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Pragma-Rhetoric Analysis of Assertive Strategies in Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Speeches: A Corpus-Based Approach

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ABSTRACT

Language is an innate ability of human being and it is used to communicate a specific function. Language has power and it is exercised by the speaker. Political speeches are delivered by the speakers to convince their audience and criticize opponents. This study is based on political speeches of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto which he delivered in different periods i.e., 1948-1965. He delivered numerous speeches during this period but this study is based on 138 speeches. A corpus has been compiled that comprises of 482,365 word tokens. The process of corpus compilation has been very careful each speech is saved in a separate file. The data is presented in tabular form based on four types of clusters; I-statements, we-statements, you-statements and they-statements. The frequency of these four personal pronouns has been analyzed with different adverbial boosters that are used by the speaker. These assertive strategies are analyzed with the research lens of Searle's Speech Act theory. This study is beneficial for two aspects; first, a corpus has been compiled specifically for this study and second it leaves research gaps for the future studies; comparison of two different political leaders can be done to generalize the findings, more material of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's interviews and addresses can be added.

1. Introduction

Language is an innate human ability that is used to transmit information, knowledge, and feelings (Keyton, 2011). Language has the potential to move people emotionally. Language is not powerful but it is made powerful by the people who use it (Wodak, 2012). Political power is established through political discourse which serve as tool for the political leaders. They use compelling language to construct their views which are divergent from the other political leaders

and establish solidarity with their audience (Basarati & Zohrabi, 2024). The study of politics and politics related matters is the converging point of several disciplines, for example, anthropology and political science presents contrasts and similarities in terms of political matters of different societies i.e. administrative control, balance of power and structure of society (Hou, 2020). Convergence is also evident in the political communication studies where political styles of communication are categorized to identify the effect of political power relation on the behavior and attitude of people (Scupin, 2019). The whole discussion now proves that political discourse investigates "common ways in which persuasion techniques function in political life; and how argumentation tactics are used to form judgments" (Serafis et al., 2020, p. 1).

The analysis of political speeches, addresses and interviews give insight how political talk is utilized by the leaders to have significant effects on public's opinion. The main focus of political speeches is either to convince, persuade and attract public or defend, criticize and answer oppositions. Politicians use language as vehicle to carry a specified purpose, deeply rooted in their narrative which they want to convey. Their linguistic choices perform multiple purposes i.e., sometimes they look to criticize the policies of government and sometime their target is to support government. This manipulation of language depends on their role in political set up because they switch the roles as at a time they are in government and at other time acting as opposition leaders. They use different assertive strategies to mobilize the opinion of their audience. Their linguistic expressions move around three aspects i.e., supporting their policies and personal matters, using such inclusive expressions to align with the audience and criticizing opposition by separating themselves and their supporters.

Assertiveness is a strategy that is rooted in situations and speakers adopt certain assertive strategies depending on the situation. Same is the case with politicians as they have to deal with different situations and in these situations their language strategies also change (Ames, 2009). Leaders are the front runners to support and defend the policies of their political group whether they are acting as a head of a political party, representative of government or opposition leader. Their lexical choices, regular expressions, phrases and utterances are formed in a way that serve a specific function: forming public opinion in their favor. Assertiveness is an embodiment of one's rights, belief and feelings in a straightforward, appropriate and fair manner and this is done without violating others' rights (Lang and Jakubowski, 1976). This study can be augmented by the study of Pfafman (2017) who in her study proved that assertiveness has two angles positive and negative. The linguistic expressions which are employed by the leaders are also positive and negative. These expressions posit leaders' feelings, emotions and aggressions.

Assertive strategies entail two basic types; defensive and opposing. Both have different expressions in defensive mode the expressions are tender whereas in opposing mode the expressions are aggressive and even harsh sometimes. The varying roles demand varying personalities from the politicians who are very flexible in their approach and they adopt to the changing situations very quickly as a result their original personalities are overshadowed by the public demand. Their use of language also is in accordance with their changing personalities.

The rise of tool base enquiry in language has paved the way of corpus. Researchers use corpus to find out their required results which are based on lexical choices, expressions etc. The use of computer in language processing has given researchers new domains in the field of language as Widdowson (2004) states that past 20 years have witnessed great development in linguistic description and all this is due to the use of computers in language research. Lexicographers and language researchers have benefitted from corpus more than anyone else.

Now dictionaries are dynamic and relevant to the usage and in the same way grammars are based on the regular expressions which are used in daily life.

Main aim of this study is to investigate Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's speeches which he delivered in different time and what assertive strategies he adopted in his speeches for the multiple purposes. There are many studies have already been done on the political speeches, interviews and public talks of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto but no study has ever compiled corpus of these speeches at that level. A large corpora of the speeches of one person makes it unique from other studies on the speeches of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The objective for this study is to find out what expressions he uses as assertive strategies to defend his policies, support his supporters and criticize his oppositions.

The research questions are enlisted below.

1.1 Research Questions

1. What assertive strategies are adopted by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to assert his ideology?
2. How does Zulfikar Ali Bhutto manipulate rhetoric to persuade his followers?
3. What assertive strategies are adopted by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for himself, his supporters and opposition?

2 Literature Review

The political speeches are used by the powerful leaders to exercise their power. Their multi-purpose speeches are so powerful that even help them win elections and bring revolutions. Singleman (1996) claims that political speeches use "power language" to persuade people. Language is a mechanism to maintain power and that power is exploited to control and manipulate people's opinion. Before knowing language, we need to understand the internal relationship between language and power and the force behind building that relationship is also important here in this perspective (Simpson & Rholes, 2004). This relationship between power and language can be well traced in the words of Rehman (2008) who claims that it is the dominance that binds the people into an unconscious or implicit relations which they are unable to break. A study on interpretative paradigm was conducted by Al-Hindawi and Harbi (2020) and the main aim of that study was on figurative use of political rhetoric which was influenced by Meyer's (2010) Questioning Theory of Rhetoric and this theory was under the domain of problematology. The theory dealt with rhetoric as process that negotiates different questions and individuals and the underlying gap among them. This theory mainly focuses on disparity among individual's logos, ethos and pathos. One thing is to be made clear here is the difference between political discourse rhetoric (Nartey & Ernanda, 2020) and pragmatic discourse pragmatic (Arroyo, 2015) even though both of them move towards similar goal but they differ in terms of focus political rhetoric focuses on an individual whereas pragmatic rhetoric deals with genre-specific process, argumentation and persuasion strategies.

Norrick (2018) conducted a study to analyze the effect of numerous styles of arguments and different roles of audiences and their engagement with other participants. Another similar study was conducted by Akbari (2019) the study was focused on "the strategic management of discourse". He used Austin and Searle speech acts as theoretical lens and concluded rhetoric as utterance in action.

There are various studies already conducted on speech acts and one such study was conducted by Ezekulie (2015). He focused his study on headlines of different national dailies and concluded that speech acts are used as stylistic devices to hold the attention of readers. This study had primary focus on pragmatic ambiguities on the style of the text of news. Every news is presented with different function and focus so its text is constructed to fulfill that function.

Another such study was conducted by Alake (2017) that followed the similar terrain. He analyzed Electronic Advanced Fee Fraud text to find out the use of different linguistic resources by the senders to trap the recipients. This study was conducted by combining pragmatic and stylistic tools with the aim to find out the effect of the text on its readers and the analysis of the text concluded that text has persuasive functions which brackets it as sub-genre of advertisements. Its features were similar to advertisements and they were treated as promotional messages or advertisements.

Leadership is a symbol of power and leaders are idealized and worshiped by the followers this power relationship binds public and leaders through political speeches. Black (2005) said that a good user of language uses language to convey the topics that suit people's perception, emotions and feelings. In this way they are able to get their support and vote as the various analysis of political speeches support the argument that thinking and language are so interlinked that are put together to have significant effect on people's attitude (Collin, 2013). The theory of Speech acts propounded by J.L. Austin (1962) and later on modified and evolved by John Roger Searle (1979) who claimed that language not only makes propositional declarations about matters, situations and concerns but also achieves certain utilities furthermore speech acts are considered to be representatives of behavior. They are actions which represent words (Yule, 1996).

Various studies have been done on political speeches but with different standpoints. Starting from the studies of Khan and Malik (2016) that was done on the autobiography of Pervaiz Musharaf. They found that Pervaiz Musharf used personal pronouns as strategies to make rationalizing acts as inoffensive and pleasant. He used pronouns in such a way that casted instrumental effect on obscuring his role in the dreadful issues like Kargil beside this he also used pronouns to bridge his gap with the reader. They brought sense of intimacy, familiarity and ownership among the readers.

Van Leeuwen & Eyckhof (2008) also analyzed political speeches. He analyzed same lexical choices but with varied style and tone which are used by the politicians to have long lasting effects over the minds of public. These choices are adopted as assertive strategies to serve a particular purpose and convince the audience to perform certain tasks. There are many studies have already been done on political speeches of various politicians (Charteris-Black, 2005). The speeches of Barak Obama and George Bush were investigated by Hakansson (2012). Her focus was on personal pronouns and she found out after comparing both the leaders having same motives when it comes to use pronouns. She investigated their speeches and found their policies and aims were correlated.

Many studies analyzed political discourse. Some compared the speeches of two politicians and their language based on one single event and some other analyzed speeches delivered in election campaign but this study focuses on the speeches of one person that he delivered through longer period of time.

3. Methodology

This study focuses on the assertive strategies adopted by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in his speeches to persuade the masses. The data collected from the speeches of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto spanning from 1948 to 1965 which are delivered in different time period with special focus to persuade the masses to follow the ideology and narrative of a specific person. Furthermore, the data is processed in Antconc to address the research questions which are formulated for this study.

The conceptual roadmap for this study has been adopted from Langarkar's cognitive grammar (1987) that maintains the belief that the meaning is constructed based on the course of actions, situations and events which are embodiment of language knowledge realized through grammar. The outer reality is schematized and through the constant cognitive process language is structured to convey sense.

An analytical framework serves as tool for data analysis and for this study Searle's (1969) Speech Act theory is adopted which is modified form of Austin's Speech Acts Theory (1962). The data is collected from the corpus which is compiled from the speeches of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. His speeches are delivered in different time periods; dictatorial and democratic, in the government or opposition. The speeches are employed as a tool to persuade his audiences to support his government and as an opposition leader to convince the audience to raise voices against the government. Non-probable purposive sampling technique (Patton, 1990) is adopted to collect data as cited in Neergaard (2007). The main purpose behind this sampling technique is to get information rich data because information rich data is more suitable for this study as it serves the purpose better than other techniques.

Total 138 speeches are selected from the official website of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto organization i.e. Bhutto.org. (1948-1965). The speeches are either original version or they are translated and 138 speeches have been selected from the official website and converted in a corpus specially compiled for the analysis. The compilation was done very carefully and each speech was saved in separate file. Antconc has been used as corpus processor tool and with the help of Antconc regular expressions have been taken with window span six. The selection of regular expressions is divided into four categories i.e., I-statements, we-statements, you-statements and they-statements. These expressions are selected on the criteria of personal deixes and only three personal deixes are selected for the analysis i.e., first person singular and plural deixes, second person deixis and third person plural deixis. The criterion is set that deixis are syntactically positioned as head of a sentence. So this is obvious that only regular expressions are selected that have these four types of personal deixis. This selection is made only on the presumption that the speaker has different intention and tone for himself and his supporters and voters whereas, his tone and intention changes when he addresses his opposition and Antconc 3.5.9 version software with cluster size minimum and maximum six words and the figure of one also set one either for range or frequency is used as a software to perform these research activities. The collected data is presented in tabular form for the analysis. Mixed method approach has been used as strategy for the present study first data is presented based on its frequency and rank later on the collected data is analyzed and explained. Sequential mixed method approach has been adopted for the sequential analysis (Creswell & Creswell, 2017).

4. Findings

The current study primarily focuses on the characteristics of the lexical bundles adopted by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in his speeches. The aim of this study is to analyze manipulation of clusters which serve multiple aims of the speakers with special focus on assertive strategies. The clusters perform various speech acts and through cognitive grammar build a semantic relation with situation, action and events.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who is a politician, always looks to hit a specific narrative represented by speech acts which are prevalent in the lexical choices he adopted. These lexical choices are taken from the data which comprises of 482365 word tokens and 15176 word types. The current study focuses on those lexical choices and clusters.

4.1. Boosters

Boosters are defined by the dictionaries as linguistics items that are used to enhance or increase the meanings of something by the speaker. The choices of boosters hint the strategies of assertiveness. Some of the boosters are selected from the corpus used by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in his speeches. The selection of these boosters have been made on the criterion of frequency. The – ly adverbial boosters with the frequency of 35 or above are selected for the analysis with one exception. Boosters are presented in the table form below.

Table 1: Boosters used by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for assertiveness

SR. No	BOOSTERS	FREQ	SR. No	BOOSTERS	FREQ
1.	According	109	5.	recently	55
2.	Really	102	6.	immediately	54
3.	Finally	69	7.	particularly	52
4.	Fully	61	8.	repeatedly	37

The above presented boosters are used with utterances for emphasize and increase in the meanings. Starting from the choice with the highest frequency, he made in his speeches. ‘According’ is used to emphasize the utterance and also build link with the speaker or the person who is quoted. The next boosters with high frequency are ‘really’, ‘finally’, ‘fully’, ‘recently’, ‘immediately’, ‘particularly’ and ‘repeatedly’. These boosters can be divided into different categories based on their function; finally, recently, immediately, and repeatedly are the boosters used for presenting something in sequence. These boosters are used to convey things in priority order showing the importance of the views or message. The other booster ‘particularly’ is used to show the message or utterance it denotes. These boosters are symbol of dominance of the speaker who is keen to order his speech according to desired pattern. The pattern is created to enhance the impact of the speech and also enumerates the views or policies so that they may be put into the memory lane of the audiences. The above boosters are used by the speaker as assertive strategy that allow speaker to exercise his power over the audience by emphasizing certain view, policy and ideology.

Table 2: Frequency of personal pronouns used by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for assertiveness

SR. No	RANK	WORD	INSTANCES	PERCENTAGE
1.	1	We	5867	1.21
2.	2	I	4927	1.02
3.	5	They	2985	0.61
4.	7	You	2600	0.53

This study has used personal pronouns as key prompts for cluster sorting and presenting in the tables. First person plural pronoun has been the top choice by the speaker which is 1.21 percent of the total corpora. This is the highest ranked word which is used as assertive strategy by the speaker. Second most important word is first person singular pronoun that accounts for 1.02 percent of the total words. These pronouns are used by the speaker for himself in the case of first person singular and for the audience in the case of second person plural. When he uses second person plural he uses it as inclusive pronoun including his audience with him as well. Third highest ranked pronoun is third person plural ‘they’ which is used to refer the opposition or the people who are being discussed by the speaker. Lastly, second person ‘you’ accounts for 0.53

percent of the total words used in this corpus. Second person is used sparingly than third person which tells that speaker has used plural form of second person more often than second person. The use of third person pronoun more than second person proves that speaker is more interested to form two groups i.e., opposition and his supporters whom he includes with himself. Now it will be interesting to analyze clusters used with these pronouns.

Table 3: I-Statement Clusters used by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for assertiveness

	Sr. No.	Rank	Frequency	Range	Cluster Tokens
I-Statement	1	2	32	24	as I have said
	2	6	15	14	I can assure you
I – Statement	3	10	11	9	I am confident that
	4	12	10	8	I am sure that
	5	14	9	8	I am not a
	6	15	9	9	I am not the
	7	16	9	7	I assure that
	8	20	8	7	But I am not

The above presented clusters are labelled as I-statements which are selected from the processed corpora. The I-statements are processed in Antconc with window size of four words for minimum and maximum cluster span. First person singular has been his second most used pronoun after ‘we’. The use of first person singular as head of clusters is presented in the above table. Eight statements have been selected from the top 20 clusters that are used as assertive strategies by the speaker. I-statements are used 4596 times in the whole corpus by the speaker. It shows that how keen the speaker is in using I-Statements for assertiveness. The assertive nature of I-statement indicates responsibility. These statements can be divided into two types; I-statements of surety and I-statements of negation. They are used as assertive strategies by the speaker. First person singular pronoun is used as a head of the cluster that represents personal views, opinion and policies of the speaker.

Table 3: We-Statement clusters used by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for assertiveness

We – Statement	Sr. No.	Rank	Frequency	Range	Cluster Tokens
	1	2	30	15	we are prepared to
	2	8	12	9	we are told that
	3	10	11	8	we are not afraid
	4	19	10	8	we are all Muslims
	5	20	10	7	we are not going

We-statement clusters are also selected following the same format as mentioned above. These clusters are selected from 5769 cluster tokens. Top 20 clusters have been chosen for analysis and only clusters have been analyzed that are assertive in nature. Second most used cluster as per frequency is we-statement clusters. Starting from the first cluster table which is assertive in nature and indicates that the speaker includes his audience and asserts ‘we are prepared to’ for some kind of problem, challenge. In the second cluster speaker also reveals some facts which he has in his knowledge. Both these clusters are representing his commitment with the audience. In we-statement clusters he is including his audiences and himself in the same bracket. His assertive strategies are employed to convey message and give confidence to the

audience that they are in align with their leader. He uses similar cluster with ‘we are all muslims’ including audience in another same bracket. He uses religion as symbol of collectiveness and partakes with audiences. The assertive nature of this cluster bridges whatever the gap is left between him and his audience. He also uses negative we-statement clusters to deny bluntly any doubt. He uses negative clusters to clarify the minds of his audiences and their doubts.

Table 5: *You-Statement clusters used by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for assertiveness*

You – Statement	Sr. No.	Rank	Frequency	Range	Cluster Tokens
	1	1	23	18	you will recall that
	2	5	9	7	you can see that
	3	7	7	6	you have seen that
	4	8	7	6	you will find that
	5	9	7	6	you will see that
	6	10	6	5	and you will see
	7	15	6	6	you will remember that
	8	7	5	4	tell you that Islam

You-statements are also selected for analysis. Same window span has been used as it was used in the previous clusters. Total 2344 you-statement clusters have been processed in Antconc output but the selected assertive clusters have been chosen from top 20 clusters. You-statement clusters are different from the first three tables. These clusters are sort of surety statements which are used as assertive strategies by the speaker. The speaker is assuring the audience that they already know the things he is referring. The last cluster is providing information about Islam. His use of assertive strategies in you-statement clusters is different from the we-statement clusters. In we-statement he is more concerned about collectiveness and his main aim is to assure his audience that he is one of them. He assures them he will not leave them in problem whereas in you-statement his aim is to warn them about some issues or things.

Table 6: *They-Statement clusters used by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto for assertiveness*

They – Statement	Sr. No.	Rank	Frequency	Range	Cluster Tokens
	1	1	14	9	they don’t
	2	4	6	5	because they were not
	3	7	6	6	that they will not
	4	8	5	5	that they are not
	5	10	5	5	they are the same
	6	11	5	3	they come to you
	7	12	5	5	they did not want
	8	13	4	3	because they know that
	9	14	4	4	but they did not
	10	18	4	3	now they want to
	11	19	4	4	that they are the
	12	20	4	4	that they do not

They-statements are also taken from Antconc set ups by following the already set criterion for identifying clusters. Antconc provided 2968 cluster tokens from where top 20 clusters were considered for analysis. The above tabularized clusters are selected from the top 20 clusters. The target was only to choose clusters from assertive strategies. They-statements are different from the previous examples. Speaker is disputing the opposition by asserting things about them. Assertive strategies are used more in they-statements as compared to the previous three sets. This means that he is more sure about opposition and their related matters rather than his audience and himself. His priority to use negative structure is also fascinating to analyze. He is preferring negative structures rather than indirect negation for they-statements.

4. Discussion

Assertive strategies are important aspect of language and the speakers of language employ these strategies to convey certain messages; defense for themselves and criticism for someone else. The analysis of the above text provides us an interesting insight. The four types of clusters selected for analysis and the comparison of these four yields an interesting point. The speaker who is a politician addresses his audience and as he seeks support from them his tone is different whereas his tone changes when it comes to they-statement. He is more aggressive and blunt and his priority to use negative structure in the they-statement is emblem of his blunt approach. His priority for negative structures can also be due to his aim to make his audience remember negative things about opposition and also to keep in mind for future reference. If the frequency of the clusters is analyzed it dwindles from I-statements to they-statements. It also shows one point that he is using assertive strategies more frequently in first person singular as compared to we-statements, you-statements and they-statements. This is because he promises as a leader to the audience and the high frequency of assertive strategies in I-statements is a testament of promises. This frequency decreases in we-statement where speaker is more concerned about aligning himself with the audience. This decrease further dwindles in you-statements where his focus is on reminders rather than demand. This assertive nature of you-statements is indirect way to convince them and give them impression that he is different person from his opponents and he is a better choice. He is reminding the audience indirectly that they have chosen a right person for their leadership. In they-statement he switches strategy and uses negative structure to show inability, inefficiency and incompetency of the opposition.

5. Conclusion

The above discussion can be summed up now. This study has concluded that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto as a speaker has used different structures for I-statements, We-statements, You-statements and They-statements. As he switches between these statements his tone also switches and he targets certain objects. His aim in I-statements is to promise with audience and build his credibility as a leader. He uses these clusters as indirect way to convince audience he is clear in his policies and targets. He uses the word 'sure' and 'assure' in three clusters whereas, negative adverb 'not' is used thrice to disintegrate himself from the rest of the leaders. His assertive strategies are targeted and aimed to yield specific results. When it comes to use of we-statements he uses two negative structures but here he used them to deny as a nation or group whereas in I-statements his aim was to deny as an individual. You-statements are also quite different in terms of structure and function. He is opting for less negative structures and the twin functions are to remind the audience and also expecting them to sharpen their memory for keeping this reminder in the mind for future. His tone changes as he uses they-statements and becomes more aggressive and blunt.

This study has found how speakers manipulate various assertive strategies to get multiple meanings from four types of clusters and it is helpful for future researches as well. It paves the way for the future studies which can be done for comparative analysis of political leaders from government and opposition. It will be interesting to know that how they use clusters when they swap roles. It is also beneficial as a large corpora of political speeches have been compiled specifically for this study. This corpus can be enlarged by adding more speeches of other politicians which can give better results. It can also be representative at larger perspective. Furthermore, interviews, and other public talks such as addresses to the public can be added to enhance its reliability.

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