

Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Tweets of Pakistani and Indian Prime Ministers on Indian Occupied Kashmir Issue (2019)

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Language is a powerful medium of communication which is significantly used by political leaders to govern over the people. Political leaders use language as an instrument to gain dominance and power by influencing political, economic, social and cultural practices. The aim of this research was to explore and identify rhetorical devices in social media political discourse. The qualitative methodology was adopted to identify rhetorical devices in the tweets of Prime Minister Imran Khan and Prime Minister Narendra Modi. Rhetorical devices are mainly used in political discourse. Political actors employ various rhetorical devices to persuade the public for particular political objectives. Fifteen tweets of both each Prime Minister were analyzed that were related to Indian Occupied Kashmir (2019). The data was in the form of tweets that were taken from verified accounts of both the Prime Ministers. The study examined social media political discourse by applying Paul Gee Model of Seven Building Tasks of Language. The rhetorical devices were identified through this model of critical discourse analysis. The study revealed that which rhetorical devices were used by both the Prime Ministers to discuss the Kashmir issue on social media platform. It revealed that how Prime Minister Imran Khan raised voice against the Indian violence in Kashmir and for the freedom of Kashmiri Muslims and how Indian Prime Ministers used rhetorical devices to glorify the annexation of Kashmir with India. The research found that some rhetorical devices were significantly used by both the Prime Ministers such as amplification, repetition, allusion, pathos and logos. The study explored that Prime Minister Imran Khan used rhetorical devices to highlight the Kashmir issue at international level and to raise voice for the freedom of Kashmir

from Indian annexation, whereas Prime Minister Narendra Modi emphasized on making friendly relations with Kashmir and their collective socio-economic development.

Key words: *Social media political discourse, rhetorical devices, seven building tasks of language, Kashmir issue.*

1. Introduction:

Rhetorical devices can be mainly identified in political discourse. The basic purpose of using rhetorical devices is persuasion. They are used in a discourse to persuade and convince people. Political actors use such devices to persuade people. Political actors use language as a tool to influence political, economic, social and cultural practices in order to gain power and authority (Baryam, 2010). Language plays an important role as it facilitates to equip, aide and carry out all political actions. Language is significant for politics and it is a way through which politicians govern over the people.

Critical discourse analysis looks at the linguistic patterns chosen by writer/speaker to highlight a certain discourse ideologically. It considers the use of language in social, political and economic context. According to Fowler (1991), language is vital to discourse and it is necessary to analyze the language in order to understand the real and actual meaning of text which is produced in various events of communication. Moreover, beliefs, values, ideologies are conveyed through the discourse. For the purpose to define, infer, analyze and evaluate the social context in a text critical discourse analysis becomes indispensable.

Political discourse involves the discourse practices of political actors, including politicians, public and institutions, within a political process. Political discourse is identified by the topic of discussion and affirming interests of political subjects in political communication. Political discourse involves various processes and actions done by the political actors such as, decision-making, election campaigns, parliamentary debates, legislative processes, speeches, interviews etc. Van Dijk (1998) while defining political discourse stated that the political discourse must be produced by a politician within a certain institution. However, other researches state that Political discourse does not focus on politicians only but it also involves public, citizens, people, masses, interest groups that play an important role in shaping the political system and so the political discourse. Gastil (1992) indicates that a researcher should also analyze political discourse syntactically, semantically, lexically, socio-linguistically and pragmatically. He claims that political discourse analysis is much more than analyzing the social and political context.

The social media sites have become powerful source of communication among the people due to technological and scientific advancements These social network sites are used to convey thoughts and opinions by the people. Politicians use social media platforms to share



information and propagate their agenda. Political parties use social media network to promote their agenda and political objectives.

Since 14th August, 1947 Kashmir is the bone of contention between the neighboring countries, however China is also involved in this territorial conflict. Pakistan and India have fought three wars over the state of Kashmir. Both the countries claim their occupation on Kashmir. In 2019, when Prime Minister Imran Khan visited America, President Donald Trump offered mediation to solve the Kashmir issue. The mediation offer by President Trump was highly appreciated in Pakistan and Kashmir but India reacted to this offer in a fierce way. On 3rd August, 2019 Indian forces used cluster toy bombs at the Line of Control and targeted several Kashmiri children. On the following day, the Indian Parliament abrogated the Article 370 of their constitution which aimed to cancel the special independent status of Kashmir. With majority vote in the upper house of the Indian Parliament, the article was abrogated and India, without taking into account the interests and demands of Kashmiri people, occupied the valley. Since then the people of Kashmir are living in dark ages due to imposed curfew. They are completely cut off from the outside world. After the abrogation of Article 370 of Indian constitution, politicians of Pakistan took to Twitter and started to tweet for the freedom of Kashmir. On the other hand, Indian politicians used Twitter to express their victory over the conflict.

This research aimed to analyze political discourse on social media. It focused on social media site, particularly the Twitter. The tweets of Prime Minister Imran Khan and Prime Minister Narendra Modi were taken for the discourse analysis. The research focused on only those tweets that were related to Indian Occupied Kashmir issue 2019. The research considered only those tweets that were related to the occupation of Kashmir by India by abrogating the Article 370 of the Indian constitution. The qualitative methodology was adopted to study the political discourse. The researcher identified and analyzed rhetorical devices in the tweets of both the Prime Ministers. Paul Gee Model of Seven Building Tasks of Language was used to analyze the rhetorical devices. The research found out that both the Prime Ministers used rhetorical devices in their tweets to persuade the targeted masses.

1.1 Significance:

In 2016, a research was conducted to study political discourse on social media by Farhat Sajjad. That research focused on the political discourse produced on the Twitter by different political parties of Pakistan. The aim of that research was a comprehensive analysis of political text and context and to highlight the mechanism of political identity. This research was one of its kinds as it analyzed the digital political discourse which was produced to address the Indian Occupied Kashmir issue 2019. The research was significant because it would path the way for other researchers in Pakistan to linguistically explore and analyze the political discourse as very less work has been done in the domain of critical discourse analysis in Pakistan. The research would be very helpful and significant for future researchers. It would provide a path for the researchers

to explore, investigate and analyze more political discourses available on social media or other sources of communication in future.

1.2 Aims and Objectives:

The research was aimed to critically analyze the linguistic patterns of political discourse by identifying various rhetorical devices in the tweets of both Prime Ministers Imran Khan and Prime Minister Narendra Modi. The research had the following aims and objectives:

- To explore and identify rhetorical devices in the tweets of both the Prime Ministers, about the Kashmir Issue 2019
- To identify rhetorical devices in the tweets of Imran Khan to raise voice against the Indian violence in Kashmir and for the freedom of Kashmiri Muslims
- To analyze the rhetorical devices used by Indian Prime Minister to glorify the annexation of Kashmir with India
- To study the language of political discourse on social media produced by Prime Minister Imran Khan and Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

1.3 Research Questions:

The study had following research questions:

- Which rhetorical devices are used by both the Prime Ministers to discuss the Kashmir Issue on social media?
- How Pakistani Prime Minister raised voice against the Indian violence in Kashmir and for the freedom of Kashmiri Muslims?
- How Indian Prime Ministers used rhetorical devices to glorify the annexation of Kashmir with India?
- How was the language of social media political discourse produced by both the Prime Ministers?

2. Literature Review

The field of critical discourse analysis emerged in late 1980s by Fairlough, Wodak and Van Dijk. Van Dijk (2002) categorized critical discourse analysis at two levels: macro level analysis and micro level analysis. Micro level analysis referred to language, discourse, verbal communication, whereas, macro level analysis referred to power relations, inequality and dominance. The basic objective of critical discourse analysis is to critically analyze social inequality represented through language (Wodak, 2001). Fairlough (1995) claimed that Critical Discourse Analysis is a way to analyze relationships between discursive practices and social structures in which they are employed. Critical Discourse Analysis discovers the ways

such practices are made by the ideology which is, consequently, form by the power relations practiced in the community.

Van Dijk (1993) made significant contributions to the domain of political discourse. According to him, the text or talk of political leaders and politicians which is produced through various institutions is the political discourse. However, political discourse analysis does not comprise of politicians only but it also includes the other political actors who are play an equal role in determining the political discourse. These political actors can be the citizens, the public, voters, political parties, pressure groups and other institutional groups.

According to researches and theorists, the approaches of critical discourse analysis have influenced the analysis of political discourse to a great extent. It often happens that the approaches of discourse analysis overlap with the approaches of rhetoric and political communication. Political discourse is defined as way in which political actors perform political actions. Many new researches are focusing on the role of social media in political debate and discussion by applying various approaches and frameworks of discourse and critical discourse analysis.

Sahrish and Khadija (2019) identified rhetorical devices in the political discourse. The study identified rhetorical devices in the speeches of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. The research also studied that how these devices facilitate them to take attention of the public and convey their message effectively. The researcher applied the model of critical discourse analysis based on a framework presented by James Paule Gee (2011), the Seven Building Tasks of Language. Almost same rhetorical devices were used by both the political leaders such as, ethos, pathos, logos, repetition, amplification, allusion, parallelism, hyperbole, metaphor and many more. Repetition, allusion and hyperbole were employed to make certain notions significant. The study analyzed that speakers used such persuasive language to make contexts in their support. Both the female speakers tried to establish foreign relations with their respective audience by using rhetorical devices. The study found out that with the help of rhetorical devices, both the female political leaders successfully achieved their political goals by appealing the target audience.

Saifuddin Ahmed and Marki M. Skoric (2014) carried out a research to study the use of Twitter in the campaigns for General Elections of Pakistan in 2013. The study emphasized that it was for the first time in the political history of Pakistan that the political parties of Pakistan used the social media platform, Twitter for political mobilization and electoral campaigns. The researchers selected 10140 tweets of four major political parties of Pakistan. The analysis of the tweets showed that there were noticeable differences in the usage patterns of the political parties. According to the results of analysis, the usage of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf was significantly different from others as it focused more on public interaction, mobilization of voters and updates about the election campaign. The study explored that the victory of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf in the General Elections was based on its unique way of election campaign.

PTI conducted both online and face-to face electoral campaigns to target young voters. Twitter was used as a tool for electoral campaigns and to mobilize the voters in the General Elections of 2013. The social media platform emerged as a medium of effective communication between the politicians and the citizens. The great and significant use of Twitter by the political parties of Pakistan in the General elections of 2013 proved that the Twitter is a powerful tool for election campaigns. The study also analyzed the Twitter approach of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf and compared it with its victory in the General Elections, in order to understand the role of social media campaigns in winning the General Elections in the developing democracies. The study observed similarity between the online campaigns of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf and the social media campaigns of Barak Obama in U.S. Presidential elections in 2008. During the election campaigns in United States, Barak Obama used social media platforms as tools for his Presidential election campaign. He used various materials in his social media election campaign such as blogs, videos and pictures etc. The study found similar patterns in the social campaign of PTI. The Twitter account of the party provided time to time updates about the leader Imran Khan's activities during the election campaigns by posting pictures and videos from the sites of campaigns. During the election campaigns of 2013, PTI emerged as one of the significant political parties of Pakistan mainly due to its strategic online and offline electoral campaigns around the country. The study highlighted that Twitter facilitated powerful and effective communication between the public and the political party. The study suggested that the social media sites, including Twitter allow free and direct communication between the candidates and the voters during the campaigns for elections. Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf used the social media platform to its maximum and it was the most active party on the social media. The study found that Twitter plays a vital role in promoting social and political mobilization in developing countries like Pakistan. The offline strategies of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf and their online involvement on Twitter proved that the social media site can be effectively utilized to make people, especially the youth to participate in various campaigns and processes of democracy.

Rhetorical devices are an essential part of spoken or written discourse. Politicians use such linguistic features in their speeches which help to persuade the target audience and attain their political goals (Bhatia, 2006). In the field of linguistics, researches have been carried out that analyzed the use of language by the politicians and aim to investigate the techniques and various strategies of language used by the politicians. Atkinson (2005) asserted that the writers of political speech constantly depend on a large number of influential linguistic strategies such as alliteration, allusion, asking questions, suggesting answers, three item lists, metaphor, parallelism and repetition. According to Jones and Peccei (2004) the classical politicians of early times were successful in achieving their political goals because of their skills to use rhetoric for the purpose of persuading the public. Moreover, Wareing (2004) claimed that words have a powerful effect on the attitudes of the people. The words form the views and opinions of the people.

Keeping in view the above studies, this research adopted the qualitative methodology. It focused on social media site, particularly the Twitter. The tweets of Prime Minister Imran Khan and Prime Minister Narendra Modi were taken for the discourse analysis. The research focused on only those tweets that were related to Indian Occupied Kashmir issue 2019. The researcher identified and analyzed rhetorical devices in the tweets of both the Prime Ministers. Paul Gee Model of Seven Building Tasks of Language was used to analyze the rhetorical devices.

3. Research Methodology:

The research was qualitative in nature. As it was analytical research so the qualitative methodology was adopted. The research analyzed the linguistic patterns of political discourse on Twitter. The data for the research was collected in the form of tweets from the official accounts of Prime Minister Imran Khan and Prime Minister Narendra Modi. The samples were the official tweets of Pakistani Prime Minister Imran Khan and the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi. There were 15 numbers of tweets of both the Prime Minister that were the analyzed. Moreover, only specific tweets were taken as samples that were referring to the Indian Occupied Kashmir issue and were posted from 05th August, 2019 to 31st August, 2019. . The sample tweets were reliable as all the tweets were taken from the official accounts of both Pakistan and Indian Prime Ministers. Screenshot of each tweet was taken to prove reliability and validity of the collected data. The screenshots provided date and time of each tweet to support reliability and validity. Paul Gee model of Seven Building Tasks of Language was applied to identify and analyze the rhetorical devices in the selected tweets. The sample tweets were analyzed to identify rhetorical devices used by both the Prime Ministers in their tweets.

4. Data Analysis

The main purpose of this qualitative research was to identify and analyze different rhetorical devices used in the tweets of Prime Ministers of both Pakistan and India. The research took into account only those tweets that focused on the Kashmir Issue and were posted during August, 2019. The study analyzed various rhetorical devices in the social media political discourse. In this qualitative research, rhetorical strategies were studied by applying the model of “Paul Gee’s Seven Building Tasks of Language”.

4.1 Context

The context is very crucial to the discourse. Discourse analysis is incomplete without the analysis of context in which a certain discourse is generated. The political discourse selected for the research had a specific context. It was generated in a particular context for specific purposes. The main context of the selected political discourse was the conflict of Kashmir between India and Pakistan.

Kashmir is a bone of contention between India and Pakistan since partition in 1947. Kashmir holds great importance for both India and Pakistan due to its geo-strategic position in region. Both the countries claim their control over the state of Kashmir. Both the countries have been using military troops to capture the area instead of holding dialogues to resolve the issue peacefully. In August, 2019, the government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi abrogated the Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. Prime Minister Modi never favored the Article 370 and wanted to remove it from the Indian Constitution was his election manifesto. According to Article 370, Kashmiris had their own social, cultural and political rights but after the abrogation of the article, they were deprived of these fundamental rights. After the abrogation of Article 370, Kashmir came under the control of India and Indian rules and laws became applicable in Kashmir. Prime Minister Modi promised the people of Kashmir that the withdrawal of the Article 370 will bring development and prosperity for the region. On the other hand, Prime minister of Pakistan highly opposed this action of Indian government and began to raise voice for Kashmir and Kashmiri Muslims.

Prime Minister Imran Khan is the current Prime Minister of Pakistan. He is the twenty second Prime Minister of Pakistan. He is the Chairperson of his party Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf which he established in 1996. Prior to his political career, he was renowned and successful international cricket player. He served as captain of Pakistan national cricket team. He came into power after winning popular majority in the General Elections of 2018. He is currently leading the federal government of Pakistan.

On the other hand, Prime Minister Narendra Modi is the current Prime Minister of India. He was elected as fourteenth Prime Minister of India. He is a Hindu Nationalist and is the member of Bharatiya Janata Party. He is the first Prime Minister to be elected from other political party against the Indian National Congress. As he came into power for second time, he removed the special status of Jammu and Kashmir. He abrogated the Article 370 of the Indian Constitution and consequently, Kashmir came under the administrative control of India.

4.2 Analysis of Tweets of Prime Minister Imran Khan

The rhetorical devices were identified and analyzed by applying Paul Gee model of Seven Building Tasks of Language.

➤ **Significance:**

Prime Minister Imran Khan highlighted the issues and problems faced by the people of Kashmir after the abrogation Article 370 by the Indian government. He emphasized on the violation of their rights in his tweets. He emphasized and signified the Kashmir issue by using the following rhetorical devices:

- **Imagery:**

Imager is a piece of language which appeals to our physical senses. It creates visual representation of idea in the readers/listeners mind.

- ❖ “The time has come for the people of occupied Kashmir to be saved from the deep dark night of suffering and oppression...” [Tweet (1), line 1]

Prime Minister Imran Khan employed imagery in his tweet to highlight the curfew situation in Kashmir. The curfew was imposed in Kashmir region by the Indian forces soon after the abrogation of Article 370. One day later, he described the Kashmir curfew by calling it ‘deep dark night of suffering and oppression’.

- **Allusion:**

It refers to indirect reference to a person, place, thing or idea that has historical, political, cultural and literary significance. It does not explain the referent person or idea in detail.

- ❖ “...Will we watch another appeasement of fascism this time in the grab of BJP govt...”[Tweet (2), line 2]
- ❖ “...history tells us that when a nation unites in a freedom struggle & does not fear death, no force can stop it from achieving its goal” [Tweet (9), line 2]

The Prime Minister of Pakistan highlighted the issue by referring it to the historical practices of fascism. He did not clearly mention the practitioner of fascism but the reader could think that it was referring to the political ideology of Adolf Hitler.

- **Amplification:**

It is a rhetorical device which is used to add details and additional information in a sentence. It provides additional meaning by describing or repeating a particular idea or statement. Amplification is used to emphasize and highlight certain idea.

- ❖ “The curfew, crackdown & impending genocide of Kashmiris in IOK” [tweet (5), line 1]
- ❖ “...presence of extra troops in an already heavily militarized occupied territory, sending in of RSS goons...” [Tweet (8), line 1]
- ❖ “...while armies, militants and terrorists can be defeated ...” [tweet (9), line 1-2]

The research analyzed the tweets of Prime Minister Imran Khan on the Kashmir issue which gained another dimension in August, 2019. The Prime Minister in order to highlight the issue at international level used amplification to create rhetoric effect in his tweets. He added details and further information in his tweets to persuade the international world about the serious situation in Kashmir. He used similar words to add more meaning to the situation.

- **Repetition:**

It is a strategy which is used to make an idea more notable. It is used to add emphasize on a particular idea. The use of repetition helps to determine the hidden meaning and theme of the presented idea.

- ❖ "... what happens to oppressed Kashmiris in IOK when curfew is lifted. Does the BJP govt think by using greater military force against Kashmiris in IOK, it will stop the freedom movement?..." [tweet (3), line 1-2]
- ❖ "...ethnic cleansing of Muslims in IOK?...repercussions and reactions in the Muslim world setting off..." [tweet (7), line 2, 3-4]

As the selected sample tweets focused on the Indian Occupied Kashmir, the research analyzed that repetition was used by the Prime Minister of Pakistan to emphasize that the area of Kashmir is controlled by the Indian forces. Above examples show that he repeated the phrase 'Kashmiris in IOK' twice and in another tweet he emphasized on the Muslims by using the term twice.

- **Practice:**

While focusing on the violation of human rights in Kashmir, he also laid stress on the current situation in Kashmir. He highlighted the extremism of India by in-cooperating examples of similar activities from the history. He associated on-going Indian activities in Kashmir with the practices of Nazi-Adolf Hitler in the history in the following ways:

- **Simile:**

It is a piece of language used to make direct comparison between two different things having something in common. It is recognized with the help of "like" and "as".

- ❖ "I am afraid this RSS ideology of Hindu Supremacy, like the Nazi Aryan Supremacy, will not stop in IOK..." [tweet (4), line 1]
- ❖ "India has been captures, as Germany had been captured by Nazis, by a fascist, racist Hindu Supremacist ideology and leadership..." [tweet (11), lines 1-2]
- ❖ "...Will the world watch & appease as they did Hitler at Munich?" [tweet (5), line 4]

Prime Minister Imran Khan used the simile in the above mentioned words. He compared PM Modi with German Leader Adolf Hitler. He compared and linked PM Modi with Dictator Adolf Hitler, India with Germany and Hindu rascism with Nazi fascism.

- **Patho:**

It is a rhetorical device which evokes emotions of pity, sympathy and sorrow. It is a strategy to persuade people with an argument drawn out through an emotional response.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan while addressing the Kashmir issue to the international world through social media created such rhetorical effect in his tweet which induced the emotions of fear against serious rebellion in the Muslim world.

- ❖ “...if it allows this to happen, it will have severe repercussions and reactions in the Muslim world setting off radicalization and cycles of violence.” [tweet (7), lines 2-4]

➤ **Identity:**

This component of language building task refers to the role of speaker in the discourse. According to the analysis of the selected samples of tweets, the Pakistani Prime Minister attempted to play the role of speaker on the behalf of people of Kashmir. The research could not find any clear evidence of his role of as a speaker but it was quite obvious from the tweets that the Prime Minister of Pakistan was presenting the issue of Kashmir to the international world. He repeatedly represented the people of Kashmir and their problems in his tweets.

➤ **Relationship:**

As discussed earlier, Prime Minister Imran Khan attempted to represent himself on the behalf of Kashmiris. While highlighting the issue, he tried to establish relationship with the people of Kashmir. In the selected political discourse, the Prime Minister presented himself as the ambassador of Kashmiri Muslims. He tried to show relationship with Kashmir in the following words:

- ❖ “As ambassador for the people of Kashmir I am going to expose the oppression & gross human rights violations of the fascist Modi regime against the brave Kashmiri people. The western world does not understand the RSS agenda inspired by Nazi Germany.” [tweet (15)]

➤ **Politics:**

This component of Paul Gee model focuses on the provision of social good. It is used by a speaker to convey his perspective about what is right and wrong.

The Prime Minister of Pakistan appealed the international community to help resolving the Kashmir issue in his tweets. For this purpose he made use of logical reasoning to persuade people.

• **Logo:**

It is a rhetorical device which makes an argument or statement persuasive by using logic or reasoning. It makes use of reliable and convincing logics and evidence.

- ❖ “I welcome the UNSC meeting to discuss the serious situation in Occupied Jammu and Kashmir. It is for the first time in 50yrs that the world’s highest diplomatic forum has

taken up this issue. There are 11 UNNSC resolutions reiterating the Kashmiris right to self-determination.” [tweet (10)]

The Prime Minister reminded the world that the United Nations Security Council had passed resolutions in favor of the Kashmiris but regardless of that India occupied the areas of Jammu and Kashmir.

➤ **Connections:**

A speaker makes use of connections to make relevance between two things. Prime Minister Imran Khan while highlighting the Kashmir issue during 2019 made connections between the government of Prime Minister Modi and the fascist extremism of Hitler. He made use of history to make connections between the two.

• **Synecdoche:**

It is a piece of language in which a part of thing represents the whole; the whole represents a part; a thing represented by the name of material it is made of; a thing represented by its container/packaging.

The synecdoches identified in the tweets of the Prime Minister were as follows:

- ❖ “...another appeasement of fascism...” [tweet (2), line 2-3]
- ❖ “...in the grab of BJP govt...” [tweet (2), line 3]
- ❖ “...RSS ideology inspired by Nazi ideology...” [tweet (5), line 2]

• **Logo:**

Prime Minister Imran Khan used logical reasoning and evidence to state that India is trying to divert attention from serious on-going situation in Kashmir. He said this by using evidence of claims of the Indian media. For example:

- ❖ “We are hearing Indian media claims that some terrorists from Afghanistan have entered IOJK for terrorist activities, while other have entered India’s southern regions. These claims are predictable to divert attention from India’s ethnic cleansing & genocide agenda in IOK.” [tweet (13)]

➤ **Sign System and Knowledge:**

This component of the model refers to the use and identification of charts, images and non-verbal language in the discourse. In the selected political discourse generated by the Prime Minister of Pakistan less or no sign system was used. There was only one tweet in which the Prime Minister discussed the Kashmir issue by making use of illustration. [tweet (6)]

4.3 Analysis of Tweets of Prime Minister Narendra Modi

The tweets of the Indian Prime Minister were analyzed. The rhetorical devices were identified through Paul Gee Model of Language Building Tasks. Many of the tweets were translated from Hindi to English language through Google Translation.

➤ **Significance:**

Prime Minister Narendra Modi primarily focused on the future implications of abrogation of the Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. He made use of repetitions in several tweets to highlight the successful abrogation of the Article 370. Following rhetorical devices were identified in the tweets that emphasized and highlighted the Kashmir issue.

● **Amplification:**

Amplification was used in various tweets to highlight the abrogation of article 370 as a success of the Indian government. Prime Minister Narendra Modi used amplification to describe and highlight the significance of the Article 370 Abrogation. For instance:

- ❖ "... A momentous occasion in our parliamentary democracy, where landmark bills pertaining to Jammu and Kashmir have been passed with overwhelming support!" [tweet (17), line 3-5]
- ❖ "The Bills.....integration and empowerment...innumerable opportunities...local infrastructure will significantly improve." [tweet (15), lines 1, 3, 4]
- ❖ "The people of Jammu and Kashmir ...forgotten ideological differences... discussed their future... At the same time... peace, progress and prosperity there...support for this decision." [tweet (19), lines 1, 2-3, 4, 5]
- ❖ "Now onwards, the people... developmental opportunities... This includes access to ..." [tweet (22), lines 1, 2, 3]
- ❖ "Our priority is the socio-economic development... centers of growth...ample opportunities..." [tweet (23), line 1, 2, 3-4]

He highlighted the idea but adding further information to the tweets. He added the information about social and economic growth of Jammu and Kashmir. He amplified the idea of development in the tweets.

➤ **Practice:**

Indian Prime Minister NM highlighted the abrogation of article 370 as an achievement for the Indian government and as the freedom for Kashmiri people. He engaged history in his tweets to discuss the miserable and oppressed life of the people of Kashmir. He claimed that the people of Kashmir have led a life of hardships and oppression in the past due to existence of pressure groups and mainly due to the Article 370 in the Constitution. For instance:

- ❖ “For years, vested interest groups who believed in emotional blackmail never cared for people’s empowerment...” [tweet (16), line 1-2]
- ❖ “... they were denied for decades!...” [tweet (22), line 2]
- ❖ “Articles 370 and 35-A gave Jammu and Kashmir nothing but separatism, terrorism, familism and rampant corruption in the systems...” [tweet (28), line 1-3]

➤ **Identity:**

According to the building tasks of language given by Paul Gee, identity is the component which determines the role of speaker in the discourse. According to the analysis of the selected tweets, Prime Minister Narendra Modi attempted to represent himself as the representative of both India and Kashmir. Only few examples were found that could support the distinct role of the speaker. Pronoun “I” was used anaphorically to assume the role of Indian Prime Minister as the leader, provider, and guardian of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. For instance:

- ❖ “I will give Jammu and Kashmir, I will worship you, I will give you courage, I will salute you...” [tweet (20), line 1-2]

Moreover, other pronouns such as “my” and “our” were also identified that referred to the role of Prime Minister Modi as the representative of the region. For instance:

- ❖ “Our priority...” [tweet (23), line 1]
- ❖ “While addressing my fellow Indians...” [tweet (21), line 1]
- ❖ “... We will move with...” [tweet (29), line 3]

He is the Prime Minister, the leader and the representative of India. But after the abrogation of the article 370, India claimed its authority over the regions of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. Therefore, the Prime Minister of India assumed himself as the leader and representative of Jammu and Kashmir in his tweets.

➤ **Relationship:**

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi greatly focused on establishing relationship with the people of Jammu and Kashmir. He tried to develop warm relations between India and Kashmir in the following words:

- ❖ “Every possible step will be undertaken that furthers ‘Ease of Lining’. It has been our constant endeavor to strengthen Panchayats in Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh. We will move with even greater speed to realize this commitment and empower local citizens.” [tweet (29)]

Following rhetorical devices were identified in the tweets of Prime Minister Modi that were used to establish relationship between India and Kashmir:

- **Anaphora:**

Anaphora is a rhetorical device which refers to repetition of words or expression at the beginning of successive phrases, clause or sentence. According to the analysis of the selected tweets of the Indian Prime Minister, anaphora was used to assume relationship between the Indian government and the people of Kashmir. For example:

- ❖ “Together we are, together we shall rise and together we will fulfill the dreams...” [tweet (17), line 1]

Prime Minister represented that India and Kashmir will work together for their growth and development. Furthermore, the following instances supported the relationship component of language building tasks:

- ❖ “...my sisters and brothers of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh...” [tweet (16), line 1]
- ❖ “...the entire country is with the people of these regions...” [tweet (21), line 2-3]

Prime Minister Narendra Modi tried to make warm and friendly relations with the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

- **Politics:**

This building task of language refers to the thoughts and opinion of speaker on social goods. Prime Minister Narendra Modi conveyed his thoughts about the abrogation of article 370 as a social good. Tautology was identified in his tweets.

- **Tautology:** is a kind of repetition which refers to the use of words and similar phrases to effectively repeat the same idea with different wording. Indian Prime Minister used tautology in various tweets. For example:
 - ❖ “...J&K is now free from their shackles. A new dawn, better tomorrow awaits!” [tweet(16), line 3-4]
 - ❖ “...whole country united for unity and integrity...” [tweet (18), line 2]
 - ❖ “... it ensured peace, progress and prosperity there...” [tweet (19), line 4]
 - ❖ “... I spoke at length about the new era of development... embark on the path to progress...” [tweet (21), line 1-2, 3]

Moreover, the Indian Prime Minister used Logos to persuade people about abrogation of the Article 370.

- **Logo:**

It is a persuasive strategy to describe a statement with the use of logic and reason. Prime Minister Modi used logical evidences to announce the abrogation of Article 370. The ratio of votes in Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha regarding the abrogation was identified as the logo.

For instance:

- ❖ “...The vast majority of 125:61 in RS and 370:70 in LS show overwhelming support for this decision.” [tweet (19), line 4-5]

Moreover, the Indian Prime Minister claimed that it was task that could not be done in the past 70 years but the government of his political party, Bharatiya Janata Party did it within the 70 days after being elected. For instance:

- ❖ “... the work which could not be done in the last 70 years was completed within 70 days of the formation of the new government.” [tweet (26), line 4-6]

He conveys his thoughts about abrogation of the article and development of Kashmir region. He expressed his views that with the abrogation of Article 370, Kashmir is now free from oppression and hardships. It resulted from the unity and harmony of the nation. The nation united against the Article and freed Jammu and Kashmir. This freedom of Kashmir would lead it to the path of development and economic growth.

- **Connection:**

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi made connections between the past practices, present political actions and the future implications of those political actions. In his tweets, he stated that due to presence of Article 370 in the Constitution of India, the people of Jammu and Kashmir could not make socio-economic development and progress. Due to which they had been living oppressed and under-developed life. The Prime Minister connected abrogation of the Article 370 with the social and economic growth of Jammu and Kashmir.

For instance:

- ❖ “...This decision will give impetus to the overall prosperity of the region and ensure better development facilities.” [tweet (27), line 3-4]

He claimed that after this political action, new doors of economic development will be opened to both India and Kashmir. So, he attempted to relate abrogation of the article with the growth of economy of the region.

- **Sign System and Knowledge:**

Prime Minister Narendra Modi used his knowledge about the political system of Jammu and Kashmir and attempted to persuade the people of Kashmir that they will have the similar

political system as they used to have before abrogation of the Article 370. He used his prior knowledge to highlight the implications of the article abrogation. The research identified ‘symploce’ in one of the sample tweets.

- **Symploce:**

It is a kind of repetition. It is the combination of both anaphora and epiphora.

The research analyzed that symploce was used to privilege the abrogation of Article 370 and its implications for the people of Kashmir in the tweet of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi. For example:

- ❖ “... Just like there used to be MLA earlier, so will it. Like there used to be a cabinet earlier, so will it be. Just like you had had your CM earlier, so will your CM.” [tweet (25), lines 3-5]

Furthermore, he while highlighting the achievement of abrogating the article 370, Prime Minister Modi appreciated and congratulated the members of all the political parties who voted for the abrogation of the article. For instance:

“...various parties...in Parliament by rising above party politics and forgetting ideological differences...dignity of our parliamentary democracy...I congratulate all MPs, political parties and their leaders.” [tweet (28), lines 1, 2-3, 4, 5-6]

4.4 Discussion

The existing research was conducted to identify and analyze various persuasive devices used by the political leaders in their tweets. The political leaders who were selected for this research were the Prime Ministers of both Pakistan and India. For this research, only specific tweets were selected that focused on the Kashmir conflict and were posted during August, 2019. The political discourse in the form of tweets was produced after the abrogation of Article 370 of the Indian Constitution. BJP government in India abrogated the Article 370 and declared the annexation of Kashmir with India. This raised the already existing tensions between the two neighboring countries. Pakistani Prime Minister reacted towards this Indian act and took to Twitter to address the issue to international organizations. For this research, fifteen tweets of both the Prime Ministers were analyzed. The research was qualitative in nature as it critically examined the political discourse on social media. The rhetorical strategies were identified through the model of Paul Gee “Seven Building Tasks of Language”.

Pakistan and India are two neighboring countries but the state of Kashmir has always been a bone of contention between the two. Both the countries claim their control over Kashmir since independence 1947. Pakistan and India have fought three wars so far over the conflict of

Kashmir. The conflict took another dimension when the government of India abrogated the Article 370 of their Constitution. According to the Article 370 of the Indian Constitution, Kashmir was given independent administrative control in its region. However, in August, 2019, Prime Minister Narendra Modi with the help of majority votes abrogated the Article 370, due to which Kashmir lost its independent administrative control and came under the control of Indian Administration. Prime Minister Modi announced the abrogation of Article 370 on Twitter and in his further tweets he made promises of social and economic development. On the other hand, the Prime Minister of Pakistan did not appreciate this political action of Indian government. Prime Minister Imran Khan highly criticized the Indian Prime Minister and also raised voice for the rights of the people of Kashmir through the twitter.

The research analyzed the tweets of both the Prime Ministers and explored various rhetorical devices in their tweets that were used for different purposes. Both the Prime Ministers used the social media platform to communicate about the same issue but both had different perspectives. The use of social media platforms has become popular among the politicians. Social media networking sites have made the political communication easier and faster. Many people around the world use different social media platforms to express their views, ideas and opinions, including the politicians. Not only in South Asia but many politicians around the world use social media networking sites for political communication. For instance, American President Donald Trump used the social media platform, Twitter to propagate his right-wing populist discourse (Kries, 2017). The research found out that the political communication by President Trump was direct, informal and intriguing.

Moreover, similar researches have been made in Pakistan as well. The social media was used by the political parties in the General Elections of Pakistan in 2013 (Ahmed and Skoric, 2014). The political parties of Pakistan used social media networking sites for their political and electoral campaigns. The study claimed that Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf, the political party chaired by the Prime Minister Imran Khan, was quite significant in using social media platform (Twitter) for electoral campaigns. The study highlighted that Twitter facilitated powerful and effective communication between the public and the political party. The study found that Twitter plays a vital role in promoting social and political mobilization in developing countries like Pakistan. Similar study was conducted in South Korea which examined the communication patterns of prominent users on Twitter. The study analyzed the political discourse on Twitter through visualization and indicators that are used in social media networking sites (Park 2013).

The current study was conducted on the basis on these previous researches but with a different approach. It critically analyzed the tweets of the Prime Ministers of both Pakistan and India. The study examined the social media political discourse and identified various rhetorical devices in the tweets. The tweets were analyzed through ‘Paul Gee Model of Seven Building tasks of Language’.

According to the research, it was observed that Prime Minister Imran Khan mainly focused on the ‘significance’ of the Kashmir issue. He emphasized and highlighted the problems of the people of Kashmir in his tweets. For this purpose, different persuasive devices were used such as, imagery, allusion, amplification and repetition. Furthermore, Prime Minister Imran Khan highlighted the problems of the people of Kashmir and associated the current situation with the practices of Nazi-Adolf Hitler. He represented Prime Minister Modi as the Nazi and fascist like Hitler by using the simile. Simile is a persuasive device which is used to make comparisons between two similar things/persons. Prime Minister Imran Khan called Indian Prime Minister Modi as Nazi Aryan, fascist and racist and declared that his Hindu supremacy is similar to that of RSS ideology. In this way, he described the Kashmir issue by linking it with the examples of similar events in the history. He made connections between the government of Prime Minister Modi and Adolf Hitler. The research identified synecdoche that was used to represent the extremism of Indian Prime Minister. Moreover, Prime Minister Imran Khan played a vital role as the speaker for the people of Kashmir. He used Twitter platform to represent the Kashmir issue and its problems to the international world. He represented the issue as the issue of his own state and his own people. It was evident from a tweet that he tried to establish warm relationship with the people of Kashmir and called himself as their ambassador.

In addition to other rhetorical devices, Pathos and Logos were also identified in the tweets of Prime Minister Imran Khan. Pathos was employed to evoke fearful emotions and to persuade the international communities to take a firm stand against the violence of human rights in Kashmir. Logos were used in the tweets to represent the Kashmir issue in a more logical manner and to convince the international world to resolve the prolonged issue of Kashmir. Prime Minister Imran Khan appealed to the United Nations Security Council to resolve the Kashmir dispute. He stated in his tweet that United Nations Security Council has passed eleven resolutions regarding the rights of Kashmiri people but in spite of these resolutions India continued its violation in the state of Kashmir and occupied it. The Pakistani Prime Minister also used logos to criticize the Indian media that it attempted to distract the people from Kashmir issue. However, sign system was not very evident in the tweets of Prime Minister of Pakistan. Illustration was used in only one tweet to represent the grief and pain of the Kashmiris who had lost their loved ones or those had been the victim of military violence in the state.

On the other hand, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi had a different perspective of the Kashmir issue which he represented to the world through social media platform. It was observed that 7 out of 15 tweets of Prime Minister Narendra Modi were in Hindi language. The researcher translated the Hindi tweets into English language for the analysis. Prime Minister Modi mainly focused on the Abrogation of the article 370 of the Indian Constitution. He represented the act of abrogation and annexation of Kashmir with India as their political success. The study analyzed that Prime Minister Modi primarily focused on the success and future implications of abrogation of the Article 370. He highlighted the Article abrogation as a victory in the political history of India. Amplification was identified in the tweets to express

the joy of article abrogation and to emphasize on social and economic growth in the Kashmir region in the coming future. Prime Minister Modi signified the Article 370 abrogation as a social good. The research identified Tautology, a rhetorical device which is a kind of repetition referring to the use of words and similar phrases to effectively repeat the same idea with different wording.

Prime Minister Modi also pointed to the life-long experiences of Kashmiri people. He claimed in his tweets that the people of Kashmir have lived a miserable and oppressed life for decades due to Article 370 in the Indian Constitution. He linked the oppression of Kashmiris with the existence of article 370 in Indian constitution. Indian Prime Minister claimed that due to Article 370, no evidence of socio-economic development was found in the history of Kashmir region. Prime Minister Modi attempted to connect the socio-economic growth of Jammu and Kashmir with the abrogation of article 370. In order to persuade people about the annexation of Kashmir with India, Prime Minister Modi used Logos in his tweets. He used various logical evidences to persuade both the people of Kashmir and the international world that the abrogation of article 370 and annexation of Kashmir with India is socially significant and economically developmental social good.

Furthermore, Prime Minister Modi represented himself as the representative of both India and Kashmir. His tweets mainly focused on ensuring relationship with the people of Jammu and Kashmir. Pronouns 'I', 'my', 'we' and 'our' were used by the Indian Prime Minister to assume himself as the leader, provider, and guardian of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. In addition to, a rhetorical device anaphora was also identified in the tweets of Indian Prime Minister, which was employed to highlight the warm and friendly relations between Indian government and the people of Kashmir.

Moreover, the study analyzed that the Indian Prime Minister Modi used his prior knowledge about the political system of Jammu and Kashmir and attempted to highlight and persuade the people of Kashmir that they will have the similar political system as they used to have before abrogation of the Article 370. In addition to the other rhetorical devices, symproce was also identified in the tweets of Indian Prime Minister. Symproce is a kind of repetition and is the combination of both anaphora and epiphora. It was employed to highlight the significance of abrogation of Article 370 and its useful implications for the people of Kashmir.

The research analyzed and compared the tweets of both the Prime Ministers. Various kinds of rhetorical devices were identified in the social media political discourse. The tweets of both the Prime Ministers about Kashmir were quite persuading in their own ways. Both used various rhetorical strategies to convince their target audience. However, it was found that Prime Minister Narendra Modi was not very vocal about the Kashmir issue. Except for few tweets, he tweeted in Hindi language instead of tweeting in the foreign language. His attempt to tweet in Hindi language portrayed that he did not want to discuss the issue and only highlighted the significance of abrogation of the Article 370. In contrary, Prime Minister Imran Khan tweeted

in English language which portrayed that he represented the issue to the international world through foreign language. Prime Minister Imran Khan took to twitter to highlight the difficulties and problems of the Kashmiri people. He used social media platform to bring up the Kashmir issue once again at international level. That is why, fourteen of his tweets were found in English language, which is considered as a common foreign language around the globe.

The study based on Paul Gee model of Seven Language Building tasks demonstrated that both the Prime Ministers employed various kinds of rhetorical devices in their tweets but some devices were significantly used, such as, amplification, repetition, allusion, pathos and logos. Prime Minister Imran Khan repeatedly discussed the difficulties of Kashmiri people and extremism of Indian Prime Minister. Prime Minister Imran Khan highlighted the issue by referring it to the fascism of Adolf Hitler in the past. According to Maya David (2014) repetition is widely used to persuade the target audience. Politicians repeat important themes, main idea and significant issues to emphasize on them. Maya (2014) also stated that allusion is also another rhetorical, which refers to, or even quotes, a powerful phrase that the audience may already know.

Moreover, Pakistani Prime Minister employed pathos to create emotional manipulation regarding the hardships of Kashmiri people. According to the analysis, politicians employed this rhetorical device to make the context in their support. Pathos are time tested and form a specific foundation is the political rhetoric (Freeze, 1982). Furthermore, both the Prime Minister used logical reasoning to support their arguments. According to Aristotle, a person using rhetorical strategies should be capable of logical reasoning to study characters and the virtues.

The study claimed that the political discourse of both the nations were quite convincing but in a different manner. Pakistani Prime Minister used rhetorical devices to emphasize on the problems and hardships that were being faced by the people of Kashmir. He used rhetorical devices to highlight the extremism and fascism of Indian Prime Minister. Prime Minister Imran Khan used social media platform to seek help from international organizations to free the state of Kashmir from Indian annexation and resolve the issue. On the other hand, Prime Minister Narendra Modi used rhetorical devices to glorify Indian nationalism. He also pointed to the hardships of Kashmiri people but primarily emphasized on social-economic growth of India and Kashmir collectively. Prime Minister Modi employed rhetorical device in his social media political discourse to build warm and friendly relationship with the people of Kashmir. Paul Gee analysis of the tweets showed that both the Prime Ministers tried to establish cordial relationship with the people of Kashmir which indicates that both the nations claim their control in the region.

Furthermore, the research asserted that Prime Minister Imran Khan used Twitter platform to persuade the international world to resolve the Kashmir issue and take a firm stand against

human rights violation in the region by the Indian military forces, whereas, Prime Minister Narendra Modi focused on socio-economic development of the Kashmir region. Prime Minister Modi merely tweeted to highlight the success of Indian democracy in the form of abrogation of article 370 and to promise social and economic growth of both India and Kashmir.

The study summarized that both the Prime Ministers used various rhetorical devices to discuss the Kashmir issue on social media. However, the linguistic patterns of both the Prime Ministers were different in the selected social media political discourse. Prime Minister Imran Khan emphasized on the problems of people of Kashmir and raised his voice against the Indian violence in the region and tweeted for the freedom of Kashmir. In contrary, Prime Minister Narendra Modi highlighted the importance of abrogation of Article 370 to glorify the annexation of Kashmir with India and focused on establishing relations with the people of Kashmir.

Conclusion:

The qualitative research was aimed to analyze the social media political discourse and identify rhetorical devices. For this research, only particular tweets of Prime Minister Imran Khan and Prime Minister Narendra Modi were selected. The study took into account only those that were related to the Indian Occupied Kashmir issue 2019. Kashmir issue has always been a bone of contention between India and Pakistan. The issue took another dimension when the Article 370 of Indian Constitution was abrogated and India announced its annexation with Kashmir. This was followed by military intervention in Kashmir region and violence of human rights. As a reaction to this, Prime Minister of Pakistan addressed the issue to the international world. Prime Minister Imran Khan used Twitter to highlight the Indian fascism and extremism and the difficulties of Kashmiri people. The research adopted qualitative methodology to analyze the political discourse. The research was based on the Paul Gee Model of Seven Language Building Tasks. The rhetorical devices were identified by applying the model. Rhetorical devices are the strategies that are used to persuade the target audience. They are used to convince people. Political actors use rhetorical devices in their speech in order to persuade the masses and achieve political goals. Language is a powerful tool for politicians through which they influence political, economic, social and cultural practices for the purpose of attaining power and authority. The use of social media networking sites has become a powerful source of communication these days. Political actors use social media platforms for direct and rapid communication with each other. The study analyzed the political discourse in the form of tweets and identified different rhetorical devices. Both the Prime Ministers employed rhetorical devices to persuade the target audience. Prime Minister Imran Khan used social media to raise his voice for the people of Kashmir and Indian Prime Minister used social media platform to highlight the importance of abrogation of Article 370. Prime Minister Imran Khan's target audience was the international organizations and the public of Kashmir, whereas, Prime Minister Modi only addressed to the people of Kashmir. Many rhetorical devices were



identified on the basis of Paul Gee model of Language Building Tasks. Some of the rhetorical devices were significantly used for instance, repetition, amplification, allusion, pathos and logos. Prime Minister Imran Khan employed rhetorical devices to signify the Kashmir issue at international level and to pass resolutions to secure the lives and rights of Kashmiri people. He raised voice against Indian violence in Kashmir region. He strictly opposed the abrogation of article 370 by the Indian government. He used rhetorical devices to persuade the international world to fight for the freedom of Kashmiri Muslims. Very limited number of rhetorical devices was found in the tweets of Indian pm. He largely emphasized on highlighting the abrogation of Article 370 as a huge success in the political history of India. Moreover, he used rhetorical devices to persuade the people of Kashmir that India and Kashmir are one nation now and both will prosper socially and economically together. The research is very significant as it provides basis for future researches in Applied Linguistics. It can be helpful as it provides further opportunities of research in the domain of Critical Discourse Analysis because very less number of researches has been made in this domain of Linguistics in Pakistan. The discourse can be analyzed by applying various approaches, models and frameworks of discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis. The study thoroughly examined the linguistic patterns of both the political leaders and identified rhetorical devices employed by them in their tweets. Moreover, the study also highlighted the role and importance of social media for political leaders to persuade the public and to attain their political goals. It is suggested that future researches can be made to analyze the political discourse by applying different political, social, cultural and ethnic approaches. Other social media networking sites such as, Facebook, Instagram and Youtube can also be used to make researches in future. It is also suggested that political discourse present in other forms such as, oral speeches, interviews, newspaper articles, parliamentary documents etc. can also be analyzed to make contributions to the field of critical discourse analysis. It is also proposed that future researches can be conducted on the same issue by taking into account other the political leaders of both countries, their opposition parties and the politicians of Kashmir. Furthermore, other issues and problems can also be researched by applying the same model as well. Thus, the current study provides basis for coming researches and leaves a room for similar or advanced research in the field of Applied Linguistics.

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