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Exploring Power and Politeness Schemes in Political Discourses: An Intercultural Perspective

ABSTRACT

This paper examines politeness strategies in intercultural political discourse with a focus on how the politicians in different cultures use politeness and how they purposefully flout to attain their vexed targets. For examining the cross-cultural traits three video interviews were selected that is, of Hillary Clinton, Mr. Shah Mehmood Qureshi and Hina Rabbani Khar on the basis of diverse content and for the subjects of global importance. The data was manually transcribed following the Levinson and Brown (1987) model, and further Leech maxims of politeness (1983) were applied to explore flouting in combination to Levinson and Brown (1987) concept of 'face' as a theoretical framework to analyze the flouting in conversation. The findings show that the politicians use politeness traits mostly as a mechanical tool for face saving, and to portray themselves as socially acceptable. The mostly appearing scheme was the use of hedging in the selected discourse, which portrays vagueness and ambiguity in exercising political power in an intercultural discourse. The analysis concludes that the intercultural politeness is contrariwise to power control that is, higher the political power less will be the politeness observed.

Keywords: *Intercultural politeness, Politicians, political discourse, power and hegemony*

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Introduction

This paper seeks to highlight how the politicians of different cultures use politeness to make their discourse palatable for the general audience from their own culture and diversity of cultures round the world, how they flout the maxims of politeness for their own purposes, what type of linguistic, non-linguistic features they use to describe their motives, where they use formulaic or mechanical politeness to attain their goals and where they use genuine and original politeness. Fairclough (1995:46) points out that the media 'constitute a powerful apparatus in society.' In order to study elements of politeness in intercultural political discourse we took three recorded interviews from two different cultures i.e. Pakistani culture and American culture. We wrote these interviews then transcribed by applying transcription symbols and then applied conversational analysis on these interviews. No talk is different and prior to other, all talks are same in conversation analysis and transcription is not only to record words produced by participants but actually about to know what has been said and how it was said. We took 22 minutes 27 second 'Talk to Aljazeera Shah Mehmood Qureshi on 2 November, 2009 and 25 minutes 16 seconds 'Talk to Al Jazeera Hina Rabbani khar forging new ties' on 11 August, 2012 from Pakistani culture and 1 hour five minutes and 30 seconds Hillary Clinton's interview 'Hillary Clinton fireside chat-talks on Google' on 21st July, 2014 from American culture.

Language is used as a tool of communication. This tool is used to express one's opinion, belief, attitude, judgment, hidden agendas, motives, intentions encapsulated in the shell of politeness and present it the way one wants to fulfill one's desired tasks. These tasks, most of the times, involve the gratification of one's craving for power and for political, dogmatic and administrative purposes. In this process of communication both the source and receiver of information transmitted are human beings; who can always be convinced to do anything through persuasions rapped in polite verbosity, courteous behavior and mannered and civilized presentation. This implies that politeness is not only restricted to the words but, it also involves semiotics which helps to present moderate image of a person.

Research Question

What politeness patterns are employed in a cross-cultural political discourse in relation to gender-based conversations?

Subsidiary Questions:

- a. What politeness differences appear in male and female political conversations in Pakistani context?

- b. What culture-based politeness features are commonly deployed in political conversations?

Theoretical Background

Brown and Levinson believed that “principles of politeness” are essentially the same everywhere and can be described in terms of “universal maxims.” These maxims are enlisted in Leech (1983: 132). Leech (1983) derived six maxims of politeness from Paul Grice’s cooperative principles i.e. maxim of quality, quantity, relation and manner. The first three maxims deal with the content of the message while the last maxim describes how the contents are presented. Maxim of manners is of my great concern with respect to my topic. This maxim presents the main features of how a conversation is to be presented i.e. manner of presenting. Leech (1983: 83-84) distinguishes between negative and positive politeness and proposed six maxims of politeness which are maxim of tact, maxim of generosity, maxim of approbation, modesty maxim, maxim of agreement and maxim of sympathy. Leech’s maxim of Tact (1983: 107) “is the most important maxim in the English speaking society.” Maxim of tact is defined as the use of skills and understanding shown by somebody who handles situations positively and without causing offence. Leech (1983:132) Maxim of generosity correlates with maxim of tact states “minimizing benefit to self” and “maximizing cost to self”. Leech (1983: 132) defines maxim of approbation “avoid saying unpleasant things about others, and more particularly, about *h*.” The modesty maxim is defined by Leech (1983:136) it usually includes minimizing praise of self and maximizing dispraise of self. Maxim of agreement is defined by Leech (1983:132) “minimizing disagreement between self and other” and “maximizing agreement between self and other”. Leech (1983:132) defines maxim of sympathy as “minimizing antipathy between self and other” and “maximizing sympathy between self and other”.

According to Levinson and Brown (1987: 1) “politeness presupposes that potential for aggression as it seeks to disarm it and make possible communication between potentially aggressive parties.” Brown and Levinson (1987) model describes the idea of face which was based on Goffman (1967) defines face as the image of the ‘self’ Brown and Levinson coined the terms “to lose face” or to “save one’s face” while Goffman (1967:5-8) coined the expression “to have or maintain face” or “to be in wrong face”.

I have applied conversational analysis. Some conversational features which conversation analysis has focused on include:

- i. openings and closings of conversations;
- ii. adjacency pairs (e.g. greeting-greeting, compliment-compliment response);
- iii. topic management and topic shift;

- iv. conversational repairs;
- v. showing agreement and disagreement;
- vi. introducing bad news and processes of trouble-telling;
- vii. mechanisms turn-taking
(Jaworski and Coupland, 1999:20)

Review of the Literature

Literature plays powerful role in understanding politeness in political discourse. The politeness in political discourse representation has been the focusing point of many scholars mainly since 20th century. Politeness is something which makes the discourse palatable. It is concerned with the relationship between self and others or us and them. A conclusion from my observations is that what we present and how we present also influences the way hearer responds. Yule (1996: 134) states, "Your face, in pragmatics, is your public self-image. It is the emotional and social sense of self that every person has and expects everyone else to recognize".

Nurdianingsih (2006) intended to (a) illustrate the commendations of women and men (b) display the topics of compliments expression, and (c) describe the function of praises as the positive politeness strategy. The result of the study covered by the findings that women receive more compliments than men as their positive politeness strategy in language use. He discovers that women are linguistically more polite than man. On the contrary, my studies reveal that women politicians are a bit impolite as they try to be straight forward and avoid hedging.

Christie (2005) mentions the politic manners as communities of practice perspectives as some acts committed are expressed by the situation and may not necessarily be a FTA in particular context. Culpeper (2005) and Bousfield (2007) not only dealt with these but they thoroughly looked at intentional impoliteness; they noted that magnification strategies or propaganda strategies are also sensitive to social factors; for example, a very powerful person will probably be attacked only by the off record means. Sometimes the interviewer tries to provoke the interviewee to be impolite and intensifies the situation.

My studies reveal that the politicians use formulaic politeness to enhance the effect of their rhetoric words and to make their communication more effective and digestible. Ambuyo. B et.al (2011) examined politeness in the context of politics during question time discussions of the Kenyan Parliamentarians. In this context they observed that politeness is an effort by the speaker to show linguistically that he cares about others' feelings. Question time is a highly aggressive session full of FTAs but the parliamentarians are constrained to produce parliamentary language

recommended by the standing orders of 2008, thus politeness strategies become the only linguistic device to the realization of fruitful political discussions. The conclusion shows that certain strategies are used to moderate FTAs for enhancing effective communication; others are a ritual obligation by the standing orders whereas others are as a result of mere politics between the different political factions.

Echnique for Analysing Data

- a) Selected data
- b) Transcribed data from the interview.
- c) Identified those utterances which fulfill the required linguistic and non-linguistic criteria.
- d) Analyzed and interpret data to find answers to the research questions.

Data Transcription and Analysis

In present global political scenario, the developed and technologically advanced countries are in desperate want of maintaining their dominance and hold over the developing countries and underdeveloped countries, and to maintain good relations with their equal countries. On the contrary, the underdeveloped countries and the developing countries want to save their public image as well as they try to hide their political settlements with the empowered countries and to hide their corruption.

Language is a mean of communication. It is used to communicate different feelings ideas and opinion. In political discourse mostly the language is used to show the power and to practice the power. But by using the elements of politeness one may enhance the effectiveness of discourse and may appeal the sympathies by the audience; moreover, they may get audience' ready acceptance for them. According to Tannen (1995: 138): "Communication is not as simple as saying what you mean. How you say what you mean is crucial, and differs from one person to the next, because using language is a learned behaviour; how we talk is deeply influenced by cultural expectations."

The interlocutors try to present their stance by displaying politeness. The one who is more polite in his discourse would be more acceptable not only in their own culture but also beyond the boundaries of their territories. Politicians who flout the maxims of politeness they still are acceptable publically because of their power.

Synopsis of Interview with Hilliary Clinton

From beginning to end the interviewer's responses were neutral. He agreed to everything what she was saying and inducing. He neither negated any of

her views nor did he ask any of the conflicting questions. He kept on seeing the world affairs from the eyes of Clinton. On the contrary, Hillary discussed world affairs, political and social and economic issues. She served under President Barak Obama from 2009 to 2013 as foreign secretary. She was First Lady from 1993 to 2001. Present interview is taken by Erric at 'Fireside Talks at Google'

Analysis of the Interview with Hillary Clinton

The interview was started with very pleasant talk on Hillary's book 'Hard Choices' a layer of humour was there in the beginning and at the end of the interview. They started with loud laughters. The secretary tried to make the interviewer comfortable with her that's why she tries to be vocal with him, engages audience with her and uses polite words for greeting and addressing them.

Hillary: *<So continuing to work and support the Afghan security forces and then finally being well aware that so many a problems in Afghanistan are incubated in Pakistan (.) and the Pakistani government is now facing some of the most serious threats that it historically has because (.) as I say in the book the(y) they had an idea: that was never going to work for long terms which is <you can keep poisonous snakes in your and expect them only to bite your neighbors.> and the Pakistani military and intelligence establishment have unfortunately over years worked with supported lots of terrorist groups extremist groups for their own purposes some of which was to keep Afghanistan (away) so there has to be lot of efforts made to work with the Pakistanis as difficult as that is.>*

Hillary was asked about Richard Hall Brock, who was asked for the negotiations with Afghanistan, and the effect of his sudden death on Afghanistan's present scenario. In response to this question Hillary discusses Richard's contribution to bring stability in the area. Moreover, what she appreciates the most is Richard's style courage of going to the area study the psychology of and his effort to bring both the parties closer. Similarly, she also discussed that when Richard was replaced and Secretary Kerry was appointed then he also went to the people learnt their intentions and demands; discussed with the American high officials and tried to satisfy their demands. According to Hillary Secretary Kerry also filled up the gaps between both parties. In response to the same question she also discusses that Afghan President Karzai has proved himself supportive in bringing peace and stability in

the region. Then she discusses that there are three main challenges which they have to face. The first challenge is to get a new president who can keep Afghanistan unified second is to continuing to work with Afghan security forces and third is Pakistan because she believes that all the problems in Pakistan are incubated in Afghanistan. Hamid Karzai is a pro-American leader who acts like a puppet in the hands of the invaders. Due to his alliance with the invaders the local people and the Taliban didn't negotiate with him. In 2014 the invaders still wanted to prolong their stay in Afghanistan that's why they wanted to have another puppet as Karzai who would act as they will. Second threat or so called challenge for Hillary is to make strong security forces. The common people of Afghanistan were facing severe financial problems and they required immediate financial aid. The only way was to join the security forces and get the maximum benefits. This relation was to be symbiotic relation in which both the participants would take benefits. Americans require the devoted security forces and the security officers require financial support. This symbiotic relation helped the stake holders to get the benefits. The challenge which she discusses is very much unnatural challenge. US declared that Al-Qaeda was responsible of the 9/11 tragic attacks. George Bush declared war against terrorism. Pakistan performed at the front line in 'war against terrorism'. Osama bin Laden was affirmed as terrorist and Al-Qaida was declared as a terrorist group. US forces with Britain, Germany and other nations threw missile and attacked on Afghanistan on 7 October, 2001 through air. Mushraf ordered first military operation in his homeland in the tribal areas of Pakistan in 2001. In 2003, Pak-army killed several terrorists. Pakistan started a military operation on the US motivation in Waziristan in 2004. These operations resulted disorder in the country and hostility against government in the mind of common Pakistanis. This demonstrates Pakistan's constant input to bring peace and stability in the region. Khan (2009) states that US government and media suspected that Pakistan is secretly supporting Taliban. In 2006, several terrorist attacks had been conducted inside Pakistan. Pakistan armed forces had to face agitation and rebellion by the general public. Even then she visualizes Pakistan as the biggest challenge and blames Pakistan for having soft corner for them. When she says historically Pakistan is with Taliban she hides the fact that Pakistanis

generated, supported and helped Taliban on America's demand against soviet forces in Afghanistan. Fodder, ammunition, bombs grenade was transferred from America to Taliban in order to eradicate soviet rule in Afghanistan. Now in her discourse she is blaming Pakistani military intelligence for keeping those poisonous snakes (Taliban) in their backyard for keeping Afghans away. Here Hilly is hiding fact and in order to 'save her face' and to maintain her face she is trying to be 'in the wrong face'. She is maximizing the dispraise of others i.e. Pakistan in this way she has flouted 'Leech's maxim of approbation'

Imbalance in turn-taking is observed; Secretary Clinton prolonged her turns and flouted the conversational maxim of quantity. In the above question she was only asked about Richard Hall Brock's contribution in American 'war against terrorism', she replied about what was asked with an addition of secretary Kerry's contribution and Pakistan's role in this war against terrorism. This reveals her authoritative behaviour to undergo a conversation.

Interviewer:When you start looking at the examples especially [Ireland(xxx)china and Japan]

Hillary: [hmmm] (nodding her head)

Interviewer: and others its getting more confusing to an outsider (,) You talked about the ↑pivot..do you think that we understand ↑ how to navigate now between these ↑each of these countries is becoming more ↑nationalistic as it become stronger?

Hillary: Right(.) <hhhh well that is aaaa a trend that uhhh I saw(.) aaaa really beginning to: take off and it has a ↑number of implications ↑both for the region aaa but also for ↑us and rest of the world(.)> ammm as China has got much more ↑economically powerful its ↑understandable that they ammm want to project their power aaa but its quiet ↑threatening to the rest of the region(.) and <what I saw as a a ↑growing threat(.) was the increasing(.) budgetary resources going on people's liberation army to build up their naval capacity so they could project power aaa on the seas now ↑United States primarily has kept the peace in aaa asia aan in (waters) for the protection of powers and our Navy has been a very positive ↑force but its clear to me that the Chinese intend to ↑challenge aaa American Naval amm superiority >that's

their perfect right to do so that the(y) they are sovereign country they get to make those decisions...

When she was asked about the world affairs especially with reference to Ireland, China and Japan, the interviewer hypothesizes that when each of these countries became stronger they become more nationalistic. In such circumstances how America has to navigate. In response to this Hillary says that nowadays this trend is being shed off but China is the exceptional case in this regard. She prophesizes that this has a number of implications on America and the rest of the world. Then she discusses that since China has become economically strengthened Chinese are increasing their budgetary resources to build up their naval capacity. She also explains that China being economically powerful in the region is trying to get the power over Asian waters. Then she discloses her fear that in this way Chinese are trying to challenge American naval superiority. Here Hillary flouts the maxims of politeness. Most importantly she flouts the maxim of approbation by maximizing dispraise of the other group but this flouting is not the worst because she is not dispraising the hearer (h). Secondly, she also blames China for having territorial claims and for asserting those territorial claims against Philippines, Japan and Vietnam; which may lead to the conflict in the region. She also adds that America has mutual defense with five nations in the region i.e. *Japan, South Korea, Philippine, Australia but also Thailand. America is bound to protect its allies if anyone would disturb peace in this region. The conflicts between China and Vietnam, China and Japan, China and Philippines were discussed and America's silence on these conflicts is described as an 'intensive diplomacy' and to send a silent message to China. She tries to portray China's negative image and intensifies by rhetorically adding that why China wants to disrupt the forty percent of global trading and why they spur up the potential conflict in Japan by destroying peace and stability in the area. China is actually the next emerging country with respect to economy. International market holds consumer based market where China "is the largest manufacturing economy in the world as well as the largest exporter of goods in the world."*(Wikipedia)

"China is the world's fastest-growing major economy, with growth rates averaging 10% over the past 30 years." (Wikipedia) the reason of this highest growth rate is their rapid development. Moreover, the growth rate of other countries fluctuates over the year but China's growth rate remains consistent. This is the biggest reason of American's hatred for China. Secondly, America always uses different countries for their own welfare in the global scenario. In the war against Russia (when Russia was super power and invaded Afghanistan), America used Pakistan's Taliban as a tool to evacuate the region from soviet rule. In 21st century China is the emerging power that's why America is threatened of this emerging power. That's why American ex-

foreign minister tries to portray Chinese bad image in media. Nowadays in this 'media war' good and bad images are portrayed through verbosity in media debates; in order to get moral, political and social superiority over the other. In the war against China, India is an ally with America, in this way, Indian's hidden agenda is to disrupt Pakistan's peace and stability will also be accomplished. Here when Hillary talks about China, she highlights that China is a country indulged in different regional conflicts; while America itself is alleged for occupying Arab states and South East Asian states only for getting hold of their reservoirs. Here again she is circumventing the facts and 'saving her face' as a member of the super power. She flouts the 'tact maxim' by not handling the situation tactfully therefore inviting the offence of the 'other party'; flouts the 'maxim of generosity' by maximizing benefit to self and minimizing benefit to other and she also flouts maxim of approbation by 'maximizing praise of self and maximizing dispraise of other. Moreover, she is appearing in the 'wrong face' by describing that it's only China which is invading countries like Vietnam, Philippines and Japan for getting social and economic benefits. Historically it is widely admitted fact that Americans invaded Philippines and ended with Philippines revolution which ended in 1902, Vietnam's 'resistance war against America' ended in 1975 and American control of Japan especially in Hawaii can never be ignored which lasted up till 1914. Moreover, the term 'Black ships' was emerged when western vessels came to Japanese waters. The reality is that Hillary is trying to appear in wrong face by presenting her to be indifferent of any such invasions. She has proved herself to be least tolerant and most impolite person when she talks about other super powers in the region. Hedging is also an important part of her interview. When she talks about Chinese foreign minister she also mimics him mocks him and makes fun of his knowledge about the area.

In Hillary's interview there is more display of impolite attitudes when she discusses about global issues but behaves politely when general social issues are discussed. Like when she talked about the social issues i.e. general attitude of mothers and specifically her own mother's, unemployed youth in America, formation of her own welfare institutes.

Synopsis of Interview with Shah Mehmood Qureshi

This interview was taken in 2009 when Pakistani policies were in the state of transition Pakistan's internal and external affairs are discussed. This interview was specially to discuss internal affairs like Peshawar attack 2009. Attacks like this and many others spoiled the law and order condition in the country. He described that Pakistan is in transition state of both political stability and socio-economic stability. Pakistanis are facing internal challenges more than external ones.

Analysis of the Interview with Shah Mehmood Qureshi

Political scenario of 2009 was that Pakistan People's party got prominence in 2008 elections and Zardari superseded Musharaf's long rule. War against terrorism was at its peak and the poverty socio-economic decline political instability and security threats around the globe were the hot issues. Pakistan for having the most significant geographical and historical place in Asia for maintaining peace and stability in the region was playing the most fundamental role in bringing the stability to the region at the cost of innocent deaths and at the loss of infra-structure.

Politicians in political interviews customarily are indirect and naturally their statements are always unclear, indefinite, elusive, indirect, and obscure. The equivocal trait of statements by politicians obviously makes them polite in 'language game' of political interviews. Political agents try to save and enhance their own face, image of their political party and their country. When Shah Mehmood was asked about the social instability, due to Peshawar attacks in 2009, he instead of answering the question directly used the indirect way by discussing the contribution of his party's democratically elected government.

Qureshi: *What it means is that mm (.)Pakistan (.) has come out of denial (.) and we recognized the challenge (.) and we as a political .. ahh entity as a political party and as a government (.) which is democratically elected have decided to take it on, head on. aaaa because we feel that thisinnocent people who are dying on a daily basis is gonna effect our economy(.) investments(.) growth (.) Today there is a resolve, a determination and there is a political consensus with in Pakistan that we have to go further. And sieve this (.) To its logical conclusion (.) whether we have to operate in Swat (.) or we have to move towards Waziristan or any other area of Pakistan where there these extremists and militants trying go to: aaa and challenge the elected government."*

In order to save his political face. He used the words that Pakistan has now come out of denial means government before theirs was unaware of the social, political, economic challenges. Moreover, in his very first speech he highlighted political agenda in a very indirect way. The degree of indirectness heightens the optionality scale for the audience. The more his utterances are indirect the more his lines are interpreted by the audience which evokes audience's positive response and ere denying the existence of those challenges. While the reality is that it was president Musharaf's government which created maximum awareness among the people about the regional and the global problems and instability.

The boast of democratically elected government in his interview, shows his negation and his party's agenda of denial of dictatorship. Moreover, in order to maintain his 'own face' he repeatedly discussed that he is the part of elected democratic country.

- We as a political..ahhh entity as a political party and as a government (.) which is democratically elected have decided to take it on ↑head on.
- We have to face it politically and we have (.) and that is how this fight has got politically ownership today which was lacked in the past (.)
- Since the democratic government has come into office, just year and half ago. We are trying to revisit the terms of engagements
- Now we have democracy (.)

All these utterances reflect his strategy of cashing the democratic tenure and to invite audience's acceptance of their political face. He tries to induce in people's minds that their government being democratic one, invites people's opinion and deals with all the issues related to general public. Then he also clarifies his position, intentions and motives. On the contrary, it may also be understood that he is emphasizing this because his party's performance is not in accordance with what he has claimed that's why he is propagating their motives and not concentrating on their actions. His 'face saving' and 'face maintaining' makes his speech polite to a great extent.

Interview: *Is that going to be enough for (.) to prevent even more attacks like we have seen thereof last 3 weeks which you have said that 100 of people have died in girl's schools at khayber (.) we have seen girl's school attacked over and over again. Local officials have told to Aljazera that intelligence security resources are simply not ↑enough, in Peshawar for example isn't it also a question to reform of those military and intelligence structures so that these areas are better covered.*

Qureshi: *(.)Certainly aa aaa there is always a room for improvement (.) a:nd over the years we have improved(0.5) ↑But (0.2) there is so much that we can do. You cannot have military presence or intelligence presence in every local corner of the country. It's a country which is inhabited by hundred and seventy million people. It's a huge country.*

He also emphasizes that the solution to all the legal, political, social and economic issues is the democratic government. Here, Mr. Qureshi's mind is not clear. It implies that he may not have any long term planning, or else it may also show his inability to disclose existing policy if he has any or the policy making and planning is kept hidden. In order to satisfy the interviewer's demand used the indirect expression by describing that there are no possibilities of appointing soldiers at every nook and corner of the country. The cost-benefit scale is lower i.e. the lesser the cost to the hearer,

the more polite the illocutionary act is; that's why he is more polite in his discourse.

Q-4: *But people don't feel safe people are really worried. Where they go if these arm groups can go to places like these like we saw in Laho:re where they go into brazen attacks these all places are supposed to be secure(.)*

Qureshi: *True (.) but people were not safe in New York. People were not safe in Bali. People were not safe in the great London. Right (.) aaaa Terrorists are terrorists. People are not safe in Iraq in Iran, in India. So this is a ↑global challenge and we have adopted a regional approach. Accepting that this challenge is larger than aaa this Pakistan. Pakistan ↑is playing the role in front line state you know, and we are fighting it out for not just for our security but for regional security and global security and we are paying a price and we recognized the the the magnitude of the challenge. In the past people were not willing to accept the challenge even they denied....*

When Mr. Qureshi was asked about the security issues within the country even at the places which are supposed to be safe and sound; instead of accepting the reality he diverted the attention of the interviewer to the other most secure areas like New York, Bali and Great London which were not secure in 2009 because of the terrorist attacks in these areas at different times. In this way he becomes offensive instead of defensive. The reason may be that America is having the real threat from these types of terrorist attacks after 9/11, and Pakistan is fighting the war against terrorism, for America. The real instability in Pakistan is caused due to Pakistan's alliance with America against Afghanistan. That's why instead of being defensive he is offensive and uses hedging i.e. used mitigating words to lessen the impact of the interviewer's utterance. He not only denies the fact that only Pakistan is at the stake rather this issue is worldwide and the whole globe is facing this challenge rather at the same time he also discloses that, political parties after having consensus have started to reform institutions to address this challenge. This implies that he tried to be offensive at the same time he admits the fact that his government is taking steps to eradicate terrorism. Moreover, political consensus for security issues is discussed in order to stable internal affairs. He uses the maxim of tact to elucidate his view point that Pakistan is not only the victim and also handled the situation successfully without inviting offence from the listener.

Interviewer: *So what would be your input be in the strategy review if the USA would allow you to handle it?*

Qureshi: *Well (0.2) our input will be useful, why do I say to be useful (.)It would be useful because we understand the area we*

understand the customs (.) the language (.) the traditions (.) you know we have a common religion, you know we have common tribes living on both sides of the border(.) right and aaa we have to help each other because if we are affected on our side being oblivious of their needs and push the miscreants into Afghanistan they are not helping ourselves if the USA and NATO serge in Afghanistan pushes into Pakistan you know it is not in their long term interest to do so. So it has to be a well thought out, coordinated strategy, a holistic approach to resolve the problem.

The listeners here tries to know whether the strategies used by America are the right ones or else these strategies are to be improved and she also wants to learn what is Pakistan's point of view about American policies which they have adopted for bringing peace to the region. In order to review their strategies Qureshi reveals that whatever would be Pakistan's strategies those will be useful for Afghanistan. He, in a highly polite way, discusses his stance and indicates his country's status in Pak-Afghan war against terror. He uses polite words and by using hedging he lessens the intensity of his point of view. When he says that, Pakistan and Afghanistan are culturally, religiously, traditionally, linguistically and customarily same. It implies that he is indirectly saying that America which is geographically, socially, politically and mentally opposite to Afghanistan should not have the right to device their policies. Moreover, he also discusses that it is not in Pakistan's or Afghanistan's interest if the miscreants would be pushed on either side of the boarder. Pak- Afghan border comprises of Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and parts of North West Frontier Province (NWFP) along the border. Since US led the war in Afghanistan incidents of violence has been increased on Pak-Afghan border. By early 2009, there was growing consensus in Washington that to win the war in Afghanistan, it had to address the chaos in Pakistan's tribal areas. In March 2009, Gen. David McKiernan, the top commander in Afghanistan, told the 'News hour' the only way to break the stalemate is to take "an Afghanistan-Pakistan approach to this insurgency." Before this the inhabitants on the borders were thought to be purely Pakistani and were pushed on Pakistan's side. Qureshi used hedging in order to describe the situation; used less offensive words rather more positive words than negative ones and condemned America's strategy on Pak-Afghan border. He described that the strategy is to be 'well thought-out, coordinated'. He does not dictate any one and does not use those words which evoke the listener to be aggressive or offensive instead he uses suggestive way to describe his stance.

Interviewer: *Pakistan and Afghanistan have had very difficult relations in the past. They have been very shaky. How would you describe them now?*

Qureshi: *Dramatically different (.) they are no longer shaky and we understand each other. We have decided to cooperate with one another. In the last year and half the environment changed dramatically (.) We signed new declarations, a new agreement of how our futuristic bilateral relations should be (.) Right now we have negotiations with Afghanistan on the transit trade agreement. We are talking of how to improve our connectivity, how to upgrade the roads and rail links between the two countries (.) right How to create opportunity zones, economic, reconstructions opportunity zones on either side to generate employment and address the issues of poverty. Right. I think the situation has changed because there is great realization on both sides that we have to work in harmony, we have to coordinate our efforts to achieve our common objectives.*

When the anchor person asks about Pakistan's shaky relations with Afghanistan she points towards Pak-Afghan tension which became the worst when Pakistan allowed America to use her borders against Afghanistan. As a result of this Pakistan had to face tough resistance from Taliban fighters in NWFP and FATA. The writ of the state was challenged by such acts as hoisting of Taliban flag, girl's schools being ruined and demolished, CD shops blown up and kidnapping of foreign emissaries, abduction and killing of security personal. But in 2008 new strategic policy was made and Pak-Afghan relations were set on new horizons of peace and stability in the area. Instead of discussing any past tensions between the two neighbours Qureshi maintained his positive face by describing present negotiations for peace and stability in the area and having an eye on the future relations. This reveals his intention of conveying positive vibes to the Afghans in order to be accepted by the general public and to lessen the strain between the two countries.

The interview is smooth and adjacency pair is maintained perfectly. Prominent gaps and overlapping is not observed. Right mechanism of turn-taking has been observed which fulfills the requirement of maxim of manner by Leech. He uses hedging to lessen the effect of those pungent facts that would have invoked the offensive reaction from the hearer if, said openly. Tact maxim is used to not only describe the violation of rules by the super power but also to make her realize that Qureshi's government is devoted to bring peace in the area. Qureshi's interview is the display of politeness as a strategy to win the good-will of the super power and to maintain a positive face for the neighbouring countries like Afghanistan and India.

Synopsis of the Interview of Hina Rabbani Khar

November 2011 US military troops engaged Pakistan's two military check points on Pakistan and Afghanistan border. Twenty-four Pakistani soldiers were killed and Pakistani foreign minister Hina Rabbani Khar demands an unconditional apology from US officials and Pakistani government stopped all the NATO supplies. Nick Clark from Al-Jazeera interviewed Ms. Khar and discussed the situation. Nick offensive started to discuss his stance and treated her as an authoritarian treats his subordinate. He flouts maxims of politeness and so did Ms. Khar in response.

Analysis of the Interview of Hina Rabbani Khar

Interviewer: *Foreign minister thank you for talking (.) to Aljazeera (.) Umm this is very (.) ammm it strikes me curious (.) We are talking about the death the ↑tragic death of twenty-four soldiers (.) that in the pa:st up till that point about three thousand civilians are dead(.) and no(.) apology(.) was(.) demanded for ↑them(.) *what's the difference (.)*

Ms. Khar: *On Drone attacks our position is very clear (.) a:nd you know: that(.) really well(.) >that it is been again re articulated or re(xxxx) within parliamentary recommendations also aa tha:t we want to complete decisions on Drone attacks and there is a good reason, it is because, it does(.) it is counterproductive <*

Interviewer: *[yeah(.) but] first the drone attack is concerned(.) ↑you haven't (.) [demande*d (.) an apology

Khar: *[this was this was across the..hmhhh mm]*

Interviewer: *[for the thousands of civilians] many hundreds of civilians but you ↑are demanding for just twenty four soldiers tragic when many civilians are(xxxx) ↑What is the difference—↑w::hy you didn't say when civilians [were dying] so you need apology*

Ms. Khar: *[we have done] (.) We are continuously saying that these are counterproductive and they must ceased (.) so that position was held (.) Right? But this is over and above drones strikes (.) as you might be able to appreciate (.) this were *across the fire (.) ↓you know across the border ↓sorry to speak (.)*

Foreign secretary of state is asked about the present demand of the apology from US government. Before this we must analyze the reason of the drone attacks. Drone attacks were being carried out on the suspected militants and their saviours and Pak military has been an ally of US in this regard. These attacks were not solely were carried out as a result of joint intelligence information Pak army has to be protected and drone attack on Pak-Army was

meant to have a great failure on the part of NATO. That's why apology was demanded for the perpetrators of this blunder attack. Civilians amongst the casualties prior to this attack on Pak-Army were never target and they were in fact victims of collateral damage. This time the attacks were not on the civilians but on Army officials that's why the apology was demanded. Pakistan is a country which is governed by military officials for many decades and Pakistan military is the pride of the general public. Attack on Pakistan military was reflecting attack on Pakistan's solidarity and on Pakistan's defense system. In such situation to demand an apology was natural. When Ms. Khar was asked about the reason she does not use the straight forward language to describe the reason. While she was making base for her answer by discussing that within parliamentary recommendations their government wants to have a proper solution to this issue, the anchor violating the general rules and manners of conversation by disturbing the mechanism of turn-taking. Instead of patiently listening to the guest he interrupts her speech and tried to impose impolite behaviour on the guest. This impolite behaviour reveals his on record FTAs are bald and redressive. The addresser's utterances are bald because these are clear, brief and direct, and are redressive as these counteract and possible damage is inflicted on the addressee's face. This in fact reveals his positive politeness because he wants to know the bare realities. The addresser wants the agreement from the addressee that she doesn't have demanded an apology for the three thousand civilians but now she is demanding this for only twenty-four soldiers. He does not want Ms. Khar to flout the conversational maxim of relevance by using irrelevant utterances that's why he interrupts her and reminds her, the main question. When the addresser repeats his question by interrupting her then the addressee becomes confused and repaired her speech [*this was this was across the..hmmmm hmm*] and afterwards when the addresser became silent for getting the required answer the Ms. Khar becomes a bit jumbled and she said "*But this is over and above drones strikes (.) as you might be able to appreciate (.) this were *across the fire (.)* ↓*you know across the border* ↓*sorry to speak (.)*" This shows her immaturity as a politician i.e. when the she was asked to tell only the what is asked then she became a bit puzzle and first wrongly spoke across the fire and then corrected it as across the border.

Interviewer: [*for the thousands of civilians*] many hundreds of civilians but you ↑*are demanding for just twenty four soldiers tragic when many civilians are(xxxx)* ↑*What is the difference*—↑*w::hy you didn't say when civilians [were dying] so you need apology*

Ms. Khar: [*we have done*] (.) We are continuously saying that these are counterproductive and they must ceased (.) so that position was held (.) Right? But this is over and above drones strikes (.) as you might be able to appreciate (.) this were *across the

fire (.) ↓you know across the border ↓sorry to speak (.) This was through helicopters(.) so this was in some wa:ys(.) aaaa drones(0.2) aaaa much have been never ever condone it(.) we feel that they're counterproductive illegal(.) un-lawful(.) but' aa this particular attack was seemed to be(0.2) ↑not accidental at the time(.) much of your query says that it wa:s accidental(.) aaaa because we have 24 soldiers dead(.) by pointed fire coming in from other side(.) and there was not a single: (0.2) single burnt on the other side(.) Right?

When the addresser tries to engage Ms. Khar in asking the same question for third time then Ms. Khar offensively answered him and described in detail that their government demanded that such attacks must be ceased but this time the drone attacks have killed the soldiers with pointed fire which clearly indicates the atrocity of the other side moreover, this attack was not accidental and being a sovereign nation; this attack was actually the attack on the nation's pride that's why the victims must demand such apologies. Here Ms. Khar becomes offensive because the addresser tries to be dominant and wants to provoke her to say something openly and avoid hedging and flout tact maxim but she does not leaves these elements of politeness altogether this shows that she is not completely immature as a politician. Moreover, the agency is unclear i.e. neither the addressee nor the addresser discloses who is the agency of drone attacks. This shows that the agency may either be kept hidden so that it may not be provoked to offence.

Interviewer: so what do you say today when you say that the ↑drone attacks actually have(.) aaa Pakistan's passage proven(.) and it's just the public assumption(.) that you↑ denounce that (.)

Ms. Khar: I say that is not the truth (.) to this Government that has not been the truth(.) but typically the dictatorship in Pakistan(.) a:nd:- have worked in that way ↑and I cannot deny that(.) that could have been the possibility I would not know.

Interviewer: (interruption) you mean it's the legacy of the past (.)

Ms. Khar: It could be the legacy of the past (.) [I would not know]

Interviewer: (interruption) it could be or it ↑i:s?

Ms. Khar: it could be the—(smiling) if I say something what I mean I'm saying so your counter question will remain—↑my answer will remain (.) what I am saying(.) aaa so(.) it(.) could be(.) aaa but as far as we concern there is absolutely no definite approval at any point at any time by anyone (.) ↓ Within the government (.)

The addresser asks whether the drone attacks are denounced on the public assumption. She confidently denies the fact about her government and showed possibility and probability for the previous government. The interviewer takes the benefit of her use of the modal verb 'could have been' and spontaneously asks 'it could be the legacy of the past' instead of using sure words for explaining she says it could be and the addresser tried to trap her linguistically. 'Could' indicates the 'possibility' and 'probability'. The action done is probable and there is no certainty; if the certainty is indicated then the agency which is unclear would be hit directly. The addresser provokes the secretary to reveal the reality but she very tactfully says that 'it could be' and very confidently says that her answer would remain same. This implies that she does not want to discuss any contradictory issues. Moreover, she says that such absolute approvals can never be given by anyone who is having an office; that's why such things would be told as either possibilities or probabilities. Moreover, she also practices maxim of approbation i.e. minimizes the dispraise of others.

Instead of blaming the previous governments directly she just left a clue and wanted to put a proper full stop to this discussion.

Interviewer: *what I'm saying is that ↑W:hy it wasn't said at first place, why six days later?*

Ms. Khar: *It was said when it was required to be said (.) as far as for that particular –because you know that this was done in a different type of court (.) aaaa That process is still ongoing because he has <two options of appeal > one to the political agent of that particular tribal region and then to the governor (0.2) of: (.) the region. So (.) aaa we hope that the legal process would run its course before it becomes the matter of public debate.*

Interviewer: *aeaeae when you say (xxxx) charges 33 years for giving twenty thousand dollars to a local volo [↑thirty three years]*

Khar: *[well I have already said]*

Interviewer: *[xxxxxxxxx]*

Ms. Khar: *I have said ↑and I'll repeat the 10 times I am asked the same question I'll repeat the same answer 10 times that(.) let the legal process run its course before we make a matter of public debate(.)*

Interviewer: *Well he was arrested many days after Usama-Bin-Ladin aaa was killed or three weeks later(.) and only now revealed that(.) only no::w(hhhh) it has been revealed that he was sentenced for working aaa along with terrorists who were not colluded with CIA(.) Wh:y so late?*

Ms. Khar: *>I have said what I said (.)<*

Interviewer: *(.)Does it not make a mockery of Rule of Law?*

Ms. Khar: *Quite they are opposite (.)I don't think so (.) ↑No(.)*

The interviewer discusses the Afridi case. Afridi was the doctor who was suspected of treason and was arrested for aiding CIA in finding Osama Bin Laden. Initially he was sentenced to thirty three years in prison but after six days he was sentenced of affiliation with the terrorist group instead of treason. This change of charge on Afridi was confusing for the interviewer. Ms. Khar describes that Afridi has two processes of appeal and after undergoing the complicated legal process it will be made a matter of public debate. That's why this is kept hidden. Here again the secretary state wants to hide the fact but the interviewer kept on provoking her to avoid hedging and again asks why the charge was changed just after six days then she exhausts and candidly says that if she would be asked about this question for ten times even then her answer would remain same. Here it may be implied that she would not be linguistically trapped. Whatever the question may be, this would not make any difference to her as she will not disclose what is to be kept hidden. The interviewer tries to confuse the secretary and imposes his stance asking her whether it is the mockery of law that just after six days the charge has been changed. In response to this Ms. Khar answers 'No' deliberately. In this way she flouts Leech's maxim of agreement by maximizing disagreement between self and the interviewer.

Interviewer: *So, what if the Taliban (0.2) come back and take control of the whole country? Is that in Pakistan's interest?*

Ms. Khar: *We would not consider any thing that the Afghan people don't consider to be in their interest in Pakistan's interest. And let me just clearly say (interrupts)*

Interviewer: *Would that be in Pakistan's interest?*

Ms. Khar: *That will not be in Pakistan's interest. Nothing like that could be in Pakistan's interest (.) A ↑representative government in Afghanistan which is go(ing)– which is elected is going to be in Pakistan's interest and we do not give(.) any:: fodder or we donot encourage any type of extremist element anywhere(.). If we do not encourage them for ourselves(.). ↑we don't encourage them for others.*

Ms. Khar discusses that policies, for Afghanistan, should be made by keeping in mind their culture, values, geographical situation and in accordance with their wants and needs. She also insists being neighbours whatever is in Afghanistan's interest will be in Pakistan's interest. Interviewer sees all these things from the perspective of the super power and tries to shackle her thinking by interrupting her and asking whether Taliban's return to

Afghanistan will be beneficial to Pakistan. She was making base for her answer the interviewer interrupted her and asked that Taliban's control would be in Pakistan's interest this is why the interviewer tries to dig out and clarify what is in Pakistan's interest. Ms. Khar learns his intention and clarifies the intended meanings. She clearly says that the elected government in Afghanistan is in Pakistan's interest. Moreover, she clarifies that Pakistan is neither providing fodder to extremists nor does she encourages the extremists to fight against them or others. . The hidden political agenda behind this enquiry is to highlight Pakistan's image as a terrorist country. The whole western society believes Pakistan to be a terrorist country. Ali, Z. Jan, M. Saleem, N (2013) describes the present situation of Pakistan in the global scenario is only the outcome of political and media propaganda. On US demand Pakistan military launched Military operations against war on terrorism and eradicated Taliban's hold over the area. They also emphasized in their research that besides the sacrifices by Pakistan military and civilians US started propaganda through media against Pakistan supporting Taliban and having soft corner for religious extremists. Ms. Khar here follows the maxim of quantity and quality and replied realistically and what was required. She solemnly clarifies that Pakistan is not having such intention.

The interviewer's behaviour also matters in Ms. Khar's interview. The interviewer does not take proper turns and he interrupts and overlaps. As a result of this overlapping and violating turn-taking rules Ms. Khar flouts conversational manners. This also reveals the interviewer's intention of behaving impolitely with a Pakistani guest thinking her to be submissive.

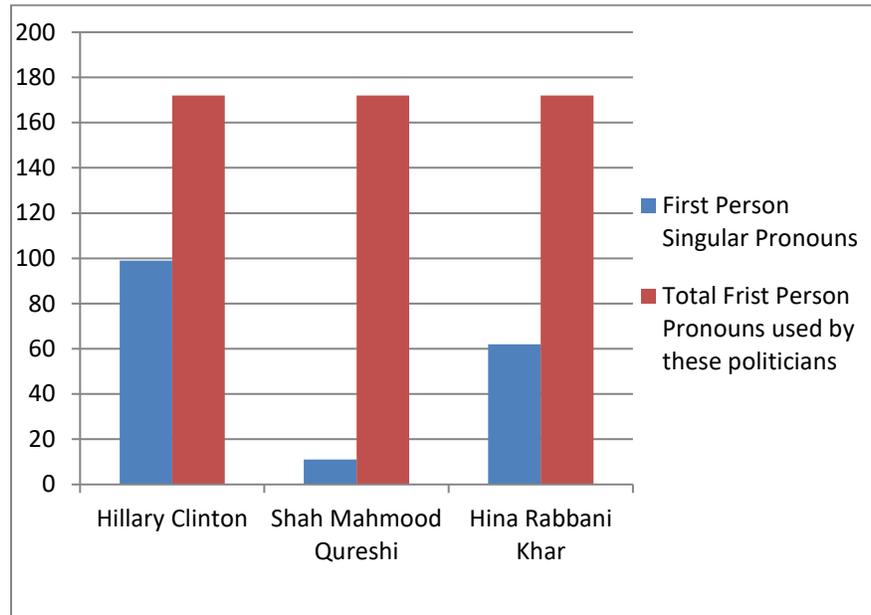
Discussion

Hillary uses first person singular pronoun in subject and object place than does Qureshi and Ms. Khar use; this shows that Hillary being the member of a super power is more authoritative, dominating, powerful, self-sufficient. Moreover, the experience and exposure also describes the degree of politeness. Then after Hillary, Ms. Khar is more authoritative and dominating than Qureshi with respect to use of first person singular pronoun. Mr. Qureshi is least authoritative of all these three politicians as he uses minimum number of first person singular pronoun. Power betrays politeness i.e. the one who is more commanding and influential by nature displays least politeness. The analysis we have done completely corresponds to this fact that Hillary is most impolite and Qureshi is least.

Table of Pronouns Used

Table A:

S.No.	Name	First person singular pronoun at subject place (I)	Total	%age
1.	Hillary	99	172	57.5%
2.	Mr. Qureshi	11	172	0.06%
3.	Ms. Khar	62	172	36%



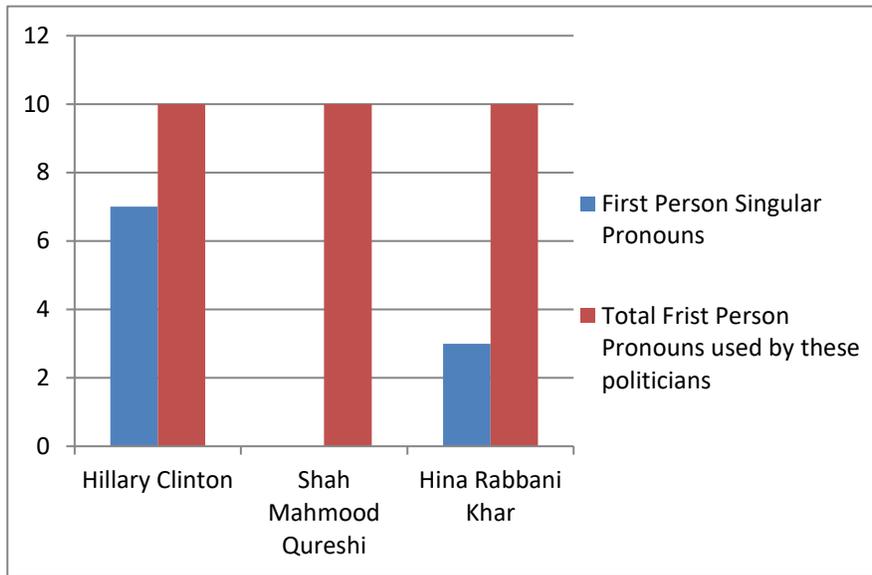
Graph A

Same is the case with first person singular pronoun at object place. Hillary used this the most and Qureshi the least.

Table B:

S.No.	Name	First person singular pronoun object (me)	Total	%age
1.	Hillary	7	10	70%
2.	Mr. Qureshi	0	10	00%
3.	Ms. Khar	3	10	30%

Graph B

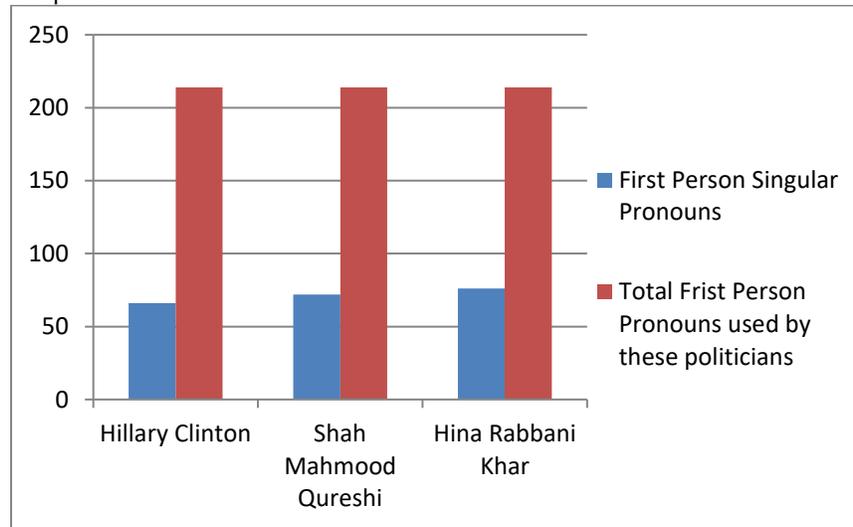


The speaker is associated to some other people, party, group, society and an individual that's why he has to take decisions, interpret things and avail options by considering one to be the part of that social, ethnic or political group. Use of first person plural pronoun indicates that the speaker is not having absolute authority. First person plural pronoun is used the most by Ms. Khar and least by Hillary. This implies the cultural difference i.e. Asian women politicians cannot take decisions independently they are much more dependent on their political party for taking important decisions. 35.5% indicates that Asian female politicians are 35.5% dependent and 65.5% they are dependent. Hillary belongs to American culture where there is more authority to females than the females of Asia; yet American females do not practice absolute authority. Moreover, Pakistani male politician is having less independence of individual decision making than American female politicians. Similarly experience also matters. Hina Khar being less experienced is unable to keep a balance between what she says and what should she say. She has to flout conversational maxims in order to keep a balance. Whenever her lack of experience is reflected in her speech she had to flout the maxims of politeness. Many times she tried to mechanically adopt scale of indirectness by saying that 'I said what I said and I'll maintain what I have said.' This mechanical use of indirectness shows her immaturity as a politician.

Table C:

S. No.	Name	First person plural pronoun at subject place(We)	Total	%age
1.	Hillary	66	214	30.8%
2.	Mr. Qureshi	72	214	33.66%
3.	Ms. Khar	76	214	35.5%

Graph C



Conclusion

The researchers have analyzed that the politeness is dependent on intercultural norms and power. Leech (2005) claims that there is no divide of east and west in the display of politeness. Present research reinforces this stance and discusses that politeness depends on experience, age, exposure, power, cultural differences and social status. It is evident that politeness influences interpersonal interaction. Afzali (2013) says "the speaker needs to take three sociological variables into consideration: 1) The "sociological distance" between speaker (S) and hearer (H); 2) The "relative power" between S and H; 3) The "absolute ranking of impositions" in the particular culture." Researches on gender politeness by many researchers (Macaulay, 2001; Beeching, 2002; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003; Hobbs, 2003) reveal that females are more polite than males on the contrary, my study brings out that

the person having more power will be having least politeness in intercultural discourse. Females are thought "to be more attentive listeners, concerned to ensure others get a chance to contribute" than men (Holmes 1995: 67). Secondly, powerful females practice less politeness principles in intercultural discourse than does the powerful males. Males use tact maxim to a great extent. Female politicians of powerful country when talk about international or global issues they try to impose their own stance on the addressee and most of the times provoke face threatening acts. While the female politicians of a developing country try to be comparatively more polite; as they cannot afford to be impolite especially, while talking about the super powers. On the contrary, when powerful females talk about their local and social issues they discuss the things more politely in order to be publically accepted. The experience of a politician also influences the politeness scale. The young politicians are less polite regardless of their cultural patterns; if they try to be polite then their politeness is mechanical and artificial rather than natural.

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