

COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLE AND THE LANGUAGE OF PAKISTANI POLITICIANS

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ABSTRACT

The present research investigates Pakistani Politicians conversational 'cooperation' in the form of none observance of conversational maxims (as proposed by Grice, 1975) during their debates in the 15th Assembly of Punjab. The research is quite significant as the language used in the parliament has not yet been studied in Pakistan. Although the selected period encompasses just five years period of the 15th Assembly of Punjab (2008-2013) yet their recurrently discussed topics that are selected for analysis are related to the domains of Law, Health, Education, Finance, Housing, Agriculture and these are the ever-green issues faced by Pakistan right from its establishment still today. Qualitative as well as quantitative descriptive approaches are used to analyze and discuss their cooperation in the conversation. The results indicate that the maxim of quantity is the most frequently disobeyed maxim as compare to the maxims of relevance, manner and quality. The study reveals that different contextual factors like genre as well as adversary nature of parliamentary discourse influence the non-observance of conversational maxims. The study also indicates that the maxim of quantity is breached by using different linguistic devices like structural repetitions, verses, verbosity, exaggeration, understatements, ignoring the question and saying just thanks in response; the maxim of quality is breached by using irony, metaphor, satire, sarcasm, rhetorical questions, verses and attributive names; the maxim of manner is breached by using irony, sarcasm, innuendo, verses and speaking in quotes while the maxim of relevance is not observed by using torrents of words, not addressing the issue directly and in the form of verses. The study implicates that the political especially the parliamentary discourse provides interesting content for analysis from linguistic approaches.

KEYWORDS: Political discourse, Pakistani politicians, cooperative principle, maxims of conversation

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INTRODUCTION

Politicians use language carefully and vigilantly because they are aware of the power of language. Their language is marked with rhetoric, vagueness and indirectness. To achieve indirectness and vagueness, they utilize various pragmatic devices. Wodak (2007) has listed these pragmatic devices such as insinuation, word-play, allusion, presupposition, and implicature. Gruber (2013) explains it by saying that in political communication indirectness and vagueness are achieved by the use of implications and implicature, personal pronouns, naming and referring strategies, and metaphors. In a nutshell, indirect communication takes place when conversational maxims proposed by Grice are flouted and implicature is created.

Grice has considered conversation as a cooperative activity which assumes certain rules or maxims. These maxims are of four types i.e. maxims of quality, maxims of quantity, maxim of manner and maxim of relevance. Maxims of quality enable people to be true to what they say; maxims of quantity forces people to make their contribution as informative as requisite; maxim of manner restrains people from ambiguity and prolixity; maxim of relevance saves people from digressions in conversations. Grice (1975) proposed three ways of failing to observe the maxims: Flouting a maxim, violating a Maxim and opting out a maxim. However, he, later on, assembled another category of non-observance named infringing a maxim.

Pakistani Politicians has some special marked features of discourse and can be understood well by applying Grice's theory of cooperative Principle and Implicature. Thus, an analysis of the political discourse of Pakistani politicians will contribute to the better understanding of their ideologies. The study in hand sets out to argue that the norms of speech in Political Institutions of Pakistan, especially in the Punjab Assembly, are particularly different. Furthermore, their identity is manifested in their behavior of speech. The research questions that are the focus of the current research are:

- Which conversational maxim is frequently not observed in the 15th Assembly of Punjab by its respective members?
- How conversational maxims are disobeyed in the 15th assembly of Punjab by its respective members?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Bayley (2004) has analyzed the cross cultural perspectives of parliamentary discourse. He worked on certain forms of parliamentary behaviors and parliamentary talks according to topics however he did not show any interest in the field of phonological aspects of parliamentary discourse like accent of MPs he tried to observe various lexemes like names and sir names in European parliament discourse. Desnoyer (2008) observed the discourse of Spanish parliament and identified the impersonal pronouns like *uno* and its peculiar function. He is of the view that impersonal pronouns are used to avoid blunders and exhibiting professional etiquettes. He has analyzed the general nature of parliamentary discourse on structural level and ignored other levels like pragmatics etc. In the same vein, Rasiah (2007, 2010) has analyzed the basic function of parliamentary question time. He has analyzed 87 questions and the result show that every question asked by the government member was answered compared to only 8 of the 48 opposition questions; out of 40 remaining opposition questions 21 were given intermediate responses and 19 were evaded outright. The study shows that evasion does occur in Australian House of Representative Question time.

Ambuyo, Inede & Karanja (2011) have analyzed politeness used in question time discussions of the Kenyan Parliament and found that some politeness strategies are used to mitigate the face threatening acts for effective communication. They have considered this genre of Question Time as full of face threatening acts like criticism, requests, accusation, blames, complains, reproaches, rebukes, objections, embarrassments etc and MPs want to maintain

save, and repair their faces thus they use politeness strategies (Abbas, Anjum & Pasha, 2019); some of these strategies are used as ritual requirement by the standing orders of the Kenyan parliament while others ‘ appear as public behavior as expressed by Watts(2005) and as communities of practice perspective as expressed by Christie (2005).

Although most of the researchers have pointed out that there is the element of indirectness in the conflict/ adversary language of politicians yet no one has applied the theory Grice’s cooperative principle and implicature on language of politicians except Sastra; and Sikandar, Nadeem, Noor, Naeem and Nasreen (2012) who has applied it on the genre of political interviews and TV Broadcast program respectively. No one has applied this theory on the language of representative assemblies and parliaments. Moreover, from an over view of the application of Grice’s theory, it is revealed that little attempt has been made to search the causes of being cooperative and uncooperative. Thus, the present study endeavours to fill the gap in the existing research.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As this research is concerned with the description of the language used by Pakistani Politicians in parliament by applying the theory of Cooperative Principle thus the nature of this study is predominantly descriptive. As the descriptive research enjoys the realms of both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, thus the researcher has devised a mixed method approach in order to have an in-depth analysis of the complex phenomenon, political conversation. The mixed method approach has been applied to understand the complex phenomenon, conversation. Furthermore, by using mixed method approach, the researcher can not only portray accurately what are the conversation characteristics of Pakistani politicians but also can describe how frequently and why the politicians have exploited the norms of conversation to achieve their desired ends. Furthermore, the researcher considered Provincial

Assembly of the Punjab as the most suitable research site because of two main grounds. First, it was accessible for the researcher and second it had been the most influential assembly of Pakistan. Hence the researcher has collected data from this assembly and chose all the proceedings of 15th Assembly of Punjab from 9 April 2008 to 26 February 2013. The researcher selected the above-mentioned period because of the availability of video recordings of this period. As the present research took insights from the area of pragmatics, so video recordings were better option to understand the context of the conversation. The researcher used these videos and books as tools for data collection. The researcher preferred these tools of data collection over documentation and interactional sociolinguistic methods because it was impossible for the researcher to go and see each and every proceeding and document it. Thus, the analyst thought suitable to utilize these readymade tools. Another tool that was applied by the researcher was observation. In order to understand the real nature of the Pakistani parliamentary context and to know whether the videos are edited or not, the researcher, while sitting in the gallery (a space guests and press reporting), observed the actual proceedings for five times.

The data was examined in the following phases: In the stage the most frequent topics were selected from the gathered data in order to delimit the research and to discuss the context of conversation. After determining the topics, in the second stage, the theory of cooperative principle was applied to the driven data. All the five types of the none observance of conversational maxims were highlighted and picked out. The researcher analyzed different types of non-observance because it involved flouting which geared implicatures – the one Grice concentrated on (Alvaro,2011). In the third stage, a work sheet was prepared containing the description of different variables. In the fourth stage, the frequencies and percentages of different types of none observance was pointed out. In the sixth phase, the quantitative data that was available in terms of frequencies were described qualitatively. Qualitative data was

elaborated with the help of some examples. On the basis of these evidences, the conclusions were drawn. In the last phase, the data was compared with the available literature.

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

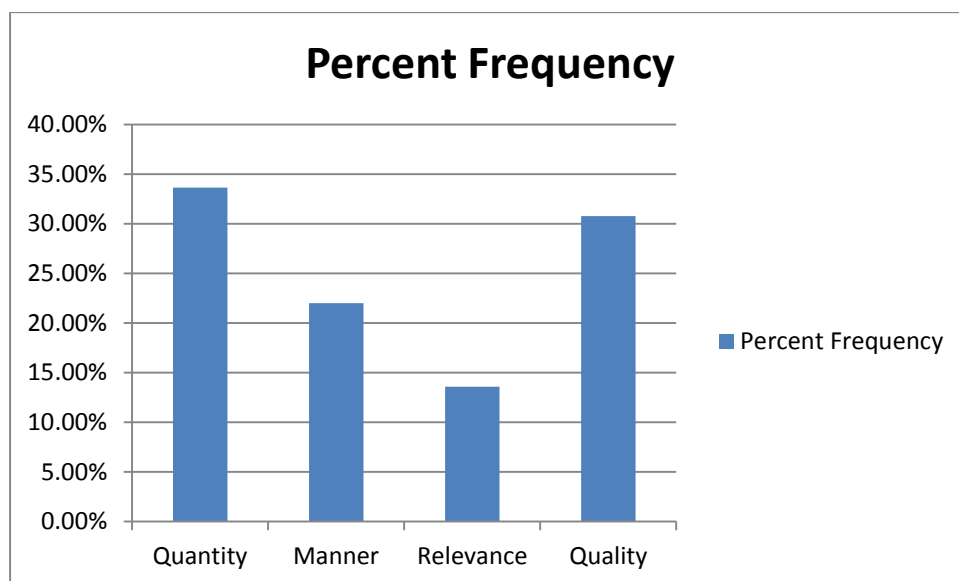
The whole tenure of the 15th Assembly of Punjab was comprised of five years. The first parliamentary year was started from 09-04-08 to 08-04-09 having 12 sessions, 61 sittings and 80 attended days. The second parliamentary year was started from 09-04-09 to 08-04-10 having 5 sessions, 53 sittings and 71 attended days. The third parliamentary year was started from 09-04-10 to 08-04-11 having 6 sessions, 72 sittings and 101 attended days. The fourth parliamentary year was started from 09-04-11 to 08-04-12 having 13 sessions, 72 sittings and 102 attended days. The fifth parliamentary year was started from 09-04-12 to 26-2-2013 having 9 sessions, 44 sittings and 60 attended days. Accumulatively, in the whole tenure there were 45 sessions, 302 sittings and 384 attended days. The total number of maxims not observed by Punjab parliamentarians (while discussing about the topics of (Law, Education, Health, Finance, Agriculture and Housing) was 1790. The ratio of none observance of the maxim of quantity was the highest more than 33 percent of the total none observance. The second highest ratio of none observance was the maxim of quality i.e 30 percent. The maxim of manner had about 22 percent of the total none observance. Maxim of relevance was the least not observed maxim having 13 percent of the total none observance. Here is the table 1 and figure 1 that show the overall non-observance for all the conversational maxims in percentages.

Table 1: Overall Frequency of none observance of conversational maxims in the conversation of 15th Assembly of Punjab

Maxims	Frequency	Relative Frequency	Percent Frequency
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Quantity	602	0.336312849	33.63%
Manner	394	0.220111732	22.01%
Relevance	243	0.13575419	13.58%
Quality	551	0.307821229	30.78%
Total	1790	1	100.00%

Fig. 1: Overall Frequency of none observance of conversational maxims in the conversation of 15th Assembly of Punjab



There were 602 instances of none observance of the conversation maxim of quantity which was the maximum number of none observance for any conversation maxim. The second highest number of none observance was for the conversation maxim of quality which was 551. There were 243 instances of none observance of relevance in their conversation. The number of instances for none observance of conversation maxim of manner were 394. From the above mentioned data it is apparent that the maxim of relevance is the most commonly observed

maxim however the maxim of quantity is the least observed maxim by the members of Punjab assembly. The detail about each maxim has been described below.

Maxim Of Relevance

The MPAs broke the conversational maxim of relevance less frequently. They broke it for 243 times. One of the reasons leading Punjab Parliamentarians to observe the maxim of relevance is that they enjoy the freedom of expression in budget debates—they can talk about the things which are not directly related to finance or budget and this is the norm in the parliament as prescribed by the Rules and Procedures of the Provincial Assembly of Punjab (1997). Hence, a number of parliamentarians of Punjab assembly want to contribute in this session and they speak about their policy statements, issues and problems of their district and sometimes answer the questions posed by previous members.

Sheikh Aala o Din: janab speaker! baat ye hai keh aashiana scheme inshaAllah in ka tarana baja da gi. main yahan dawy say kehta hun keh main ne in ka tarana aashiana scheme say baja dena hai. (

PP: 155 June 14, 2011)

Sheikh Aala o Din is giving policy statement

Anjum Safdar: Mian Nawaz shareef or qaid e Punjab mian shehbaz shareef ki qabil e tehseen koshishon ko sarahun gi. Unho ny azaad adliya k liye jo jido jehd ki hai icy aik tareekhi ehmiyat hasil ho chuki hai. Ye tarekh ma sunehry haroof sy likha ja chukka hai. Ici tanazur ma insaaf k taqazo k paish e nazar ma apny zilaa Faisalabad ma high cort ka bench qaim karny k liye guzarish karti hu. Ma apny daird caror awam ki awaz ka zaroor zikar karu ge. Faisalabad ma high coart bench ka kayam daird cror awam ki zaroorat hai(PP: 297,20 june 2009)

Furthermore, they have observed the maxim of relevance to greater extent because they are rational humans who want to make their utterances relevant to the purpose of discourse and hence this maxim is significant than the others. Geurts (2010, PP.11) has commented in this regard by suggesting Grice's own statement: 'the maxim of relevance and the maxim quality are of special status because the other maxims come into play on the assumption that these maxims are satisfied'

Maxim of Quality

It is significant to note that although they are observing maxim of relevance to greater extent, yet they are not observing the maxim of quality to a greater extent. There are 551 instances in which the maxim of quality is exploited and it is 30.78 percent of the total non-observance of conversational maxims. Although according to the rules and the procedure of the assembly, it is a set norm that what ever is said on the floor of the house should be true having some evidence yet it is the second least commonly observed maxims. There were a few instances in which MPAs were making lies rather in many cases they are exploiting the maxims of quality, in the form of verses, and by using irony and metaphors in their conversation

Wazeer-e-Qanoon-o-Parlimani Amoor: Janab speaker! Mere khayal main Laghari sahib rules k mutaliq behtar janty hen lehaza unhen is qardaad ko us waqat oppose karna chahye tha jab yeh parhi gai lekin sawal put karty waqat oppose nahi kar sakti. Wesy bhi aap aur un k jo teen November k iqdamat hen un ki wajah se yeh sara silsala ho raha he.

. (PP:66 . 6 June 2008)

Another way with which they have exploited the maxim of quality is their use of political slogans, metaphoric use of the term *lota* and attributive names. Most of the times these

attributes are used pejoratively though sometimes are used in a reverse way as has been discussed in the following examples.

Muhtarma samina khawer hayat: jnb spkr! Is gndy andy, gndy loty ko yaha sy uthao aur assembly sy bhr nikalo.

(is marhala pr muaziz membrane hazbe ikhtilaf ki trf sy “loty bry bygyrt hain” or “lota mehnga, lota mehnga, loty tha” ki nara bazi.

Is mrhla pr jnb chrman (dctr asad ashraf) kursi sadart pr mumtkin huey.

(Is mrhly pr muaziz membrane hzbe ikhtilaf ki trf sy “two in one lotti, lotti” or “lota aya, lota aya” ki nara bazi.)

Muhtarma samina khawer hayat: gnda dctr hy hy, jaili doctr hy hy.

(muaziz membrane hazbe ikhtilaf sy “assembly badnam hui dctr tyry liye” k9i nara bzi)

(Muaziz membrane hazbe ikhtilaf ki trf sy “zinda hy bhutto zinda hy) kl bhi Bhutto zinda tha aj bhi Bhutto zinda hy)

(Muaziz membrane hazbe ikhtilaf ki trf sy “kl bhi loti thi, aj b loti hy” ki nara bzi)

(Muaziz membrane hazbe ikhtilaf kio trf sy “loty ka jo yr hy ghaddar hy “ki nara bazi

(is mrhala pr jnb deputy spkr kursi ki sadrat pr mutmkin huey)

Jnb deputy spkr: ab ijlas kl baroz budh muarkha 16- march,2011 subh 10 bjj tk multwi kia jta hy.

(PP: 126,15 March,2011)

Maxim of Quantity

The MPAs in this data have broken the maxim of Quantity for 602 times. Maxim of quantity is the least commonly observed maxim. They broke the conversational maxim of quantity because they want to contribute more; they know that whatever they speak it would be noted by the members of the press (there is a gallery allocated for the members of the press so that the process would be very unblemished) and it would become the part of the record too. As they want to contribute by utilizing their respective floors, so their language is packed with the elements of verbosity, exaggeration, deception and verses as have been observed in the following examples.

Wazeer-e-Qanoon-o-Parlimani Amoor: Janab spesker! Mujhy afsoos he k ab ewaan un qehqahon se mehroom reh jaye ga kun-k is tehreek ka jawab mosoal ho chukka he aur main parh deta hun. Aik tu main Muhtram Sheikh Allaodin sahib ka shukriya ada kron ga k unhon ne Muhtram Shaibaz Shareef k faislay ka baqaida hawal day kar unhon ne un ka naam lay kar is faislay ko appreciate kiya. Miyan sahib ka yeh motto he k hukmranon ko saadgi k saath apny awaam aur mulak ki khidmat krni chahyekun-k Allah aur Us k Rasool S.A.W ne esy hukmranon par laanat behji he jo logon k tax k paisy se apny liye mehlaat tamer karty hen aur apny aish-0-eshrat ka intazam krty hen kya he acha hota k agar pichly doar main jo hamary (kaaf) league k saahiban the wo is qisam ki ayashiyon se un hukmranon ko roakty jinhon ne ny es kism ki buildings banaen jin mn en logon k tax ka pysa kharch hoa jinhnnhospitalon mn dawaian nahin miltin en logon k pyson sy ye muhlat tameer hoy or en mehalat ko tameer kerwany mn ye log shamil rahy hn es silsaly mn araz hy k tehreek e iltawaey kar k mutabik jin medical dental or engineering idaron ka ziker kia gya hy en mn masiway fatima jinah medical college lahore panjab k tamam idaron mn makhlot taleem rajj hy lihaza tehreeq e iltawa mn bian kerda larkon k istehsal k mamly ka talok khawateen k alag idaron k kiam sy hargiz naihna warna oper bian kerda idaron mn makhlot taleem k murwaja hony k bawajood esi sort e hal ka samna na kerna perta (PP:59 , 6 June 2008)

Rana Sana Ullah is describing things in great detail. His opening statement is abrupt then he gives policy statements by criticizing the behavior of the MPAs of previous Assembly. His verbose style is creating ambiguity for the hearer they have prolonged their discussions for two reasons; first, they to gain time because time is allocated for each and every activity and second, they want to be the part of the record. Sometimes these intentions are also mentioned by the member of other contesting party. Their labor to intensify the situation with verbose responses also created boredom in Assembly. Their verbose statements have served two main purposes – to emphasize and to criticize their opponents. According to Ilie (2010) MPs get engaged in a theatre-like dialogic game between adversarial positions in a spirit of competitiveness and agonistic behaviour. To a large extent, the MPs' interaction in parliament is a competition for power and leadership roles, but also for fame and popularity'. That's why they use such expressions. Her findings also supported by the above mentioned examples. Memon , Bughio and Gopang (2014) have also found that Benazir Bhutto in her last last speech has verbosely discussed the past events to emphasize and to gain sympathies of the masses. Thus, verbosity is a distinctive element of Pakistani Politicians.

Ilie (2010, PP:337) has stated that 'MPs are not expected to have a straightforward dialogue with each other, i.e. to be engaged in a genuine reasoning process or truth finding the discussion. Another striking feature of their conversation is that they have violated the maxim of quantity for deception

Mian Naseer Ahmed: ji janab is main kaha gy ahai k 115 hai or 109 ka record computerize ker diya gya hai jab k district lht k total mozyat 371 hai. Main apne information tehk krna chahta ha k 371 hain ya 115 hain?

Wazir ml o colonies:(Haji Muahammad)

Janab speaker juz bay k mutbk jawab majod hai ye lhr main 2 dafa MPA rhy ha inhy bhter pata hga agr mazed koi mamal hga tu main inhy poch ker bta doge.

Mian Naseer Ahmed: main in se ye pochna chahta hon k chly in ki mehrbani ha k inho ne mje yad kerwa diya k ma lhr se MPA hn or muje bhter tu per pata hai k lhr k kitne mozyat ha.kia wazir masof bata skty hai k compu

terization kon kerha hai is ki monitoring kon ker rha or is ki look after kon kerha hai or ye kahan per hrha ha?

Janab speaker: ji wazir e mal; jahan tak jawab ka talik hai tu jwab in k sawal k mutabak diya gya k record computerize hrha ha colonies ki wazarat wazir e alla sahib k pas ha jawab ma likha gya k 2010 tak ye target pura kia jae ga is ilawa jahan tak mere elm ma hai tu rahim yar khan gujrat or kasoor ma kam jarhi hai.

(PP:63 , 2 February 2009)

Maxim of Manner

They have not observed the maxim of manner as their conversation is ambiguous and order less. Most of the time their speech is order less as they speak spontaneously, and they have to observe the time limit.in addition to this as their debate is filled with the element of verbosity so they use to miss their continuation of ideas.

Safina Saima Khar:So, if we have commandos along with helicopters and latest equipments to fight against terrorism to reach the place where terrorist activity has taken place within five minuts. We are just talking and are not doing anything practical. I would like to ask you and the Government of Punjab that this is the right time instead of wasting money on “Sasti Roti” and other schemes we should by abstracting spot terrorism for terrorist and that is the only answer. Thank you.

Moazaz Arakin: Roti darmiyan me kahan sy Aa gai?

Ms Safina Saima Khar: Yes, you can continue “Sasti Roti” if there is peace and if there is terrorism and people are in law and order situation, it is not correct.

(PP:55, July 5, 2010)

Another striking feature of MPAs is that Ambiguity has been created by not only by using verses and statements but also by using pronouns. It is the feature of parliamentary discourse that they address via speaker. They have used the terms like ‘inhen, inhon, ye, hum and app’ not only to bring flavor of formality as demanded by a politician but also marking proximity and distal relationships not on the personal level rather at the level of parties.

Desnoyer (2008) has stated in this regard that Politicians are fully aware of the possibilities and limitations made available by the use of pronouns. It is well understood, for example, these pronouns are used to mitigate responsibility, such as is the case with the use of the potentially vague we which facilitates the establishment of alliances with particular groups or, a The first question of the research was to explore the frequency of the conversational maxims disobeyed in the 15th Assembly of the Punjab by its respective MPAs. A series of maxims are found in the discussions and the analysis of the quantitative data shows that there are total 1790 maxims that are not observed. The Statistics of the research show that the maxim of quantity is the most frequently disobeyed maxim found in the data that constitute 33.65 percent of the total 1790 non observed maxims. This number is a little bit more than the maxim of quality that is 30.78 percent of the total 1790 non observed maxims. The maxim of manner holds the third position as its ratio is 22.01 percent of the total 1790 non observed maxims. Maxim of relevance is the least disobeyed maxim and its ratio is 13.58 percent of the total.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

From this finding it can be inferred that maxim of relevance is the most observed maxim and the results of the qualitative data show contextual factors like lack of restrictions of geesnera leads them to follow this maxim. As according to the rules and procedure of Punjab Assembly they enjoy the unlimited freedom of expression in budget debates thus sometimes they give more than required information and disobeyed the maxim of quantity- the most frequently disobeyed maxims. Another important finding is that they created multiplicity of relevance by giving references from the debates of the previous members. For this purpose they exploit different types of deictic expressions like personal deixes like mery bhai, mery dost, hum, enhen, onhon etc. These deixes show their proximal or distal relationships at party level and create ambiguity or the none-observance of maxim of manner.

Furthermore, another contextual feature- the adversary nature of the parliamentary discourse- leads them to break the maxim of quality. It is quite interesting to note that MPAs are not breaking the maxim of quality to create politeness as suggested by Grice rather they use it as a weapon against politeness as it is mentioned in their frequent use of ironic expressions, different derogatory terms and slogans(ganda Anda, ganda doctor, jaili doctor, lota, loti, machli bazar, batameez,. They have used bald on record strategies as they do not care for listener's face.

Alternatively, the exclusion and labeling of groups as 'others'. The second research question focused on design of none observance of different conversational maxims. The linguistic realizations of maxim non-observances vary from maxims to maxims though some linguistic strategies are intermingled. The qualitative data shows that maxim of quantity that is the most frequently breached maxim, in the discussions of 15th assembly of punjab, was realised in the forms structural repetitions, verses, verbosity, exaggeration ,understatements ignoring the

question and saying just thanks in response. The maxim of quality, that is the second least commonly observed maxim is in the data, is realised in the form of irony, metaphor, satire, sarcasm, rhetorical questions, verses and attributive names. The maxim of manner, that is the third least commonly observed maxim, is realised with irony, sarcasm, innuendo, verses and speaking in quotes. Maxim of relevance that is the least observed maxim in the data is realised with torrents of words not addressing the issue and verses. They have chosen these strategies for non-observance of conversational maxims.

The most significant finding related to the distinctive speech style of Pakistani MPAs is that they have used verses in their conversations. In verses all types of maxims are flouted. They intentionally use verses to convey their message in an indirect way to create multiplicity of meanings. They have chosen this device to serve a variety of purposes like irony, satire, politeness, flattering etc. Another striking feature of their use of verses is that they use these verses in a dialogic form with their own party opinion or party policy.

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