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RESEARCH PAPER

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto as an Eloquent Speaker: A Corpus-Based Analysis of his Speeches at UNO

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ABSTRACT

Politicians use language to persuade the public and likewise, they use rhetoric strategies to promote their ideologies. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, an important political figure in Pakistan, was a charismatic orator as well as an impassioned speaker. The aim of this present study is to look at the speeches of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. This study looks at the linguistic patterns, rhetorical strategies, persuasive devices, and other discourse features that were prominent in his public speaking. The present study uses a corpus linguistic methodology to uncover the linguistic patterns of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speeches. The software LancsBox is used for the analysis of data. The finding of the study endorses the fact that Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was an eloquent speaker with an extraordinary quality of public speaking. After the analysis of data, it is found that he had a good command of the use of language. In his speeches, he used linguistic patterns, stylistic devices, persuasive techniques, and a skillful strategic deployment of emotional appeal. This study affirms that Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was an effective public speaker who had the capability of inspiring and mobilizing his audience.

| **KEYWORDS** | Corpus Linguistics, Language, Politics, Rhetorical Devices, Speeches |

Introduction

In the history of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and its socio-political landscape, few figures have left as permanent a mark as Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. He was a famous Pakistani politician who served as Foreign Minister of Pakistan from 1963 to 1966, as President of Pakistan from 1971 to 1973, and then as Prime Minister of Pakistan from 1973 to 1977. He was famous for his charismatic oratory and moving rhetoric and has not only shaped the destiny of a nation but also left a long-term legacy in the realm of political discourse.

The present research is an attempt to look deep into the forceful oratory of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. This research sheds light on the linguistic and rhetorical strategies and ideological specialties that are reflected in his speeches. This research also focuses on the means by which Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto mobilized the public to persuade them to act in a certain way and also the way by which he propagated his message successfully.

The aim of this study is to employ corpus linguistics as a vigorous methodology to explore the linguistic patterns, lexical choices, and rhetorical devices that were very common in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speeches. Through this deep analysis, the researcher intends to uncover the semantic and rhetorical elements that contributed to the emotional impact of his speeches and their effectiveness in achieving his political objectives. There

are a total of 11 speeches that have been selected by the researcher and these speeches were delivered over a time span of six years. For the analysis of data corpus software i.e. LancsBox has been used.

Literature Review

Redish (2007), says that a lot of research work is done in the field of corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis and many researchers worked on the linguistic and stylistic analysis of political rhetoric including the shows, speeches delivered on the international forums, parliamentary debates, etc. He says that during this analysis, the researchers pointed out a lot of interesting and important strategies of political rhetoric.

Wang (2010) analyzed the speeches of American President Barack Obama and he employed the methodology of critical discourse analysis and systematic functional linguistics. Wand found that Obama used short sentences rather than larger ones. He also finds out that Obama aroused the American people's confidence in him and his government by using past examples focusing on the present improvement and also showing hopes for a better future.

Cienki et al (2010) analyzed the importance of spatial metaphors in unveiling the political parties' worldviews in the Netherlands and their study explores party-specific stances on specific national issues by three ideologically different Dutch political parties. They use the methodological framework given by Chilton (2004) which is discourse space theory to highlight the use of a high level of spatial metaphor structure for the speeches. The authors use a semi-automatic corpus-based approach to extract lexical and discourse markers in data obtained from the speeches delivered by the leaders of different parties.

Al-Majali (2015) in his research conducted a discourse analysis of the political speeches of the ousted Arab Presidents during the Arab Spring Revolution and they used Halliday and Hasan's (1989) framework for the analysis of cohesion. He found out that the speeches of these leaders show lexical features such as repetition and synonymy as ideological threats to the civilian protesters.

Sharififar and Rahimi (2015) analyzed the speeches of Obama and Rouhani Speeches at the UN. They used Halliday's systematic functional linguistic (1994) approach to carry on the transitivity analysis of the speeches and identified the power and ideology in the use of the language of both presidents. They also looked at the use of personal pronouns in these speeches.

Faith (2010) in his study based on the relationship between language and perception aimed to analyze the ideological component and linguistic background, for this purpose discursive strategy of Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Recep Erdogan was focused. According to him, the knowledge of the better use of language plays a vital role in understanding the public requirements or the demands of people i.e. how the people can be persuaded on certain lines. His study also reveals that a good politician who needs to be a good orator must have the ability to properly understand the context and circumstances in which he is delivering the speech because context plays an important role in the successful delivery of the message.

Nazish et al (2014) conducted research on the last speech of Benazir Bhutto. This study analyzed the underlying ideology of the election campaign and this study also focuses on the content of the discourse to analyze how linguistic features are used to publicize the ideologies. For this research, they used a socio-cognitive approach to critical

discourse analysis. The study reveals that political discourse is used to control the minds of people.

Sarah and Hussain (2023) in their study based on the comparative analysis of the speeches delivered by Imran Khan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, employed the critical discourse analysis model. They found that the ratio of religious references and language is greater in the inaugural speech of Imran Khan than in Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. According to them, religious implications are used to gain public support and approval from people and Imran Khan's speeches are filled with ample religious citations. They pointed out that although PTI is a secular party the projection of religious leaning is a discursive strategy to gain the sympathy of the public. Their study reveals that the tone of Imran Khan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto is similar in their issue highlighting but one of the differences they found is that Imran Khan focuses mostly on the corruption and misdeeds of previous governments but Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto highlights other issues like Kashmir. The other difference they highlighted is that religious element is more prominent in Imran Khan's speeches as compared to Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. They concluded their research by commenting that although both of these leaders of Pakistan have differences in their speaking strategies, are very good public speakers and have all the qualities to attract the public.

The present study is different from the previous studies, as mentioned above, in the sense that most of the previous studies that look at Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speeches focus on critical discourse analysis, discourse studies, and systematic functional linguistics. However, the present research analyzes the public speaking ability of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto using corpus linguistic software.

Material and Methods

Data Collection

For the present study, data has been collected from an online website that contains a collection of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speeches from 1948 to 1965. The speeches are in HTML format so these were copied from there and later converted to Word and plain text so that software could analyze the corpus data. The speeches are 11 in number delivered from 1960 to 1965. The reason for the selection of these speeches is that from 1960 onwards Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was in active politics who served as a Federal Minister of Ayub's Regime (1960-62) and as a Foreign Minister of Pakistan (1963-1966). The following speeches were taken up for analysis.

1. Address to the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly on September 29, 1960

2. Address to National Assembly on Sino-Indian Conflict — Western Arms for India —Pacts with the West — Negotiations with India — Relations with China and USSR on December 4, 1962

3. Address to National Assembly on Reappraisal of Foreign Policy — Western Arms for India — Negotiations with India on Kashmir—Boundary Agreement with China July 17, 1963

4. Address to the Plenary Meeting of the United Nations General Assembly on September 30, 1963 (afternoon session)

5. A Defensive Alliance Inaugural Speech at CENTO ministerial Meeting, Washington April 28, 1964

6. Address to the Nineteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly on January 22, 1965

7. Speech delivered by Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan to the Pakistan Islamic Council for International Affairs, Karachi, June 13, 1965

8. Speech delivered at the UN Security Council on September 22, 1965, on Kashmir Issue

9. Plebiscite in Kashmir Address to the United Nations General Assembly, October 15, 1965

10. Cease-fire Violations by India Address to the Security Council, October 25, 1965

11. Self-determination and Kashmir Address to United Nations General Assembly, September 28, 1965

Research Instruments

For the analysis of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speeches, the corpus linguistic software LancsBox was used. LancsBox is a new-generation corpus analysis tool prepared by the experts of Lancaster University. This is a powerful software that can analyze a large corpus in just a few minutes.

Procedure

After the collection of the data, the speeches were converted into word and plain text. Later, the speeches were tagged by using the online tagger CLAWS. After the online tagging of the speeches, these were analyzed using the corpus software.

Results and Discussion

All the elven speeches delivered by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto were imported into LancsBox. The software analysed the data and prepared reports that contained the frequency list and collocation patterns in the relevant data. The analysed data is presented in table form in the following.

Table 1
Corpus used

Name	Language	Texts	Tokens	Additional information
Corpus 1	English	11	88,550	Types: 7,103 Lemmas: 6,101

Table one shows that the present study uses a corpus of 88,550 running words (tokens) in 11 files.

General overview: Frequency lists and Linguistic Patterns

Table 2 shows the frequencies (both absolute and relative) and dispersions (CV) of the top ten types in the selected corpora.

Table 2
Top ten types in selected corpus

ID	Type	Absolute frequency (Relative frequency)	Dispersion (CV)
1	the	7484 (845.172)	0.122
2	of	5154 (582.044)	0.145
3	and	2900 (327.499)	0.127

4	to	2785 (314.512)	0.113
5	in	2102 (237.380)	0.130
6	a	1732 (195.596)	0.147
7	that	1455 (164.314)	0.264
8	is	1269 (143.309)	0.225
9	it	967 (109.204)	0.253
10	we	756 (85.375)	0.675

Table 3
Top ten ngram types in selected corpus

ID	Type	Absolute frequency (Relative frequency)	Dispersion (CV)
1	of the	1473 (166.367)	0.209
2	in the	652 (73.640)	0.289
3	to the	500 (56.472)	0.140
4	it is	348 (39.305)	0.447
5	the united	345 (38.966)	0.302
6	united nations	317 (35.803)	0.448
7	that the	298 (33.657)	0.266
8	and the	263 (29.704)	0.239
9	on the	250 (28.236)	0.243
10	jammu and	242 (27.333)	1.143

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto used the article "the" most in his speeches and the frequency of "the" is 75840 per million. This article is used with "of"' 14730 per million and with "in" for 6500 per million and with "to" 50000 per million. This frequency of "the" with other parts of speech shows his command of English grammar.

Use of Stylistic Devices

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was a very learned man with a good command of the language. He used to apply certain stylistic devices.

Table 4
A random set of concordance lines for *simile in selected* corpus

Filename	Left	Node	Right
(10) Z. A. B Oct. 25 1965.txt	habitual aggressor determined to destroy,	like a	bloodthirsty barbarian, all that
(3) Z. A. B March 1963.txt	dispute. The people of Kashmir	like the	people of the rest of
2_Z.A.BDec1962_tagged.txt	conflict with a major Power	like the	Peoples Republic of China. The
(3) Z. A. B March 1963.txt	that the people of Kashmir,	like the	people of any part of

The above table shows the use of simile, a stylistic device showing an overt comparison between two dissimilar things while using the indicators "like" or "as". Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto had very skillfully used this technique to compare the aggression in different parts of the world. For example, without naming any one, he compared a habitual aggressor to a bloody thirsty barbarian.

The Method of Highlighting Important Issues

The search term *issue* occurs 48 times (54.21 per million) in 11 texts which show Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto focusing on the issue concerning the State of Pakistan. Table 5 displays a random sample of 10 concordance lines, showing the most immediate contexts in which the search term is used.

Table 5
A random set of concordance lines for *issue* in selected corpus

Filename	Left	Node	Right
(4) Z. A. B July 1963.txt	its importance as an international	issue	has been highlighted. That importance
(10) Z. A. B Oct. 25 1965.txt	basis of equality, determine the	issue	on the rights and wrongs,
(5) Z. A. B 1964.txt	has served to translate the	issue	from a clash of rigid,
(10) Z. A. B Oct. 25 1965.txt	a controversial figure in this	issue.	We have quoted what the
(4) Z. A. B July 1963.txt	had already linked, the grave	issue	of happiness or misery for
(11) Z. A. B Nov. 1965.txt	of any state where the	issue	of accession has been the
(3) Z. A. B March 1963.txt	the Assembly that the central	issue	in the dispute is that
(10) Z. A. B Oct. 25 1965.txt	those words. That is the	issue,	without verbiage or embroidery. The
(2) Z.A.B Dec. 1962.txt	such a settlement of this	issue.	Now, the recent events, dramatic
(5) Z. A. B 1964.txt	excessive hope that the immediate	issue	of the normalization of the

The technical way of highlighting issues is one of the prominent features of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's speeches. He had the ability to successfully convey the important points to raise the issue in front of the local public as well as to the international. For the analysis of issue highlighting, two important issues i.e. Kashmir and Palestine are taken up as examples for analysis because these issues remained essential points of discussion in Pakistan's foreign policy since the independence of Pakistan.

Issue of Kashmir

The search term *Kashmir* occurs 453 times (5115.8 per million) in 11 texts. Table 2 displays a random sample of 10 concordance lines, showing the most immediate contexts in which the search term is used.

Table 6
A random set of concordance lines for *Kashmir* in selected corpus

Filename	Left	Node	Right
(10) Z. A. B Oct. 25 1965.txt	status quo in Jammu and	Kashmir.	It is also on this
(11) Z. A. B Nov. 1965.txt	Pakistan's standpoint on Jammu and	Kashmir.	When we say that there

(10) Z. A. B Oct. 25 1965.txt	certain areas in Jammu and	Kashmir	is one part of the
(2) Z.A.B Dec. 1962.txt	India considers her occupation of	Kashmir	as a settled fact; and
(9) Z. A. B Oct. 15, 1965.txt	the people of Jammu and	Kashmir.	And, in support of this
(10) Z. A. B Oct. 25 1965.txt	differently in occupied Jammu and	Kashmir.	The General Assembly adopted, only
(10) Z. A. B Oct. 25 1965.txt	happenings in Indian-occupied Jammu and	Kashmir	which are published in the
(10) Z. A. B Oct. 25 1965.txt	Indians. These developments in Indian-occupied	Kashmir	reached a climax on 23
(11) Z. A. B Nov. 1965.txt	to resolve the Jammu and	Kashmir	dispute, I must refer to
(11) Z. A. B Nov. 1965.txt	the people of Jammu and	Kashmir	should be given the right

The collocates with the word 'Kashmir' show that Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto wanted to make the world realize that it is an issue that needed to be considered for the solution. The dominance of words like "occupied, dispute, Pakistan, India, The General Assembly" etc. show that this is an issue that is creating tense relations between the two states. For example, while speaking on Kashmir issue he said "the issue of Kashmir should be solved" and "there is an Indian occupation of Kashmir"

Table 7
Frequency of the word "Kashmir" in Speeches

File	Tokens	Frequency	Relative frequency per million
(9) Z. A. B Oct. 15, 1965.txt	4259	62	1457.4
(10) Z. A. B Oct. 25 1965.txt	15043	136	9040.7
(11) Z. A. B Nov. 1965.txt	8027	69	8559.6
(8) Z. A. B Sep. 1965.txt	3283	21	6396.6
(3) Z. A. B March 1963.txt	10412	60	5762.6
(4) Z. A. B July 1963.txt	6218	30	4824.7
(2) Z.A.B Dec. 1962.txt	5382	25	4645.1
(5) Z. A. B 1964.txt	8612	18	2090.1
(6) Z. A. B Jan. 1965.txt	8622	18	2087.7
(7) Z. A. B 1965.txt	13341	13	974.4
(1) Z.A.B 1960.txt	5351	1	186.9

It is also found that after the war of 1965, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's focus was on the issue of Kashmir more than the previous years because one of the reasons for the war between the two states was Kashmir. The speech delivered by him in the United Nations Assembly in 1965 has "136" occurrences of the word Kashmir.

Issue of Palestine

The issue of Palestine is also an unsolved agenda of the United Nations and in Pakistani Foreign Policy, this issue has an important place. Pakistan supports a peaceful and just solution to this issue. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto also highlighted this issue in his speeches.

Table 8
A random set of concordance lines for *Palestine* in selected corpus

Filename	Left	Node	Right
(7) Z. A. B 1965.txt	support for the Arabs of	Palestine	in particular, and Arab liberation
(7) Z. A. B 1965.txt	behalf of the Arabs of	Palestine	year after year since 1948.
(7) Z. A. B 1965.txt	wishes of the people of	Palestine	and in violation of the
(7) Z. A. B 1965.txt	recommend possible solutions for the	Palestine	problem. The recommendations of the
(7) Z. A. B 1965.txt	to the cause of the	Palestine	Arabs was not entirely lost
(7) Z. A. B 1965.txt	and greater resources than tiny	Palestine.	The supporters of the partition
(7) Z. A. B 1965.txt	State in August 1947, the	Palestine	situation was nearing the explosion
(7) Z. A. B 1965.txt	and the Palestine Question The	Palestine	problem thus became the first
(1) Z.A.B 1960.txt	The failure to solve the	Palestine	question has kept the Middle
(7) Z. A. B 1965.txt	1947, recommending the partition of	Palestine	and the establishment of a

The search term Palestine occurs 26 times (293.6 per million) in the selected corpus. This shows that he also tried to highlight this issue in his speeches and wanted to make the international community realize that this issue was getting more complicated and it was the need of the time to have a peaceful and just solution to this issue.

Use of Persuasive Devices

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was in the habit of using persuasive language that could impact his audience and could move them to accept and adopt his ideology. The use of persuasive devices shows his good command of language. Some of the persuasive devices used by him are mentioned below.

Rhetoric Questions

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in his speeches has used this device multiple times which shows that he wanted to make the people understand the gravity of the situation about which he is talking. For example, while talking about Kashmir he said:

What is the meaning of a dispute? What is the definition of a dispute? In a dispute, there is a claim and a counter-claim. When you enter into negotiations for the settlement of a dispute, your claim is known to the other side and the claim of the other side is known to you. (ZAB, 1962)

Should the whole phenomenon of self-determination, stretching from Asia and Africa, apply to the whole world except to the people of Jammu and Kashmir? Are they some outcastes of Indian society? (ZAB, Sep. 1965)

Repetition

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto used to repeat the same words, phrases, or sentences in his speeches, and by that, he wanted to stress or emphasize the issue. While speaking on Kashmir issue he repeats certain words and phrases like:

These are facts; these are realities which cannot be ignored. There are demonstrations – we want plebiscite; long live Pakistan; long live the struggle of the people of Jammu and Kashmir – by young students, by mujahids, by freedom fighters, by the five million people of Jammu and Kashmir, all united indissolubly and indivisibly for a fight, for a just cause which cannot be denied to them. It is a righteous cause. (ZAB, Jan. 1965)

I would now like to deal with the region of the Indian Ocean. It is in Asia that actual war continues in the swamps and jungles of South Vietnam. It is here that the threat of a confrontation between the nuclear powers now exists, carrying with it the risk of worldwide conflagration. It is in Asia, too, that secondary arms races are developing. (ZAB, Jan.1965)

Analogies

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto also used certain analogies to highlight important issues in his speeches. While talking about the grave situation of the relations between Pakistan and India he compares the two states i.e. Madras and the disputed state i.e. Kashmir.

However, the question of Madras or the question of any other constituent part of India has no relevance whatsoever to Kashmir. Kashmir has never been a part of India. Kashmir's future has always been in dispute. I do not say this. This is what India has said. (ZAB, Nov. 1965)

The freedom movements of the three countries of the Maghreb evoked a deep sense of sympathy in Pakistan. Maghreb leaders – Habib Bourguiba, Allal-Fassi, Mohammad Yazid and others – visited Pakistan and were enthusiastically received. (ZAB, June 1965)

Statistics and Data

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was so sharp and intelligent that he knew that only words and theories were not enough to convey his thoughts and ideas in front of the national as well as international community. He tried to prove his point of view by providing authentic statistics and figures. When he was talking about the global economic crisis he talked with facts that were showing his knowledge and information.

An average annual income in the under-developed countries of approximately $120 per person is to be contrasted with an average income in the more advanced countries of $800 per capita. According to another estimate, the majority of the inhabitants of under-developed countries

subsist on an income of only $8 per month as against $9 per day in the most highly developed countries. (ZAB, June 1965)

Pakistan's interest in maintaining freedom of navigation through the canal was direct and immediate. At the time of nationalization, 56% of Pakistan's exports and 49% of its imports passed through that international waterway. (ZAB, June 1965)

Emotional Appeal

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto also used such type of language in his speeches which could raise sympathy among the people listening to him speaking. When he was talking about the plebiscite in Kashmir, he stressed the need for it by quoting a report in The New York Times that talked about the girls coming out of their schools and becoming part of the rebellion.

Again, on 11 October 1965, there was another report from Jammu and Kashmir by the correspondent of The New York Times. He says: "School girls lead Kashmir crusade; hatred of India draws them out of cloistered life." So the young school girls of the age of eighteen and younger have taken upon themselves the struggle with their comrades for the liberation of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. (ZAB, Oct. 1965)

The callous and inhuman treatment to which these Indian Muslims are being put merely because they follow the same faith as the majority of the people in Pakistan is a blot on the conscience of civilization. (ZAB, 1964)

The above extracts quoted from the speeches of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutoo, show his good command on the skill of oratory. This analysis of data reveals that he knew what sort of issues will be heard by the audience and what type of diction they wanted to be spoken by a leader. Where there was a need of arousing sympathy, he used emotional words; where there was a need of facts and figures, he used exact facts etc. which makes him an eloquent speaker.

Conclusion

The present study which is based on the analysis of speeches of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto is a corpus-based study. The purpose of this study is to analyze 11 speeches of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto that were delivered by him during the time span of six years. The corpus software was used to analyze the selected speeches. The data analysis of this study appreciates the eloquence of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto as he had all those qualities that are needed for a skillful oratory.

The present study looks at Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's use of linguistic and stylistic devices, collocation patterns in highlighting important issues, and persuasive techniques. He used different linguistic strategies to make his public speaking more attractive and more persuasive. He used the first person plural "we" more frequently to give a message to his own public and also to the international community that he did not represent his own wishes and desires but he was the true representative of his public. He used all types of pronouns in his speeches which show his strong command of the use of language. The use of stylistic devices is also a prominent element of his speeches as he used similes, metaphors, personification, etc. While highlighting issues like Kashmir and Palestine, he used imagery of cruelty and destruction caused by the aggressors which aroused sympathy among his audience. He knew how to mention his own nation, the international community as well as his friends and foes. He also did not try to manipulate the wrong things in his favor.

Another important aspect of his eloquence is that he very artfully and skillfully raised issues like Kashmir and Palestine in his speeches. By the use of eloquent diction, he made the world realize that these issues were a serious threat to world order and could create wars among the countries. By the use of 176 occurrences of the word "Peace" and 46 occurrences of the word "freedom" he gave the international community a message that his state Pakistan and its people are peace-loving and want peace with all the nations of the world including their neighbor country India. But at the same time, he also stresses the need for freedom for all the people of the world including those living in Kashmir and Palestine. By his speeches, it is very obvious that he had a great skill to highlight such issues in a way that could move the world to think about them. He is also very skillful in his use of persuasive strategies like rhetorical questions, repetitions, analogies, etc., and also while focusing on the relevant issues he talks about the facts and figures.

The third aspect which is found in his speeches is the use of persuasive techniques. He used the techniques like repeating questions, presenting a stance with facts and figures, using comparison and contrast strategy, and also emotional words like child killing, women raped, etc. that would have aroused sympathy among his audience.

After the analysis of the data, it can be concluded that Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was an eloquent speaker who very tactfully used fewer words but successfully conveyed his motives and purposes to the public which benefitted his people and his state. He clearly used his stance instead of relying on ifs and buts or feeling fear to convey his message. He also had a complete command of the use of language as he knew what to say, how, where, and to who

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