

ROLE OF FEMALE POLITICAL LEADERS: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF BENAZIR BHUTTO AND HILLARY CLINTON SPEECHES

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Abstract

The research deals with the area of discourse in linguistics. It incorporates the use of discourse, i.e critical discourse, political discourse and Systematic-Functional linguistics model by Halliday to analyze the chosen content. The sample of this research is Benazir Bhutto's speech at Liaquat Bagh Rawalpindi on 27th December, 2007 and Hillary Clinton's speech at Democratic National Convention at Philadelphia on 28th July, 2016. The research is qualitative in nature which provides a descriptive analysis of both speeches by applying the SFL model and use of rhetoric. The purpose was to critically analyze the underlying ideologies and implied meanings in the selected speeches of Benazir Bhutto and Hillary Clinton to observe their role in power. For analyzing the speeches, it was an essential element of the research to construct inferences by thorough reading and build authentic material supporting the topic statement. A socio-cognitive approach of CDA was considered liable to interpret the speeches critically in terms of discourse evaluation. Later on, an area of current study has been focused that is political discourse analysis which aims to portray that how it controls the mind of public and reform their opinions. The significance of this research was to compare two female leaders in separate communities; by analyzing the strategies consumed to exist in traditional communities with male chauvinism. The major findings resulted in portraying the strong use of language by Hillary Clinton and Benazir Bhutto according to their context of the environment. Both speakers were pro-public, conscious and nation oriented with strong ideological space in their mind. There was a minor limitation of language as in the translated version of Benazir's speech. It resulted in bringing forth the outcomes of efficient language use that engages public densely and builds a power base for female leadership.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, Political discourse, Halliday's functional systematic linguistics, Ideology, Nation oriented, Pro-public, Democratic convention

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INTRODUCTION

This research paper gives a descriptive overview about discourse as a whole and explains the role of discourse as in political discourse analysis along with systematic-functional role of language through Halliday's model. It further throws light on the research objectives and also cover all the research questions on which the research is constructed along with the significance of this research.

Firstly, the emphasis of the topic will be a critical discourse analysis in order to evaluate the existence of linguistic tools as a strong part of encoding and decoding messages. Secondly, a link will be drawn from CDA to political discourse analysis which will clearly define the domain of the topic in its actual terms. Thirdly, a deep analysis will be done by applying SFL model by Halliday.

The aim of the research is to discover role of women in politics by analyzing their speeches conducted before the electoral representation of the two women. The political domain of Benazir Bhutto is analyzed by her last speech held at Liaquat Bagh Rawalpindi on 27th December, 2007 and Hillary Clinton's speech at the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia on 28th July, 2016. To conduct this analysis, the text of these political speeches as well as their audio visual aids are explored through Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics. In addition, the use of rhetoric by both these politicians in their speeches is also analyzed for more critical evaluation of the speech. For this reason, an association between individuality, language and a set of beliefs is only distinguished by doing a critical analysis on the chosen text or discourse. In this research female politicians have been critically analyzed through the piece of the text presented by them in their political career.

Research Objectives

The current research aims:

- To analyze the influence of female character in the use of language and its significance through SFL model.
- To compare the political role of women in the Eastern and Western political speeches for observing cross country difference in upholding a political space.

- To evaluate how Benazir and Hillary amalgamated the mechanics of linguistics to achieve and safeguard their political interest.

Research Questions

This research has been done to examine the extent to which the tools of semiotics and critical discourse analysis aid in political discourse. Moreover, a comparative study took place between the speeches of Hillary and Benazir to conclude the amount of difference in them.

- Q: How tools of critical discourse analysis are used in political discourse?
- Q: In which speech the use of rhetorical devices is more prominent displaying their ideologies and command over language?
- Q: How systematic- functional linguistics helps in evaluating the use of language in the political speeches?
- Q: How the political speeches of both the women are different in nature portraying cultural difference?

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research paper helps to create an understanding of discourse, critical discourse analysis and political discourse analysis and the relationship of language with politics. Moreover, it explains the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) model by Halliday in detail making it the theoretical framework of this research. All its elements along with the textual metafunction that allowed the use of stylistic device as well is explained below thoroughly.

Discourse

Discourse is considered as a critical aspect in all communication universally and is essential for our understanding of language and its use. The nature of a given discourse is determined by the sender and receiver, and thus the communicative situation in which it occurs. "Discourse is a study of several characteristics of language use" (Deborah Schiffrin, 2001). The purpose of discourse is to discover how speech patterns work in an explicit structure and how they are employed and exploited in society. A discourse analyst is essentially engrossed in "who uses language, how, why and when" (Dijk, 1995). Van Dijk (1995) also touches on another significant distinction when he explains that language can be spoken, written, or printed. For example,

the communication can be passive (such as if an individual reads a book), active (such as in a textual communication through mobile) or highly active (such as in a face-to-face interaction).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach to discourse analysis that is concerned with highlighting social issues through discourse analysis and exposes the non-transparent relations that are related to discursive practices. It unveils ‘the underlying prejudices and exercise of power in the text (Fairclough N. , 1996). It is discourse analysis where language meets ideology. CDA analyzes these ideological elements of a political discourse. Critical discourse analysis is an umbrella term to study the use of language as viewed in social practices. The purpose of CDA is to have a critical approach to discourse analysis augmented by the linguistic and social examination(Dijk, 1995). The primary focus of CDA includes viewing and analyzing:

- power relations
- supremacy
- disparity and,
- manner of how social power abuse is indorsed, resisted and imitated by the script and conversation in social and political environment.

CDA also emphasizes in what way socio-political discourse functions, transmits, induces and grants the power relation in a society through political discourses.

Political Discourse

Moreover, in this research political discourse has played an important part. It is a category of discourse mainly including further two levels. These levels are known as thematic and functional levels of discourse. An outcome of politics is generated historically by politicians which is culturally and historically insistent due to political speeches. It is thematic in the sense that topics are chiefly connected with political activities, ideas and acts (IllahiBuxGopang, 2014). The study of political discourse covers a broad range of subjects. The study of political system should be credited to the shift of emphasis from that of the formal political institutions to that of the real political process. This exposition has two main aims. This discussion serves to provide an analytic template that could be used in studying political life(Fairclough I. F., 2012). Cultural studies, while more often making claims

about the broad construction of sociopolitical life. Language in political context highlights the importance of language in understanding concerns of politics. Politicians use language in order to know the finest use of language for a purpose. Speeches are concoction of facts. CDA examines such discourse patterns and reveals the purposes behind political statements.

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) model by M.A.K Halliday

M.A.K. Halliday's approach to the field of linguistics i.e. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) which studies language as foundation for the creation of human experiences. It was developed by Halliday and his followers during the years of 1960s earlier in the United Kingdom, and later in Australia. It is now a worldwide applicable approach particularly in the field of education. Chiefly, an aspect of language with the mental process is considered in many linguistic theories in the present era. Generally, it deals in what language does is more significant than observing at how it does it. It will analyze the grammar of the speeches in terms of its function. It will view the speeches as a social distinction for conveying ideas. (O'Donnell, 2011-2012)

This model by M.K Halliday is characterized on three basic factors which is the semiotic function of language. These three factors are:

1. **Field:** The scenario deals in with the external world and surroundings in which the relation of text is studied.
2. **Tenor:** It mainly concerns those who are a part of this context. It focuses on the roles and relationship between the participants.
3. **Mode:** it is the medium of communication through which it is conducted.

Further, these three factors are termed into three metafunctions of language that actually explain what this model is all about. These are the ideational, the textual and the interpersonal metafunctions which are linked to transitivity, the Thing and the Quality which has certain semantic features. The ideational function is linked towards the external environment and in the outer world it analyzes a texts logical and experiential meaning. The textual function as the name suggests is deeply rooted in analyzing the text itself targeting the language used in it. It focuses on the cohesiveness as well as coherence of the text and deeply analyzes the strings of words. Moreover, the interpersonal function of this model is based on a relationship between the participants involved in the text. The social behavior of the language users is addressed in it. (Haratyan, 2011)

These metafunctions along with their relationship to the grammatical categories of language are explained below:

Ideational Metafunction (Transitivity, Field)

Its main concern is to deal in with what the external world has to offer. In that field where the interaction has been done with the text by the people includes it(Banks, 2002). It utilizes the grammatical resources to look into the strings of words and clauses to elaborate the meaning by transitivity. According to the use of transitive and intransitive verbs the relation between the participant, process and circumstance is encoded through analyzing the clauses. (Haratyan, 2011).

Transitivity in this function is based on six processes that are analyzed through the text for explaining the relationship with the text externally. They are as follows(Rahimi, 2015):

Material process

The physical action of the doer who is the actor and the process which is the action is analysed in terms of the real world scenario.

Mental process

It deals with the cognitive function, perceptions and affection of the participant. **Relational process:**

It shows the relation of emotions or any affection expressed by an individual.

Verbal process:

It is based on the deeper level meaning of the text. In a communication the symbolic use of language is analysed to confer the actual meaning of the text.

Behavioural process

It focuses both the physical and psychological behaviour. It may include coughing, laughing, smiling, staring or even breathing.

Existential process

It just focuses on the existence of words in a clause with an empty meaning. It may also refer to a circumstance where something took place.

Interpersonal Metafunction (Mood)

It is an interpersonal function defining the relationship that prevails among the speaker and the listener or receiver(s), along with the speaker and the message he conveys (Banks, 2002). It includes the Mood concerned at the clausal level analyzing the strings of words the areas targeted through this function include the tonal patterns, modality and the function of speech. The Mood element encompasses subject and finite verb (lexical or auxiliary verb) along with the excess of a clause. (Haratyan, 2011).

Textual Metafunction (Theme, Mood)

According to Haratyan (2011, p 263), the third aspect of Halliday's SFL model deals with textual metafunctions. In reality, thematic structure is all about clause analysis in terms of the Theme i.e. the starting point of speaker and the Rheme i.e. where the clause goes from there (Banks, 2002). Moreover, the theme of the clause encompasses the message in a text demonstrating the identity of text relation (Halliday, 1981). In a sentence, the information always flows like a wave from the thematic top towards the thematic bottom accompanied with the rising or the falling intonations. In other words, the Theme slides towards the new information in order to unveil the location of information prominence (Haratyan, 2011)..

A synthesis of the above written material demonstrates a gist of the entire literature review and how it is implemented in the discussion analysis. Considering the generic research objective, in view a link between discourse, CDA, and political discourse is constructed at first. These types of discourse eventually analyze the ideologies, agendas and personality of the speaker through speech. Later on, the theoretical framework of the research that is Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) model by Halliday is described in an order the way it is implemented in the discussion analysis. Keeping in view the model, three basic metafunctions of language i.e. interpersonal, ideational and textual were explained.

DISCUSSION ANALYSIS

This part of research explains all the findings and results obtained through the research work. It displays an extensive analysis done by using the SFL model and other aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis. A comparative study of both speeches is given in detail with the help of required tables and charts with proper explanation.

Background of Benazir Bhutto and her speech

In Pakistan Benazir Bhutto was the first woman who ruled a Muslim country. She is still considered as the most influential leader in South Asia. She was born in Karachi on 21st June, 1953 in a famous political family. Benazir had her undergraduate degree from Harvard's Radcliffe College in 1977. Later, she continued with her educational career at England's Oxford University. After that she returned to her homeland but unfortunately her father came under military capture and was imprisoned.

When free elections were held in 1988, she became the chairperson of Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and also the prime minister of Islamic Republic of Pakistan. She had the honor of being the youngest chief executive in the entire world only at the age of thirty-five. After completing two years in term of her office as a prime minister she was terminated by the president Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Later, in 1996 she was again dismissed from her office by president Leghari, charging her for misconduct and dissolved the national assembly. She had death threats from conservative and Islamist groups and the resentments of government against her but in 2007 she came back to Pakistan.

A few weeks before the election, she went for a speech in Liaquat Bagh, Rawalpindi which was her last speech unfortunately. Fate did not assist her this time and the enemies got victory.

Background of Hillary Clinton and her speech:

Hillary Diane Rodham, the first-born child of Hugh Rodham was born on October 26, 1947 in Chicago, Illinois. Her father was a fabric business owner and her mother, a homemaker. She was highly influenced by her father who was a keen supporter of Republicans,

For higher studies she enrolled to Yale Law School and presented her services for the Yale Review of Law and Social Action. Hillary took the responsibility of children's rights and worked for a project named as Edelman's Washington research project which dealt in with children's rights. Bill and Hillary got married in 1975 and later on Hillary went to work in the state capital of Little Rock for an organization known as Rose Law Firm. It was an honor for her to work for this firm as the first female companion and co-founder of Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families. Hillary Clinton also became the First lady of United States from 1993 to 2001.

She stood for the Democratic elections and fought a lot. The speech that is analyzed in this research was presented at the Democratic National Convention held at Philadelphia where Donald Trump was the opponent of Hillary Clinton on 28th July, 2016. Unfortunately, she was not selected as the president and was defeated in the presidential elections. Still, her strong political career and her efforts of securing a tremendous career as a female in the world of politics living in a big country of big fishes depict her power and capability of a political leader and worker.

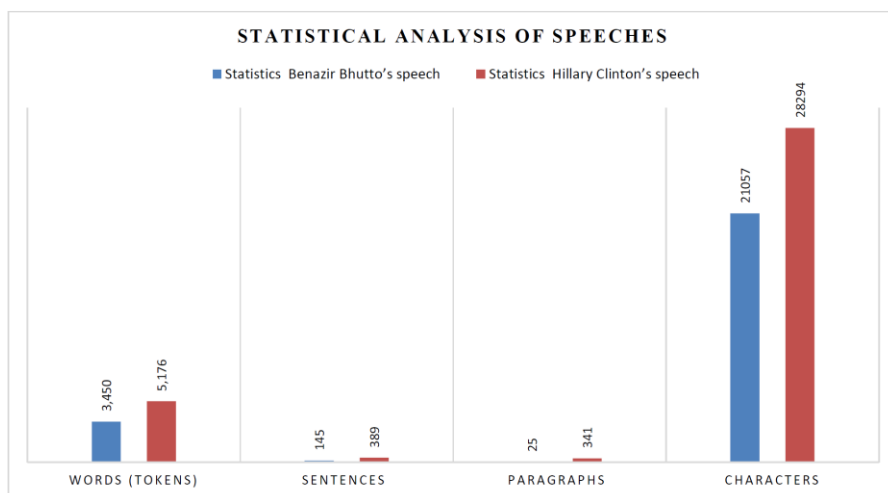
FINDINGS

Sample Speech 1

This speech portrays her bold character and her confident oratory style with all the ambitions she had for Pakistan if she was elected as the prime minister. Emotionally and factually she gathered the audience and demanded votes.

Sample Speech 2

The discussion has been carried out by drawing a comparison between the above-mentioned Benazir's speech and the second speech by Hillary Clinton at Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia on 28th July, 2016. Factually and enthusiastically, she gathers the audience and through her ideology of an America, she wants she grasps the interest of audience.



Transitivity Analysis (Ideational Function)

In this transitivity refers to the semantic system of managing experiences into a set of process types. It basically starts from the basic level where a clause is defined on three elements i.e. participant, process and circumstance.

Material process

It refers to a process, which indicates the action of “doing” or “happening”. There are two main participants that represent this process:

Actor: The one who performs the action. The actor is comparable to the subject of the sentence.

Goal: The one who is affected as a result of the action. The goal is comparable to the object of the sentence.

Moreover, they are both determined through noun phrases and can be in active or passive form.

| Sr No. | Actor | Process | Goal |
|--------|--|--|--|
| 1. | I | Have, consider, must, said, need, thank | Today, Rawalpindi, home, brave people |
| 2. | We/Pakistan/All/ Our/ Quaid-e-Awam/ He/You/PPP | Established, worked, are, has always, prepare, build, going, heard | PPP, welfare, down trodden, power, hectic efforts, realities, called, mistakes |

Figure 1: Statistical Representation of Material Process

In the light of the above statistical representation of material process it is clear that how first person and as well pronominal reference as “you” has been employed in speech of Benazir Bhutto. “I” has been used for almost twenty-eight (28) times where Bhutto required sharing her own experience and talking about the reforms she will bring in Pakistan. Other than this, the goal of her sentences was mostly the public by use of different vocabulary for them and her own party PPP when she emphasized on the loyalty of her party workers which will be carried out the same way if people chose her. “Quaid-e-Awam as an actor influentially holds the public response and her gratitude towards her Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Examples:

1. I (actor) have come (material process) to Rawalpindi today (goal).
2. Pakistan People's Party (actor) has always made (material process) hectic efforts (goal) to make Pakistan strong.
3. Quaid-e-Awam Shaheed Bhutto (actor) established (material process) the Pakistan People's Party (goal) for poor, hapless and oppressed people.
4. We (actor) will implement (material process) our (actor) five-year program (goal).

| Sr No. | Actor | Process | Goal |
|--------|---------------------------|---|---|
| 1. | I | Ran, went, believe, alone, have, remember, want, learned | Faith, president, heart, lost, thank, fix it, children, defense fund |
| 2. | We/America/All/Our/You/He | Heard, stronger, better, country, needs, know, embraced, stronger, will not | Hope, leadership. Friendship, ideas, energy, passion, religion, story, enduring truth, build a wall |

Figure 2: Statistical Representation of Material Process

In comparison to Bhutto's speech Hillary Clinton's speech has small sentences with clearly defined subjects and objects that present the actor, process and goal directly. She has also used pronominal reference "you" and the first person pronoun "I" for almost seventy-eight (78) times which is a large number. In comparison to sample speech one the use of "I" as an actor explains that in sample speech 2 i.e. Hillary's has more personal subjection of ideas. She has used "I" to answer his opponent Donald Trump, not for the nation as widely as Benazir has done.

Examples:

1. I (actor) am better (material process) because of this friendship (goal).
2. America (actor) is better because of (material process) President Obama's leadership (goal).
3. We (actor) heard (material process) the man from hope, Bill Clinton (goal).

4. I (actor) want (material process) you to know (goal) that I (actor) have heard (material process) you (goal).

Relational process

It is a process that has a core meaning defined as the process of “being”. Relational process is also divided into two categories i.e. attributive relational and identifying relation.

| Speech | Attributive Relational Process | Identifying Relational Process |
|-----------------|---|--|
| Benazir Bhutto | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. This is the same city which saw that when Yahya Khan was not leaving, they thronged to the Liaquat Bagh to hold a huge and powerful rally and that forced dictator Yahya step down; it was after that the government of the Pakistan People’s Party was established. 2. The people of this city love democracy and have never bowed their head before autocratic regimes. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yet, they did not leave their sister and the Pakistan People’s Party. 1. Pakistan People’s Party and their sister were yet not left by them. 2. This was the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto which turned Pakistan into a nuclear power. 2. Pakistan was turned into a nuclear power that was the leadership of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. |
| Hillary Clinton | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I went to work for the Children’s Defense Fund, going door-to-door in New Bedford, Massachusetts on behalf of children with disabilities who were denied the chance to go to school. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. That’s the only way we can turn our progressive platform into real change for America. 1. A real change for America can only be turned by our progressive platform. 2. Our founders embraced the enduring truth that we are stronger together. 2. We are stronger together is the enduring truth embraced by our founders. |

Figure 3: Relational Process

Therefore, in Benazir’s speech Yahya Khan, his dictatorship and democracy are the participants and government, PPP and autocratic regimes are the attribute. Whereas, in Hillary Clinton’s speech children’s defense fund is the

participant and their disabilities is the attribute.

Mental Process

As the name suggests it comprises of such elements that are related to thinking, seeing, and feeling certain things.

In Benazir Bhutto's speech the following examples related to mental process were observed.

Examples:

1. I (sensor) understand (mental process) this is the city of brave and sacrificing people.
2. We (sensor) all can offer (mental process) sacrifice for the country.
3. I (sensor) pay (mental process) my tributes to martyrs who offered their lives to save the people's party leadership.

In Hillary Clinton's speech the following examples with mental process were observed.

Examples:

1. We (sensor) heard (mental process) the man from Hope, Bill Clinton.
2. I (sensor) believe (mental process) America thrives when middle class thrives.
3. I (sensor) know (mental process) how wrong he is.

In the above-mentioned examples of both sample speeches, it is shown that there is sensor that feels (emotionally), perceive and think, and the phenomenon which is thought and felt about. Both leaders have used these verbs in their speeches in order to express their thoughts to their nation in their respective domains.

Behavioral Process

The behavior of the person is judged through his behavioral process in this process type

Benazir Bhutto's speech behavioral process:

Examples:

1. I (behavior) pay my compliments (behavioral process) to the sons and daughters of these brave people.
2. He (behavior) worked for (behavioral process) the welfare of down trodden in his government.
3. Our (behavior) country was facing (behavioral process) threats that it will be declared as a terrorist state.

In these examples the behavior which is "I", "our" and "He" are exhibiting certain behaviors that constitute into behavioral process. It is both in practical as well as abstract form.

Hillary Clinton's speech behavioral process:

Examples:

1. I (behavior) want to thank (behavioral process) Bernie Sanders.
2. We (behavior) have to (behavioral process) to decide whether we (behavior) all will (behavioral process) work together so we (behavior) all can (behavioral process) rise together.
3. I (behavior) ran for (behavioral process) President and lost.

The behavior "I" and "We" are performing certain tasks that indicate their behavioral process. They are thanking or signifying and also in abstract terms using verbs like "ran".

Modality Analysis (Interpersonal Function)

According to Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics in CDA, its second approach deals in with the modality of the text. They can be of low, median or high politeness which is discussed below in the analysis of both speeches.

Modal Verbs

After conducting a modality analysis of the script of both speeches varying results have been formulated. There is an excess of median politeness in both speeches but moving towards negative and positive aspect of politeness they vary from each other. The most used verb in both speeches is "will", due to intended upcoming situations that are to be confronted. As a political speech with a motto of elections and running for a presidential seat the future course

of action is emphasized. Other than this “can” is also used in both speeches when the past is reflected on the mistakes the previous power holders had made and also addressing the public to work with them for a change altogether.

Modality Analysis of Speech 1 (Benazir Bhutto’s Speech)

| Sr. No | Sample Speech | Total Number | Politeness | Low politeness | | Median politeness | | High politeness | |
|--------|----------------|--------------|------------|----------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|
| | | | | No | % | No | % | No | % |
| 1 | Benazir Bhutto | 3,450 | Positive | 7 | 0.20% | 18 | 0.52% | 5 | 0.14% |
| | | | Negative | 4 | 0.11% | 6 | 0.17% | 5 | 0.14% |

Figure 4: Modality Analysis

In Benazir Bhutto’s speech the amount of low politeness is moderate in percentage in both negative and positive aspect. It is more than the high politeness. There is 0.20% of positive low politeness used in the speech and 0.11% negative low politeness has been incorporated. The modal verbs for positive low politeness used in the speech includes “can” for six (6) times and “dare” for one (1) time. Whereas, the negative verbs include “did not” twice and “does not”, “do not” only once.

Example: (positive low politeness)

1. I **need** your support in the work for the security and integrity of Pakistan.
2. We hold the honor of this country as our own honor and we all **can** offer sacrifice for the country.

Example: (negative low politeness)

1. They tied bombs to their bellies so that Indian tanks overrun their body and Lahore **does not** fall nor does Pakistan.
2. When you voted Bhutto into power you **did not** merely elevate him to the office of the prime minister; you also chose the chairman of the Islamic Summit Conference which Shaheed Bhutto held in Lahore and gathered leaders of the entire Muslim world.

Furthermore, median politeness leapfrogs the rest by securing 0.52% in positive aspect of politeness and 0.17% in negative aspect of politeness in the speech. Benazir had used modal verb of positive median politeness “will” at least sixteen (16) times in her speech. Other than “should” has been used thrice in her speech. This exhibits that in a demanding political situation where Benazir was asking for votes she assured the protection of future through the steps she will take in her hold as a prime minister. To its contrary “will not” has been used six (6) times showing negative median politeness.

Example: (positive median politeness)

1. We **will** also spread the light of education in every nook and corner of Pakistan.
2. Humanity means that all classes **should** be enabled to live a life they want and society as a whole **should** benefit from its fruits.

Example: (negative median politeness)

1. They were flogged and maltreated but after every lash they received on their body, they yelled the slogan of restoring the constitution and the release of Bhutto; they always said they stand for justice and **will not** yield before tyranny.
2. This technology enables Indians to hit Pakistan with bombs; Pakistan **will not** be able to respond in making sure of our defense similarly secured.

Moreover, the use of high politeness is the same in negative and positive aspect of politeness i.e., 0.14%. In the speech “must” has been used once, “need” has been used five (5) times which shows what Benazir wants to emphasize that is needed for Pakistan for its betterment and “had to” has also been used once. The negative high politeness words include “have not” twice in the speech and “cannot” thrice in the speech.

Example: (positive high politeness)

1. I **must** say that the brave people of Rawalpindi have been with me in moments of happiness; brave sisters and brethren of this city stood by me in hours of our sadness; they have never let me alone.
2. I **need** your support in the work for the security and integrity of Pakistan; let us join hands to steer the country out of the crisis and rid the country from those who have endangered its security”.

Modality Analysis of Speech 2: (Hillary Clinton)

| Sr. No | Sample Speech | Total Number | Politeness | Low politeness | | Median politeness | | High politeness | |
|--------|-----------------|--------------|------------|----------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|
| | | | | No | % | No | % | No | % |
| 2 | Hillary Clinton | 5,176 | Positive | 16 | 0.31% | 32 | 0.61% | 6 | 0.11% |
| | | | Negative | 14 | 0.27% | 7 | 0.13% | 10 | 0.19% |

Figure 5: Modality Analysis speech 2

In Hillary Clinton's speech low politeness is present to a good amount which is more than the high politeness. Hillary proposes at various places by undermining such verbs which are not very direct when addressing Donald trump and also the United States of America in its working. The percentage of low positive politeness is 0.31% with the use of "can" done thirteen times (13) which show possibility and ability of an action. Other than this "could" has been used twice and "might" has been used once. The negative low politeness is 0.27% quite near to the positive one with the use of modal verbs contrary to them. There is an excess of "do not" over ten times (10) and "did not", does not" twice.

Example: (positive low politeness)

1. Where you can get a good job and send your kids to a good school, no matter what ZIP code you live in.
2. It was just too hard to fathom — that someone who wants to lead our nation could say those things. Could be like that.

Example: (negative low politeness)

1. Now, you didn't hear any of this from Donald Trump at his convention.
2. No wonder he doesn't like talking about his plans.

Furthermore, median politeness leads the speech as in the case of Benazir Bhutto's speech as well. A high percentage of positive median politeness has been observed i.e. 0.61% with the use of "will" widely, twenty-one (21) times, "should" for ten (10) times and "would" only one time. Hillary has used "will" a lot to construct a framework of future by using this verb which proposes prediction and volition. The use of "should" shows obligation that

means how Hillary is engaging the audience into some course of action performed by them and as well the authorities simultaneously. The negative median politeness is 0.13% with the use of “should not” thrice, “will not” once and “isn’t” three (3) times.

Example: (positive median politeness)

1. And, with your help, I **will** carry all of your voices and stories with me to the White House.
2. We **should** be so proud that these words are associated with us.

Example: (negative median politeness)

1. **Isn’t** he forgetting?
2. And here’s something we don’t say often enough: College is crucial, but a four-year degree **should not** be the only path to a good job.

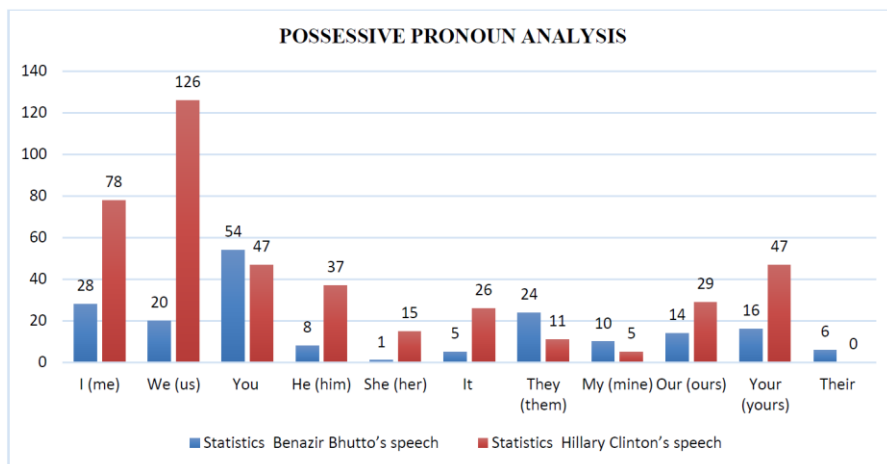
Moreover, the use of high politeness is not very abundant but it secures some place in the speech. The positive high politeness is about 0.11% with the use of “need” and “must” three (3) times respectively. They show obligation or a responsibility that needs to be carried out. For instance, addressing trump for what he should do for the betterment of America and when highly engaging the audience to form an ambition high politeness is used. The use of negative high politeness is 0.19%, which is more than the positive one. It includes the use of “could not” four (4) times, “cannot” three (3) times, “have not” twice and “may not” only once.

Example: (positive high politeness)

1. America **needs** every one of us to lend our energy, our talents, and our ambition to making our nation better and stronger.
2. He **must** know something about the economy.

Example: (negative high politeness)

1. People who did the work and needed the money, and didn’t get it — not because he **couldn’t** pay them, but because he wouldn’t pay them.
2. Though “we **may not** live to see the glory,” as the song from the musical Hamilton goes, “let us gladly join the fight.”



Benazir Bhutto's Speech

The use of personal pronouns can be seen in abundance by the speaker in the speech. Different pronouns mainly, personal and possessive have been used for various purposes. For example, the use of first person pronoun "I" is used for twenty-eight (28) and "we" is used for twenty (20) times. This statistical analysis portrays that how much the speaker was confident about the statements given in the speech and a trust on the targeted audience which was indicated by the use of "we" and "us" that they as a whole are included. Benazir used "I" to emphasize her presence and her previous works she had done for the public of Pakistan. She also used "We" so, that the public is engaged and their accountability is ensured. Moreover, "you" is used fifty-four (54) times which is an excessive amount. It directly targets the audience and Benazir used "you" for several purposes such as, thanking her voters, the followers of her forefathers, and once again demanding votes for herself and making people realize that they will stand for change if they cast vote for her. Therefore, the use of first person pronouns and possessive pronouns display a picture of speaker's strength through words and the involvement of public, the followers to a greater extent. Politically, this is a worldwide used tactic in which directly engaging public enhances the impact of what is being said.

Examples:

1. These are the slogans **I** have come to Rawalpindi today, **I** understand this is the city of brave and sacrificing people; **I** consider Rawalpindi as my second home. When Bhutto Sahib was a minister, **I** used to live here; **I** used to go to a school at Rawalpindi. **I** have seen moments of

joy and gloomy times in Rawalpindi. **I** must say that the brave people of Rawalpindi have been with me in moments of happiness; brave sisters and brethren of this city stood by me in hours of our sadness; they have never let me alone.

2. **You** have proved that **you** are a nation, a vibrant nation, and **you** are the heroes, heroes and political orphans are zero, zero.

Hillary Clinton's Speech

In comparison to Benazir Bhutto's speech the use of personal pronouns is quite higher in Clinton's speech which is firstly, because Hillary's speech is lengthy than Benazir's speech. The use of first person pronoun "I", "we" and "you" is excessively done which depicts her bold and dominant style of addressing the public and the confidence she has in her listeners. "I" has been used for seventy-eight (78) times, "we" has been used for one-twenty-six (126) times and "you" for forty-seven (47) times. The use of "we" is in a very astonishing amount in compare to the sample speech one. Hillary proposes most of her statements by using "We" to clear out the distance between a leader and the public. This excessive use denotes that she is cutting out any sort of discrimination and equally balancing the public and the leaders. The disparities of age, social status and professions are diminished and a collective approach has been used. In comparison to Benazir's speech the use of "she" is done fourteen times more in Clinton's speech which is because she is addressing her mother and other female relatives for paying gratitude. Other than this, "he" has been used for thirty-seven times by Hillary because mostly she is counting what Donald Trump has proposed in his speech. Whereas, Benazir used "he (him)" for eight times where she is thanking her father Zulfikar Bhutto and also counting what he has done for Pakistan in his regime.

Examples:

1. **I** believe that our economy isn't working the way it should because our democracy isn't working the way it should.
2. **We** will rise to the challenge, just as we always have.
We will not build a wall.
Instead, **we** will build an economy where everyone who wants a good paying job can get one.
We will not ban a religion.
We will work with all Americans and our allies to fight terrorism.

3. **He** wants to divide us — from the rest of the world, and from each other.

Tense

Sample speeches represent the use of simple present, past and future tense along with simple and perfect future tense. The use of simple and perfect future tense is actually done to show the planned and expected things in future. This tense has been used by Benazir Bhutto and Hillary Clinton widely when they want the audience to know what they are offering as political leaders if they are chosen by them. Some positive steps that will be taken and the needs of the public which will be executed are mostly presented with the use of future tense. Such as, when Benazir talks about a better infrastructure of Pakistan and health and education facilities to be provided she uses “will” i.e. future tense. On the other hand, Hillary Clinton also uses future tense when she addresses the issue of unemployment and talks about its resolution. It is also used when she insists on all disparities to be removed.

Example: (Hillary Clinton’s speech)

We will rise to the challenge, just as we always have.

We will not build a wall.

Instead, we will build an economy where everyone who wants a good paying job can get one.

And we’ll build a path to citizenship for millions of immigrants who are already contributing to our economy!

We will not ban a religion.

We will work with all Americans and our allies to fight terrorism.

Example: (Benazir Bhutto’s Speech)

We will also spread the light of education to every nook and corner of Pakistan.

Your sister will give you a university at this Potohar region so that your children can get better and quality higher education and secure good jobs.

We will solve the problems of teachers and we will solve the problems of doctors.

This use of past tense indicated that how these political women in power are supported to be in power and what efforts they require to be one. Hillary also used past tense when referring to trumps

decisions and his speech. The main use of past tense was for referring to past events and situations as well. The use of simple tense goes simultaneously with these tenses as given below in examples.

Examples: (Hillary Clinton's Speech)

We heard the man from Hope, Bill Clinton.

We heard from our terrific vice president, the one-and-only Joe Biden, who spoke from his big heart about our party's commitment to working people.

They used whatever tools they had — whatever God gave them — and whatever life in America provided — and built better lives and better futures for their kids.

My grandfather worked in the same Scranton lace mill for 50 years.

Examples: (Benazir Bhutto's Speech)

This is the same city which saw that when Yahya Khan was not leaving, they thronged to the Liaquat Bagh to hold a huge and powerful rally and that forced dictator Yahya step down; it was after that the government of the Pakistan People's Party was established.

Quaid-i-Awam Shaheed Bhutto established the Pakistan People's Party for the poor, hapless and the oppressed people. He worked for the welfare of the down trodden in his government.

Textual Analysis (Textual Function)

A political Speech comprises of a very strong textual function because it is intended to gain the confidence of people and propose one's ideas in a very efficient manner. Comparatively, the use of figurative language is found in both speeches but ironical references are greater in Hilary Clinton's speech. Benazir represented her ideas more indirectly by pointing out the enemies and being

Resulting, the analysis Hillary Clinton is more inclined towards counting problems of people and blaming Donald Trump as an enemy of America and its people. She asserts that Trump is an open enemy and she is the savior and also emotionally charges the people that like Barack Obama she is their leader. Whereas, Benazir Bhutto is inclined towards glorifying her father's legacy, the milestones he laid for Pakistan's public and the hard work of Pakistan People's Party. She also addresses problems referring to how problems in past were resolved by her father.

Rhetorical Questions

In the speech of Benazir mostly such statements put a question to the public when they were in danger and under a threat of Indian attack, so Zulfikar Bhutto saved them from the catastrophe. She also told her enemies that the obstacles laid by them will not be fruitful in any case.

Example:

1. How the Quaid-i-Awam saved the country; he organized and mobilized the power of the people to retrieve the country out of every crises.
2. How many of you know that there are around two million educated youth who have no jobs?
3. I want to ask these political orphans why did they tell a lie; Mohtarma returned home and Mian Sahib also came back and your falsehood stood exposed.

It strengthens Benazir's speech by letting the reality to be understood by people. The enemies of her political career are also answered on their face through facts.

On the other hand, Hillary Clinton also made use of this device in her speech. She used it very effectively in answering Trump directly and awakening people to admit that selecting Donald Trump would be a big mistake on their end.

1. 20 years ago I wrote a book called "It Takes a Village." A lot of people looked at the title and asked, what the heck do you mean by that?
2. That sales pitch he's making to be your president? Put your faith in him — and you'll win big?
3. Ask yourself: Does Donald Trump have the temperament to be Commander-in-Chief?

A question about her book shows that even so many years back she completely understood the meaning of leadership. She directly puts a question on the audience to analyze what they are going for. She states Trump as a businessman who is making deals with them.

Hyperbole

Benazir Bhutto has made an embellishment of how her political workers sacrificed for the sake of party. Later, she also quoted her father's statement to show that how much the Bhutto's are concerned for the protection of people.

1. They were flogged and maltreated but after every lash they received on their body, they yelled the slogan of restoring the constitution and the release of Bhutto; they always said they stand for justice and will not yield before tyranny.
2. It was at this point of the time when Shaheed Bhutto said that we will eat grass but make nuclear bomb as deterrence and ensure that no-one cast an evil eye on our country.

Moreover, Hillary Clinton also used hyperbole to describe her loyal followers. She also used to portray a scene of devastation if Trump becomes the president in a sarcastic manner.

- 1) It's true...I sweat the details of policy.
- 2) Our military is national treasure.
- 3) A man you can bait with a tweet is not a man we can trust with nuclear weapons.

In this aspect Hillary Clinton's use of hyperbole is more clear and effective than Benazir Bhutto's speech.

Anaphora

This device helped the speakers to evoke stress on certain aspects and make a rhyming pattern that will attract the audience. Benazir Bhutto used it in the following manner:

1. Ours is the way of truth, ours is the way of justice, ours is the way of legitimacy.
2. I have come to you to say that your sister needs those **who are brave; who are courageous and who are faithful to the national flag.**

She declares the goal of her party and also makes the public think that they are the heroes especially, empowering women who are given a status by making them equal to men in bravery and courage.

Hillary Clinton used anaphora addressing herself and the public as a whole. She again enumerated problems using anaphora.

1. Too many people haven't had a pay raise since the crash.
There's too much inequality.
Too little social mobility
Too much paralysis in Washington.
Too many threats at home and abroad.
2. We have the most dynamic and diverse people in the world.
We have the most tolerant and generous young people we've ever had.
We have the most powerful military.
It is an extensive explanation to make the public feel proud and hardworking.

Antimetabole

It was hardly present once in both speeches and Hillary Clinton used it more clearly in her speech.

1. "My mother's daughter and my daughter's mother"

She has used it for effect-calling attention to the words and it is the reversal of words to demonstrate the same message with intensity.

Benazir used in a descriptive manner and no such clear use of antimetabole has been observed in her speech.

1. Lahore is the heart of Punjab and Punjab is the heart of Pakistan.

Epithet

A political speech is supposed to be rich in figurative language to draw the attention of the people. The use of epithet which is the use of adjectives to enhance the words makes the text more appealing.

Epithet in Benazir Bhutto's speech:

1. Gloomy times
2. Acute unemployment

3. Hectic efforts

Epithet in Hillary Clinton's speech:

1. Enduring values
2. Powerful forces
3. Clear-eyed

Paradox

The use of paradox is done in both sample speeches. It is frequent in spoken discourse because when we speak we make self-contradictory statements. Some self-contradicting ideas are also present which are contrastive in nature. A paradox observed in Hillary Clinton's speech includes;

1. War and peace.
2. Life and death.
3. Empty promises.

These statements are contrast between two opposite things or ideas which are totally indifferent in nature. In Benazir Bhutto's speech the following paradox exists:

1. Brutal treatment
2. Hollow claims

Allusion

Benazir Bhutto's speech has allusion when she refers to her father, old presidents, historical events that caused chaos and several events when her party followers sacrificed for Peoples Party.

Examples:

1. This is the same city which saw that when **Yahya Khan** was not leaving, they thronged to the **Liaquat Bagh** to hold a huge and powerful rally and that forced dictator Yahya step down; it was after that the government of the **Pakistan People's Party** was established. Rawalpindi is the same city from where **Zulfikar Ali Bhutto** started his struggle against the dictatorship of **General Ayub Khan** and **young Abdul Hameed** sacrificed his life for democracy.
2. The people of this city love democracy and have never bowed their head before autocratic regimes. **Gen Ziaul Haq** came and let the

reign of terror loose; young people were persecuted and sent to jail; young **Abdul Hameed** burnt himself to death and **Idrees Tooti** was hanged. Thousands of workers were flogged and made to face brutal treatment at **Lahore's Shahi Fort**. Yet, they did not leave their sister and the Pakistan People's Party.

In the first example she declares that how autocratic rule destroyed Pakistan's fate and later on her father saved the people by establishing his party on democratic rules. Secondly, she also enumerates the people who sacrificed for their party by presenting their lives. Lastly, when the workers helped in a state of chaos and led Benazir's way to become a ruler.

As in Pakistan political parties are a hegemon but in Hillary Clinton's speech she addresses the founders many years back who established America. She does not stick to one domain rather she counted all the leaders of America who stood for their people and followed the way of justice.

Examples:

1. "My friends, we've come to **Philadelphia** — the birthplace of our nation — because what happened in this city **240 years** ago still has something to teach us today. We all know the story. But we usually focus on how it turned out — and not enough on how close that story came to never being written at all. When representatives from **13 unruly colonies** met just down the road from here, some wanted to stick with the King. Some wanted to stick it to the king, and go their own way. The revolution hung in the balance."

It depicts that how Hillary is inclined towards history and how she appreciates her founders. She is referring to the past events which caused miseries and left a message and it is commendable of her to remember them in order to not to repeat it again. Another dialogue from the **HAMILTON** the American music is;

Though "we may not live to see the glory," as the song from the musical **Hamilton** goes, "let us gladly join the fight."

"Legacy. What is a legacy? It's planting seeds in a garden you never get to see."

She generally selected this line because it's one that surely makes you halt and reflect; none of the Founding Fathers would have ever believed how far America has come as a country, it is a complete thanks to them for creating

it.

Enumeration

This rhetorical device is widely used by both speakers to stress and exaggerate a little about what they are presenting. It helped to let them state their points in detail. Benazir has used it to entail the necessary development for Pakistan and issues on the contrary.

Example:

1. Quaid-i-Awam Shaheed Bhutto established the Pakistan People's Party for **the poor, hapless and the oppressed people.**
2. You will lend your strength to the daughter of the Qaid-i-Awam to achieve the cherished goal of a **glorious, strong and prosperous Pakistan.**
3. The Pakistan People's Party has always enjoyed the **support, love and cooperation of the people.**

Hillary Clinton used enumeration in a rhyming pattern with the use of short sentences or phrases.

Example:

Troops on the front lines.

Police officers and fire fighters who run toward danger.

Doctors and nurses who care for us.

Teachers who change lives.

Entrepreneurs who see possibilities in every problem.

Mothers who lost children to violence and are building a movement to keep other kids safe.

So, it's a detailed one and is a rebuttal to trump's statements that he made in his speech especially, of fixing the problems alone and forgetting all the above mentioned caretakers of the country in different domains.

Ironical references

The speeches are full of ironical references in a rude, sarcastic and emotional manner. These references helped to draw analogies and contrasting views about their opponents. They involve hyperbole and emotional nuance as well. Benazir used a statement of her father when nuclear atomic bomb was to be

made about her father said that they will “EAT GRASS” but will make this bomb. It is an emotional nuance. Later on, calling the opponents as “POLITICAL ORPHANS” is presenting a negative image of the enemies rudely and with sarcasm. An interesting ironical reference is calling the “EXCHEQUER IS ROBUST”, which means the national treasure is healthy. Moving on, she sarcastically adds that it is healthy in terms of their own personal interests and the national treasure is not being used for the people. She criticizes the previous democrats for not strengthening the public and taking all money home. Hillary has more content of sarcastic remarks directed towards Donald Trump in her speech. Hillary draws an analogy between her state of life and Trumps background of business and what will it cause. She says;

“The family I’m from ... well, no one had their name on big buildings. My family were builders of a different kind. Builders in the way most American families are.”

She is analyzing that how Trump will give a lift to his industry and he is just a business man which may have an indirect meaning. It can be his mind setup of only thinking about himself and his business; he will only polish his industry and has no concern with the states concerns.

An amazing ironical reference is when she said “LOVE TRUMPS HATE”, it suggests a satire on him that “love” is what democrats practice will always be a success over “Trumps hate” his negative intentions.

RELIGIOUS AND LOCAL CONTENT

Pakistan is a heterogeneous society so, is America with variety of cultures and religious practices. Both speakers involved this element to strengthen their speech and make the minorities and suppressed know that their voice will be heard. Benazir targeted her Muslim society and said “And when you elected your sister you did not only elect a prime minister but also the first woman head of government in the whole of the Muslim world”. She made the public to stand for women and present a good example internationally by selecting a woman as their head of state. Many times she signified women empowerment because in a country like Pakistan she knew what lacks and for what women will stand with her. Indirectly, she made her stance clear that no one criticizes women leadership and understand its importance by charging them emotionally, calling women as their “sisters”.

On the other hand Hillary Clinton also spoke about religion when she said “we will not ban a religion”. Here she is addressing the issue of ethnicity or any sort of disparities that could be caused if Trump became the president. She assures her audience that they will enjoy freedom of religion and faith under her leadership.

Therefore, the above results and findings after applying the Systemic Linguistics Model by Halliday and employing various techniques of CDA and Political CDA extensively explained the difference in both speeches.

CONCLUSION

Drawing a conclusion, this research exposed the fundamental discursive constructions in Clinton’s and Benazir’s political speeches.

The first objective of the research was to analyze the speeches about the female use of language. The given statistical analysis of pronouns and modality of verbs justify that the speeches were much intensified. Moreover, questioning and use of stylistic devices with longer sentences and extensive use of symbolism makes it quite clear that females tend to elongate speech.

The second objective of comparing Benazir and Hillary on the base of their speech targeting eastern and western role of women in power is carried out throughout the research. In their cultural domain of power both of the women well played with the use of words. As, the use of slogans and glorification of PPP by Benazir and on the opposite gratification to the fore founders of America by Hillary was done

The third and last objective viewed the use of language to build an ideology and to induce their political interests in the public. As women, they were more emotional and ironical in their references. Hillary’s speech is very strong and full of all metafunctions of language. On the other hand, due to a translated version of Benazir’s speech a lot could not be extracted. Still, the text are a display of their bold and confident character. Benazir as a leader of a Muslim country not only had to face issues but also in an open country like America Hillary had to face a little s well.

According to an interview done with Benazir it is justified that women in both west and east are cold in their temperament. It is to avoid the negative remarks that can be easily thrown on a woman. Males can be open and warm because they are not misinterpreted as women.(Senior, 2007) Therefore, the aim of this research was to appreciate ole of women in power in both eastern and western society. Two of the bravest and highly capable individuals

Benazir and Hillary prove that women can beat all through their passion. One as the Muslim representative of country like Pakistan and other as the representative along with a long journey of achievements tried her best.

In addition, these linguistic features are practically displayed through the research that viewed the text as a product to show role of women in power and the way masses were controlled by them in their countries.

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