

POLITENESS STRATEGIES IN PAKISTANI POLITICS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE BUDGETARY SPEECH OF MNA NOOR ALAM KHAN (2023)

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ABSTRACT

Politeness in politics is a strategic communicative tool that plays a central role in shaping public opinion, building the relation of power, and negotiating social identities. This study examines the politeness strategies in Pakistani political discourse by analyzing the budgetary speech of MNA Noor Alam Khan delivered on 15 February 2023 during the mini-budget session. The research design is descriptive-qualitative because the data is in the form of spoken political discourse. The speech is taken from online video available on YouTube platform, it is transcribed and analyzed qualitatively on the basis of the Politeness Theory by Brown and Levinson (1987). Twelve utterances were selected and analyzed in order to determine the application of bald-on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record strategies. The findings show that the most commonly used strategies were the positive politeness and the bald on record which can be explained by the dual intention of the speaker to show his solidarity with the people and at the same time provide direct and sharp criticism of the government policies. Negative politeness and off-record strategies were not so common and were mostly applied in situations where there were sensitive accusations and indirect criticism. Overall, the result indicates that politeness strategies in Pakistani parliamentary speech are meaningful pragmatic means of dealing with face-threatening behavior, the process of political identity formation, persuasive and rhetorical goals.

Keywords: Politeness strategies, political discourse, Brown and Levinson's theory, positive politeness, negative politeness.

1. INTRODUCTION

Language is a crucial component of human life through which people can exchange their ideas and express their emotions, passions and feelings with one another. Politeness is an essential strategy in a conversation because it helps in the development of social relationships as well as ensures that communication is acceptable and understandable. According to Wardhaugh (2006), politeness is the most important aspect of language when it comes to taking other people's feelings into consideration while interacting with them. Other linguists have developed distinct definitions of politeness.

Leech (1983), considers politeness as a fundamental part of pragmatic competence for avoiding conflicts by adhering to the use of conversational maxims. However, according to Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness involves managing one another's expressions. According to Kasper (1900), the term "politeness" is defined as "the strategies available to interactions to defuse danger and to minimize the antagonism" (p. 194). Similarly, Renkema (1993) states that politeness is a strategy that supports a successful interaction.

Brown and Levinson (1978) were the researchers who first proposed the idea of politeness. They have emphasized the importance of considering face, which means getting to know each other's desires and respecting each other and ensuring that there is no social conflict. This concept has become an initial principle in the study of politeness and communication. Positive and negative faces are the two different kinds of faces. A positive face is one that requires approval and appreciation from other members of the same group. A negative face, on the other hand, is one that desires freedom from interference and imposition. According to Brown and Levinson (1996), some words or actions in speech or communication have the potential to be harmful when they disagree with the requirements of the addresser or the addressee. Additionally, if these actions or words go against the addressee's face desires, face might be in risk. The speaker may use both positive and negative strategies of politeness to achieve the listener's desires in order to lessen the impact of such actions. Based on the levels of power (P), distance (D), and rating to imposition (R), such strategies minimize the FTA. Communication will be serious if the addresser uses FTA without making an effort to keep the addressee's face. The purpose of a politeness strategy is to avoid the hearer from feeling disrespected. Interlocutors use politeness strategies to lessen the impact of face threats. In parliament, the politicians are required not only to present arguments and condemn policies but also maintain interpersonal relationships using language. Politeness is one of the significant pragmatic tools that can be applied in such situations to enable the speakers to strike the right balance between criticism, persuasion and face management. The analysis of politeness in political speeches thus provides useful information on how politicians can act as an authority, solidarity, and opposition to various audiences. In Pakistan's political scenario, Noor Alam Khan's speech came in the wake of the mini-budget presented by Finance Minister (FM) Ishaq Dar. He has served as a member of the Pakistani National Assembly from August 2018 till August 2023. He was a member of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) from 2018 to 2022. He was also a Chairman of Public

Accounts Committee. Now in the present time, he is a member of the Istehkam-e-Pakistan. Pakistani political settings are well known in the form of strong criticism and straightforward confrontation in parliamentary speeches. Nonetheless, in even this apparently aggressive speech, participants are tactical in their use of various politeness strategies to deal with face threatening acts (FTAs). The Politeness Theory by Brown and Levinson (1987) has been used in this study to examine how speakers select between bald-on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record strategies based on their communication objectives and personal social relations. Although, a number of studies have been completed to analyze the implication of politeness in the political discourses of the West, comparatively little attention has been given to the Pakistani parliamentary speeches from a pragmatic perspective.

1.1 Research Objectives

- To identify the politeness strategies used by MNA Noor Alam Khan in his budgetary speech.
- To examine the role of politeness strategies in shaping the interactional and rhetorical goals of Noor Alam Khan during the budgetary speech 2023.

1.2 Research Questions

1. Which politeness strategies are most frequently employed by MNA Noor Alam Khan in his budgetary speech?
2. What role do politeness strategies play in shaping the interactional and rhetorical goals of Noor Alam Khan's budgetary speech in 2023?

2. Literature Review

The analysis of politeness strategies in political speeches provides useful information on how politicians can act as an authority, solidarity, and opposition to various audiences. In this regard, Handoko (2014) has conducted a pragmatic analysis of a political speech made by Australia's prime minister. Tony Abbott (2013) speech was very important since it addressed Indonesia's bilateral relationship and the issue of the two nations' tapping. The speech has been evaluated in terms of possible uses for FTA and politeness

strategies. A qualitative approach was employed. The findings of the study suggested that the positive face of both the speaker and the hearer were potentially threatened during the interaction. In some instances, the negative face of the hearer was endangered. The analysis showed that Tony Abbott employed four politeness strategies proposed by Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson, namely bald-on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record strategies. However, the speaker frequently used positive politeness strategies because he intended to gain the audience's approval and encourage them to accept his point of view. In addition, positive politeness strategies were sometimes used even when the speaker performed acts that could potentially threaten the hearer's negative face.

In addition, Kasuma (2014) has examined the politeness strategies in Obama's speech which was delivered in 2004 at the Democratic National Convention. The speech was considered significant in terms of politeness strategies because it was delivered by a presidential candidate to both the public and officials of Democratic Party. In such political speeches, the use of politeness strategies plays an important role in managing interaction with the audience and addressing the sensitive issues as well. The data was analysed inductively using a descriptive qualitative approach. The findings of study revealed that the speaker employed all four types of politeness strategies. The bald-on-record strategy was used when the speaker intended to perform face-threatening acts (FTAs) with maximum efficiency rather than prioritizing the hearer's face needs. The speaker also used positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record strategies but for serving different purposes.

According to Alavidze (2018), politicians are concerned with their public image so these speeches require pragmatic analysis in the term of politeness. He has examined Donald Trump's presidential addresses to identify his language and social cues. The study used Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework for analysing addresses as regards politeness. According to the study, Donald Trump, the president of the United States, used both positive and negative politeness techniques. These strategies were used by him to show that he was on familiar terms

with his people and to claim that he was a member of a common social group.

Additionally, Khalil et al. (2017) examined Imran Khan's speech (Ex- President) at Shaukat Khanum Hospital two days prior to general election (2013). The speech was examined by using a critical discourse analysis technique to look for hidden ideologies. The study used a qualitative approach in terms of methodology. The model proposed by Norman Fairclough (1995) served as the theoretical basis. The data analysis revealed that political leaders intentionally and quietly promote specific ideologies in their discourses. In order to further his agenda, Imran Khan, the chairman of Tahreek e Insaaf at the time, used linguistic strategies in his speech. To make these speeches for ordinary people, more research must be done on them.

Moreover, Yasmeen et al. (2014) examined the politeness strategies employed by Pakistani politicians in their speeches during a session of the privileged motives. The study was based on the hypothesis that Pakistani politicians remain impolite during session despite the rules of business of the assembly bound them to be polite during sessions. The data were collected in the form of documented debates of Punjab Assembly from 2008 to 2013 by applying the politeness theory. The qualitative method was used in order to determine various politeness strategies of the politicians. It was found that Pakistani politicians employed numerous strategies like bald-on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness and off-record strategies. Among them, the bald-on-record strategy was the most commonly used, which implies the direct and authoritative communication style that portrays the political power and confidence as well. The findings also indicated that politicians did not use imperatives. They used informal or mixed-language when conveying their views and feelings paying little attention towards the rules of parliament.

Furthermore, Khan and Anwar (2016) have analyzed the transcribed words of interview in a pragmatic way given by Donald Trump to The New York Times. The objective of the research was conducted to determine what kind of positive and negative politeness the speaker has employed in the interview. It also attempted to identify the factors that trigger interlocutors

during the choice of either of the two types. of strategies i.e. positive and negative politeness strategies. The study was based on qualitative analysis of the data which, taken in the form of transcription from internet sources. Based on the study findings, it can be argued that more negative politeness strategies were used by opinion columnists, reporters and editors than the guest due to social distance and the newly elected President. However, social distance, relative power and rate of imposition support the choices of interlocutors.

Although, a number of studies have discussed the concept of politeness strategies in politics but little attention has been given specifically to the budgetary speech of MNA Noor Alam Khan, which was delivered on 15 February 2023 at the mini-budget session of the Pakistani National Assembly. Therefore, this study aims to fill the gap by analyzing the use of politeness strategies and how they are used by Noor Alam Khan in criticizing the government policies, challenging authority and demonstrating the solidarity with the masses. The speech is particularly significant since it was given in a sensitive political context, characterized with economic instability, inflation and discontent in the population.

3. Methodology

The research design applied in this study is descriptive-qualitative in nature. According to Kothari (2004), descriptive research describes the characteristics of the subject in which it does Without redressive action, badly

not interfere with the subject. Based on this, the current study can be described as descriptive in nature. Simultaneously, the present research is also qualitative as the researchers aim at comprehending processes of meaning-making which cannot be quantified. Qualitative research is concerned with making sense in the social and cultural realities (Jankowski & Jensen, 2002). It entails interpretation of non-quantitative information like texts so as to have a deeper understanding of multifaceted problems. Thus, the descriptive-qualitative methodology has been used to gain an in-depth insight into politeness strategies and the variables that may cause them to be applied in communication. It is an appropriate method to examine contextual and interactional aspects.

3.1 Procedure of Data Collection

- i. *Firstly*, researcher watched the video of the session carefully and observed the strategies of politeness in the politician's statements during the session.
- ii. *Secondly*, this session was re-watched for checking the accuracy of the transcription and noted marks of the politeness in the session.
- iii. *Thirdly*, the data collected from the politician of the session has been analysed carefully.
- iv. *Fourthly*, it was classified according to different types of politeness strategies with their functions. These strategies are listed below:

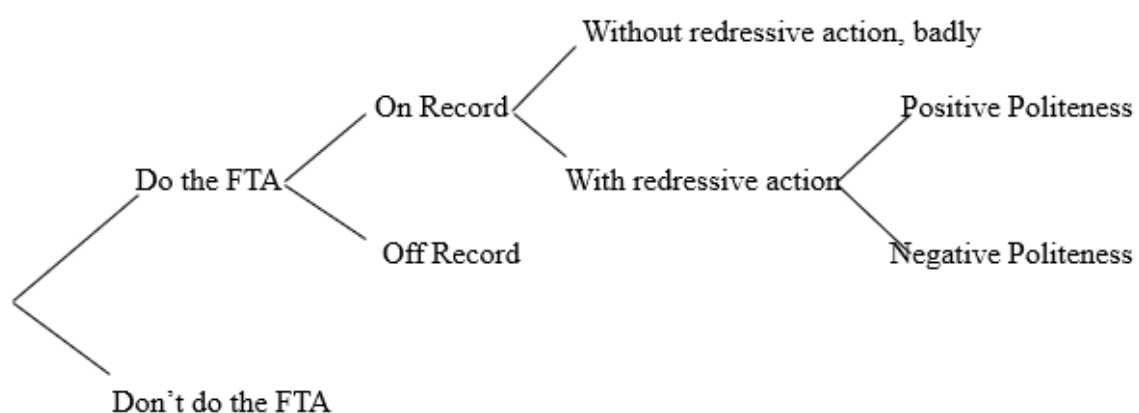


Figure 1: Politeness strategies a model given by Brown and Levinson (1987)

4. Data Analysis

The obtained data for this study from National Assembly Session which was taken from YouTube video. The data classified and analyzed by using Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory. The following four categories of politeness strategies can be employed when speaking or making an utterance. The study has identified and examined the different types of the politeness strategies used by Noor Alam Khan in his speech on the mini budget.

4.1 Bald-on-record

Bald on-record is a direct strategy in which a speaker communicates ideas in a simple, concise, and direct manner without minimizing the imposition on the listener. The "Bald on-record" strategy involves delivering a message directly without attempting to lessen any possible threat to the listener's face. The following are some examples of Bald-on-record employed by Noor Alam Khan in his speech.

Sentence no 1. I would like to enquire the Finance Minister on which law you were negotiating with the dollar mafia.

The speaker employs the bald-on-record strategy in this statement. The speaker says that I want to ask the finance minister under which law you negotiated with the dollar mafia in a clear and direct way. This statement fits the following rules for this strategy.

Directness

The speaker asks the question to finance minister regarding the discussions with the dollar mafia. There's no attempt to use ambiguous language or to soften the message.

Imposition

Asking about negotiations with a group known as the "dollar mafia," which mean illegal or unethical activities, makes the statement potentially face-threatening. The speaker does not, however, make an effort to lessen the impact or soften the message. Thus, the speaker is expressing their intention to inquire about the negotiations with the dollar mafia in an assertive manner in this utterance by employing the bald on record strategy. He prioritizes direct communication ahead of any possible need to save the face or feelings of the person they are

speaking to. It is more assertive and direct communication approach.

Sentence no 2. Smuggling takes place via green channels.

The speaker has employed the bald-on-record strategy in this statement. The speaker says that smuggling takes place through green channels in a concise and direct way. He is delivering the information in a clear and direct manner without any attempt to soften the statement or consider the potential face-threatening nature of the message. This statement fits the following rules:

Directness

The speaker makes it clear that smuggling takes place through green channels. There's no attempt to use ambiguous language or to soften the message.

Imposition

The claim that certain channels are used for illegal activity (smuggling) makes the statement potentially dangerous. The speaker does not, however, make an effort to reduce the impact or soften the message. When maintaining social harmony or using to face-saving strategies is less important than efficiency, directness, and clarity, then this communication style may work well. However, in certain cases or cultures, particularly where the people are supposed to be indirect and polite, it might be interpreted as rude or confrontational.

Sentence no 3. Consider the fate of Pakistan that whenever these finance ministers want to put the burden of inflation on the poor, they resort to the Assembly.

The speaker in this statement employs the bald-on-record strategy. He says that "look at the fate of Pakistan that whenever these finance ministers want to put the burden of inflation on the poor, they come to the assembly" is deliver in a direct and unambiguous manner. He says that he does not care about the poor people. He speaks the truth without any hesitation. The elements of the bald-on-record strategy are present in this statement.

Directness

The speaker says a clear observation or assessment of Pakistan's finance ministers' actions. They claim that they attend the assembly every time when they want to impose inflation on those who are poor.

Imposition

The statement could be seen as potentially face-threatening because it suggests that the finance ministers may engage in actions that are detrimental to the poor. However, the speaker makes no attempt to soften the message or lessen its impact.

No Hedging or Indirectness

The speaker makes no attempt to soften or weaken the statement through the use of linguistic markers or techniques. He states their opinions clearly and concisely.

Bald-on-record is further divided into Redressive action or without redressive action. Whether to employ a redressive action or not. Participants can choose to use direct strategies to carry out the FTA without taking any redressive actions, or they can use redressive action strategies. The actions made by participants to lessen the possible impact or force of the speech act are referred to as redressive actions. If a speaker employs Redressive action, then he has to choose whether to employ positive politeness or negative politeness.

4.2 Positive Politeness

Positive politeness refers to the communicative strategies that aim to satisfy the hearer's positive face by expressing approval, friendliness and solidarity. It is typically observed in friendship groups or in situations when individuals are quite well-known to one another in the social group. This strategy helps to maintain good social relationships and makes communication smoother.

Sentence no.1: We, the people of Pakistan, contribute to the state through our taxes.

In this utterance, by using the pronoun "we" the speaker is employing positive politeness strategy. The speaker in the given utterance refers to themselves as members of the group of "the people of Pakistan" who pay taxes by using the pronoun "we". This is a positive politeness

strategy that encourages a sense of unity and shared identity. Overall, in the context of paying taxes, the speaker and the people of Pakistan are trying to create a sense of unity and common purpose through the use of the inclusive pronoun "we" in this utterance.

Sentence no.2: My loyalty and commitment lie with this country and with its poor citizens.

The speaker is employing a positive politeness strategy in this utterance. The speaker in the statement conveys his sincere sympathies for the poor people. The speaker expresses concern and moral alignment with marginalised people by highlighting loyalty and commitment to "this country" and "its poor citizens". Speaker also uses personal pronoun like "my" further personalise the commitment and strengthens the emotional bond with the intended audience.

Sentence no.3: Afghanistan is a brotherly nation to me, but my country is Pakistan.

The speaker employs a positive politeness strategy in this utterance. The speaker states that 'Afghanistan is not my country; it is a brotherly country'. The speaker is highlighting a sense of brotherhood and shared connections with Afghanistan by making this claim. Simultaneously, such clause (but my country is Pakistan) reaffirms the national identity and allegiance of the speaker towards Pakistan as his first nation. Speaker also uses personal pronoun like "my" further personalise this identification and strengthens the bond with the intended audience, who likely share the same national identity. This statement is an obvious example of positive politeness since it strengthens solidarity and shared identity by balancing respect for another country and strong declaration of national commitment.

4.3 Negative Politeness

Negative politeness strategies are employed to deal with the listener's negative face, which refers to individual's desire for autonomy and freedom from imposition. Negative politeness is adopted by the speakers in order to lessen the imposition of their speech acts and maintain social distance. These strategies include indirectness, impersonal construction, hedging and formal wordings to decrease the threat to the listener's face.

Sentence no.1: *Arrest those who own three-hundred-kanal estates, along with the political leaders associated with them.*

The speaker in this utterance uses negative politeness strategy because he does not directly address the person. Instead of directly commanding a certain authority/person, the statement is presented in an impersonal way and the speaker is not associated with the action and has limited personal responsibility. The stress on the institutional action in regard to the owners of three-hundred-kanal estates and the political leaders involved makes the speaker be formal and restrained. This is an indirect and impersonal construction that honours the negative face of the listener while still expressing criticism. The speaker does not directly address the listener or any specific authority but minimizes the imposition on listener's autonomy.

Sentence no.2: *There are thieves throughout your entire department.*

The speaker employs negative politeness strategy in this utterance where he presents a severe accusation in an impersonal and general way instead of addressing and naming people. The speaker does not primarily address the listener personally but talks about the department as a whole. This statement does not allow the speaker to blame directly, therefore making the threat less direct to the listener's negative face. The speaker is quite distant and formal since he does not blame people and instead concentrates on the issue of institutional corruption. This type of indirectness makes the criticism more observational rather than confrontational and helps to soften the face threatening-act.

Sentence no.3: *Tax collectors are thieves and the department itself is corrupt.*

The speaker also uses a negative politeness strategy in this utterance in the form of indirect institutional criticism and generalization. The speaker does not attack the listener directly, but he attacks the institutions of tax collectors and the tax system in general. The speaker creates the distance between the accusation and the listener by using the terms tax collectors and the department instead of calling a particular person. The criticism is stated as a general observation of the institution and not as a

personal argument with the listener. The speaker reduces the level of direct imposition on the listener's autonomy and at the same time expressing disapproval of the institution. Thus, the utterance shows negative politeness strategy that does not imply close interpersonal contact and keeps the social distance.

4.4 Off-record

The last strategy for being polite that Brown and Levinson have suggested is the off-record or indirect strategy. This strategy includes a significant amount of indirection; usually, the speaker conveys a message indirectly rather than stating it explicitly. The speaker tends to make rhetorical questions, hints, metaphors or vague phrases which enable the listener to make his/her own interpretation of the meaning. This obliqueness allows the speaker to have no direct responsibility in what they are saying and makes it less threatening to the face of the hearer. As a result, the listener is given the opportunity to infer the intended message without being directly confronted.

Sentence no.1: *Who is the authority in this country that allows dollars, cement bags and urea bags to be transported to Afghanistan?*

In this statement, the speaker uses off-record politeness strategy by asking a rhetorical question instead of stating an accusation. The speaker does not directly identify people or organizations who carry out the illegal transfer of resources. Instead, the speaker leaves the interpretation open to the audience. The use of rhetorical question functions as an indirect indication that there are some authorities who are involved in permitting these activities. This indirect formulation allows the speaker to criticize the powerful people without directly accusing them, thereby reducing the level of face threat.

Sentence no.2: *Who is in charge of distributing this flour? Isn't it also for my Baloch and Pakhtun brothers as well?*

In this utterance, the speaker has employed off-record strategy. The linguistic characteristic of this strategy is that rhetorical questioning is used especially in the phrases like *Who is in charge of distributing this flour?* The speaker does not explicitly suggest that the authorities are

discriminating or mismanaging but puts the criticism in form of questions. This is an indirect expression that helps the speaker to suggest lack of satisfaction with the distribution system while avoiding a direct accusation. The audience is thus asked to complement the criticism that lies behind this and such the speaker is not as obligated to make a firm claim.

Sentence no.3: *The responsible authorities should be asked how these dollars are being transferred to Afghanistan?*

In this utterance, speaker raises concerns about the transfer of dollars to Afghanistan. The grammatical aspect of the speech lies in its indirect expression because the speaker does not explicitly blame any particular authority. Rather, the statement implies that the concerned authorities should be questioned about the process through which these dollars are being transferred. This formulation enables the speaker to be suspicious and demand responsibility without directly accusing anyone or the institution. This indirect form of criticism allows the audience to interpret the implied accusation and restricts the speaker to have direct responsibility of making such an accusation.

5. Findings and Discussion

This study discusses the use of politeness strategies in the budgetary speech of Noor Alam Khan within the theoretical framework of Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson (1987). According to the analysis, the speaker employs all four major politeness strategies proposed by their model: bald-on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record strategies. The application of these strategies is the achievement of diverse rhetorical and interactional goals in the parliament setting. The findings show that bald-on-record strategy has been frequently used in the speech, especially when the speaker talks about the issues of corruption, smuggling, and economic mismanagement. The implication of bald-on-record strategy involves the direct and unmitigated statements that do not attempt to minimize the face-threatening effect on the hearer. The speaker questions the finance minister and other authorities directly about alleged negotiations with the “dollar mafia” or

transaction carried out illegally through institutional channels. In this regard, the use of bald-on-record strategy allows the speaker to present criticism in a clear and forceful way and emphasizes the seriousness of the issues being raised.

Simultaneously, the analysis shows that positive politeness strategy is used to create solidarity and shared identity with the public. Such strategies can be seen specifically by the use of inclusive pronouns such as “we” and phrases that emphasize the patriotism to the country and care about poor citizens. The speaker also fosters a sense of shared identity by associating himself with the people of Pakistan and by reminding the audience of their shared duty to pay taxes to the government. This strategy enables the speaker to come out as a representative of the people and increases his credibility among the audience. In the political discourse, such expression of solidarity are important persuasive tools, as they are used to develop emotional connections with citizens and strengthen the intentions of the speaker to national interests.

Another important finding is the use of negative politeness strategy, which tends to respect the hearer’s desire to be autonomous and not to be imposed. The criticism in the speech is usually directed at institutions or groups, rather than specific individuals. The speaker uses impersonal phrases and generalized statements, which make the accusation less direct and do not address specific authorities directly. This linguistic choice creates social distance and minimises the strength of the face-threatening act while still allowing the speaker to point out the issues of corruption or institutional inefficiency. This kind of strategy reveals how the political speakers can create a balance between criticism with some level of formality and respect for institutional roles within parliamentary debate. The analysis also reveals the use of off-record strategy, especially using rhetorical questions and indirect hints. The speaker often asks questions rather than directly accusing people, he raises issues on how dollars are transferred, how smuggling of drugs takes place or how resources are distributed. Such rhetorical questions enable the audience to perceive the criticism intended even though the speaker does not explicitly mention it. Off-record strategy serves as a type of indirect

criticism that gives the speaker plausible deniability to audience, while still present disagreement with particular policies or practices. This distance allows the speaker to criticize authority while minimizing personal responsibility for the accusation.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that politeness strategies in Pakistani political discourse serve not only interpersonal functions but also important rhetorical and strategic purposes. The politicians are allowed to manage criticism, persuasion, and solidarity simultaneously by combining the direct and indirect strategies. Bald-on-record strategy emphasises urgency and accountability, positive politeness promotes harmony and public identification, while negative politeness and off-record strategies offer linguistic tools for expressing criticism. Politeness strategies play a significant role in shaping the interactional and rhetorical goals of the speaker during the budgetary speech. The study therefore demonstrates that politeness theory provides a useful framework for analysing political discourse in Pakistan. The results demonstrate how political leaders strategically use the language in parliamentary debate to negotiate power, express criticism, and establish alignment with the public.

6. Conclusion

This study aims to discuss how politeness strategies are used by Noor Alam Khan during the mini-budget session of the Pakistani National Assembly in 2023. Using the Politeness Theory by Brown and Levinson (1987), this study involves the understanding of how various politeness strategies are employed in managing face threatening behaviors and in attempting to solve political, economic and social problems. The analysis focuses on four major strategies, such as bald-on-record, positive politeness, and negative politeness, and off-record strategies.

The results show that bald-on-record strategies were common where the speaker wanted to be clear, efficient and heavily critical especially in confronting the government officials and pointing out economic injustices. This level of directness is an indicative of the confrontational style of parliamentary speech and the efficiency culture that tends to be more important than face-saving in Pakistan. Meanwhile, positive

politeness strategies were also used to build solidarity with viewers, particularly with the use of inclusive pronouns, expressions of patriotism and interest in the marginalized citizens. Such techniques assisted the speaker to create a common identity with the listeners and increase persuasiveness. The negative politeness strategies were also realized in utterances involving accusations and sensitive matters where the speaker made use of impersonal and indirect constructions to minimize imposition and create a distance between the speaker and the institution. Also, the off-record tactics, especially rhetorical question, enabled the speaker to attack mighty players without necessarily sounding credible or even contradictory. These measures helped the speaker to raise issues without making explicit accusations.

On the whole, the study demonstrates that Noor Alam Khan combines different politeness strategies to achieve such rhetoric purposes as criticism, persuasion, and solidarity-building. The findings confirm that politeness in political speech is not just of courtesy but a strong pragmatic tool of utilizing power relations and societal interaction. The study is related to expanding the literature on political pragmatics in Pakistan and implies that the further research may involve such comparative analyses of the concept of politeness and power across political parties, languages, or parliamentary contexts to understand the concept of politeness and power in political communication more comprehensively.

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