



INTERTEXTUALITY IN THE POLITICAL NARRATIVE OF IMRAN KHAN (2022)

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Abstract

The present study conducts a critical discourse analysis of the political speeches of Imran Khan after his removal from office via a no-confidence motion. The main objective of the study is to explore the types of intertextuality employed to build a political narrative. Fairclough (1992) and Xia's (2018) model of Intertextuality provides the theoretical underpinning. The findings posit that Khan has mentioned religious, literary, political, and historical texts and figures. He quoted direct and indirect voices and intermixed his own voice as well. He mixed religious, historical, and literary genres to make his appeal more interesting and accessible to the audience. Khan used references from the past with predefined cognitive frames and well-established semantic values to strengthen his narrative. His selection of intertextual references portrays his opponent negatively while projecting a positive self-image. Such discourse helped him to (re)construct his political ideologies and achieve the desired hegemony.

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INTRODUCTION

The term 'discourse' has been a part of the English lexicon for centuries, with its origins traced back to Middle English. According to the 1993 edition of the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, 'discourse' is defined as 'communication of thoughts by speech, talk, conversation.' The term was used in various forms as early as 1555 to denote 'to hold discourse, to talk, converse; to discuss a matter, confer (Onions, 1933). In its broadest sense, 'discourse' refers to all the instances of "symbolic interaction and communication between people, usually through spoken or written language or visual representation" (Bloor and Bloor, 2013, p. 6). Fairclough (2013) advocates that critical discourse analysis is a critique of a discourse and its relation with other social factors like social identity, ideology, power dynamics, etc.

The meaning of the narrative is inferred from its social and situational context (Kim, 2012). The language one uses is indispensable in society. But, to use a language in discourse employ different techniques (Gadavani, 2002). Fairclough (2006) considers intertextuality as one of the major features of a discourse. It is used to produce and express meaning at any given time.

The notion of intertextuality was originally presented by M. Bakhtin in his study on F. Dostoevsky and F. Rabelais, where, he studies how the contrasting literary text are polyphonic in nature. Whereas, the credit for the term "intertextuality" goes to Julia Kristeva who claimed that every text produced is actually a reference to another work from the former times (Çakırtaş, 2019). Every discourse or text built is influenced by an already existing one (Nordquist, 2021). The intertextuality in a literary work can bring to mind the sound and memory of the original event, rhythm or original object (Blinova, 2020). According to G.Genette intertextuality is the relationship between resonating texts (Çakırtaş, 2019).

Intertextuality is not an element of a literary text itself or the writer's intention and product rather it is the relation made by the reader to build his meaning from the text. The connection he makes is not limited to one or more recent texts only but can count texts that are way older; it includes any written and spoken text or any symbol or sign that has a potential to communicate meaning i.e. ads (Bloome and Egan-Robertson, 1993).

Research Objectives

The study intends to achieve the following objectives.

1. To explore the nature of intertextuality in selected speeches of Imran Khan following his ousting from the government.
2. To demystify the hidden motives behind the use of such intertextual elements employed in Imran Khan's political discourse

Research Questions

1. How does Imran Khan use the various types of intertextuality employed in the selected speeches following his ousting from the government?
2. What motives Imran Khan had in using the intertextual elements in the selected speeches?

LITERATURE REVIEW

A politician exercises a great deal of his power through political speech influencing the opinion and political perspective of citizens. Political speeches incorporate an immense amount of language tactics, figurative strategies, and other elements of linguistics. Kremneva and Manukhina (2013) cited in their findings that one of the devices to influence public is the use of intertextuality in speech. Political discourse frequently uses citations, quotes, quotations from earlier speeches, allusions, and metaphors. Politicians often use the technique of mentioning and referencing former presidents to increase the credibility of their remarks and establish a clear succession of authority. As a result, the general discourse space shared by the presidents and people is created by intertextuality in presidential speech that is accessible to mass media and the public. These linguistic tools enhance their emotional impact, aid the audience in comprehending the discourse, and communicate the political agenda via constructing a shared memory and ideologies (Kremneva and Manukhina, 2013)

Salama (2012) intended to find discourse tactics Obama used to build an effective narrative and create pluralization in his Cairo speech, delivered on 4th June 2009. One of the common rhetoric strategies was to combine religious and political discourse. He associated divine messages

from three different religions; Islam, Christianity and Judaism, preaching one lesson that is to live in peace together. As the audience at that moment was Muslims, he adopted a political-Islamic discourse invoking a sense of unity among Muslims to their non-Muslim citizen and to the democratic state under his regime

Rubbani and Shamsi (2021) critically analyzed a speech delivered by Imran Khan. The findings of the study suggest that he adopts a simple style of language in which he incorporated religious belief i.e. showed love for Islam and Prophet and conveying the message of equality among people, to close the gap between himself and his audience, and increase public confidence. A critical analysis of Khan's speech delivered at the assembly in 2013 revealed that in an effort to support his points and elicit a response from the audience, Khan makes religious references (Shah et al. 2021).

In the 1990s, the bias against the US somewhat faded but it intensified again after 9/11. This time, the anti-American narrative was strongly promoted by the religious bodies in Pakistan, claiming that they intended to harm all Muslim nations (Shairani, 2022). Nowadays, politicians often accuse America of almost every loss the country faces. Hussain Haqanni, at Hudson Institute Washington, working as the director for Central and South Asia claimed that Imran Khan employed an anti-American narrative during economic crises. These conspiracy theories are used as rhetorical strategies to take away from accountability for mistakes and crises (Shairani, 2022).

The present study is a continuation of the earlier studies conducted in the field of CDA, focusing on the political discourse and its impact on public sentiments. Extensive studies have been conducted on the speeches of Imran Khan from multiple perspectives. But, his speeches delivered after the regime change are understudied. This study aims to examine the role of intertextuality in narrative construction. This is one of the obvious gaps which the study intends to fill.

METHODOLOGY

This research is qualitative in nature. The data collected qualitatively is analyzed for intertextual elements. The research contributes to "Intertextuality" in linguistics by performing a

closed textual analysis; rhetorical features and their interrelations are identified and a theoretical understanding of the text is constructed. Two speeches of Imran Khan: Lahore speech on 21st April and his speech in Muzaffargarh delivered on 11th July, were selected via purposive sampling. A strict timeline from 10th April, 2022 to 11th July, 2022 was followed. It is ensured that the speeches selected were the best representative model of all of Khan's speeches to study instances of intertextuality in his political discourse.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The method to unveil an account of intertextual elements used in selected political discourse is restricted to the intertextual theories proposed by Fairclough (1992) and Xie (2018).

Fairclough (1992) describes two types of intertextuality; 'manifest intertextuality' and 'constitutive intertextuality (interdiscursivity)'.

Manifest Intertextuality

"Manifest Intertextuality" is the inclusion of other texts within a text, which is observable and explicit. The research studies manifest intertextuality in terms of discourse representation and presupposition.

Discourse representation

Discourse representation is to explicitly quote from another text commonly marked with speech marks ("") or a reporting clause e.g. X said/told/screamed usually accompanied by a conjunction "that" (Fairclough, 1992).

If the represented discourse is quoting someone's speech, it is distinguished into two types. "Direct speech" quotes someone's speech without any change in words and its order. "Indirect speech" is to rephrase another speech through some modification in vocabulary, stylistics, or syntax. The reporter infuses his words in the reported speech which often goes unrecognized.

Presupposition

An intertextual presupposition presupposes the proposition that are a part of another text and are vague. The proposition does not explicitly mark the source text and resembles to a general opinion and a shared experience of a text. A producer of text can also presuppose the proposition that he/she has mentioned already in preceding text.

Interdiscursivity

According to Fairclough (1992) interdiscursivity is 'How a discourse type is produced by a mix of elements of orders of discourse. Fairclough (1992) in his book "Discourse and Social Change" suggests that when dealing with the "order of discourse", there are diverse elements through which we analyze a text. Genre, style, and discourse are a few of the plausible aspects. There is no way to make a well-defined list of style, discourse, and genre, as there would always be a hint of doubt and uncertainty. We will define the types of elements into genre, style, activity type, and discourse. The genre of a text restricts the activity type. The term "activity type" means the composition of the text structure determining who is involved (the subjects of the activity) in relation to the type of action i.e. in a setting of a "shop", a shopkeeper and a customer will communicate with a sequence of common phrases and restricted by conventions.

Style is defined in terms of three parameters; tenor, rhetorical mode, and mode. Tenor refers to the relationship between the subjects of the activity. We can define an interaction as casual, formal, or informal in terms of tenor. Style can also be determined in terms of the medium used to interact, written, spoken, or a combination like spoken as if written or written as if spoken. The third parameter recognizes the rhetorical mode like "argumentative" "expository" or "descriptive".

Discourse is the content, subject matter, or the area of knowledge a particular text deals with. The type of discourse of text would define the subject areas that are associated to produce the final product. For example a discourse that is "techno-scientific medical discourse" is about medicine but from the perspective of technology and science. Discourse has more autonomy than genre. A genre is delimited due to conventions and rules but a discourse can still be associated to a number of genres such as the techno-medical discourse is related to academic papers, and articles but can be a part of poems, television talk shows, and even a casual conversation.

References

Xie (2018) defines referencing figures and events from the history as a type of specific intertextuality. This study analyzed Khan's speeches and quotes the references of historical figures and occasions related to political and religious history.

Hegemony

Fairclough (1992) argued that intertextuality is linked to Hegemony, which is an endless struggle between ruling class and sub-ordinate class. The change in discourse is a constituent of change in

power relations. Discursive practice, which includes the creation, dissemination, and consumption of texts (as well as their interpretations), contributes to the reproduction or transformation of existing social and power relations.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis section demonstrates that the orator has used multiple types of intertextuality to build his narrative and practice power through language. The study suggests that Khan has used “Discourse Representation”, “Presupposition”, “Interdiscursivity” and “References” as a discourse strategy to develop his political narrative.

Discourse representation

Khan used multiple types of intertextual elements to vividly and vigorously portray his opponents by referring back to their statements with a tone of satire. Khan quoted Maryam in a mocking tone that she claimed she does not own any properties in London.

“In two thousand fourteen, Maryam Bibi lied as big as a mountain that leave London, she does not have a property in Pakistan either.”

The above lines are not the exact words that Maryam responded with but the meaning is unchanged. The exact words of Maryam were

“I, owning properties in central London is implausible. I don’t have any property in Pakistan either. I live with my father....”

Imran Khan reports her speech indirectly as he used the conjunction “that” before the reported speech. If we look at the report and reported speeches the difference is just in the vocabulary or sentence structure which does not add a huge difference to the overall meaning construal. Moreover, Khan does not use conventional reporting phrases i.e. she said, she exclaimed, etc. Instead, he interprets her statement as a “lie” and adds a simile “as big as the mountain” to exaggerate her act of lying. When he referred to the case filed against her, he said “Maryam bibi lied as big as a mountain...” Khan used a simile where he compared her untruthful statement to a landform that are usually thousands of feet above the surrounding, in order to emphasize her trait of being a “liar”. He explained further that the documents she presented to the court as evidence were found fake. He cited the court hearing to accentuate the title of “liar”. It was an attempt to display a negative image of Maryam in front of the public.

Khan has used several political references in his speeches using different types of intertextuality.

For instance, he quoted an event that occurred when he was in power as prime minister, his interview with Jonathan Swan representing *Axious HBO*. “When the interviewer asked me, would you give America a base? What did I say and did you expect anything else from me? Did you expect anything else than absolutely not?”

The lines are a mix of indirect and direct speech. In the first clause Imran Khan utters a translation of Jonathan Swan’s question; “will you allow the American government to have CIA here in Afghanistan to conduct cross-border counter-terrorism missions against Al-Qaeda, ISIS or the target?” He uses a reporting clause “the interviewer asked” followed by a conjunction “that”, it clearly suggest that he is indirectly quoting what the actual speaker said. Whereas, he quotes his own speech without any change. It counts as a direct speech.

It was in fact not just a simple recall to any event but a discourse strategy to justify his response, “Absolutely not”. He backed it with an insight to the “Afghan war”. He mourned over the loss of lives and homeland to many natives in northern Pakistan. He reminded the audience of the miseries citizens faced at the hands of the US-led war. Hence, invoked anti-American sentiments and provided context for his resistance to any further invasions. This supports the finding of Jaber and Iqbaria (2018) that a reference to a historical event can be used to evoke certain emotions supporting a hidden ideology. Khan attempted to justify his recent with the help of the past. It supports one of the findings of Ellah (2022) that quoting history is a discourse strategy to bring the past to the present. Further, when the interview was on aired the citizens of Pakistan praised it all over the social media platforms. It trended in tons of memes and other funny edits among youngsters. The statement got associated to laughter and joy. By recalling the interview Imran Khan evoked the same sense of joy, pride and fun in his followers.

Imran Khan repeats Shahbaz Sharif’s statement. Shahbaz Sharif was asked by *Geo News* anchor, Shahbaz Iqbal whether he would guarantee an equitable relations with United states of America when he comes to power, to which he replied “Beggars can’t be choosers, please understand this.” This remark sparked a strong backlash on social media. Social media users and the public criticized him for comparing their country to beggars. Imran Khan’s represented discourse deviates from the original syntactic construct of the statement but retains the actual meaning. He replaced “cannot be” with “are not”. In grammar “can” and “be” can sometimes be used interchangeably. Both words refer to “capacity”. Whereas, “be” is used to appear more formal.

Imran quoted Shahbaz's words "beggars cannot be choosers" which is in sharp contrast to "Absolutely not". When Khan quoted Shahbaz he continued saying "...Which means that because we are indebted, we are slaves, we will polish your shoes..." Khan claimed that Shahbaz Sharif has a slave mentality. Whereas when he referred to his response "absolutely not" he exclaimed that he would not allow further deaths of his people no matter what. The subject who is speaking is the subject of the statement as well. Here, his mentality (as displayed by Khan) appeared "independent" and "risk-taking" to the audience. With these two intertextual references, he depicted himself as revolutionary and courageous but sharing Shahbaz as a cowardly person with no self-esteem.

Interdiscursivity

This type of activity involves a speaker, which in this case is Imran Khan, and the audience which is mostly PTI supporters. The flow of conversation is unilateral where Khan delivers the speech occupying the floor in the communication. The audience responds collectively if asked. For example, in Khan's speech at Minar-e-Pakistan, he asks, while addressing his audience;

Imran Khan: "...Pakistan was a big dream. And the slogan of Pakistan, "Pakistan ka matlab kiya"? ..."

Audience collectively chanted, "La ilaha illallah!"

When Imran Khan delivers his speech, he does not treat them distant from him. He talks to the audience directly addressing them. He addresses them most of the time using pronouns like "You" or in order to grab the listeners audience he would exclaim the name of the city like "Lahore". He would also use the word "Lahoriyun!" a term used to describe the people who belong to Lahore.

Speeches are quite complicated when studied in terms of style. The rhetorical mode of the speech is predominantly narrative in which Khan would narrate events and related it to his political stances. The style of the speaker is casual and informal. The mode of the speech is spoken in which Khan adopts a vernacular style of conversation. He approaches his audience in an informal manner; he jokes, name calls his opponents.

Moving ahead, Khan's political discourse is discussed in terms of an embedded genre.

Mixing Comedy genre to Political Discourse

Analysis of the different genres embedded in the speeches reveals that Khan mixed a

comedy genre to political discourse resulting in a mockery and insult to the opposition while giving the speech a humorous touch.

In his “Lahore Speech” he says,

“Russia was giving us oil at thirty percent lower price Oil at thirty percent cheaper. It means we could sell petrol and Fazal ur Rehman at thirty percent less”

Khan talks about his possible negotiations with Russia after his visit to provide oil, wheat and diesel at 30% concession here. He states if Pakistan could buy oil at 30% profit then they could sell “petrol and diesel” at lower price within the state. But instead of saying “diesel” he adopts an aggressive humor and says “Fazal ur Rehman” to humiliate him. He presupposes the popular allegations of smuggling on Fazal ur Rehman. Mulana Fazal ur Rehman is accused of using his position as minister of petroleum in Benazir Bhutto's administration from 1993 to 1996 to smuggle diesel into Afghanistan. He made money by selling the diesel at a premium price while also causing a diesel crisis in Pakistan. Even though it has never been verified, many people think it did happen. He continues to be infamous and go by the name “Diesel” by his opponents (“Maulana Fazal ur Rehman is Famous as Maulana Diesel”, 2018).

The speaker and audience laughs as response which depicts an inside joke between the speaker and the listener who are familiar to the background. Imran Khan through his joke is also reminding the audience about the corruption of JUI leader emphasizing his bad image.

Similarly, he insulted Shahbaz, Zardari and Fazal ur Rehman calling them “Three stooges”. The audience needs to know the background to comprehend the joke. Imran Khan sarcastically narrates the conspiracy plotted against his reign; “... Three stooges were sitting inside. They met with them. More people were involved in it too. History will not forgive them all”

Here he uses the metaphor “three stooges”. He is referring to the famous vaudeville “Three stooges”. The actors of the theoretical display were also referred as “Three stooges”. Lead comedian told jokes and sang during the performance, but his obnoxious aides cut him off, prompting a physical and verbal assault as his reaction. Khan jokes upon the heads of the PDM; Shahbaz Sahrif, Asif Ali Zardari and Fazal ur Rehman. He calls their politics similar to that theatrical comedy in which the audience laughs at the participants because of their silly acts and dialogues. Khan is humiliating them.

Mixing religious genre to political discourse

Imran Khan acquired the character of a priest rather than a politician. He appeared religious, calling people to the right path. Imran Khan used religious references keeping in view that the majority of his listeners personally associate to it. The inclusion of Islamic school of thought provides strong grounds for his political narrative.

Khan in his speech at Alipur, Muzaffargarh calls the political struggle against the opponents as “jihad”. When Khan used the religious term “Jihad” against the opposition in the current political tug of war situation, he intended to engage the audience in it as if a religious obligation and creating binaries of virtue against vice, good against bad.

“...that is why I have come to you this far today only for one reason that you have to consider it a jihad. The war for true freedom in your country is jihad. This is not politics”...

In west, the term “jihad” is translated as a “Holy War”. In Arabic, it means “struggle”. Whereas, in Quran, it has more than just a single meaning, The Prophet called the struggle against one’s desires or the jihad in terms of once internal dimensions as “Superior jihad” (*Islamic Law and the Rules of War - World*, 2014). The Quran mentions the term “jihad” as well. It is a physical war that involves weapons also termed as “jihād al-sayf” (Afsaruddin, 2022). Prophet called it a “minor jihad” in comparison to the former category (*Islamic Law and the Rules of War - World*, 2014). The latter aspect of jihad evolved during the Medinan period (622–632), when Muhammad received Qur'anic revelations in Medina: “qitl”, or self-defense against the Meccan oppressors' aggressiveness (Afsaruddin, 2022). Imran Khan associates his political campaign against other parties to a “war in action” against oppressors emphasizing it as a religious obligation.

Mixing Literary/Historical Genre to Political Discourse

Imran Khan's embedding of literary genre supports the findings of Ellah (2022) that a literary discourse mixed with political discourse helps to construct ideologies. A clear example of intermixing genres is when Khan associated Shahbaz Sharif and Zardari to “Mir Jafar” and “Mir Sadiq”.

He connects the past to the present. In his Lahore speech, he says “And Mir Sadiq was the one who defeated Tipu Sultan with Nizam Hyderabad along with British. Mir Sadiq and Mir Jafar were sitting here too. Those who took full part in the foreign conspiracy. This conspiracy was done from outside. Mir Jafar and Mir Sadiq were sitting inside...”

In the government of Tipu Sultan of Mysore, Mir Sadiq served as a minister. Imran Khan has quoted text from the book *History of Tipu Sultan* a biography written by An Indian Historian,

Hassan Ali. Despite having a strong army Sultan was still defeated. Historical data gathered for the book suggested that English bribed many ministers and officers of sultan. In which Mir Sadiq is also enlisted. He helped the British win the Siege of Seringapatam fort by betraying Tipu Sultan. The book is still not considered a reliable source (Rafiq, 2018). The fall of the Tipu Sultan Regime is often mythologized. But, the focus of the study is, if the betrayal of Mir Sadiq is not backed by solid evidences but rather dubious resources, why would Khan present a myth or rumor as fact? Khan cites an untrustworthy text which seems like he is misleading the crowd. But, we cannot claim that he knows that the text he is referring to is not reliable.

He gave reference of another historical incite;

“Mir Jaffar was the traitor who along with the British toppled the Muslim Government, rule of Siraj ud-daulah for personal interests”

General in the military, Mr. Jafar was bribed by British to join them to defeat Nawab of Bengal (Clive, 2012). Siraj ud-Daulah trusted Mir Jafar although his advisors suggested many times to punish Jafar as he was suspected of conspiring against the Nawab. Unfortunately, Mir Jafar betrayed him at the Battle of Plassey (Chaudhury, 1998). These references have strong political implications.

He meant to say that both are traitors. They are betraying their nation and lying to the authorities and that they can even hand over the whole country to America just for their selfish benefits. He has repeated this reference frequently in his previous speeches as well.

Presupposition

In the selected speeches of Imran Khan, it was observed that in many instances he gave reference to a text, person, or event assuming that the audience is already familiar with it and there is no need for a detailed explanation.

In Lahore speech, on 21st April 2022 Khan condemns courts hearing on the night of 3rd April “And then what happens next is part of the history. Courts open at twelve too...”

Imran Khan assumed the constitutional crises that bewildered the citizens as the shared context. The speaker takes it for granted to explain the background to which he is referring to. The most probable reason is that it had already caught attention throughout the country through television news, newspapers, and other social media platforms. The statement is intertextual, it presupposes the session of voting of no confidence against PM; Qasim Suri, the deputy speaker of the National Assembly, on the third of April blocked a no-trust vote in action to remove Khan

from office. He argued that the motion was unconstitutional because it was a part of a "foreign plot" by citing Article 5, which deals with loyalty to the state. Then Arif Alvi followed Khan's recommendation to abolish parliament's lower chamber (Saeed, 2022). Unfortunately, the high court had to open the case on the 11th hour and issue the following statement;

“The advice tendered by the Prime Minister on or about 03.04.2022 to the President to dissolve the Assembly was contrary to the Constitution and of no legal effect”

“It is declared that the Order of the President issued on or about 03.04.2022 dissolving the Assembly was contrary to the Constitution and of no legal effect, and it is hereby set aside. It is further declared that the Assembly was in existence at all times, and continues to remain and be so” Hence, the assembly was resolved and a vote of no confidence motion began at 12:11 am and completed at 12:57 am, at midnight (Saeed, 2022). In addition, the phrase actually made to many headlines to report the event. Khan has incorporated those headlines. For example, a video on the official YouTube channel of Geo News was entitled “Supreme Court ordered to open the gates of court at 12 midnight..!!”.

While addressing the listeners Imran Khan states;

“And in the last year, we did the highest production in the history of five crops of Pakistan!”

The statement above presupposes the statistics uploaded by the Government of Pakistan on social media for five major crops during PTI's reign. In the above statement, when Imran Khan states “five crops” he meant to say wheat, cotton, sugarcane, rice, and maize. The statistics compared the output in 2021 to 2020 records. Whereas, Khan states that their government made the highest records in history. According to Fairclough (1992) presupposition produced by the speaker can be deceitful and deceptive as a tool to manipulate the receiver. A source, “Business Record” suggested that half of the statement seems to be far away from the truth. Well, a comparative study of five major crops in the government of each party that ruled Pakistan was held, limiting the time frame to 5 years (“An Agri-revival under PTI?, ” 2022). During the fourth year of Nawaz Sharif's government, a rise in crop output was recorded. PTI made increasing records in similar crops in the fourth year. PTI and N-league's performance were not indifferent. Pakistan Muslim League-N and PTI failed to produce enough cotton. An increase in wheat and cotton output was recorded in the fourth year of the Pakistan People's Party's government. No significant increase was recorded in the output of cotton and wheat in the fourth year of PTI but the records for maize output exceeded compared to the output of the last three governance;

Musharraf, PPP, PMLN. The credit for the increase in the record of maize does not go to PTI as it has always shown a constant increase every year. Other crops do not show any rise in the record is because of some economic, political and technological factors which are still not sorted out. Therefore, Imran Khan's statement seems to be misleading ("An Agri-revival under PTI," 2022).

During the speech Khan named "sugar mafia", a noun. The speaker assumes that a "sugar mafia" exists and is real.

"We competed with the sugar mafia"

A sugar mafia has been reported to exist by many News sources in the past area. i.e. A news website "Global Village Space" reported, "It seems Pakistan is being ruled by the Sugar mafia. Ever since the restored Chief Justice of Pakistan (CJP) took suo-moto notice of the Sugar prices the 'Genie' has been out of the bag" (Malik, 2021). Another source, "The News" reports "In early 2000, the sugar mafia had threatened Prime Minister Imran Khan as well as the then DG FIA/Chairman of the Inquiry Commission, Wajid Zia, to stop the probe into the sugar scam..." (Abbasi, 2021). Moreover, a source, "Pakistan Today" writes that FIA has also revealed that a sugar mafia has been involved in creating false scarcity in sugar supplies. Imran Khan's claim is not self-produced but based on previous speculations and News. The proposition that "A Sugar mafia exist" has been published in the news and is a common knowledge in the country for quite long ("Sugar Mafia", 2021).

References

Khan has used several political references; he mentions the heroes of Pakistan's history i.e. "Bhutto" referring to the Pakistan People's Party, former leader Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. People's Party claims the sentence of death to Bhutto was an international conspiracy. They claim that the enemies of the country despised the initiatives taken by him for an independent state and foreign policies. Imran Khan repeats the same narrative

"Our foreign policy has never been independent except for a short period in Bhutto's time. And Bhutto was hanged to death through a conspiracy by the insider, Mir Jafar"

Further, Khan equated himself with Bhutto's popularity and connected a past event to the present. Khan is of the opinion that Pakistan was and is never separate from foreign influence because of opponent parties' leaders, they had played a key role in the death of "Bhutto". They intend to destroy the country. Qayyum (2019) concludes in her work that language manipulation through intertextuality can influence the recipient's thinking in the direction they intend to.

Relatively, Khan created a sense of disgust and hate against PDM who killed the possibilities of an independent state and its prosperity. He emphasized that America has interfered in the political matters in Pakistan and is once again guilty for his regime change. They are the potential enemies because of the evident previous conspiracy launched by them against our great leader.

Imran Khan mentions the heroes of Pakistan's history. He mentions "Allama Iqbal" referring to Mohammad Iqbal, a South Asian Muslim writer, philosopher, scholar, and politician, is regarded as some of the best of the 20th century. Khan continues "And it was Allama Iqbal's best effort to awake a slave nation! Revive the slave nation!" In the lines mentioned, he is referring to Iqbal's "vision" that inspired Muslims of India to unshackle themselves from Britain's slavery in India under the British Empire. He dreamt of sprouting a sense of nationalism among Muslims, and identifying themselves as a separate identity irrespective of the boundaries of the countries.

Imran Khan tried to revive the patriotism among the masses by invoking lost spirit of Muslims of the 1947 partition. Imran Khan's patriotic debates have affected his audience in Pakistan and foreign Pakistanis together. Imran Khan's speeches have brought up a wave of patriotic enthusiasm in them which is clearly seen when they show up to his protest rallies in and out of Pakistan. Mentioning Iqbal's vision was a comparison to his anti-American agenda. Imran Khan has mentioned that America has backed PDM to change the regime. Thus, his revolt against PDM is similar to Iqbal's struggle against British tyrants. In the Anti-American narrative built by Khan, mentioning the names of historical heroes suggest that Imran Khan wanted to revive and strengthen the sense of belongingness to the homeland. He found it important because he claimed that Pakistanis are still mentally slaves to foreign states.

CONCLUSION

The study in hand analyzed the role of language in politics providing the listeners with the desired political ideologies through intertextuality. The study investigates different types of Intertextuality used by Imran Khan in selected speeches after regime change. The types used by Khan are discourse representation, presupposition, interdiscursivity, and references.

Khan quotes the speeches of another person in his speech. To quote someone else is an effective way for him to pass on information or a message. Khan quoted someone's words to which he agreed and chose to distance himself from taking responsibility for the message disseminated.

He has played with words and order of the discourse as well to twist meaning and embed his own agendas to it. Khan presupposed many texts to support his stance and make his ideas vivid. Khan mixed formal and informal discourse styles. A speech delivered by a political leader is expected to be formal but Khan delivered his speech in a conversational style adopting colloquial language. The messages were sent in easy words that were understandable to a common man. He mixed the religious, comedy, and literary genres into political discourse. Khan employs religious intertextuality in order to promote his political narrative rather than making a religious standpoint. He uses historical references associating it to the present situation. Quoting historical figures and events gives vivid explanations and meaning to discourse and helps the audience to understand the political narrative intertextually. The audience is familiar with it, either because it is too common or because he had repeated it in his previous speeches.

Khan has used intertextual cues to build his positive identity and gain popularity in the like-minded population. Thus, quite a number of instances could be found where he mixed religious genres with his political discourse. He awakens the religious emotions in the audience seeking validation among them and influence his own meanings to the masses. He creates a binary of good versus bad. He sets himself at high moral ground, like a hero to challenge the authority and gained power over masses all through use of language. Khan said “absolutely not” displaying himself as a savior and hero of the country. Khan accentuated the anti-American narrative by supporting them with past unfortunate events i.e. He mentioned the death of “Bhutto” as a conspiracy of the USA. Khan displayed opposition as the enemies of the state and incompetent candidates to run the office. He called them by names “Mir Sadiq” and “Mir Jafar” who betrayed their government and were an ally to the British. He claimed that the opposition are an ally to USA.

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