qayam ka ilaan kar diya” (2017, May 16).

This repetition reinforces the viewpoint that Nawaz Sharif is not guilty in this case so he is not afraid of any investigation or the step taken against him and that is why he is in favor of setting up a commission. Apart from the grammatical function of repetition, which has been completely studied, repetition can have a convincing impact on the public (Mazraani 1993: 265-267; Johnstone 1994: 6).

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For Tannen, repetition is "fundamental, pervasive and infinitely useful linguistic strategy "(1989: 44). Other intention behind this repetition could be the manifestation that being a democratic prime minister he is fulfilling his duty of providing equal justice for everyone by presenting his family and himself for investigation.

Table 1.2: Downbeat response of Nawaz Sharif after the decision of disqualification (on 20th April 2017) as Prime Minister of Pakistan

Phrase	Frequency	Context
Mujhy kun nikala?	02	Aug 10,2017 at Rawalpindi
	11	Aug 10,2017 at Jehlum
	03	Aug 11,2017 at Gujrat
	05	Aug 11,2017 at Gujranwala
	01	Aug 13,2017
	01	Feb 04,2018 at Peshawar

Table 1.3: Nawaz Sharif's anti-judiciary speeches after disqualification as PM

Frequency	Context
01	July 29,2017 address to Parlmani Party
01	Aug 10,2017
01	Aug 12,2017 political gathering at Lahore
01	Jan 01,2018 political gathering at Haripur
01	Jan 09,2018 spoke to lawyers across the country

Background

The commission established under the directions of PM Nawaz Sharif, investigated around one year. In the light of the reports presented by that commission, five judges of Supreme Court of Pakistan unanimously disqualified Nawaz Sharif as Prime Minister of Pakistan (Bhatti, 2017). Mr. Justice Ejaz Afzal Khan said in court "Having furnished a false declaration under solvent information, Mian Nawaz Sharif is not honest. He is no more eligible to be an honest member of the parliament and he ceases to be holding the office of prime minister" (Ray, 2017).

It was right after the decision that the members of Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz), started attacking democracy and the impartiality of courts for providing justice in Pakistan. They seem to believe that democracy can sustain only with Nawaz Sharif and without him the democracy in Pakistan is in danger.

Analysis

Table 1.2 depicts the frequency and context of repetition of the phrase '*mujhay kyun nikala?*' by Nawaz Sharif, after the decision of Panama verdict where he was disqualified as a Prime Minister (PM) of Pakistan. This phrase was repeated about 21 times in the GT road rally (headed by Nawaz sharif after the decision of disqualification by the court, from Islamabad to back to his house in Lahore). Due to so much repetition '*mujhay kyun nikala*' has become a base of many comical videos and songs in the digital world. The repetition of this phrase shows that he was not ready to accept the decision against him. So he criticized the judiciary system of Pakistan. By repeating the same phrase at different temporal and spatial situations, he tried to gain the sympathy and support of people for him. Wilson (1990) states, most linguistic analytical approaches have revealed the use of certain language by politicians to present their politicians arguments to their audience. Politicians benefit from the use of language system as a manipulative

means to achieve certain political objectives. Therefore, ideological means are hidden behind the language used. Although the decision of his ineligibility as PM did not affect democracy in Pakistan at all, yet he kept on claiming in his speeches that because of his disqualification the progress, the politics and the democracy in the country is at risk.

In table 1.3 the frequency and context of anti-judiciary speeches of Nawaz Sharif is mentioned. The following chunks of the speeches of Nawaz Sharif, after decision of Panama issue, provide sound basis to accept that there is an obvious change in the ideology of Nawaz Sharif with time.

1a. *mein ne apnay interview mein pehli dafa kaha tha keh Yousaf Raza Gillani aik saza yafta Wazir-e-Azam hy. Is ko ab ohda chor dena chahiye. Is ko ghar chalay jana chahiye. Meri wo baat sach sabit hui, hum surkhuru huay jab kal supreme court ne faisal kiya keh Yousaf Raza Gillani 26 April se farig tha (2012).*

1b. *ap ke wazir-e-azmon ke sath yeh salook hota aya hy. 2013 mein ap ne mujhy vote diya. Lekin awam ke vote ki koi qadar nahi. Ap vote detay hain or 5, sirf 5 log wazir-e-azam ko ghar bhej detay hain. Kia saray k saray wazir-e-azam jo 70 salon mein aye hein wo galat thay (12 August 2017, Jalsa at Lahore).*

In 1a Nawaz Sharif has described his views about Yousaf Raza Gillani (a former Prime Minister of PPP), who was alleged for corruption and was disqualified by the court. Nawaz Sharif suggested him to go home. He appreciated the decision of court regarding this matter. But when Nawaz Sharif has to face the same situation himself after Panama Leaks' decision, he is not ready to accept the decision of the same court. 1b clearly shows his ideology of attacking on judiciary for the injustice which he thinks has been done with him. He criticized the same legislation of Pakistan indirectly which he praised for disqualifying Yousaf Raza Gillani in 2012. Here he wants to gain sympathy of Pakistanis for him by presenting himself an innocent and positive, telling the people that their vote has no importance because their elected leaders are not treated as they should be. He stated 1b to claim that he was terminated because of the political tradition in Pakistani political scenario, where the period of dictatorship is longer than democratic one, not because of his deeds. By using vague expression of five people, he is actually criticizing those five judges who went against him. These statements clearly show the selfish behavior of Nawaz Sharif as he values the decision for another Prime Minister but is not ready to accept the same for himself. Another text from Nawaz Sharif's is given below to strengthen the outcomes of this research.

میرے اہل وطن اب آتے ہیں اس معاملے کی طرف بس کو بنیاد بنا کر صحت سے اقتدار کی خاطر ایک مرتبہ پھر پاکستان کو غیر مستحکم کرنے کی کوشش کی جا رہی ہے یا نا ملکیس منظر عام پر آنے کے بعد میں نے فوری طور پر پاکستانی عوام کو اعتماد میں لیا۔ آپ سب کو اعتماد میں لیا اور گویا کہ میری ذات الحمد للہ کسی قسم کا کوئی الزام نہیں۔ مگر میں نے ایک جمہوری ملک کے وزیر اعظم ہونے کی ذمہ داری نبھاتے ہوئے ایک آزاد اور غیر جانبدار کابینہ بنانے کا اعلان کیا۔ جو سپریم کورٹ کے ریٹائرڈ جج پر مشتمل ہو۔ وہ اس معاملے کی پوری جانچ پڑتال کرے تاکہ دودھ کا دودھ اور پانی کا پانی ہو جائے۔ اور یہاں ایک بات کی وضاحت ضروری ہے۔

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ہے اور میں اللہ کے بعد صرف اور صرف پاکستان کی عوام کو جواب دہ ہوں۔ اسی لیے آج میں آپ کے سامنے ایک اہم اعلان کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔ میں نے فیصلہ کیا ہے کہ میں سپریم کورٹ کے محترم چیف جسٹس کو خط لکھوں گا کہ وہ اس معاملے کی تحقیقات کے لیے ایک کمیشن تشکیل دیں تاکہ جو لوگ بہتان تراشیوں کی حد پر اترے ہوئے ہیں وہ اس اقدام سے ہماری شفافیت بھی دیکھ لیں۔ میں اس کمیشن کی سفارشات قبول کروں گا۔ مگر میرے عزیز اہل وطن اگر مجھ پر الزامات ثابت نہ ہوئے تو وہ لوگ جو روزانہ جھوٹے الزامات کا بازار گرم کرتے ہیں قوم سے ہاتھ جوڑ کر معافی مانگیں گے؟ اور کیا سب انہیں معاف کر دیں گے؟ اس سوال کا جواب میں آپ پر چھوڑتا ہوں۔

The above stances are taken from Nawaz Sharif's speech on television on April 22, 2016.

ap ke wazir-e-azmon k sath ye salook hota aya hy. 2013 mein ap ne mujhy vote diya. Lekin awam ke vote ki koi qadar nahi. Ap vote detay hain or 5 sirf 5 log wazir-e-azam ko ghar bhej detay hain. Kia saray ke saray wazir-e-azam jo 70 salon mein aye han wo galat thay (12 August 2017 at Lahore).

The above given expressions illustrate a change in Nawaz Sharif's political discourse. Two paragraphs are taken from the speech before the decision of court about Panama Leaks and the third one is taken from the speech after decision. Before decision he used positive expressions about the legislation of Pakistan and its courts by saying that 'I will accept whatever decision is taken by them' but after the decision, his statement is given in third paragraph where he indirectly hits the same law and judges by saying '5 log aur chand log wazir-e-azam ko ghar bhej detay hain'. Though there is change in the political discourse of Nawaz Sharif but it seems to be due to personal benefits not for the good of nation.

Table 1.4: Nawaz Sharif's views about Pakistan Army

Sr.No	Statements	Context
1	hum sab yahan Shaheed Genral Zia-ul-Haq ko khiraj-e-aqidat paish krnay ke liye aye hain. Allah General Zia-ul-Haq Shaheed ko karwat karwat jannat naseeb karay	Aug 1996, Islamabad
2	Ye log shaheed Zia-ul-Haq ka muqabla krain gy. Yeh log, ye Pakistan ke gaddar jo apnay baap ko shaheed kehti hain, jis ne Pakistan k 2 tukray kiye huay hain or Shaheed General Zia-ul-Haq surkhuru ho ker rahay ga.	
3	Hum ne apna pait kaat kr jis foj (army) ko pala hy. jo foj ko helicopter, topain aur bandoqain le ker di hain, aj wohi topain aur bandoqain Pakistaniyon ka khoon ker rahi hain.	
4	Khas taur per wo tola jinhon ne Marshal law lgaya hy, unhon ne ehtram sikha nahi ain (law) ka. Unhon ne Jamhuri Wazir-e-Azam ka dil se ehtram nahi kiya. Aisay bhi hotay dekha hy me ne keh jab Wazir-e-Azam GHQ mein jaye to yeh shayad cap bhi is liye nahi pehntay k Wazir-e-Azam ko salute na krna paray	2007 (Interview on ARY News)
5	70 salon (years) se is mulk mein ye mazaq hota ayah hy. Ap vote de k wazir-e-azam bnata hain, koi dictator aa ke ap ke vote ki parchi ko phaar ke ap ke hath mein pakra deta hy. hy koi esi adalat jo dictator ko saza de	Aug 10, 2017 at Jehlum
6	on average 1 wazir-e-azam ko 1.1/5 saal hakomat mili hy, 30 saal 3 dictator is mulk ko kha gaye	Aug 12, 2017 at Lahore

Background

Army is considered a well-built institute in Pakistan. The Pakistani army has been at the center of politics and the state since 1947. It has ruled directly for 34 years and, in the rest, has indirectly dominated the state and society. Nawaz Sharif, who became prime minister in 1990-93 and in 1997-99, actually tried to assert his

constitutional abilities towards the army. The clashes of Nawaz Sharif with the COAS (Chief of Army Staff) have not ended here. The COAS, General Pervez Musharraf, with whom Prime Minister Sharif had serious political and personal differences, was replaced by General Ziauddin. This move proved expensive to Sharif. Regarding the matters of Afghanistan and Saudi Arabia, there were differences between army and Nawaz Sharif (Hussain, 2017). When Nawaz Sharif took office in June 2013, it was clear what kind of civil-military relations he wanted. A month before taking power, Sharif told Indian journalist Karan Tahapar in an interview with CNN IBN's Devil's Advocate that the army is a federal government department and the military chief of staff works under the federal government and implements federal government policies. "All I know is when I was prime minister the policies were being formulated by the federal government, by the civilian head of the state and then of course executed by the institutions" (Ahmad, 2016).

Analysis

Table 1.4 shows the viewpoint of Nawaz Sharif about Pak army, which he discussed at different temporal and spatial contexts. First two excerpts in table 1.4 show his positive attitude towards army as he praised an army officer Genral Zia-ul-Haq who also ruled over Pakistan. While Sharif's statements about army after 1999, depict a change in his ideology which is against army. Excerpts from Sharif's political discourse at no. 3, 4, 5, 6 (table 1.4) show his strong disagreement with the actions of Pak army.

1. Positive self-representation and negative-other representation (us vs. them)

Positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation are two paired strategies used by politicians in their political discourse (Dijk, 1993). According to Van Dijk (2006) the strategy of positive self-presentation and other negative representation, is very typical in this partial account of the facts in favour of the interests of the speaker or writer, while blaming negative situations and events on opponents or on others (immigrants, terrorists, young people, etc.). This strategy can be applied to the structures of many levels of speech in the usual way. It is used to show up the positive intentions and doing of the speaker/writer by highlighting the actions of the opponents in a negative way.

Table 2.1: Discourse of Nawaz sharif's speeches representing 'us vs. them' (strategy of positive-self representation and negative-other representation)

Sr.No	About 'Us'	About Them'
1	The gravity of the situation demanded that instead of making speeches, I must deeply analyse the wounds inflicted on Pakistan and explore the ways and means to heal them. Not a single moment has passed in the last two and a half months that I have not reflected on how to meet the present challenges. (Aug 19,2013)	During the last 14 years, worst governance, widespread corruption, incompetence, nepotism and wrong policies have shattered the very foundations of the country. (Aug 19,2013)
2	mein Pakistan ki khidmat k jazbay se aya tha aur Swat ke awm ne mujhay apnay kandhon apnay sar per bithaya tha. Aur Swat ke awam ka josh-o-jazba dekh ker meray dil ne ye kaha ke Nawaz Sharif tu ne Swat ki awam ki wo khidmat ki hy jis ki tarikh mein koi missal nahi milti (May 20,2016 at Swat)	O naya Pakistan bnanay walay ladlay tum ne hmesha galiyon ki syasat ki hy. Suno ye khalq-e-khuda tumharay baray mein kia rai rakhti hy (May 20,2016 at Swat)

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3	Hum sab ke sath mil ker kaam krnay ko tyar hain (Sep 07, 2016 at Chitral).	agr koi tauwan nahi krna chahta to us ki mrzi (Sep 07, 2016 at Chitral)
4	pichlay 3 salon ke nataij aaj nazr ana shuru ho gaye hain. Agr taraqi ki yehi speed rahi to berozgari ka hmesha ke liye khatma ho jaye ga (September 02, 2016 at Lahore).	
5	Jb hum ne kaam shuru kiya to dharnay walay maidan mein aa gaye (Aug 10,2017 at Jehlum)	Wo mauvi sahib Canada se aa gaye, bohtan tarashi walay or mauvi sahib ikathay ho gaye. Mauvi sahib ko har 3 mahinay baad Pakistan ka dard jagta hy. Na janay wo kon log hain jo un k peechay lag jatay hain. (Aug 10,2017 at Jehlum)
6	on average 1 wazir-e-azam ko 1.1/5 saal hakomat mili hy (12 August 2017, Jalsa at Lahore)	30 saal 3 dictator is mulk ko kha gaye (12 August 2017, Jalsa at Lahore)
7	ap k wazir-e-azmon ke sath ye salook hota aya hy. 2013 mein ap ne mujhy vote diya. Lekin awam ke vote ki koi qadar nahi. Ap vote detay hain or 5 sirf 5 log wazir-e-azam ko ghar bhej detay hain. Kia saray ke saray wazir-e-azam jo 70 salon mein aye han wo galat thay. (12 August 2017, Jalsa at Lahore)	mein ne apnay interview mein pehli dafa kaha tha keh Yousaf Raza Gillani aik saza yafta Wazir-e-Azam hy. Is ko ab ohda chor dena chahiye. Is ko ghar chalay jana chahiye. Meri wo baat sach sabit hui, hum surkhuru huay jab kal supreme court ne faisal kiya keh Yousaf Raza Gillani 26 April se farig tha (2012).
8	Balochistan mein pichlay 4 salon se jo tarqi ho rahi hy iski missal nahi milti. (Dec 02, 2017 at Quetta)	4 saal pehlay ka manzir yaad hy apko Balochistan k andar kuch bhi nahi hota tha, koi taraqi k aasar nahi thay. Aaj Balochistan mein taraqi missali hy (December 02, 2017 at Quetta).

In all the above stances which were produced at different places and in different times but the context was same i.e. of a political event. He talked about the progress (table 2.1: No 1, 4, 8 statements) made under his government since 2013 (when he became Prime Minister for the third time). It is very encouraging that there has been progress in his time of power but in each standpoint of his speeches, more subjectivity is found. The analysis of political discourses has emphasized the fact that ideological manipulations are expressed, performed, maintained and sometimes reiterated through discursive structures. Underlying political ideologies are typically expressed in political discourse by emphasizing our good things and their bad things and by de-emphasizing our bad things and their good things (Van Dijk, 2004). He discussed the advancement of his control only and presented hidden negativity for others by using the expressions as '*Nawaz Sharif tu ne Swat ki awam ki wo khidmat ki hy jis ki tarikh mein koi missal nahi milti, pichlay 3 salon k ntaij aaj nazr ana shuru ho gai hain, pehli martaba pichlay 70 salon mein, mein university bnanay ka ilan ker raha hon and pichlay 4 salon se*'. In all these expressions, taken from different speeches at different temporal and spatial situations, he is focusing his achievements only in a positive way without mentioning the facts and figures to authenticate his claims.

Discussion

The first question of the study has been raised to know: "Is there any change in the political stance of Mr. Sharif over the period of time? The answer to this question, as is evident from tables 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, and 1.4, is yes. The results indicate a marked change in the stance of Mr. Sharif over the period of time as is clear from his statements about the law process of Pakistan, before and after the decision of Panama issue. His stance about democracy also changed with time when he

praised the decision of court in 2012 against former PM Yousaf Raza Gillani but condemned forcefully the same decision against himself in 2017. Other examples of change in the stance of the said politician include: (a) his view about General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and General Pervez Musharraf i.e. he praises the former and criticizes the later. The reason for his praise and criticism is that General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq benefits him but General Pervez Musharraf does not; and (b) his claim to accept the decision by the court on the findings of the commission on Panama issue which he not only refuses to accept but also criticizes publically for going against him.

To answer the second and third questions of the study i.e. whether the change in Nawaz Sharif's political discourse is due to his varying ideology or it symbolizes self-interest, and what does the 'new' intended ideology of Nawaz Sharif illustrate, it can be said, in the light of the observations that the change in his stance is caused by his personal benefits only i.e. his 'new' ideology persuaded his audience to believe that without him the democracy and the progress in Pakistan is endangered. Though, still the government is functioning under the new democratic Prime Minister Mr. Shahid Khaqan Abbasi. The context behind his changed viewpoint about Pak army also reflects his self-centeredness. He kept on criticizing the army as a danger for democracy after the end of his rule in 1999. Similarly, through recurring expressions in different contexts like:

mujhy kun nikala?, Ap vote de ke wazir-e-azam bnata hain, koi dictator aa ke ap ke vote ki parchi ko phaar ke ap ke hath mein pakr deta hy. 30 saal 3 dictator is mulk ko kha gai. ap ke wazir-e-azam ke sath ye salook hota aya hy. 2013 mein ap ne mujhy vote diya. Lekin awam ke vote ki koi qadar nahi. Ap vote detay hain or 5 sirf 5 log wazir-e-azam ko ghar bhej detay hain,

Mr. Sharif tries to make his audience believe (in the context where democracy is still practiced in the country) that Nawaz Sharif and his family is a victim of injustice by the law of Pakistan and army is the only institution which is a threat to democracy. Sharif's new' ideology actually tries to persuade people in opposition to judiciary and army by manipulating the decision of disqualification against him as an insult of the vote of the people of Pakistan. As Rozina and Karapetjana (2009) state that linguistic manipulation can also be considered as an influential instrument of political rhetoric because political discourse is primarily focused on persuading people to take specified political actions or to make crucial political decisions. The whole scenario of the change in political discourse of Nawaz Sharif clearly presents self-interest because Sharif changed his statements where he expects to lose power and where his own stakes are at risk.

Change in the stance is not seen as a good thing. For, in the view of Kreps, Laurin and Merritt (2017) the leaders who change their stance are not brave, courageous, worthy of support, and are no more effective. Rather, they appear to be hypocrites. An implication of changing the key stance, adds Fradera, can put a person at odds along with his family and friends. They may be seized by enemies who may dub him as a commitment breaker, unauthentic and dishonest person (2018). This is cent percent true about Nawaz Sharif. Not only he himself, but also the whole of

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his family and a large number of friends are not only seized by the political rivals but they are facing the law for different charges i.e. the children of Nawaz Sharif and his brother Shahbaz Sharif and their in-laws are being investigated for off-shore companies (Cheema, 2016), his daughter Maryam Nawaz Sharif is facing severe charges. She, along with her husband Safdar Awan, has also been jailed. Nawaz Sharif himself has been declared dishonest, fined, disqualified for public office, and jailed (BBC News, 2018; Haider & Dilawar, 2018; Sayeed & Hassan, 2018). So a leader should keep his stance stable (Kreps, Laurin & Merritt, 2017; Fradera, 2018).

Discourse, in its sense, is a strategy which people utilize to convey their ideas or thoughts in non-verbal or verbal modes of communication (Sobur, 2006). Experts, in the field of critical discourse analysis (see Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), consider discourse as a social practice and is, in the view of Rogers, concerned with the study of the relationship between language and society (2004). Similarly, ideology is considered the core of critical discourse analysis. For according to Van Dijk "people acquire, express and reproduce their ideologies by text and talk" (2006, p. 115) and ideological discourse analysis, being a type of socio-political analysis of discourse (Van Dijk, 1995) reflects the purpose of discourse analysis (Gadalla, 2012), which embeds discourse strategies in cultural, political, and social contexts (Van Dijk, 1995).

Ideological discourse is structured by negative-other (derogation) and positive-self (boasting) representation strategy (Van Dijk, 2006). This strategy of positive-self and negative-other representations has a simple evaluative structure i.e. ideological square (Van Dijk, 1998, p. 33) which works in a way that the "outgroups, enemies or opponents are described in negative terms" (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 143) and "our good things are emphasized and our bad things de-emphasized" (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 126). When we analyze the speeches of Nawaz Sharif, we see that he has not only been talking in negative terms about his opponents i.e. Musharraf, army, Imran Khan, Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri and the judges of supreme court of Pakistan but also he has been emphasizing to highlight his good things i.e. his measures to ensure progress in Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtun Khwah (KPK) etc.

Discourse is considered as subjective representation of the world (see Fairclough, 1995; Mcleod & Hertog 1992; Van Dijk 1988, 1995) and politicians use it to represent different events in such a way as may suit to their ideologies (Al-Faki, 2014). In the view of Wilson (2001 cited in Al-Faki, 2014) politicians use discourse to create negative or positive effects. Same is true about Nawaz Sharif. The analysis of his speeches shows that he has been using discourse to create a positive image of himself and negative image of his rivals. Moreover, Wilson adds that "We not only use language to shape reality, but we use it also to defend that reality, against anyone whose alternative values might threaten ours" (2001: 34). This is again true about the ideology of Mr. Sharif. He has been trying to shape and defend the realities by talking about himself in positive terms and about others in negative terms. He has also been trying to defend the charges leveled against himself. For this purpose, he has been observed to blame others i.e. army, judiciary, and his political rivals (i.e. Imran Khan, and Dr. Tahir-ul-Qadri). In this way, his politics emerges as about which, according to Chilton (2004), is "a struggle for power, between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and

those who seek to resist it" (p. 3) and Mr. Sharif appears to be the member of executive politics which, in the view of Hansson, "is characterised by blame games –offensive and defensive symbolic performances (2017: 1).

Conclusion

This research has analyzed the linguistic structure of various speeches of Nawaz Sharif to unveil the hidden ideology behind. The analysis of different speeches of various temporal and spatial situations proves the selfish behavior of Nawaz Sharif in his political journey, which is assured by the repetition of lexical items or sentences and by presenting his own actions positive while giving negative impact of other politicians or institutions of Pakistan. It also shows that the change in his political discourse is not for the benefit of Pakistani people but for himself. This work depicts that how linguistic strategies as repetition and use of us vs. them, are employed by politicians to influence the public for the execution of their political agendas.

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