



CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL SLOGANS OF MAJOR PAKISTANI POLITICAL PARTIES IN ELECTION

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Abstract

Political slogans are used as a conduit to disseminate one's political ideology into masses' conscious and unconscious and to deconstruct the narrative of the opposition. This research is focused on the slogans which were chanted during the election 2018 keeping in mind the narratives of the respective political parties. The rapport of language with narrative and ideologies is intricate and influences the political power structure substantially. Words contain and shape meanings and the exploitation and distortion of the essence of the meaning can only be understood through CDA, furthermore, the use of lexical choices effects the voting pattern as well. This research is qualitative in nature, where the three-dimensional discourse model of Fairclough and socio cognitive model of Van Dijk have been used as a theoretical framework to comprehend the intricate relationship of language, power and ideology. To linguistically analyze the slogans the Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) analysis which is developed by M.A.K Halliday, with specific focus on Lexicalization (Roger Fowler) has



proved very instrumental. This research and analysis help the reader to comprehend the role of lexical choices, syntactic structures and metaphorization in constructing a narrative and its subsequent clout over the political power structure. Also, the significance of building one's narrative and deconstructing opponents' narrative through a slogan at the same time.

Keywords: CDA, Slogans, politics, narrative, ideology

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

From ancient times to the present day, slogans have been used to gain political objectives and to catalyze individuals' struggle. Sometimes the content of slogans is, scintillating, sneering and taunting, some are devised to incite masses, some to endorse beliefs, some to remind authorities of their promises and some to champion social reforms. Similarly, Slogans captivated the landscape and played an irrefutable role in revolutions and mobilized people during revolutions and were found written on, placards, flags, T-shirts, posters, fly bills and highlighted on walls. The design of language in slogans is always shaped to retain a certain narrative and ideology. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that visions language as a form of social and political transactions and focuses on the ways social and political dominance are replicated by text and talk.

What is a slogan? Slogans have long been employed and chanted effectively through all eras and ages and have the capacity to influence the consciousness and behavior of people. Slogans are undying and imperishable phenomena and considered unassailable voices of its time.

Denham (1851, p. 1) explicates that in ancient Ireland and Scotland, the Gaelic army officials in the battle grounds chanted powerful slogans to incite and motivate their soldiers in fights as "they were also used as the watchword ... amidst the darkness of the night or in the confusion of battle". Another definition says that slogans have "the characteristics of brevity and timeliness, use the imperative, are identified with a certain group, and can be considered essentially as battle- or rallying-cries...should be easy to remind... simple, brief and striking words and sentences" (Leopold, 1942, p. 496). The dictionary meaning of slogans is "a word or phrase that is easy to remember and is used by a group or business to attract attention, political/campaign slogans/advertising, marketing slogans" (Merriam- Webster Learners' Dictionary, 2020).

During wars, political debates, presidential campaigns and demonstrations, political-party slogans have been employed extensively. Wordplay, quips, rhymes, puns, symbols, and insignia in slogans are used to catch the attention of people, like 'Sub sy Pehly Pakistan/



Pakistan First, Mujhey Kyoon Nikala/ Why did I was removed, Pakistan Khappey/ Long Live Pakistan, Kashmir Baney Ga Pakistan/ Kashmir will be Pakistan & 'Yeh jo dehshat gardi hai is k pechey wardi hai' etc. Slogan chanted robustly during French Revolution was 'liberty, equality, fraternity' and "Dare to think, dare to speak, dare to act" during the Great Leap Forward in China 1958 and recently, the revolutionary wave in the Arab world that prompted in December 2010 had the shared slogan Ash-shab yurid isqat an-nizam meaning the People Want to Bring Down the Regime.

1.2 Aims of the Study

1. This study aims at exegesis of the specific meanings of the slogans and how they were employed in the context of the Pakistani society in general and in the context of the Election 2018 in particular.
2. The study also focuses on specific linguistic features like lexicalization, taking into consideration the socio-political and historical context.

1.3 Research Questions

1. How are the lexicalization used and implemented in slogans to stress on certain ideologies during Election 2018?
2. How does the interplay of language, ideology, power relations, and hegemony is reflected in the construction of slogans?
3. How does CDA decipher the interplay of language, power structure and hegemony in the Pakistani society?

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study will benefit researchers and readers to comprehend the role of discursive practices which play a determining role in shaping the political structure and process through analysis of language. The research will develop the awareness to understand the implication of slogans, which have a pivotal role in building a political environment.

1.5 Limitations of the Study

The analysis and conclusions of this study are limited by two factors. Firstly, this study only investigates the representation of three major political groups, i.e., PTI, PML (N) & PPP. Secondly, the data that is collected for this study covers only the time of 2018 Election.

A smaller number of researches is available on this topic in Pakistan, hence very less data is available that would be incorporated in the current research. The influence of this



interplay of language could have been seen on the voting pattern in Pakistan in this research, but the lack of data hindered that research.

Though Van Dijk Model is used for the research, but the model is not taken in its entirety, as the only framework of 'Ideological Square' was relevant for the study.

2. Literature Review

2.1 CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Linguistics gave rise to Critical Discourse Analysis, Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress in 1979 wrote a book *Language and Control* and the word Critical Linguistic was coined. They believed that critical linguistics can be an instrumental tool to study the relationship between language and power. Critical Discourse Analysis, the term emerged in early 1990's with the launch of Van Dijk's journal, 'Discourse and Society (1990) which marked the beginning of Critical Discourse Analysis, and brought into light great works by Fairclough *Language and Power* (1989) and Ruth's work *Language Power and Ideology* (1998). The study of CDA also inspired several fields like linguistics, semiotics, psychology, anthropology, cultural studies, and society.

It is claimed by the CDA linguists that the crucial part of CDA is its dynamic of it being 'critical', as the purpose is not to understand language use but also on how it has contributed to the social and cultural phenomena. In Critical Discourse Analysis 'Language as social practice' is considered always contextual by Norman Fairclough & Ruth Wodak (1997) and very essential. Fairclough also asserts that language usage makes the encoding and then dissemination of ideas possible in form of text and talk. The focus of CDA is to decode the hidden ideas because the lexis is the modality to transfer it to masses.

Fairclough & Wodak set up eight basic principles of CDA: i) CDA attends social problems; ii) power relations are discursive iii) discourse establishes society and culture relation iv) sets ideological grounds v) discourse is always historical vi) there is always mediation between text and society vii) analysis of discourse is interpretive and explanatory viii) discourse is more a social action.

CDA is also very crucial to understand the relationship of language and power. Many linguistics scholars believe that "the larger discursive unit of text to be the basic unit of communication" Meyer (2001, p. 95) and CDA is pertinent to all such political, gender and media discourses, where the discursive practices regarding power struggle are less explicit and overt. Thus, CDA can be defined as to be concerned with clear as well as dense underlying "relationship of discrimination, dominance and power manifested in language... and language serves to legitimize relations of power" (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 120).



The aim of CDA is to critically analyze the relationship between language, power, and ideologies in social discourses (written or spoken) and to explain how beliefs are constructed and masses are driven to believe in those constructed realities. CDA is also concerned with the social context and how this context is ingrained in language to influence people. CDA is also helpful in revealing and making people aware of “the discursive nature of contemporary social and cultural change” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 111).

Discourse analysis also does emphasis on the effect of language on a society and its capability of being a marker of social change that is why propaganda and sloganeering is considered discourse struggle. Here the stress is laid on the linguistics feature of societal relationship and structure and the distribution of power among them. Discourse does not only refer to cerebral and linguistics aspects, but it is also concerned with emotions, feelings, and exhilarations. A crucial dynamic of a political CDA is to understand how a powerful discourse moves along with the inclinations and wishes of the masses.

2.1.1 Power, Dominance and CDA

Power implies control and hegemony by one strong group over others. Power and dominance as Gramsci says, in postmodern world, is cerebral and among other strategies, mostly endorsed by persuasive manipulation to change peoples' ideologies and perspectives to gain benefits. CDA plays an integral part to untangle this nexus and lays bare the purpose of different discursive practices involved, like texts and talks which are not always overtly swaying. While dominance is endorsed by elusive and subtle repetition where it appears logical, plausible, and acceptable. However, “CDA also needs to focus on

the discursive strategies that legitimate control, or otherwise naturalize the social order, and especially relations of inequality” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 132). In the same book *Language and Power*, the distinction is given between power behind and power in discourse. The ‘power in’ discourse is related to places where power relations are exercised, an interaction with masses in a jalsa is a fine example of it, where the leader hides himself (his ethnic identity) behind the discourse. The ‘power behind’ is concerned with how the structure of that discourse shapes the power relation between the dominant group and masses.

“Power is about relations of difference and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures. The constant unity of language and other social matters shows that language is entwined in social power in a number of ways: language indexes power, expresses power, is involved where there is contention over and a challenge to power” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001, pp. 10-11). Power does not originate from language but can be used to question and modify



distribution of power. CDA takes interest in how through various expression power is contextualized and manipulated by a powerful social group.

Van Dijk's philosophy of critical discourse analysis is profoundly relevant to unsheathe the notion of power and dominance, as he believes that one purpose of CDA is to untangle the nexus of social power and dominance. Teun Adrianus van Dijk (1993 b,)

12) reiterates that dominance is maintained cognitively and socially alongside the “control over the access to valued social resources, dominant groups may indirectly control the minds of others and they may do so through persuasive discourse.” Dijk like Gramsci also asserts that power and hegemony are mostly systematized and maintained through institutions. Social control "is based on privileged access to socially valued resources, such as wealth, income, position, status, force, group membership, education or knowledge” (Dijk T. A., 1993 b, pp. 12-13). Such control over resources gives an edge and power to a specific group over others.

2.1.2 Ideology, Language and CDA

The term ideology has its implication and effects from academic fields to anthropological studies. In CDA, the notion of ideology is very intrinsic, as it is reflected in social beliefs shared by people. Ideology is defined as “A set of beliefs, especially one held by a particular group that influences the way people behave” (oxford dictionaries, 2020).

Ideologies have substantial influence over people's perception, views, beliefs, and judgments. The way language is used to construct a narrative which further shapes one's ideology is pivotal in CDA. Language and discourse are entwined and cannot be separated in constructing any narrative and CDA provides the lens to see the interaction of language in shaping ideologies and discourses (Puurinen, 2000). Van Dijk (1998) throws light on the multidisciplinary aspect of the theory of ideology where he explains the three main essentials of ideology:

- 1) cognition: role of thoughts and emotions in developing ideas
- 2) Society: role of power and hegemony and interests of various groups
- 3) Discourse: use and manipulation of language to reflect upon ideologies Language is not only a means of interaction rather ideological as well and represents different truths and identities. Social transactions are established through language and, at the same time, it also alters the communal dealings to the degree that all proportions of social endeavors circle around this ability of expression.

2.2 Relevant Studies

On the topic of CDA of Political Slogans in Pakistan, no research was available, the



available research on discourse analysis where Van Dijk socio cognitive Model, Halliday SFL, and Fairclough's three tier modal is used are on different topics but are used for

reference. One such research is done by Mehwish (2019) where the *Critical Discourse Analysis of Manifestos of Pakistani Political Parties*, pertaining to the general election of 2013 has been done. Van Dijk's (1998) Socio-Cognitive Model is used for the research and the study revealed that all the political parties with discursive strategies in their party manifestos enhance the positive self-image to in-group people, by focusing the negative aspects of the out-group, thereby (re)constructing people's political identities and ideologies and achieving the desired hegemony for itself. "The results of the study proved to be in parallel with Van Dijk's Ideological Square which says that the ideological discourse is not always neutral and it serves the purpose of presenting the facts in a manner that a positive self-image is projected whereas, negative other image is pictured" (Mehwish Malghani, 2019).

Persuasion and Political Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Imran Khan's Election Speech (2013) (Uzma Khalil) also revealed that political and ideological agendas are entrenched in discourse which shape the views of people. The speech which was delivered by Imran Khan on May 09, 2013 from Shaukat Khanam Hospital during election campaign 2013.

The researcher for the analysis of Imran Khan Speech used Fairclough's three dimensional analysis approach, description, interpretation and explanation with other tools which CDA offers, e.g. word choice, repetition, persuasive strategies, referential strategies and positive self-presentation, predicational strategy and negative other-presentation" (Uzma Khalil) The analysis displays that Khan's discourse about the ideology of "change" and "new Pakistan" aims at shifting the political views of masses and coaxing them to back him in his political strife, where he plans to lead people towards his own specific ideological course.

Critical Discourse Analysis of the Chanted Slogans during the Egyptian Revolution, 2011 (Hasaneen, 2013) an unpublished thesis on the significance of comprehension of the

interplay of language and ideology was very helpful for the current research. In the research the "methods of critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis are drawn upon in order to critically analyze the slogans. The analysis uncovers ideologies pointing to an asymmetrical power structure between the protestors and the fragile Egyptian political regime" (Hasaneen, 2013). Two analytical methods: Discourse Analysis, and Critical Linguistic Analysis are used along with Van Dijk's and Fairclough's theories and methods, as well as approaches formulated by M.A.K. Halliday. Its main purpose is to disclose the meaning a slogan carries, and how it is employed in the context of the Egyptian revolution.

The current research on Slogans in Pakistani politics also focuses on the notion of power and how with power, social realities are constructed, therefore, discourse cannot be seen



only as text or words but also an event. It is very interesting to note that where language is seen as a contraption of power at the same time it is a valuable instrument for deconstructing power discourse.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

In this present study the researcher has used the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis, and adopted the models given by Norman Fairclough and Teun Van Dijk as well as the grammatical approaches framed by M.A.K. Halliday (Systematic Functional Linguistics) and Roger Fowler to comprehend the discursive practices in the production and interpretation of political slogans in Pakistan.

2.3.1 Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model

Norman Fairclough is the founder of the theoretical framework of CDA, in 1989 he presented a three interrelated dimensional model of discourse, and in 1995 he revised it. According to his model, textual and semiotic meanings are interconnected, one cannot be understood without the other. The construction is in the text, but the meaning is in the semiotic aspect. In the Fairclough model, every communicative experience has three levels which are coherent and interrelated to each other: first is text (spoken, written, images), second is discursive which comprise of production and consumption of the text, and the third is social practice, which embodies social structure. Fairclough developed three stages of CDA, based on these three layers of discourse: Description, interpretation, and explanation.

Description (Text): At this stage, the object of analysis is the linguistic feature of the text; lexical choices, grammar, and linguistic structure. "Description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of text" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 26). Here the vocabulary deals with the choice of words, grammar is analyzed on the model of Halliday systemic functional grammar. In the systematic analysis not only, the present linguistic features are analyzed but those as well which are absent.

Interpretation (Discursive Practice): At this stage, the focus is on the liaison between the "text and interaction with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as recourse in the process of interpretation" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 26). Discourse at this stage is not only text but social discursive procedure where interdiscursivity and intertextuality are involved. The relationship among history, context, setting, and how other discourses are altered is also instrumental at this stage. In text production and text interpretation, people always speak what they have in their minds based on their knowledge, social values, and beliefs. According to Fairclough here discourse gets connected with ideology and power and eventually becomes a socially conditioned process, because every text is produced in a certain social setting with specific beliefs in minds.



Explanation (Social Practice): Fairclough says, "Explanation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with the social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their social effects" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 26). Internalization takes place here when People adopt what is socially produced, Fairclough calls it Member's Resources (MR). Member Resources have both rational and social characteristics, as they come from the mind of people but originated socially. As he points out that mere writer's ideology cannot alter the structure until it's connected with readers.

2.3.2 Van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Model:

'Social Cognition' is one of the most remarkable contributions to CDA by Van Dijk where he asserts that without the analysis of ideologies the analysis of discourse will remain insufficient, so social, and cognitive both dimensions are of equal significance. He defines CDA as a multidisciplinary approach towards "discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" Dijk (2001, p. 473). He believes that the purpose of CDA is to expose the relationship between discourse and dominance which also entails the role of politics and politicians where the socio-political context is also very instrumental. He proclaims that domination not only involves manipulation but naturalization, where beliefs and perceptions are internalized in a subtle and natural way. Dijk's approach for examining this ingrained relationship has three tenets: cognitive, social and discourse analysis. For him, what forms ideology is social cognition, which further reflects into values, aims, and desires? This internalization of ideology directs people to align them along 'Them Vs Us' ideology, where 'Them' is always considered negative and 'Us' is positive. "There are several discursive persuasive strategies to achieve these representations such as the choice of certain lexical style, argumentation, or rhetorical figures" (Dijk T. A., 1993 b). The analysis of discourse shows how mind manipulation is done to serve the interest of the dominant political group through 'production and interpretation'. The socio-cognitive model of Dijk scrutinizes the aspects of access, control and manipulation of the discourse and context at the hands of the dominant group. Such imbalance access and control always deprive the weaker group from contributing to the political discourse. The model also offers technical strategies, like comprehension of lexicalization, use of metonymy/metaphor, syntax pattern, topes, victimization, vagueness etc. that can be used to decipher the intricate structure of an ideological discourse. "The specifics of political discourse analysis therefore should be searched for in the relations between discourse structures and political context structures" (Dijk T. A., pp. 13-14). The purpose of the ideological square is to highlight OUR good features and their contemptible aspects.

2.4 Lexicalization (lexical Choices)



In *Language and Control*, Roger Fowler and Gunther Kress adopted Halliday's SFL as their theoretical framework, and they organized their researches from the viewpoints of over-lexicalization, classification, and transitivity. Fowler (1991) includes idioms, metaphors, and phrases as lexical items. "Lexicalization provides language with fresh referential and predicative content by recruiting new members for the lexical inventory" (2005, p. 142). Essential to the ideological framework, lexicalization has a foremost part as promoting specific notions making special lexical choices and here lexicalization helps in forming political ideologies especially during elections. In the present study after identifying the lexical choices, a pertinent and apt interpretation will be provided which will further denote to the framing of political ideologies. The ideologies can further be seen as an integrated social discursive practice as suggested by Fairclough in his model. Dijk is also of this viewpoint that lexical choices are never neutral and choice of one word other than other always has meanings, significance attached to it. In contemporary times, the lexical choices of 'Tabdeeli', 'Tsunami' and 'Naya' all have similar underpinnings which are attached to the political doctrine and ideology of PTI. Over-lexicalization, re-lexicalization and under-lexicalization are types of lexicalization which are discussed by Fowler in his book. When various synonyms are used for one referent it is called over-lexicalization, it makes the identity more elusive and sometimes considered derogatory. On the other hand, under-lexicalization is a process where a lexical unit, which implies a notion, is repressed, or replaced for some other word choice. Re-lexicalization is where a new word is used instead of the previously used word.

3. Research Methodology

The current research is qualitative in nature and it aims at the meanings in a context and requires a method of data collection that is reactive to the basic meaning upon collecting and interpreting the data. Discourse is always socially and culturally constituted and conditioned, it constructs situations, identities, social and cultural relationship between people and groups. "Discourse analysis is a qualitative method that has been adopted and developed by constructionists" (Fulcher, 2010, p. 1). It is about the experience, comprehension and constructing a meaning out of the experience "to develop a form of cultural criticism revealing power dynamics within social and cultural texts where power dynamics are at the heart of critical research" (Joe L Kinchelov & Peter McLaren, 2000, p. 286). The analysis also reveals how the power is negotiated, distributed and reinforced, it is rooted in the context of language and hence not only interprets but deconstructs the reading. The focus of the CDA is the structure of the discourse and it tries to define the relationship between the texts, the process of social internalization and criticizes the realities reflected in texts. "CDA describes discourse as a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning" (Locke, 2004, p. 5).

A critical research, as Patton observes, "critical— is that it seeks not just to study and understand society but rather to critique and change society" (Patton, 2002, p. 131).



Translation of each of the selected election slogans is obtained from English Newspaper and some are translated by the researcher. After the translation they are critically discussed and analyzed using the main theories of critical discourse analysis and critical linguistics expressed by Fowler, Van Dijk and Fairclough as mentioned in the theoretical framework. The stress

also remains on the notion of Power, Dominance, Ideology, and Ideological Square. M.A.K Halliday's theory of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) and Fowler's notion of Lexicalization prove very helpful for the research with an exceptional focus on Transitivity and Metaphorization. The researcher also focuses on the lexical structure, lexical choices, repetition and cohesion in slogans focusing on use of synonyms, antonyms, and hyponyms at the semantic level.

3.1 Sample size

The researcher has collected more than 35 of the most outstanding and famous slogans which were chanted during the election 2018.

3.2 Data Collection

Variety of sources have been used in collecting the data from newspapers, journals, articles, Facebook, Twitter messages and Tweets. The political narratives are clearly reflective in these slogans which are selected for the research. The slogans are divided according to the parties:

PTI Slogans PML -N Slogans PPP Slogans

3.3 Data Analysis

Slogans are selected from various resources, after the selection all of them were translated in English, for some the translation was available and some were translated by the researcher. Words choices (positive, negative, and power) for all the slogans will be analyzed lexically. The linguistic analysis with the tools of SFL will be further elaborated with the help of Fairclough and Van Dijk models.

4. Data Analysis

4.1 Analysis of PTI Slogans

4.1.1 Lexicalization (Lexical Choices in slogans)

Word choice always reflects attitude and behaviors, they always have emotive and connotative meanings and words always elicit either positive or negative response from the audience, though they are always neutral in their origin. PTI's popular slogans were packed and loaded with passion and vigor, the media team was very active on social media and the ideas were disseminated into the masses through the channels like YouTube, twitter, Insta and



Facebook. "One of the reasons behind their success in elections was the catchy slogans that they used to catch the attention of the Pakistani public." (sloganshub.org)

4.1.2 Positive Lexical choices

Tabdeeli Aa Nahi rahi Tabdeeli Aa gai hai-تبدیلی آ نہیں رہی تبدیلی آئی ہے
"Change isn't coming it has already come, the word that became the emblem of party's ideology and narrative is Change, means "alteration, substitution, transformation" (www.merriam-webster.com, n.d.) "ek haalat sey doosri main anan" (Feroz ul Lughat, 2005). The choice of the noun 'change' is used as personification to make readers comprehend, sympathize with, or react passionately to an idea. A non-human entity is described more vivid and lively along with a human attribute. This slogan, which was the most famous during the whole election campaign, shows that the struggle for a substitute and alternate system where the transition from one state to another, after a long struggle, is now complete.

"Naya baney ga Pakistan-" A new Pakistan will be built, the thread of change is not a separate texture rather built in the same fabric of change, i.e, new. As in Feroz ul Lughat the word نیا "Naya" means, 'Anokha' - 'taza' - 'ajnabi' (Feroz ul Lughat, 2005, p. 386) dissimilar or one of its own kind. Furthermore, the word Naya also has the meaning of change in it, the narrative that pulled the masses. The choice of lexical is referent of the new ideology that is different from the previous regime. The use of adjective Naya seems to have a pragmatic function. Adjectives act as "modifier and modifiers help either to characterize the referent or to say something additional about the referent" (Pajunen, 1998).

The use of auxiliary 'Will' refers to prediction, promise and volition, and in this slogan also focuses on the volition of the party to fix everything up. The idea is expressed in slogans of change through over lexicalization. The slogans like "Hum se hay Tabdeli"/ Vote for change stressed the notion of needed and expected change in the society by people. after the severe criticism from PML -N and other parties PTI had to rebut the notion of the 'Nya Pakistan' by devising a slogan "Do nahi Ek Pakistan – Hum sub ka Pakistan".

4.1.3 Negative Lexical Choices

Negativity can be detected in slogans like Gali main shor hai sara tabr Chor hai/ streets are clamoring, the whole family is swindler' the slogan that was chanted in PTI Jalsa/ rallies. As per the lughat there are many meanings of the word 'Chor' means 'sariq/ looter/ one who robs', chupa hua soorakh/ a hidden hole, chupaya hua patta/ a card in card game that has been hidden by the shuffler' (Feroz ul Lughat, 2005, p. 289). The word 'Shor' followed by 'Chor' is used to focus the incredibility of Nawaz family due their corruption. The word Chor is used to humiliate and discredit the opposite narrative.



4.1.4 Power Lexical Choices

Lexical choices which reflect power are Dekho Dekho kaun aya shair ka shikari aya/ look who came, the hunter of lion came. Instead of the 'Kharahi'/ player, the word was selected carefully considering the metaphor 'lion/ 'Shair' which is associated with PML (N). Shikari means one who hunts, the symbolic hunt is for slaying the opponent metaphorically, the theme of change by elimination, is clearly evident in every slogan. "Hukamrano jawab do - Corruption ka hisab do"/ leaders, you are answerable for your corruption. Here two lexical items reflect the state of power and dominance exercised by the masses, 'Jawab Do' and 'Hisab Do' it is like they all have a single unified demand. Lexical choice gives the impression that the whole society is impatient for their accountability. Corruption means, "Dishonest or illegal behavior especially by powerful people (such as government officials or police officers)" (www.merriam-webster.com, n.d.). Word 'Corruption' was picked up and translated into a national narrative, gave the hope to the masses for the first time that they could make the powerful strata answerable.

"Keh do noon sey - Na takraye junoon sey"/ tell the people of N don't mess with indignation/ furor. The transitive verb is used here. The word Janoon means, (masculine) kisi cheez ki dhun sawar hona, pagalpan, (Feroz ul Lughat, 2005, p. 285) the lexical choice shows the passionate commitment of the people to the cause and it also serves as a warning to the PML (N) and its supporter against their corrupt practices. "Go Nawaz Go", the lexical choice here seems to reflect the state of power and control practiced by PTI supporters against PML -N. The revulsion and abhorrence is evident with the repeated word 'GO' and PTI supporters chanted this slogan with such a zeal and zest that it became a catch phrase. The theme of departure is found in many other slogans as well like, "Sher ko Jungle main bhej k dum lengay" there will be pacification when the lion is sent to the jungle. The slogan has two implications; the clarity in objective and the untiring determination. The leaders cheer this slogan to show the animalistic vs humanistic aspects as well, as a lion, the beast belongs to jungle. Also shows the power of the part and the supporter that they are in the position to do that.

Table 1: A Sample Analysis of Lexical Items of PTI slogans

| Positive | Negative | Power- based |
|--|---|--|
| تبدیلی آ نہیں رہی تبدیلی آ گئی ہے Change isn't coming it has already come | گلی گلی میں شور ہے سارا اثر چور ہے streets are clamoring, the whole family is swindler' | دیکھو دیکھو کون آیا- آیا-شیر کا شکاری آیا look who came, the hunter of lion came |



| | | |
|----------------------------------|--|--|
| نیا بنے گا پاکستان | | حکمرانوں جواب دو-کریشن کا دو حساب/ leaders, you are answerable for your corruption |
| تبدیلی ہم سے ہے We are Change | | روک سکو تو روک لو تبدیلی آئی رے |
| دو نہیں ایک پاکستان | | کہہ دو ن سے نہ ٹکراے جنون سے/ tell the people of N don't mess with indignation/ furor |
| | | گو نواز گو / Go Nawaz Go |

4.2 Analysis of PML-N Slogans

4.2.1 Lexicalization (Lexical Choices in slogans) Positive Lexical choices

After the recent emergence in the popularity of PTI infused a new current in the politics, and the change is very evident in the sloganeering of PML-N as well. There are many slogans which were chanted during the election 2018, to make the party narrative stronger and to criticize the narrative of PTI as well. “Sherka Pakistan Roshan Pakistan” (Lion’s Pakistan is the enlightened Pakistan) shows the choice of positive connotations. The word ‘roshan’ means تابان (Feroz ul Lughat, 2005, p. 630) all these meanings are associated with lion and in Pakistani political landscape lion symbolizes PML N as it is the electoral symbol of the party. The notion of hope and success is not associated with change rather with lion and the idea is convincing for PML N voters. “Awam Ki Khidmat- vote ki izzat” (serve people – respect vote) words like khidmat and izzat put the leaders in the position of humility and servitude as the slogan is more like the manifesto. The party believes in serving its people and people will reward them with their vote and the party will respect their vote by further serving them. Another slogan that was chanted in the rallies was “vote ko izzat do- khidmat ko vote do” (give respect to vote- give vote to service) the lexical choice is didactic in nature here, as giving a simple moral lesson to people. Repetition as a rhetorical device ensues here to stress on the action of voting as well as drawing the attention of the hearer and reader to the importance of Servitude and Vote. “Tamer o Taraqi Sher k dam sey” (the progress is all because of the lion) the slogan was also found on many banners in the country in the election 2018, again the same word play is in motion here, lion is symbolized as PML-N and all the development and progress is associated with PML-N. The word تعمیر means, مرمت عمارت-بنانا (Feroz ul Lughat, 2005, p. 374) the other word that was selected to couple with تعمیر is ’ترقی’ which means افزونی اونچا برتری بلندی اضافہ (Feroz ul Lughat, 2005, p. 364). The choice of word shows an organic development and



progression from creation to advancement.

4.2.2 Negative Lexical choices

The negative connotation could be seen in the slogan like "naya nahi Quaid ka Pakistan" (not a new rather Quaid's Pakistan). The slogan is devised very craftily, the choice of lexical shows that people don't want a new Pakistan rather a Pakistan which was imagined by Quaid e Azam and by framing it in a cultural-political landscape PML- N is making a claim against PTI that the party is distracting and diverting Pakistan into a wrong direction. With this one slogan the objective that is achieved is twofold; the rejection of the narrative of 'Naya Pakistan' and making them reliable of keeping the promise of the imagined country. Another slogan with negative connotation is "tabdeeli nahi Izzat Chaiye" (we don't want change we want respect). The lexical choice here also reflect the mission of the party to deconstruct and discredit the narrative of change. The word تبدیلی means دینا پلٹ کرنا فرق تبدیل تغیر (Feroz ul Lughat, 2005), it is very smartly used in this slogan as the change could be in our socio- cultural and religious ways which are very dear to the people and people don't want to change their esteemed ways. As change is a very abstract notion and cannot be conceptualized while the concept of izzat is rooted in our cultural dynamics. The masses who are not completely aware of the connotation attached to Change must reconsider their choice, as izzat is esteemed and always desired for in our culture.

4.2.3 Power Lexical choices

Power connotation could be seen in many slogans crafted by PML-N like "Muk gya tero show-ro Imran ro" (your time is up- yelp Imran yelp). Firstly the choice of Ro Imran Ro could be seen to be pit against Go Nawaz Go, second it claims that the people of Pakistan has rejected his narrative and are against his ideologies so it time for him to scream and cry. The power of people and party is reflected in it as they have put Khan and PTI in a submissive position where they would only be able to bellow and cry.

"wazeer e azam Nawaz Shareef" (Prime Minister Nawaz Shareef) the slogan reflects the power of the people and the leader as well that even before the election he is accepted and cherished as a new Prime Minister of the country. The slogan was chanted many time during the election rallies in 2018, the masses would revere him as the new PM. The slogan like "Mian your followers are countless", reflect the love of people for main Nawaz shareef, the word جانثار means فدا ہونے والا (Feroz ul Lughat, 2005, p. 447) shows Mian Nawaz holds sway over his people that his followers and devotee, who are countless, are ready to sacrifice everything for him. The slogan which glorify the leader and his people is "sheran de vote sher no" (lions' votes are for the lion) the language of lexical is Punjabi in this slogan and the power and glory is designated to not only PML N but its devotee and followers as well. The word lion signifies one being نڈر جواں بہادر (Feroz ul Lughat, 2005, p. 859) the metaphor of lion is highly celebrated in Punjabi culture and considered as a sign of bravery so the language and word choice tessellate aptly with each other



in the slogan.

“Hum ney badla hai Punjab Hum Badlain gay Pakistan”/ we have changed Punjab and we will change Pakistan, the use of pronoun we signify the power, hegemony and authority of the party, that they changed Punjab, as it is more developed and progressed as compared to other provinces. The achievements are glorified with this this lexical choice and the promise and volition of making the whole country as advanced is also made. Here the change is not an abstract notion anymore because in their reign they have made several projects for the province that could be compared with any advance country like Motorway and Metro etc. the slogan very implicitly discredit the narrative of naya Pakistan.

”Dekho deko kaun aya –sher aya sher aya” (see who came- the lion came) the symbol and emblem of power, authority, leadership and fierceness all are summed up in in this slogan. The slogan was heard many times during the election campaign of 2018, where masses chanted this slogan with great enthusiasm and zest announcing the arrival of the Jungle King.

Table 4: A Sample Analysis of Lexical Items of PML-N Slogans

| Positive | Negative | Power- based |
|---|---|--|
| شیر کا پاکستان روشن پاکستان / Lion's Pakistan is the prosperous Pakistan | نیا نہیں قائد کا پاکستان / Not a new Pakistan, Quaid's Pakistan | دیکھو دیکھو کون آیا- شیر آیا /see who came- the lion came |
| عوام کی خدمت ووٹ کی عزت / Serve People and Respect Vote | تبدیلی نہیں عزت چاہیے /we don't want change we want respect | میاں ترے / Mian your followers are countless جانثار بے شمار بے شمار |
| ووٹ کو عزت دو- خدمت کو ووٹ دو / Give Respect to Vote and vote to Service | | شیراں دے ووٹ شیر نو / lions' votes are for the lions |



| | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>تعمیر و ترقی شیر کے دم سے Prosperity is associated with Lion</p> | | <p>ہم نے بدلا ہے پنجاب ہم بدلیں گے پاکستان / we have changed Punjab and we will change Pakistan</p> |
| | | <p>وزیر اعظم نواز شریف Prime Minister Nawaz Sareef</p> |
| | | <p>مک گیا ترا شور و عمران /رو your time is up- yelp Imran yelp</p> |

4.3 Analysis of PPP Slogans

4.3.1 Lexicalization (Lexical Choices in slogans)

Positive Lexical choices

Lexical choices in “teer ka nishan jeet ka nishan” (sign of arrow is sign of victory) relies heavily on the electoral sign which is arrow for PPP and the party leaders and followers believe it to be synonymous of victory. The word تیر /arrow in Urdu means جنگی ہتھیار (Feroz ul Lughat, 2005, p. 408) and the word ‘victory’ fits exactly with the connotation of war weapon. Influencing people to stamp on ‘Teer’/ arrow to help the party win the election. “jiye Bhutto jiye awam” (long live Bhutto and long live people) the slogan was found on many of the election banners and posters. The chant is like a prayer for the lineage of Bhutto and people as PPP represents Pakistan People’s Party, the identity of Bhutto goes and survives with his people. Another slogan that was very famous during the election campaign of 2018 was “Bilawal ki soorat main Bhutto nazar aya hai” (Bhutto could be seen in Bilawal). After the assassination of Bhutto, Bhuttoism entered in the politics of PPP and the philosophy of his martyrdom is cherished by its people. Bilawal, his grandson, is like incarnation of Bhutto and Benazir, and they could be seen in him. The crafty slogan is devised to keep people connected to the narrative of Bhutto and Benazir, so the charisma of the Bhutto could be maintained.



4.3.1.2 Negative Lexical choices

Negativity could be perceived in slogans like “Gali Gali main shor hai sara tabr Chor hai” /streets are clamoring, the whole family is swindler’ the slogan was not only chanted by PTI but also by the PPP in rallies. According to the lughat there are many meanings of the word ‘Chor ’ means ‘sariq/ looter/ one who robs’, chupa hua soorakh/ a hidden hole, chupaya hua patta/ a card in card game that has been hidden by the shuffler’ (Feroz ul Lughat, 2005, p. 289). The word ‘Shor’ followed by ‘Chor’ is used to focus the widespread incredibility of Nawaz family due their corruption.

The word Chor is used to humiliate and discredit the party and its narrative.

4.3.1.3 Power Lexical choices

The lexical choice in the slogan that shows the strength and volition of the party with a promise is, “Bibi ka waada nibhana hai Pakistan bachana hai” (the promise that was made with BB must be fulfilled to keep Pakistan protected). In this slogan the leaders are claiming to share the burden of the promise made with BB and the capacity to fulfil the promise is pretty much there. People chanted this slogan with zest and vigor and it puts the people of the party in the position where they would be able to protect and strengthen Pakistan. With powerful lexical choices not only the gaps are filled but conceptual frameworks are formed which consciously and unconsciously influence people and voting pattern as well. Another slogan where power lexical choices are made is “Nojawan qayadat hi inqilab laye gi” (only young leadership will bring revolution) has couple of things worth analyzing. The word انقلاب means, تبدیلی پرانے نظام کی جگہ - (FerozulLughat,2005,p.and the slogan tend to highlight that the leadership of Young Bilawal would change the old and crumbling ways of Pakistan politics. Lexical choices give the reader the impression that the young party leader is capable of bringing revolt. The word بالاقنا is very powerful in its own and contains connotations of mutiny, riot, change, uprising, rebellion and overthrow of the current regime and when combined with young leader in the position of Actor, accentuates the magnanimity of the meaning.

Table 7:: Lexical Analysis of PPP Slogans

| Positive | Negative | Power based |
|---|--|--|
| <p>تیر کا نشان جیت کا نشان sign of arrow is sign of victory</p> | <p>گلی گلی میں شور ہے سارا تیر چور ہے /streets are clamoring, the whole family is swindler /</p> | <p>بی بی کا وعدہ نبھانا ہے the پاکستان بچانا ہے promise that was made with BB must be fulfilled to keep Pakistan protected</p> |



| | | |
|--|--|--|
| باتوں کی صورت میں // ہے بھٹو نظر آیا / Bhutto could be seen in Bilawal / | | قیادت ہی انقلاب لائے گی / only young leadership will bring revolution |
|--|--|--|

5. Conclusion & Findings

The current study reveals how language becomes a means to carry hidden elucidations wrapped in slogans, which are filled with myriad of political, societal, emotions, outlooks, discrepancies, skirmishes stories and connotations. Hence, a reader should try to expose the intricate relationship of political ideologies and language in a political discourse. Through the detailed analysis of language with the help of lexicalization reveals how political discourses are sustained and dispersed through slogans and how masses internalized the narratives of their leaders. The dissemination of these ideologies particularly through the manipulation of Actor Patient subversion are highlighted so that reader would comprehend who is put in the position of power and who is in a fragile state. Through Over Lexicalization certain ideas are being stressed over other like Naya/ Tabdeeli etc.

Having the different examples of the Political chanted slogans analyzed and the various research questions clearly answered in Chapter four of this study, the researcher would like to draw the following conclusions and findings:

1. The study shows how the textual structure of slogans exposes and serves a certain ideology that is not necessarily obvious for ordinary reader or hearer as well as influencing their own perceptions, judgments and reactions.
2. Strategy like passivization serves its own ideology, placing masses in the actor position reflects their own power and dominance.
3. Lexicalization is powerfully employed to serve the political ideologies by selecting positive and powerful lexical items used to describe their own side against dark and negative lexical items used to describe all their opposing powers.
4. The notion of Ideological Square by Van Dijk could be easily comprehended when through slogan, one narrative is put against other by constructing a dichotomy of Us Versus Them as in 'Tabdeeli hum sey' Vs 'Taraqi Sher k Dum sey'. This can be seen through the construction of almost every slogan.
5. The notion of Ideological Square by Van Dijk could be easily comprehended when through slogan, one narrative is put against other by constructing a dichotomy of Us



Versus Them as in 'Tabdeeli hum sey' Vs 'Taraqi Sher k Dum sey'. This can be seen through the construction of almost every slogan.

6. Metaphors also sustain the political ideology of every political party, Sher, Teer and Balla are not mere symbols rather containers of comprehensive political discourse which are put against each other.

Through the research another significant aspect that came to light is that not only certain parties work on constructing one's narrative but to deconstruct opponent's as well. In case of PTI, it is noted that the media cell was efficient enough to rebut and reshape its narrative time to time to keep their people motivated and prepared to combat the opposite discourse. 'Do Nahi Ek Pakistan' was crafted after the chant of 'Naya nahi Quaid Ka Pakistan' by PML-N is a fine example of it. PPP seems less active in terms of devising novel and catchy slogans to deconstruct its opponent narrative.

5.1 Implication of the Study

Based on the above conclusion and findings, the researcher would like to end this study by making the following recommendation for following researchers who would like to proceed on the analysis of political slogans:

Slogans are rooted in culture; the researcher should be cognizant of the cultural meanings of such slogans to define and translate them in a standard language.

Researchers should comprehend the chronological progress of such slogans, keeping in mind the political history of Pakistan, to consider the progress of tone of verbs, lexical choices, metaphors used in such slogans. Slogan tenors are shifting gradually and continually. Different lexical choices, metaphors, and structures are used to cope with different and new ideologies.

Political slogans bear a great sense of similarity to slogans of other countries like the slogan of 'change' is similar to the slogan of 'change' chanted by Obama in the US. Further researches can be conducted on that subject matter using Comparative linguistic analyses.

The topic of Political Slogans is a gold mine for linguistic researches, as no research work has been done on this particular topic. It is highly packed up with an uncountable number of political, social and religious occurrences, sentiments, moods, discrepancies, conflicts, and stories to recount. Political caricatures, political coinages, election speeches, religious political biased speeches, and Media ideological and biased news and articles are further researches that can be embarked on by many researchers.

To conclude, the quote of George Orwell seems very apt, "But if thought corrupts language, language can also corrupt thought" (Orwell).



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Appendices

Appendix I: List of Slogans

حکمرانوں جو اب دو کرپشن کا حساب دو۔

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93950956036096&psig=AOvVaw03Pok55g43XwV3FpTkwYYQ&ust=1612030440876000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CA0QjhxqFwoTCJje-sffwe4CFQAAAAAdAAAAABAI

اب کی بار عمران خان

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دیکھو دیکھو کون آیا آیا شیر کا شکاری آیا۔ -

Retrieved from

https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.dailymotion.com%2Fvideo%2F5t4r9f&psig=AOvVaw2YpS8YLIn_acqb6Tvgkfz-&ust=1612028578007000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CA0QjhxqFwoTCKCB4Jrawe4CFQAAAAAdAAAAABAK

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Daily Balochistan Express

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<https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.dailymotion.com%2Fvideo%2F388xgm&psig=AOvVaw30LLcHTbK0geyPwjZuUB5p&ust=1612028692578000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CA0QjhxqFwoTCJDarIDZwe4CFQAAAAAdAAAAABAI>

گو نواز گو

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<https://herald.dawn.com/news/1153581>

نیا بنے گا پاکستان

Retrieved from

<https://www.thestatesman.com/world/pakistan-elections-imran-khan-unveils-pti-manifesto-1502659083.html>

گو نواز گو

Retrieved from

PPP launches movement in Sindh calling for premier's resignation-2017-Dawn
https://www.dawn.com/news/1328751/ppp-launches-movement-in-sindh-calling-for-premiers-resignation?utm_source=feedburner&utm_medium=feed&utm_campaign=Feed%3A+dawn-news+%28Dawn+News%29

عوام کی خدمت ووٹ کی عزت

Retrieved from

www.facebook.com/HamareSabKDilonKiDharkanNawazShareef/photos/1033419076832912

ہے بلاول کی صورت میں بھٹو نظر آیا

Retrieved from

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZmQJAHpbIlo>
<https://www.thestatesman.com/world/pakistan-elections-imran-khan-unveils-pti-manifesto-1502659083.html> گلی



گلی میں شور ہے سارا ٹبر چور ہے

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تعمیر و ترقی شیر کے دم سے

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2 دو نہیں ایک پاکستان

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