DISCURSIVE PRACTICES IN THE PORTRAYAL OF POLITICAL SPEECHES IN ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

By

Ayyaz Qadeer

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Discursive Practices in the Portrayal of Political Speeches in English Newspapers

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Ayyaz Qadeer
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Thesis Title: Discursive Practices in the Portrayal of Political Speeches in English Newspapers

Submitted By: AYYAZ QADEER Registration #: 495-MPhil/Ling/Jan 10

Doctor of Philosophy

English

Prof. Dr. Wasima Shehzad
Name of Research Supervisor

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Safeer Awan
Name of Dean (FES)

Maj. Gen Zia Uddin Najam HI (M) (Retd)
Name of Rector

Signature of Research Supervisor

Signature of Dean (FES)

Signature of Rector

Date
CANDIDATE DECLARATION FORM

I   Ayyaz Qadeer
Son of  Mian Abdul Qadeer
Registration #  495-MPhil/Ling/Jan 10
Discipline   English

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ABSTRACT

Thesis Title: Discursive Practices in the Portrayal of Political Speeches in English Newspapers

CDA is used in social research for the purpose of depicting the discourse surrounded by complex socio-political issues, and it aims to investigate social inequality as how inequality is expressed and signaled, and how it is constituted and legitimized through discourse. CDA analysts consider Media as an important discursive space. With reference to Pakistan, the role of media in developing public perception regarding the political parties is important. As such, the media has attained a powerful position from where it establishes certain practices and is capable of moulding public opinion in the process of political representation. The speeches of prominent leaders of leading political parties were selected to be reflected through leading newspapers of Pakistan. Three newspapers namely *The News*, *Dawn* and *The Express Tribune* were selected for representation. This study critically analyses news reports of the selected political speeches of prominent political leaders of Pakistan. Following an eclectic approach, the study uses the relevant features from the established CDA models for data analysis. The theoretical framework surrounds the concept of power of discourse in shaping the realities. This study has revealed some significant tendencies and patterns in the media discourse related to political speeches in the context of Pakistan. For instance, the order of the contents of speeches is normally not followed in the reporting of the speeches. A significant difference in the selection of lexical choices is identified in the representation of different political leaders. Different newspapers adopt their preferred setting of arguments in the speech representation of various leaders. The study concludes that exclusion is a very significant feature of the Pakistani newspapers’ reporting style. Moreover, quotations are used as a strong tool in changing or creating perception in political reports. All in all, diversity in the reporting of same contents confirms that practices of newspapers generate different perceptions about various political leaders and/or parties.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Language is not a neutral tool of communication and expression as it is always mediated through different means (Foucault, 1983) because it is only through language that different realities, identities and relations are established. It affects the social relations to the extent that all dimensions of social activities revolve round this ability of expression.

Post-structuralist linguists are of the view that language is exercised to create identity and ideology, production of knowledge and its reproduction, power relations and community relations; thus, it creates a new version of reality supporting the idea that reality is socially constructed. This power of language is exercised through institutional and organizational control and through their hegemony.

With this understanding of the role of language in the social construction, print media enjoys a substantial space for the discursive construction to influence the public opinion. In this regard, Cook (1998) opines that print media presents a discourse that is constructing the meaning of the text, and it is this foundation that the audiences construct the meanings with the support of their knowledge. This construction of meaning in discourse is done, in the words of Fairclough (1989), through the hidden power of media; as it can constraint content to favor certain interpretations. It exercises its power in the choice of lexical items and through the power of inclusion and exclusion.

In Pakistani scenario, a limited work has been done on print media and most of this work is done with the journalistic perspective where the news reporting is the main focus. Most of the
perspectives of the research work done in the local setting deals with discourse of journalism in positivistic paradigm in print media with some exceptions, but the linguistic aspect of the print media discourse is not addressed much. Among few examples, the work of Ahmad (2005) is significant on the area of historical perspective of the role and evolution of print media in Pakistan. Zamir Niazi (1994) illuminates the government relationship with the print media in his study during the military regime of General Zia ul-Haq (1977-1988), and the media had to bear one of its worst periods of censorship during this time. Ahmad (1998) has discussed media discourse with the perspective of Urdu and English languages. Dr. Tariq Rahman has worked on media but with the perspective of Pakistani English Language. Moreover, the linguistic aspect in the paradigm of social construction is almost ignored in the local researches. A few researches have been done with the perspective of the construction of gender issues in newspapers, but that, too, cover a limited range of the social construction of the post-structuralist paradigm. The area of political discourse and its presentation in newspapers is totally ignored despite the fact that it occupies a major place and space in daily newspapers, and the opinion generated through such media discourse shapes the beliefs and minds of the public.

As a matter of fact, political discourse has an institutional power, along with having the other dynamics of power, and media, too, has a power of discursivity. It will be insightful to know how print media applies its discursive practices to the discourse of the political leaders.

### 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Print media enjoys a substantial space for the discursive construction and in the construction of a meaningful discourse, and language plays a vital role.

Media biasness has been one of the most probed areas among researchers since media discourse contributes in the production of social relations in terms of domination and exploitation. Moreover, media has the potential to influence the minds of readers. Bourdieu (1991) considers media power as a symbolic power due to the fact that media has the capacity to control the intentions, opinions, knowledge and beliefs. Moreover, Thompson (1995) defines the concept of Bourdieu’s symbolic power as the capacity to mediate in the process of happenings and manipulate the actions to create events.
Pakistani media has acquired prominence as well as freedom in recent years. Consequently, people have become more media dependent for opinion making; particularly, educated class, which is considered as an opinion maker, depends on English newspapers. On the other hand, different newspapers have their business and/or ideological priorities that may be involved in different ways in the process of news production.

Moreover, it is observed that political representation occupies a major place in the daily newspapers of Pakistan. Discursive practices of the print media to the discourse of the Pakistani political leaders can influence the reader, and these may have effect, positively and/or negatively, on the politicians’ image. Therefore, media reporting in the Pakistani context requires exploration to identify its discursive practices contributing to shape a specific version of the political reality.

1.3 Objectives

The objectives of this study are to:
1. identify the space and place given to speeches of political leaders in Pakistani English newspaper;
2. identify and analyze the construction of syntactical structures and selection of lexical choices in the portrayal of speeches;
3. analyze and explain the manner of cohesion in texts used in the portrayal of different speeches in different newspapers;
4. analyze the texts of media discourse at macro level through various techniques by studying the reports used for the portrayal of speeches;
5. analyze the manner of selection, rejection and projection of points presented in the speech in the newspaper coverage;
6. analyze the hidden meanings in the reports of political speeches by looking closely at the local meanings produced during the discourse process.

1.4 Research Questions

Following are the research questions:
1. What are the discursive practices employed in the portrayal of political discourse of Pakistani politicians in local English newspapers?
2. How are Pakistani political parties or leaders being influenced by the local media reports portraying their speeches in newspapers?

3. How are different Pakistani newspapers shaping and constructing the speeches of Pakistani politicians in their reports?

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study will help in understanding the role of print media in the shaping of political process through analysis of language, and it will provide the insight to understand the implicit practices of print media, which play a strong role in the construction of political environment. It will also help uncover the role of media discourse in local setting and provide a platform to behave more sensitively towards the role of media language in shaping up the public opinion.

1.6 Discursive Practices in Media Discourse

Media has a power, which is, in general, symbolic and, in the words of Fairclough, hidden. It is so because the media mainly have the power to control somewhat the minds of readers. However, this influence is restricted only to the minds and does not influence directly the actions of the readers. It is only in the case of physical force when the control of action, which is usually the final objective of the use of power, is direct. In the rest of the cases it is by and large indirect. In such cases the power of purposes, plans, awareness, beliefs, or opinions is presupposed in the form of mental representations supervising explicit activities. It is quite relevant to mention that mind controlled by the media discourse cannot be absolute as it remains with full swing in legal or bureaucratic or in institutional practices.

It is established through research and theories propounded by researchers that it is through language that power structures are created and affirmed in the society and it is through language that the interests of those who speak or write it are protected. (Fiske, 1994). Many theorists have analyzed the links between language and power in the past few decades. Bourdieu’s (1991) work is instrumental in studying how power is produced and asserted in different societies through language. The famous theorists including Habermas (1977), Foucault (1983; 1991), Fairclough (1989) and Gramsci (1971) have explored the relationship between language and power.
Research on media discourse has established the media as a social and discursive institution, which regulates and organizes social life as well as the production of social knowledge, values, and beliefs through linguistic means (Van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1996). Variations of language use in the media often constitute particular representations of the world, social identities, and relations, projecting certain versions of reality depending on the media’s institutional purposes, positions, and interests. Studying how media texts draw upon, reorganize, and transform different discourses will provide insights into the processes of ideological and reality construction in the media.

Post-structuralist theorist, Foucault focuses on historicity of discourse which constructs human subjectivity differently from the earlier construction of subjects. He specified that institutional discourse comprised over different categories called girds of specification to regulate and influence identities, bodies, civil and domestic rights, social relations and practices which got manifested in knowledge building of the people. These discourse constructions operate both in terms of technologies of power often executed, implemented and enforced by official authentication, and in terms of technologies of self as ways of self disciplined deeds, practices and identities (Foucault, 1980).

In the present times, the role of media is explored in the construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of social structures, including the structures of power and dominance in the society (Bourdieu, 1991). Some of the issues studied in media include:

- Studying the language of different news reports as a indirect means of serving the interest of ruling classes (McGregor, 2003);
- How the language of news reports/editorials serve to promote certain values and ideological structures in the society (Kress, 1990);
- The role played by the mass media in the maintenance/ destruction of ethnic relations among different ethnic communities (Van Dijk, 1991).

All the social institutions got constructed through discourses. Discourses comprised over intense texture of written, spoken and symbolic texts and practices of bureaucracies that have consolidated control over the policies, duties, curriculum, charters and documents of the said institutions. All the human beings are defined, confined and further constructed in common categories (Foucault, 1980).
However, the regulatory mechanism of discourses have been the main focus but this view has substance that any sort of ethnographic text could possessed inherent authority as claim of truth about the world. Similarly, deconstruction speculates whether any sorts of fixed and final interpretations are possible at first instance. A new term, difference, was found in all kind of texts that entirely make them polysemous; having multiple meanings and multiple characteristics produced by the readers and appreciators in different given socio-cultural.

Foucault’s idea, human subject is decentred, is the key issue, which is applied to the generalized addressee because it is the target of the media discourse. Fairclough (1989) is of the opinion that the most prominent feature of media discourse is its capacity to build a subject position for an ideal subject and, consequently, the real readers are compelled to negotiate a relationship with this idealized subject. Downing (1980) gave the remarks that the actual power of media lies because of their tendency to arouse public opinion. They have acquired the right to express their feelings.

Opinion of the newspapers presented in the printed form is the most evident discourse or practice to control mind and beliefs. The most striking characteristic of it is the margin of approach. As we all are living in the world of media, everyone is very much exposed to the mega level of daily inculcation of opinions presented in the print media. Fairclough (1989) is of the opinion that it is only due to the massive quantity that it is spread everywhere and very frequently, the discourse attain the qualitative aspect.

On the other hand, the present century has witnessed an unprecedented development in mass media. Though it has been an issue of a serious debate about the effects of media on the perception of public, but it is established that there is a power in media due to the privilege of its access to the public.

This focus on interactive and discursively conceived notions of media texts can be traced back to Bakhtin’s (1981) notion of heteroglossia which is a dialogized interrelation of languages and discourses that involves multiple voices speaking through text. According to Bakhtin, there is no creation of language in the discourse that is not influenced by certain social groups, classes, discourses, conditions or relationships. Van Dijk (1988) mentions the abuse of power in media in various forms of the illegitimate or otherwise unacceptable exercise of power, given specific
standards, norms, or values because mediated information is biased or concealed in such a way that the knowledge and beliefs of the audience are changed in a specific direction. Media biasness has been one of the most probed areas among researchers due to the very fact that newspaper data is judged through the news value paradigm. In this context van Dijk (2007) is of the view that the biasness expected to be involved is stable across newspaper sources along with over time. He further adds that news value representing a stable professional worth is established. Some other scholars emphasize the influence of the individuals on news selection.

In the light of above arguments, this area of use of power by media in Pakistani context requires exploration to identify its discursive practices which are creating a specific version of reality.

1.7 Research Design

This study is qualitative and takes a post-structuralist stance. It is contested in the theories by anti-structuralist linguists that reality is always created through and by language, and it is never fixed and this reality gets pervasive in the discourse of media and consequently perpetuated by beliefs and common sense assumption leading towards the ideological framing of different people who come across in the media discourse as readers. It is established that reality has strong social underpinnings and ultimately it is constructed by the prevailing social and cultural identities deep rooted in the struggle of power and over power, and media plays a very crucial role in this. Therefore, post-structuralist paradigm in social constructivist perspective has been presented in this study.

As a matter of fact, discourse analyst uncovers the intentions by analyzing the surface meaning along with the implicit meaning. Therefore, the purpose is to create profound understanding of particularly what is not said along with what is said. With this background, it is assumed that language is biased to convey meaning and it is always mediated. Theoretical framework for this study is based on one of so many dimensions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It is widely used now-a-days in social research for the purpose of depicting the discourse surrounded by complex socio-political issues. Media discourse is just one of many types of discourses in society.
The dimension taken for the theoretical framework of present study is power and discourse. According to them CDA aims to investigate social inequality as how inequality is expressed and signaled, and how it is constituted and legitimized through discourse. Therefore, the concept of power is the most relevant and dominant concern in CDA (van Dijk, 1998).

CDA with theoretical perspective has links with social theory, particularly with the critical theory of the Frankfurt School (Chilton, 2004). CDA is also a theory in itself as it combines elements from social theory as opposite to the believe that it is merely a method (Fairclough, 2003). The three main pillars of CDA theory are critique, power and ideology. Furthermore, the concept of power in CDA is the most important factor in social life, and texts, with this view, are sites for power struggle within the social phenomenon.

One of the strengths of this version of CDA is that it can be adapted to suit research aims. Therefore, any CDA framework preferably can be modified to get better and accurate results of the research. Therefore, for the analysis of the speech reports presented in English newspapers of Pakistan, eclectic approach is adopted in which the elements of CDA proposed by Fairclough and that proposed by van Dijk are used so as to get more accurate results.

Norman Fairclough (1989) has framed a three dimensional model for discourse analysis: text, discourse practice and the socio-cultural practice. Some features adopted for this study are taken from van Dijk’s Socio-cognitive Model. Van Dijk (1988, 1991, 1993) has shown a significant transition from analyzing text to discourse analysis. As a matter of fact, van Dijk’s analysis of news, both production and comprehension, has a highlighting effect on processes of social cognition. This model of discourse analysis is different from that of Fairclough, which focuses upon discourses available in society.

Moreover, van Dijk’s model links media text to context in terms of social relationships and processes that are carried at a micro level. On the other hand, Fairclough’s concern is to find out to what extent social and cultural change is constituted through language, discourse and discursive practices in the media (Fairclough, 1995). The broad features of the model used in this study are as follows:

1. Context
2. Syntactic structures
3. **Cohesion**

4. **Lexical Features**

5. **Interactional Control**

6. **Macro Structure**

7. **Local Meaning**

The concept of population regarding data for the present study is of two kinds: one is the original speeches of the politicians and other is the news coverage of those speeches in the newspapers of Pakistan. Three leading political parties are selected for this study and speeches of the political leaders of those parties are selected as the representatives of the rest of the political figures. In this regard, those speakers are selected, who chair the most leading political parties in Pakistan. Those politicians are: Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, Mr. Imran Khan, Mr. Asif Ali Zardari, and Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari.

Three speeches of each politician are selected so as to get the confirmation of the possibility of established discursivity regarding each politician and to identify all the elements involved in that process. Three newspapers namely, *The News, Dawn,* and *The Express Tribune* are selected for the reports on the political speeches.

### 1.8 Organization of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into seven chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the study, and it gives an overview of the study’s objectives, rationale, the theoretical and methodological framework, and the organization of the thesis. In Chapter 2, the review of literature is presented to establish the theoretical foundations of the study. The theoretical discussion on political discourse and media discourse with the techniques and impacts is presented. The media discourse with the perspective of discursivity through the use of power is also discussed in this chapter. Chapter 3 explains the methodological framework of this study. Starting with the research paradigm with which the study is linked, it gives a detailed account of the strategies of inquiry including selection of data and sampling. Chapter 4 is specified for the analysis of the speeches of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, and it gives a detailed view presented in the media reports of the speeches of the leader of Pakistan Muslim League (N). Similarly, chapter 5 presents the
analytical study of the media reports about the speeches delivered by the leader of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Imran Khan. Chapter 6 is specified for the analysis of the reports of speeches delivered by the leaders of Pakistan People’s Party, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and Asif Ali Zardari. The last chapter 7 is specified for the findings and conclusions inferred from the study of all the speeches. It concludes how media employs certain practices which influence the political environment. This chapter also discusses the recommendations and the further research areas.

1.9 Concluding Remarks

This chapter describes the role and positioning of language in the paradigm of social constructionist. It tells how power of language is exercised through institutional and organizational control and through their hegemony. The role of media in this type of the use of power is important. This chapter describes the objectives and the research questions set forth for this study. The significance, to study the role of Pakistani newspapers in shaping the reality, is also presented. The review of the literature describes the media as discursive space in the light of argument of different theorists looking at the phenomenon with different perspectives. Later on in this chapter, the design of the study in which design of CDA is described along with selection and the number of the speeches and the newspapers selected for this study are described. At the end how this thesis will proceed in the coming chapters is discussed.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Language is an exceptional trait of human beings, and through this unique human attribute, individuals can express and communicate not only the concrete but also the abstract things. Language is the central part in the social and cultural formation. It enables human being to construct the different version of reality in the socio-cultural perspective according to the core issue of structuralism. Furthermore, Language is not a neutral tool of communication and expression as it is always mediated through different means (Foucault, 1983) because it is only through language that different realities, identities and relations are established. It affects the social relations to the extent that all dimensions of social activities revolve round this ability of expression.

Post-structuralist linguists are of the view that language is exercised to create identity and ideology, production of knowledge and its reproduction, power relations and community relations; thus, it creates a new version of reality supporting the idea that reality is socially constructed. This power of language is exercised through institutional and organizational control and through their hegemony.

Language is central to the concern of communicative behaviour, because it has to do with the socialization of individuals. Discourse pattern relates to intimate details about the psychic of the person and the structure of broader conceptions of institutional organizations. If we examine the content and function of communication within political institutions, we notice that certain symbols and phraseology tend to recur more frequently than others in given contexts.
In the words of Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 134) “Language is not, and cannot, by definition, be a neutral, objective disencumbered tool. It is always imperative and subjective, regardless whether those using it admit or not.”

2.1.1 Power in Language

The relation of power and language is established by many theorists over the years, and the nature of this relation is multilayered. It is obvious that language serves the power or the powerful on the one hand and on the other it has a potential to undermine the same. In other words, language itself has power. Fiske (1994) is of the view that language helps in producing and asserting power structures in a society, and it reflects the interests of speaker or writer.

The power of language is quite evident in situations where the privileged speaker has an opportunity to speak and the listeners are left with the only option to obey in whatever sense. In this way power of language becomes the instrument in the hand of powerful. It is evident ranging from political and public speaking to the small prospects of daily life, from the arts of temptation through advertising to the sales tactics of marketing, and from the hazards of unprivileged at the workplace to fear of scarcity in the family. Habermas (1977) is of the view that language is a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power.

However, speakers depend on language and the power of language is not monopolized. In the actual sense, the power of language, in most of the cases if institutions are not involved, belongs to language itself. Therefore, the power of language can be exercised by only those who possess language. Many theorists have analyzed the links between language and power in the past few decades. Bourdieu’s (1991) work is instrumental in studying how power is produced and asserted in different societies through language. The famous theorists include Habermas (1977), Foucault (1983; 1991), Fairclough (1989) and Gramsci (1971) who have explored the relationship between language and power.

Therefore, in the construction of our society, there are certain institutions that are given privilege to propagate and influence the society with language and it is carefully set that only one-sided flow of language can be maintained as to avoid the reversal influence of power
through language. Our political setting and media propagation are set in keeping the same phenomenon. The study of language and power, though emerged in last few decades, has now become an entire discipline where it is studied how language is used to gain, exercise and maintain power structures in the society reinforcing the subjective nature of language.

2.1.1.1 Foucault's Concept of Power

The concept of power cannot be comprehensive without discussing it with reference to Foucault, as he is regarded as one of the main theorists who dealt with power. As a matter of fact, he brought into spotlight the relationship of power with language. Foucault examined power as a 'structure of actions', and found that power restrains others in terms of their actions as well as independence. He introduces three main types of power: power as strategic games between liberties, domination and governments. He thinks that, due to this relationship, we have to consider the total action along with its total structure to understand the notion of power. Therefore, it can be said that we should observe others’ actions, resistance and opposition prompted by those actions (Foucault, 1988).

Moreover, making it a principle, Foucault is interested in explaining social practices through the concept of power; however, he did not formulate any theory of power. In contrary, he proposed some concepts. Initially, he thinks that the general concept of power is different from the power practiced in public institutions as it is a multi-dimensional notion which can be exercised in all institutions: education, judiciary, media etc.

It can be observed all around, and it is negotiated between those who achieve power due to their organizational position, and those who remain victim of this power (Foucault, 1988). In other words, power needs some goals and objectives. But, as a matter of fact, these goals and objectives would be unavoidably the goals and objectives of the organizations and institutions, or at least of those who are powerful there.

2.2 Discourse

Discourse is language-in-action, and investigating it requires attention both to language and to action (Hanks, 1996). There is a long tradition of treating discourse in linguistic terms, either as a complex of linguistic forms larger than the single sentence (a ‘text’) or as language-in-use, i.e.
linguistic structures actually used by people -- real language (Brown and Yule, 1983; de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981).

Discourse is a domain of language use, structured as a unity by common assumptions. There may be competing discourses, and discourses will change over time. For example, M. Foucault describes the existence of discourse of madness which has changed over the centuries. He also suggests that there may well be similarities between discourses at any time. We find the term a discourse, most commonly used, referring to the nexus between bodies of historically volatile disciplinary knowledge and specific linguistic usages at social-institutional sites (hospitals, prisons, and schools, for example).

Discourses are used in everyday texts to build power and knowledge, to develop new knowledge and power relations and to express oneself using words. (McGregor, 2003). Linguists' interest in discourse in recent times is gradually shifting from the traditional focus on the linguistic structure of text to how texts figure in the social process. Opinion leaders, courts, government, newspaper editors, etc, play a crucial role in shaping issues in the society and setting the boundaries of what is talked about and how it is talked about (Henry and Tator, 2002).

In its original sense in applied linguistics, discourse refers to stretches of language above the level of the sentence in conversations or written texts. More recently, discourse has also been taken on an extended meaning that differs from its use in applied linguistics in at least two ways. First, in the extended meaning of the word, language is not the sole system of signs to be studied as discourse; other semiotic systems are included, such as habits of dress, the built environment, and, of course, gesture. Second, the meaning of discourse has been further extended to include societal meaning-making systems such as institutional power, social differentiation of groups, and cultural beliefs that create identities for individuals and position them in social relationships.

Jan Blommaert (2005) sees discourse as a phenomenon that comprises all kinds of significant semiotic human action seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use. Blommaert is of the view that the traditional concept of language is
only one dimension of discourse. It may and should include all sorts of semiotic flagging acted upon through objects, activities or attributes as they normally constitute major part of language-in-action. It is important to identify how they are deployed and how they produce meaning in the wider context mentioned above. A study on semiotics has revealed how, intricate connections, not single objects and instruments, among all types of semiotic modes and media structure existing semiosis (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996). To make the point clear an example of newspaper advertisement can be presented as it includes written text with different shapes and formats; it contains different shape and color generating different meaning; it has images and pictures, logos and symbols, and many more things; it has a specific size and it exhibits a particular architecture. In such case, text is just a part and visuals are playing major role in disseminating the meanings. Furthermore, its appearance on the front page, back page or the inner page also contributes to the overall impression, hence, adding something in the meaning. The total layout, features and the written text can be termed as discourse.

2.2.1 Discourse and Discursivity

It is established that discourse is, in general, employed to designate the types of representation, conventions and practices of language to construct particular fields of culturally as well as historically located meanings. Michel Foucault (Foucault, 1971; 1972) used, for the first time, the terms 'discursive practices' and 'discursive formation' for the study of particular institution. It was his purpose to understand its ways of establishing and creating orders of truth, through which certain perception of reality is accepted or taken as standard in that society. An established 'discursive formation' is defined by the contradictory discourses it contains and this phenomenon Foucault understands as a sign of stability. 'Discursive formations' do nevertheless display a hierarchical arrangement and are understood as reinforcing certain already established identities or subjectivities. These dominant discourses are understood as in turn reinforced by existing systems of law, education and the media.

The implication of Foucault's work is that members of a society are implicated in discourse and in the discursive regimes or systems of power and regulation which give them their livelihood and definition. There is no place to stand outside such systems (Foucault, 1971). For Foucault, since discourse and power are anonymous and without centre or single agency, the
political role of the critical intellectual is unclear. However, his studies of how forms of knowledge come about and come to govern truth and identities can be seen as raising some fundamental questions. It can be used in academic work along with other places of knowledge to denote the modes of thought and vocabularies characterizing institutions, domains of culture or cultural practices. It has influenced the intellectual tendency particularly in the areas of psychoanalysis, post-structuralism and post-modernism. The most common areas to apply this approach are philosophy, sociology, literature, and media study.

The discursive practice approach is grounded in four insights concerning discourse. One is the affirmation that social realities are linguistically/discursively constructed. The second is the appreciation of the context-bound nature of discourse. The third is the idea of discourse as social action. The fourth is the understanding that meaning is negotiated in interaction, rather than being present once-and-for-all in our utterances (Van Dijk, 1987).

Studying discursive practices involves paying attention not only to the production of meanings by participants as they employ in local actions the verbal, nonverbal, and interactional resources that they command, but it also requires attention to how employment of such resources reflects and creates the processes and meanings of the community in which the local action occurs. As Erickson (2004) wrote, although the conduct of talk in local social interaction is unique and crafted by local social actors for the specific situation of its use at the moment of its uttering, it is at the same time profoundly influenced by processes that occur beyond the temporal and spatial horizon of the immediate occasion of interaction. The aim of discursive practice is to describe both the global context of action and the communicative resources that participants employ in local action.

2.2.2 Discourse as a Social Practice

The social nature of discourse is quite evident when it comes in terms of people concerned. It is social in nature in a sense that people use it all the time. It is this connection, through that human beings are separated from the rest of living beings. This capability has eased us in our living in community. In this vein Fairclough (1997) has propounded the idea that texts are unable to be understood or explored in isolation, and that texts can be studied or analyzed in relation to so many other texts and in relation to the social context (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2002). Furthermore,
there is no such sense of non-social use of discourse, quite similar to the futility of the idea of non-cultural or non-historical use of language in this context.

Discourse should be taken as a form of social action which is always determined by cultural values and social norms. Though it is formed by conventions regulated by ideologies and social practices, but it is influenced and delimited by historical processes and power structures (Wodak, 1995). It means that discourse may happen to be a location of meaningful social differences including both conflict and struggle. However, it is important to see the results of it with all its social-structural effects.

In fact, social members have to use discourse to render every aspect of their social, cultural, and political environment meaningful. Every event has a potential to be a problem as people take it so; discursivity is central in this. However, this discursive nature of meaning-construction is not produced in vacuum, it is developed under certain conditions, which on one hand, are linguistic, and socio-cultural, on the other hand, as certain phenomenon is involved in it; this set of situations cannot be manipulated by everybody. This is where social divergences in discourse structure and practice come out as a problem, something that provokes inquiry and precision.

By now, it can be understood that discourse has a broader canvas before it is transformed into a text. Subsequently, it is corresponded through language to achieve the objective of communication, which is not other than delivering messages to others. From this description, it is seen that text is only a small segment of discourse though both are interconnected. Moreover, text has a substantial influence in the construction of a discourse that shaped our cognition (Fairclough, 2003). This construction has a role in creating subjective reality. Thus, texts can result in transforming our knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and values.

2.2.2.1 Exploitation through Discourse

Discourse has a potential means for exploiting in the social, economic and cultural context. However, Van Dijk (1997) is of the view that discourse structures are not manipulative. These structures have such roles or effects in particular communicative situations. In addition to it, the
manner of interpretation in the contextual perception of the individual is critical in this scenario. In other words, as a standard one type of discourse may be manipulative in that position, yet it may not be so in another situation. In this connection van Dijk (1997) is of the opinion that the proposed meaning of text or talk depends on the mental representation of the individuals including the models of the speakers or writers with their attributed aims and intentions.

Exploitation entails power and domination. More specifically, exploitation and manipulation show the exercise of a kind of illegitimate influence through discourse. In other words, speakers and writers make others believe or perform things that are of their concern, and that may be destroying or devastating for the readers or listeners (Chouliaraki, 2005; Martín Rojo and Van Dijk, 1997).

A very specific manner of exploitation through discourse can be identified in discourse powered by political, religious, bureaucratic, media, or academic institutions (Fairclough, 2003). This eventually leads to the power in the discourse through institutions, which is different from coercive power. This means that contextual limitations exist and they shape participants and their roles with their relations and their specific actions. In other words, discourse is a means of exploitation in the sense that its context is shaping or at least contributing to shape the identities of the individuals. Therefore, it can be said that discourse provides, first of all, a space for exploitation in terms of its context categories, before it provides space of exploitation in its textual structures.

2.2.2.2 Humans as Object of Manipulation

Theorists are of the opinion that text and talk have natural tendency to manipulate human beings. In this context van Dijk (2007) says that human beings are manipulated through the manipulation of their ‘minds’; therefore, the cognitive process needs to be understood to understand the processes of manipulation. As a matter of fact, manipulation is evident in discourse as it is a form of talk-in-interaction. Moreover, as discourse implies power, discussed earlier, and power abuse, van Dijk (1993) favors social approach for the understanding of discourse.
In a similar vein, Wodak (2003) differentiates the process with the arguments that in persuasion, the interlocutors act or believe as per their own will, and they can accept or reject the views of the persuader. However, in manipulation listeners and readers are, in general, play substantively a passive role. They, in fact, are prey to manipulation. This phenomenon in discourse typically happens when the receivers are incapable to comprehend the true objectives or else they cannot see the overall effects of the beliefs and actions fabricated by the manipulator. Wodak suggests that this may occur due to the lack of the particular awareness that, in other words, can resist manipulation.

In the light of the above arguments, common situations in normal life can be identified. For example, parents, due to their powerful role in the family, can influence and manipulate their children. More or less kind of influence can be observed in academics when teachers manipulate and impose their views on the students with institutional position and their knowledge. Moreover, in a bit more, generalized scenario, politicians, with the help of discourse, manipulate public; writers and journalists, normally, manipulate the recipients of media discourse, and the religious personalities potentially manipulate their followers. According to Fairclough (1995), it also has a reversal potential. In other words, the manipulated of one discourse can be the manipulator of the other discourse. For example, children can, in some other form, manipulate their parents; students can influence their professors. In this case, manipulation is not because of power or position, but in this case, it is due to the power of opposition subject to the personal qualities.

In addition to this, discursively, in Van Dijk’s (1987) opinion, manipulation by and large entails the typical structures and layout of ideological discourse. For instance, manipulation involves in stressing ‘our good things’, on one hand and on the other, emphasizing ‘their bad things’. Van Dijk (1987) in this case, differentiates manipulation from legitimate mind control. This difference can be identified in the phenomenon of persuasion and that of providing information.

2.2.3 Discourse and Ideology

Ideology is generated through, in Fairclough’s term (2003) the long standing common sense assumptions which are converted into ideological assumptions. At first place, ideology is a
complex system of ideas and beliefs that constitute and steer the major power blocks of every society. Moreover, language is the most important tool of ideological forces. Through legitimization, ideology provides a space for unequal relations and it serves to the organized power. Language is ideological and it sets the power relations. Another view is that a language ideology may also be a correct conceptualization of the language; it can differ in terms of facts, and this ideology can be a misleading account of language. One more view about ideologies is that they form the foundation of the belief systems and it generates the social representations of particular groups (van Dijk, 2001).

Within the language, ideological aspect is determined within a text. In other words, topic of the text, genre of the text and communicative purposes within the text can be relatively evident. However, with descriptive perspective, positions, beliefs, attitudes, and perspectives presented with in language of specific social group can be taken as the most part of that ideology being practiced (Fairclough, 2003). In addition, Fairclough proposes that ideology should be viewed along with the concept of power, as it is correlated with power in such a way that it becomes a key factor that ascertains, sustains, and transforms the nature of power in social structure. Gramsci (1971), being one of the most proponents of power and ideology, considers ideology as implicit philosophy in the realistic interaction of social life. However, according to him, it plays its role at being at the background. It is true to almost all the ideologies that they are taken for granted: however, its imprints can be traced in the use of language.

The role of ideology is critical in the media perspective, which in the coming pages, will be discussed in detail. However, it is pertinent to mention here that ideological aspect of the reconstruction of the media of social reality is an important facet because it is a form of reproduction of the dominant classes and ideology in social setting.

2.2.4 Public Discourse

Public discourse is a type of discourse through which limited members of society have access to the public and through this access and approach; they can convey their beliefs, ideas and intentions through discourse. In other words, they can influence the public at large. For this, they use resources to approach the public. According to van Dijk (1996), one of the most important
resources is the approach to public discourse, and it is a resource that is shared by representatives of elites, for instance politicians, writers, intellectuals, columnists, teachers, and many more. It is an obvious fact, individuals require to approach public discourse either it is through text or talk to influence public at large. Some of these forms can be parliamentary discussions, news stories, articles, books, editorials, work of fictions, TV shows, advertisements and so on. Consequently, control of the powerful in the form of some groups or institutions is established.

2.2.4.1 Power in Public Discourse

The power of various institutions in society, and how they uphold their control all the way through the language employment, has been an issue of deliberation among the scholars. In this context, van Dijk (1996) provides a view that public discourse is a tool for the social reproduction of power. He further adds that politicians exert, through public discourse, their political power on one hand and on the other, they substantiate and reproduce their political power through public discourse. This view can be applied to various institutions including media and educational institutions.

With another perspective, the public organizations have powers of diverse nature. Among them, one is to control the information. This type of control to information creates gaps to develop a distance. For instance, in media organizations, what is published in press and how that is presented, is a manifestation of power. In this context, it should be kept in mind that public media is the major source of shaping opinion of general public. Fairclough (2001) is of the opinion that only those can intervene the power structures, who have the ability to shape the public opinion. He coins the term ‘manufacture of consent’ for this phenomenon.

These organizations entail officially authorized bodies for example, governments, political parties, companies, and so on. In this way if a political party holds some control over a newspaper, they can control, somewhat the content brought forth through this medium. Consequently, it is equally important to find out how that content is conveyed. This study has a focus on this aspect of the influence in the newspaper reporting.
Moreover, dominant organizations along with powerful individuals over and over again support each other, through building power structures. As a result, power structures exploit public discourse to fortify their own control on one hand and on the other, they work to soften the control of others. For example, the policies of World Bank and the IMF are affected by some powerful countries and companies so much that finances to underdeveloped countries are attached with conditions which are in favor of those contributors.

### 2.3 Political Discourse

Politics, primarily, is associated with people and with their lives in organized communities, and the traditional party politics is so beyond this arena. Politics is a social activity like so many in a civilized society. It has a specific code, and the language used in a political discourse has specific features. This type of discourse as one of political rituals needs more attention. As a matter of fact, the work to find out connection between language and power started few decades ago; however, the critical angle to study it is not that much old (Beard, 2001). The way the language reflects the ideological position of politicians and how the readers’ ideological position is generated and affected is very important.

Generally, Politics plays an important role in our lives. Likewise, Fairclough (1989) is of the view that politics, to some extent, can be traced in the disputes and struggles occurred in ‘language and over language’. Additionally, politics is carried out either through political discourse or through diverse genres of political discourse, for instance, political speech, parliamentary debates, media interviews and shows, and political advertising (van Dijk, 1997). Finally, politics and political discourse are mingled in public sphere, and both affects presentation of the participants, in other words politicians, and recipient of political discourse, in other words public.

As it is the concern of present study, political speech, being a political genre, more often is used to perform politics. It can also be used as an object of the analysis to see the hidden agenda behind the statements of the speakers since language in political speech can control and influence political action and trust of the audience (van Dijk, 1997). Political speech is one type of discourse which produces and reproduces beliefs, opinions, and ideologies (Wodak, 2003). In
other words, political speech must have certain ideology to be spread among the audience. It indicates that the way the speaker speaks and represents something in the speech is crucial in influencing the attitude of audience.

Some studies in the area of political discourse deal with the text and talk of professional politicians or political institutions, such as presidents and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties, both at the local, national and international levels (van Dijk, 1997).

2.3.1 Politics and Politicians

In view of politics and politicians, Bourdieu’s (1991) view is thought to be one of the earliest works in terms of their use of language and in terms of creation of political discourse. It is pertinent to discuss a few of his views in the present context. According to him, proficient organizations dealing in politics have a different life, and, as a consequence, gradually disconnect those whom they represent. The sense of overall political discourses and the political stances is the most prominent learning in the training process of a politician (Bourdieu, 1991). This sense enables a politician to deliver a proper political discourse. Bourdieu gives this sense a name of political habitus. Moreover, politicians produce a discourse which is doubly determined. Firstly, it is internally determined by its position in politics, and secondly, it is externally determined by its connections to the fields other than politics. The latter is more concerned with the people’s lives and efforts, which they represent. Politicians endeavor to win their trust and support (Fairclough, 1995).

The above arguments of the linguists provide a platform to connect political discourse with the power generated in discourse. Fairclough (1995) argues that political discourse reproduces or alters the community by reproducing or changing representation of people through discourse. Furthermore, political discourse demonstrates the strong bond between ideational and interpersonal practices in discourse (Bourdieu, 1991). In other words, it has the potential to replicate or modify the society solely through reproducing and changing classes and groups in society. It works on representations as well as classifications of reality, along with representations and classifications of the concerned people (Fairclough, 1995). In short, the
power of discourse in politics relies on its potential to form and activate social factors that have capacity to carry out its promised reality into a new reality.

2.3.2 Bourdieu’s Political Discourse

Bourdieu (1991) explains political discourse as a field of struggle with its varied dimensions. According to him, this field of struggle can be classified in two main categories: internal struggle and external struggle. Internal struggle is present in political discourse to produce and maintain a consistent discourse inside the present structure of political discourse. Whereas, external struggle in the political discourse helps to formulate a political community to provide a base to support, and it earns a trust in favor of that political discourse, institutions and politicians associated with it. As the purpose of this study is to see closely the practices of politicians in newspapers as they are represented, further discussion on Bourdieu’s analysis of political discourse may be irrelevant. However, he has presented the analysis of discourses, but has not put forth the analysis of genres.

2.3.3 Techniques in Political Speeches

The political speeches are marked significantly with certain techniques to create an impact on the audience. These speeches, as discussed earlier, form the public opinion alongside they create a political space for the speakers. Through imparting certain techniques in the discourse, the politicians attain a position. A few of very common techniques in the discourse, as it is not the scope of this study to analyze the speeches of the politicians rather their media coverage, include the use of words in different association to generate persuasive impact in the speech. For instance, politicians use alliteration, allusion, antithesis (inversion), asking questions and suggesting answers, lists, metaphor, parallelism, parenthesis, repetition and redundant questioning.

Besides, persuasive techniques in political discourse are one aspect of creating specific discourse impact on the public or audience. Political discourse is marked with speech acts and their impact, particularly of illocutionary act. An in-depth study of political discourse reveals the nature of the illocutionary act, which builds up the discourse organization. Furthermore, political
discourse is prominent in terms of emotive issues. Politicians need attention of the audience, therefore, to attract their attention a political speech forces in a straight line to emotive issues. The opening lines of the speech generally attempt to tie up the audience into this; and therefore, set the course of the whole discourse. Political speeches are different from the rest of genre at least in their act of initiation. Being one of the prominent features of political discourse, the act of initiation is marked with specific features requiring different techniques.

**2.3.3.1 Features of Some Techniques**

Techniques of political discourse are prominent in political speeches. One of which is the act of support in a political speech, and it may be called as supporting acts in persuasive discourse. Here, the statement of initiating act is expanded, and new related information is added in it. It can be termed as elaboration, where the supporting act upholds the initiating act through elaboration of things placed at the time of initiation. In other words, it can be said that the political discourse is developed through supporting act.

Moreover, the next supporting act is developed through characteristics like, explanation, enumeration, exemplification, causation, elaboration, consequence, and qualification. They are linked in syntagmatic as well as paradigmatic relationships. At first place, in syntagmatic order, explanations may possibly be pursued by enumeration, then, by elaboration and exemplification to detail the point. Next, in paradigmatic structure, features of speech are in vertical order, and one may be a substitute to other.

The third feature in the political speech is the act of summation. It characterizes the statements and proposals in a very close association with the supporting as well as initiating acts. Furthermore, in political speeches, the speaker, most often, speaks directly to the audience to attain favour from them with vote, support, etc. In short, it usually revolves around a direct address to the audience.

It is important to note that political discourse does not appear, in general, to be objective or neutral. Subsequently, the subjective likes and dislikes are reflected in the use of language
particularly in political discourse. Hence, political speeches create psychological impact on individual's mind to earn their own benefit beside creating impact on the whole society.

### 2.3.4 Political Process

The political process involves a struggle over certain phenomenon in the social boundary. Therefore, theorists take the political process as a struggle to decide whose interpretation of social, cultural, political, or economic phenomena will generally be accepted and endorsed by public (e.g. Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). Here comes a point that if this type of struggle is involved in policy-making so as to create alternative realities, language has a prominent role to play in this scenario. As a matter of fact, language is that medium which reflects, proceeds, and interprets the supposed versions of realities (Rochefort & Cobb, 1994).

In addition to it, the process through which all political institutions as well as individuals describe, characterize and give meaning to social, economical or cultural issues and try to attach them to a greater political environment, has been termed as framing (Entman, 1993). These frames identify the problem and diagnose its cause. Then, these frames put forward and substantiate the treatments to mitigate and address the problem, and in the end, they predict their probable effects.

### 2.4 Media Discourse

The language of media has been a major place for the discursive production through language. A number of scholars have discussed the issues generated by media. Before discussing their main concerns in media discourse, it is quite relevant to discuss media discourse in general. Another concern is the language used in many media texts today. On one hand, media text is enriched with private conversational idioms, slangs and more delicate cultural cues in language, and on the other, media discourse performs a role, with a legitimate authority, portraying as official language to convey information to the audience. It is established through various researches that media discourse is not at all neutral and non-biased particularly against the representation it deals
with (Fairclough, 1995). In contrast, media discourse portrays its own preconceptions towards establishing the relationship with subject and its audience (van Dijk, 1997).

On the other hand, media discourse, in common, is branded to initiate the discourse on important national issues through selecting the statements, actions or achievements of major national political or social personalities and celebrities along with the phenomena in the surroundings discussing its pros and cons to the audience.

However, van Dijk (1997) is of the opinion that the launch, progression and sustenance of media discourse are most often touched with some embellishments, and it is maintained and determined by their own perspective and angle of the story. The present work is an attempt to find out how language is used in through media discourse to reflect specific set ideologies and how the power relations are maintained.

In general, the overall role of media discourse is to construct the story in such a way that it should evoke emotions of the audience/readers. For instance, it has been observed that mostly it is ensured that the selection of expressions, at least in headlines, may reflect the sentiments, attitudes and mind-set of people regarding issues in the news.

2.4.1 Role of Media in Today’s World

As it is discussed earlier, media is an important place where discursive practices are carried out with the use of language. In general, several critics have insightfully analyzed the ways in which news media use conventionalized figurative tactics and discursive strategies. For example, in the portrayal of natural calamities, the media reporting is quite stereotyped. The reporting in such situations, according to a view, starts normally with a familiar plot in which there are scenes of death along with the details of destruction, injuries and losses, the nerves of survivors, the misery of the suffered families, the valor of rescue teams, and the searching of the scapegoat to put blame.
However, scholars have noticed that typical structures of discourse in the portrayal of such cases appear in the media. One more example about the same kind of discursivity is presented by William Gamson and Andre Modigliani (1987) who suggest that the interpretive strategies of news media about the coverage of nuclear power are stylized in line with a complex process of discourse. Both the researchers sustain that “progress” and “atoms for peace” were the prevailing and strong slogans in decades of 1950s and 1960s. However, previous images are replaced with the new ones through the media discourse. Now, this discourse on nuclear power is dominated by the representations of disaster, weapon and mass destruction etc.

To limit this discussion only to political sphere, it is generally assumed that it is the only legitimate area of social power. It is so because individuals’ interests and those of the organizations become synthesized in the course of parliamentary negotiation along with legislation, into the common good, which in other words can be considered as in the ‘public interest’ of the entire society. According to van Dijk (1997) the media has well defined role in the political order within Habermassian framework, through which it is assessed that the media is a crucial medium of information and debate. Hence, it provides a crucial link between the common people and the nominated representatives. Now it can be inferred that media ensures social power being exercised in the political process in compliance with the shared reason of the individuals, and that those chosen to public office may not abuse it through their power.

The above discussion is a way to answer the essential question about the structures of news discourse as opposed to all other variety of discourse. Such as, van Dijk (1997) is of the view that in English language, the term "news story” can be used leading the notion that news may be a particular kind of narrative. It is obvious that it differs from the rest of stories in daily life or narrated to children. Consequently, different nature of news stories and how they are so, are important issues.

2.4.1.1 Discourse Theory and the Media

It is an established fact that discourse theorists have paid a little attention to the domain of the mass media in general. However, a few quotable examples can be presented in this context. Laclau and Mouffè’s discourse theory (2001) has remained primarily restricted to the study of
politics. It was due to this factor that, perhaps, very few authors have employed Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory to analyze media. Therefore, the potential use of discourse theoretical analysis is yet to be explored. In this context, the work of James Curran (1997) can be presented as it is an effort to articulate a radical democratic, normative, theory about media. Interestingly, Curran (1997) distinguishes it from the rest of Marxist and communist theories.

As a matter of fact, Curran (1997) does not overtly acknowledge Laclau and Mouffe’s work, but still a visible link of his work with their radical democratic theory can be identified (Carpentier, 2005). Similarly, an initial version of a research schema can be found in Torfing’s (1999) work on media and discourse theory. He distinguishes the following domains where discourse theory can be utilized:
(a) Analyzing discourses about the media, their place and function in society;
(b) Concentrating on discourses of mass media, particularly, on the form and content of the media discourses;
(c) Setting boundaries for media discourse, for example, analyses of community media identities, audience identities and media professionals’ identities (Carpentier et al., 2003; Carpentier, 2004; Carpentier, 2005).

Briefly, it can be said that in the above mentioned examples, Laclau and Mouffe’s (2001) political identity theory is used for the analysis of media related identities. From a discourse-theoretical viewpoint, media are seen not just as passively expressing or reflecting social phenomena, but as specific machineries that produce, reproduce and transform social phenomena. The media are not just one of the societal places where discourses circulate, but also discursive machineries that can be considered — using Foucault’s (1972) ‘systems of dispersion’ of discourses, along with their appropriate and particular rules of formation. It was due to the fact that Torfing (1999) criticizes the classical sender-receiver-model, inserting a discursive dimension on each of the levels of the model, thus posing questions about the discursive nature of the meaning of the message, of the identity of real and would-be communicators, and of the identity of receivers. Moreover, the signifier audience cannot be understood in isolation from a number of discourses that try to construct the audience as masses consumers or citizens. When common people are given access to media and are allowed to be an element in particular media
products, they go away from discursive representation of the audience. In this context, Allor (1988) says that the audience exists nowhere; it inhabits no real space, only positions within analytic discourses.

2.4.2 Media and Social Construction

As it is discussed earlier, social construction through discourse has assumed a lot of consideration among researchers. As far as, social construction of reality through media discourse is concerned, media is considered as an important discursive space. Beck (1992) recognizes the vital role of the media in the construction of social reality. He, furthermore, pinpoints the differences and issues between scientific knowledge and social rationality by arguing that the spread of risks increases our dependence on mediated scientific knowledge. However, at the same time, our trust in science has weakened, and scientific rationality is more and more being questioned by social rationality which draws its arguments from everyday life. The media represent a key field of struggle between the dissimilar forms of rationality over the source and the possible solutions (Cottle, 1998).

Now, this can be interpreted simply into discourse analytical expressions. It can be inferred from Beck that there is a struggle between claims deriving from social rationality and scientific rationality and between claims deriving from private everyday life and mediated experience. The struggle that Beck explains between these assertions can be taken as a struggle between discourses in which each represents divergent representations of the world and identities for actors.

2.4.2.1 Dependence on Media Constructed Versions of Reality

It is important to consider certain concerns while discussing media and its discursivity in social context. These can be as what role the media play in political issues. How far does the power of media extend? It is obvious that politicians and influential groups try to control the shape, structure, perspective and tone of important issues, either political or social, so that they may produce and shape the outcomes favorable to their political concerns. It would be an equally
important dimension to explore whether they communicate the real meaning of a particular message and amend the contents of message just to fulfill journalistic norms and the structural limitations of news production. If so, how much they take this liberty.

The other side is whether they act as contributors who form and change the appearance of the issue. In this scenario, Karen Callaghan and Frauke Schnell (2005) argue that due to pertinent reasons like election, legislation, protection of the status quo, social and religious norms and ease of communication, all political participants including media, power groups, and politicians intentionally try to control the information and the related alternatives. Hence, they manage to control or divert the public opinion. In fact, people from almost all the social circles mainly depend on a media-constructed version of reality. Therefore, it is a key issue to determine who controls it. Moreover, control over political expression is a vital instrument to influence and shape public opinion. The reason behind it is that “entrenchment of some terms, and the disappearance of others, is often a signal of political triumph and defeat” (Kinder & Sanders, 1990).

Beside these basic ideas on overall discursive practices through media discourse, the media produces tangible stories along with more general opinions in the shape of background features, editorials and opinion articles. As a consequence, media users may directly infer elements of new attitudes and ideologies from media discourse, as if by informational short-cuts. They even put aside their own learning they have acquired through personal experience and observations. As there are generally numerous interpretative frameworks, such media practices can influence media users to adopt the preferred ones (Karen Callaghan & Frauke Schnell, 2005). Moreover, the audience of media have a tendency to accept favoured general knowledge, judgments and attitudes, which ultimately lead to preferred ideologies, provided that these remain consistent with their individual experiences.

Karen Callaghan & Frauke Schnell (2005) provide further arguments for the situations and issues in which these personal experiences are not sufficient. According to them when ideologies are not entirely developed, media discourse will be relatively prominent. Examples can be identified in the material for reports along with editorials about events, politics and
policies, structural characteristics of society and information about comparatively unfamiliar people.

In reality, it might possibly be supposed that generally many stories and editorials are about affairs that are not part of individuals’ common experiences and hence, audience has not yet developed any proper attitude. In such situations it is relatively more important to analyse dominant media narratives to understand the ideological development on the whole. One pertinent example in such case could be the image of Islam in the western society, which is, for the most part, is developed by the media, and it is not developed purely due to personal experiences and judgments. Moreover, the situation will remain unchanged except they acquire substitutive personal experiences, social knowledge and alternative opinions that may set them to counter-study the prevailing media discourses (Karen Callaghan & Frauke Schnell, 2005). There are so many other situations and issues where the same sort of examples can be cited, for instance, the image about the Third World, the international economy, social and cultural issues along with ethnic conflicts in different societies. In brief, the public, with few exceptions, heavily depend on the media for social representations, and, in contrast, social representations will rely on the multiplicity of the information stuffed in media discourse.

### 2.4.2.2 Social Representation

While discussing media discourse with the dimension of its social representation, it is quite relevant to see what is being considered and understood as social representation. One way of looking at social representation is that the cognition of individuals in terms of long term memory stores instinctively interpreted individual experiences in the form of mental models (van Dijk, 2007). Besides, there are more stable and permanent socially shared beliefs which are termed as social representations (Augoustinos and Walker, 1995; Moscovici, 2001). Moreover, the socio-cultural knowledge shapes the essence of those beliefs, and allows us to meaningfully act, interact and communicate with other members of the same culture (van Dijk, 2007).

With another perspective, people are influenced and in response behave in accordance to that influence. In this regard, Chomsky (2004) is of the opinion that if the attitude of people is
influenced, there is no further need to reinforce them to act in accordance with these attitudes. For example, they will vote in favor of antiterrorism policies, if they are influenced by terrorism.

In van Dijk’s view (2007) this kind of manipulation is also a discursive practice, and it influences cognitive as well as social dimensions. Therefore, it can be inferred that those strategies of discourse, which usually control socially shared beliefs, need keen attention. van Dijk mentions generalization as one of these strategies. According to him, it generates an impact on the mental models of the individuals leading to more generalized knowledge, attitudes, or ideologies.

In this context, the recent case about representation and manipulation is about terrorism after 9/11 in the western media. Through a particular representation, emotional and powerful mental models apprehended by general public were generalized to shared fears, attitudes and ideologies about terrorism. It is an authentic example of immense manipulation because the results of social representations are not in the best interests of the citizens. When such attitudes are being manipulated in order to dramatically raise military spending, legitimate military intervention and pass legislation that imposes severe restrictions on civil rights and freedoms (such as the Patriot Act). Manipulation in this case is an abuse of power because citizens are manipulated into believing that such measures are taken in order to protect them (Ahmed, 2005; Chomsky, 2004; Greenberg, 2002; Halliday, 2002; Palmer, 2003; Sidel, 2004).

2.4.3 Role of Media Power and Influence

The issues of media, regarding its role, in the (re)production of powerful ideologies hinges on a structure that generates concepts of influence and power, have been extensively debated (Bryant and Zillmann, 1986). The more the media has attained power, the less freedom has been attributed to that influenced audience. It is vice versa as well as the more the public is considered to be independent in utilizing media, the less controlling the media have been considered to be. This phenomenon is not as a natural result of the logic and nature of power, rather it is based on empirical inquiry about the manner through which media discourse influences mind, cognition and action in a particular situation (Harris, 1989).
It is now relevant to discuss media power in terms of the social power which is normally assumed by groups and institutions. Putting aside the coercive nature of power either of military and police on institutional level, or raping women and molesting children on individual level, social power, by and large, is identified as the control of actions along with control over access to resources by a dominant group or even individual (Lukes, 1986). It means that control of action generally indicates decrease of freedom. By applying this notion to media, it can be inferred that the freedom of the media should be considered as power of the media.

Moreover, action can be defined in many ways and different factors are involved in this process. If intentions, reasons, objectives and goals may be taken as some parts in the overall definition of action, then, control of action means control of mind. This is the key factor in persuasive social power in general, and in media power in particular (van Dijk, 1988). On this ground van Dijk (1988) feels the need to understand the cognitive processes and representations. In addition to this, cognitive approach presents insight into the structures, formation and strategies of cognition. Due to this very reason, it offers a foundation for an innovative understanding of the power of the media in terms of persuasion (Graber, 1984; Gunter, 1987; Harris, 1989).

With this overview of media discourse in general, it can be observed, with another perspective, that companies exercise power to the masses through the media. The most prominent phenomenon is advertising through which business companies communicate messages to potential consumers, and they enjoy free access. Through a specific use of language, different business organizations persuade the readers to pay money for their product. They influence the content of news and language of the news implicitly, as they know that being larger advertisers, they cannot be refused. Therefore, media owners cooperate in the process of publishing and expression. The element of discursivity can be identified with an example that a paper would ignore the events of food poisoning if a renowned fast food company is its client, and if it has to do so, the paper would place it on less frequently read places of the newspaper.
With the view of media influence, Iain Wilkinson (1999) is of the view that majority among researchers appear to agree that the news media reports of crisis and disaster have a strong influence upon audience. He explains the power of media to highlight collective attempts to seem sensible to the world. Consequently, according to him, through deploying different techniques by news media in the reporting of different unfortunate events, it is supposed that they have exposed important components of public discourse, that has the potential to guide audience to distinguish threats from risks. According to Iain Wilkinson (1999) this approach has remained beyond the limits of sensible apprehension.

2.4.4 Bias is Embedded in Media

Media biasness has been one of the most probed areas among researchers due to the very fact that newspaper data is judged through the news value paradigm. In this context van Dijk (2007) is of the view that the biasness expected to be involved is stable across newspaper sources. He further adds that news value representing a stable professional worth is established. Some other scholars emphasize the influence of the individuals on news selection. According to this perspective, media have individualized sensitivity concerning what constitutes news (Snyder and Kelly, 1977). Every newspaper has its own specific public with a particular mindset, and therefore, events are reported and covered according to it. Likewise, many participants in a gathering are reported to be at a demonstration according to the police version, even though they are organizers. This representation is supposed to vary in keeping with the political orientation of that newspaper.

According to Hallin and Mancini (1984) the newspapers of a country reflect the political system wherein they are embedded, and, as a result, they give attention to specific institutions, personalities and their political action. In this context it is said further, as an example that American television concentrates on the activities of White House with the angle of presenting the presidential system as better, as compared to the weak US political parties. On the other hand, Italian news focuses on political parties and their representation showing a strong party system as compared to an unstable and weak central government.
This culturally colored media approach towards news predicts that coverage of events vary across newspapers with the factor that every newspaper has different public and different priority towards political systems. Therefore, it is a doubtful claim that there is an essential isomorphism of bias represented in newspapers in a country or across it (van Dijk, 2007).

Another view of biasness in media is identified in the selection process that is taken as the outcome of the professional practices of members of the press. In this context it is assumed that news coverage acts like a net and not as a gatekeeper (Tuchman, 1978). Places such as police offices, public offices, and capital cities are the potential spatial dimension, crowded with reporters, of this net. In the absence of these news reporters, events are possibly not been reported. In this connection, time, as far as news net is concerned, is considered as very important dimension (van Dijk, 2007). It is due to this factor in the production process of news that reporters normally concentrate on scheduled events, affairs and already reported news rather than on startling, exclusive, or different events.

Briefly, this theory does not only represent the gatekeeper paradigm, but some more aspects are expected from it. For example, it stresses the importance of the news value of different and unexpected events (van Dijk, 2007). According to him, the mindset of the media persons can be assessed with the fact that legalized events, issues and occurrence have, as compared to illegalized things, less news value. But, despite this factor, they favor permitted events as being scheduled. It is all because of their short time net which is decisive. Finally, in van Dijk’s (2007) opinion, on Monday, the issues of newspapers are slightly tilted towards reporting on different issues like demonstrations etc, because of the shortage of the routine news.

The next element in understanding the media biasness, accentuates power instead of culture to elaborate the selection process of the news (Molotch and Lester, 1974). The elite discourse is normally the choice of mass media (Clarke et al., 1976). Furthermore, power means different things: some emphasize economic power and some others give value to political power in various dimensions. However, power can be employed, if directly, with the nexus of manipulative governments. In case of indirect power, media, media persons and reporting are the best options. At the end, according to van Dijk (2007) the power theory and the news net conception are very close.
2.4.5 Media and Political Discourse

With the understanding of media biasness in discourse as discussed earlier, it is pertinent to see how media represents politics. It is evident that media plays a significant role in transmitting the opinions of politicians. It has been studied with various angles how media discourses convey ideological meanings in different countries with different cultures (Wodak, 1995). According to him, newspapers embed the news most of the time in such a way that aims to direct the ideological position of the reader. In this context, the discourse of editorials is a good example of political texts. Furthermore, opinions, judgments and ideologies play major functions in social, political and cultural back grounding of a society. For example, Iranian nuclear activities being the most contentious issues during the recent years have been expressed in the socially as well as culturally pertinent genre of editorials of newspapers (van Dijk, 2007).

2.4.5.1 Politics and Sub-politics

The concepts regarding media and politics are no more traditional as there are numerous changes in the social order for example, reflexive modernity, late modernity, post-traditional society, etc. (Beck, 1992, 1997; Beck et al., 1994; Giddens, 1990, 1991). The social practices due to the effect of these changes, naturally, have generated social change more particularly in the arena of politics and media. According to Phillips (1998) politics in the present times is no more a traditional parliamentary politics; instead, it has developed a shift towards sub-politics. According to him, it is a new domain in the overall umbrella of politics involving collective as well as individual agents who directly, are not part of politics.

On the other side, Phillips (1998) is of the view that the media are not merely social institutions along with political institutions as it was the situation in the previous years, but in the present scenario media are becoming the key political institution as it provides a forum where the significant discursive processes occur. It is due to the processes that public opinion is shaped or at least influenced. On the contrary, public representation alongside crystallizing a public will has been considered to be established through the parliamentary assembly. It is a paradoxical situation that the media, now, can be considered to have become the major form for public
representation since events, to a greater extent, are being made public through the media and not in face-to-face interaction in social settings (Thompson, 1995). The term ‘mediated publicness’ is used in this context and it involves a thorough restructuring of the limits between public and private aspects of social life, but, as a matter of fact, the margin has been blurred between the public and the private life. Besides, an amalgam of political life has been ensued and that particularly is shaped, mostly, by the discursive practices of the media.

In fact, the account of the media, in the view of Phillips (1998) is characterized by an ever increasing independence in comparison with other social institutions and even more than political institution. It has developed a complexity in terms of relations between the actors within and outside the media either they are sources or audiences.

It has been investigated, though it was limited to Denmark, that newspapers are under political control despite the fact that they do have a long standing establishments and a background (Hjarvard, 1999). Therefore, they have been used mostly to confirm the particular party congregations with complete political faith. At this time, Hjarvard has reached to the conclusion similar to that is discussed earlier that the media are barely a social institution in true sense. He further adds in the conclusion that media have been subordinated to the political institution, and the function of being the mouthpieces of political parties is performed to serve the interests.

With this understanding, it is relatively convenient to foresee that the political manipulation of the media eventually lies with the work of the media persons, as they solely are responsible for the production of media discourse. With the advancement in the media and diversity in media discourse with a political perspective particularly, they have a critical role to play, and that is between many actors within politics, alongside a role between the political institution and the public at large (Hjarvard, 1999).

Besides, it is notable that both the above mentioned axes are dialogic. They become go-betweens who, on one hand, correspond the deliberations from politics to the masses, and on the other, direct public opinion from the public into the political arena. According to Hjarvard (1999)
it happens when media persons, like an augur, engage the citizenry endeavoring to build popular opinion among those who are affected by political programs or omissions, so as to convey crystallizing opinions and feelings on to the general public agenda, prepared to serve the political personalities to build into their own deliberations and policy programs.

Correspondingly, the media persons, by passing the handsome range of sentiments in the political field on to the general public agenda, become the mediators. Thus they become a part, within the political system, of an indirect dialogue carried out between the political personalities in situations when are informed by them about the stance taken by some other politicians on a policy issue.

However, there are certain concerns with the above mention notions about the media discourse regarding its discursivity. At first place, it is almost impossible to represent the whole truth; therefore, every model can express only some portion of that reality as per its priority. Similarly, these notions capture an important feature of media power, but these too have certain limitations. One of the some main limitations is that these notions confuse the interpersonal processes with the mass communicated processes of media work.

Another aspect is that it gives the impression that direct interpersonal contact is missing between political actors and public; it is a misleading concept as politicians are also the members of that society and they do have links and communication circles beyond political world though they remain included and secluded in different situations.

Now, in the earlier discussion, it has been established that the relationship among the news media, pressure groups, and elected officials in structuring and interpreting political issues is very important. The controlling and structuring of message by the dominated and politically influenced groups, possibly provides three scenarios. The news consumed by the public assumes the ultimate presentation:
(i) It is dominated by a single side message spin;
(ii) It is a mixture of the views of all politicians along with the media that act as the ultimate arbitrators for inclusion;
(iii) It is either a type of communication that may discard the input of others, and it creates a solely media-generated version.

It is clearly understood that whose version in the form of final presentations dominates in political issues. If the account is dominated by one actor’s message, that individual or group has successful in navigating the media. He ultimately has shown the potential to persuade the public by receiving extra ordinary exposure. In this way it has maintained the authority to define the problem.

However, if the second or third scenario has to play out, the media, in that case, emerge as more dynamic shapers of political messages than that discussed earlier. In the present times a lot of changes in the news business have emerged; therefore, media persons may have acquired more powerful positions in mixing facts and analysis. As a result, there are more evidences of constructing reports that revolve around their personal interpretative themes. There is no doubt that studies have increasingly mentioned the spread out of an interpretative style of reporting (Bennett & Manheim, 1993).

2.4.5.2 Politicians and Media

Despite the fact that interest groups seek prominence on media to influence politics, politicians are not out of the scene in this struggle. On the contrary, media have become very important place for politicians to increase influence and to get dominance as compared to other politicians (Cook, 1989; Kendrowski, 1996). With the help of media they sway the views of their voters. Moreover, they are at the mercy of media persons, particularly editors, who decide how to represent their institution, their own personalities and their policies along with political agenda.

However, various perspectives exist for examining how politicians endeavor to present political issues, and how they manage the media so as respond and interpret their version of reality for the public. There is no doubt that the ability of dominated groups to structure issues for the public presentation through the media is, supposedly, influenced by a
powerful political status, resources and credibility. In addition, there are situations when the messages set forth by some more powerful and resourceful politicians may not be considered by the media. In this case, information and messages are presented unedited to the public. However, media manipulators, as they are experts, impose their dominant frames, symbols and perspectives on the media, the outputs may not digress significantly from the inputs.

2.4.5.3 Media Influences Political Perception

How media influences political perception is evident from the above discussion. However, specifically, certain dimensions need more elaboration. As a fact, a number of studies suggest the power and influence of the media to control the public outlook in general, and political perceptions in particular. Primarily, media decide subjects to cover for the presentation.

In other words, the media demonstrate power to set the public agenda according to their own priorities (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). At the next step, media elevate some issues of their interests over others. Moreover, media, specifically, influence constituents’ successive evaluations of politicians and modify the judgment criteria of politicians (Krosnick & Kinder, 1990). Nevertheless, the control of agenda setting and elevation are not the only powers media assume. Presentation issues and the linguistic choices are other issues of serious concern.

The media’s choice of frame to use in different situations and for different personalities can influence public for the creation of subjective realities (Callaghan & Schnell, 2000; Terkildsen & Schnell, 1997). It must be kept in mind that the opportunity for media to frame issues takes place from the media’s skill to pick and choose from the narrative given by politicians and pressure groups.

In this context, it is relevant to reiterate that in the most special cases, the media can abandon all feedback from the politicians and, as a result, create an entirely media-generated description of that issue. The above cited examples confirm that media have power to control and influence public perception in so many ways because media present a single sided version on
a presented or portrayed issue. So much so that it dominates on another powerful institution of politics.

2.4.5.4 Media an Arena for Political Struggle

With the perspective of the influence of media on public perception, it has been discussed that media have power even to dominate political institutions. With the other angle of same perspective, discursive struggle for the visibility over media along with its representation is the most fundamental factor in developing and destroying social and political movements in a society. Therefore, the media have become an arena for political struggle. In this way social and political movements cannot meet the expense of ignoring media in case if they want to generate some significant impact.

However, van Dijk (2007) thinks that politics and the media have mainly become ideological fellows. As such these ideologies are improbable without the vigorous contribution of media. This in other words means that the prevailing discourses of the media direct to the construction along with the implementation of models, and through these models, certain attitudes and ideologies can be inferred.

The main factor according to Fairclough (1995) is an external relationship that links the political order of discourse with the order in media discourse. As for as, Bourdieu’s opinion (1991) is concerned, the manner of discourse of politicians with public is Bourdieu’s twin determinants of the discourse which is produced by politicians. According to him, a lot of critical work, on mediatized politics, has emphasized complicity between the politicians and media.

However, the importance to be vigilant is increased and it requires a sensitive attitude towards rifts, struggles and contradictions for comprehensive understanding of the relationships between the order of political discourse and the order of media discourse (Fairclough, 1995). Moreover, he is of the opinion that the difference between an internal narrative of the order of political discourse, particularly parliamentary discourse, and an external account of the interface between political discourse and media discourse, can no more blur.
It is due to the fact that most of the political discourse is open to being reported as well as represented through multiple areas in the media. On the other hand, politicians are conscious, even in their parliamentary discourse, because they are addressing to and for public but they do so in anticipation of ‘mediatization’.

2.4.5.5 The politics of media

Media have multiple dimensions; therefore, the politics of media should be viewed in studying media. It has been an issue of concern among scholars, (Chomsky, 1989; Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1996; van Dijk, 1993), that the conventional media exerts ideologically, and in this way serves the interests of the powerful, the influential and the state. With another way, Fairclough (1995) stresses the same issue that media discourses contribute in the production of social relations in terms of domination and exploitation. At the same time, Fairclough argues that the interests of the media, under certain circumstances, are not compatible with the state itself. He gives the example of the Vietnam War when American media changed the public opinion against war by showing the images. The influence of media by putting pressure on the government to intervene to help and support the Kurdish refugees in Iraq is one more similar study.

Conversely, Chomsky argues that the criticism of the media on state is also a part of the canon of dominant individuals, organizations and groups so as to give a strong impression about themselves that they are spokesmen for free speech and the general community interest (as cited in Achbar, 1994). Here is a paradox that they, the critics of the media, acknowledge the non-interference of the state in media affairs. The question is how and through what means the media is an instrument of the powerful.

2.4.6 Genres in Media

Political discourse in recent times, according to Fairclough (1995) is ‘mediatized’ political discourse. The important point, according to him, is that the genres being used are no more the traditional genres of politics. In fact, now, they are the genres of the media. The underlying fact
is that the traditional political activities along with their genres are parliamentary debates, party conferences, international conferences and many more. They are represented in the media within the format and genres of the media for example, news, documentary, etc. According to Fairclough (1995) their representation on media is, at all times, a partial re-contextualization in accordance with the requisites of media formats and genres.

Genres for political discourse, all together, that generated by media are ever more important for politicians. The most notable among them are the political interviews. Besides, the line between politicians and media voices is increasingly disappeared in a way that politicians are appearing along with other famous persons such as social activists or media stars. Therefore, in Fairclough’s opinion, the narrative of the order of mediatized political discourse needs specification genres for political discourse, along with the roles that a range of political voices perform with in them.

According to Fairclough (1995) genre intersects choice relations with chain relations. Moreover, genres perform their role in structure as well as constraints on syntagmatic organization. The matter can be assessed with the fact that political interviews are, basically, interactions with audiences with the fact that they are not private conversations. The point is that the point of reference to audiences is prominent in the discourses. Conversely, reporters defend these types of political interviews by giving the impression of putting tough questions and related challenges to claim to articulate on behalf of the public (Bell and Van Leeuwen, 1994). Along with this, media, sometimes, use life world discourses by producing the discourse of public. But, on the other side, politicians, too, claim the representation of common people by drawing upon the same discourses.

Logically, the above discussion indicates that the tension between conventional practices of political discourse and those of the media that constitute the frames through which politicians have to operate is only the media discourse.

The discursive practices, for Fairclough (1995) within media with the perspective of political discourse, need to be studied while considering genre. He thinks that politicians do not
articulate different discourse in a pure form, but it is always situated and shaped by genres for instance, political speech, parliamentary discussions and debate, or negotiation. This issue becomes critical in case of mediatized political discourse.

2.4.7 Normative Expression from Media

The media, as an important site for discursive practices, has been viewed by many scholars in different dimensions. As a foremost aspect, it has its own clear normative expression, though discursivity lies within its very roots. Scholars repeatedly portray the norms of media to judge the performance in a democratic state (Bennett, 1990). The media, in an ideal way, are expected to work as watchdogs politically as well as socially or media should exclusively protect the public interest. Besides, they should play their part to flourish and practice truth, pluralism, balance, objectivity and precision (Bennett, 1990). With the exception of certain subjective indications, on the other hand, such normative expectations are rarely found in media practices (Chomsky, 2004).

Moreover, Zaller and Chiu (1996) assume that media persons are in need to quote authoritative sources. They further argue that, as a result, news productivity in this way becomes a function of official version on that issue. It can be said in other words that they present their news coverage in line with the official version on that issue.

2.4.8 The Order of Mediatized Political Discourse

In line with the above mentioned perspective of media discourse, it is quite relevant to discuss some other dimensions of political discourse mirrored through media discourse. In this connection, it is important to understand the practices of both, media discourse and political discourse, in creating a particular version of reality that suits to some dominant groups having an access to that place. In the words of Bourdieu (1991), it is mediatized political discourse. In this specific version of discourse, Bourdieu considers the issue of voices more critical, hence needs some elaboration.
2.4.8.1 Voices

Bourdieu (1991) thinks that there is a need for the specification of the range of voices, genres and discourses inside the order or manner of political discourse in the media. He finds significant connections of choice and alternation inside all repertoires, and specific voices, discourses, genres etc. are articulated together through different media outputs. Therefore, the main categories of social agents, those contributing to mediatized political discourse, need identification. He later identifies five categories. They are political reporter, politicians, representatives of social movements, experts and ordinary people. Bourdieu (1991) raises some questions about voices. For him, it is important to find out which types of voices figure in this kind of discourse. Though it is obvious that only politicians are not responsible in the production of media political discourse, the specific identification is critical. The other question Bourdieu (1991) is concerned about is to know how a variety of categories of linguistic choices are framed and structured in political discourse in media and who has a privilege to finish the discourse or speak the last words.

Moreover, the politicians on the media are often from the leading parties, but other belonging to smaller parties may get sometimes media coverage. Experts among those categories are often academics who act as commentators or analysts. Social movement representatives are an addition to the political voices. However, the important issue is what discourses are taken into the political sphere by them. He says that discourses can be generated in many ways.

2.4.8.2 Individual and Collective Voices

According to Bourdieu (1991), it is most often difficult to differentiate between collective voice and individual voice while mapping the discourse. Moreover, personal identity, character and the charisma in the personality are rated high in politics. It is therefore, essential to recognize distinguishing voices and styles of political discourse.

2.4.9 Selectivity in Media

The work of Van Dijk (1997) is quite significant in the area of selectivity process of media. In media studies, according to him, four different mechanisms are identified particularly on the
news media. It is relevant to mention that all these four mechanisms require different theoretical approach. Van Dijk (1997) categorizes them as:

- News value format as per the importance of events;
- The culture of newspapers;
- The organizational practices of media persons;
- And power, political as well as economical.

He considers that every mechanism plays its part in the production of a particular structure of biasness and partiality in newspaper data. For instance, for the news value approach, incidents or events are permitted to cross the gatekeeper function in accordance with the reporting of attributes of them to a standard news value format. Snyder and Kelly (1977), referring to protest reporting, argue that coups d'etat get more coverage than strikes. Similarly, McCarthy along with colleagues (1996) established that picket lines did not attract media attention as compared to marches or rallies. Moreover, more the contributors in a specific event, the more value, news value, it holds.

Furthermore, White (1997) is of the opinion that violence has a news value. Similarly, Galtung and Ruge (1965) have the same opinion about the element of surprise. Van Dijk (1997) says that public order problems get more coverage than that of the rest of the groups and movements.

2.4.10 Subjectivity in Media

The idea of subjectivity points numerous meanings in the sociology of knowledge. Practically, subjectivity means manipulation of reality carried out during the process of knowledge production. As a theoretical counterpart, objectivity means an accurate and complete representation of reality. Such accuracy, in media studies, is evaluated by neutrality and information balance indexes.

Subjectivity, particularly in media discourse, is mainly due to the ideological assumptions, and they provide a space for the unequal power relations. In this context, Althusser (1982) is of the view that they are the ideological apparatus of the bourgeois state, and their
objective is to produce political consensus, political mobilization, and its legitimacy. Prieto (1975) argued, regarding subjectivity, that the knowledge seeking is an act though which a subject positions himself/herself in the social environment. He/she learns about the world with the help of so many social networks he/she takes part.

As the processing of news is also a processing of knowledge as mentioned earlier; therefore, the media require merely to decide the contents to be presented to the audience. They, in this process, investigate the more useful and convincing elements of reality to attract the audience. As a result, their knowledge of facts, on the whole, can scarcely be balanced or comprehensive. Moreover, journalists seek the information that is helpful in their individual careers (Garon, 1996).

Besides, subjectivity provides a space through which it is comparatively easy to attract an audience. Therefore, Garon (1996) says that subjectivity is functional as well as instrumental in its essence. Media may claim to be objective in their approach, and they are not altogether wrong in this claim. However, according to Garon, objectivity can never turn out to be an essential characteristic in the overall scenario of coverage of news. Moreover, Garon (1996) is of the view that functional subjectivity partially refers to unskilled or dishonest reporters, but it pertains mainly to marketing strategies and tactics as well as organizational culture.

On the other hand, linguistic analysis of the newspaper seems, very often, skeptical. The linguists at times try to control or structure the subtle manipulation to distort reality. In this context, White (1997) claimed that media persons restrict subjective interpersonal features in hard news reports, and they, through objective language, purport to be neutral and unbiased, particularly where the formal language affords the appearance of neutrality. White (1997) further adds that impersonal register of this kind is but a rhetorical stratagem to aid the obfuscation of a reporter’s subjectivity.

2.4.11 Power and News Media

As the concept of power in discourse has been discussed in the early pages, therefore, this section is limited to the discussion of the properties of social power or institutional power. It is not the concerned issue to describe idiosyncratic elements of personal influence of individual
journalists. Social power can be defined, in a broader sense, as a social relation among individuals, groups or institutions (Fairclough, 1995). It involves the control of a more powerful group or institution along with its individual members. They employ this power to the actions as well as the minds of a less powerful group or institution along with its members.

Generally, media power is symbolic and persuasive, because media have the potential to control and shape, to some extent, the minds of readers. Bourdieu (1991) considers media power as symbolic power due to the fact that media have the capacity to the control of intentions, opinions, knowledge and beliefs; Bourdieu’s assertion on symbolic power is a vital support in understanding the pervasive nature of media as institutions and its social impacts. Thompson (1995) defines the concept of Bourdieu’s symbolic power as the capacity to mediate in the process of happenings, to manipulate the actions and ultimately to create events; it is done though the construction and transmission of symbolic forms. Thompson’s definition captures generally the power of the institution like media over symbolic production.

2.4.11.1 Individual Liberty

Despite the symbolic power of construction of reality in the hands of media, evidences suggest that the audience generally retains a least amount of autonomy and independence. According to Van Dijk (2007) the level of public engagement is relatively active and not purely passive. In other words, symbolic power of the news media has its massive influence, but some media users may be able to refuse to go along with such persuasion.

In the light of the above mentioned argument, it is established that the power of media to control minds can be more influential when the audience is not able to realize the implications of this symbolic power (Van Dijk, 2007). In other words, they can be under the control of symbolic power when they themselves accept it, and accept, for example, the news reports as true and opinions in the newspapers as legitimate, true and correct.

Furthermore, Van Dijk (2007) is of the view that the study of social power with its symbolic dimensions needs to understand a detailed and focused approach to power socially and
politically. According to him, it also requires to analyze the mental representations and social cognitions, for example, attitudes and ideologies, shared by the readers. If such mental representations as well as their changes, the processes of news reports are taken properly, meaningful insights related to media power can be achieved (Van Dijk, 2007). He considers that notions of influence and manipulation, which otherwise are difficult to address, can be given a precise meaning.

2.4.11.2 Access

One other angle of media power can be identified in the notion of access to media. Generally, power is attained based on access to esteemed and key social resources. Social groups are provided with social power through their access to different forms of public or consequential discourse. Economic power along with other social aspects of power is the key in this notion.

Now the question regarding media discourse is who has access to it, and what inferences the answer to this inquiry, have concerning the place of media in society. In this context, Fairclough (1995) argues that institutions, individuals and social groups have not the same access to the media. According to him, this factor is emerged because media is enormously under control, professionally and institutionally. Furthermore, those having other forms of power, economic, political or cultural, have the paramount access to the media.

According to van Dijk (1997), access to media discourse is significant because it is a main social resource for people. He further adds that elites can be defined with the perspective of their privileged access to it. Logically such access generates control over the features of the context for example, Time, Place, Participants etc, along with the control over different features of the text including topics, style, etc.

On the contrary, specific access to the minds of the public, according to van Dijk (1997), does not imply control. In other words, the public have some freedom of participation in the media portrayals; they may also not change their mind along the lines set by the more powerful. The public have the power of rejection, disbelief, criticism, and other ways of resistance, and this
resistance may challenge their positions by counter power. As a fact, according to van Dijk, influence in the shape of mind control is scarcely unproblematic, and same is true to the power of the media along with the elite groups endeavoring to control the public through media.

Van Dijk (1997) is of the opinion that the ways and strategies through which the minds, though indirectly, are being accessed need to be examined. However, this type of work requires explicit insight to understand the construction of the social mind with different strategies and representations.

2.4.11.3 Knowledge and Attitudes

The work of van Dijk (1997) is specific regarding the issues of power in dimensions of knowledge, attitudes and ideologies. He is of the view that if news understanding is a role of socially shared knowledge, as it is always shared, then control over knowledge, indirectly, controls understanding. Consequently, those having control over access are not likely to provide complete information, and the readers’ knowledge remains limited. As a matter of fact, this situation is in the best interests of the powerful that public understanding, over a number of issues if not all, must remain minimal.

Likewise, the powerful elite groups are not interested, generally, to open the avenues for public to have access to other resources of communication which can contribute in providing background knowledge. Thus, the marginalization of media with oppositional specifications is another dimension in this respect. In this connection Van Dijk (1997) is of the view that the influence in such cases on the knowledge of the public, at maximum, is complex and complicated. Therefore, he suggests that effective credibility techniques, for instance, the application of statistics, credible evidences, photographs and other sources that can prove the truth are required.

In the light of above arguments, it can be inferred that the intentional control of knowledge is critical in understanding the control of discourse. In the same way it is important in the control of discourse access along with the significant counter power of oppositional
understanding. Van Dijk (1997) is of the opinion that there is no question about the criticality of knowledge, however, other crucial forms like social cognition are there, and the schemata of socially shared opinions, which he calls attitudes, are critical in this context. He considers that, as is discussed earlier, control of knowledge influences understanding; however, control over the attitudes of others influences evaluation.

2.4.11.4 Hegemony and Ideology

To understand thoroughly the concept of power regarding media discourse, it is imperative to discuss the relation of hegemony and ideology. Fairclough (1995), taking it from Gramsci, has employed the concept of hegemony. Moreover, Chomsky (1989) and van Dijk (1998) have pointed to the power of media in manufacturing consent. Hegemony, according to Fairclough & Chuliaraki (1999), in the meanings of domination, is based upon consent and not on coercion. It involves the naturalization of practices and relations, social, along with relations between practices, as issues of common sense. Thus, the notion of hegemony stresses the significance of ideology in attaining and sustaining the relations of domination.

According to Hackett, power cannot last forever by force. His opinion is only limited to the democratic countries like the U.S. or Canada where the public is, by and large, literate, and those countries have a history of the freedom of expression, and their electoral process duly work. Hence, in those countries, the ruling elite remains concerned to achieve the consent of public through persuasion to maintain domination. In these circumstances, the media is one of the vital factors in manufacturing the consent (Chomsky, 2004; Fowler, 1991).

On the other hand, as ideology refers to attitudes, set of beliefs and values pertaining to religious, political and social life, it structures the perception of the public leading to the construction and interpretation of reality.

Many studies reveal that all news reports are not ideologically neutral or transparent. The reason is that the editor along with his reporters and their audience makes up an ideological empire. It means that the newspaper subjects events that frequently come up in social life to significant linguistic manipulation to suit the ideological anticipation of the audience.
2.4.11.5  

**Economy of the Media**

Economy has its deep implications in media, and it provides a platform to influence the production and consumption of discourse. In this context Fairclough (1995) is of the opinion that the issues of economy in an institution play a critical role in its practices and its texts and it is equally applicable to media. The media try to sell their product like other business organizations. In this connection, it is said that their product is the reader of interest to business advertiser (Chomsky, 1989; Fairclough, 1995).

Consequently, the media, in Fairclough’s opinion, are concerned towards the impacts of commercial pressures. They can be of great importance, particularly news media, in determining what is taken as news and how that is published (Fowler, 1991). Moreover, the effects of the economic angles of media in advertising practices have been critical in media studies (Achbar, 1994; Hackett, 1991).

In theorists’ view the issue of ownership of the media is in close relationship with advertisement, and it has indispensable control over media discourse (Fairclough, 1995; Winter & Hassanpour, 1994). Fairclough is of the opinion that a small number of large corporations own a large number of the commercial media in general. Winter & Hassanpour (1994) provide example of two corporations which control fifty nine percent of daily newspaper circulation in Canada, and they are have widespread interest outside the newspaper industry.

The ownership with concentration of resources, economy, according to Fairclough, (1995) demonstrates its presence in a variety of ways. Among them, one important factor is the manner through which media groups are structured to make sure that the prevailing voices are from the political and social establishment. This factor is also evident in the restrictions on the access to the media.

2.4.11.6  

**Practices of Media Text Production and Consumption**

Production and consumption are the important dimensions of any text, but they are critical for media discourse and their institutional practices. In the process of production, a set of
institutional routines including news gathering, its selection, its writing, and its editing are involved (Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991; van Dijk, 1993). On the other hand, consumption refers to the process through which that text is read and comprehended. The reader is involved in this case.

First, the selection of news reports has the central place in the practices of text production. Media, in general, have material in abundance as compared to it space. As a result, a lot is left to be represented (Fowler, 1991). This phenomenon shows that there is a process based on some priorities of selecting news, and those selected for publication and those rejected or stopped have some issues behind. Carruthers (1996) in this context is of the view that news worthiness regarding events and news is not the intrinsic property, and conversely, it is established by the processes of news production along with institutional practices.

Consequently, affairs and events become news when they are transformed by the news viewpoint, and their objective characteristics are not the part in this phenomenon. Carruthers (1996) is of the view that news is created deliberately to serve the interest and benefit of the elite class. Fowler (1991) went to the extent of saying that print media is a world, but it is not the real world and that it is skewed and judged.

The sources of information are also selected by media as an institution; therefore media persons select or choose, for instance, the personality to be interviewed or to be quoted and heard in news. Fairclough (1995) says that news production has a feature of overwhelming reliance over media persons on a limited set of officials. They have legitimized sources drawn upon systematically, through a complex system of contacts and processes. Quite opposite to the practices regarding officials, ordinary people are used as sources, and they are generally allowed to talk about their own personal experience. They are not allowed to express opinions on issues (Fairclough, 1995). According to him, this reliance on sources of information is connected to the dependence of media on the status quo, and which, in other words, is resistant to change.

Fairclough (1995) says that it is due to the above mentioned fact that it provides a predominantly established perspective of the world, and it is manifested textually in ways of the
reporting of speech. When a news item undergoes the process of production, it, obviously, is presented for reading and understanding. In other words, it is ready for consumption. But the question is how it is consumed, and it has become the most critical issue in the media discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1991; Widdowson, 1998).

As news consumption has been the central issue, discourse analysts make assumptions about how text is read and comprehended. So much so, they come out sometimes to interpret texts taken from media on behalf of the genuine audience. Consequently, the serious concern is how a discourse analyst understands the manner through which audience consumes media discourse.

In this connection it can be assumed that all analysts do not disagree that dissimilar audiences may consume text differently. Van Dijk (1993), in this respect, states that media audiences are active and independent information users. They may interpret news reports differently, at least from those projected by the news media. Hence, it can be understood that the process of consumption, how people read and understood a news item, cannot be reached.

2.4.12 The Study of Newspapers in Broader Perspective

It has been discussed in the previous pages that print media have a large space for the discursive practices. To understand the concept more clearly, it is pertinent to discuss briefly it bigger picture. With this background, Biber et al. (1999) studied the language used in newspapers as one of the four main registers in the English language. Besides, this study also considered the spoken conversation, academic writing along with fiction as the areas of media discourse.

As a matter of fact, more attention is given to genre analysis than to the other methods in the linguistic study of newspapers. Perhaps this is the argument on the basis of which the language used in newspapers is described in the way that distinguishes it from other genres of language. Therefore, in the process of its description, linguists aspire to reach at a better understanding of particular genre characteristics. For example, Swales (1990) examines the language of advertising.
There are some pieces of work that have examined the reporting of sports in newspapers (Ghadessy, 1988; Bhatia, 1993). However, register variation in news reporting is studied in depth by Biber (1995). In fact, the number of in-depth study of the language of newspapers is quite limited.

2.4.13 News as Discourse

The first understanding in studying news as discourse is that news conveys the dynamic angle or in other words, it does not communicate just inert information. Along with this, a significant portion of the meaning of that news is originated from the social structure. Furthermore, this type of approach involves the assumption that interaction is necessary in the process of meaning making.

On the other hand, it is said that news means nothing at least when it is printed. For meaning making, news has to be read. Fairclough (1998) describes the same when he argues linguists need to be sensitive towards how discourse is shaped and how it helps to shape and form social structures and social relations. Further he continues to suggest that sociologists have to be more sensitive towards how social structures and social relations are instantiated in daily social practices as well as in discourse.

2.4.13.1 News Headlines

Newspaper headlines are considered as forerunners to news stories. They, as a whole, indicate the social, cultural and regional or national representations at that particular time in a society. The audience of newspapers headlines is much wider than that of the news reports. To consider only one dimension, sellers of the newspapers show their newspapers to many people including passersby. The readers who are not regular but casual may get a glimpse of the headlines. This casual look on newspapers may later become the matter of discussion in offices, at home or in social gatherings. However, this may apply to the front page headlines; therefore, it is more likely that they are chosen very carefully so as to stir up emotions in the audience.

Now in the light of above facts, it can be assumed that editors of the newspaper intentionally use attention grabbing expressions. In this regard, it is a strong view that headlines
are used with the particular decided design by the editors, and they choose specific connotative vocabulary, rhetorical, metaphorical and graphological devices to generate an impact on the minds of the readership.

Furthermore, headlines of newspapers are a great source of information about the cultural references. It is one of the reasons that the audience cannot, sometimes, understand the text when the field, allusions, issues and cultural references, necessary to decode the content, are not properly recognized by them.

Van Dijk (1988) regarding the headlines is of the view that they define, on the whole, ‘coherence or semantic unity of discourse’, and that information is used in headlines which may remain in the mind of the reader. He also claims that the headline along with the lead paragraph expresses the most significant information as per the cognitive model of media persons; it gives the clue on how they perceive and describe the news event. He further argues that if readers do not have different awareness or conviction, they are likely to adopt these media construction about an event.

One other dimension of the understanding of the headlines is its perspectival approach. It refers to the role of headlines in orienting the interpretation, by reader, of the facts in the article. Claude Abastado (1980) is of the view that headlines demonstrate the content as well as the orientation, and it sets the perspective of the readers for understanding of the article. The headline in a newspaper is an opportunity to stress its individuality on the content of the product. According to him, headlines structure a particular view of the report by setting a hierarchy of importance in the content of the news items, and it becomes more critical when these reports are of political significance.

One more issue regarding headlines is repetition. Repetition can be of two types. it can be, according to Charaudeau (1997), through synchronicity which means co-occurring headlines on a single issue, and it can also through diachronicity which means repetition over time. Both train the audience to develop specific expectations and enforce certain mental connections and interpretations.
The remarkable work, from a linguistic perspective, on headlines is done by Reah (2002) and Bednarek (2006). Reah (2002) precisely characterizes the nature of newspaper, in addition to providing a detailed analysis of the headlines and their process of manufacturing by means of what is left, in and out, and how words are arranged. Moreover, Reah analyzed the newspaper audiences along with their role, and tried to understand their relationship with and for newspaper. Linguistically speaking, he works on the bottom-up impact of lexical choice and syntax; however, this work also stresses the use of discourse on the construction and manipulation of meaning.

On the other hand, Bednarek (2006) evaluates the newspapers headlines through a corpus based analysis. It is based on a corpus of having 100 newspapers. He provides a detailed interpretation and reasons of evaluation through which she could be able to identify the biasness in newspapers, and this type of work, in her view, is quite limited in the study of newspapers.

2.4.13.1 Cultural References in Headlines

The headlines presuppose certain amount of knowledge of that particular society, and those who are unfamiliar with the cultural and its references will be unable to understand the messages.

Headlines, on the whole, are a rich source of information regarding cultural references. It normally is due to the fact that titles stand alone without explanation or description; they heavily depend on the audience recognising promptly the field, issues, allusions, and cultural references which are essential to identify the content. Therefore, they rely on cultural knowledge, its representations and models of reality that are assumed to be prevalent in the society in the case if they are to have meaning. For example common shorthand in headlines references to the 'PM', Prime Minister, supposes a certain amount of political knowledge, but alongside, it helps to situate the audience within their own national framework, since they are required to assume that the PM refers to their own.
Linguistic and cultural forms make a conspiratorial wink towards the audience. They help in maintaining a sense of shared community. Generally, this may be true to the cases in which cultural knowledge is limited to a society to develop understanding. On the other hand, proper decoding is a sign that the reader is not an outsider.

2.4.14 The Reader

Discussivity in the media text has another perspective alongside the intension of the media persons and their choice of words. This discussion cannot be complete without the construction of the reader. Foucault (1983) thinks that media texts are addressed to an ideal subject. In response to this, the common reader tries to raise that level.

However, scholars have other reasons to believe the positioning of the reader. There are in any case two reasons. Firstly, readers generally are not educated to be critical readers (Fowler, 1991; van Dijk, 1991). Secondly, audiences infer the meanings from the texts according to their background knowledge about the subject in question (van Dijk, 1993).

Paradoxically, specific social as well as political events provide a space through which the news media are the major supply of information (van Dijk, 1993). It shows that the study of media discourse is a factor in helping us assume the influence of the media on the reader. On the other hand, Fairclough (1995) defuses the idea by saying that texts are meaningless on their own, unless readers do not interpret them. Furthermore, Fairclough (1995) states that it is self-evident that readings may vary, but every reading is a result of an interface involving the characteristics of the text and the interpretative resources and practices. The interpreter brings all of them to bear upon the text. He concludes that the variety of possible interpretations will be restricted and delimited in accordance with the nature of the text.

However, he agrees that reception studies in terms of inquiring the readers about their real interpretations can be of some help for discourse analysis. Even so, he is of the opinion that text analysis must be given the central place in media analysis only if it is combined with the analysis of production and consumption of that text (Fairclough, 1995).
2.5 Pakistani Print Media Scenario

Print media in Pakistan shaped up as an institution due to the struggle of many years. Print media has travelled a long way to keep up at the expectation of the reader. Normally, it had to go through many critical stages to grow. It was shaped and influenced by the recurrent military rules and fragile civilian dispensations. This media as an institution was never allowed to grow up and behave maturely in the country and was controlled with ‘iron hand’. Nevertheless even in such unpleasant situation, print media continued its efforts and resisted for the freedom of expression.

2.5.1 Historical Perspective

Ahmed (1998) is of the view that after the division of the subcontinent, both the governments, India and Pakistan, used the print media as a means of spreading state propaganda. This propaganda was aimed to impart their people with a sense of national identity. It was due to the hostility between Pakistan and India, the vocabulary of media was based on opposed nationalisms, Pakistan vs. India and it was based on Islam vs. Hinduism. He further emphasizes that this has generated Urdu/Hindi-English divide which continues.

2.5.2 Censorship in the Media

Through the analysis of newspapers from 1970 to 1990, Akhtar (2000) asserts that financial dependence on governments, panic of legal action along with harassment compelled media professionals to produce material twisted in favor of the ruling class (Akhtar, 2000).

The outcomes of these tactics were noticeable in the general elections of 1970. Although an East Pakistan political party had won a simple majority, the result was not accepted by the politicians in West Pakistan. Moreover, there was a move by a political party to resist the shift in power. Mainstream newspapers in West Pakistan supported this resistance. A newspaper headlined and sub-headlined the situation as:

- PPP Trying to Evolve Formula;
- Workable, Durable Constitute;
- All-Out Bid to End Crisis (cited in Akhtar, 2000)
The bias of the newspapers is quite obvious in the above quoted example. The political party is portrayed with a favor that is ready to work for a legal solution to the situation. Instead of focusing the East Pakistan’s electoral win as a victory, this newspaper labeled the situation as “crisis”.

Niazi (1994) illuminates the government relationship with the print media in his study during the military regime of General Zia ul-Haq (1977-1988), and the media had to bear one of its worst periods of censorship during this time. He managed the media with power and directed them to promulgate the ideology of Pakistan as it seemed an attempt to build up his public image alongside legitimizing his military take over. (Niazi, 1994). All that contents having a bit of criticism on government officials were taken very seriously (Niazi, 1994).

Niazi (1994) notices three types of censorship, pre-censorship, censorship, and self-censorship. In first two types of censorship, newspapers were edited before printing and in some cases they were banned. In the mid 80s, government started losing its control over media; even then, the persisted fear of the dictatorship made so many journalists to apply self-censorship (Niazi, 1994).

The Centre for Civic Education Pakistan (CCEP) has undertaken many attempts to research media practices. The CCEP’s work on print media in Pakistan discloses important results about the trends. For example, print media shows criticism along with self-censorship in case of writing about the government. During the electoral campaigns in Pakistan in August 2005, the CCEP examined some Urdu and English newspapers in different aspects and analyzed the topics, and political position. Social issues were raised up 202 times. Furthermore, the government was condemned 139 times and supported 30 times in editorials. This situation was opposite in another topic of editorial discussion: government personalities. The government was criticized 41 times besides being supported 93 times. Interestingly, Pervez Musharraf (the president then) was supported 44 times but criticized only once.

2.5.3 Urdu and English Press Scenario
Tariq Rahman is of the view that Urdu and English have different positions in Pakistan. Around 8% of the population speaks Urdu and English speakers are very few (Rahman, 1996).
Nevertheless, both are official languages. This situation has links with pre-partitioned India during the British rule in the subcontinent. When Pakistan became independent in 1947, Urdu continued to be employed with emotional representation (Torwali, 2007).

During the course of time Urdu and English started representing identity along with cognitive psychological processes. English is rational while Urdu is emotional. This difference is featured to the English press’ employment of a variety of sources of information, more third-party knowledge, resistance to dictatorship, and diversified views about ideology and state (Ahmed, 1998). Ahmed further gives details about the rational discourse in English and its approach to more on with fact and figures.

2.6 Concluding Remarks

Print media and the history of Pakistani press was discussed in detail in the previous pages better understanding of the influence of authorities, their political affiliations and ideological closeness along with their dominating role in the past. Media practices are significantly influencing the political scenario through various means and the normative expressions from media, subjectivity and power, along with many more, contribute to create a favored perspective.

In this background, the political speeches featured with so many techniques to meet their political agendas are reported frequently in the newspapers. The media as described in the previous pages with their power and position deal on daily basis. It is the focus of the coming chapters to identify how those political speeches are shaped up; and to whom they are benefiting as every newspaper is in practice to give prominent space to political discourse most frequently.
CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methodology of the present research work, and first of all it starts with the general positioning of the political and media discourses. Then, it moves towards setting of the perspective of this study by discussing the social constructionism and the role of power in media discourse. This discussion provides a logical space to introduce the theoretical framework, and its detailed description is provided in next pages along with the explanation of eclectic approach. This leads to the critical discussion on the two CDA models, which helps in making the view clear about the selection of elements required for the present study. Afterwards, the model adopted for this study is introduced, discussed and further explained. As it seemed logical to discuss theoretical framework and the method of analysis together, the data collection, population and sampling are discussed later in this chapter.

It has been discussed in the previous pages that language influences a specific version in the creation of reality facilitating the listeners and readers to construct a particular vision in regard to that reality. Language of the politicians assumes a critical role in acquiring the favors and the endorsement of the public. They, the political leaders, either deliver their speech within a nationwide framework or in public background, either they are in government or they are out of it, try to exploit and maneuver language through various techniques. Politicians adopt this approach for political gain and power. As the political leaders sense, most often, that they are incapable to convince, they require building up consent so as to execute their own agendas. As a result, they develop this consent with the practice of a peculiar sort of discourse. Actually,
cultural practices give birth to discourse which is constructed through the linguistic self consciousness of listener and the speaker (Fairclough, 1995). The speaker uses firm techniques through discourse to build the image and utilizes the concealed ideologies of the listeners that are shared cultural practices.

In this background it is very important to analyze the role of media in contributing this whole message or to what extent media is helping in conveying that sort of impression politicians convey. In fact, politicians want to gain power through exercising power of language, but media mirrors that reflection by exercising its own power of discourse.

Furthermore, it is an ironical situation where media, print media specifically, exercise their own power through discourse over the political actors who are seeking power by exercising power of discourse. In other words, media has a strong influence in the overall representation of the political leaders and their image.

### 3.1 Social Construction

It has been discussed earlier that post-structuralist linguists reject the idea that language is neutral and transparent means to represent the social realities. Therefore, language is exercised to create identity and ideology, production of knowledge and its reproduction, power relations and community relations. Furthermore, it is exercised through institutional and organizational control and through their hegemony.

Social constructionism, actually, uncovers the manners and ways though which the construction of that reality is carried out. It involves looking at the process through which things are produced, institutionalized, and made. According to the social scientists the social construction of reality is a dynamic process and it is reproduced by people for their interpretations and their knowledge of it.

However, the discourse analyst uncovers the intentions through the analysis of the surface meaning along with the implicit meaning. As a matter of fact, the purpose is to create profound understanding of particularly what is not said along with what is said. All this is analyzed with the view that whose purpose is being served and what are the intentions behind it.
No text, in critical analysis, can be analyzed outside its social, cultural and economic context (Fairclough, 1989). It is argued that context plays a pivotal role in providing a specific meaning to the text, written or spoken. With this background, it is assumed that language is biased to convey meanings and they, meanings, are always mediated and negotiated (Foucault, 1972). The reports on political speeches are very much part of this type of discourse.

Foucault (1972) raised the question of the ways in which knowledge along with power goes through in some kinds of practices, for example the instruction of the governing bodies, and construction of the identity. As a result, it focuses how the persons desire to manage themselves. Foucault gives attention to those practices which are planed from knowledge and also to those which are used to exercise power over people influencing the behaviour and mind.

### 3.1.1 Ideal Subject Position in Media Discourse

Fairclough (1989) has asserted that discourse is featured prominently with one of its capacities and that is its potential to build a position of a subject for the ideal subject. It is due to this feature that the real readers are induced to negotiate ‘a relationship with this idealized subject.’ In media discourse ‘ideal subject’ position is a ground through which this institution, electronic and print both, has acquired a power overall other institutions as according to Fairclough, there is a hidden power of media.

John Downing (1980) is of the opinion that real power of political discourse lies in its tendency to produce public outlook with the characteristic of having privilege to articulate their sentiments. Fairclough (1989) has spoken about the hidden power of political discourse that it has the ability to restraint content and, therefore, it favors particular version of interpretations and presents the event.

With this point, it is pertinent to gather that analysis of the political speeches as reflected in the newspapers of Pakistan requires a particular lens to get proper insights and discover the pattern of the hidden agenda in that representation. Critical Discourse Analysis provides this lens to understand the discursivity produced through the use of power by media.
3.2 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework for this study is based on one of so many dimensions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It is widely used now-a-days in social research for the purpose of depicting the discourse surrounded by complex socio-political issues. Media discourse is just one of many types of discourses in society. Further media discourse can be branched into two main categories: print media and electronic media.

While CDA is one of so many ways of analyzing data collected from print media resources, the different and unique status of CDA is in its interpretive and deconstructive role in studying the discursive along with linguistic features of media discourse so as to have proper insights. Furthermore, language has a dominant role for social and political practices to take place (Chilton, 2004). Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is another dimension in linguistics of this type according to which language along with its features and characteristics determine the social, political and cultural views of the speakers. In other words all the social and political institutions along with traditions and customs can be identified through their linguistics representation.

3.2.1 The Issues of Power and CDA

The dimension taken for the theoretical framework of present study is power and discourse. The role of power and language is quite evident and it is discussed in detail in the previous pages. Wodak and Meyer (2001), in this regard, are of the view that CDA practitioners are interested in exploring the relationship of language with power. According to them CDA aims to investigate social inequality as how inequality is expressed and signaled, and how it is constituted and legitimized through discourse. Therefore, the concept of power is the most relevant and dominant concern in CDA (van Dijk, 1998).

CDA with theoretical perspective has links with social theory, particularly with the critical theory of the Frankfurt School (Chilton, 2004). CDA is also a theory in itself as it combines elements from social theory as opposite to the believe that it is merely a method (Fairclough, 2003). The three main pillars of CDA theory are critique, power and ideology.
Furthermore, the concept of power in CDA is the most important factor in social life, and texts, with this view, are sites for power struggle within the social phenomenon.

There are various approaches of CDA. These variants of CDA are grounded in a broad variety of theoretical conventions, ranging from ethno-methodology or micro-sociological theory to Foucauldian theory about society and power, from social psychological theory to Systemic Functional Grammar of Halliday. Some types of CDA are strongly linguistically oriented and Wodak’s Discourse Historical Approach (Wodak, 2003) is one of them; some more types borrow mainly from the perspective of social psychology, and van Dijk’s Socio-cognitive Approach (van Dijk, 1993) is an example. On the other hand, Fairclough (1989) synthesizes Hallidayan, Marxist, Foucauldian and Bourdieuan theories in his model of CDA.

### 3.2.2 Eclectic Approach and Its Rationale

This chapter delineates the methodology employed to analyze the media discourse regarding political speeches and explores the links between language and discursive practices, particularly with the perspective of power in discourse and through discourse. One of the strengths of this version of CDA is that it can be adapted to suit research aims. Chouliaaraki and Fairclough (1999) are of the view that CDA can be adapted as a methodology to meet the objectives and goals of the study. Therefore, any CDA framework preferably can be modified to get better and accurate results of the research.

In line with the above arguments, for the analysis of the speech reports presented in English newspapers of Pakistan, eclectic approach is adopted in which the elements of CDA proposed by Fairclough and that proposed by van Dijk are used so as to get more accurate results. Being more relevant and frequently applied approach, this eclectic methodology is a blend of both models proposed by Fairclough and van Dijk.

### 3.2.3 Fairclough’s Three Dimensional Model

The main and basic conceptual origin of this eclectic approach, discussed earlier, is adopted from Norman Fairclough’s (1989) ideas on language and power along with discourse and hegemony.
It is an attempt to link social practice and linguistic practice as it is manifested through the power of discourse (Fairclough, 1989).

The purpose is to identify the interrelatedness of textual features and power relations, and Fairclough (1995) provides this conceptual framework to highlight the hidden agendas propagated through the power of discourse. Additionally, this framework is helpful in identifying the purpose of the text and helps in revealing how those texts under analysis are constructed to support and create certain perspectives incorporated implicitly. Norman Fairclough (1989) has framed a three dimensional model for discourse analysis: text, discourse practice and the socio-cultural practice. The analytical method of discourse includes:

“Linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes” (p. 97).

Furthermore, it can be understood that the ‘text’ being the first dimension attempts language analysis of texts; the ‘discursive practice’, being the second dimension, focuses to the variety of discourses; and the ‘social practice’ as a third dimension is concerned with the social and institutional context in which those discourses occur.

3.2.4 van Dijk’s Socio-cognitive Model

The other features adopted for this study are taken from van Dijk’s Socio-cognitive Model. Van Dijk (1988, 1991, 1993) has shown a significant transition from analyzing text to discourse analysis. As a matter of fact, van Dijk’s analysis of news, both production and comprehension, has a highlighting effect on processes of social cognition. This model of discourse analysis is different from that of Fairclough, which focuses upon discourses available in society.

Moreover, van Dijk’s model links media text to context in terms of social relationships and processes that are carried at a micro level. On the other hand, Fairclough’s concern is to find
out to what extend social and cultural change is constituted through language, discourse and discursive practices in media (Fairclough, 1995).

Contrary to Fairclough, van Dijk (1988, 1991, 1993) analyses news text in terms of structures of news, and considers the embedded social practices. Additionally, structures of news are analyzed by creating a distinction in the structures of news discourse: macro and micro.

Firstly, macro-structure being the main area of the analysis of thematic structure is of prime importance. In other words, the macrostructure of anything can give the overall structuring. Therefore, with this the theme of a whole text can be identified specifying general as well as specific themes (Fairclough, 1995).

Moreover, thematic structure of a text is specified with the constructed order. In this regard van Dijk (1993) is of the view that a news report should be studied along with its headline, a lead, and all those elements that contain the main points of those events. Additionally, he is of the view that the headline of a news report makes on the whole the theme of a text. As far as the news report is concerned, according to van Dijk, relevance principle which involves general information coming first is to be followed by detailed information.

van Dijk’s concepts of macrostructure and schematic structure are seen to produce texts, and the interpretation of these texts involves in indentifying the underlying holistic structures. As a matter of fact, these structures are intrinsic to the mental models, and reporters apply them in interpreting events.

With the help of these models, reporters convey audiences their understanding through which a report is written. Audiences also use models in interpreting reports. In short, the cognitive perspective of analyzing text helps to identify the news value as it depends upon the way it is produced (Fairclough, 1995).

3.3 Description of CDA Method Used

As a general perception, the analysis stage in different forms of CDA, mostly, dominates linguistically in character because this type of analysis relies on linguistic concepts. But before
discussing the analytical model employed in this study, it is pertinent to describe the background for that CDA approach.

CDA can be viewed methodologically as well as theoretically. The theoretical view leads towards the discourse theory propounded mainly by Foucault and Habermas, whereas the methodological perspective comprises so many variations reflected through the work of scholars like Fairclough, van Dijk, Wodak, Scollon, Jager, and others. Furthermore, Fairclough (1999) proposes a thorough procedure as a method of CDA. On the other hand, van Dijk (1993) provides specific elements that can be taken as a method in CDA studies.

3.3.1 CDA Model for Data Analysis

1. Context
2. Syntactic structures
   a. Modality
   b. Passive Voice
   c. Control of agent
   d. Nominalization
3. Cohesion
   a. Clauses
   b. Explicit Cohesion
   c. Repetition
4. Lexical Features
   a. Word meaning
   b. Denotation, connotation and euphemism
   c. Metaphor
5. Interactional Control (Text Structure)
   a. How interaction was established and finished
   b. Overall organization
   c. Mitigation and intensification
   d. Argumentation
6. Macro Structure
a. Headline and lead
b. Topic sentence
c. Quotations and reported speech

7. Local Meaning
   a. Implication
   b. Presupposition

8. Summary

3.3.1.1 Context

Context in CDA is of great importance. Van Dijk (2008) is of the view that social situation does not mainly influence discourse but they are the participants who define such a situation. In other words, contexts are not objective condition or direct cause. He further argues that contexts, if, were objective conditions socially, people would speak same in one situation which is not possible in social situations. Moreover, Van Dijk (2008) is of the view that contexts are participant constructs.

   Context is a broader social over view, and in this situation of speeches, it is pertinent to be aware of whereabouts of those particular events for the proper understanding. Moreover, all the theorists and practitioners of CDA agree that context cannot be separated in the overall understanding of social situation. Therefore, context in this model of CDA is pertinent keeping in view the verified political situations in which different speeches are delivered.

   Moreover, context of the speech is presented as the background of all the news reports, and all the three reports of the speech do not require any separate context. Therefore, only one context is considered enough for one whole speech. Therefore, the perspective of the political speech in terms of political situation is adopted for the development of context, whereas, the media perspective is not considered for the analysis.

3.3.1.2 Syntactic structures

Fairclough (1995) in his model of CDA gives a substantial space to syntactic structures and the issues ensue from syntactical choices in the representation of event or state of affair. There is
always discursivity in the choice and the selection of different syntactical choices and processes. These selections of syntactical choices may dominate certain ideology or vice versa in view of Leech (1983).

Keeping this perspective in view four elements are included in the analysis of syntactic structures. They are modality, passive voice, control of agent and nominalization. These are some few elements present in the Fairclough model. Firclough (1995) divides the grammatical angles along with the other aspects in terms of their experiential value, relational value and expressive value.

However, in this scenario in which certain aspects of Fairclough’s model are used, the general sense present in these values is used as the Fairclough’s model is too detailed to apply to present study. Moreover, van Dijk (1998) in his model provides the overall formation and variation of syntax. In other words, both the models support the present element to analyze the discursivity in discourse, particularly media discourse.

The first element is modality about which Verschueren (1999) is of the view that modality helps in producing different approaches regarding the reference and predication content, and that text indicates factuality, doubt or level of conviction and determination. In addition, Hodge and Kress (1988) are of the view that modality refers representation, affinity of the writer or speaker.

Moreover, Fairclough (1995) is of the view that modality is concerned with the speaker or writer’s authority which he elaborates further that it may be in terms of participant’s relation to others or in terms of speaker’s or writer’s authority in terms of truth representation or reality representation.

The other features viewed in line with the research questions and the research objectives are passive voice and control of agent. Passive voice are generally used to put stress on the verb and object whereas the subject is hidden to divert the attention, which provides a natural gap in the language quite suitable in case of producing discursivity and reality construction. In this
context the use of passive voice helps to organize different patches of discourse by putting material and not the agent in subject position (Saeed, 1997). It is generally agreed that passive voice is used to put emphasis on the action in the sentence. Fairclough (1995) is of the opinion that agentless passive sentences produce causality and make agency unclear.

Same is the case with nominalization in the sentence in view of Fairclough that causality and unclear agency are the issues. Nominalization is a process though which nouns and noun-clusters are produced to reduce the meaning of the sentence and minimize the action in the sentence.

The above mentioned angles of syntactic structures suit to the present study, its research questions and objective; therefore, they are selected among others as a separate category for the analysis of political speeches presented in newspapers.

3.3.1.3 Cohesion

As, according to Fairclough (1989) text is the product in the process of discourse practice, cohesion is a tool through which a text as a product is shaped. Therefore, in the process of the analysis of the text this tool (in the form of cohesion) is very important.

Different sentences are used and they generate different impact on the reader or listener (Halliday 1985). Therefore, three elements are selected to analyze closely the composition of the sentences and their function in the overall construction. The elements proposed by van Dijk (1998) have certain further elements in terms of composition of sentences and clauses which are also included in the present scheme of cohesion.

Clauses are the first element under cohesion where it is pertinent to view what is provided in the main clause and what information is given in the subordinate clause. Fairclough (1989) provides a perspective that main clause is normally prominent and the information provided in it is taken as the important as compare to the information provided in the subordinate clause.
Furthermore, if the sentence is compound where independent clauses are used, their manner of joining provides an insight regarding the stress of the sentence.

Keeping in view all the above mentioned facts and arguments, elaboration, extension or advancement of clauses within the sentence is taken as a tool to analyze the discursivity in the portrayal of political speeches in the newspapers as they lend a helping hand in meeting the research objectives of this study.

With respect to the explicit cohesion, the elements selected for the analysis are references, substitutions, etc. In this research study, reference is taken as to identify the manner of attributing, presenting or highlighting the politicians. In close relation to it, substitution is a device to identify what manner is adopted if the reference is not used by name, and what impression is being generated through using that particular substitution.

The last element in cohesion is the use of repetition of the argument. It is also included to analyze the inclination of the writer as to what in his/her view is more important than the rest of the argument, and to see how that is contributing in generating the overall cohesion.

3.3.1.4 **Lexical Features**

Theorists and practitioners of CDA agree that words are ideologically contested; therefore, vocabulary chosen for the text is always meaningful and contributes towards achieving set goals. In the analysis of the speeches of the leaders of political parties, the use of specific vocabulary in the presentation of their ideas is of great importance.

Semantic perspective has a great importance in this analysis. Fairclough (1989) says that significant are the words (in the text) that occur in any text because those words are chosen with free will.

Euphemistic vocabulary is used when there is need to stay away from negative wording (Fairclough 1989), and it provides an angle of ideological choice. In this context, “euphemism is
characterized by avoidance language and evasive expression” (Allan and Burridge 1991: 3). Moreover, “Euphemism and dysphemisms function where Speaker avoids using or, on the contrary, deliberately decides to use a distasteful expression and/or an infelicitous style of addressing or naming” (Alan and Burridge 1991:3). As a matter of fact this type of avoidance is the present trend of political language. It is a tool to avoid taboos in language along with helping in face saving.

The other element in identifying discursivity in discourse through vocabulary is metaphor. Fairclough (1989: 117) is of the opinion, “Metaphor is a mean of representing one aspect of experience in terms of another.” Moreover, he says that metaphors may signify ideological views as events. Keeping this view in mind, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 5) state other dimension that “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.” They stress that “metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action.”

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) believe in the power of metaphors. According to them metaphors can construct realities for us, and mostly these types of realities are social realities. In the analysis of news reports covering political speeches, the role of words representing the views of politicians is significantly critical; therefore, the above mentioned angles are taken to analyze the role of vocabulary in the media coverage of the political representation.

3.3.1.5 Interactional Control

In CDA studies the structure of the text is viewed as a constructed structure which has its meaningful significance. Different practitioners of CDA suggest verified techniques. The beginning and the ending of the text suggest a specific message therefore, it is upmost important that interaction within the text should be analyzed in terms of its establishment and its ending.

Political speeches are delivered keeping in view of political situation, and the impact of their beginning and ending is carefully prepared to enhance or reinforce the impact on the
listeners. In this context, the discursivity in the interaction is essential to be identified to meet the objectives of this research.

Van Dijk (1980a) gives a proper attention in his model to the overall organization of the text. With regard to the political speeches, it becomes more sensitive if they are written for specific events, every point is delivered carefully keeping in view the different perspectives; their depiction in the newspapers can influence content of the speech to create a particular version of reality. Therefore, overall organization of the text matter of concern in this study.

Mitigation and intensification of certain points which may suit to the priority of the newspaper are other issues which have been selected to investigate the pattern of discursivity. Van Dijk’s (1980a) ‘text schemata’ is concerned with the above mentioned issues.

As far as the mitigation and intensification, as a technique, is concerned to find out the textual structure, as a part of the process of discursivity, a deliberate gap can be generated to highlight certain points by providing a prominent place quite similar to the opposite concern. It is that certain points or issues can be mitigated by changing the place and squeezing the space in the text. Not to mention a specific point in the presentation of a particular speech in the media coverage is another concern in the present study.

The next element is argumentation as proposed by the van Dijk (1980) model. The concern of the reporting of the speeches is that how certain arguments are present and what kind of impression is generated from them, and to what extent they are away from the intentions of the speaker.

3.3.1.6 Macro Structure

Macro structure is the significant element of van Dijk’s (1988) model. In this context he is of the view that news reports state the main event in two steps. As a first step the main headline, upper and lower headlines, forms the usual category of headline. The headline is on the top of the news
report, and therefore, according to van Dijk (1988), its size and placing are important strategic indications for discourse processes.

Therefore, he defines the headline as the main element of the thematic macrostructure of the report. As a matter of fact, headline provides an idea what is the most pertinent or significant information of that news report. Logically, the information in the headline monitors as well as controls the processes of reading and conception (Kozminsky, 1977; Schwarz & Flammer, 1979).

Furthermore, if a headline does not convey the proper macro-proposition of the news report, and instead provides some low level details, it can be inferred that the headline is not impartial.

The next element in the macro structure is lead of the news report, and it features the expression of the thematic structure (van Dijk, 1988). Leads are placed under the headlines, and they are also printed in bold type as compared to the rest of the news report. According to the established rules, the lead should express the main semantic categories of that event answering the basic journalistic questions of who, what, where, when and how (Garst & Bernstein, 1982). Though the leads do not provide all the necessary details, but at least, they maintain the macro-propositions of the text (van Dijk, 1988).

The last element included in the macro structure is the quotations and reported speech. It provides the evidence that presentation of a specific speech is powerful or not. Fairclough (1995) is of the view that direct quotation of the speaker in the text, media text, has a great impact on the overall organization of the text by constructing a particular image of the speaker. Therefore, it is pertinent to analyze the perspective of those quotations in the text in the present study to get linguistic evidence how the speech is constructed in news reports in Pakistani newspapers.

3.3.1.7 Local Meanings

The meanings generated within the text are taken as local meanings which is a part of the term ‘Formal structures’ established by van Dijk (1988b) and he has included some detailed features
which are more elaborated than the need of this study. Therefore, two elements under the heading of ‘local meanings, are taken from them: implication and presupposition. Fairclough (1989) has also included presupposition and implication in his own method of analysis.

Presupposition is an implied assumption regarding a specific belief concerned with an expression, and truth about that utterance in discourse is taken for granted. Moreover, a presupposition should be mutually assumed by both the speaker and listener for the utterance.

According to Fairclough (1989) presupposition can be sincere or manipulative in the sense that they develop ‘common sense assumptions’ to support the intentions of the powerful. Therefore, they appeal to the background knowledge in view of him. Whereas implications are used to identify the difference between the actual meaning and the intended meaning (Grice 1989).

In the analysis of the present study, the concepts of implication and presupposition are limited only to the implied meaning of the speaker, instead of using direct words, and to see how such elements are taken up in the report of individual newspaper. This perspective is very much helpful in meeting the research objectives of the present study.

3.3.1.8 Summary

Summary is an effective way to convey detailed answers in few lines, and it serves as a leading element in research studies. Moreover, summary is the verbalization of the basic semantic macro-structure of a text. It means that summaries express the main themes of a text (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983; Kieras, 1982). In most of the cases summaries are provided in the beginning. In such cases they convey the semantic macrostructure to the reader so that they may not construct this macrostructure from within the text. Therefore, many discourse genres include initial summaries (Labov, 1972).

Summaries play same function for news reports. However, the inclusion of summary in the present model for the study of discusivity in the news report is provided at the end and not in the beginning. Therefore, it is provided at the end of the analysis of each speech. In other words,
all the main points of the model are summarized at the end of all the three reports in a speech. In this way, nine summaries are provided in the analysis of nine speeches. The summary covers the main differences of all the three reports in a speech. In this way summary in a speech helps in identifying differences of all the reports covering the same speech. This helps to answer the research questions and to meet the objectives of this study.

To sum up, the above mentioned model is used in the coming pages for the analysis of the reports of political speeches to know the discursive practices in the portrayal of political speeches in Pakistani English newspapers.

3.4 Data

The multiplicity of approaches to CDA provides a situation in the data collection scenario where there is no single approach is preferred for the collection of data. Meyer (2001) even takes a step further in this connection and suggests that the procedure for data collection and analysis in CDA is parallel to Glaser and Strauss’ (1967) grounded theory according to which data collection is not a prior stage before analysis; it even can coincide with it.

3.4.1 Population and Sampling

The concept of population regarding data for the present study is of two kinds: one is the original speeches of the politicians and other is the news coverage of those speeches in the newspapers of Pakistan. The sampling of data in most of CDA studies consists of representative texts which are generally chosen by considering the research questions. Therefore, data for this study is selected by assuming that texts would be the representative of the general discursive practices adopted by print media. The details of sampling are given below.

3.4.1.1 Sampling regarding Political Parties

Three leading political parties are selected for this study and speeches of the political leaders of those parties are selected as the representatives of the rest of the political figures. In this regard, those speakers are selected, who chair the most leading political parties in Pakistan. In addition,
those speeches have been selected that have been reported as headlines (at least in some
ewspapers if not in all). As the perspective of the analysis is power, not coercive, through
discourse, therefore, the most powerful political figures are selected with the assumption that
discursivity of media and its power would best be analyzed in this situation. Those politicians
are:

- Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif
- Mr. Imran Khan
- Mr. Asif Ali Zardari
- Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari

Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif is very prominent political figure who took oath, in
2013, of the office of Prime Minister of Pakistan third time. He heads Pakistan Muslim League
(N) that won the General Election 2013. Mr. Imran Khan, a former cricketer and national hero, is
declared as the most popular political figure at present. He is the Chairman Pakistan Tehreek-e-
Insaf that stood second in terms of getting votes in the General Election 2013.

Mr. Asif Ali Zardari, the former President of Pakistan, is another prominent figure and
the husband of the former two times elected Prime Minister of Pakistan, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, who was murdered in a terrorist attack in 2007. He is the Co-chairperson of Pakistan People’s
Party that remained in power many times and won the second highest seats of National
Assembly in the General Election 2013.

Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari is the Chairman of Pakistan People’s Party. He is quite young
and has just started his political career though he has not yet contested in the elections. But he is
taken as the main leader in the political gatherings.

Three speeches of each politician are selected so as to get the confirmation of the
possibility of established discursivity regarding each politician and to identify all the elements
involved in that process. Therefore, three speeches of each political figure are considered
sufficient for this study.
3.4.1.2 Sampling regarding Speeches

There is no any prominent reason to select a specific political speech as the media influence is established through researches and it is present in every media report. Along with this, political events are not important for this study as the focus of the analysis is the influence and the use of power of print media over prominent politicians, and that can be indentified without over stressing the events. However, those political events are selected that occurred in 2014 and the selected political leaders delivered their speech on those events. Moreover, only those speeches have been selected which are given prominent space on the front pages in national newspapers. The purpose behind this is to maintain an equal criterion for all the political leaders and their coverage in newspapers and to avoid any misrepresentation by taking privileged coverage of one speech over the others getting less important printing space.

Mian Nawaz Sharif is the prime minister of Pakistan at present. Being the head of the Pakistan Muslim League (N) he took oath as the Prime Minister of Pakistan in 2013. In the year 2014, he delivered many speeches and they got the most prominent space in the newspapers. Therefore, the speeches selected for this analysis are:

- His address to General Assembly, UNO, on 26th of September, 2014
- His address to a public gathering at Hawalian on 29th of November, 2014
- His address to nation on Television on 24th of December, 2014

The second political leader selected for this study is Imran Khan. At present he is a member of National Assembly, and he has launched a long and aggressive campaign against alleged rigging in the election 2013. During his long agitation, he has delivered a lot of speeches which have got prominent print media coverage. The speeches selected for this study are:

- His address at public gathering at Sialkot on 7th of June, 2014
- His address at public gathering at Lahore, Minar-e-Pakistan, on 28th September, 2014
- His address at public gathering at Islamabad, D-Chawk, on 30th of November, 2014

Asif Ali Zardari, as the co-chairperson of Pakistan People’s Party, is the third political leader selected for this study. Being the head of party, he delivered a few speeches in 2014 and
his public appearance is comparatively less, perhaps due to the reason that he is not the member of The National Assembly, despite the fact that the leader of the opposition is from his party.

On the other hand the chairman of the party is his son, Bilawal Zardari Bhuto, but he is young and his political stature and maturity are not as higher as that of his father. But being the head of the main political party of the country, he is taken as the speaker. Because of the fact that he is quite new in politics, the position of Asif Ali Zardari, his father, in the party is the key one and therefore, he is also selected as the speaker. Three speeches from Pakistan People’s Party are selected, keeping in view, their printing positions in the national newspapers. The speeches selected are:

- address at Garhi Khuda Bukh, Larkana, on 27th of December, 2014
- address at Karachi, Mazar-e-Quaid, on 18th of October, 2014
- address at Garhi Khuda Bukh, Larkana, 4th of April, 2014

These speeches, mentioned above, are in Urdu except the speech of Nawaz Sharif’s address to General Assembly, UNO, on 26th of September, 2014. This exception is due to the fact that in the year 2014, it was one of the most prominent events on one hand and on the other it does not matter whether the speaker is delivering in Urdu or in English. Since the core text for the analysis would the news coverage in English newspapers, therefore, language in the speech would be irrelevant. In tern the speeches in Urdu are supposed to have more cultural, rhetorical and social elements in speeches, which are important for the analysis.

3.4.1.3 **Sampling regarding Newspapers**

The other important selection of the choice of data is the selection of newspapers. Three newspapers have selected on the basis of their circulation to determine their popularity and position in Pakistan. The first newspaper selected for this study is *Dawn* as being the most important and the oldest newspaper of Pakistan. Due to its massive readership, it is rated as the most important English newspaper of Pakistan.

The second one is *The News* and it is the largest English Newspaper in Pakistan. Moreover, *The News* has an ABC certified circulation of 140,000. The third English newspaper
selected for this study is *The Express Tribune*. It has, as of 2012, the widest online readership in the country locally and internationally.

The news reports of all the above mentioned newspapers on each speech are analyzed to indentify the sign, manners and pattern of discursivity regarding that particular speech. Therefore, the sources of data, selected for the analysis, are limited to media coverage.

To sum up, the above mention data has been taken as text sample which is analyzed in detailed in the next chapter with the help of the CDA model mentioned in the earlier pages of this chapter. Moreover, all the original reports are provided in appendices and speeches in a DVD attached.

### 3.5 Concluding Remarks

The methodology of the present research work has been described in this chapter, and it starts with the general positioning of the political and media discourses. Then, it moves towards setting of the perspective of this study by discussing social constructionism and the role of power in media discourse. This discussion has been proceeded to introduce the methodological framework along with theological underpinnings. Its detailed description has been provided in next pages along with the explanation of eclectic approach. This has led to the critical discussion on the two CDA models, which helps in making the view clear about the selection of elements required for the present study. Afterwards, the model adopted for this study has been introduced, discussed and further explained. The data collection, population and sampling have been discussed later in this chapter.
CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECHES OF PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE (NAWAZ)

All the speeches included in this chapter are delivered by Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, and he is the prime minister of Pakistan at present. Being the head of the Pakistan Muslim League (N), he took oath as the prime minister of Pakistan in 2013. In the year 2014, he delivered many speeches and they got the most prominent space in the newspapers, only three are included in this chapter. The reports of three newspapers, The News, Dawn, and The Express Tribune have been analyzed against each speech of the speaker. The speeches analyzed are: UN speech on September 26, 2014, speech at Havelian on November 29, 2014 and speech to Pakistani nation on December 24, 2014. All the nine reports were published on the front pages of the respective newspapers on the next days: September 27, 2014, November 30, 2014 and December 25, 2014 respectively. These reports are analyzed with the help of CDA model discussed in chapter 3.

4.1 Nawaz Sharif to UN on September 24, 2014

4.1.1 Context

This speech is delivered by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, in the United Nations of its 69th session of General Assembly. It is a routine speech with a situation that Pakistan is involved in fight against terrorism with the extended scenario that internal security is at stake. When the Prime Minister of Pakistan is going to deliver his speech, India, the
neighboring country has elected the government having anti-Pakistan sentiments, and the situation of Afghanistan is becoming more critical with the expected NATO withdrawal.

The prime minister has an opportunity to draw the world’s attention towards the problems faced and sacrifices made by Pakistan in the war against terrorism and towards the hurdles Pakistan is facing to resolve its longstanding disputes so as to give a better country to the youth of Pakistan. The Prime Minister of Pakistan as a speaker has mentioned with a specific stress, in around 2000 words, all the needful things in his speech to highlight the situation. The Pakistani press has taken this issue as a lead story in the next day papers with the specific lens of their own.

The original reports of all the three newspapers are provided in appendix I. The analysis is as follows.

4.1.2 Coverage in The News

*The News* covers this speech of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, on the front page of the newspaper on, September 27, 2014. It is the main headline of *The News* of that day. It has also included a picture of the speaker in which he alone is shown on the rostrum, with caption on the same page. This news report is specifically focusing on the speech and its contents while the rest of the detail is mentioned under different headings on the same page as an established practice of the print media. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

4.1.2.1 Syntactic Structure

In case with the syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage, the newspaper does not seem to use modals in the whole text to weaken, deliberately, any expression used by the speaker. However, there are few instances of the use of ‘must’ to strengthen the expressions, for example:

‘The prime minister said the ongoing UN reform must be comprehensive.’
In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the strong impression.

The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, on the other hand, is negligible and this technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in sentences, in the construction of sentences. Moreover, the news report instances of the use of passive verbs but there is no specific passive voice expression. The sentences used are simple and the agent is not hidden. In other words the contents of the speech are not weakened through the use of syntactic devices.

4.1.2.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in *The News* coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said’, ‘Prime Minister said’, ‘he recalled’, etc. Most of the sentences are complex where the speaker is portrayed within the sentences as powerful because the subordinate clauses used are carrying the main idea delivered by the speaker. There are number of clauses depicting elaboration and extension in the news coverage. A few are quoted below:

- ‘Nawaz Sharif said Pakistan was ready to work with India for the resolution of this problem through negotiations.’
- ‘The prime minister recalled that more than six decades ago, the United Nations passed resolutions to hold a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir.’
- ‘He said the people of Jammu and Kashmir are still waiting for the fulfilment of that promise.’
- ‘Nawaz said Pakistan was disappointed at the cancellation of the foreign secretary-level talks with India.’

Regarding the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’, ‘premier’ and ‘the Prime Minister’. As far as the substitutions are concerned, it is important to note that this report is replete with direct quotes, therefore, the need of substitution is met with this technique. Surprisingly there is no substitution used in the report except those used in the direct speech.
The logical connectors are not traced in the report of the speech; however, phrases like, ‘Referring to Afghanistan issue’, ‘Referring to drug trafficking’, ‘Throwing light on efforts’ etc. are used many times in the beginning of the sentence to direct the readers’ attention in the report. All the above mentioned techniques are used to create cohesion in the report. The impression of repetition is not found in the speech.

4.1.2.3 Lexical Features

In case with the prominent words and their meaning along with their connotation and denotation, the evidences traced in the report contribute to the perception the speaker wants to convey. The vocabulary used in the report has fewer connotations and the most important verbs, to join clauses, are not ideologically contested as the mostly used word is ‘said’. However, the verbs like ‘reminded’, ‘recalled’ etc. are few exceptions. The news report has further used some expressions which depict the representation of the nation by the speaker though it is a fact also but the expressions and the words are important. The common expression in many sentences is, ‘Prime minister said Pakistan’ with the change of verbs only and they are:

- ‘remains committed’
- ‘was disappointed’
- ‘was ready’
- ‘was committed to eliminate’
- ‘will continue to support’
- ‘has maintained’

It is pertinent to mention that these expressions are not taken from the direct quotes; therefore, the angle of discursivity can be understood with the choice of words contributing to the powerful image of the speaker. To take just one example, the actual expression in the speech is: ‘we were disappointed at the cancellation of the foreign secretary-level talks’; but the expression used in this report is presented with a little modification of ‘we’ with ‘Pakistan’:

‘Nawaz said Pakistan was disappointed at the cancellation of the foreign secretary-level talks with India.’
The above mentioned example can also be taken as a euphemistic technique as this expression is used to interpret ‘we’, and this report has interpreted it as ‘Pakistan’ and not as ‘government’. This report does not seem to use many euphemistic expressions; instead this report also uses the technique of omitting the information to avoid such reporting.

The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same used in the speech, and the report under analysis has not used the metaphoric impression of its own as the most of the speech is written the same without mentioning of direct quotations.

4.1.2.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is skillfully maintained and it provides a clue what are the intentions. As far as the beginning is concerned, it starts with the issue of Kashmir and relations with India whereas this is discussed by the speaker in the middle of the speech. Moreover, this report spends 360 words on this issue while the speaker uses only 200 words for this issue. The reason for the use additional words for this issue is that it presents many quotations and personal comments on that statement. For example:

‘Nawaz Sharif said Pakistan was ready to work with India for the resolution of this problem through negotiations. “Our support and advocacy of the right to self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir is our historic commitment and a duty as a party to the Kashmir dispute,” he said.’

This technique has employed to show more than the actual words. Therefore, it seems a powerful opening through which the issue of Kashmir is highlighted in the report.

This beginning of the reporting of the speech paves a way to construct an impression that, perhaps, this whole speech is about Kashmir. The report ends with the speaker’s commitment to UN in assisting the entire ‘lofty’ goal to make this planet of earth a better place. It is interesting that it is almost the same end of the speech. But this is represented in more emphatic way as
certain quotations are also presented to put weight in the arguments. It is evident that the image started from beginning continues till end through selection of arguments and placing them in the report.

The report is organized by starting with Kashmir issue spreading it to almost one third of the report, then Afghanistan issue, then briefly on drug trafficking, then the mentioning of resolve root out terrorism and peace keeping efforts at international level, then a resolve to keep nuclear program safe and secure, and then the acknowledgement of the UN plans and efforts to keep this planet a safe place.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the issue of Kashmir, which, in fact, is not the main focus of the speech. This intensification is produced with the help of language, repetition of arguments and addition of direct quotes, and preferred setting of the organization. This report has not mentioned the arguments given in the start of the speech along with many other arguments and points in the speech. For example, it has not mentioned the calamity and national disasters, points about regional peace and security situation, arguments about Gaza and Israel, the issue of IDP’s, sacrifices in war on terror.

4.1.2.5 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:
‘World community bound to resolve Kashmir issue: PM’

There are few things that are prominent in this headline. This headline talks about the issue of Kashmir only whereas the speaker has used only around 200 words out of 2000 words on this issue. Perhaps this headline represents the popular sentiment of the Pakistani public. Furthermore, the expression given in the headline is very strong whereas the speaker has used the expression as follow: ‘The core issue of Jammu and Kashmir has to be resolved. This is the responsibility of the international community.’ The actual expression in the speech, surprisingly, seems a euphemistic expression as compared to the headline. Anyhow, this type of expression seems to contribute the strong image of the speaker. The headline focuses only on one issue
among so many uttered by the speaker. The newspaper has avoided any other expression concerning the main issues of speech in headline.

The lead is quite long and detailed describing the main points along with connotative expressions described by the speaker. This lead has mentioned nine points:

‘Opposes increase in UN Security Council permanent seats; says Pakistan committed to eliminating terrorism; each time a soldier falls, another takes his place proudly; Pakistan disappointed at cancellation of foreign secretary-level talks with India; we have choice either to continue with the status quo or resolve all issues.’

This lead has added the expression like ‘each time a soldier falls, another takes his place proudly’ among the main points of the speech which in fact is the continuation of the previous thought at the cost of so many main points delivered by the speaker.

There are so many direct quotations in the report, and it is, in fact, a technique to stress the point by presenting the quotation as evidence. The whole report is designed in this way. Therefore, the main issue of Kashmir is highlighted in these quotations, the Afghan issue is highlighted, the issue of terrorism, the drug trafficking, extremism, nuclear deterrence etc. are presented along with quotations in the report. As a matter of fact, more words in direct quotes are included than the actual words written in the report. These quotations are very much specific regarding the choice and selection as some issues are given more space and so many are ignored.

\[4.1.2.6 \quad \textbf{Local Meaning}\]

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard the following example would be a proper one in terms of how presupposition and implicature are working in this report: In the very first sentence of the report, it is said the speaker ‘reminded’ the world community to solve Kashmir issue. The actual sentence is as under:
Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif on Friday reminded the world community that it was their responsibility to resolve the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the wishes of the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

The ‘responsibility’ is reminded by the speaker to the world leaders means that the speaker is given more powerful stature than the rest of the leaders. The choice of words in the context of Kashmir is interesting because it shifts the focus to the territorial dispute which the newspaper has sought to highlight.

There are some other examples in the text; the expression used in the next line is that: ‘Nawaz Sharif said Pakistan was ready to work with India for the resolution of this problem through negotiations.’ This sentence presupposes that as if Pakistan was not ready to talk earlier, and now it is ready. The implicature and presupposition are prominent in terms like ‘ultimatum’, ‘marathon meeting’, and ‘emotional’ in the sense that thought is presupposed in the construction.

4.1.3 Coverage in Dawn

*Dawn* covers this speech of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, on the front page of the newspaper on, September 27, 2014. It is the main headline of *Dawn* of that day. It has also included a picture of the speaker in which he alone is shown on the rostrum, with caption on the same page. This news report is specifically focusing on the speech and its contents while the rest of the detail is mentioned under different headings on the same page as an established practice of the print media. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

4.1.3.1 Syntactic Structure

In case with the syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage, the newspaper does not seem to use modals in the whole text to weaken, deliberately, any expression used by the speaker. However, there are few instances of the use of ‘would’, ‘could’ and ‘should’ in the report but they are not used for weakening any expression or they are used by the speaker in the speech, for example:
• ‘New Delhi demand that Pakistan should no longer call it the core issue’
• ‘It is our earnest hope that these landmark processes would culminate in the emergence of a stronger, more stable, and unified Afghanistan.’

The rest of the use is of similar type. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report do not contribute towards manipulation in the text. The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which is negligible and this technique does not seem to contribute, in the manner to slow down the process of action in sentences, in the construction of sentences. Moreover, the news report has used only two sentences of passive voice expression. Interestingly both are used in the same repeated expression.

• ‘….. that he had been disappointed by India’s decision’
• ‘We were disappointed at the cancellation of the foreign secretary-level talks…’

The content is the same in both the sentences; one is indirect expression whereas the other is direct expression, but the content is the same. In first sentence agent is not hidden while it is not given in the second sentence. Anyhow, this report has not used passive sentences to manipulate the contents in the report, and overall, this report has not weakened the content through the use of syntactic devices.

4.1.3.2 Cohesion

Some clauses used in Dawn coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said’ ‘Prime Minister noted’, ‘Mr. Sharif underlined’, etc. However, they are not many in the report. For example:

• ‘The prime minister noted that in South Asia people had missed opportunities for prosperity because of unresolved conflicts.’
• ‘The prime minister reminded the world body that for more than six decades ago, the United Nations passed resolutions to hold a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir’

Moreover, there are many sentences which are complex but they do not start with the normal reporting style by putting the speaker in the principal clause; instead, these sentences have used the principal by following manner:
• ‘Indian officials had warned Pakistan earlier this week that raising the Kashmir dispute at the UN General Assembly could further harm bilateral ties…….’

• ‘Diplomatic observers at the United Nations say that this emphasis on the UN Security resolution on Kashmir would upset India, which claims that the resolution can no longer be implemented’

There are very few simple sentences having single clause in a sentence.

With regard to the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’, and ‘the Prime Minister’. It is important to note that this report is replete with direct quotes; therefore, the need of substitution is met with this technique. Surprisingly there is no substitution used in the report except those used in the direct speech. The logical connectors are not traced in the report of the speech. However, the impression of repetition is found stronger in the speech. This repetition is at both levels; it has repeated ideas as well as linguistic devices in the report. Both the elements can be identified in the following example:

• ‘….. that he had been disappointed by India’s decision’
• ‘We were disappointed at the cancellation of the foreign secretary-level talks…’

Both the elements are regarding Kashmir issue, and ‘by India’s decision’ means ‘foreign secretary-level talks’ in the report. In other words, Kashmir issue is highlighted in this report through repetition.

4.1.3.3 Lexical Features

The prominent words, the evidences are traced in the report, contribute to the perception the speaker wants to convey. The vocabulary used in the report has fewer connotations and the most important verbs, to join clauses, are not ideologically contested as the mostly used word is ‘said’. However, the verbs like ‘reminded’, ‘hoped’, ‘urged’ etc. are few exceptions.

This report does not seem to use euphemistic expressions; instead this report opts the omitting the information to avoid such reporting. Therefore, this report has touched only two issues of the speech and the rest of the speech is not reported in this news coverage report.
The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same used in the speech; however, the report under analysis has also used the metaphoric impression of its own as it has included many other issues in it. For example the expression like ‘India argues that Pakistan caused the cancellation’ seems a metaphoric conversation. There are a few more similar expressions like:

- ‘Indian officials had warned Pakistan earlier this week’
- ‘The prime minister covered a number of key issues in his speech’

The same metaphoric expressions mentioned earlier can also be traced in these examples. It is worth mentioning that these expressions are not from direct quotes as they are in abundance in the reporting of the speech.

**4.1.3.4 Interactional Control**

The interactional control in this report is skillfully maintained and it provides a clue what are the intentions. As far as the beginning is concerned, it starts with the issue of Kashmir and relations with India whereas this is discussed by the speaker in the middle of the speech. Moreover, this report spends around 580 words on this issue while the speaker uses only 200 words for this issue. However, the initial sentence of the report is as under:

‘Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told the 69th session of the UN General Assembly on Friday that he had been disappointed by India’s decision to cancel foreign secretary-level talks with Pakistan.’

The reason for the use of additional words is that this report has mentioned many related issues as elaboration that the speaker has not discussed in his speech. The newspaper has added those pieces of information intentionally at the cost of omission of many things that speaker has uttered. One such example is as under:
‘Indian officials had warned Pakistan earlier this week that raising the Kashmir dispute at the UN General Assembly could further harm bilateral ties as New Delhi was against internationalising this issue. India, they argued, preferred bilateral talks on this and other issues concerning Pakistan.’

This sentence has nothing to do with the contents of the speech but it is added in early paragraphs of the report. This technique is employed to show more than the actual words. Therefore, it seems a powerful opening through which the issue of Kashmir is highlighted in the report.

This beginning of the reporting of the speech paves a way to construct an impression that, perhaps, this whole speech is about Kashmir. The report ends with the acknowledgement that the speaker has discussed many important issues but did not mention one particular issue. The sentence is: ‘The prime minister covered a number of key issues in his speech but avoided the emergence of the Islamic State militant group in Syria and Iraq.’ To mention that the speaker has not discussed ‘the emergence of the Islamic State militant group in Syria and Iraq’ is meaningful when the first part of the sentence is using generalizing technique to avoid the mentioning of the issues speaker covered in the speech. It has shaped the report move towards particular issue.

The report is organized by starting with the issue of Kashmir and Pak-India relations spreading it to almost three fourth of the report, then the rest of the report is about Afghanistan issue. It seems that the whole speech is about Kashmir and Afghanistan.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the issue of Kashmir, which, in fact, is not the main focus of the speech. This intensification is produced with the help of language, repetition of arguments and addition of direct quotes, and preferred setting of the organization. This report has not mentioned the arguments given in the start of the speech along with many other arguments and points in the speech. For example, it has not mentioned the calamity and national disasters, points about regional peace and security situation, arguments about Gaza and Israel, the issue of IDP’s, sacrifices in war on terror, the condemnation of drug trafficking, the mentioning of resolve to root out terrorism and peace keeping efforts at international level, a resolve to keep nuclear program safe and secure, and then
the acknowledgement of the UN plans and efforts to keep this planet a safe place. All these arguments are missing in the reporting of the speech.

### 4.1.3.5 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:

‘PM reiterates stance on Kashmir in UN speech’

A Few effects are prominent in this headline. This headline talks about the issue of Kashmir only whereas the speaker has used only around 200 words out of 2000 words on this issue. Perhaps this headline represents the popular sentiment of the Pakistani public. Furthermore, the expression given in the headline has connected the present stance with long history of the issue. It means that this issue of Kashmir has to be given all the space in the report. Anyhow, this type of expression seems to contribute towards building the strong image of the speaker. The newspaper has avoided any other expression concerning the main issues of speech in headline.

There are so many direct quotations in the report, and they are used to highlight the issue of Kashmir and the concern about the issue related with Afghanistan. It is in fact a technique to stress the point by presenting the quotation as evidence. This style of presenting the quotes provides a prominent space to the speaker and contributes to his strong image:

- “We were disappointed at the cancellation of the foreign secretary-level talks. The world community, too, rightly saw it as another missed opportunity,”
- “Pakistan is convinced that we must remain engaged in the dialogue process for settling disputes and building economic and trade relations. Let us not ignore the dividends of peace,”

These quotations are very much specific regarding the choice and selection as they are providing policy statements.
4.1.3.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard the following example would be a proper one in terms of how presupposition and implicature are working in this report:

In the beginning of the report, the verbal act of the speaker is made physical act in the sense that the speaker only expresses his disappointment over the cancellation of talks. But the report has made it the physical act in the following manner:

‘Mr. Sharif, who launched a new initiative to improve relations with India immediately after his election last year, seemed visibly upset with New Delhi’s decision to cancel the foreign secretary-level talks scheduled last month.’

The term ‘seemed visibly upset’ shows that the speaker has shown some depression or disappointment instead of saying something. The actual sentence uttered by the speaker is: ‘We were disappointed at the cancellation of the Foreign Secretary-level talks’. Even in the actual sentence past tense is used for the expression of ‘disappointed’ whereas in the reported expression ‘seemed visibly upset’ is used.

There are some more similar examples in the text; the supposed reaction that can be given on every statement, just to take one example, is given a place in the report: ‘Diplomatic observers at the United Nations say that this emphasis on the UN Security resolution on Kashmir would upset India, which claims that the resolution can no longer be implemented’. In this sentence the reaction is presupposed to create a specific image and importance of the statement of the speaker.

The most interesting element regarding implicature and presupposition is given at the end of the report when it is mentioned that this speech has not mentioned the ‘emergence of the Islamic State militant group in Syria and Iraq’ despite the fact that speaker has mentioned this issue with a subtle statement:

‘The emergence of new militant entities in the Middle East once again illustrate that terrorism is a global threat. This primitive force in Iraq and Syria is an
aberration, which has no sanction of any religion. It must be countered with unified and resolute will.’

On the other hand this report itself has not mentioned most of the points of the speech.

4.1.4 Coverage in *The Express Tribune*

*The Express Tribune* covers this speech of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, on the front page of the newspaper on, September 27, 2014. It is the main headline of *The Express Tribune* of that day. It has also included a picture of the speaker in which he alone is shown on the rostrum, with caption on the same page. This news report is specifically focusing on the speech and its contents while the rest of the detail is mentioned under different headings on the same page as an established practice of the print media. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

4.1.4.1 Syntactic Structure

In case of the syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage, the newspaper does not seem to have used modals in the whole text to weaken, deliberately, any expression used by the speaker. In other words, the syntactic choices regarding modalities used by the report do not contribute towards manipulation in the text.

The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which is negligible and this technique does not seem to contribute, in the manner to slow down the process of action in sentences, in the construction of sentences.

Moreover, the news report has not used passive voice expression. Therefore, the agency is not unclear, and the expressions are straight. So, this report has not used passive sentences to manipulate the contents in the report, and overall, this report has not weakened the content through the use of syntactic devices.
4.1.4.2 Cohesion

Some clauses used in The Express Tribune coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said’ ‘Prime Minister spoke’, ‘Mr. Nawaz said’, ‘the premier said’ etc. Moreover, there are many sentences which are complex, but they do not start with the normal reporting style by putting principal clause in the beginning; instead, these sentences start with a phrase by setting the angle of the sentence before the main clause. Few phrases are as follows:

- ‘Stressing that the issue must be resolved’
- ‘Directing the world leaders’ attention towards the massive military operation’

There are very few simple sentences having single clause in a sentence. However, there are some compound sentences in which both the independent clause are used, for example: ‘Premier Nawaz condemned the indiscriminate killings of civilians in Gaza and conveyed Pakistan’s sympathies for the continued plight of Palestinians’

Regarding the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’, ‘Premier’ and ‘the Prime Minister’. As far as the substitutions are concerned, it is important to note that this report is replete with direct quotes, therefore, the need of substitution is met with this technique. Surprisingly there is no substitution used in the report except those used in the direct speech. The logical connectors traced are not many in the report of the speech; the use of ‘as always’ is the only expression used in this connection. Moreover, the impression of repetition is not found stronger in the speech.

4.1.4.3 Lexical Features

Regarding the prominent words and their meaning along with their connotation and denotation, the evidences traced in the report contribute to the perception the speaker wants to convey. The vocabulary used in the report has fewer connotations and the most important verbs, to join clauses, are not ideologically contested as the mostly used word is ‘said’. However, the verbs like ‘condemned’, ‘added’, ‘reiterated’ etc. are few exceptions.
This report does not seem to have used euphemistic expressions; instead this report also uses the technique of omitting the information to avoid such reporting. Therefore, though this report has touched many issues of the speech, the details of dimensions of those points are mostly missed, and the rest of the speech is not reported in this news coverage report. The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same as used in the speech; most of the metaphors are present in the direct quotations presented in the report.

4.1.4.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is skillfully maintained and it provides a clue what are the intentions. In this context, as far as the beginning is concerned, it starts with the issue of Kashmir and relations with India whereas this is discussed by the speaker in the middle of the speech. Moreover, this report spends around 280 words on this issue while the speaker uses only 200 words for this issue. However, the initial sentence of the report is as under:

‘As he reiterated his commitment to building a peaceful neighboring in South Asia, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told world leaders on Friday that the Kashmir issue cannot be sidelined until it was resolved in line with the wishes of the region’s people.’

The beginning shows that the speaker has mentioned this commitment earlier, at least not in this speech only, and this start connects his speech with his previous effort in the readers’ repertoire. Moreover, the reason for the use of additional words is that this report adds it own comments to the speaker’s statements presented in the text. The newspaper has added those comments on Kashmir intentionally at the cost of omission of many things that speaker has uttered. One such example is as under:

‘Premier Nawaz said many opportunities for prosperity in South Asia had been missed, because of unresolved conflicts in the region, “we have a choice today to either continue with the status quo or to seize the moment to resolve all outstanding issues and flee up our shared energies for cooperation.” He added.’
The above example shows that the context is established to present the quotation taken from the speech; this technique is used to make the issue stronger than the actual wording. Therefore, it seems a powerful opening through which the issue of Kashmir is highlighted in the report. This beginning of the reporting of the speech paves a way to construct an impression that, perhaps, this whole speech is about Kashmir because the rest of the speech coverage is on page 9 though it is also a part of the speech coverage. The report ends with the issue of new permanent seats in the UN Security Council which is quite relevant to say at the right forum; however, this report has mentioned it at the end. The sentence is as under:

‘There should be no new permanent seats in the Council. This will be contrary to the democratic character of this world body. We want the Council to become more representative, equitable, accountable and transparent, “he added.’

This issue of new seats uttered in the speech is not explained in the report as many points of Kashmir issue, discussed above, have been elaborated and even repeated despite the fact that this issue is also related with the ‘peaceful neighboring in South Asia’. Any how this point is reported in powerful way in this report.

The report is organized by starting with the issue of Kashmir and Pak-India relations spreading it to almost one third of the report, and then the rest of the report is about Afghanistan issue, anti-terrorism efforts and sacrifices, international issues like Gaza and Palestine, the emergence of new militant groups in middle east, extremism, nuclear control, peaceful world, and new seats in the UN Security Council.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the issue of Kashmir, which, in fact, is not the main focus of the speech. This intensification is produced with the help of language, repetition of arguments and addition of direct quotes, and preferred setting of the organization. It seems that the whole speech coverage is giving more importance to Kashmir and just mentioning the rest of the issues in less possible words. This report has not mentioned the arguments given in the start of the speech along with many other arguments and points in the speech. For example, it has not mentioned the calamity and national
disasters, points about regional peace and security situation, the issue of IDP’s, the condemnation of drug trafficking, etc.

4.1.4.5  **Macro Structure**

The headline of this report is:

‘Kashmir cannot be sidelined: PM

Says many opportunities for prosperity have been missed due to unresolved conflicts’

There are a few issues that are prominent in this headline. This headline talks about the issue of Kashmir only whereas the speaker has used only around 200 words out of 2000 words on this issue. Perhaps this headline represents the popular sentiment of the Pakistani public. Furthermore, the expression given in the headline shows a resolve and also gives a hint that there are some efforts being made to sideline this issue. Anyhow, this type of expression seems to contribute towards building the strong image of the speaker. The newspaper has avoided any other expression concerning the main issues of speech in headline.

The lead of this report points out the policy statement which is quite old and firm stance regarding nuclear policy. In this way, it is the second issue which is given prominence in the report: ‘Pakistan will continue to pursue a policy of nuclear restraint and credible minimum deterrence’. There are so many direct quotations in the report, and they are used to highlight the issue of Kashmir particularly and the other issues in general. It is in fact a technique to stress the point by presenting the quotation as evidence. This style of presenting the quotes provides a prominent space to the speaker and contributes to his strong image. The choice and the selection of quotations also give a clue that the speaker is portrait as powerful, committed and the true representative of the nation, who presented their case in an efficient way. Moreover, these quotations are very much specific regarding the choice and selection as they are providing policy statements.
4.1.4.6  **Local Meaning**

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard, following example would be a proper one in terms of how presupposition and implicature are working in this report: In the beginning of the report, the clause ‘he reiterated his commitment’ has shown presupposition in the sense that it has joined this act of speech with another one on some other time, may be on some other occasion. The sentence is as under:

‘As he reiterated his commitment to building a peaceful neighboring in South Asia, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif told world leaders on Friday that the Kashmir issue cannot be sidelined until it was resolved in line with the wishes of the region’s people.’

The above example also shows as if someone is asking in the UN session to side line the issue of Kashmir and in response to that the speaker has shown his determination that Kashmir ‘issue cannot be sidelined.’ The speaker has given a context for this stance which has been omitted in the newspaper report and the first statement is produced like this. There are some other similar examples in the text where certain information is presupposed with the speaker’s current statement.

4.1.5. **Summary**

Discursivity is quite significant from the headlines of the reports and it is quite interesting to note that the headlines do not seem to represent all the content of the report. It means that all the newspapers took the news according to the interest of their own. The headlines are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The News</th>
<th>World community bound to resolve Kashmir issue: PM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dawn</strong></td>
<td>PM reiterates stance on Kashmir in UN speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Express Tribune</strong></td>
<td>Kashmir cannot be sidelined: PM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Though the speech is of around 1960 words, the speech coverage in *The News* is around 1300 words; the report in *Dawn* is around 870 words; while the report in *The Express Tribune* is around 970 words. Interestingly, the speaker has used around 200 words on Kashmir issue whereas *The News* uses 360 words, *Dawn* spends 580 words and *The Express Tribune* uses 280 in reporting the Kashmir issue.

Moreover, all the three reports include a picture of the speaker with caption on the front pages. All the three reports have not used modals, nominalization and passive expressions as techniques for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned. However’ all of them have used clauses with elaboration and extension, but *The News* used lexical choices like ‘disappointed’, ‘ready’, ‘committed to eliminate’ etc.; *The Express Tribune* has used the verbs like ‘condemned’, ‘added’, ‘reiterated’ etc; *Dawn* has used very few expressions like ‘reminded’, ‘hoped’, ‘urged’ etc.

All the reports do not seem to have used euphemistic expressions; instead they have used the technique of omission instead of reporting such expression. Therefore, all the reports have touched many issues of the speech, the details of dimensions of those points are mostly missed, and the rest of the speech is not reported. All the reports have different evidences of metaphors: *The News* has avoided many expressions used in the speech; *The Express Tribune* has used many metaphors in the direct quotations in the report; and, *Dawn* has used many metaphoric impressions provided in the speech along with creating some of its own.

There is discursivity in the interaction of the text along with the examples of mitigation and intensification in all the reports. Arguments are placed to suit the hidden intentions. The beginning in all the reports of every newspaper paves a way to construct a patriotic and committed impression of the speaker. All the reports seem to have intensified the issue of Kashmir in the report. There are so many direct quotations in these reports, and they are used to highlight the issue of Kashmir particularly and the other issues in general. This style of presenting the quotes provides a prominent space to the speaker and contributes to his strong image.
4.2 Nawaz Sharif at Havelian

4.2.1 Context

This speech is delivered by the President of Pakistan Muslim League (N), one of the leading political parties of Pakistan, and present Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, in a public gathering. This speech is delivered in a Jalsa apparently organized for inauguration of motorway in Havelian region, but in view of the political situation of the country, it serves the purpose of a strong political answer to the anti-government and anti-rigging movement whose climax was the Jalsa in Islamabad the next day i.e. October 30, 2014. This political show, in which Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif’s speech was the most significant thing, is in fact a demonstration of political power through which the speaker wants to achieve his political goals. In other words, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, wanted to defuse the impression of anti-government move; therefore, this speech seems to build up the political image of the government. Therefore, this Jalsa and speech represent a power struggle in the political scenario of the country, and media is conscious about the political situation in which this speech is delivered in a public gathering.

The original reports of all the three newspapers are provided in appendix II. The analysis is as follows.

4.2.2 Coverage in The News

The News covers this speech of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, on the front page of the newspaper on, November 30, 2014. It is the main headline of The News of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

4.2.2.1 Syntactic Structure

With regard to the grammatical angle of the speech coverage, the newspaper has not used modals in the whole text to weaken any expression used by the speaker. In other words, the syntactic
choices used by the report contribute towards the strong impression. The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which is also negligible and this technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in sentences, in the construction of sentences.

However, the news report instances of the use of passive voice, but they are not used in the critical sentences or at least passive sentences are the same as delivered by the speaker. Same is the case with the use of agents in the sentences. In the report, agency is not unclear or at least they are not employed in main stream issues of the speech.

It is significant to note that most of the sentences are delivered in the reporting of the chunk where the speaker is announcing the oil prices. For example, “the price of petrol has been slashed by Rs9.66 per litre”, “Hi-Octane has been reduced by 10.18 rupees a litre”, “the gas pipeline would be laid from the Iranian border to Gwadar” etc.

4.2.2.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in The News are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘he said’, ‘Prime Minister said’ etc. Most of the sentences are complex where the speaker is portrayed within the sentences as powerful. There are a number of clauses depicting elaboration and extension in the news coverage. A few are quoted below:

- ‘The prime minister said that the politics of sit-ins had been rejected by the people’
- ‘He said that the young generation is being spoiled with foul language being used at the sit-ins’
- ‘The prime minister said that despite the sit-ins, the mega projects like motorways and universities are being completed.’
- ‘Prime Minister Nawaz said that the area would serve as a hub of all economic activities and the people will soon see the real change’
- ‘The prime minister said he had decided to announce the good news in Havelian due to his affection and love of people of the constituency’
With regard to the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’ and ‘the Prime Minister’. In the second paragraph, an odd comparison is made by using ‘his’ in the report:

‘The prime minister made a number of welfare-oriented announcements on the soil of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, currently ruled by his arch-rival the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI)’

In the above example, person is compared with a political party and ‘his’ is used create personalized impact to show power. ‘They’ is used for the people in the gathering and for the candidates of PML (N). ‘We’ is used for the speaker. The logical connectors are not traced in the report. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report.

There are certain terms and phrases quite frequently used and the impression of repetition is stronger in the report. The most prominent repetition term is ‘sit-in’ in the report and it is also prominent in the original speech as well. But the way report is presenting is significant as it refers to the movement against the government. The other repeated terms are ‘prices’ and ‘motorway’ in the report. As far as the repetition of ideas is concerned, the critique of the speaker over the opposition about their use of ‘foul language’ is repeated in the report so as to put more stress on this point.

4.2.2.3 **Lexical Features**

Prominent words and their meaning along with their connotation and denotation can be divided in two broad categories. One type is used for the speaker and his party while the other is used for PTI and its leader. Lexical items used or referring speaker and his party are having positive connotations whereas lexical choices used for PTI and their leader, are having negative connotations. However, the speaker has used certain terms but the report has not used euphemistic techniques to minimize it. There are certain examples that can represent the whole issue of lexical choices in the report. The choice of words used for the speaker and his party are ‘mammoth’, ‘welfare-oriented announcements’, ‘lamenting’, ‘defeating’; whereas the lexical

The euphemistic expressions are not found in the report. However, some prominent words to shape and influence the argument have been identified:

- ‘the prime minister castigated the sit-ins’
- ‘PML-N youth chief’
- ‘the young generation is being spoiled with foul language being used at the sit-ins
- the moral fibre of society has been ruined’

The words in italic are the choice of words contributing to subjective reality being constructed through words.

The lexical choices like ‘deteriorated’, ‘destruction’, have symbolic value as far as the political environment is concerned. These words referred to PTI, enhance the particular impression projected by PML (N) in the political arena of Pakistan. The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are the same used in the speech, and the report under analysis has not missed the metaphoric impression provided in the speech: ‘Neya Pakistan’, ‘moral fabric of society’, ‘hub of economic activities’ etc.

4.2.2.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is very interesting and it provides a clue what is about to happen next. As far as the beginning is concerned, it is not a direct reporting of the speech or Jalsa but it starts, at least with the main portion of the paragraph, with a comment over it. It seems a powerful opening by adding two main terms which are not mentioned in the speech: ‘game-changing’ and ‘Pakistan-China Economic Corridor’:

‘Addressing a mammoth crowd at a public meeting here after laying the foundation stone of the Rs33 billion Hazara Motorway — part of the ‘game-changing’ Pakistan-China Economic Corridor (PCEC) — the prime minister castigated the sit-ins which he said are being undertaken to push the country into darkness.’
This beginning of the reporting of the speech paves a way to construct a powerful impression of the speaker. The report ends with the instruction of PM to the Chinese contractor who would complete motorway. The last sentence of the report is again a powerful construction of the image of the Mr. Nawaz Sharif: ‘He impressed upon the contractor that quality and punctuality must be ensured.’

The report is organized by paving background by telling about the gathering and its enthusiasm, then moving to the announcement of reduction of oil prices and advice to trickle down its effect, then issues of sit-ins and its language, then motorway plans and developments plans, then poor performance of PTI in KPK, then heavy investment of China. This plan seems quite suitable to defuse the impression created by PTI in sit-ins. This organization is helpful in strong image of the speaker.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the major issues in the report that, too, with the help of language and preferred setting of the organization. Minor issues like load shedding are missed in the report though the speaker has used this term only twice, and it was not the significant point of the speech.

### 4.2.2.5 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:

‘PM announces further slashing of POL prices’

A few effects are prominent in this headline. It talks about the most important announcement of the speech; however, the word ‘further’ has a contextual link with the reduction of prices earlier. It was just an announcement, and the whole speech of forty one minutes was about motorway and ‘dhurnas’. The newspaper has avoided any other expression concerning the main issues of speech in headline.

The lead is quite near to the overall impression given by the speaker. However, the order of placing the arguments is changed to make it more suitable and convincing to the reader, which
is different in long speech of forty one minutes. Moreover, it combines the arguments of the speech with the physical act of the speaker while adding the ‘ground-breaking’ phrase in the lead. The lead is as follows:

‘Says from tomorrow petrol will be available at Rs 84.53, diesel at Rs 94.90 per litre; Nawaz Sharif asks CMs to pass on benefits to masses; says gas, LNG to be imported to cope with shortage; Dharna leaders couldn’t make ‘Naya Pakistan’ but his govt is making a new KP; youth being spoiled with foul language being used at sit-ins; performs ground-breaking of Hazara Motorway’

There are two direct quotations in the report and both are regarding ‘sit-ins’ and counter argument against rigging in the election 2013. These quotations have highlighted both the points in the report by this technique, which is a significant element.

4.2.2.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In regards to presupposition and implicature, this report has interesting paradoxes where the role of Chief Minister, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pervaiz Khattak, who was not present in the gathering, is described. He is described with more emphatic way as compared to those who are present in the gathering. This leads to the construction of the specific view portraying illegal act of PTI’s CM, keeping in mind that the speaker has not used these works. The lines are as follows:

‘The PTI chief minister of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pervaiz Khattak, was conspicuous by his absence, defying the protocol enshrined in the book. Provincial governor Sardar Mehtab Ahmad Khan Abbasi, the Gilgit-Baltistan governor and chief minister, who belong to the Pakistan People’s Party, were also present. PML-N youth chief and MNA Capt Muhammad Safdar conducted the ceremony and the people of the area commended him, especially his role in the construction of the Motorway.’
There are a few more examples in the text where similar construction is made by providing different perspective of reality. Even in the above quoted example, the role of Capt Muhammad Safdar is made ‘conspicuous’ by using presupposition that ‘the people of the area commended him, especially his role in the construction of the Motorway’ despite the fact that it is not yet constructed on one hand and on the other, how ‘the people of the area’ can ‘commend’ him when the gathering was limited only to supporters of PML (N). There are many similar instances in the report.

4.2.3 Coverage in Dawn

Dawn covers this speech of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, on the front page of the newspaper on, November 30, 2014. It is the main headline of Dawn of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

4.2.3.1 Syntactic Structure

The grammatical angle of the speech coverage shows that the newspaper has not used modals in the whole text to weaken any expression used by the speaker except the occasional use of ‘would’ to give future sense conveyed by the speaker. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the strong impression. The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which is also negligible and this technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in sentences, in the construction of sentences.

However, there are a few instances of the use of passive voice, but they are not used in the critical sentences or at least passive sentences are the same as delivered by the speaker with the exception of the following sentence: ‘The prime minister said that Hazara region would be provided natural gas as soon as possible.’ Same is the case with the use of agents in the sentences. In the report, agency is not unclear.
4.2.3.2 Cohesion

There are many clauses used in *Dawn* coverage which are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘he said’, ‘Prime Minister said’ ‘Mr. Sharif said’ etc. Most of the sentences are complex where the speaker is portrayed within the sentences as powerful. There are number of clauses depicting elaboration and extension in the news coverage. A few are quoted below:

- ‘Mr. Sharif said that despite hurdles and problems created by the `aimless people who have miserably failed to deliver in KP`, the government was providing relief to the poor.’
- ‘The prime minister said the government would build a network of highways and connect Pakistan with Afghanistan through a motorway to boost economic activities in the region’.
- ‘The prime minister said he expected that the price cut would lead to a decline in the prices of other items as well.’

Besides, there are many sentences which are joining two independent clauses, for example:

- ‘Work on Islamabad-Muzaffarabad rail track had started and the project would be completed during the tenure of this government’
- ‘The four-lane fenced expressway is a part of PakistanChina Economic Corridor. It will cost Rs 33 billion, reduce the driving time between Islamabad and Havelian to 30 minutes and provide access to the Havelian dry port project’

The explicit cohesion is maintained through many things, for example, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’, ‘Mr Sharif’ and ‘the Prime Minister’.
‘It’ and ‘they’ are used frequently for ‘motorways’, ‘people of the area’ and ‘dams’ in the report. With the use of the substitutions ideas are conveyed into further clauses for the purpose of cohesion.

There are certain terms and phrases which are frequently used in reports and the impression of repetition becomes stronger. But in this report such repetition is very less in terms of vocabulary. As regards to ideas, only issues and arguments about express way is touched twice in the report which provides the impression of its importance and that is quite in line with the explicit purpose of the public gathering.

4.2.3.3 **Lexical Features**

In fact it is a very short report. The choice of words is taken very carefully therefore, mostly denotations are used. Certain adjectives having connotations have been used but they are not the main concern of the report. For example, ‘prosperous’ is used for Pakistan. Certain negative connotations regarding PTI are used but they are very few and importantly, they are in the direct quotes in the report. Overall denotations are used in the report.

Euphemistic expressions have mostly been avoided in the report, by using the technique of omission. It is perhaps due to this reason that it is a short report of around 600 words.

Some notable expressions are:

- ‘the masses had *rejected* politics of sit-ins’
- ‘People will punish the Tehreek-i-Insaf’
- ‘despite *hurdles* and *problems* created by the `*aimless* people who have *miserably failed* to deliver in KP’

The words in italics are the choice of words contributing to subjective reality being constructed through words. The words ‘aimless’ and ‘miserably failed’ are from direct quotes, therefore this report only chooses these words among so many other choices.

The lexical choices like ‘miserably failed’, ‘rejected’ have symbolic value as far as the political environment is concerned. These words referred to PTI, enhance the particular impression projected by PML (N) in the political arena of Pakistan. The metaphors, very few,
mentioned in the report are the same as used in the actual speech, and the report under analysis has avoided most of the metaphoric impressions provided in the speech.

4.2.3.4 Interactional Control

The beginning is a direct reporting of the speech which is quite opposite to the structure of the previous report. It seems a powerful opening as it starts with the political issue which is quite critical at present. The start is: ‘Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said on Saturday that the masses had rejected politics of sit-ins as they knew that the PML-N was working for a prosperous Pakistan.’ The beginning of the reporting provides a normal impression of the speaker. However, the issue which is the most prominent concern of the speech has not been given that much attention in the report. The report ends with the information of the reception on his arrival at Havelian, and it is a common practice of newspaper reporting.

The report is organized by describing issues of sit-ins, then moving to the poor performance of PTI in KPK, then motorway plans and developments plans, then announcement of reduction of oil prices and advice to trickle down its effect, and lastly, the importance of Hazara Expressway. This plan seems quite suitable to cover most of the points of speech in fewer words.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have avoided intensification. The only thing it has intensified is the inclusion of CM, KPK who was not present there with the expression of: ‘Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Chief Minister Pervez Khattak was conspicuous by his absence from the ceremony.’ This example is the only one in the whole report. On the other hand, it has mitigated lot of issues in the manner that it has omitted them. The most prominent is the speaker’s concern about the ‘language of sit-ins’, ‘40 billion dollars agreement’ and speaker’s views about rigging in the election are the major issues of the speech but they have been mitigated and ignored in the report.

4.2.3.5 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:
‘People have rejected politics of sit-in: PM’

Some issues are prominent in this headline. It does not talk about the most important announcement of the speech, and that is reduction of oil prices. This headline focuses on the political conflict whereas the gathering was arranged specially for the inauguration of motorway. However, the whole speech of forty one minutes was about motorway, projects and ‘dhurnas’, and this newspaper has avoided other two main issues of speech in headline.

The lead has added one more point to the overall impression given by the speaker, and that is the addition of the impression of announcement of different projects by adding the phrase of ‘prosperous Pakistan’. The lead is as follows: ‘The masses had rejected politics of sit-ins as they knew that the PML-N was working for a prosperous Pakistan.’

There are three direct quotations in the report and first is about ‘sit-in’, second is about motorway project and the third is about future express way project. The counter argument against rigging in the General Elections 2013 is altogether missing in the report. These quotations have highlighted all the points in the report by this technique, which is a significant element.

4.2.3.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In regards to presupposition and implicature, this report has interesting paradoxes where the role of Chief Minister, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pervaiz Khattak, who was not present in the gathering, is described. He is described with more emphatic way as compare to those who are present in the gathering. The lines are: ‘Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Chief Minister Pervez Khattak was conspicuous by his absence from the ceremony.’ There is no other example in the text with similar construction to create different reality.

This report has added nothing in personal capacity. This report has this credit but at the cost of cutting much of the matter delivered in the speech.
4.2.4 Coverage in The Express Tribune

*The Express Tribune* covers this speech of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, on the front page of the newspaper on, November 30, 2014. It is the main headline of *The Express Tribune* of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which the whole event was reported.

4.2.4.1 Syntactic Structure

With regard, to the syntactical structure of the speech coverage, the newspaper has not used modals in the whole text to weaken any expression used by the speaker. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report do not interfere in the overall impression conveyed by the speaker.

The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which is also negligible in the manner to slow down the process of action in sentences, in the construction of sentences. Very few instances are found but they too are in the direct quotes in the report. For example, ‘only regression, joblessness and deprivation’. But because it is direct speech and that too translated from Urdu, the element of construction becomes very far in such case. Moreover, the news report used only one passive sentence, which has been used in a sentence about sit-in. In the report, agency is not unclear or at least even agent is not omitted in passive sentence.

4.2.4.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in *The Express Tribune* newspaper coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that earlier clauses start with ‘he said’, ‘Prime Minister said’, ‘Nawaz stated’, ‘PM Nawaz said’. In this way most of the sentences are complex where the speaker is portrayed within the sentences as powerful. As far as the explicit cohesion is concerned, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’ and ‘the Prime Minister’. Most of the sentences start with a phrase having present participle. For example:

- ‘Addressing a large gathering’
• ‘Without naming PTI’
• ‘Lambasting the PTI’
• ‘Addressing the PTI chief’

It is an interesting fact that in most cases these participles are preceded by PTI. Through this technique of cohesion, the emphasis is shifted on PTI. There are certain terms and phrases quite frequently used and the impression of repetition is stronger in the report. The most prominent repetition term is PTI in the report and it is worth mentioning that the speaker has not used this term even for once though he gave references. But the way, this report is presenting it, is significant. The other repeated and prominent term is ‘sit-in’ in the report, and it is used in three different chunks though without repeating ideas as at every place new argument given by the speaker is provided.

4.2.4.3 **Lexical Features**

Most of the vocabulary used in the report is denotative but still a significant amount of connotations are also used to convey the overall tone of the speaker. For example this report has used certain expressions referring to the speaker like, ‘Heaped scorn’, ‘lambasting’ etc. which have conveyed the tone and temper of the speaker regarding the ‘sit-in’ agitation movement in the country.

This report has used the term ‘large gathering’ for the number of participants in *Jalsa* to avoid the controversy of size of gathering. The other prominent expression is ‘sit-ins staged by Pakistan Tehreek-E-Insaf’ in which the word in italics is significant in meaning as if to give the impression that the ‘sit-ins’ are dramas. Regarding the euphemistic expressions, surprisingly, there is no explicit expression found in the report. The words in italic are the choice of words contributing to subjective reality being constructed through lexical choices.

The lexical choices like ‘staged’, ‘scorn’, etc have symbolic value in the current political environment. These words referred to PTI, enhance the particular impression of PML (N) being uncomfortable in the political atmosphere of Pakistan. The metaphors used in the speech are not mentioned in the reporting, and the report under analysis has used very little of the metaphoric expression.
4.2.4.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is typical of newspaper reporting practices. The beginning is not a direct reporting of the speech or *Jalsa* but it starts with a judgmental comment, though quite justified, over it. Therefore, it seems a powerful opening influenced by media over the content of the speech.

This beginning of the reporting of the speech paves a way to construct a powerful but irritated impression of the speaker. The beginning shows that ‘sit-ins’ are annoying PM: ‘Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on Saturday heaped scorn at the sit-ins staged by Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI).’ The report ends with the mentioning of all other prominent dignitaries who were present at the occasion.

The report is organized by telling the speaker’s views briefly in a small paragraph about sit-ins, then four long paragraphs about different development projects and progress, moving to the announcement of reduction of oil prices in a very small paragraph, then issues of sit-ins and language being used in sit-ins in next four small paragraphs and the last is the information about the presence of other important personalities. This organizational plan seems quite suitable to defuse key information of price reduction and highlights the impression of PM’s irritation with PTI in sit-ins.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the two major issues of sit-ins and development projects mentioned in the speech. This was done with the help of language and preferred setting of the organization. Minor issues like load shedding are omitted in the report though the speaker has used this term only twice, and it was not a significant point of the speech. Beside many development projects, the arguments regarding rigging have been completely omitted despite the fact that these had a substantial place in actual speech.

4.2.4.5 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:
‘Sit-ins and road block impeding progress

Says PML-N, not PTI, is creating a new Pakistan;

There are certain issues which are prominent in this headline, have been given full fledged coverage. It has highlighted ‘sit-ins’ alone from the speech of 40 minutes. It does not talk about the most important announcement of the speech: reduction of oil prices. However, as the whole speech of forty one minutes was about projects, motorway and ‘dhurnas’, the sub-headline covers this angle also. Overall, the newspaper has not avoided giving an expression concerning the main issues of speech in headline.

Moreover, the lead is a direct quote even though the impression given by the speaker in original speech was in Urdu. Therefore, this technique has highlighted the issue as far as the content is concerned. However, this expression and the selection of content have provided a particular strength. Moreover, it only covers the future commitment of the speaker but the place provided to it is meaningful. The lead is as follows: ‘We will put to an end to unemployment and underdevelopment, and overcome the energy crisis once for all.’ There are two direct quotations in the report: one is mentioned above regarding future commitment and the other is about the foul language. Both of these issues are highlighted due to this technique which is a significant element.

4.2.4.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. With regard to presupposition and implicature, this report has used only one sentence in which newspaper’s views have been presented. This sentence is basically summarizing the main sense given in the speech. The sentence is as follows:

‘Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif on Saturday heaped scorn at the sit-ins staged by Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), calling them roadblocks in the way of progress and prosperity and inimical to the interests of the country.’

There are some more examples in phrases in the text where similar construction is made by providing a specific perspective of reality: ‘Lambasting the PTI for what he called abusive
language. Here, the speaker’s comment on abusive language is highlighted in the report and it can be understood as a prominent issue in the report because the entire report is barely of 500 words. This type of construction can provide the idea that ‘abusive language’ is the actual phenomenon and not only the speaker’s personal opinion. The report twice mentions that ‘without naming PTI’, but the report has highlighted PTI’s political issues more explicitly by using the term PTI again and again.

4.2.5 Summary

Discursivity is quite significant from the headlines of the reports and it is an interesting fact that most of the headlines truly represent the content of the report. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to their own interests. The headlines are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
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</tr>
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<td>The Express Tribune</td>
<td>Sit-ins and road block impeding progress</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the speech is of forty one minutes, the report in The News is of almost 1700 words; the report in Dawn is about 600 words; and the report in The Express Tribune is of almost 500 words. It means that the report in The News is three times bigger than that of other two newspapers. Moreover, all the three reports include a picture with caption on the front page.

All the three reports have not used modals and nominalization as techniques for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned; however, The News and Dawn have used passive voice structures, but they are not used in the critical sentences or at least passive sentences are the same as delivered by the speaker. The Express Tribune has used one passive sentence and that is about ‘sit-ins’. All of them have used clauses with elaboration and extension, but The News repeated ‘sit-ins’, ‘motorway’ and ‘prices’; The Express Tribune has repeated the terms of ‘PTI’ and ‘sit-ins’; Dawn has not repeated any term and idea in the report.
However, in the use of vocabulary, *The News* has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items used or referring to the speaker and his party have positive connotations whereas lexical choices used for PTI and their leader have negative connotations. Whereas *Dawn* has not used connotations, and *The Express Tribune* has used denotation but still a significant number of connotations are used to convey the overall tone of the speaker.

In addition to it, all the three reports have not used euphemistic expressions. All the reports have different evidences of metaphors: *The News* has used them; *The Express Tribune* has used very little; and, *Dawn* has completely avoided it. There is discursivity in the interaction of the text along with the examples of mitigation and intensification in all the reports. Arguments are placed to suit the hidden intentions.

*The News* has used two direct quotations in the report and both are regarding ‘sit-ins’ and counter arguments against rigging in the General Elections 2013; whereas *Dawn* has used three direct quotations in the report: first is about ‘sit-in’, second is about motorway project, and the third is about future express way project; and *The Express Tribune* has used two direct quotations: one on ‘sit-ins’ and other on ‘projects’. There are very few examples of logical connectors in all the reports.

The report in *The News* has tried to promote the image of the speaker through discursive practices, whereas the report in *Dawn* has constructed and promoted a strong but affected image of the speaker and while reporting the issues. The report in *The Express Tribune* has constructed a powerful image of the speaker beside the person who is irritated and disturbed from *sit-ins* and PTI.

**4.3 Nawaz Sharif to Nation on 24th of December**

**4.3.1 Context**

This speech is delivered by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, to the nation on the issue of terrorism. This speech is delivered at a very critical time when a great
tragedy of attacking Army Public School, Peshawar on 16th of December, 2014, occurred in which terrorists murdered around 150 innocent children. The whole country reacted and took this brutality to their heart and got united against terrorism. The All Party Conference was called by PM and they agreed to take serious action against terrorism. It is pertinent to mention that before this tragedy, there were different opinions in the country regarding terrorism, war against terrorism and Taliban. Now, all agreed to take action to root out terrorism from the country.

Before this speech, the Prime Minister presided a meeting of political and military leadership, which lasted around ten hours, to finalize the action plan against terrorism. Therefore, this speech addressed to nation is delivered with the perspective of informing decision to the nation about steps to be taken against terrorism. Besides, this speech is delivered after eight days of the APS, Peshawar, tragedy, and all the country was seeing and waiting for the action plan being decided in the numerous meetings occurred within this time. In this critical situation, print media is conscious about the delicate security situation as well as the political conditions and developments in the country. The original reports of all the three newspapers are provided in appendix III. The analysis is as follows.

4.3.2 Coverage in The News

*The News* covers this speech of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, on the front page of the newspaper on, December 25, 2014. It is the main headline of *The News* of that day. It has also included a picture of the speaker with caption on the same page. This report is divided into two parts: one is about the report of the speech and the other is the report of the meeting chaired by the speaker. The newspaper has merged both the reports under the same heading. Therefore, the main focus in the analysis is on the speech. However, some very prominent features are taken from the other part of the report. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which the newspaper reported the whole event.

4.3.2.1 Syntactic Structure

In case with the syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage, the newspaper does not seem to use modals in the whole text to weaken any expression used by the speaker. However,
there are many instances of the use of ‘would’, ‘should’ and ‘could’ but they are not contributing in curtailing any thought. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the strong impression.

The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, on the other hand, is negligible and this technique has not been employed, in the construction of sentences to slow down the process of action in sentences.

However, the news report instances of the use of passive voice, and they are used in the critical sentences but many of them are the same as delivered by the speaker. For example:

- ‘the electronic and print media would not be allowed to give publicity to terrorists’
- ‘the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) from the tribal areas are being repatriated to their respective areas as rehabilitation work and development activities are being initiated in the area on a top priority basis;’
- ‘the communication network of the terrorists will be destroyed and their access to the social media and internet would be made impossible;’
- ‘the hideouts of the terrorists in any part of the country would be busted’

The above quoted examples are a few of so many in the text through which it can be assessed that passive structures are the same as delivered by the speaker. However, there are many examples in which passive structures have been adopted. Same is the case with the use of agents in these sentences, and agency is unclear in most of the sentences of the report. They are employed in main stream issues of the speech such as the steps suggested by the committee against terrorism.

4.3.2. 2 Cohesion

There are many clauses used in The News coverage which are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif said’ ‘Prime Minister said’, ‘he assured’, etc.
Most of the sentences are complex where the speaker is portrayed within the sentences as powerful because the subordinate clauses used are mostly in passive voice, and they seem to perform the role of imperatives. There are a number of clauses depicting elaboration and extension in The News coverage. A few are quoted below:

- ‘Nawaz Sharif explained that political parties had reached a consensus on how to defeat terrorism’
- ‘The prime minister maintained that as a father, he could understand how heavy these coffins were for their parents’
- ‘He assured the people that the necessary legislation would be undertaken to curb elements promoting sectarian hatred’
- ‘The prime minister added that the electronic and print media would not be allowed to give publicity to terrorists’

The case of explicit cohesion shows that the speaker’s name has been replaced with ‘he’ and ‘the Prime Minister’. As far as the substitutions are concerned, ‘it’ is used for Pakistan, ‘they’ and ‘their’ is used for ‘madrassas’, Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and terrorists in the report. The logical connectors are not traced in the report of the speech; however, the second part of the report has certain instances. For example, ‘earlier’, and a few phrases like, ‘in his interventions’, ‘in his opening remarks’ etc. are used in the report. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report.

There are certain terms and phrases which give the impression of repetition in the report. The most prominent repetition term is ‘terrorism’ in the report and it is also prominent in the original speech as well. The other repeated terms are ‘action’, ‘constitution’ and ‘legislation’. As far as the repetition of ideas is concerned, no evidence is found in the report.

4.3.2.3 Lexical Features

Many evidences regarding prominent words are traced in the principal clauses in most of the report. For example, with reference to the speaker the verbs used are ‘said’, ‘assured’, ‘explained’, ‘announced’, ‘added’ etc. in the report, this choice of verbs reflects the presentation angle of the report. The vocabulary used in the report has similar connection or seems a similar
set of words, for example: ‘emotional tone’, ‘marathon meeting’, ‘giving an ultimatum to the terrorists’, ‘iron hand’, ‘strong action’, ‘days are numbered’ etc. This scenario shows that most of the work in the report is imbued with what is reflected from above mentioned examples. The other very prominent example is the use of the word ‘constitution’ in the meaning of form or set up in the context of military courts. The report has used this term when military courts are to be legalized through legislation. Therefore, the term ‘constitution’ in both the senses in single report may not be without any purpose.

Euphemistic technique is not employed in the report to give positive coloring to any sentence or utterance. Instead, this report has missed or omitted the speech portion, and this speech has omitted lots of arguments presented by the speaker before announcing the 20 point action plan. The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same as used in the speech, and the report under analysis has not missed the metaphoric impression provided in the speech. However, there are few expressions that are added, and metaphors are present: ‘marathon’, ‘lauded’, ‘butchery’ etc.

4.3.2.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is skillfully maintained and it provides a clue to the intentions. As far as the beginning is concerned, it starts with the ‘ultimatum’ not as a direct reporting but as a personal view or perspective, and the rest of the sentence is based on the key information of the speech. It seems a powerful opening by tagging it with emotional tone and by placing the key information in the main clause:

‘While giving an ultimatum to the terrorists in an emotional tone late on Wednesday night after a marathon meeting of parliamentary party leaders, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced the constitution of special courts for two years under military officers to try terrorists.’

This beginning of the reporting of the speech paves a way to construct a powerful and emotional impression of the speaker. The report ends with the inclusion comments of other interior minister as this report covers the two events. As an end product, this report ends with the
promotion of same. It is evident that the image started from the beginning continues till the end through selection of arguments and placing them in the report.

The report is organized by starting with crux in the lead, then announcement of the constitution of military courts, then statement of not allowing land against any other country, then the mentioning of twenty points of the speech, then a resolve of necessary legislation, then a threat to the terrorists, then a political resolve to set up courts, and then the acknowledgement of the services of the army chief, General Raheel Sharif. This portion of the speech ends with a quote detaching the nation from terrorism. The rest of the report is about the meeting.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the major issue of military court in the report along with constructing the specific image, which is the main focus of the speech. This intensification is produced with the help of language, repetition of arguments and preferred setting of the organization. This report has not mentioned the arguments given in the start of the speech. It is also worth mentioning that this report has mentioned the duration of the speech as fifteen minutes whereas the actual time of the speech is eleven minutes. This is a significant element.

4.3.2. 5 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:

‘Special courts led by military officers to be set up: PM’

Some effects are prominent in this headline. It talks about the most important announcement of the speech; however, the term ‘military officers’ instead of ‘military courts’ is significant. In other words, the statement of joining ‘courts’ with ‘military officer’ seems as if it is a sort of Martial Law in euphemistic expression. It is also worth mentioning that the speaker has announced the ultimate time of two years for military courts, and this headline has omitted this despite the fact that there is not the length issue. The newspaper has avoided any other expression concerning the main issues of speech in headline.
The lead is quite long and detailed describing the main points of the twenty points described by the speaker. This lead has mentioned nine points:

‘Constitution to be amended; anti-terror force to be raised; Nacta to be strengthened; hate literature to be banned; funding of terrorists to be choked; banned groups no to be allowed to work under new names; Madaris to be brought under discipline; terrorists’ access to social media to be curbed; media not to be allowed to give publicity to terrorists; addresses nation after chairing 11-hour meeting with parliamentary leaders and military officials.’

This lead has avoided eleven points to mention, and few among them are regarding IDPs, Karachi operation, sectarianism and militant wings of the different political and religious parties. Here arises a question why points have been mentioned and others have been omitted in the lead.

There are three direct quotations in the report, and they also contribute the same image of the speaker as is mentioned above. All the quotations in the text are as follows:

- “The Peshawar butchery has changed Pakistan, we need to eradicate the mindset of terrorism to defeat extremism and sectarianism”
- “This horrendous attack has shaken the nation since the terrorists struck the future of this country when they murdered those children.”
- “With their blood, our children have drawn a line between us and the terrorists,”

These quotations are very much specific regarding the choice and selection as the single issue is placed in all the quotations to highlight the speaker’s concern with the tragedy. It is important that the most emotional sentences are selected from the speech to be taken as a quotation.

4.3.2. 6  Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard the following example would be a proper one in terms of how presupposition and implicature are working in this report:
‘Addressing the nation on TV in a 15-minute speech, he asked neighbouring countries not to let their soil be used against Pakistan and Pakistan would not permit its soil to be used against any other country’

In the above example, the term ‘permit’ shows presupposition in the meanings as if earlier they, the terrorists, were permitted to use the soil of Pakistan against other countries, and now, this permission is being taken back. Furthermore, such terrorists’ activities are not carried out with legalized permission, and if, it is a case, it seems a very serious allegation. The implicature and presupposition are prominent in terms like ‘ultimatum’, ‘marathon meeting’, and ‘emotional’ in the sense that thought is presupposed in the construction of the sentence.

4.3.3 Coverage in Dawn

_Dawn_ covers this speech of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, on the front page of the newspaper on, December 25, 2014. It is the main headline of _Dawn_ of that day. It has also included a picture of the speaker speaking at the meeting, not as speaking to the nation, with caption on the same page. This report is divided into two parts: one is about the report of the speech and the other is the report of the meeting chaired by the speaker and the comments of different political leaders after that meeting. The newspaper has merged both the reports under the same heading. Therefore, the main focus in the analysis is on the speech. However, few very prominent features are taken from the other part of the report. It is worth mentioning that the reporting of the speech is significantly very small. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

4.3.3.1 Syntactic Structure

In case with the syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage, the newspaper does not seem to use modals in the whole text to weaken any expression used by the speaker. The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, and this technique is not employed in the manner to slow down the process of action in sentences, in the construction of sentences. Moreover, the news report, as far as the speech part is concerned, does not provide any instance
of the use of passive voice. Same is the case with the use of agents in these sentences, and agency is not unclear in the report.

4.3.3. 2 Cohesion

There are very few clauses which is a sort of elaboration as only two of them start with ‘Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced’. Most of the sentences are complex, but, interestingly, they do not start with mentioning of the speaker, and the speaker has been portrayed within the sentences as irrelevant. It is because the subordinate clauses in the sentences include the information on agreement of political and military leadership, and the counter arguments. A few are quoted below:

- ‘Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced in a late-night address to the nation on Wednesday that the country’s political leadership had agreed to set up special military courts to try hardened terrorists.’

- ‘Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced in a late-night address to the nation on Wednesday that the country’s political leadership had agreed to set up special military courts to try hardened terrorists’

In case of the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is used twice in the speech coverage, and the substitutions are not used as the speech coverage is quite short. The logical connectors are not traced in the report of the speech; however, the second part of the report has certain instances in the form of a few phrases like, ‘in response’, ‘in his remarks to the meeting’ etc. There is no evidence of repetition of terms and vocabulary in the report. As far as the repetition of ideas is concerned, no such evidence is found in the report.

4.3.3. 3 Lexical Features

The prominent words and their meaning along with their connotation and denotation are limited as this report is too short. There are three words that point to connotation. They are ‘special military courts’, ‘hardened terrorists’, and ‘radicalization’. In these examples, the word ‘special’ for military court is additional as the set up for military court in it in a democratic government and in the presence of normal justice system is an unusual phenomenon. Same is the value of the
word ‘hardened’ with terrorists; the term ‘radicalization’ instead of terrorism or extremism is also significant.

Euphemistic technique is not employed in the report to give positive coloring to any sentence or utterance. Instead, this report has missed or omitted the speech portion, and has omitted majority of the speech including the 20 point action plan. The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are few: for example, the term ‘radicalization’ has its metaphoric value; however, the report under analysis has missed the metaphoric impression provided in the speech.

4.3.3.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is stressed by adopting the story technique as it starts with the reporting of the speech but after two sentences it moves on to the reporting of the meeting; it ends again with the reporting of the speech. Therefore this type of interaction provides a clue about what are the intentions. Regarding the beginning, it starts with a direct quote that ‘political leadership had agreed’. It seems that this report has undermined the image of the speaker who is addressing and taking the nation in confidence. The complete expression is:

‘Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced in a late-night address to the nation on Wednesday that the country’s political leadership had agreed to set up special military courts to try hardened terrorists.’

This beginning of the reporting of the speech paves a way to construct a weak and dependent impression of the speaker. The report ends with the impression that this whole speech was just the repletion of the already announced measures except very few points. This way of presenting the speech and giving comments over it contribute to the idea that the newspaper has intentions to influence. The ending of the report is as follows:

‘Another detail that stands out was the mention of the need for tangible measures against abuse of internet and social media for terrorism, indicating that the government and the military were looking to fight radicalisation on all fronts.’
It is evident that the image started from beginning continues till the end through selection of arguments and placing them in the report.

The report is organized by starting with the announcement of the agreement of leaders on the setting up of military courts and constitutional amendment, then the long and detailed reporting of the meeting held at PM House, then the comments of the political leaders of almost all the prominent parties after the meeting, then the mentioning of five out of twenty points of the speech, and then arguing that these points are not new.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified none of the major issues of the report; however, it has stressed the meeting and not the speech. This intensification is produced with the help of detailed reporting, repetition of arguments and preferred setting of the organization. This report has not mentioned any of the arguments given in the start of the speech. In other words, this report has mitigated everything which could contribute to the speaker regarding this issue. This report has even omitted the 20 points in this report.

It is also worth mentioning that this report has not mentioned the duration of the speech. Instead, it has used the expression that it was a ‘brief’ address. Similarly, this report mentions that PM listed ‘18’ points whereas he actually mentioned 20 points in the speech and even counted them. This is a significant element.

4.3.3. 5 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:

‘Military courts to try terror suspects’

Some effects are prominent in this headline. It talks about the most important announcement of the speech; however, the term ‘military courts’ is significant. It is also worth mentioning that the speaker has announced the ultimate time of two years for military courts, and this headline has omitted this despite the fact that there not the length issue. The most prominent feature of this headline is that it does not give any indication of the speaker or the decision maker in the
headline. It seems a deliberate attempt to avoid the mentioning of PM. The newspaper has avoided any other expression concerning the main issues of speech in headline.

The prominent topic sentences, except the opening, from the reporting of the speech are as follows:

- ‘It then details 18 points of broad consensus, which the PM also listed during his speech.’
- ‘But certain points stood out as being new and hitherto unexplored within the counterterrorism framework’

Both of these sentences indicate that speaker’s contents are not given value in the report.

There are two phrases taken as direct quotations in the report, and they do not contribute positively to improve the image of the speaker as is mentioned above. Both the quotations in text are as follows:

- “zero tolerance for militancy in parts of Punjab”
- “tangible measures against abuse of internet and social media for terrorism”

These quotations are not even single sentences, and these phrases are just parts of those twenty points mentioned in the speech. It is important that the most emotional sentences are not selected from the speech to be taken as a quotation.

4.3.3. 6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard the following example would be a proper one in terms of how presupposition and implicature works in first sentence of this report:

‘Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif announced in a late-night address to the nation on Wednesday that the country’s political leadership had agreed to set up special military courts to try hardened terrorists.’
In the above example, the term *agreed* shows presupposition in the meanings as if earlier they, the political leaders, were hurdle in this respect, and that the speaker alone is not responsible for the setting up of ‘military courts’. The other term ‘hardened’ with terrorists gives the impression that earlier the situation was quite opposite. The arguments placed in the second last paragraph show that the purpose of this report is to tell the audience about the new and old points of the ‘action plan’ without giving their detail as is presented in the speech.

### 4.3.4 Coverage in *The Express Tribune*

*The Express Tribune* covers this speech of Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, the present Prime Minister of Pakistan, on the front page of the newspaper on, December 25, 2014. It is the main headline of *The Express Tribune* of that day. It has also included a picture of the speaker speaking at the meeting with full view, not as speaking to the nation, with caption on the same page.

Furthermore, six individual pictures of the speaker, four other political leaders form different parties and the army chief are placed on the front page exactly under the above mentioned picture. This report has merged the meeting, with the political parties, with the speech in this report under the same heading. Moreover, the action plan, comprised of 20 points, decided in the meeting and delivered in the speech has been given a separate space under a different heading of ‘Overview of National Action Plan’.

#### 4.3.4.1 Syntactic Structure

Considering the syntactical structure of the speech coverage, the newspaper does not seem to use modals in the whole text to weaken any expression used by the speaker. However, there are certain instances of the use of ‘would’, ‘should’ and ‘could’ but they are not contributing in curtailing any thought or expression delivered by the speaker. The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, on the other hand, is negligible and this technique is not employed, in a manner that slows down the process of action in the sentences. Moreover, the news report provides some instances of the use of passive voice, but they, too, are not used in any critical sentence to curtail the image or cover anything; rather they are almost the same as delivered by the speaker. Same is the case with the use of agents in this report. In the report, agency is not unclear in almost all the report.
4.3.4.2  Cohesion

Many clauses used in *The Express Tribune* news coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they are connected with the principal clause starting with ‘he said’, ‘Prime Minister said’ etc. Some sentences start with a participial phrase but majority is starting with principal clause. Moreover, there are some simple sentences having only one clause. For example:

- ‘An amendment will be made in the Pakistan Army Act 1952 for the establishment of these courts.’
- ‘The number of military courts will be according to the number of terrorists in a province’.

Besides, there are number of clauses depicting elaboration and extension in the news coverage. This report has a small number of compound sentences where independent clauses are connected. But these sentences are used more in the portion where report tells about the contents of meeting and not about the contents of the speech.

Identifying the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’ and ‘Prime Minister’. The logical connectors are traced in the report, but most of them are used in the reporting of the meeting and the depiction of other political parties and not about the content of the speech. Some of the common logical connectors are ‘however’, ‘earlier’, ‘similarly’, ‘while’ etc. In the report, the reference of ‘these’ is used for military courts; ‘he’, and ‘his’ are used for the speaker; ‘we’ is used for the political leadership and the government. It is worth mentioning that references of direct speech are also included in the above list. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report.

There are certain terms and phrases quite frequently used and the impression of repetition is stronger in the report. The most prominent repeated terms are ‘attacks’, ‘terrorists’, ‘military’, etc in the report. The way report is presenting these terms is the theme of the speech. Moreover, the evidences of the repetition of ideas are not found in the report.
4.3.4. 3  **Lexical Features**

Regarding the prominent words and their meaning along with their connotation and denotation in *The Express Tribune*, many evidences are traced in the report. For example, political leadership is ‘approving’ the plan and the speaker is ‘describing’ it. The placement of verbs is important. The environment of the report is set by the key terms like ‘massacre’, ‘atrocity’, ‘eradicate’, ‘horrendous attack’, ‘defining moment’, ‘backing of nation’ etc.

It is important to mention that this report has merged the meeting with the speech in the placement of arguments. Therefore, the choice of vocabulary is purely representative of the angle with which report is being presented.

Euphemistic technique is employed in the report to give positive coloring to a few expressions. For example, in the second paragraph of the report, the setting up of military courts is described as ‘establishment of special courts for speedy trial of terror suspects’ to avoid giving the impression of military courts. The same expression is repeated in the middle of the report. The ‘military courts’ are used as a term in the later part of the report in this context:

‘An amendment will be made in the Pakistan Army Act 1952 for the establishment of these courts. The number of military courts will be according to the number of terrorists in a province.’

The amendment in constitution is described earlier than the use of ‘military courts’ term. It seems to avoid any impression of military rule. The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same as used in the speech, and however, the report under analysis has missed majority of the metaphoric expressions provided in the speech. However, there are few expressions that are added, and metaphors are present: ‘marathon, massacre’, ‘atrocity’, ‘defining moment’, ‘backing of nation’ etc.

4.3.4. 4  **Interactional Control**

The interactional control in this report of *The Express Tribune* is skillfully maintained and it provides a clue about what the real intentions are. As far as the beginning is concerned, it starts
with the general overview of decisions taken in the meeting while acknowledging the contribution of political parties and does not mention the speech. However, the speaker, as a participant, is mentioned in the first paragraph:

‘After a marathon meeting, the country’s political leadership on Wednesday approved a comprehensive plan of action against terrorism in a move described by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif as a ‘defining moment’ in the fight against terrorism.’

This beginning of the reporting of the speech paves a way to ignore the contribution and weaken the impression of the speaker. This report seems to give the credit of what is announced to all the political leadership. That’s perhaps the reason that meeting and the speech is joined in a single report. The report ends with the inclusion of comments of other leaders as this report covers the two events. As an end product, this report ends with the promotion of same. The speech coverage is placed in the insignificant portions of the report. However, it is a fact that the gist of the speech, 20 points, is mentioned in the newspaper separately. It is evident that the image started from beginning continues till end through selection of arguments and placing them in the report.

The report is organized by starting with agreement of political leadership, announcement of the speedy trial in speedy courts, Peshawar atrocity, the mentioning of resolve to try terrorists, arguments presented by political leaders in the meetings, inside story of the comments of those leaders particularly Mulana Fazul Rehman, the mentioning of the speaker as PM and his remarks in the meeting, and a few more comments of other political leaders. This portion of the speech ends with a quote detaching the nation from terrorism. The rest of the report is about the meeting. From this organization it is evident that the speech has not been taken separately by the newspaper, and the speech coverage is also unjustified.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the major issue of military court in the report along with constructing the specific image, which is also the main focus of the speech. However, this intensification is not based on the speech but on the meeting. This intensification is produced with the help of language, repetition of
arguments and preferred setting of the organization. This report has not mentioned most of the arguments given in the speech. However, it has given a separate place to 20 points of the ‘Action Plan’ announced by the speaker in his address. It is also worth mentioning that this report has mentioned, ‘the televised address, and it has not mentioned other things like duration of the speech, the time of the speech etc. This is a significant element.

4.3.4. 5 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:
‘Fight against terrorism
Defining Moment’

Some patterns are identified in this headline of The Express Tribune. It does not talk about the speech; it seems quite general statement over the happenings of all day. This headline does not show any hint that PM addressed to the nation. The earlier term ‘fight against terrorism’ seems a more general statement as it is overall situation in the country after the Peshawar tragedy. However, the term ‘military courts’ or any hint of it is not provided in it which is very significant element. Moreover, the sub-headline tells about the establishment of ‘special courts’ without mentioning that it is announced by the speaker: ‘Consensus on establishment of special courts, crackdown on banned outfits.’

The most prominent feature of this headline is that it does not give any indication of the speaker or the decision maker in the headline. It seems a deliberate attempt to avoid the mentioning of PM. The newspaper has avoided any other expression concerning the main issues of speech in headline.

There are eight direct quotations in the report; only three are taken from the speech and the rest of the quotations are taken from statements of different leaders including the army chief. The quotations taken from the speech seems emotional statements and they seem to contribute positively in the overall image of the speaker regarding his resolve to fight against terrorism. Those quotations are as follows:

• ‘A line has been drawn. On one side are coward terrorists and on the other side stands the whole nation’
• ‘The Peshawar atrocity has changed Pakistan. We need to eradicate the mindset of terrorism to defeat extremism and sectarianism’
• ‘This horrendous attack has shaken the nation as the terrorists attacked the future of this country.’

It is important that the emotional sentences are selected from the speech to be taken as quotations, and all the three quotations are showing the same angle of emotions on tragedy.

4.3.4. 6  Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. This report of The Express Tribune has merged two events by supposing them the same issue. It has diminished or cut the proper coverage regarding the speaker. Another technique in this regard is that some other information and arguments are placed in the report, but they are not the part of the speech or the meeting. They help to construct a specific image or perspective of the whole event, for example:

• ‘Earlier this month premier has revoked a six-year moratorium on the death penalty in terrorism related cases. Six convicted terrorists have been hanged since the lifting of the ban.’
• ‘Sources told The Express Tribune that jihadi organizations fighting in Indian-held Kashmir or elsewhere would be disarmed and a crackdown would be launched against them……’

In the above examples, it has been considered necessary to add those elements which are not concerned with the 20 points discussed throughout the day and announces at night. It has been supposed that this information is a specific version and its focus can be diverted to a particular dimension at the cost of much that was delivered in the speech but not printed. Therefore, it is presupposed that the information being reported is more important than what was spoken in the speech.
The direct quotations of other speakers are also meaningful, and it seems that it gives an impression of consensus produced through this type of reporting. Impression is given that all parties are equal stakeholders; the speaker may not be given the credit of this move.

4.4 Summary

Discursivity is quite significant from the headlines of the reports and it is very interesting that the headlines do not seem to represent all the content of the report. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to their own interests and political perspectives. The headlines are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The News</th>
<th>Special courts led by military officers to be set up: PM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dawn</td>
<td>Military courts to try terror suspects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune</td>
<td>Fight against terrorism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Defining Moment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the speech is of eleven minutes, the speech coverage of the first part of the report in *The News* is around 650 words whereas the whole report is of around 2450 words. The report in *Dawn* is around 275 words in the report covering the speech whereas the whole report is around 1000 words. The report in *The Express Tribune* is around 180 words covering the speech whereas the whole report is around 800 words.

Moreover, all the three reports include a picture with caption on the front page; *The News* has added a picture of the speaker speaking to nation; *Dawn* has included a picture of the meeting; *The Express Tribune* also has included a picture of the speaker addressing to the meeting.
All the three reports have not used modals and nominalization as techniques for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned. However, *The Express Tribune* and *Dawn* have used passive voice, but they are not used in the critical sentences to hide the agency. All of them have used clauses with elaboration and extension, but *The News* repeated ‘action’, ‘constitution’ and ‘legislation’; *The Express Tribune* has repeated the terms of ‘attacks’, ‘terrorists’, and ‘military’; *Dawn* has not repeated any term and idea in the report.

However, in the use of vocabulary, *The News* has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items used or referring the speaker have positive reflection like ‘emotional tone’, ‘marathon meeting’, ‘giving an ultimatum to the terrorists’, ‘iron hand’, ‘strong action’, ‘days are numbered’. Whereas *Dawn* has used three expressions: ‘special military courts’, ‘hardened terrorists’, and ‘radicalization’. *The Express Tribune* has used denotation but still a significant number of connotations are used to convey the overall tone of the speaker.

In addition to it, two reports have not used euphemistic expressions, but *The Express Tribune* has used euphemistic expression for military courts. All the reports have different evidences of metaphors: *The News* has used them; *The Express Tribune* has used very little; and, *Dawn* has completely avoided it.

There is discursivity in the interaction of the text along with the examples of mitigation and intensification in all the reports. Arguments are placed to suit the hidden intentions.

*The News* has used three sentences as direct quotations in the report and the single issue is placed in all the quotations to highlight the speaker’s concern with the tragedy; whereas *Dawn* has used two small phrases as direct quotations in the report, and these phrases are just parts of those twenty points mentioned in the speech; *The Express Tribune* has used three direct quotation, and these quotations are showing the same angle of emotions on tragedy. There are very few examples of logical connectors in all the reports.

### 4.5 Concluding Remarks

In the previous pages three speeches of Mian Nawaz Sharif, the leader of PML (N) and the present prime minister of Pakistan are analyzed with the help of CDA model described in chapter
3. The reports of three newspapers, *The News, Dawn, and The Express Tribune* have been analyzed against each speech of the speaker. The speeches analyzed are: UN speech on September 26, 2014, speech at Havelian on November 29, 2014 and speech to Pakistani nation on December 24, 2014. All the nine reports were published on the front pages of the respective newspapers on the next days: September 27, 2014, November 30, 2014 and December 25, 2014 respectively. The analysis of the differences of reports has been presented in summaries at the end of each speech. Different strategies are highlighted used by the newspapers in developing different versions of the reality generated through the speeches delivered by Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif.
CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECHES OF PAKISTAN TEHREEK-E-INSAF

Mr. Imran Khan, a former cricketer and national hero, is considered the most popular political figure at present. He is the Chairman Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf that stood second in terms of getting votes in the General Election 2013. This chapter focuses on the speeches of Imran Khan. At present, he is a member of National Assembly, and has launched a long and aggressive campaign against alleged rigging in the election 2013. During his long agitation, he has delivered many speeches which have got prominent print media coverage. The speeches selected for this study are:

- His address at public gathering at Sialkot on 7th of June, 2014
- His address at public gathering at Lahore, Minar-e-Pakistan, on 28th September, 2014
- His address at public gathering at Islamabad, D-Chawk, on 30th of November, 2014

The reports of three newspapers, *The News*, *Dawn*, and *The Express Tribune* have been analyzed against each speech of the speaker with the help of CDA model discussed in chapter 3. All the nine reports were published on the front pages of the respective newspapers on the next days: June 08, September 29, 2014 and December 01, 2014 respectively.

The analysis based on the differences of reports will be presented in summaries given at the end of each speech. Different strategies used by the newspapers will be highlighted in developing different versions of the reality generated through the speeches delivered by Imran Khan.
5.1 Analysis of the Speech (Imran Khan, June 7, 2014)

5.1.1 Context

This speech is delivered by the chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, one of the leading political parties of Pakistan. The speech is delivered in a Jalsa organized as one the series against the alleged electoral rigging in the election of May, 2013. This political show is, in fact, a demonstration of political power through which the political leader wants to achieve his political goals. In other words, this was anti government move; therefore, its credibility is gradually under attack, as the sole beneficiary of this alleged electoral rigging is the government. Therefore, government is conscious about the present political situation in which this speech is delivered in a public gathering, one of the few biggest political events in Sialkot.

The original reports of all the three newspapers are provided in appendix IV. Their analysis is as follows.

5.1.2 Coverage in The News

‘The News’ covers this speech of Imran Khan in three chunks. The image through reality construction is conveyed through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

5.1.2.1 Syntactical Structures

With regard to the grammatical angle of the speech coverage, the newspaper has not used modals in the whole text. The other dimension of the grammatical aspect was nominalization, which was also negligible and no significant use of this technique is employed in the grammatical analysis. However, the news report has significant instance of the use of passive voice, and that too in the critical sentences. For example, “people had been cheated in the process”, “public mandate was being stolen in Pakistan against their wishes”, “measures had been made for the gathering” etc.

5.1.2.2 Cohesion

Most of the clauses used in the news coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘he said’, ‘he urged’, ‘Imran said’ etc. Most of the sentences are complex where the
subordinate clauses are elaborating the idea. Due to these strategies, the overall impression is disturbed and tagged in certain places. There are number of clauses depicting elaboration and extension in the news coverage. A few are quoted below:

- ‘PTI Chairman Imran Khan on Saturday termed the 2013 general elections as the biggest fraud in the history of Pakistan, saying people had been cheated in the process.’
- ‘a number of PTI candidates tried to get justice from the ECP, but it proved too costly and painfully late’
- ‘because democracy would never strengthen in the country and there would be no justice of any kind for people without an independent and powerful election commission’
- ‘The police had blocked all the roads leading to the venue about six to seven hours before the meeting due to which citizens faced great hardships in extremely hot weather’

In case of the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’ only three times. In second paragraph, ‘their’ is used for the nation without mentioning of it: ‘Imran claimed that the public mandate was being stolen in Pakistan against their wishes.’ The other significant example is the way through which reference is portraying a particular impression as if he dominates his whole party: ‘He vowed his party would never allow rigged elections in future.’

In case of the substitution of references, ‘they’ in the first and sixth paragraph is replaced and substituted for the speaker to give the impression of the whole party. Secondly, ‘justice’ is replaced with ‘it’ in the second paragraph. Repetition of certain terms and institutions are quite significant and logical place was available for using pronouns, and repetition is preferred to stress the institutions themselves:

‘Imran said his party had lodged complaints against the large scale rigging with the superior courts and Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) but to no avail. As the courts and the ECP failed in delivering justice, they decided to go to the people of Pakistan.’

In the above quoted example, the superior courts and Election Commission of Pakistan are given more stress only through repetition.
5.1.2.3 **Lexical features**

There are certain adjectives and adverbs used to create some strategic impact towards the issues discussed by the speaker. For example, ‘no avail’, painfully late’, ‘virtually impossible’, ‘activists’, etc are used to stress the phenomenon. Elaborating only one example, the word ‘activists’ is used to give the meaning of ‘worker’, and this expression is given to present a particular impression regarding the workers of PTI Party. This has negative connotation in this context. However, the same “jalsa” is termed as “public meeting” as far as the speech coverage of Imran Khan is concerned, but termed it rally when other leaders spoke from the same stage. The word “meeting” is used several times but “rally” is used only for once that, too, for other leaders and not for Imran Khan. The word ‘special’ with the security measures is a meaningful expression when this report tells about the event and not about what the speaker has said during the speech.

Regarding the euphemistic expressions, surprisingly, there is no any explicit expression found in the report. Though the term ‘tsunami’ is quite common in the political narrative of PTI and Imran Khan has used it in the same speech as well, but the expression ‘tsunami would hit Bhawalpur on June 22’ is different and more powerful. The original expression in Urdu can be translated as: Tsumani is leading towards Bhawalpur on June 22. The difference between ‘leading’ and ‘hit’ is quite significant in the portrayal of this speech. This seems deliberate to create the impact of destruction with the use of this metaphor.

5.1.2.4 **Interactional Control**

Most of the sentences are, quite clear in the use of agents in the report of the speech and Imran Khan is the main agent in most of the sentences. However, there are sentences where agents are missing. For example, the agent is missing when the rigging issue is presented. The report has not mentioned the party the speaker named in the actual speech: PML (N). The actual speech is against the PML (N), but the report has mentioned its name only once in the report and that too with another prominent party, PPP.
So far as the interaction is concerned, the direct approach is used in the depiction of the *Jalsa*. Interaction started with the plan of rigging by superior courts and Election Commission of Pakistan. It seems quite blunt as to start with such type of statement. This report ended with the construction of the opinion by giving the ‘authentic figure’ about the number of people gathered in *Jalsa*. Its last finishing gives the impression that it was an ordinary gathering. It seems that this report has used numbering technique to create a specific public opinion about the *Jalsa*.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report is quite dishonest in this sense that the speaker has spoken eight minutes out of thirty three minutes on the issues related to Mir Shakeel-ur-Rehman, but there is not a single word included in this report regarding that. In fact, the issue is that this newspaper, *The News*, also works under the ownership of the same person and Imran Khan criticizes this whole media group. On the other hand, this report has intensified the conflict of rigging by blaming the superior courts on behalf of the speaker. Though the speaker also has said these things but not all as are being portrayed in the report. For instance, the following sentence is of same type: ‘As the courts and the ECP failed in delivering justice, they decided to go to the people of Pakistan, he added.’

The construction of the sentence is also very interesting. The first clause carries the main thought to produce maximum stress and to drag the speaker towards the courts. The early stressing has made this sentence almost a derogatory remark. The most interesting is that Imran Khan has not used this expression in his speech. This report is very short as compared to the length of the speech.

Around three hundred words are used to cover the speech and around two hundred words are used to report how it was and how many supporters were they and who else spoke on the occasion though without mentioning what they have said. In general this portion does not give a positive impression about the gathering. Moreover, with regard the placement of arguments in the first part, it seems quite compact and logically quite close to what is said in the speech.

5.1.2.5  *Macro Structure*

The headline of this report is:
‘Imran criticizes courts for not delivering ‘justice’

A few effects are prominent in this headline. First of all this is quite clear that the speaker is quite against the role of courts and the report is stressing this ideology. The word ‘justice’ in inverted commas in the headline is quite significant that it has a specific importance in the sense that this media group is also under the same allegations of helping the rigging process. These commas may be a sort of giving the same impression that it is not so. The lead is quite near to the overall impression given by the speaker. It goes without mentioning any institution as it would over stress the idea. The lead is as follows:

‘PTI Chairman Imran Khan on Saturday termed the 2013 general elections as the biggest fraud in the history of Pakistan, saying people had been cheated in the process.’

In case of overall organization, this report has intensified certain themes and mitigated the other themes. For example, only courts and ECP are mentioned in the report whereas the speaker has criticized the role of media and political parties in the same context of rigging. However, the whole report can be divided into two categories. One is about the contents of the speech and the other is about the gathering. There are no direct quotations in the report, which is a significant element. The interconnection among the themes is mostly without logical connectors or transitional words. In the same way, reported speech is altogether missing in the report.

5.1.2.6 Local Meaning

With regards to presupposition and implicature, the report has interesting paradoxes where the role of police regarding their job becomes interesting. For example: ‘special security measures had been made for the gathering, as around 1,400 personnel of police, elite force and police volunteers were deployed in and around Jinnah Stadium.’ This sentence clearly shows that police and other forces are concerned with the life and security of the leaders as well as the audience present in the Jalsa. But what kind of measures is taken can be understood by the very next sentence. According to which, it is evident that police created hardships for the citizens in the name of security. The sentence is: ‘The police had blocked all the roads leading to the venue
about six to seven hours before the meeting due to which citizens faced great hardships in extremely hot weather.’ There is a possibility that this sentence refers general public of the city and those who are not taking part in the political activity. But the context shows that it is for those who are coming to participate as an audience in the gathering. It means that police has practically created hurdles for the members who are trying to enter the stadium. Presupposition can be applied here.

One more similar example can be found in the last paragraph where the presence of the audience is maneuvered by the counting of the chairs. This report shows that there were a certain number of chairs implying that it would be the total number of audience, and it is not true. On the other hand, while giving the different estimates the report uses generalization regarding the two estimates naming them ‘PTI loyalists’ and ‘independent sources’. The third one is quite specific, with name and full designation, “Manshaullah Butt-PML-N MPA”. It is interesting that he is from the opponent party and his estimate is the shortest one.

5.1.3 Coverage in Dawn

*Dawn* covers this speech of Imran Khan on 8th June, 2014. The portrayal of the image through reality construction is established through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

5.1.3.1 Syntactical Structure

With regard to the grammatical angle of the speech coverage, the newspaper has used negligibly less amount modals in the whole text. Nominalization, the other dimension of the grammatical aspect, was also negligible and no significant use of this technique is employed in the grammatical analysis. This media report is astonishing in the sense that it does not have passive sentences till the second last sentence of the report. However, this only sentence is the most critical sentence in which newspaper has maintained a balance; but the speaker has used full-fledged expression by condemning a specific media group and it is used to point out that controversy. The actual sentence is, “He said the armed forces of Pakistan were being disgraced
in the country.” But these are not the words of the speaker. This report has taken the margin of presenting what the speaker has said in detail by mentioning the names.

5.1.3.2 Cohesion

Most of the clauses used in the news coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘he said’, ‘he urged’, ‘Imran said’ etc. but the verbs used like ‘announced’, ‘demanded’, ‘alleged’, ‘dispelled the impression’, ‘accused’ are comparatively better choices to represent the speaker’s statements in the speech. Most of the sentences are complex where subordinate clauses are elaborating the idea. These strategies are used to convey the long speech in short space of the newspaper. However, this report maintains the overall impression despite these disrupting tactics. Simple sentences are used in the report but with a phrase in the start putting the whole stress on the next clause. It is a way to highlight the forthcoming idea. For example,

- ‘Speaking to a capacity crowd at Jinnah Stadium on Saturday evening, PTI chairman Imran Khan pledged to keep the movement against rigging alive.’
- ‘Acknowledging the support of the people who had come out in droves in scorching sun, he said the masses were getting restless’

The report has used number of clauses depicting elaboration and extension in the news coverage. A few are quoted below:

- He said the PML-N government had failed to go by its word and “broken all records of acquiring foreign loans in one year.”
- ‘He said he would tax the rich after coming into power.’
- ‘Today’s massive show had proved that Sialkot was a PTI fort, he said and added that people need food, shelter and clothes, and not metro trains’
- ‘He said initiatives in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa would have positive results in the coming three months and the slogan of change would become a reality.’

This report has not used any type of transitional words or phrases to transfer the idea from one sentence to another. This technique is not employed due to which logical connections are missing in the report. As long as the case of explicit cohesion is concerned, the speaker’s
name is replaced with ‘he’ eleven times in this short report which is a massive use. The only significant use of possessive pronoun is ‘his party’, which shows the power of the speaker and his possession on a party as if it is some material under his belonging. The pronoun ‘it’ is employed mostly for PML-N.

Repetition of certain terms, institutions and political parties is quite significant and logical place is available for using pronouns. However, stress through repetition is generated and certain exact ideas are repeated as are said in the speech. But the question under consideration is that whether or not speech is different from report writing, which needs avoidance of repetition. For example the names of the other speakers were written twice who spoke on the occasion. Sheikh Rashid who is not a PTI leader was mentioned twice and two sentences are quoted of his speech. On the other hand, the other leaders of PTI, who are considered more reputable like Javed Hashmi, are not given such attention in terms of what they have said. Therefore, repetition is used only for specific purpose and the reference to Pakistan army is made through the speech of Sheikh Rashid Ahmad.

5.1.3.3 Lexical Features

In the first two lines which are basically not a report but a comment, the use of idiomatic expression, ‘make a clean breast of’ is quite significant and this report has taken a side from the very beginning as far as the semantics is concerned. This is not the part of the original speech; however, this is inserted to give the impression that it is the original stance on one hand and on the other, it is used to create the impression that PML-N has deliberately done the rigging which is, as a report of a Jalsa is biased opinion.

The word ‘stalwarts’ is also significant for the other leaders, and the sentence beginning from this word seems quite important. It becomes more important when the speaker talks about Swiss bank accounts. Another expression is ‘dispelled the impression’ the report is imbuing it own color in the argument about democracy though the speaker has said the same but this report owns it. There are some other examples of the similar kind.
In the second paragraph, ‘the port of call’ is another expression which is not genuinely used in the speech. It, in fact, is used to avoid the negativity of the actual term ‘tsumani’ used by the speaker, and, therefore, it is used as euphemistic expression. The other major example of euphemism is the reporting about the role of judiciary as spoken by the speaker. That is quite different in the report as it is presented in quite mild and soft expressions. The major pinching points are even ignored by the report. It stresses the need of the action to be taken by the speaker and not about the role played by the judiciary in the election 2013.

This report has ignored the role of media, particularly Geo TV and Mir Shakeel-ur-Rehman, and it seems that it is a deliberate action as the speaker has given eight minutes to this issue in his speech.

The words and expressions like ‘stigma’ and ‘detecting the fraud’ in the text show the assumption that these are not alleged remarks and allegations but a reality in the way they are reported. The other expressions like ‘the masses were getting restless with every passing day due to many issues’ have a metaphoric aspect in the sense that they do not say anything in actual and concrete form but they have created an impact of real issues. The interesting thing in this regard is, at least the above quoted, that the expression is not of the speaker.

5.1.3.4 Interactional Control

Most of the sentences have their agents and among them only two sentences start with the name of the speaker and in the rest of all the sentences pronoun ‘he’ is used with the exception of one in which the agent is ‘the PTI chairman’. The interaction starts with the conclusive and the deductive statement, and links this happening of Jalsa at Sialkot with previous political activities of PTI. The next paragraph is actually a proper reporting of the speech that starts with a phrase telling about the place, time and number of the crowd. The last thing said in the speech is reported first in the news report: the announcement of the next Jalsa. The last paragraph is about Sheikh Rashid and his views. It is interesting to note that this much place is not given to any other politician except him. The ending of this report is a sentence regarding ‘armed forces of Pakistan’.
The next issue of intensification and mitigation is of the same nature as is found in the previous report of another newspaper. This report is not comprehensive in this sense that the speaker has consumed eight minutes out of thirty three on the issues related to Mir Shakeel-ur-Rehman, but there is not a single word included in this report regarding that. In fact, the issue is quite contentious; therefore, this report does not highlight this controversy of media and a political party. It may be a reason to avoid the mentioning of the alleged role of media in rigging of election. This report has also mitigated the intensity of the speaker’s remarks of regarding the role of judiciary in the election process and the speaker’s distrust about it. This report has intensified the speaker’s commitment towards democracy. In this short report, a substantial space is given to this concept. It may be a sense that this report favors the speaker quite opposite to the impression that non-democratic forces are behind PTI.

Almost four hundred and fifty five words are used to report the speech of almost thirty three minutes. In the overall report arrangement, the arguments are placed with so many omissions in a logical manner. However, the other leaders are mentioned twice: in the middle and at the end of the report.

5.1.3.5 **Macro Structure**

The headline of this report is:

‘PTI’s Summer of Discontent Peaks’

This headline shows quite clear perspective of PTI and for this it uses declarative sentence instead of other so many options in vogue. This headline does not show any hint towards the issues delivered in the speech. It seems a sort of a comment representing a specific perspective. Sensations can be found but at the same time it generalizes the whole political stance. In this headline the word ‘Peaks’ is quite significant in the sense that it is the last word which acts as verb making the whole previous activity alive.

In case of the overall organization of the report, arguments are connected without any logical connectors still coherence is achieved through using the pronouns in most of the
sentences. The reported speech is used many times in the report and most of the time the purpose seems to add them to strengthen the argument discussed earlier. For example:
‘The biggest problem Pakistan was facing was dynastic politics. “This is not democracy; this is monarchy,” he remarked.’ This style of writing put more emphasis in the argument for the readers and a couple of more examples are present in the report doing the same job and serving the same cause.

5.1.3.6   Local Meaning

The lead of this news report provides an evidence of creating an impact through implicature and presupposes a particular angle in the very first line of the report. The actual statement is:
‘The Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf (PTI) continues to take potshots at the PML-N government.’ The report implicates the previous struggle of PTI by using this expression particularly the word ‘continues’ is connecting the previous activities which are against rigging. The word “potshots” gives an impression that this type of attitude is common and presupposes a weak position of the other political party though the word ‘government’ after “PML-N” tries to dismantle this idea but the impression of the political party is very strong. As a matter of fact, such type of sentence at the beginning of a report seems to attempt the reader to look at the events with this perspective although this perspective could be the actual perspective but this is clear that it is a deliberate attempt. The rest of the report is carefully quoted though the length of the report and the speech has a sizeable gap.

5.1.4 Coverage in The Express Tribune

The Express Tribune covers this speech of Imran Khan in comparatively a detailed manner. The image through reality construction is conveyed through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

5.1.4.1   Syntactical Structure

With regard to the grammatical angle of the speech coverage, the newspaper has not used modals in the whole text. The other dimension of the grammatical aspect was nominalization,
which was also negligible and no significant use of this technique is employed in the grammatical analysis. Moreover, the news report has insignificant instance of the use of passive voice, where it seems the need to avoid length as this report has already exceeded in length as compared with other reports.

5.1.4.2 Cohesion

Many, if not most, of the clauses used in the news coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘he said’, ‘he criticized’, ‘Imran said’ etc. there are sentences which are complex where the subordinate clauses are elaborating the idea. Through this the report has created a space to stress things. There are number of clauses depicting elaboration and extension in the news coverage. A few are quoted below:

- ‘He warned the government that his party would continue to protest for justice as he requested the chief justice of Pakistan to feel the pulse of people and give justice to them.’
- ‘He was alluding to the election commission of Pakistan’s claim that ’typing errors’ were responsible for the change in the number of votes in a constituency of Sargodha from where Prime Minister won.’

The explicit cohesion is maintained through some techniques, for example, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’ almost seven times. The verbs substituted with subject are ‘warned’, ‘alleged’, ‘criticized’, ‘quoted’, ‘said’, ‘announced’, ‘lambasted’, and ‘told’. They show the powerful impression of the authority of the speaker.

Evidences of the substitution of references are also identified: “its” in the second paragraph is replaced and substituted for the PML-N. Secondly, ‘justice’ is replaced with ‘it’ in the second paragraph. In the middle of the report, ‘it’ is used for federal budget for three time simultaneously though twice it is used in direct speech. Repetition of certain terms and institutions is quite significant and logical place was available for using pronouns. However, stress on repetition is preferred leading to the stress on the institutions themselves. Many paragraphs are there in reporting style but some paragraphs are a commentary instead of reporting that are imbedded with direct speech. For example:
‘Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) chief Imran Khan on Saturday blamed a typing error for the ruling Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz’s victory in last year’s election, alleging that the public mandate had changed hands with the single stroke of a pen.’

There is no significant evidence of use of repetition of ideas and points in the report despite the fact that more space is given comparatively to report.

5.1.4.3 Lexical Features

Technique of adjectives and adverbs to create some impact towards the issues discussed by the speaker is not employed in this report. However, there are some words which give the impression of intensity, for example, ‘swell’, ‘alluding’, ‘single stroke’, etc.

The euphemistic expressions, surprisingly, are very few found in the report. For example, ‘he requested the chief justice of Pakistan to feel the pulse of people and give justice to them.’ In actual speech the speaker has used more hash tone towards the role of judiciary and in between the lines blamed the judiciary for this rigging. This report is using the mild tone and euphemistic expression to hide the negativity of the situation. This speech has used ‘typing error’ as metaphor in this report as the speaker has used this term as one of the many methods of hiding the rigging in the election. However, this report has taken ‘typing error’ prominently and started the report with it providing a full first paragraph to it.

5.1.4.4 Interactional Control

Most of the sentences are quite clear in the use of agents in the report of the speech and Imran Khan is the main agent in most of the sentences. However, there are very few sentences where agents are missing that too about insignificant issues. As far as the interaction is concerned, it started with the blame of typing error by the speaker and that point is delivered by the speaker almost in the middle of his speech. As a matter of fact this speech is against this act of rigging but a lot of other arguments are presented by the speaker earlier along with so many other instances of rigging in many constituencies. In fact, the constituency of this ‘typing error’ is of
Prime Minister of Pakistan. To highlight this very fact, the news report is implicitly questioning the legality issue of PM. Its finishing seems quite normal as after covering the speaker, it mentions the names of the other leaders who spoke on this occasion.

This report is not mentioning any estimate of gathering in the Jalsa and it seems it deliberate intension to avoid any such statement.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report has covered the maximum points delivered by the speaker and particularly covered the issues related to Mir Shakeel-ur-Rehman, but this report has a bit more stress on this issue. In fact, this issue is placed in the latter half of the report but the coverage and space given to it as being a related issue and not the main issue of that gathering provides the evidence that media groups have rivalry. On the other hand, this report has highlighted the conflict of rigging which is the real topic. However, the speaker has used hard tone for judiciary but these things are not portrayed in the report.

Argumentation is well placed in the sense that there is a logical connection developed from one point to another point. Most of the arguments are placed along with direct quotes to create credibility in the text. Some arguments are conveyed in the form of comments. For example:

- ‘Imran quoted examples of various constituencies where ballot papers were recounted and maintained that the National Database Registration Authority chief was trying to changes the results by switching off CCTV cameras at the time of the opening of ballot boxes.’
- ‘Imran criticized the roe of Jang/Geo Group chief executive Mir Shakelur Rehman adding that he had sympathies with the journalists working for Jang/Geo Group.’

There are many more examples through which the reality is generated by applying this technique.

5.1.4.5 **Macro Structure**

The headline of this report is:
‘Imran blames ‘typing error’ for poll outcome’

First of all this headline is selected from the discrepancies happened in Prime Minister’s constituency. It means that this headline implicitly is against PM. In other words, this is in favor of PTI when it is against PML-N, the winning political party. The word ‘typing error’ in inverted commas in the headline is quite significant that it has a specific importance in the same sense.

Moreover, the lead is quite near to the overall impression given by the speaker. It goes without mentioning any institution as it would over stress the idea. The lead is as follows: ‘He says election fraud can be exposed by opening just four constituencies.’

About the overall organization, this report has intensified certain themes and mitigated the other themes. For example, courts are mentioned in the report in less stressing manner whereas the speaker has criticized their role in with intensity; on the other hand, the role of ECP is presented in the report with detailed examples quoted by the speaker. But the most prominent space is given to the role of particular media, Geo/Jang Group.

There are a lot of direct quotations in the report which is a significant element. They are presented in two manners. One is to create credibility in the existing argument, for example:

‘He said he himself had spent eighty days in jail for an independent judiciary, “However, it is a horrible fact that the biggest rigging, in which public mandate was snatched, took place under an independent judiciary”.’

The other manner is that the whole argument is presented in direct speech without a prior beginning of a new paragraph, for example:

‘“Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) got 6.8 million votes in 2008 but in 2013 its vote bank swelled to 14.5 million and I think that is a real typing error”, Imran told a large public rally in Sialkot.’
The logical connectors are very few. ‘However’ is used in few occasions and sometimes a phrase is used for this purpose. For example, in the second half of the report, a new paragraph is started with ‘to substantiate this claim’ is used. But they are in few numbers.

5.1.4.6  Local Meaning

In the second half of the report, it is mentioned that the speaker has presented some report regarding Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan, but as a matter of fact, how he can present to such a large gathering. He even could not show clearly, and the closer could be that he talked about that document. Though the speaker claimed that he had document, this report has presupposed that he has presented this report. This touch in the reporting has manifold meaning in the sense that it is about the other media group owner’s issue; this report has tilted the meaning of the event.

In the second last paragraph of the report, the role of PEMRA is discussed in the issue of penalizing Geo TV with reference to speaker’s comment. This report has highlighted in a whole paragraph without mentioning the background of that penalty implying that it is understood and the whole stress comes to punishment. However, there are very few examples similar to this in the text.

5.1.5  Summary

Discussivity is quite significant from the headlines of the reports and it is an interesting fact that most of the headlines truly represent the content of the report. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to their own interest. The headlines are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Headline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The News</td>
<td>Imran criticises courts for not delivering ‘justice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn</td>
<td>PTI’s Summer of Discontent Peaks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune</td>
<td>Imran blames ‘typing error’ for poll outcome</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Express Tribune has omitted the details of the speech presenting almost all the major points of the speech, and covered the speech in fourteen paragraphs. Though the speech is of thirty three minutes, this coverage is four time bigger than the coverage of The News and almost double than that of Dawn.

All the three reports have not used modals, nominalization and passive voice, with some exceptions in The Express Tribune, as far as the grammatical analysis. All of them have used clauses with elaboration and extension. However, in the use of vocabulary, The News has used ideologically contested vocabulary and sharp adjectives quite opposite to other two reports. In addition to it, The News has not used euphemistic expressions where as Dawn and The Express Tribune has used these expressions. All the reports have used metaphors.

There is dicursivity in the interaction of the text along with the examples of mitigation and intensification in all the reports. Arguments are placed to suit the hidden intentions. The News has not used quotations and reported speech at all whereas Dawn has used very few, but The Express Tribune has used it maximum. There are very a few examples of logical connectors in all the reports.

The report in The News has tried to curtail the image of the speaker through discursive practices, whereas the report in Dawn has constructed and promoted a normal and pro-democratic image of the speaker and puts its weight in taking this political activity as the right demand. The report in The Express Tribune has constructed a powerful image of the speaker besides his depiction as one of the victims of rigging in the election.

5.2 Analysis of the Speech (Imran Khan, September 28, 2014)

5.2.1 Context

This speech is delivered by the chairman of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, one of the leading political parties of Pakistan, at Minar-e-Pakistan, Lahore on September 28, 2014. This speech is delivered in a Jalsa organized as one the series against the alleged electoral rigging in the
election of May, 2013 beside the continuous protest (sit-in) in Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. This political show, in which Imran Khan’s speech was the most critical thing, is in fact a demonstration of political power through which the political leader wants to achieve his political goals.

This speech is delivered at the 45th day of sit-in along with the countless events at the national level regarding the political demands. To put more pressure at the government, PTI decided to spread their protest all over the country in the form of Jalsas, and it is one of the series of big Jalsas throughout country. It was one of the historical gathering at Minar-e-Pakistan, Lahore on September 28, 2014 as hundreds of thousands participants witnessed this event which was in other words, anti government move; therefore, government’s credibility is being assaulted, at least in this speech, as the sole beneficiary of this alleged electoral rigging is the government. The main demand of PTI is that Prime Minister, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, being elected from allegedly rigged election, must resign before the functioning of Judicial Commission which is supposed to investigate the alleged rigging.

The original reports of all the three newspapers are provided in appendix V. The analysis is as follows.

5.2.2 Coverage in The News

The News covers this speech of Imran Khan on the front page on September 29, 2014. It is the main headline of The News of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page in which the speaker along with some other leaders is shown and the view of the audience is not presented. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

5.2.2.1 Syntactic Structure

In case with the syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage, the newspaper does not seem to use modals in the whole text to weaken, deliberately, any expression used by the speaker. However, there are certain instances of the use of ‘would’ and ‘could’ but they are not
contributing in curtailing any thought. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the strong impression. The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, on the other hand, is negligible and this technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in sentences, in the construction of sentences. However, the news report has very few uses of passive voice, but they are important in creating the perception for example: ‘…… now the foundation of a new Pakistan would be laid by the one and only Imran Khan.’ The above quoted example shows that the stress is put on the object of the sentence to create suspense unfolded by the subject. However, the speaker has very clearly used the agent even in this case. In this report throughout agency is not unclear.

5.2.2.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in The News coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘he lashed out’, ‘Imran Khan warned’, ‘he claimed’, ‘he harshly criticized’, ‘Imran vowed’, ‘he said’ etc. Most of the sentences are complex where the speaker is portrayed within the sentences as opponent, aggressive and willful. There are sentences in the report which are compound having independent clauses, and that show a specific view with which this report is produced, for example:

- ‘The PTI chief harshly criticised both Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and PPP Co-chairman Asif Ali Zardari for plundering public money and protecting each other’s corruption in the name of protecting democracy.’
- ‘Imran asked the people of Pakistan to reject both the leading parties and elect him as the next prime minister………’.
- ‘The crowd comprised a large number of women and children, entire families of the affluent class, and the largest chunk consisted of highly energetic youth, who kept raising slogans and danced to the tunes and party songs played by DJ Butt’

The above mentioned issues, along with many others, are selected for the independent clauses and they provide a particular view about the speech and the speaker.
Regarding the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’ and ‘PTI chief’. The logical connectors are not traced in the report. Moreover, ‘he’, ‘his’, ‘him’ are mostly used for the speaker, and at one place ‘this’ is used for the ‘lies of Nawaz Sharif’. Overall this report has not used many references in the report. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report. As far as the repetition of ideas is concerned, the speaker’s statement about the resignation of the Prime Minister is repeatedly presented in the report.

5.2.2.3  **Lexical Features**

In case with the prominent words and their meaning along with their connotation and denotation, they are mostly placed prominently in the sentences. The vocabulary used in the report has similar connection or shows similar set of words, for example: ‘remained unsuccessful’, ‘harshly criticised’, ‘alleged’, ‘harsh tone’, ‘accused’, ‘lashed out’, etc. This scenario shows that most of the work in the report is imbued with what is reflected from above mentioned examples. However, regarding the participants in Jalsa, the report uses the terms like ‘enthusiasm’, ‘energetic’, ‘dance’, etc.

Though the speaker has used certain terms but the report has not used euphemistic techniques to minimize any offending thing regarding the speaker, but it has used euphemistic expressions to avoid the mentioning of Dr. Afia’s name which the speaker not only uttered but also narrated an event. This report has mentioned the argument without mentioning the name:

‘He said during his political career, he underwent different phases and even saw times when a very little crowd turned up to his call but he never lost hope.’

A few similar examples can be traced in the text; however, the most critical part of the speech in this context was the critique over Nawaz Sharif, struggle for justice, and some commitments, and all, except the last, are reflected in the speech coverage. As a whole, except some examples, mentioned earlier, this report does not seem to use euphemistic expressions;
instead, the whole information is missing. For example, his three commitments and two of those he demanded from the audience, his future *Jalsa* plans etc. are completely missing from the report.

The expressions like:

‘He lashed out at former president and PPP co-chairperson Asif Zardari for calling him (Imran) inexperienced in politics, and said unlike Zardari, he was inexperienced in plundering public money through kickbacks, stashing looted public money in foreign banks, purchasing properties in foreign countries, like the Surrey Palace, and maneuvering the bureaucracy to prolong his illegal rule’

and

‘In his usual harsh tone against Nawaz Sharif, Imran accused him of coming into politics and power while sitting in the lap of military dictators like Gen Ziaul Haq and his governor Gen Jillani …… I did not come into politics while sitting in the lap of generals or taking huge funds from the ISI,’’ he added’

are, though, present in the speech, but they are reflected as it is without euphemistic expression. The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same used in the speech, and the report under analysis has not missed the metaphoric impression provided in the speech. However, there are few sentences where the sentences are not about the speech but they are added, and metaphors are present:

- ‘……which has remained unsuccessful in its prime objective of forcing PM Nawaz Sharif to resign’
- ‘Observers said the crowd was smaller than that which Imran Khan had gathered in his first public meeting in Lahore on October 30, 2011’

The expressions like ‘*unsuccessful*’ and ‘*smaller than*’ are used to create certain perception in the report, which is unnecessarily added in the report.
This report has translated the word *mafi maagna* as ‘beg pardon’ which does not seem a soft expression in terms of the phrase needed for that particular situation.

### 5.2.2.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is established by stressing on ‘not to resign’, and it provides a clue on how this report is taking the whole stance of the speaker as his whole move is about resignation. As far as the beginning is concerned, it is a direct reporting of the speech or *Jalsa* and it does not start with the main portion or announcement of the speech:

‘Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf Chairman Imran Khan has said Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif should delay tendering his resignation so that the PTI’s message has enough time to penetrate every home.’

The beginning of reporting of the speech starts with a non serious or lighter statement which is against the whole movement, and which this report also presents after few paragraphs:

‘Imran Khan reiterated his demand that Nawaz Sharif should tender his resignation for one month until an investigation is completed into rigging in Election 2013. “If the probe finds no rigging, I will beg Nawaz Sharif’s pardon,” he promised.’

Therefore, it is enough proof that this report is maneuvering the contents of the speech. The report ends with the inclusion comments of another speaker, Vice Chairman PTI, which are against rigging in the election. The whole paragraph is:

‘The PTI leader said Lahorites have buried the old politics of the country with this show and now the foundation of a new Pakistan would be laid by the one and only Imran Khan. He said Lahorites in the general elections of 2013 had given votes for the PTI but ironically the PML-N emerged victorious. It is evident that the image started
from beginning continues till end through selection of arguments and placing them in the report.’

The report is organized by stating some arguments with the support of quotes. Therefore, it covers mainly those arguments which are emotional, sensational, and harsh, which generally are adopted by speakers in public gatherings. That’s the reason that arguments and expressions like ‘not to resign’, ‘both have looted public money’, ‘sitting in the laps of generals’ etc are placed; moreover, many other comments are added to create subjective reality, for example:

‘Observers said the crowd was smaller than that which Imran Khan had gathered in his first public meeting in Lahore on October 30, 2011, as the grounds of Iqbal Park had now shrunk because of the construction of the Azadi interchange and flyover and was still vacant near the fences at its tail and both flanks.’

Generalization technique is used to hide the identity of observers, but this information is not the part of the speech, which tries to curtail the image of the gathering despite the fact that it was observed by everyone live a day before. This organization is supporting to create a specific image of the speaker.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the lighter statement of the speaker that ‘Nawaz Sharif should delay tendering his resignation’ in the report; it has also intensified the aggressive language of the speaker, mentioned above. This intensification is produced with the help of language and preferred setting of the organization. This report has mitigated the last portion, a substantial one, of the speech in which he stresses three points of ‘speaking truth, overcome fear, behaving selflessly, justice’ etc and this is done through omission.

5.2.2.4 Macro Structure
The headline of this report is:

‘Imran asks PM to stay as he wakes up nation”
Promises to beg Nawaz’s pardon if rigging not proved’

A few issues are prominent in this headline. It does not talk about the most important announcement of the speech; moreover, there is no any sign in the headline which can contextualize the speaker’s future intentions with the earlier struggle, though he has given a plan. In other words, the main headline and sub-headline does not qualify any sequenced argument. It is unusual that the headline carries a half mocking statement of the speaker. In short, the headline does not match with the main approach of the speech. The newspaper has avoided any other expression concerning the main issues of speech in headline.

There are many direct quotations in the report, and the choice of the quotes is meaningful as the speaker has delivered this speech in around 55 minutes. Some of the quotations are as follows:

- “Nawaz Sharif should not hurry up with his resignation while I wake up Pakistan by organising public protests,”
- “Nawaz Sharif and Asif Ali Zardari are fooling the nation together,” he alleged. “I kept saying these two are like brothers from inside and are only staging a fight as a show but no one listened,”
- “If the probe finds no rigging, I will beg Nawaz Sharif’s pardon,” he promised
- “Nawaz should remain in power for some more days to see this movement spreading to all parts of the country,”

Although the speaker has used these expressions, the selection of these quotes shows a particular aspect of the speaker.

5.2.2.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard two examples would be enough to get the idea how this report is working on some perceptions to be developed. At first
place the following sentences are included deliberately as they do not have any concern with the reporting of a speech.

‘Earlier, for a moment, Imran Khan lost his temper when his party leaders and activists were pushing and shoving each other for a better place on the stage.’

Another similar example is given under where this Jalsa is being compared with the other one making it as yard stick for a big and, in other words, ‘successful’ jalsa:

‘Observers said the crowd was smaller than that which Imran Khan had gathered in his first public meeting in Lahore on October 30, 2011, as the grounds of Iqbal Park had now shrunk because of the construction of the Azadi interchange and flyover and was still vacant near the fences at its tail and both flanks.’

In the following expression, it is established that the speaker’s tone is ‘harsh’ in which he is ‘accusing’; it shows that presuppositon and impicature both are employed in the report: ‘In his usual harsh tone against Nawaz Sharif, Imran accused him of coming into politics…….’

In the expression given below, it is assumed while asking ‘to reject both the leading parties’ that the speaker has out rightly asked to ‘elect him as the next prime minister’ has been presupposed as this expression is not used by the speaker though he criticized both the parties:

‘Imran asked the people of Pakistan to reject both the leading parties and elect him as the next prime minister so that he could rid the country of rampant corruption and ensure the supremacy of the law and justice.’

The implicature and presupposition are prominent in above mentioned examples which are just a few of so many presented in the report, and this technique is used smartly in curtailing the image of gathering and the speaker.
5.2.3 Coverage in *Dawn*

*Dawn* covers this speech of Imran Khan on the front page on September 29, 2014. It is the main headline of *Dawn* of that day. It has not included a picture in the reporting of the speech or *Jalsa*. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

### 5.2.3.1 Syntactic Structure

In case of the syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage, the newspaper does not seem to have used modals in the whole text to weaken, deliberately, any expression used by the speaker. However, there are certain instances of the use of ‘would’ and ‘might’ but they are not contributing in curtailing any thought, for example, ‘... he feared that Nawaz Sharif might resign now.’ Modal in this sentence is comprehensively representing what the speaker has said in detail. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the strong impression.

The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, on the other hand, is only one example that has slowed down the process of action in that sentence being the only one in the construction of sentences: ‘Mr. Khan said he had the experience of the system of justice in the country.’ This expression seems to have been adopted mistakenly due to two reasons: firstly, it is the only expression in the whole report; secondly, the theme of this sentence is conveyed in many other sentences in the report.

Moreover, the news report has used only one passive sentence in the whole report, but the agency is not made clear in that sentence; however, it was almost the same expression used by the speaker: ‘He said all those who had stolen his party’s mandate would be punished under Article 6 of the Constitution.’ Except the above mentioned example, the whole report is produced in active sentences where the agency is not unclear.

### 5.2.3.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in *Dawn* news coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘*he said*’, ‘*Imran Khan warned*’, ‘*he challenged*’, ‘*Imran vowed*’, etc. Most of the
sentences are complex where the speaker is portrayed within the sentences as confident, firm and justice seeker. However, many sentences start with a phrase qualifying and dominating the perception of the whole clause, for example:

- ‘Rejecting a perception that he is planning’
- ‘Addressing a mammoth gathering’
- ‘Lauding the masses’ passion’
- ‘Reiterating his allegations about massive rigging’

In the above mentioned examples, these phrases limit the views and sometimes highlight the argument of the speaker presented in the next clause. The sentences in the report are mostly complex and compound are not used, for example:

- ‘…. the PTI leader said he was on a mission to awaken the nation against slavery and injustices.’
- ‘As he announced that he would hold his next public gatherings in Mianwali and Multan, Mr. Khan said he feared that Nawaz Sharif might resign now.’
- ‘Reiterating his allegations about massive rigging in the 2013 general elections, Mr. Khan said he had the experience of the system of justice in the country….’

With regard to the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’ and ‘PTI chief’. The logical connectors are not traced in the report. However, the need of logical connectors is fulfilled by the use of phrases mentioned above. Moreover, ‘he’, ‘his’, ‘him’ are mostly used for the speaker, and at some places ‘them’ is used for the ‘political parties’, ‘they’ is used for ‘political leaders’ etc. Overall, this report has used many references in the report. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report. As far as the repetition of ideas and terms is concerned, it is not traced in the report.

### 5.2.3.3 Lexical Features

The prominent words with their connotations and denotations are not mostly placed in the principal clauses of the sentences in most of the report. The vocabulary used in the report has connotative touch, though at very few places, for example: ‘he said sarcastically’, ‘Minar-i-
Pakistan lawns in Lahore resonated with the “Go Nawaz Go” slogan, ‘accusing’, ‘warned’, etc. Moreover, regarding the participants in Jalsa, the report uses only one term that is ‘mammoth gathering’.

The speaker has used certain terms which the report has not reported as it is, and instead, it has used euphemistic techniques to minimize offensiveness regarding the speaker’s language. The most prominent example is as under:

“Nawaz Sharif don’t resign so soon because I want to awaken the entire nation against the politics of status quo that has deprived the masses of their basic human rights,” he said sarcastically.

In this example the actual speech stresses on this point with the addition of ‘fear’, ‘weak heart’ etc, but they are not reflected even in the quoted language which is a translated one. The negativity of the argument is neutralized by adding one word: ‘sarcastically’. Few more examples can be traced in the text; however, as a whole, except some examples, mentioned earlier, this report does not seem to use euphemistic expressions; instead, the whole information is missing. For example, his three commitments and two he demanded from the audience, etc. are completely missing from the report. It can be understood with the reporting of 55 minutes speech in around 450 words.

The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same used in the speech; however, they are only two; one is in the form of a slogan “go Nawaz go” and the other is ‘naya Pakistan’. However, there are few expressions which are used to create subjective perceptions like, ‘rejecting a perception’, ‘reiterating his allegations’, etc. these expression are used in sentences where the comments over the speech is given.

5.2.3.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is established by stressing that he, the speaker, is not going to ‘wind up the Islamabad sit-in’. As far as the beginning is concerned, it is a direct reporting of the speech or Jalsa and it does not start with the main portion or announcement of the speech:
‘Rejecting a perception that he is planning to wind up the Islamabad sit-in, Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf Chairman Imran Khan has vowed to continue his campaign to awaken the nation by holding public meetings in major cities across Pakistan.’

This beginning of the reporting of the speech starts with extending of the protest of the speaker, which this report states again after two paragraphs: ‘as he announced that he would hold his next public gatherings in Mianwali and Multan.’ This statement of the report, stated in the beginning, is supported by quotation taken from the speech to develop credibility: “‘I knew that I will be able to defeat the status quo in Pakistani politics when the whole nation will stand by me,” he said…..’

The statement and the quotation do not match with each other. The issue in the quotation is not supporting the issue presented earlier. Moreover, it is interesting to note that this report does not start with the major issues of the speech. The report ends with the following statement:

‘He called upon the Election Commission of Pakistan to upload Form 4 on its website that would reveal results declared by polling in each constituency.’

The ending seems to hold a very strong issue of the speech, and it is one of the major demands of the agitation. In this statement there is one omission of proof reading that instead of writing ‘Form 14’ it has written ‘Form 4’.

The report is organized by stating some arguments with the support of quotes. Those arguments supported by quotes are about ‘continuing of his campaign, Nawaz may not resign now, Naya Pakistan’ was in the making’ and about ‘justice system in the country’. This report is strongly organized with the points raised by the speaker. Along with the points discussed earlier, it also touches the gathering of the really, awakening of the nation, the need to support one million people of Pakistan, rigging in the election and speaker’s comments about status quo.
The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the speaker’s resolve to prolong his protest. This intensification is produced with the help of language and preferred setting of the organization. This report has mitigated several issues regarding the use of language, the last portion of the speech in which he stresses three points of ‘speaking truth, overcome fear, behaving selflessly’ etc and this is done through omission. This report has not translated the word “mafi maagna” as this was a prominent expression of the speech.

5.2.3.5 **Macro Structure**

The headline of this report is:

‘Imran vows to hold rallies in all big cities’

Some issues are prominent in this headline. It talks about an important announcement of the speech but this shows over generalization as the speaker announces rallies in two cities; whereas this is already done by PTI as it has held rallies in big cities including the present rally, and two cities, announced are not ‘big’. Moreover, this headline has used the term ‘vows’ instead of ‘announce’ as the speaker has taken audience in confidence about his next plans. This has created intensity in the announcement.

Moreover, this headline has touched only one issue that, too, is already in working; it has not touched other issues on which the speaker spent much time and gave arguments. In short, the headline matches, partially and not fully, with the main approach of the speech. The newspaper has avoided some other expression concerning the main issues of speech in headline.

There are many direct quotations in the report, and the choice of the quotes is meaningful as the speaker has delivered this speech in around 55 minutes. Some of the quotations are as follows:

- “I knew that I will be able to defeat the status quo in Pakistani politics when the whole nation will stand by me,”
- “Nawaz Sharif don’t resign so soon because I want to awaken the entire nation against the politics of status quo that has deprived the masses of their basic human rights,”
• “We need to support the 110 million Pakistanis who are being forced to live below the poverty line because the rulers were squandering public money for their personal comforts.”
• “there is no institution in Pakistan that can dispense impartial justice”

The selection of these quotes shows a particular aspect which contributes to build a strong and determined image of the speaker.

5.2.3.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature show how this report is working on some view points to be developed though they are very few. At first place the following passage is taken for the analysis of presupposition and implicature.

‘Reiterating his allegations about massive rigging in the 2013 general elections, Mr. Khan said he had the experience of the system of justice in the country and found “there is no institution in Pakistan that can dispense impartial justice”.’

The argument being presented in the later line does not accord with the direction set in the beginning. It starts with ‘reiterating his allegations’ about ‘massive rigging’ but in the next lines the speaker’s experience of justice is discussed presupposing the missing links in between. One more similar example is as under where the speaker is reported as directly involved with multiple audience: ‘The PTI chief sought pledges from the people at the rally and also from the masses at large not to allow injustice against anyone.’ In this sentence the audience is of two types: one ‘at the rally’ and second those who are ‘at large’; moreover, the speaker is seeking pledges from both the audience. So here the reality is being constructed through implicature and presupposition in the sense that it gave the impression as if the speaker did it practically.

The implicature and presupposition are prominent in above mentioned examples though there are very few such examples in the report, and this technique is used smartly in covering the whole impression the speaker wants to give in few possible words.
5.2.4 Coverage in *The Express Tribune*

*The Express Tribune* covers this speech of Imran Khan at the front page on September 29, 2014. It is the main headline of *The Express Tribune* of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page in which the speaker and the view of the audience is presented. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

5.2.4.1 Syntactic Structure

In case of the syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage, the newspaper does not seem to have used modals in the whole text to weaken, deliberately, any expression used by the speaker. However, there are certain instances of the use of ‘would’ and ‘could’ but they are not contributing in curtailing any thought for example: ‘he vowed…. that he would stage the next rally in his hometown.’ In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the strong impression. The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, on the other hand, is traced, and this technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in sentences, in the construction of sentences.

Same as above, the news report has not employed the passive sentences to stress any action without its agent. On other words, agents are not hidden to show a partial view as the speaker has very clear expressions. In this report throughout agency is not unclear.

5.2.4.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in *The Express Tribune* news coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘Imran Khan added’, ‘he told’, ‘he said’, ‘Imran vowed’. Most of the sentences are complex where the speaker is portrayed within the sentences as powerful and the one who is seeking justice. The view is presented along with the reporting of the speech particularly in the second paragraph where the reporting speech is presented as: ‘…….Imran Khan told hundreds of thousands of his frenzied supporters in the shadow of Minar-e-Pakistan.’
Except the above mentioned example, the principal clauses show only one verb that is mentioned above.

While identifying the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’ and ‘PTI chairman’. The logical connectors are not traced in the report. The role of logical connectors is given to small phrases and they are used more effectively to create a specific angle for the upcoming clauses:

- ‘Highlighting his vision of ‘Naya Pakistan’’
- ‘After a massive rally in Karachi’
- ‘About the alleged rigging in the election’

Regarding the repetition of ideas, the speaker’s statement in the form of slogan, ‘go Nawaz go’, is repeatedly presented and referred in the report, though this element too was dominant in the speech.

5.2.4.3 **Lexical Features**

Some of the prominent words along with their connotations and denotations have been placed in the report to show the rally as colorful, for example, ‘carnival atmosphere’, ‘danced to songs’, ‘waving party colors’ etc. The other prominent expressions are: ‘frenzied supporters’, ‘shadow of Minar-e-Pakistan’, ‘massive rally’. The vocabulary used in the report has similar connections regarding the speaker and his party. This scenario shows that most of the work in the report is imbued with what is reflected from above mentioned examples.

However, the speaker has used such expression which should have not been reflected, but the report has not used euphemistic techniques to minimize them:

- ‘This slogan will not let him sleep’
- ‘Go Nawaz go’ chant will chase him’
- ‘Someone from Prime Minister’s household would shout ‘go Nawaz go’’
These expressions could be presented in a bit more polite manner, and in fact, these are repeated expressions which could be represented in one comprehensive sentence despite the fact that this report has missed many points delivered by the speaker. As a whole, except some examples, this report does not seem to have used euphemistic expressions; instead, the whole information is missing. For example, his three commitments and two he demanded from the audience, his future Jalsa plans etc. are completely missing from the report.

The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same used in the speech, and the report under analysis has not missed the metaphoric impression provided in the speech. However, there are few instances where the sentences are not about the speech but they are added. Some examples of metaphors are present in the following expressions:

- ‘In the shadow of Minar-e-Pakistan’
- ‘An impressive show of political strength in Lahore’
- ‘A city considered as a bastion of power of its main political nemesis’

The expressions like ‘shadow’, ‘bastion of power’ and ‘impressive show’ are used to create certain perception in the report, which is unnecessarily added in the report. This report has translated the word *mafi maagna* as ‘apologize’ which is a soft expression in terms of the phrase needed for that particular situation.

**5.2.4.4 Interactional Control**

The beginning starts with a subjective comment over the gathering by relating it with another political gathering of the same political party. This comment seems to have created a strong impact on the overall report, and it can also influence the reader in the very beginning:

> After a massive rally in Karachi, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf staged an impressive show of political strength in Lahore, a city considered as a bastion of power of its main political nemesis, the ruling Pakistan Muslim League- Nawaz (PML-N).
This beginning of the reporting of the speech starts with a strong personal view. Therefore, it is enough proof that this report has preferred points to present if it is not maneuvering the contents of the speech. The report ends with the inclusion of the names of other speakers, Vice Chairman PTI, and Awami Muslim League chief, Sheikh Rashid.

The report is organized, in most of the cases, by stating some arguments with the support of quotes. Therefore, it covers mainly those arguments which are emotional and sensational. This report is organized by setting ‘anti-Nawaz statements in the beginning with some quotes to validate the statements, then ‘Imran’’s demand ‘to step down’ for fair investigation, then speaker’s comments about the gathering, then speaker’s next rally plan, then the issue of electric bills, then views about Nawaz-Zardari partnership, then ‘dharna achievements, then views about education system and lastly other speakers are mentioned in the reporting.

It is also noted that those arguments which the speaker has uttered about the rally has been reflected in the report, and this is one of the ways that this report is validating the strength of the gathering by giving the speaker’s comments: ‘Imran said that ……he was happy to see that the Pakistani nation has awakened, “I haven’t seem a bigger rally than this…..’”

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the slogan that the speaker has launched before dharna started: ‘go Nawaz go’. This is repeated four times in the report which gives the impression that the report has intensified this issue. This intensification is produced with the help of language and preferred setting of the organization.

However, this report has mitigated the emotional style of speech and specific use of language in the reporting. Moreover, this report has mitigated the last portion, a substantional one, of the speech in which he stresses three points of ‘speaking truth, overcome fear, behaving selflessly, justice’ etc and this is done through generalization. For example, in the following example the report tries to represent all the above mentioned arguments in one sentence: ‘….Imran said a PTI government would focus on three areas: justice, education and humanity.’

5.2.4.5 **Macro Structure**

The headline of this report is:
‘Go Nawaz Go’ chant will haunt PM: Imran
Says after 18 years of struggle, he is happy to see nation awakening’

Some issues are prominent in this headline. It does not talk about the most important announcement of the speech; moreover, there is no any sign in the headline which can contextualize the speaker’s future intentions with the earlier struggle, though he has given a plan. It is unusual that the headline carries a slogan raised many months before this rally and this is raised in every gathering of PTI every day. It means that this is highlighted deliberately as the speaker’s main concern remains on rigging though this is also one of them. In short, the newspaper has avoided some other expression in headline.

There are many direct quotations in the report, and the choice of the quotes is meaningful as the speaker has delivered this speech in around 55 minutes. Some of the quotations are as follows:

- “Go Nawaz Go’ chant will chase him wherever he goes.”
- “This slogan will not let him sleep.’
- “Someone from Prime Minister’s household would shout ‘go Nawaz go’”
- “Justice cannot be served so long as Nawaz Sharif is in power.”
- “If this inquiry proves me wrong, I will apologize, but if it confirms our allegations, them all who rigged the elections, their facilitators and abettors will face cases under Article 6 of Constitution.”

Though, the speaker has used these expressions, the choice of selecting these quotes shows a particular aspect of the speaker.

5.2.4.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard two examples would be enough to get the idea how this report is working on some perceptions to be developed. At first place the following argument regarding ‘Karachi’ is included deliberately as they do not have any concern with the reporting of a speech.
‘After a massive rally in Karachi, the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf staged an impressive show of political strength in Lahore, a city considered as a bastion of power of its main political nemesis, the ruling Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N)”

The placement of rally in Karachi which is massive can be understood that the repertoire of readers is incited to look at this rally; therefore, the presupposition and implicature, both, can be identified in this example. The other similar example is as under where the atmosphere of Jalsa is being described as a ‘carnival atmosphere’, and the impression is being conveyed as if people had gathered there to celebrate: ‘It was a carnival atmosphere as men, women and children, waving party flags and donning party color caps, sang and danced to songs.’ The implicature and presupposition are prominent in above mentioned examples and such examples are not many in the report; however, they are prominently in early paragraphs.

5.2.5 Summary

Discusivity is quite significant from the headlines of the reports and it is an interesting fact that most of the headlines, if not all, represent the content of the report. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to their own interest. The headlines are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The News</th>
<th>Imran asks PM to stay as he wakes up nation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Promises to beg Nawaz’s pardon if rigging not proved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn</td>
<td>Imran vows to hold rallies in all big cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune</td>
<td>‘Go Nawaz Go’ chant will haunt PM: Imran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Says after 18 years of struggle, he is happy to see nation awakening</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Though the speech is of around fifty five minutes, the speech coverage in the form of report in *The News* is of almost 1350 words; the report in *Dawn* is about 450 words; and the report in *The Express Tribune* is of almost 800 words. It means that the report in *The News* is 550 words lengthy than that of *The Express Tribune* whereas both are longer than that of *Dawn*.

Moreover, only two reports, *The News*, without caption, and *The Express Tribune*, with caption, include a picture on the front page, and *Dawn* has not included picture. The report of *The News* shows a picture of speaker with few other leaders while the report of The Express shows the speaker and the huge audience. All the three reports have not used modals and nominalization as techniques for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned; Moreover, *The News* has used passive voice in the report, but other two have not used in the critical sentences or at least passive sentences are the same delivered by the speaker.

All of them have used clauses with elaboration and extension, but *The News* repeated ‘alleged’, ‘resignation’ and ‘energetic’; *The Express Tribune* has repeated the slogan ‘‘go Nawaz go” in the report. *Dawn* seems to have avoided repeating terms in the report. However, in the use of vocabulary, *The News* has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items regarding denotation in the principal clauses which is significant in most of the report, for example: ‘he lashed out’, ‘Imran Khan warned’, ‘he claimed’, ‘he harshly criticized’, ‘Imran vowed’, ‘he said’ etc. Whereas in *Dawn* lexical items regarding denotation in the principal clauses are mostly placed to contribute positively, for example: ‘he said’, ‘Imran Khan warned’, ‘he challenged’, ‘Imran vowed’; *The Express Tribune* has used denotation but still a significant number of connotations are used to convey the overall tone of the speaker, for example: ‘Imran Khan added’, ‘he told’, ‘he said’, ‘Imran vowed’.

In addition to it, *The News* has not used euphemistic expressions even it has avoided to use this expression where it seems pertinent; whereas the other two reports have substantially used it in the favor of the speaker. All the reports have evidences of metaphors. The beginning in the reports, except *The Express Tribune* is a direct reporting of the speech or *Jalsa* and it starts with the main portion or announcement of the speech with a comment over it to shape it. The report of *The Express Tribune* starts with the mentioning of gathering and strength of *Jalsa*. 
The report in *The News* starts with a non serious or lighter statement which is against the whole movement, and which this report also presents after few paragraphs; whereas ‘The *Dawn* constructs a strong and rightful impression of the speaker; *The Express Tribune* paves a way to construct a strong and rightful impression of the speaker through the way it starts the report.

*The News* seems to have highlighted the major issues in the report, but it has intensified ‘not to resign’ issue; moreover, generalization technique is used to avoid giving accurate information. *Dawn* has mentioned only the major issue in the report without creating any intensity. It has excluded and mitigated most of the details of the issues. *The Express Tribune* seems to have highlighted only the major issue in the report. It has excluded and mitigated most of the details. This has contributed positively in overall image of the speaker. The report in *The News* uses many direct quotations, ‘not to give resignation’ and ‘corrupt political parties’ are prominent impressions in them; *Dawn* uses many direct quotations in the report, and they are incorporated in the text of the report; *The Express Tribune* uses some direct quotations in the report, and speaker’s determination is very prominent in them.

As regards to presupposition and implicature, the report of *The News* tries to curtail the image in its personal comments; *Dawn* tries to boast the image of the speaker in personal comments; *The Express Tribune* has used the strategies to build the popular, powerful and righteous image of the speaker.

5.3 **Analysis of the Speech (Imran Khan, November 30, 2014)**

5.3.1 **Context**

Imran khan delivered this speech in a *Jalsa* organized as one the series against the alleged electoral rigging in the election of May, 2013. This speech is delivered with the context of 109 days ‘sit-in’ and Pakistani media gave exceptional coverage to this entire move. This speech is the climax the of Imran khan’s entire political move started from August, 2014. In other words, this was anti government move; therefore, its credibility is gradually under attack, at least in this speech, as the sole beneficiary of this alleged electoral rigging is the government. Therefore, this day is anticipated and responded by the Prime Minister a day earlier in a public gathering. This show lead by Imran Khan is one of the few biggest political events in Islamabad.
The original reports of all the three newspapers are provided in appendix VI. The analysis is as follows.

5.3.2 Coverage in *The News*

*The News* covers this speech of Imran Khan on the front page on December 01, 2014. It is the main headline of *The News* of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

5.3.2.1 Syntactic Structure

In case with the syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage, the newspaper does not seem to use modals, deliberately, in the whole text to weaken any expression used by the speaker. However, there are certain instances of the use of ‘would’ and ‘could’ but they are not contributing in curtailing any thought. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the strong impression.

The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, on the other hand, is not negligible and this technique is employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in sentences, in the construction of sentences. For example, this report uses the expression by adding nominalization in the following sentence: ‘He also made a mention of death of a woman every 20 minutes.’ There are a couple of more similar examples which are not about main issues of the speech. Therefore, it can be gathered that it is not intentional use of nominalization. However, the news report instances of the use of passive voice, but they are used in the critical sentences but many of them are the same delivered by the speaker. For example:

- ‘Seven million additional ballot papers were printed and bundles of them were distributed in selective constituencies’
- ‘Elections were fixed by nawaz sharif and asif ali zardari’
- ‘A short movie was also shown’
- ‘The task was given to maulana fazlur rehman’
• ‘Metro bus projects were being launched’

The above quoted examples are few through which it is can be assessed that passive structures are deliberately used particularly in case of Maulana Fazlur Rehman because the speaker has very clearly used the agent in this case. Same is the case with the use of agents in many of other sentences. In the report, agency is not unclear in most of the report; however, agency is left unclear in many important sentences. They are employed in main stream issues of the speech like rigging, printing of ballot papers etc.

5.3.2.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in The News coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘he alleged’, ‘Imran Khan threatened’, ‘he blamed’, ‘Imran charged’ etc. Most of the sentences are complex where the speaker is portrayed within the sentences as opponent and dangerous. In the above mentioned principal clauses with the different construction, there are number of clauses depicting elaboration and extension in the news coverage. A few are quoted below:

• ‘Imran Khan on Sunday threatened to bring all of Pakistan to a grinding halt on December 16 if rigging in the 2013 election was not probed within four to six weeks under the Supreme Court’

• ‘Imran charged that seven million additional ballot papers were printed and bundles of them were distributed in selective constituencies under a well-thought-out plan.’

• ‘He alleged about 120,000 ballot papers were distributed for Saad Rafique, who as a result returned from that constituency.’

• ‘He alleged that the 2013 elections were fixed by Nawaz Sharif and Asif Ali Zardari to loot Pakistan’s resources and wealth Prime Minister Nawaz’

With reference to the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’ and ‘PTI chief’. The logical connectors are not traced in the report. In the first paragraph, the referencing of ‘his’, ‘they’ and ‘it’ in the report is used as: ‘Speaking to a charged rally of thousands of his
supporters here, Imran said they had spent 109 days at the sit-in and it would continue.' In the above example, ‘they’ is not referred earlier and it is not used for ‘supporters’ as they all have not ‘spent 109 days’, and ‘it’ is also used oddly in the text. The next is ‘his’ that shows the possession and power of the speaker in the sense that he has this over the ‘supporters’. This impression continues throughout the text. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report.

There are certain terms and phrases quite frequently used and the impression of repetition is stronger in the report. The most prominent repeated term is ‘alleged’, ‘charged’, ‘shut down’ in the report. The way report is presenting these terms is significant as it construct the image of the speaker and his intentions against the government. With respect to the repetition of ideas, the announcement of the speaker about the shutting down different cities and eventually the country is repeated in the report so as to give a similar image of the speaker.

5.3.2.3 Lexical Features

The prominent words with their connotations and denotations mostly have been placed in the principal clause in most of the report. The vocabulary used in the report has similar connection or seems similar set of words, for example: ‘grinding halt’, ‘charged’, ‘alleged’, ‘blame’, ‘warned’, ‘shut down’ etc. This scenario shows that most of the work in the report is imbued with what is reflected from above mentioned examples.

Though the speaker has used certain terms but the report has not used euphemistic techniques to minimize it. The most critical part of the speech in this context was the critique over Nawaz Sharif, and it is reflected in the speech coverage. This means that the newspaper has not used euphemistic expression in this issue. This impression, if it is present, can only be found in the expression of passive sentences where agents are not mentioned. Except this, expression is not used; instead, the whole information is missing. The information pertaining to building the argument for the ‘shut-down’ calls, announced in the speech, are missing in the report.
The expressions like: ‘He came down hard on Nawaz and Zardari and questioned why they not be dubbed as dacoits for looting billions of poor Pakistanis of whom 110 million could not afford two-time meal’ are, though, present in the speech, but they are reflected without euphemistic expression.

The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same used in the speech, and the report under analysis has not missed the metaphoric impression provided in the speech. However, there are few occasions where the sentences are not about the speech but they are added, and metaphors are present:

‘It is pertinent to mention here that despite extending invitations, the Pakistan Awami Tehreek, Majlis Wahdat-e- Muslimeen and Sunni Ittehad, believed by many to be its allies, stayed away from the PTI’s rally.’

The expressions like believed by many and despite extending invitations are used to create certain perception in the report, which is unnecessarily added in the report.

5.3.2.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is skillfully maintained and it provides a clue what are the intentions. With respect to the beginning, it is a direct reporting of the speech or Jalsa and it starts with the main portion or announcement of the speech with a comment over it. It seems a powerful opening by placing the main demand in the conditional clause and its reaction in an independent clause:

‘Spelling out his Plan C, PTI Chairman Imran Khan on Sunday threatened to bring all of Pakistan to a grinding halt on December 16 if rigging in the 2013 election was not probed within four to six weeks under the Supreme Court.’

This beginning of the reporting of the speech paves a way to construct a powerful reactionary and destructive impression of the speaker. The report ends by including comments
of other speakers by providing the same image. The report ends with the promotion of same destructive image by quoting other speakers in the report. The whole paragraph is:

‘Today, we exercised decency but not tomorrow,’’ he said and alleged Fazl had tried to stop them from reaching the rally. ‘I ask the poor people of Pakistan to torch this system, raze their palaces and come out to lend support to Imran Khan,’’ asserted Awami Muslim League leader Sh Rasheed. He said if the trial against a former army chief, former prime minister and former CJ could be held, then why not against Nawaz for what he called theft of the vote of the people.’

It is evident that the image started from beginning continues till end through selection of arguments and placing them in the report.

The report is organized by starting with ‘shut-down’, then rigging election and looting the wealth, then again shut-down of whole country, then reasons of sit-in and judicial commission, then again shut-sown, then argument against Mulana Fuzalur Rehman, then electoral system and conditions of hospitals and corruption in country, and at the end views of other speakers. This organization is supporting to create a specific image of the speaker.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the major issues in the report except the logic given to start the political move, which is the main focus of the speech. This intensification is produced with the help of language and preferred setting of the organization. This report has mitigated the logic given for announcing ‘Plan C’, and this is done through omission.

5.3.2.5 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:

‘Entire country to be shut down on Dec 16: Imran
If rigging not probed’
A Few effects are prominent in this headline. It talks about the most important announcement of the speech; however, there is no any sign in the headline which can contextualize the speaker’s future intentions with the earlier struggle. In other words, the main headline gives the maximum reactionary image of the speaker unless the next line which is too small as compared to the headline, comes into consideration. In short, the headline does not link future plan with the previous activities of the party, therefore, this headlines projects unlawful and rebellious type image of the speaker. The newspaper has avoided some other expression concerning the main issues of speech in headline.

The lead is quite near to the overall impression given by the speaker. However, the order of placing the arguments is changed to make it more suitable and convincing to accept the same image. As the whole reaction is in the main clause, and the rest of the argument is in subordinate clause: The lead is as follows:

‘Spelling out his Plan C, PTI Chairman Imran Khan on Sunday threatened to bring all of Pakistan to a grinding halt on December 16 if rigging in the 2013 election was not probed within four to six weeks under the Supreme Court’

There are five direct quotations in the report, but the speaker’s quotes are only three. The other two are of other speakers and they also contribute to the destructive image of the whole activity as if they are flaring up. All the quotations scattered in the whole text are as follows:

- “I will shut down Lahore on December 4, Faisalabad on December 8 and Karachi on December 12.”
- “Mian Sahab the ball is now in your court. Take a decision and get the rigging investigated or you will not be able to bear what I will do after December 16 under Plan D,”
- “We shall shut down the entire Pakistan if the constituencies are not opened,”
- “Today, we exercised decency but not tomorrow,”
- “I ask the poor people of Pakistan to torch this system, raze their palaces and come out to lend support to Imran Khan,”
These quotations have highlighted the protest and aggressive attitude in the report by this technique, which is a significant element.

5.3.2.6 **Local Meaning**

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard two examples would be enough to get the idea how this report is working on some public opinion to be developed. At first place the following sentences are included deliberately as they do not have any concern with the reporting of a speech.

‘It is pertinent to mention here that despite extending invitations, the Pakistan Awami Tehreek, Majlis Wahdat-e- Muslimeen and Sunni Ittehad, believed by many to be its allies, stayed away from the PTI’s rally’

The implicature and presupposition are prominent in terms like ‘extending invitations’, ‘believed by many to be its allies’, and ‘stayed away ‘in the sense that thought is presupposed in the construction. The other example is: ‘Some PTI supporters were seen carrying pink balloons…….. Scores of boys and girls got their faces painted with the party flags and shouted anti-Nawaz slogans.’

Here some and scores are the terms which are used to construct a limited number of supporters in rally, and this technique is used smartly in curtailing the image of gathering without getting involved in number game.

5.3.3 **Coverage in Dawn**

*Dawn* covers this speech of Imran Khan, Chairman Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, on the front page of the newspaper on, December 01, 2014. It is the main headline of *Dawn* that day. It has also included a picture of massive rally with caption on the same page. The image through reality
construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

5.3.3.1 Syntactic Structure

In case of the syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage, the newspaper does not seem to use modals, deliberately, in the whole text to weaken any expression used by the speaker. However, there are certain instances of the use of ‘would’, ‘might’ and ‘may’ but they are not contributing in curtailing any thought except one sentence: ‘they may not be able to bear what I do next.’ In this sentence expression is weakened with the use of modal while the speaker has not used weakened expression.

The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, on the other hand, is negligible and this technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in sentences, in the construction of sentences. However, the news report provides two instances of the use of passive voice, but they are not used in the critical sentences to curtail the image or cover anything. Same is the case with the use of agents in this report. In the report, agency is not unclear in almost all the report.

5.3.3.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in Dawn coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘he said’, ‘Mr Khan said’, ‘Imran said’ etc. Most of the sentences are complex starting with a participial phrases. Conditional clauses are placed earlier and the independent clauses are used later, and that how stress is imposed on the earlier clauses: ‘If the government remains obstinate, they may not be able to bear what I do next.’ If the conditional clause is placed later, then a phrase is used earlier to justify action in the principal clause: ‘Challenging the government to return to the negotiating table, Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf chief Imran Khan threatened to `shut down the country` if his demands were not met.’
Beside above mentioned examples with the different construction, there are number of clauses depicting elaboration and extension in the news coverage. Majority of the sentences start with:

- ‘Challenging the government to return to the negotiating table’
- ‘Addressing a massive gathering in the heart of the capital on Sunday’
- ‘Laying out his plan’
- ‘Admitting that ‘earlier talks failed’

The above mentioned phrases show that these ideas discussed in the beginning dominate the entire sentence.

In explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’ and ‘PTI chief’. The logical connectors are also traced in the report though it is used in only one sentence. In the report, the referencing of ‘his’, ‘he’, ‘they’ and ‘it’ is used where ‘they’ is used for government and the rest of all are used for the speaker and his party. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report.

There are certain terms and phrases quite frequently used and the impression of repetition is stronger in the report. The prominent repeated terms are ‘allegation’, ‘judicial commission’ in the report. The way report is presenting these terms is not deliberate as they are insignificantly used. However, it conveys the demands of the speaker and his intentions against the government. Regarding the repetition of ideas, there is no evidence found in the report.

5.3.3.3 Lexical Features

The prominent words are mostly placed almost in the same sense as the speaker intended. The vocabulary used in the report has similar connection or seems similar set of words, for example: ‘Challenging the government’, ‘obstinate’, ‘paralyze’, ‘hostile measures’, ‘shut down’ etc. The connotations of most of the terms are justly used or at least carry the same sense as the speaker wished to convey. This scenario shows that most of the work in the report is imbued with what is reflected from above mentioned examples.
Though the speaker has uttered certain harsh comments and used terms in the speech, but the report has not mentioned it on one hand and on the other, it has used euphemistic techniques to minimize some impressions. The most critical part of the speech in this context was the critique over Nawaz Sharif, which is not reflected in the speech coverage. This report has used the term ‘government’ whereas the speaker has used the name ‘Nazwaz Sharif’, and, therefore, the newspaper has used euphemistic expression in this issue. This report has provided the logic of each announced ‘shut-down’ call.

The metaphors are not mentioned in the report, those used in the speech are also avoided. However, there are few sentences where the sentences are not about the speech but they are added, and metaphors are present:

DJ Butt, who provides the musical accompaniment for most of Mr Khan’s speeches, was on hand to entertain the multitudes that had gathered on a chilly Sunday evening in the capital. He would accentuate every pause and prompt people to break out in dance with his signature repertoire of party anthems and patriotic songs.

The expressions like multitudes and accentuate every pause, signature repertoire are used to create certain perception in the report, which is unnecessarily added in the report.

5.3.3.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is skillfully maintained and it provides a clue what are the intentions. With reference to the beginning, it is a direct reporting of the speech or Jalsa and it starts with the main portion or announcement of the speech with a comment over it. It seems a powerful opening by placing argument in a phrase, then principal clause and then main demands in the conditional clause:

‘Challenging the government to return to the negotiating table, Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf chief Imran Khan threatened to “shut down the country” if his demands were not met.’
This beginning of the reporting of the speech paves a way to construct a powerful reactionary but justified impression of the speaker. The report ends with the inclusion of comments of participants in rally by providing the same great image of the speaker. The report ends with the promotion of same image: ‘Sumiya, who had brought her two daughters to attend the rally, said she believed Mr Khan was the only leader who could change the country for the better.’ It is evident that the image started from beginning continues till the end through selection of arguments and their placement in the report.

The report is organized by starting with ‘shut-down’, then reasons of ‘Plan C’ and insistence of judicial commission, then schedule of shut-down, then flexibility in demand, then electoral rigging and its responsibility, and other half of the report is about the gathering and supporters. This organization is supporting to create a specific image of the speaker.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the major issue in the report along with the logic which is the main focus of the speech. Besides, the report has given less space to speech coverage than to the rally coverage. This report has mitigated the aggression, the harsh allegations of corruption of leaders along with the details, and this is done through omission.

5.3.3.5 **Macro Structure**

The headline of this report is:

‘Imran Threatens Nationwide Shutdown’

A few effects are prominent in this headline. It talks about the most important announcement of the speech; however, there is no any sign in the headline which can contextualize the speakers future intentions with the earlier struggle. In other words, the main headline gives the maximum reactionary image of the speaker. The main verb in the headline is ‘threatens’ which has negative connotation. It is interesting to note that this headline has a nominalization issue as among four words, three are nouns and one is verb. In short, the headline
does not link future plan with the previous activities of the party. The newspaper has avoided any other expression concerning the main issues of speech in headline.

There are many direct quotations in the report, but the news report has used a technique of incorporating small quotes in the construction of sentences, and in this way this report is creating its own reality with the use of speaker’s words. Few quotations scattered in the whole text are as follows:

- ‘Imran Khan threatened to “shut down the country” if his demands were not met’
- ‘He said that if the government did not restart talks with his party, sort out the setting up of a judicial commission to investigate allegations of rigging in the 2013 general elections and complete the probe within four to six weeks, he would “make it impossible for [Nawaz Sharif] to run the government”.’
- ‘Mr Khan said that he would shut down Lahore on Dec 4, Faisalabad on Dec 8, Karachi on Dec 12, and would “paralyse the whole country” on Dec 16.’
- “If the government remains obstinate, they may not be able to bear what I do next,” he said, threatening the government with potentially hostile measures in the same breath as offering them the option of talks’

These quotations have highlighted the issues but these quotes are directed and shaped by the specific construction and direction provided in the report by this technique, which is a significant element.

5.3.3.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard, many sentences, almost half of the report, are views of the workers or supporters of PTI portrayed as fact in the report. This report also adds the hurdles of the workers to reach at venue. The following sentence is the example of the type of reporting the whole event:
‘The venue resembled the kind of colourful gathering that has become a signature for PTI Women sporting party colours, sitting in a specially designated enclosure, and even the elderly got into the act, chanting party slogans and cheering.’

The implicature and presupposition are prominent in terms like *colourful gathering chanting party slogans and cheering*, and *sporting party colours* in the sense that thought is presupposed in the construction. The whole construction of the argument gives the impression as if it was a festival and the use of *color* is very prominent in the report. The other similar example is as follows:

‘DJ Butt,…… was on hand to entertain the multitudes that had gathered on a chilly Sunday evening in the capital. He would accentuate every pause and prompt people to break out in dance with his signature repertoire of party anthems and patriotic songs.’

In this report it is assumed in anticipation that people would dance on his music, and that DJ Butt is ready to entertain the people. This is a sheer use of presupposition. In the next paragraphs, the description of different singers, ‘Mr. Khan’s idealism’ and the supporters of PTI are presented in the similar manner.

5.3.4 Coverage in *The Express Tribune*

*The Express Tribune* covers this speech of Imran Khan, Chairman Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, on the front page of the newspaper on, December 01, 2014. It is the main headline of *The Express Tribune* of that day. It has also included a picture of the participants with caption on the same page. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

5.3.4.1 Syntactic Structure

In case with the syntactical structure of the speech coverage, the newspaper does not seem to use modals in the whole text to weaken any expression used by the speaker. However, there are
certain instances of the use of ‘would’, ‘should’ and ‘could’ but they are not contributing in curtailing any thought or expression delivered by the speaker.

The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, on the other hand, is negligible and this technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in the construction of sentences. Moreover, the news report provides one instance of the use of passive voice, but it is not used in any critical sentence to curtail the image or cover anything. Same is the case with the use of agents in this report. In the report, agency is not unclear in almost all the report.

5.3.4.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in The Express Tribune news coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘he said’, ‘PTI chief said’, ‘PTI chairman said’, ‘Imran said’ etc. Many sentences are complex; only a few start with a participial phrase but majority is starting with principal clause. Moreover conditional clauses are placed later and the independent clauses are used earlier in many cases. Therefore, the stress is put on the earlier clauses: ‘Imran Khan threatened a countrywide shut down if his longstanding demand for an independent audit of the May 2013 elections was not accepted.’ Besides, there are number of clauses depicting elaboration and extension in the news coverage. This report has a substantial number of simple sentences and compound sentences where independent clauses are connected. But these sentences are used more in the portion where report tells about the rally and the supporters, and not about the content of the speech.

The speaker’s name, while analyzing the explicit cohesion, is replaced with ‘he’, PTI chairman’ and ‘PTI chief’. The logical connectors are not traced in the report. In the report, the referencing of ‘his’, ‘he’, ‘they’, ‘I’ and ‘we’ is used where ‘they’ is used for government and the rest of all are used for the speaker and his party. It is worth mentioning that references of direct speech are also included in the above list. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report.
There are certain terms and phrases quite frequently used and the impression of repetition is stronger in the report. The most prominent repeated terms are ‘supporters’, ‘judicial commission’, ‘shut down’, ‘electoral fraud’ etc in the report. The way report is presenting these terms is significant. Regarding the repetition of ideas, the main demand and its reaction to shut down different cities is repeated and stressed in the report.

5.3.4.3 Lexical Features

The prominent words are mostly placed to enhance the political impression of the speaker. The use of adjectives is prominent in the report to contribute the strong image of PTI; e.g. ‘massive rally’, ‘much-talked’, ‘longstanding demand’ are few examples taken only from first paragraph. The connotations of most of the terms are contributing to the political fervor of PTI. For example, the term ‘frenzied’ has its negative connotations but the way it is used for PTI supporters, seems a quality. This scenario shows that most of the work in the report is imbued with what is reflected from above mentioned examples.

Though the speaker has uttered certain harsh comments and used terms in the speech, but the report has not mentioned it on one hand and on the other, it has used euphemistic techniques to minimize some impressions. The most critical part of the speech in this context was the critique over Nawaz Sharif, and it is reflected in the speech coverage but with euphemistic expression. In original speech, the speaker has used the terms ‘chor’, ‘dacoo’, ‘money londerer’ etc, but the expression presented in the report is as under:

‘Referring to Premier Nawaz Shari’s recent speech in Hazvelian wherein he complained that Imran used harsh and derogatory language, Imran said he used harsh language because he was concerned for the welfare of the people.’

Moreover, the term ‘complained’ for the prime minister is meaningful in the above mentioned example. More similar euphemistic expressions can be traced in the rest of the report.
The metaphors are also mentioned in the report. In this context, few examples are presented:

- ‘I will bring the entire country to a stand still’
- ‘Unveiling his much-talked-about plan C’
- ‘Historic and decisive’

In the above examples, the term *stand still* for the country is a metaphorical term, *unveiling* for a plan, and the term *historic* are having metaphorical values and their meaning can be recreated on the basis of individual experiences.

**5.3.4.4 Interactional Control**

The interactional control in this report is skillfully maintained and it provides a clue about the intentions behind setting this report. With reference to the beginning, it is a direct reporting of the speech, and it starts with the main portion or announcement of the speech with a comment over it. It seems a powerful opening by placing compliment in a phrase, then threat in a principal clause and then main demands in the conditional clause:

‘Unveiling his much-talked-about Plan-C at a massive rally on Sunday, Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) chairman Imran Khan threatened a countrywide shut down if his longstanding demand for an independent audit of the May 2013 elections was not accepted.’

This beginning of the reporting of the speech paves a way to construct a popular impression of the speaker. This impression is contributed through various techniques in the course of text. The report ends with popular argument of wastage of public money. The report ends with the promotion of same image:

‘Imran also mentioned the recent anti-PTI media campaign of the government, saying that he would approach the court against the misuse of public money. “The government is using your [people’s] money and we will go the court for its misuse.” he added.’
It is notable that the way this report ends is quite unusual. However, it is evident that the image started from beginning continues till the end through selection of arguments and their placement in the report.

The report is organized by starting with ‘shut-down’, then schedule of shut-down, colorful and cheerful activities in rally, then again schedule of plan-C, logic and previous development regarding demand, details of electoral rigging and its responsibility, poor performance and priorities of the government, health condition in country, refutation of derogatory remarks, PPP and PML-N partnership, and lastly misuse of public money. This organization is supporting to create a specific image of the speaker.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the major issue in the report along with the logic which is the main focus of the speech. Besides, the report has given space to speech coverage along with the rally coverage. This report has mitigated the aggression, the harsh allegations of corruption of leaders along with the details, and this is done through omission.

5.3.4.5 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:

‘Islamabad rally

PTI Unveils ‘Plan- C’

Imran asks govt to order election audit or face shut down’

This headline talks about the most important announcement of the speech; however, there is no any sign in the headline which can contextualize the speaker’s future intentions with the earlier struggle. In other words, Plan-C seems to be a euphemistic expression as it hides the details of his act. The word ‘unveil’ is also meaningful in the headline as it gives the impression of suspense. Overall this headline seems quite short but effectively conveying the message. In general it seems that this main headline does not give the maximum reactionary image of the
speaker. Moreover, the lead gives a polite impression about a hard stand, and it seems to make the PTI stance legitimized while shifting the responsibility on government.

There are many direct quotations in the report covering almost half of the space. This technique of using direct quotation shows the tilt of the report or what exactly the newspaper wants to show. There are long patches of direct quotations, and in few places this news report has used a technique of incorporating small quotes in the construction of sentences. This technique helps to create own reality with the use of speaker’s words or emphasize the statement. Few quotations scattered in the whole text are as follows:

- “I will go to Lahore and shut it down on December 4. On December 8, I will shut down Faisalabad on December 12, I will shut down Karachi, and on December 16, I will bring the entire country to a stand-still if an inquiry is not initiated into the electoral fraud”
- “I know the people of Lahore and Faisalabad are ready…. I know Karachi is waiting for me.”
- “The ball is now in your court, order investigations and resolve this issue”
- “I am not doing all this to become the country’s prime minister”

Only a few quotations are mentioned above, and the impression of highlighting the legitimacy and acceptance is stronger in these quotations. The quotations in the text seem to contribute the strong and justified impression of the speaker. These quotations have highlighted the issues but these quotes are directed and shaped by the specific direction provided in the report, which is a significant element.

5.3.4.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard many sentences and terms are deliberately used to boast the image. This sentence is the example: ‘He told hundred of thousand of his supporters on the Constitution Avenue in Islamabad.’

Now the manner of showing the numbers of the participants in the rally is significant in the sense that without saying that it was a great show, this construction shows that it was a great
political gathering. The next construction with the help of implicature and presupposition is depiction of gathering which shows that it was a festival and the use of ‘color’ is very prominent in the report. The other type of technique used for implicature and presupposition is as under:

‘Frenzied PTI supporters had converged on the federal capital from across the country for a rally that Imran had promised would be ‘historic and decisive’.’

The term *historic and decisive* is used as if it is the reality though it is direct quotation, but the incorporation makes a place for it to be a reality. The above mentioned are just few to get the idea as so many similar examples can be identified in the text.

5.3.5 Summary

Discusivity is quite significant from the headlines of the reports and it is an interesting fact that most of the headlines truly represent the content of the report. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to the interest of their own. The headlines are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(The News)</th>
<th>Entire country to be shut down on Dec 16: Imran</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>If rigging not probed</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn</td>
<td></td>
<td>Imran Threatens Nationwide Shutdown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune</td>
<td></td>
<td>Islamabad rally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>PTI Unveils ‘Plan- C’</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Imran asks govt to order election audit or face shut down</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the speech is of thirty nine minutes, the speech coverage in the form of report in *The News* is of almost 950 words; the report in *Dawn* is about 720 words; and the report in *The Express Tribune* is of almost 870 words. It means that the report in *The News* and *The Express Tribune*
*Tribune* are almost of same length whereas in *Dawn* it is shorter. Moreover, all the three reports include a picture with caption on the front page with the exception that *The News* give the image of the speaker only, and the other two newspapers gave the image of huge audience.

All the three reports have not used modals and nominalization, with few exception in *The News* regarding nominalization, as techniques for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned; Moreover, *The News* has used passive voice in the report, but other two have not used in the critical sentences or at least passive sentences are the same delivered by the speaker. *The Express Tribune* has used one passive sentence which is quite insignificant. All of them have used clauses with elaboration and extension, but *The New* repeated ‘alleged’, ‘charged’ and ‘shut down’; *The Express Tribune* has repeated the terms of ‘supporters’, ‘judicial commission’, ‘shut down’, ‘electoral fraud’ etc in the report. The main demand is also repeated; *Dawn* has repeated ‘judicial commission’, ‘colorful’ and ‘shut down’ in the report.

However, in the use of vocabulary, *The New* has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items regarding denotation are mostly placed in the principal clause in most of the report. Whereas in *Dawn* lexical items regarding denotation are mostly placed to contribute positively, in the report, and *The Express Tribune* has used denotation but still a significant number of connotations is used to convey the overall tone of the speaker. In addition to it, *The News* has not used euphemistic expressions whereas the other two reports have substantially used it in the favor of the speaker. All the reports have evidences of metaphors.

The beginning is a direct reporting of the speech or *Jalsa* and it starts with the main portion or announcement of the speech with a comment over it. *The News* gives an annoyed and aggressive impression of the speaker in the beginning whereas *Dawn* constructs a strong and rightful impression of the speaker; *The Express Tribune* paves a way to construct a stronger and more rightful impression of the speaker through the way it starts the report.

*The News* seems to have intensified the major issues in the report; *Dawn* has mentioned only the major issue in the report. It has also excluded and mitigated most of the other issues. *The Express Tribune* seems to have intensified only the major issue in the report. It has
excluded and mitigated most of the other issues. The report in *The News* uses five direct quotations, and shutting down the country and protest is prominent impression in them; *Dawn* uses many direct quotations in the report, and they are incorporated in the text of the report; *The Express Tribune* uses many direct quotations in the report, and these are in support of the speaker, and they occupy the major portion of the report.

As regards to presupposition and implicature, this report of *The News* has tried to curtail the image in its personal comments; *Dawn* has tried to enhance the colorful image in its personal comments; *The Express Tribune* has used the strategies to build the positive but strong, reactionary but lawful, and serious but colorful image of the party and the speaker.

### 5.4 Concluding Remarks

In the previous pages three speeches of Imran Khan, The Chairman PTI, are analyzed with the help of CDA model described in chapter 3. The reports of three newspapers, *The News, Dawn, and The Express Tribune* has been analyzed against each speech of the speaker. The speeches analyzed are: speech at Sialkot on June 07, 2014, speech at Lahore on September 28, 2014 and speech at Islamabad on November 30, 2014. All the nine reports were published on the front pages of the respective newspapers on the next days: June 08, September 29, 2014 and December 01, 2014 respectively. The analysis of the differences of reports has been presented in summaries given at the end of each speech. Different strategies used by the newspapers are highlighted in developing different versions of the reality generated through the speeches delivered by Imran Khan.
CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECHES OF PAKISTAN PEOPLE’S PARTY

In this chapter the speeches of Mr. Asif Ali Zardari, the former President of Pakistan, are analyzed. He is another prominent political figure and the husband of the former two times elected Prime Minister of Pakistan, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, who was murdered in a terrorist attack in 2007. He is the Co-chairperson of Pakistan People’s Party that remained in power several times and won the second highest seats of National Assembly in the General Election 2013.

Asif Ali Zardari’s son, Mr. Bilawal Bhutto Zardari is the current Chairman of the Pakistan People’s Party. He is quite young and has just started his political career though he has not yet contested in the elections. But he is taken as the main leader in the political gatherings. In this chapter two speeches of Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, Chairman PPP, and one speech of Asif Ali Zardari, Co-chairman PPP, as portrayed in newspapers, are analyzed with the help of CDA model described in Chapter 3. The reports of three newspapers, The News, Dawn, and The Express Tribune have been analyzed against each speech of the speakers. The speeches analyzed are: speech of Bilawal Bhutto Zardari at Larkana on April 04, 2014, speech of Bilawal Bhutto Zardari at Karachi on October 18, 2014 and speech of Asif Ali Zardari on December 27, 2014. All the nine reports were published on the front pages of the respective newspapers on the next days: April 05, 2014, October 19, 2014 and December 28, 2014 respectively.
The analysis of the differences of reports has been presented in summaries presented at the end of each speech. The chapter highlights the different strategies used by the newspapers in developing different versions of the reality generated through the speeches delivered by both the speakers.

6.1 Bilawal Bhutto Zardari (April 04, 2014)

6.1.1 Context

This speech was delivered by the Chairman of Pakistan People’s Party (PPP), one of the leading political parties of Pakistan, at Gharhi Khuda Bukh, Larkana, Sindh, on April 04, 2014. This speech was delivered in a Jalsa organized on the eve of the death anniversary of founder of Pakistan People’s Party and former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. In the following paragraphs I deem it pertinent to give a brief overview of the political history of PPP and its leadership.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was hanged by the military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq on April 04, 1979. This has created a place for PPP to claim as the representative of democratic and anti-establishment forces and its resistance against dictatorship has set a well established narrative giving PPP a political advantage. Later on, Benazir Bhutto, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto’s daughter and two times prime minister of Pakistan, was also murdered in a suicide attack. Both the above mentioned events are considered as some of the most tragic events of Pakistan. Therefore, the party (PPP) portrayed both the events as sacrifices and came into power. The last government of PPP lost its popularity due to its performance. Now the Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, the son of a murdered mother and grandson of a hanged grandfather, has come on the political scene to revive the party’s popularity.

In fact, it is a political show in which PPP is trying reestablish its popularity gone underneath due to so many reasons. This speech is delivered at the time when PPP is in power in Sindh Province and draught in one of its provinces, Tharparker, has caused death of 150 children on one hand, and on the other, the talk process between government and the Taliban has been started.
This political show, in which Asif Ali Zardari also spoke, focuses mainly on Bilawal Butto Zardari’s speech; this was the most critical thing beside many other speeches which is, in fact, a demonstration of political power through which the political leader wants to achieve his political goals. On the other hand, this occasion is being used to ‘introduce’ Bilawal Butto Zardari formally as a politician and leader of PPP.

The original reports of all the three newspapers are provided in appendix VII and original speeches are provided in a DVD attached. The analysis is as follows.

6.1.2 Coverage in The News

The News covers this speech of Bilawal Butto Zardari on the front page on April 04, 2014. It is the main headline of The News of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page, in which the speaker is shown addressing the audience along with a picture of Z.A. Bhutto in the background. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

6.1.2.1 Syntactic Structure

As is the case with the syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage, this report has not used modals in the whole text, to weaken the expression delivered by the speaker. However, there are few expressions where ‘would’ is used, but they are not weakening the stance. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the strong impression. The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which is negligible and this technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in sentences. Moreover, two instances of passive voice are traced in the report, and they are important in creating the public opinion, for example:

- ‘…… the negotiations were being held with those who had termed Quaid-e-Azam ‘Kafir-e-Azam’
- ‘…… he was worried while watching the Punjab being held hostage by terrorists.’
The above quoted examples are the only expressions used in the report to create a subjective reality by being the agents passive but included, which, in other words mean that the agency is not made unclear with a fact that general terms are used to present agents. The two passive sentences are highlighting the issue by putting stress on the generalized subjects. Both sentences are related with the same issue of Taliban. On one occasion they are reported as ‘terrorists’ and on the other they are reported as ‘those who had termed Quaid-e-Azam ‘Kafir-e-Azam’’. In other words, the expression is maintained strong even in these sentences though the technique is different. In short, very few syntactic devices are used for discursivity in this report.

6.1.2.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in The News coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘Bilawal said’, ‘he said’, ‘he claimed’, ‘said’ etc. Most of the sentences are complex where the whole responsibility of the contents is rested on the speaker’s shoulder. There is some simple, single clause, sentences giving a very strong impression of the content in it, for example: ‘Bilawal also criticised the PML-N government for abandoning the Pak-Iran Gas Pipeline Project.’ On the whole, the portion of Zardari’s speech coverage, a small portion at the end of the report, is mostly written in this format:

- ‘Zardari paid tributes to ZA Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto for their sacrifices for the country …’
- ‘He also eulogised Bilawal for leading the caravan of Bhutto legacy’
- ‘He raised the hands of a PPP candidate for PS-35….’

It is evident from the above examples that Zardari has not said anything mentioned in these examples but he acted which is evident from the terms like 'paid tributes', ‘eulogised’, ‘raised the hands’. In other words, his actions are reported more than his words. As far as the explicit cohesion is concerned, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘PPP chairman’ and ‘he’. Logical connectors are not traced in the report; however, the term ‘adding that’ is used more frequently to connect the thought with the previous one. The other technique is the use of present participle in the beginning of sentences:

- ‘Lamenting the privatization policy’
Three paragraphs begin with the above mentioned expressions beside many expressions of ‘adding that’ in this small report. Moreover, ‘he’, ‘his’, as references are present, and they refer to the speaker. Overall, this report has not used many references in the report. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report. With regard to the repetition of ideas, the speaker’s statements are not repeatedly presented in the report to stress those ideas.

6.1.2.3 Lexical Features

The important words are placed prominently in the sentences in most of the report. The prominent impact is generated in the report through the words and phrases like, ‘bow down to savages’, ‘tolerate their dictatorship’, ‘Taliban were deceiving’, ‘who had termed Quaid-e-Azam ‘Kafir-e-Azam’, ‘…the nation had reached a point of history where uncertainty was the rule and fear ruled every heart’ etc. Therefore, the use of words in this report is important and this report includes many connotative expressions. Moreover, this report does not include expressions regarding the participation of the audience as well as the strength of Jalsa.

The speaker has used certain offensive terms like ‘‘Kafir-e-Azam’’, ‘savages’ etc. the report has presented them in the report. This report has avoided euphemistic expressions as the whole speech is against the government and the Taliban. The expressions against both are quite bold and clear, for example:

- “If the government cannot run the country, does this mean we should sell it?”
- “Is the money given by a friendly country the price of heads of our Jawans? Our war is still underway and you are jumping into other countries’ wars,”
- …..his party would not bow down to savages and tolerate their dictatorship.
The expressions used for the founder of PPP, Z.A. Bhutto, show more emphasis though the slogan of Bhutto was the centre of the speech. The report presents that intensity in the following way:

- “Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a philosophy and an ideology; he was the man upon whom the poor relied”
- “Pakistan needs a Bhutto once again today”

As a whole, with the above mentioned examples, this report does not seem to have used euphemistic expressions; moreover, most of the points are not reported.

The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same used in the speech, though not all, for example: the expression for Bhutto is presented as ‘beacon of light to the nation’; the term ‘nation’s house’ is used for Pakistan; another similar expression is: ‘….. the Punjab being held hostage by terrorists.’ Therefore, it can be said that the report under analysis has not missed the metaphoric impression provided in the speech.

6.1.2.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is established by taking up a metaphoric statement the speaker used as a rhetorical device. The reference is made to the process of talks between government and the Taliban in the very beginning of the speech, and the speaker’s view is presented with full metaphorical force. It provides a clue to how this report is taking the whole content of the speech though this was also one of the main concerns of the speaker:

‘Chairman Bilawal Bhutto Zardari on Friday said sighted persons were asking the blind to lead them in the name of talks, adding that his party would not bow down to savages and tolerate their dictatorship.’

About the beginning of the report, it is a direct reporting of the speech or Jalsa and the same tone is maintained in the next paragraph using different metaphors and terms. This issue of ‘terrorism’ is again taken up in the middle of the speech and the speaker’s doubts against links between Punjab government and terrorist are expressed.
It is established that the beginning of the reporting of the speech starts with an issue continued in the next paragraphs. The report ends with the mentioning of the names of other leaders who spoke that day. This report ends with two generalized sentences creating a specific reality with generalized terms:

‘PPP parliamentarians and leaders including Syed Khursheed Shah, Raza Rabbani, Aitzaz Ahsan, Syed Qaim Ali Shah and others also addressed the event. The 35th death anniversary of ZA Bhutto was observed with reverence and respect. Thousands of party workers and leaders paid tributes to their legendary leader.’

The end of this report is significantly important in the sense that this report is adding its comments with the terms like ‘observed with reverence and respect’, ‘Thousands……paid tributes’, ‘legendary leader’.

The report is organized by stating some emotional statements of the speaker against the government’s talk process with Taliban. This issue is taken up again in next paragraphs and the link of terrorists is sought in the government’s corridors. The rest of the speech is a criticism on the government and its policies. The line between both the issues in most of the report, is maintained by elaborating speaker’s views about Bhutto’s ‘philosophy and an ideology’.

This report has used direct quotes as arguments to put more weight in the content, for example:

‘He said the nation had reached a point of history where uncertainty was the rule and fear ruled every heart. “Terrorists want to take away our identities and existence,” he said, adding that people were asking for a way out from the blind alley. “What did we do that the history is not willing to forgive us?” he asked the audience.’
However, at some places this report employs general terms are used, for example: ‘the nation had reached a point of history’, ‘nation has buried a man’, ‘those who labeled allegations against PPP’ etc. It means that a place is maintained by using a generalized term of nation.

The arguments in this report are placed to give favor to the speaker or reporting seems reason to favor the content as is found in the following example:

‘Lamenting the privatisation policy, Bilawal said the nation’s house was being auctioned without taking it into confidence. “If the government cannot run the country, does this mean we should sell it?” he asked.’

It is not only the favor of the speaker but a criticism on others in the reporting of a speech. The participial phrase in the beginning has set a specific perspective provided by this report and not the contents presented later.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the issues related to Taliban and terrorists in the speech. This is produced with the help of language, repetition and preferred setting of the organization of the whole text. Moreover, some arguments are not presented in the report as this speech lasted around 39 minutes.

6.1.2.5  **Macro Structure**

The headline of this report is:

‘Blind being followed in the name of talks: Bilawal’

A few things stand out in this headline. It talks about the main content of the speech, but this is the direct expression of the speaker, as mentioned earlier; the speaker has thirty nine minutes to deliver this speech, and touched a number of issues. This headline seems to give impression that the speaker has delivered all the speech against talk process with The Taliban. This statement is one of the many metaphoric expressions used in the speech. In other words, the selection of this statement as headline does seem intentional.
Moreover, the headline is presented in passive expression in which the agency remains unclear. It talks about blind being followed and not about those who are following them. On the other hand, the lead shows the following issues:

‘Says PPP won’t bow down to savages; asks if money from friendly state is price of army Jawans’ heads; claims Centre has stopped aid to Thar people; Punjab held hostage by terrorists; pledges to check demolition of minorities’ places of worship; Zardari says PML-N govt benefiting from projects signed by his govt’

The lead of this report seems to have summarized all the main issues of the speech, and they are further reflected in the report. It means that issues are stated in the lead of the report and then again mentioned in detail in the report. Putting all the arguments in front, the impression that the speaker severely criticized the government is stronger. This impression is even present in the headline.

There are many direct quotations in the report, and the choice of the quotes is meaningful as most of them are used as arguments in the reporting of the speech. Moreover, these quotations have highlighted the issue raised by the speaker in his speech; some of the quotes are as follows:

- “Those who leveled allegations against the PPP are politicking over children’s bodies,”
- “Terrorists want to take away our identities and existence,”
- “What did we do that the history is not willing to forgive us?”
- “Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was a philosophy and an ideology; he was the man upon whom the poor relied,”
- “Pakistan needs a Bhutto once again today,”

Most of the quotations are focusing on PPP and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s charisma. Therefore, the choice of selecting these quotes shows a particular aspect of the speech and promotions of speaker’s intentions. It is easy to understand how the contents of the speech are being used in this report.
6.1.2.6 **Local Meaning**

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard, this report has not used such expressions in Bilawal’s speech coverage; however, this type of expressions are prominent in Zardari’s speech coverage, which is very short, i-e only around 100 words, within this report. Some of the expressions are as follows:

- ‘Zardari paid tributes to ZA Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto for their sacrifices for the country ….’
- ‘He also eulogized Bilawal for leading the caravan of Bhutto legacy.’

In the first example, the expression of *paid tributes* is used for what he said, and this is a generalized term showing implicature in it. In other words, this one term carries a lot of thought. The second example is showing presupposition and implicature in the sense that Zardari’s comments are made actions in single word *eulogized*; on the other hand it is assumed that *Bhutto legacy* moving in the form of some *caravan* and Bilawal has started leading that *caravan*. These types of expressions raise many questions.

6.1.3 **Coverage in Dawn**

*Dawn* covers this speech of Bilawal Butto Zardari on the front page on April 04, 2014. It is the main headline of *Dawn* of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

6.1.3.1 **Syntactic Structure**

Syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage has certain features as this report has not used modals in the whole text to weaken the expression delivered by the speaker. However, there are few expressions where ‘should’ and ‘would’ are used, but they are not weakening the stance. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the strong
impression. The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which is negligible and this technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in the construction of sentences. Moreover, some instances of passive voice are traced in the report, and they are important in creating the public opinion, for example:

- ‘…… talks were being held with those who had branded Quaid-i-Azam as “Kafir-i-Azam”.’
- ‘how the OGDC, a profitable organisation, was being privatized
- ….he was again being imposed by the federal government.’

The above quoted examples are the expressions used in the report to create a subjective reality by stressing more on action. In the first example, the subject is not included as the argument is bitter. Similarly, action is given priority instead of its agent; the last sentence is present the agent. On the whole the agency is not made clear in this report in passive language. Except the first one, which is related with the issue of Taliban. The rest of passive expressions are against government. In the first example, the object, even, is not made clear and the generalized term ‘those who had branded Quaid-e-Azam as ‘Kafir-e-Azam’’ is used. In other words, the expression is maintained powerful even in these sentences though the technique is different. In short, very few syntactic devices are used for discursivity in this report.

6.1.3.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in Dawn speech coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘Bilawal said’, ‘he said’, ‘he claimed’, ‘he criticized’ etc. Most of the sentences are complex where the whole responsibility of the contents is rested on the speaker’s shoulder. There is one simple, single clause, sentence giving a very strong impression of the content in it: ‘Bilawal Bhutto criticised the government for compromising on the Pakistan-Iran gas pipeline project under foreign pressure.’ The significant issue is that there are some conditional clauses in this report:

- ‘…..when his father Asif Zardari hinted at holding talks with political forces on border and other regional issues, it was time to have a sincere leader.’
‘….. when his father Asif Zardari hinted at holding talks with political forces on border and other regional issues, it was time to have a sincere leader.’

‘….if terrorists succeeded in their designs, innocent girls would be buried alive.’

With regard to the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘PPP Patron-in-Chief’ and ‘he’. Logical connectors are not traced in the report; however, a technique of using a small phrase, most often in the form of present participle, is employed in the beginning of sentences, for example:

- ‘Referring to the criticism of Sindh festival’
- ‘Addressing a public gathering’
- ‘About the attack on temples’

Some paragraphs begin with the phrases like mentioned above, which are setting the background for the coming argument. In fact, they behave as logical connectors. Moreover, ‘he’, ‘his’ as references are present, and they refer to the speaker and his father Asif Ali Zardari. Overall this report has not used many references in the report. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report. As far as the repetition of ideas as well as the terms is concerned, the speaker’s statements are not repeatedly presented in the report to stress those ideas.

6.1.3.3 Lexical Features

The connotations have not been used much in the report. The prominent impact is generated in the report through the words and phrases like, ‘Patron-in-Chief’, ‘agenda of personalisation.’, ‘innocent girls would be buried alive’, ‘who had branded Quaid-e-Azam as ‘Kafir-e-Azam’’, anonymous donation’ etc. The speaker has used certain terms which are offending like ‘‘Kafir-e-Azam’’, ‘savages’ etc. the report has presented them in the report. Therefore, the use of words in this report is important though there is less number of connotative expressions.
Moreover, this report does not include expressions regarding the participation of the audience as well as the strength of Jalsa though it reports its location, time and date.

This report has used euphemistic expressions in the selection of arguments as the whole speech is against government and the Taliban. Though the expressions against both are quite clear, but the speaker has used very harsh language against Taliban. The impression of this tone is presented in the selection of soft expressions and avoided the terms like ‘savage’ ‘Blind’ in this report. Some expressions against them are as follows:

- ‘terrorists are not Muslims’
- ‘….if terrorists succeeded in their designs, innocent girls would be buried alive.’

Both seem relatively soft expressions as compared to the tone and the choice of words of the speaker. As a whole, with the above mentioned examples this report does not seem to have used euphemistic expressions; moreover, most of the points are not reported. The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same used in the speech, though not all, for example: the expression for Pakistan army is used as ‘national asset’ and the other term coined with it is ‘national interest’. Both are symbolic and metaphoric expressions in this context.

6.1.3.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is established by describing the jist of the speech. The reference is made to the process of talks between the government and the Taliban in the very beginning of the speech, and the speaker’s view is presented in it. It provides a clue on how this report is taking the whole content of the speech:

‘PPP Patron-in-Chief Bilawal Bhutto-Zardari has criticised the government’s dialogue policy and said “terrorists are not Muslims”.’

The beginning is a combination of direct and indirect reporting of the speech or Jalsa and the same tone is maintained in the next two paragraphs using different metaphors and terms. The report has given, in the above mentioned example, a generalized statement in the initial clause and it has used a quotation in the other, which has validated the earlier statement. The
issue of ‘terrorism’ is again taken up in the middle of the speech and the speaker’s doubts against links between Punjab government and terrorist are expressed.

It is evident that the beginning of the reporting of the speech starts with an issue continued in the next paragraphs. The report ends with the mentioning of the names of other leaders who spoke that day, but before that the main points of Asif Ali Zardari’s speech are presented and the selected contents of that are important in the creation of subjective perception:

‘The former president said he had sought permission from the PPP central executive committee to initiate dialogue with all political forces. It would focus on regional issues and border problems, he said. “We should not be unaware of such issues. I will also talk to intellectuals and thinkers how to move ahead.”’

The democratic and the diplomatic view is presented in the report by placing the arguments.

The report is organized by stating some strong statements of the speaker against government’s talk process with Taliban. The rest of the speech is a criticism on the government and the need to follow Bhutto’s vision of ‘modern Islamic nation and a society based on love and tolerance’ and his contribution towards Pakistan.

This report has used many direct quotes as arguments to put more weight in the content, for example:

- ‘Referring to the criticism of Sindh festival, he said that if “we have to fight this mindset”’
- “we will have to make our culture our weapon”

However, only on few places this report has made the implicit information explicit by using a specific technique. For example the speaker has not mentioned the name of the former Chief Minister of Sindh at one place and on the other, he has not mentioned Taliban in the speech but both are reflected in the report in the following ways:
Without naming Taliban, he said terrorists had deceived the government in talks held in 2008

“‘The ex-CM has an eye on the funds to be spent on Thar,’” the PPP leader said in an allusion to Arbab Ghulam Rahim, who was chief minister from 2004 to 2007.’

It implies that this report has made some implicit issues explicit for its own purpose. The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the main issues of the speech.

This intensification is produced with the help of language, repetition and preferred setting of the organization of the whole text. Moreover, some arguments are not presented in the report as this speech lasted around 39 minutes.

6.1.3.5 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:

‘Bilawal opposes dialogue process’

The headline talks about the main content of the speech, and it is not the direct expression of the speaker but an inferred statement; the speaker has taken thirty nine minutes to deliver this speech, and has touched upon a number of issues mostly opposing the government. This headline seems to give impression that it is anti-government statement. However, as a matter of fact, this headline is not against government but against the Taliban. The expression presented in the headline seems quite soft as compared to the language used by the speaker. In other words, this headline statement seems a euphemistic expression as it absorbs the negativity of the tone adopted by the speaker; however, the undercurrent message is quite clear in it.

There are many direct quotations in the report, and the choice of the quotes is meaningful as most of them are used as arguments in the reporting of the speech. Moreover, these quotations have highlighted the issue raised by the speaker in his speech; some of the quotes are as follows:
• “terrorists are not Muslims”
• “We cannot bow before their dictates and will survive with high head. Terrorism is not Islam”.
• “It is a project which will have changed the situation by addressing the energy crisis.”
• ““But we will not leave Thar people alone in this difficult time,”
• “But we will not allow it. Minorities will not be left alone and I and PPP workers will protect them. It is a conspiracy to defame Sindh and Pakistan, but it will not succeed.”

Most of the quotations are focusing on Taliban, draught and government’s inefficiency. Therefore, the choice of selecting these quotes shows a particular aspect of the speech and promotions of speaker’s intentions. It can be understood how the contents of the speech are being used in this report.

6.1.3.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard, this report has not used such expressions in Bilawal’s speech coverage; however, there are some other significant issues regarding presenting the speaker’s arguments. The most important element is the placement of those arguments. For example,

“The ex-CM has an eye on the funds to be spent on Thar,” the PPP leader said in an allusion to Arbab Ghulam Rahim, who was chief minister from 2004 to 2007.’

This statement shows that the ex-CM has plans for funds and the next sentence is as: “But we will not leave Thar people alone in this difficult time,” he vowed. The gap between these two arguments is that the ex-CM will bring that difficult time regarding his plans about funds. But actually, it is not the intention. Another similar example can be found in Zardari’s speech, where two different arguments are place together by presupposing that they contribute each other: He called Z.A. Bhutto a ‘scientist of politics’ and said time demanded that ‘we concentrate on saving Pakistan’. Both the clauses joined together are not connected semantically as the concept
of ‘scientist of politics’ has nothing to do with the concept of ‘we concentrate on saving Pakistan’.

In short, it is evident that different techniques are adopted to construct the image.

6.1.4 Coverage in The Express Tribune

The Express Tribune covers this speech of Bilawal Butto Zardari on the front page on April 04, 2014. It is the main headline of The Express Tribune of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

6.1.4.1 Syntactic Structure

As regards the syntactical structure of the speech coverage this report has not used modals in the whole text, to weaken the expression delivered by the speaker. However, there are few expressions where ‘would’ is used, but they are quite insignificant. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the strong impression. The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which is negligible. This technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in the construction of sentences.

Moreover, very few instances of passive voice are traced in the report, and there is only one sentence influencing the perception about Bilawal: ‘Bilawal warned that once again daughter will be buried alive if the zalimaan succeeded in imposing their ideology’….. Though the subject is not present in the passive clause of this sentence, it is hinted in the next conditional clause. In this way the purpose of passive voice is served by highlighting the action of ‘daughter will be buried alive’, and the agency is also made conspicuous. In other words the expression is maintained strong even in these sentences though the technique is different.

6.1.4.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in The Express Tribune speech coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘Bilawal said’, ‘he said’, ‘he added’, ‘he criticized’ etc. Most of the sentences are complex where the whole responsibility of the contents is rested on the speaker’s
shoulder. However, the other significant feature of clauses is the treatment of quoted clause as a part of a compound sentence, for example:

‘He blamed the government for ‘creating a mess’ by pursuing direct talks with militants, “this mess will be washed by the blood of martyrs”, he said while referring to the sacrifices of ZAB.’

Therefore, the credibility is established through the placement of direct quotes as clauses within the sentences. Moreover, there are some compound sentences joining independent clauses in this report:

- ‘Bilawal called the drought in Tharparker ‘intolerable’ and said it was the result of years of neglect.’
- ‘The Muslim world was faced with difficulties we stood with them, but we did not put ourselves in danger.’

The explicit cohesion is also maintained as the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘PPP Patron-in-Chief’ and ‘he’. Logical connectors are not traced in the report; however, a technique of using a small phrase is employed in the beginning of sentences, for example:

- ‘Referring to his mother also as a martyr’
- ‘Addressing a huge public gathering’
- ‘About his grandfather’
- ‘Criticizing the PML-N government’
- ‘Echoing Bilawal statements’

Some paragraphs begin with the above mentioned phrases which are setting the background for the next argument. In fact, they function as logical connectors beside creating a sort of concentration for the upcoming argument. Moreover, ‘he’, ‘his’, as references are present, and they refer to the speaker and his father Asif Ali Zardari. Overall this report has not used many references in the report.

Regarding the repetition of ideas, the speaker’s statements are not repeatedly presented in the report to stress those ideas.
6.1.4.3 Lexical Features

Connotations have not been used much in the report. The prominent impact is generated in the report through the words and phrases like, ‘came down hard’, ‘Patron-in-Chief’, ‘personalisation.’, ‘daughter will be buried alive’, ‘zalimaan’, ‘martyr’, ‘Bhutto Khapay’, ‘expressed his anxiety’ etc. Therefore, the use of words in this report is important as there is reasonable number of connotative expressions. Moreover, this report includes the expression regarding the participation of the audience as ‘huge gathering’; it tells it where about, time and date.

This report has use euphemistic expressions in the selection of arguments as the whole speech is against government and the Taliban. Though the expressions against both are quite clear, but the speaker has used very harsh language against Taliban. The impression of this tone is presented in the selection of soft expressions and avoided the terms like ‘Kafir-e-Azam’, ‘savage’, ‘Blind’ in this report, though it has used the term ‘zalimaan’.

The continuous expression for PPP leaders is ‘martyr’ instead of any other expression used for dead persons.

The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same used in the speech, though not all but significant. The expression of party slogans in this reporting is quite significant: ‘Butto Khappay’ and ‘long live Bhutto’.

6.1.4.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is established by taking up speaker’s anti-government statement showing that expected perspective of this report. The term ‘peace initiative’ is a reference made to the process of talks between government and the Taliban in the very beginning of the speech. It provides a clue on how this report is taking the whole content of the speech though this was also one of the main concerns of the speaker:

‘The patron-in-chief of Pakistan People’s party (PPP) Bilawal Bhutto Zardari on Friday came down hard on the government for its peace
initiative saying that “Bhutto’s grandson is alive and ready to take the challenge.”

The beginning is a direct reporting of the speech or Jalsa with a comment on it, and the same tone is maintained in the next paragraph using different metaphors and terms. The term ‘came down hard’ has set the perception.

It is, therefore, established that the beginning of the reporting of the speech starts with an issue continued in the next paragraphs. The report ends with the mentioning of Zardari’s worries about present condition, and link is established by: ‘Echoing Bilawal’s statements, he said, “Martyrs never die! Long live Bhutto!”’ The report is organized by stating some strong statements of the speaker against government’s talk process with Taliban. The criticism on Taliban is also very significant here. Overall third report is divided into three parts. The other two are divided by heading:

- ‘Drought-hit Thar is ‘intolerable’
- ‘Zardari worried about present conditions’

Dialogue process and Taliban, being the first issue, is linked up with the PPP’s founder Z.A. Bhutto and his vision; the report also mentions the speaker’s mother as a challenge for Taliban. The second part of this report puts the responsibility on ‘former chief minister, Arbab Gulam Rahim’. The arguments related ‘personalization’ and the ‘gift of $1.5 billion’ are also included in this part. The third focuses zardari’s concern over the problems of Muslim world. This report has used direct quotes as arguments to add more weight to the content, for example:

‘The Muslim world was faced with difficulties we stood with them, but we did not put ourselves in danger. “Today we need to make all efforts to save Pakistan and bring an end to prevailing sectarianism in the country,” he said.’

The arguments in this report are placed to give favor to the speaker or report takes a position placing the arguments, and reporting seems reason to favor the content as the start of many paragraphs is as under:

- ‘He blamed government for creating a mess’
- ‘Addressing a huge public gathering’
- ‘About his grandfather’
- ‘Referring to his mother also as a martyr’
- ‘Bilawal called the draught in Tharparker ‘intolerable’’

It is not only favorable for the speaker but a criticism on others in the reporting of a speech. The phrases and clauses in the beginning have set a specific perspective provided by this report and not the contents presented later.

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have given more space to Tharparker Draught perhaps due to the reason that this speech is the justification of the blame on Sindh government where PPP is in power. This intensification is produced with the help of language, repetition and preferred setting of the organization of the whole text. Moreover, the speech was delivered in an emotional tone with the focus, mainly, on ‘Bhutoism’ and this point is mitigated in the speech. Some arguments are not presented in the report as this speech lasted around 39 minutes.

6.1.4.5 **Macro Structure**

The headline of this report is:

‘Bilawal blames govt for ‘creating a mess’’

Some issues are prominent in this headline. It holds a generalized statement against government, but this is not the direct expression of the speaker though the term ‘creating a mess’ gives the impression of a direct expression; the speaker had thirty nine minutes to deliver this speech, and he touched a number of issues. This headline seems to give impression that the speaker is blaming government for all the wrong doings, but, in fact, this headline is against the talk process between the government and the Taliban. The statement, ‘creating a mess’ is one of the many metaphoric expressions delivered in the speech. In other words, the selection of this statement as headline does seem intentional.
On the other hand, the lead shows the following issues: Blames ex-rulers for drought in Thar; claims govt is pursuing ‘personalization’, ‘not privatisation’. As far as the lead of this report is concerned, it seems to have summarized most of the main issues of this report and not the speech, and they are reflecting the main contents of the speech in the report. For example, the angle of ‘Buttoism’ is not reflected as it served as a base of most of the anti-government statements in the speech.

There are many direct quotations in the report, and the choice of the quotes is meaningful as most of them are used as arguments in the reporting of the speech. Moreover, these quotations have highlighted the issue raised by the speaker in his speech; some of the quotes are as follows:

- “this mess will be washed with the blood of martyrs,”
- “Bhutto’s grandson is alive and ready to take the challenge.”
- “Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto gave the world the vision of a modern Islamic nation and he was the hope for the common man.”
- “Therefore, I say Bhutto Khapay, Bhutto Khapay, long live Butto”
- “Martyrs never die! Long live Bhutto”

Most of the quotations focus on PPP’s party slogans and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s charisma. Therefore, the choice of selecting these quotes shows a particular aspect of the speech and promotions of speaker’s intentions. It is easy to understand how the contents of the speech are being used in this report.

6.1.4.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments, formation of the argument or the newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. Only two types of examples can convey the role of presupposition and implicature throughout the text. First, the arguments are joined with the direct quotes, but the close analysis gives a clue about certain logical gaps generated in that setting, for example:
The patron-in-chief of Pakistan People’s party (PPP) Bilawal Bhutto Zardari on Friday came down hard on the government for its peace initiative saying that “Bhutto’s grandson is alive and ready to take the challenge.”

In this example, it is claimed that Bilawal ‘came down hard on the government’ in his speech, and the way how he did that is presented in the next clause: ‘Bhutto’s grandson is alive and ready to take the challenge.’ It means that the report takes this statement as a criticism on the government’s activities.

The whole report is full of such evidences. For example, the very next paragraph show the same implicature when the speaker ‘blamed the govt for creating a mess’ through talk process, the next quote in the text carries the whole stance without proper linkage. Then the future aspect is linked with the past one. The text is as under:

‘He blamed the government for ‘creating a mess’ by pursuing direct talks with militants. “This mess will be washed by the blood of martyrs,” he said while referring to the sacrifices rendered by his grandfather Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and mother Benazir Bhutto.’

It is evident that the blame is converted into a credit of martyrs by the placement of a direct quote. The second type of example depicting presupposition and implicature can be traced out in the comments like:

‘He did not name former chief minister Arbab Ghulam Rahim, but nevertheless, he implicitly blamed him for the conditions in Thar as he was elected from the area but paid no attention to the dire problem.’

This report has made the implicit issues explicit even when the speaker did not mention them explicitly in his speech. The proceeding argument is placed to put the whole liability of ‘dire problem’ as added information and not the content of the speech.
6.1.5 Summary

Discursivity is evident in the headlines of the reports and it is an interesting fact that the headlines present different techniques and different content. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to their own political and ideological orientation. The headlines are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Headline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The News</td>
<td>Blind being followed in the name of talks: Bilawal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn</td>
<td>Bilawal opposes dialogue process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune</td>
<td>Bilawal blames govt for ‘creating a mess’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the speech is of around thirty nine minutes, the speech coverage in the form of report in *The News* is of almost 700 words; the report in *Dawn* is about 780 words; and the report in *The Express Tribune* is of almost 550 words. It means that the report in *Dawn* is around 230 words lengthier than that of *The Express Tribune* whereas *The News* is around 150 words lengthier than *The Express Tribune* and is around 80 words shorter than *Dawn*.

Moreover, the reports from all the newspapers under analysis include a picture, with caption, of the speaker on the front page. The report of *The News* shows a picture of the speaker in which he is shown addressing the audience along with a picture of Z.A. Bhutto in the background.

All the three reports have not used modals and nominalization as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned; moreover, *The News* and *Dawn* have used passive voice in certain key sentences of the report, but *The Express Tribune* has not used it in the critical sentences or at least passive sentences are the same delivered by the speaker.
However, in the use of vocabulary, *The New* has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items regarding connotation are significant, for example: ‘Kafir-e-Azam’, ‘savages’ etc. Whereas in *Dawn* lexical items are not different from *The News; The Express Tribune* has used a significant number of connotations to convey the overall tone of the speaker, for example: ‘Zalmaan’, ‘martyr’, ‘Bhutto Khapay’ etc.

In addition to it, *The News* does not seem to have used euphemistic expressions; it has avoided to use this expression where it seems pertinent regarding ‘Taliban and government’; even *Dawn* has also reported harsh language of the speaker regarding ‘Taliban and government’; *The Express Tribune* has not used it. Mostly, the reports have avoided including the information instead of using euphemistic expressions. *The Express Tribune* has more evidences of metaphors as compared to other two.

Regarding the beginning of the reports, *Dawn* and *The Express Tribune* is concerned, it is a combination of direct and indirect reporting of the speech or *Jalsa* and they start with a comment over to shape them. The report in *The News* starts with a direct reporting of the speech or *Jalsa* and the same tone is maintained in the next paragraph using different metaphors and terms. This issue of ‘terrorism’ is again taken up in the middle of the speech. All the three reports seem to construct a strong political impression of the speaker. Moreover, the arguments in these reports seem to give favor to the speaker; as such the arguments or reporting seems reason to favor the content.

*The News* seems to have highlighted the issues regarding Taliban and terrorists in the report. *Dawn* has mentioned only the major issue in the report. *The Express Tribune* seems to have highlighted only the major issue in the report. It seems to have included some minor details of some of the issues. This has contributed positively in overall image of the speaker.

The report in *The News* uses many direct quotations, and most of the quotations are focusing on PPP and *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's* charisma; *Dawn* uses many direct quotations in the report, and most of the quotations are focusing on Taliban, draught and government’s
inefficiency; *The Express Tribune* uses some direct quotations in the report, and most of them are focusing on PPP and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s charisma and party slogans.

As regards to presupposition and implicature, all the reports seem to have used strategies that build the popular, powerful and mature image of the speaker.

### 6.2 Bilawal Bhutto Zardari (October 18, 2014)

#### 6.2.1 Context

This speech was delivered by the Chairman of Pakistan People’s Party (PPP), at Karachi, Sindh, on October 18, 2014. It was delivered in a *Jalsa* organized in memory of the historic reception of former PPP chairperson and two time former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, from exile on October 18, 2007. She landed in Karachi and party workers, leaders and supporters reached there to welcome her; a suicide bomber blew himself near her vehicle in the rally. While many people died and injured in that attack, the leaders survived.

Later on, Benazir Bhutto was murdered in another attack after two months. The death of Benazir Bhutto is believed as one of the most tragic events of Pakistan’s political history. Therefore, the party (PPP) selects the commemoration of its former leaders to refresh the memories of public about the sacrifices. In fact, it is a political show in which PPP is trying reestablish its popularity gone underneath due to so many reasons. The most important reason is the sit-in politics of PTI that has grabbed all the attention of public and media.

This political show, in which Asif Ali Zardari also spoke, focuses mainly on Bilawal Butto Zardari’s speech; this was the most critical thing beside many other speeches, is in fact, a demonstration of political power through which the political leader wants to achieve his political goals. On the other hand, this occasion is being used to ‘launch’ Bilawal Butto Zardari formally as a politician and leader of PPP.
This speech is delivered at the time when PPP is in power in Sindh Province. The government of PML (N) is under pressure due to sit-in, and the role of PPP, being the second big party in parliament, is vital in this context. They have supported PML (N) and this gathering is a tactic to defuse the pressure of PTI.

The original reports of all the three newspapers are provided in appendix VIII. The analysis is as follows.

### 6.2.2 Coverage in The News

*The News* covers this speech of Bilawal Butto Zardari on the front page on October 19, 2014. It is the main headline of *The News* of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page, in which the speaker is shown clapping to the audience. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

#### 6.2.2.1 Syntactic Structure

In case with the syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage, this report has used some expressions using modals in the whole text, and few of them seem to weaken that stance. For example, ‘could’ in the second paragraph is weakening the expression and enhancing the doubt not against the speaker but towards the ‘Puppet Khan’: ‘…….a move which could culminate in the derailment of the democratic order.’ Moreover, this is an inferred statement from the speech; the speaker has not used this expression, but this sense is conveyed through the use of ‘could’. There are few more expressions where ‘could’, ‘would’, and ‘should’ are used; however, they are not weakening the stance but softening it in most of the cases, for example:

- ‘…..all the concerned quarters should keep in mind the party would never be frightened.’
- ‘….. Quaid-i-Azam had founded the country but could not establish democracy…..’

In the second example, ‘could’ again is used to favor the speaker’s stance. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the strong impression of the speaker.
The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, on the other hand, is negligible and this technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in the construction of sentences. However, many instances of passive voice are traced in the report, and they are important in creating the public opinion, though few are the same expressed by the speaker, for example:

- ‘…… political events in the country have been staged ….’
- ‘…… political events in the country were being staged had been authored to cause a civil war-like situation…..’
- ‘…. the country was…. divided among the forces of Bhuttoism…….’
- ‘….why the leaders, activists and supporters of the PPP were always assassinated, murdered or made victims of terrorism….’

The above quoted examples are some of the many expressions used in the report to create a subjective reality as the agents are not present in them, which, in other words means that the agency is not made clear; who is staging is meaningful in first and second examples, and in the other example, who was going to divide is also a meaningful issue, and, lastly, who assassinated is again kept hidden in the sentences. In short, syntactic devices are used for discursivity in this report.

6.2.2.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in The News coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘Bilawal said’, ‘he said’, ‘he declared’, ‘the PPP young leader declared’, ‘the PPP chairman said’ etc. Most of the sentences are complex which portray the speaker as strong and powerful. There are some complex sentences giving a very strong impression of the content in it. At least two independent clauses are joined with conjunctions in one sentence; this pattern of sentences gives a special emphasis to the contents of clauses, for example:

- ‘The PPP’s young leader declared Jihad against poverty, illiteracy extremism, dictatorship, and terrorism and asked the masses to support him in his fight against these menaces in the country’
• ‘He called upon all political forces of the country, be it the prime minister or the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM), to shun the path of confrontation and join hands to work collectively for transforming the destiny of Pakistan for the good of the country.’

This is a significant feature in this report. However, the more critical issues are placed in complex sentences as it is the established norm of the news reports. As far as the explicit cohesion is concerned, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’, ‘PPP chairman’ and ‘PPP leader’. Logical connectors are not traced in the report. Moreover, ‘he’, ‘his’, ‘him’ as references are present, and they refer to the speaker, Imran Khan and Quaid-e-Azam etc. Overall this report has not used many references in the report. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report. As far as the repetition of ideas is concerned, the speaker’s statements about the ‘Script’ and ‘script writer’ and comments against Imran Khan are repeatedly presented in the report.

6.2.2.3 **Lexical Features**

Connotations are mostly placed in the sentences in most of the report. The prominent impact is generated in the report through the words like, ‘massive public’, ‘puppet Khan’, ‘Bhuttoism’, ‘political orphans’, ‘umpire’ etc. The verbs in principal clauses are also important: ‘he touched upon’, ‘he announced’, ‘he exhorted’, ‘The PPP’s young leader declared’, ‘Bilawal said’ etc. These verbs provide a certain position to the speaker, which impacts on the perception of the readers. This report includes many connotative expressions. There are many of those expressions which the speaker has used. However, this report also includes expressions regarding the participation of the audience as well as the strength of *Jalsa*, for example:

• ‘A large number of supporters and loyalists of the Pakistan People’s Party from all over the country, especially from rural Sindh, converged at the Bagh-e-Jinnah’s public gathering, which was organised by the party to pay homage to the people who had lost their lives in the Karsaz bomb blasts at Benazir Bhutto’s homecoming rally on October 18, 2007.’
People belonging to the PPP packed the Bagh-e-Jinnah spread over 35 acres of land and also the adjacent roads, including Shahrah-e-Quaideen and MA Jinnah Road.’

The speaker has used certain terms which are offending like ‘kuth putli Khan’ and ‘kuth putli’ etc. in Urdu, but the report has not only translated it into English, it has avoided euphemistic techniques and presented those expressions, for example:

- ‘He said that puppets and political orphans staging protest sit-ins in Islamabad…..’
- ‘Without naming the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) chairman Imran Khan and referring to him as among the puppets staging protest sit-ins in Islamabad, he exhorted the PTI leader not to rely on his ‘umpire’ any more to grab power ………’
- ‘to make the ‘Puppet Khan’ (referring to Imran Khan) the opposition leader in the National Assembly….’

This seems a political expression which should have been handled carefully, but it has been documented as it is. It is also worth mentioning that this technique is employed only against PTI and not against any other party or leader despite the fact that the speaker has used sarcastic remarks against MQM and the present government. The choice of words and the selection of clauses have created a different impact of the following statement which is different from the intentions of the speaker. The report says:

‘He paid rich tributes to ZA Bhutto, saying that as Quaid-i-Azam had founded the country but could not establish democracy as his life had not provided him the opportunity, it was Bhutto who had realized the long-awaited dream of a democratic order in the country…’

Though the speaker has used this expression but he has provided a context by presenting a tribute to Quaid-i-Azam and by adding honorific as ‘Hazrat Quaid-i-Azam’; the speaker mentions that Butto fulfilled his dream of democratic Pakistan. The expression used in the report seems to have used careless arrangement of words and clauses.

As a whole, without the above mentioned examples, this report seems to have used euphemistic expressions; when it is not used, the whole information is missing. For example,
the speaker mentions ‘Model Town tragedy’, ‘failure of foreign policy’ wastage of money on ‘Metro bus’ etc. in the speech, but so many other expressions used against the government are not presented in the report. Therefore, it is evident that euphemistic expressions are not used against PTI, and about others the whole information or the argument is avoided in the report. The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same used in the speech, and the report under analysis has not missed the metaphoric impression provided in the speech.

6.2.2.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is established by taking up the stance of the ‘script writers’, and what the speaker has said against PTI and its politics of sit-ins, is used to set the direction of the whole speech. This rhetorical strategy provides a clue on how this report is taking the whole content of the speech though this was also one of the main focuses of the speaker. As far as the beginning is concerned, it is a direct reporting of the speech or Jalsa and it does include the basic information about the location, day, time and gathering of supporters in the second paragraph. The first starts as:

‘The Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) chairman Bilawal Bhutto Zardari on Saturday said the scriptwriters want to impose a puppet prime minister and opposition leader in the country.’

This beginning of the reporting of the speech starts with a statement which is repeated in the next paragraphs. The report ends with the of comments of Co-chairman and father of Bilawal, Asif Ali Zardari, and the main issue of this portion is again PTI, Imran Khan, and Sit-in. The last sentence is quite general and is a quote of Asif Ali Zardari:

‘Zardari said no force in the world can stop a modern and progressive Pakistan from being formed. “Benazir’s Pakistan, Bilawal’s Pakistan, your Pakistan and mine is inevitable,” he said.’

This report has covered the entire space by focusing on Pakistan. In this regard the phrase ‘Bilawal’s Pakistan’ is important as it is a popular belief that PPP is their family party. The
report is organized by stating some arguments about ‘the script’ in the earlier part of the report and that this ‘script’ is against PPP. The next issue is reported in most of the report, in scattered places, elaborating the speaker’s views about ‘Bhuttoism and the remnants of the former military ruler Ziaul Haq’. The other reported issues are his jihad against ‘poverty, illiteracy extremism, dictatorship, and terrorism’, offer for collective efforts, about supporters and gathering, Kashmir issue, reorganization of the party, and Zardari’s views about PTI and progressive potential of Pakistan.

This report has used very few direct quotes, and most of the arguments are inferred from the speaker’s arguments. However, on certain occasions this report has elaborated the intended meanings like ‘Without naming the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) chairman Imran Khan and referring to him as among the puppets staging protest sit-ins in Islamabad’ and at some places these are avoided and general terms are used, for example: ‘the remnants of the former military ruler Ziaul Haq’. It means that priorities are set according to personalities.

The arguments in this report favor the speaker as such arguments or reporting seems reason to favor the content as is found in the following example:

‘Bilawal Bhutto also touched upon certain issues, including the Hazara Dharna in Quetta, the Salman Taseer and Shahbaz Bhatti killings and the conviction of Aasia Bibi for blasphemy as well as Mama Qadeer’s long march for missing persons in Balochistan, subjects normally taboo for most mainstream politicians.’

The report not only favors the speaker, it also embodies criticism on others. On the other hand, the speaker has used only certain names, for example the conviction of Aasia Bibi and not the expression used in this report: ‘the conviction of Aasia Bibi for blasphemy.’

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the issues of ‘puppets’, ‘script’, and ‘Buttoism’. This intensification is produced with the help of language, repetition and preferred setting of the organization of the whole text. This report does not seem to have mitigated the issues related to ‘Mian Sahab’, the prime minister of Pakistan.
along with speaker’s views about MQM. Moreover, some arguments are not presented in the report, for example, rigging against PPP, PPP’s projects, high electricity prices etc. in this report.

6.2.2.4 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:

‘Scriptwriters want puppet PM, opposition leader: Bilawal’

The headline does not talk about the main content of the speech, but this is direct the expression of the speaker, as mentioned earlier; the speaker has consumed one and half hour to deliver this speech, and touched upon a number of issues. This headline seems to give impression that the speaker has delivered all the speech against sit-in and PTI. This statement is one of the many allegations or doubts among many facts delivered in the speech. The selection of this statement as headline does seem intentional. Moreover, PPP, in this report is portrayed as a party that is about to be affected as Opposition Leader in the Assembly is from this party. In other words, this headline is highlighting the ‘supposed injustice’ to PPP. On the other hand, the lead shows the following issues:

‘Launches political career; says Bhuttoism, remnants of Zia two political powers in Pakistan; Zardari says Imran fooling youth; questions source of financing of big PTI rallies’

The lead of this report seems to have raised some other issues. The first clause, launches political career, seems irrational as who launches if he himself is not, and if it is he, how he can launch his own political career. Besides, this has nothing to do with reporting of the speech or Jalsa. In this lead the questions on PTI are also included. The expression used in the reporting is ‘Zardari says Imran fooling youth’ where any other euphemistic expression could have been included, but euphemism is avoided here.

There are five direct quotations in the report, and the choice of the quotes is meaningful as these quotations are not taken from the speaker’s speech who has delivered his speech in
around 1:31 minutes. The quotations are reported within the same report from Asif Ali Zardari’s speech:

- “Who is financing such big gatherings? Where are you getting money from?”
- “I don’t want to talk about the past… I want to focus on the future,”
- “Supporting a dictator was a political sin,”
- “We know what prompted you to change your party”
- “Benazir’s Pakistan, Bilawal’s Pakistan, your Pakistan and mine is inevitable,”

It is important fact that quotations are not taken from Bilawal’s speech, and they are taken from the other speaker. All these quotations are present at a very small part, end, of the report. All the above mentioned quotes, except the last one, are against PTI or its leader. Therefore, the choice of selecting these quotes shows a particular aspect of the speech and promotions of speaker’s intentions. It is easy to understand how the newspaper projects the contents of the speech in this report.

### 6.2.2.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about an event or speech. In this regard following examples would be enough to get the idea of how this report serves to promote a certain point of view about PTI. At first place the presence of some dominant factor is prevailing throughout the report, who is a ‘script writer’, who has ‘authored to provide a fake electoral mandate’, who has hatched ‘conspiracy against democratic order’ etc. This type of sense is prevailing throughout the text, though there are similar expressions in the report but the other clues are provided to understand clearly.

The other type of presupposition and implicature can be found in the statements where implied threats are present, for example:

‘….. script had been authored to provide a fake electoral mandate to Nawaz Sharif and to make the ‘Puppet Khan’ (referring to Imran
Khan) the opposition leader in the National Assembly, a move which could culminate in the derailment of the democratic order.’

It is evident that if Imran Khan is made Opposition Leader, it could culminate in the derailment of the democratic order; this means that PPP would be on losing side and as a result democracy would be in danger. The question is who would create such situation when PPP is at losing end. The other important example is the way through which the speaker’s views are incorporated with statements as given below to create subjective realities:

- ‘The PPP’s young leader declared Jihad against poverty’
- ‘People belonging to the PPP packed the Bagh-e-Jinnah spread over 35 acres of land and also the adjacent roads, including Shahrah-e-Quaideen and MA Jinnah Road’
- ‘Without naming the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) chairman Imran Khan and referring to him as among the puppets staging protest sit-ins in Islamabad’

The speaker himself said that he declared ‘Jihad’, while this reports presents that he ‘declared Jihad’. It means that the report is accepting the speaker’s perspective and not presenting that the speaker has said this. Similar issues can be identified in the other examples. The most striking example is the following one where the implied and presupposed message is quite clear:

‘He paid rich tributes to ZA Bhutto, saying that as Quaid-i-Azam had founded the country but could not establish democracy as his life had not provided him the opportunity, it was Bhutto who had realised the long-awaited dream of a democratic order in the country…’

The statement implies that ZA Bhutto was more democratic and contributed more to Pakistan than the Quaid-i-Azam. The implicature and presupposition are prominent in above mentioned examples, and as a whole this technique is used smartly in projecting the image of PPP and the speaker.
6.2.3 Coverage in *Dawn*

*Dawn* covers this speech of Bilawal Butto Zardari on the front page on October 19, 2014. It is the main headline of *Dawn* of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page, in which the speaker is shown along with the audience. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

6.2.3.1 Syntactic Structure

In the sphere of syntax, this report has used some expressions using modals in the whole text, and few of them seem to weaken the speaker’s stance. For example, ‘should’ in the middle paragraph is weakening the expression used by the speaker as the speaker was loud and clear at the following stance, but the expression is as follow:

‘……the centre should contribute to the provincial government’s fight against “all sorts of mafias” by coming up with a generous package.’

Moreover, this is an inferred statement from the speech; the speaker has not used this expression. There are few more expressions where ‘could’, ‘would’, and ‘should’ are used; however, they are not weakening the stance but softening and some where strengthening it, for example:

- ‘…. claiming that only Bhuttoism could save the nation.
- ‘…. People’s power should be used in the interest of the people.’

In the first example, ‘could’ is used to favor the speaker’s stance; in the second example, ‘should’ is used in passive sense to generate strength in it. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the strong impression. The other dimension of syntactic structure is nominalization, which, on the other hand, is negligible and this technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in the construction of sentences.

There are very few instances of passive voice in the report, and they do not seem to be important in creating the public opinion, though two are the same expressed by the speaker. All the sentences are as follows:
• ‘Decisions would be taken on their suggestion for reorganisation of the party’
• ‘…… People’s power should be used in the interest of the people’
• ‘The mission of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was taken up by Benazir Bhutto ……..’
• ‘….14 people were killed and an FIR was also registered against him ….’

The above quoted sentences are not about the main issues of the speech, and these expressions are not used to curtail anything delivered by the speaker. Except for the third example in the above, the agency is quite clear in the rest of the report.

6.2.3.2 Cohesion

Some clauses used in the news report by Dawn are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with the principal clause like: ‘Mr. Bhutto-Zardari said’, ‘he said’ etc. Many sentences are complex where the speaker is portrayed within the sentences as strong and powerful as an established tradition. There are many compound sentences giving a very strong impression of the content in them. At least two independent clauses are joined with conjunctions in one sentence; this pattern of sentences gives a special emphasis to the contents of clauses, for example:

• ‘Pakistan People’s Party Chairman Bilawal Bhutto-Zardari on Saturday outlined a bold and ambitious agenda for his party and vowed to foil “conspiracies hatched” to derail democracy.’
• ‘Mr Bhutto-Zardari’s speech lasted about 90 minutes and was punctuated by almost all well-known slogans of the PPP.’

There are many similar examples in the text and the use of compound sentences in such a number is a significant factor in this report. Moreover, some clauses having judgments are also placed as independent clauses for emphasis.

On the other hand, this report also uses significant number of single clause sentences where the declarative perspective is more prominent which provide a special strength to sentences, for example:

• ‘He underlined the need for free and fair elections in 2018’
• ‘In a vaguely worded warning, Mr Bhutto-Zardari cautioned unidentified forces against attempts to subvert the Sindh government.’
• ‘He did not mince his words while talking about the Muttahida Qaumi Movement.’

The declarative sentences with single clause are used to create force in the reality being constructed as is evident in the above mentioned example. As far as the explicit cohesion is concerned, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’, ‘PPP chairman’ and ‘PPP leader’. It is also worth mentioning that the proper first name of the speaker, Bilawal, is used only once in the report; the rest of the report mentions his name as ‘Mr. Bhutto-Zardari’. Logical connectors are not traced in the report; however, phrases in the beginning of paragraphs are used for this purpose as well as to focus the attention of the audience, for example:

• ‘Referring to Karachi’
• ‘Addressing the prime minister’
• ‘In a vaguely worded warning’
• ‘Referring to “the outcry against rigging” in last year’s election’

Moreover, ‘he’, ‘his’, ‘him’ as references are present, and they refer to the speaker, Imran Khan, Prime Minister and Quaid-e-Azam etc. Overall this report has not used many references in the report. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report. As far as the repetition of ideas is concerned, examples could not be traced in the report.

6.2.3.3 Lexical Features

Connotations have been used in very small number, and among them mostly are placed in the sentences to create subjective reality. The prominent impact is generated in the report through the words like, ‘mammoth rally’, ‘Bhuttoism’, ‘political orphans’, etc. The verbs in principal clauses are also important: ‘he said’, ‘he dwelt at length’, ‘he underlined’, ‘Mr Bhutto-Zardari cautioned’, ‘the PPP leader said’, ‘he did not minced his words’ along with ‘invited’, ‘derisive of’, ‘paying tributes’ etc. These expressions provide a proper position to the speaker, which
impacts on the perception of the readers. This report includes many connotative expressions which the speaker has used: ‘MQM of Lahore’, ‘Uncle Altaf’, ‘political orphans’, ‘puppets’ etc.

The speaker has used certain terms which are offending like ‘kuth putli Khan’ and ‘kuth putli’ etc. in Urdu, but the report has avoided those terms and presented euphemistic expressions to avoid negativity, for example:

- ‘he said some external and internal forces wanted to push the country into the kind of civil war ….’
- ‘The youthful leader was highly derisive of the Tehrik-i-Insaf, terming its sit-in a drama and alleging that it wanted to become the “MQM of Lahore”.’

A similar set of sentences can be identified where the report has used generalization as is found in the second example mentioned above. However, there is one expression in the report that shows criticism against PTI: ‘…… He touched on most issues confronting the country and inveighed against the ‘puppets’ staging dharnas in Islamabad.’ Even this example is a comment over what the speaker has said. However, this report has not shown such expertises of euphemistic expressions regarding MQM as few examples can be identified where this report has tried to show the message delivered in the speech. For example, the speaker has used the term ‘uncle’ sarcastically in the speech, and this expression is present in the report:

- ‘………even the Muttahida Qaumi Movement chief Uncle Altaf’
- “MQM of Lahore”
- ‘He did not mince his words while talking about the Muttahida Qaumi Movement. “The MQM has been in power in Karachi for the past 20 years and everyone knows what has gone on over the two decades.’

The term ‘did not mince his words’ shows bitterness though it can also be taken as euphemistic expression as it seems a generalization technique to convey the message, but here the selection seems bitter. This appears to be a political expression that should have been handled tactfully, but it has been given as it is. It is also worth mentioning that this technique is
employed only against PTI and not against any other party or leader despite the fact that the speaker has used sarcastic remarks against MQM and the present government.

As a whole, this report seems to have used euphemistic expressions; when it is not used, the whole information is missing. For example, the speaker mentions significantly about some ‘script writers’ and ‘script’ in the speech but they are not mentioned in the report. Therefore, it is evident that euphemistic expressions are used in the report, and at some places the whole information or argument is avoided in the report.

The report under analysis has avoided the metaphoric impression provided in the speech. For example, the speaker has used so many popular slogans of PPP but this report mentions all those in the following way: ‘Mr Bhutto-Zardari’s speech lasted about 90 minutes and was punctuated by almost all well-known slogans of the PPP.’

6.2.3.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is established by generalizing the whole speech in two points. Firstly, the speaker ‘outlined a bold and ambitious agenda’ and secondly, he ‘vowed to foil “conspiracies hatched” to derail democracy.’ This statement has tried to summarize the whole speech of one and half hour. Therefore, the beginning is a direct reporting of the speech or Jalsa and it does not include the basic information about the location, day, time and gathering of supporters in first and second paragraph. The beginning starts as:

‘Pakistan People’s Party Chairman Bilawal Bhutto-Zardari on Saturday outlined a bold and ambitious agenda for his party and vowed to foil “conspiracies hatched” to derail democracy.’

This beginning of the reporting of the speech starts with a compound sentence which is not the usual style of staring of a report. Moreover, the ‘bold and ambitious agenda for his party’ is not shown in the report nor does the speaker uses any such expression in the speech. This style of writing continues throughout the report where opinion is made over the statements, for example:
‘Mr Bhutto-Zardari’s speech lasted about 90 minutes and was punctuated by almost all well-known slogans of the PPP.’

‘He underlined the need for free and fair elections in 2018 and transparency in governance.’

‘In a vaguely worded warning, Mr Bhutto-Zardari cautioned unidentified forces against attempts to subvert the Sindh government.’

In this way this report seems to create a specific perception of the event. The report is organized by stressing on Bhuttoism, but many other issues are just mentioned, for example:

‘He touched on most issues confronting the country and inveighed against the ‘puppets’ staging dharnas in Islamabad, the Nawaz government, perceived involvement of the Shahbaz government in the Model Town killings, the judiciary and even the Muttahida Qaumi Movement chief ‘Uncle Altaf’.

In the above mentioned example, this report has created a space for stressing more on the issues of Karachi, the issues related with MQM including statement like: ‘The PPP chief invited the prime minister and the Muttahida to “work with me to serve the people”, and the sacrifices of PPP and the passion of Bhuttoism. This report ends with the mentioning of the speaker’s comments against government of PML (N) and their manner of dealing with the problems faced by Pakistan:

‘He said Nawaz Sharif is the prime minister of Pakistan but he had spent all resources to check sit-ins. He said the sit-ins were also staged against the PPP government but we rolled back our government in Balochistan after the sit-ins by Hazara community while in the government of Chief Minister of Punjab Shahbaz Sharif 14 people were killed ad an FIR was also registered against him but he is product of Ziaul Haq.’

It is worth mentioning that this report has not used such arguments against PTI, though the criticism is there but a mild one, delivered by the speaker.
This report has used very few direct quotes that too are against political parties and most of the arguments are inferred sense from the speaker’s arguments.

‘However, at some places this report has used the expressions like, ‘in a vaguely worded warning, he did not mince his words, Referring to “the outcry against rigging” in last year’s elections’ etc. It means that priorities are set according to the set priorities.’

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the issues of ‘against MQM, the government and ‘Buttoism’. This intensification is produced with the help of language, repetition and preferred setting of the organization of the whole text. This report seems to have mitigated the issues related to ‘script’, and PTI. Moreover, some arguments are not presented in the report, for example, rigging against PPP, PPP’s projects, high electricity prices, the Salman Taseer and Shahbaz Bhatti killings and the conviction of Aasia Bibi etc. in this report.

### 6.2.3.5 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:

‘Bilawal spells out bold agenda for PPP’

There are some issues that are prominent in this headline. It is understandable fact that the speaker has consumed one and half hour to deliver this speech, and it seems quite difficult to give heading to such speeches when the speaker has touched a number of issues. This headline seems to give impression that the speaker has delivered has launched some campaign, but it is not a fact. The word ‘agenda’ seems an inappropriate selection of word, and this word is intensified with the adjective, ‘bold’. Overall this is a generalized statement without negative or positive connotation. The selection of this statement as headline does seem a try to be neutral.

There are some direct quotations in the report, and the choice of these quotes is meaningful in the sense that they are highlighting the concerned issues:

- “If all of us join hands, we can make it a cradle of peace and a great city.”
“we unite to banish terrorism, dictatorship and poverty”

“The MQM has been in power in Karachi for the past 20 years and everyone knows what has gone on over the two decades.

“But we will not give up Karachi. Let us join hands to build our city and turn it into a cradle of peace.”

“PTI should realise that it is enjoying freedom only because of Bhuttoism. Had there still been dictatorship in the country, your fate would have been no different from Akbar Bugti.”

“work with me to serve the people. Pakistan can make progress if all come together”

“We have not forgotten episodes like imprisonment of Asif Zardari and the memogate scandal, but are only supporting the government for the sake of democracy.”

The choice of topics in quotes is significant as they are about MQM, about Karachi, for better future and a commitment to democracy. It is interesting that these issues are prominent in the report.

Moreover, there are many quoted phrases and terms used in the report to add weight to the arguments. Most of them have connotative implications, for example: ‘MQM of Lahore’, ‘Uncle Altaf’, ‘the outcry against rigging’, ‘Karachi “will win its freedom”’, ‘chain that holds federation together’ etc. These terms are uttered by the speaker and this report seems to use them to build credibility to create a specific point of view. Therefore, the choice of selecting these quotes shows particular aspects of the speech and promotion of speaker’s intentions. It is easy to understand how the contents of the speech are being used in this report.

6.2.3.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard the following examples should be enough to understand how this report is aimed at promoting a certain point of view. At first place the report talks about ‘bold and ambitious agenda’ for PPP, but throughout the report no such plan is uncovered. It may be inferred that whatever the speaker has said in an emotional
tone would be an ‘ambitious’ thing. The other type of presupposition and implicature can be found in the statements where implied warning is provided in the following example: ‘In a vaguely worded warning, Mr Bhutto-Zardari cautioned unidentified forces against attempts to subvert the Sindh government.’

It is assumed that the warning, if there is any, is ‘vaguely worded’, but the important thing is what are vague words. If the words are ‘vague’, how the contents could be conveyed when the factor is ‘unidentified’. More importantly, how someone can ‘caution’ something ‘unidentified’, and if something is ‘unidentified’, how can it be assessed that it is working against someone. These questions are marginalized through presupposition and implicature in this sentence. As a matter of fact, the former president Pervez Musharraf had started his political activities in the Sindh Province. This whole statement is referring to that phenomenon, which is not an ‘unidentified’ force at all.

The other important example is presented in the middle of the report when the speaker’s views about MQM are presented. The expression used is as follows: ‘He did not mince his words while talking about the Muttahida Qaumi Movement.’ In other words, it was only the speaker who did not mince his words, and the rest of the political class mince their words while talking about MQM. It can also be inferred that who else would talk about MQM is bound to ‘mince his words’. This type of expression contributes to certain perceptions already prevailed.

To sum up similar types of examples, mentioned above, can be traced in the report where presupposition and implicature are working to contribute favor some point of views.

6.2.4 Coverage in The Express Tribune

The Express Tribune covers this speech of Bilawal Butto Zardari on the front page on October 19, 2014. It is the main headline of The Express Tribune of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page, in which the speaker is shown along with the audience. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.
6.2.4.1 Syntactic Structure

With regard to the syntactical structure, this report does not seem to have used modals to weaken any expression delivered by the speaker in the whole text. However, there are two instances of the use of ‘would’, one of ‘should’, and one ‘ought’: one use of ‘would’ and ‘should’ use used in direct quote and the other use of ‘would’ and ‘ought’ are used in the indirect reporting of the speaker’s argument. The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, quite similar with the above, is negligible. This technique is not employed in the manner to slow down the process of action in the construction of sentences.

Moreover, very few instances, only three, of passive voice are traced in the report, and they do not seem to be important in shaping different viewpoint, though one is in direct quote expressed by the speaker. All the sentences are as follows:

- ‘The party would be re-organized ….’
- ‘…… there was a script being enacted….’
- ‘A new script has been written after the murder of Osama Bin Ladin …..’

It is worth mentioning that ‘script’ is described in passive expressions. Except these examples, the agency is quite clear in the rest of the report.

6.2.4.2 Cohesion

Some clauses used in The Express Tribune news report are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with the principal clause starting with ‘the scion of the Bhutto family said’, ‘he said’, ‘Bilawal said’, ‘the ‘Oxford graduate said’, ‘the PPP chairperson said’, ‘’ etc. Many sentences are complex where the speaker has been portrayed within the sentences as strong, educated and powerful.

However, compound sentences could not be traced in the report; it means that most of the clauses mentioned in the report carrying information are subordinate clauses. Moreover, the clauses carrying judgments are placed as independent clauses to give a special emphasis, for example: ‘his statement prompted some emphatic PPP supporters to chant “Go Imran Go”,'
alongside “Go Nawaz Go”.’ On the other hand this report does not seem to use simple sentences where the declarative perspective is more prominent which provide a special strength to sentences.

The analysis of the explicit cohesion tells that the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’, ‘PPP chairman’ and ‘PPP leader’, ‘the ‘Oxford graduate’, ‘the scion of the Bhutto family’, ‘the PPP chairperson’. Logical connectors are not traced in the report; however, phrases in the beginning of paragraphs, in the form of present participle, are used for this purpose as well as to focus the attention of the audience. It is also notable fact that these types of sentences are in abundance in the report, for example:

- ‘Kicking off his political career’
- ‘Maintaining that his grandfather and PPP’s founder, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, laid sown the foundations of true democracy in Pakistan……’
- ‘Recalling the attack on his mother…..’
- ‘Accusing MQM if leaving Karachi in ruin…..’
- ‘Responding to chants by supporters….’.
- ‘Regarding the issues of Kashmir…….’

The report uses direct quotes as clauses to create more credibility in the arguments; for example: ‘Bilawal said, “The PTI wants to establish its writ in Lahore the same way MQM has established its writ in Karachi”.’ Moreover, ‘he’, ‘his’, ‘him’ as references are present, and they refer to the speaker, Imran Khan, and Prime Minister etc. Overall this report has not used many references in the report. As far as the repetition of ideas is concerned, examples could not be traced in the report.

6.2.4.3 Lexical Features

The important words seem to create a subjective perception in the report. The prominent impact is generated in the report through the particular vocabulary like, ‘massive rally’, ‘puppet opposition leader’, ‘Bhuttoism’, ‘Ziaism’, ‘kicking off his political career’, ‘dictatorship’, ‘Oxford graduate’ etc. The verbs in principal clauses are also important: ‘ he said’, ‘he added’,
‘Bilawal urged’, ‘The PPP leader also hit out at MQM, saying’, ‘Bilawal criticized’ etc. These verbs provide a proper position to the speaker, which impacts on the perception of the readers.

This report includes many connotative expressions used by the speaker. However, this report also includes expressions regarding the passion of the audience, for example: ‘His statements promoted some emphatic PPP supporters to chant ‘Go Imran Go alongside ‘Go Nawaz Go”

The speaker has used certain offensive expressions but this news report has avoided such expressions. Moreover, the speaker has criticized PTI more than any other party but the reflection shown in the report seems to focus more on MQM. However, this report does not include such sarcastic language as the speaker has used against this party. Besides, the criticism on government is less than that of MQM; however, that is placed the earlier part of the report. Moreover, the words are selected carefully regarding the mentioned issues. Sensitized expressions used by the speaker are avoided; therefore, the euphemistic expressions are not needed to be employed.

As a whole, this report does not seem to have used euphemistic expressions; instead, it prefers to omit the information. There are few examples: the speaker mentions ‘Model Town tragedy’, ‘failure of foreign policy’ wastage of money on ‘Metro bus’ etc. in the speech, but so many other expressions used against the government, political parties and ‘script writers’ are not presented in the report. Therefore, it is evident that offensive information or the argument is avoided in the report.

The report under analysis has not missed the metaphoric impression provided in the speech, for example: ‘Bhuttoism’, ‘Ziaism’, ‘dictatorship’. However, some expressions like ‘Oxford graduate’, ‘the scion of Bhutto family’ etc are added in the report in favor of the speaker.

6.2.4.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is established by taking up the stance of the ‘Bhuttoism’. This report summarizes the whole speech in the beginning. It provides a clue of how this report
is taking the whole content of the speech through establishing power and authority of the speaker. Moreover, it does include the basic information about the location, day, time and gathering of the supporters in the paragraph:

‘Kicking off his political career with a massive rally at the mausoleum of the Quaid-e-Azam on Saturday, the chairman of the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP), Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, hit out at all political rivals calling them to give up ‘Ziaism’ and embrace ‘Bhuttoism’.’

This beginning of the reporting of the speech has provided a very strong position to the speaker; it includes metaphoric positioning of ‘Ziaism’ and ‘Bhuttoism’ through which a political ideology of PPP is established. The report ends with the mentioning of Co-chairman and father of Bilawal, Asif Ali Zardari, and the other leadership, as speakers on the event. The inclusion of Asif Ali Zardari in the list of speakers without giving a separate space even in a single sentence is meaningful:

‘PPP Co-chairman Asif Ali Zardari, former premiers Yousaf Raza Gilani and Raja Pervaiz Ashraf and senior party leaders Aitzaz Ahsan, Fahmida Mirza and Makhdoom Amin Fahim also spoke at the rally.’

The report is organized by stating some arguments about ‘Bhuttoism’ and ‘Ziaism’ a well established ideological positioning of PPP; this also shows the entire history of PPP which is normally presented to gain political advantage. A substantial amount of space is given to this argument where the present government is placed on the other side of ‘Ziaism’; afterwards this report provides a space to the tragedy of October 18, 2007 delivered by the speaker. This report presents the speaker’s arguments in such a way that it shows clear a division of democratic forces, PPP as democratic and the rest of the political parties, though implicitly, as anti-democratic forces.

The other part of the report focuses on the speaker’s views about other political parties in which criticism on PTI is very less as compared to the criticism on MQM. In the last portion of
the speech the report discusses in a mild criticism on the ‘script’ in a small paragraph followed by a sentence over Kashmir issue. The last argument of the speaker reported in this report is against judiciary.

This report uses many direct quotes to support arguments. However, at some places this report has included generalized comments over the speech which seems to contribute to the speaker’s image, for example:

“I’m ready to face the consequences….i would prefer to die, but I cannot give up my mother’s mission”, Bilawal said from atop his bombproof container, the same one that had saved his mother’s life seven years ago on the same day.’

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the issues of ‘Buttoism’ and criticism against political parties including ‘MQM’. This intensification is produced with the help of language, repetition and preferred setting of the organization of the whole text. This report seems to have mitigated the issues related to ‘script’. Moreover, some arguments are not presented in the report, for example, rigging against PPP, PPP’s projects, high electricity prices etc.

6.2.4.5  **Macro Structure**

The headline of this report is:

‘Show of power in Karachi
Bilawal asks Nawaz to embrace ‘Bhuttoism’’

This headline does talk about the main content of the speech, but this is directed towards a narrow and specific direction. In other words, ‘Bhuttoism’ is the main content not limited only to ‘Nawaz’ but to all. In fact, the speech focuses the different dimensions of ‘Bhuttoism’. The speaker has consumed one and half hour to deliver this speech, and touched upon a number of issues. This headline seems to give very limited dimension of the speech and it also gives the impression that the speaker has delivered all the speech against ‘Nawaz’. On the other hand, this
speech, politically, was in favor of Nawaz government as PPP did not support PTI during sit-in protest. Therefore, this headline creates subjective reality to favor peculiar perception of reality.

Moreover, the headline seems a subtle statement as ‘Nawaz’ gained success as a politician on the basis of anti-Bhutto sentiments, and now he is the prime minister for the third time. At this moment, this report makes headline as: ‘Bilawal asks Nawaz to embrace ‘Bhuttoism’.’ It seems very strange. Moreover, this headline does not seem to be the main focus of the report.

Contrary to the headline, hand the lead shows the following issues: ‘Calls Imran a ‘puppet opposition leader’ propped against a ‘puppet govt’.’ As far as the lead of this report is concerned, it seems to have raised some other issue. This lead talks about some ‘script’ in speaker’s words. This lead seems to be the only euphemistic expression of this report. It talks about the content of the alleged ‘script’ without naming this as the speaker has used the term ‘script’ with force. This gives a sense that some ‘conspiracy’ is going on against PPP.

There are so many direct quotations present in the report, and the choice of the quotes is significant in the sense that they are highlighting the concerned issues. This report has used quotes as arguments and at some places as evidence in favor of the arguments. Some are as follows:

- “the problem with PML-N government is that the spirit of Ziaul Haq still dominates its policies.”
- “I urge Nawaz Sharif to embrace Bhuttoism and practice good governance in order to strengthen democracy and save the country.”
- “I’m ready to face the consequences…. I would prefer to die, but I cannot give up my mother’s mission.”
- The PTI wants to establish its writ in Lahore the same way Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) has established its writ in Karachi.”
- “I am a rebel, I am a Bhutto”
These are some of the many quotes used in this report. They play a key role in shaping up the contents of the report. Therefore, the selection of these quotes shows particular aspects of the speech and promotes speaker’s intentions.

6.2.4.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments and/or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard only two small paragraphs are identified as the rest is the direct and indirect reporting of speech. They can give the idea how this report is working on some public opinions to be developed. The first paragraph of this report has both the issues:

Kicking off his political career with a massive rally at the mausoleum of the Quaid-e-Azam on Saturday, the chairman of the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP), Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, hit out at all political rivals calling them to give up ‘Ziaism’ and embrace ‘Bhuttoism’.

As a matter of fact, the speaker is not starting his political career as he is chairman of the party since long and he has been delivering speeches on important events; this is not his first ‘debut’ speech as is claimed in the report. Moreover, ‘all political rivals’ seems to be an unclear phrase; if it means all political parties that contest against PPP, some parties like ANP struggled against ‘Ziaism’, and like PTI, some emerged after ‘Zia’s regime’. Moreover, the statement Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, hit out at all political rivals calling them to give up ‘Ziaism’ and embrace ‘Bhuttoism’ presupposes that all those who are political rivals have embraced ‘Ziaism’.

The other type of presupposition and implicature can be found in the following: ‘Recalling the attack on his mother Benazir Bhutto’s homecoming caravan at Karsaz on October 18, 2007, the Oxford graduate said…….’ It is strange that the term ‘Oxford graduate’ is not used for the speaker throughout the report when he talks about social and political issues, but when he recalls the event of ‘the attack on his mother’, the term Oxford graduate instead of
some other normal expressions is used in the report. Moreover, this term seems to be used here for a specific purpose as it boasts the impression of the speaker. In short, presupposition and implicatures are not used much in this report to create specific perceptions.

6.2.5 Summary

Discusivity is quite significant from the headlines of the reports and it is an interesting fact that the headlines present different techniques through the use of different content. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to their own political slant. The headlines are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The News</th>
<th>Scriptwriters want puppet PM, opposition leader: Bilawal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dawn</td>
<td>Bilawal spells out bold agenda for PPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune</td>
<td>Show of power in Karachi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bilawal asks Nawaz to embrace ‘Bhuttoism’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though the speech is of around one and half hour, the speech coverage in the form of report in The News is of almost 1300 words; the report in Dawn is about 960 words; and the report in The Express Tribune is of almost 1100 words. It means that the report in Dawn is around 340 words shorter than that of The News and 140 words than that of The Express Tribune; moreover, The News are 200 lengthy than that of The Express Tribune. Moreover, all the reports include a picture with caption: The News shows the image of the speaker; Dawn shows the image of both the speaker and the audience; whereas, The Express Tribune shows the image of a large number of audience and not the speaker.

As far as the discursivity regarding syntactical structures is concerned, evidences are traced that The News and Dawn have used modals to weak the expressions whereas these traces are not found in the report of The Express Tribune. However, all the three reports do not seem to be involved in using nominalization as technique for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned. Moreover, The News has used passive voice in important sentences of the report,
but *The Express Tribune* and *Dawn* have not used in the critical sentences or at least passive sentences are the same delivered by the speaker.

However, in the use of vocabulary, *The News* has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items regarding connotation are significant, for example: ‘massive public’, ‘puppet Khan’, ‘Bhuttoism’, ‘political orphans’, ‘umpire’ etc. Whereas in *Dawn* lexical items regarding connotations are not different from *The News*: ‘mammoth rally’, ‘Bhuttoism’, ‘political orphans’ etc; *The Express Tribune* has used a significant number of connotations to convey the overall tone of the speaker, for example: ‘massive rally’, ‘puppet opposition leader’, ‘Bhuttoism’, ‘Ziaism’, ‘kicking off his political career’, ‘dictatorship’, ‘Oxford graduate’ etc.

With regards to repetition of ideas and terminologies, *The News* seems to provide stronger impression in the report. The most repeated terms in the speaker’s statements are about the ‘Script’, ‘script writer’ etc., and comments against Imran Khan are repeatedly presented in the report; whereas both the other reports could not be found involved in using this technique.

In addition to it, euphemistic expressions are identified in the report of *The News* and at some places when this euphemism seems appropriate, it is avoided in reporting things regarding PTI leader, Imran Khan; whereas *Dawn* uses euphemism to tone down the speaker’s harsh language against Imran Khan; moreover, *The Express Tribune* has not used it. Mostly, the reports have avoided in including the information instead of using euphemistic expressions. *The Express Tribune* seems to have more evidences of metaphors as compared to the other two.

With regards the beginning in the reports, *Dawn* and *The News* provide a direct reporting of the speech or *Jalsa*. The report in *The Express Tribune* starts with an indirect reporting of the speech or *Jalsa* and it does include the basic information about the location, day, time and gathering of supporters in the paragraph. All the three reports seem to construct a strong political impression of the speaker.

*The News* seems to have highlighted the issues regarding ‘puppets’, ‘script’, and ‘Buttoism’ in the report. *Dawn* seems to have highlighted the issues against MQM, the government and ‘Buttoism’ in the report. *The Express Tribune* seems to have highlighted the
issues of ‘Buttoism’ and criticism against political parties including ‘MQM’. The report in *The News* has used very few direct quotes, and most of the arguments are inferred sense from the speaker’s arguments; *Dawn* uses many quoted phrases and terms used in the report to give weight to the speaker’s arguments. Most of them have connotative implications. *The Express Tribune* uses many direct quotations in the report, and the choice of the quotes is meaningful in the sense that they are highlighting the concerned issues. As regards to presupposition and implicature, all the reports seem to have used the strategies to build the popular, powerful and mature image of the speaker.

6.3 **Asif Ali Zardari (27 December, 2014)**

**6.3.1 Context**

This speech was delivered by the Co-chairman of Pakistan People’s Party (PPP), at Ghari khuda Bakhsh, Larkana, Sindh, on December 27, 2014 at a *Jalsa* organized on the occasion of the seventh death anniversary of Benazir Bhutto.

Mr. Asif Ali Zardari took charge of the political party after the death of his wife, Benazir Bhutto. The death of Benazir Bhutto is thought to be as one of the most tragic political events of Pakistan. Therefore, the party (PPP) organizes this event as a show of its political power. This political show, in which Asif Ali Zardari’s speech was the most critical thing beside many other speeches, is in fact, a demonstration of political power through which the political leader wants to achieve his political goals. This speech is delivered at the time when PPP is in power in Sindh Province. The tragedy of Army Public School Peshawar, in which around 150 children lost their lives, had occurred only a few days before. The government is seeking support for the constitutional amendment for the formation of ‘Military Courts’ for the trial of terrorists. This speech is delivered in this context.

This speech also focuses on the political activities, in Sindh, of the ex-army chief and former President of Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf. It is also pertinent to mention that Asif Ali Zardari compelled General Pervez Musharraf to resign as a President of Pakistan and, later, he himself took oath as the President of Pakistan.
The original reports of all the three newspapers are provided in appendix IX. The analysis is as follows.

6.3.2 Coverage in The News

The News covered this speech of Asif Ali Zardari on the front page on December 28, 2014. It was the main headline of The News of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page in which the speaker along with the view of the audience is presented. The image through reality construction is conveyed to the public through the perspective with which it reported the whole event.

6.3.2.1 Syntactic Structure

With regard to the syntactical structure, this report has used a few expressions using modals in the whole text, but they do not seem to weak any expression used by the speaker. There are certain instances of the use of ‘would’, but there is one expression in which ‘must’ is used to intensify a very critical issue of the speech. Interestingly, this expression was not used by the speaker: ‘Zardari said that the people must be told whether or not he is the milatary’s representative.’ In other words, the syntactic choices of the report contribute towards the strong impression.

The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, on the other hand, is negligible and this technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in the construction of sentences. However, some instances of passive voice are traced in the report, and they are important in creating the perception, though few are the same expressed by the speaker, for example:

- ‘…… it was realised after monitoring and assessment…..’
- ‘……they are not used against any democratic party, scholar or journalist.’

The above quoted examples show that the agency is not made clear; who had realized is meaningful in the first example. In the other example, who is going to use against any
democratic party, scholar or journalist is also a meaningful issue as both hint to the army establishment. In short, syntactic devices are used for discursivity in this report.

6.3.2.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in The News coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they start with ‘The former president said’, ‘Zardari said’, ‘he vowed’, ‘he said’, etc. Most of the sentences are complex where the speaker is portrayed within the sentences as strong and powerful.

There is only one simple sentence giving a very strong impression of the content in it. It builds a very strong impression of the speaker: ‘Zardari vowed to continue his struggle for the protection of future generations.’ This is a significant example in the report. The rest of all the issues are placed in complex sentences as it is the established norm of the news reports.

Regarding the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’ and ‘former president’. Some logical connectors are also traced in the report, for example ‘further’ is used in presenting the change of the arguments in the report, and ‘earlier’ is used to refer the earlier happing of the Jalsa. Moreover, ‘he’, ‘his’, ‘him’ are mostly used for the speaker, and at one place ‘they’ is used for the ‘military courts’. Overall this report has not used many references in the report. In case with the repetition of ideas, the speaker’s statement about the misuse of military courts is repeatedly presented in the report.

6.3.2.3 Lexical Features

Connotations have been placed in the prominent place in the sentences in most of the report. The vocabulary used in the report has similar connection or seems to be a similar set of words, for example: ‘called tomcat’, ‘slain PPP chairperson’, ‘oppression’, ‘critisizing’, ‘dictator’ etc. This report does not include many connotative expressions. The report presents many expressions used by the speaker. However, this report does not include any expression regarding the participation of the audience as well as the strength of Jalsa.
The speaker has used certain offensive terms like ‘tomcat’ etc, but the report has not used euphemistic techniques, except a few examples, to minimize any offending thing regarding the former President Pervaiz Musharraf, for example:

• ‘If army wants ‘tomcat’ to do politics, it should announce he is their representative’
• ‘Criticising former president Musharraf, he called him a ‘tomcat’ (Billa)………’

This is a political expression which should have been handled tactfully, but it has been reports as it is. It is only on one place that expression, tomcat is replaced with ‘dictator’: ‘Zardari said that had the dictator paid heed to the deaths of children on Benazir’s arrival in Karachi, the Peshawar tragedy could have been averted’. The speaker has mentioned ‘generals and politicians with narrow vision’ in the speech, but it is reported as ‘those with narrow vision’ in this report.

As a whole, with the above mentioned examples, this report seems to have used euphemistic expressions; when it is not used, the whole information is missing. For example, the speaker fears that this law of military court may not become ‘kala qanoon’, black law, but this expression of ‘kala qanoon’ is not used in the report. Therefore, it is evident that euphemistic expressions are not used, instead the whole information or the argument has been avoided in the report. The report under analysis has not missed the metaphoric impression provided in the speech.

6.3.2.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is established by stressing on ‘the misuse of the proposed military court’, and it provides a clue on how this report is taking the whole stance of the speaker though this was also main issue of the speech. As far as the beginning is concerned, it is a direct reporting of the speech or Jalsa and it does not start with the main portion or announcement of the speech:

‘Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) Co-Chairman and ex-president Asif Ali Zardari said the PPP would not allow the misuse of the proposed
military courts. A failure in this regard could put him, as well as Nawaz Sharif, behind bars.’

This beginning of the reporting of the speech starts with a statement which is not the actual expression of the speaker as the word *allow* shows the authority and power of the speaker and the party. This expression is contributing more towards the powerful expression created by this report. The same argument is repeated in the next paragraph which is the actual expression of the speaker: ‘……… Zardari said that his party supported military courts only if they are not used against any democratic party, scholar or journalist.’ It is, therefore, evident that this report is maneuvering the contents of the speech. The report ends with the comments of the Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly Syed Khursheed Ahmed Shah, which are the justifications of military courts and the Peshawar tragedy. The whole paragraph is:

‘Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly Syed Khursheed Ahmed Shah claimed that the killers of Benazir Bhutto would be tried in military courts. He said that the decision of forming military courts was taken with a heavy heart. Shah said that the attack on Peshawar’s Army Public School had united the entire nation. He said that the country was still crying for the children that were killed in the heinous attack.’

Therefore, this report has ended the entire coverage with the focus on military courts. The report is organized by stating some arguments about ‘military courts’, but the next issue is reported in one sentence followed by a quote which does not have any concern with the stated issue. The issue is ‘rumours about differences between him and Bilawal…’, but the quote is: “Party workers firmly believe in the vision of Bhutto,” he said. Therefore, it seems a deliberate effort to place such quote to cover up the argument. Then, this report has added speaker’s views about ‘tomcat’, then tyranny of Zia era, then difference between ‘Jihad’ in Kashmir and Afghanistan, then the ideology of ‘Ghari Khuda Bakhsh’, and at the end the views of other speakers. It seems that this report is organized with some statements which construct the image of the speaker, for example:
‘Zardari vowed to continue his struggle for the protection of future generations.’

“We will wage a war for the cause of protecting the country’s rights in the current law and order situation emerging against the backdrop of the deadly Taliban attack on an army-run school in Peshawar.”

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the issues of the use of military courts, Bilawal-Zardari relations and the loyalty of Makhdoom Amin Fahim. This intensification is produced with the help of language, repetition and preferred setting of the organization. This report does not seem to have mitigated any issue; however, some arguments are not presented in the report, for example, good Taliban and bad Taliban in this report.

6.3.2.5  **Macro Structure**

The headline of this report is:

‘PPP won’t allow misuse of military courts: Zardari’

The headline does talk about the most important announcement of the speech, but this is an inferred statement and not the expression of the speaker, as mentioned earlier. Moreover, PPP, in this report, is portrayed as a party that has the authority to ‘allow’ or ‘not allow’ the functioning of military courts. Technically, PPP has no such authority or power to claim this functioning institutionally or politically and the speaker has not uttered this expression. In other words, the expression used in the headline comprises just words and does not mean anything as the statement of The Opposition Leader, an important PPP leader, is negating this claim in the same report: ‘Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly Syed Khursheed Ahmed Shah………… said that the decision of forming military courts was taken with a heavy heart.’ It means that the decision is made and the headline is fake, which is used as a tool of political gains.

The lead of this report seems almost a summary of the speech touching almost every important point of the speech. The lead is as under:
‘Says he and Nawaz could be put behind bars if courts are misused; if army wants ‘tomcat’ to do politics, it should announce he is their representative; Benazir had said long ago that the Kashmir, Afghan Jihad must be separated’

There are three direct quotations in the report, and the choice of the quotes is meaningful as the speaker has delivered this speech in around 07 minutes. These quotations are as follows:

- “Party workers firmly believe in the vision of Bhutto,” he said
- “We will wage a war for the cause of protecting the country’s rights in the current law and order situation emerging against the backdrop of the deadly Taliban attack on an army-run school in Peshawar.”
- “We are nothing without the Garhi Khuda Bakhsh vision, wisdom and ideology.”

The speaker has used these expressions, but the choice of quotes shows a particular aspect of the speech and the promotions of speaker’s intentions.

6.3.2.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard the following examples would be enough to get the idea how this report is working on some public opinions to be developed. At first place the ‘……the PPP would not allow the misuse of the proposed military courts.’ is reported by presupposing that the PPP can ‘allow’ this issue regarding military courts.

The other important example is the way through which the speaker’s views are reported by keeping in mind that the speakers, political leaders, employ tactics for subjective realities. The following example is typical of the report: ‘Zardari vowed to continue his struggle for the protection of future generations’. This statement has established through implicature that the speaker is doing some struggle for the future generations, and that this struggle would continue. The expression *vows* is also significant in this regard.
The implicature and presupposition are prominent in the above mentioned examples. This report has a substantional portion of the reporting of the view of other speakers. They are not analyzed in this portion of presupposition and implicature. As a whole this technique is used tactfully in projecting the positive image of PPP and the speaker.

6.3.3 Coverage in Dawn

*Dawn* covers this speech of Asif Ali Zardari on the front page on December 28, 2014. It is the main headline of *Dawn* of that day. It has also included a picture with caption on the same page in which the view of the audience and Bhutto family’s mausoleum is presented.

6.3.3.1 Syntactic Structure

With regard to the syntactical structure, this report has used some of the modals in the text, and they seem to have softened the expressions used by the speaker. There are certain instances of the use of ‘would’, ‘should’ and ‘could’, but one of these expressions is also used in the quoted speech:

- ‘….these would not be used against politicians’
- ‘The courts should not be used’
- ‘……he should come out in the open’
- ‘……I should lead the party’

It is evident from the above mentioned examples that the significant use of modals soften the speaker’s expressions. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the positive impression mitigating the offensive elements in the speech. The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, on the other hand, is negligible. This technique is not employed, in the manner to slow down the process of action in the construction of sentences. Moreover, there are only two instances of passive voice traced in the report, and both are used while mentioning the misuse of military courts, though the agents remained unclear in the actual speech, for example:

- ‘The courts should not be used to put Asif Zardari and Mian Nawaz Sharif behind bars…’
• ‘…… military courts …..would not be used against politicians and other civilians’

Both examples show that the agency is not made clear; who *would use military courts* is not made clear, and it is also a meaningful issue as the answer to the question at hand is clear, i.e. the army establishment. In short, syntactic devices are used for discursivity in this report.

6.3.3.2 **Cohesion**

Many clauses used in *Dawn* coverage are a sort of elaboration in the sense that principal clauses start with ‘The former president said’, ‘Mr. Zardari said’, ‘he said’, ‘he accused’, ‘he warned’ etc. Most of the sentences are complex which portray the speaker strong and powerful. However, in some sentences, subordinate clauses are placed earlier than the main clause. In this way the issue is more highlighted in the subordinate clauses, for example:

‘The People’s Party will give its assent to any law on military courts only after getting an assurance that these would not be used against politicians and other civilians, former president Asif Zardari said on Saturday.’

There are only two sentences which are simple, and they are direct quotes regarding the misuse of military courts and the philosophy of Gahi Lhuda Bakhsh. The rest of the issues are placed in complex sentences as it is the established norm of the news reports. As far as the explicit cohesion is concerned, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’ and ‘former president’. No logical connector is traced in the report; instead the cohesion is maintained through a participial phrase placed in the beginning of the sentence, for example:

- ‘Speaking at a gathering’
- ‘Without naming’
- ‘Alluding to reported differences’

Moreover, ‘he’, ‘his’, ‘him’ are mostly used for the speaker, but there are many references pointing others: ‘these’ is used for the ‘military courts’; ‘it’ is used for ‘military’;
‘they’ is used for ‘opponents’; ‘he’, ‘his’, and ‘him’ are used for Pervez Musharraf. Overall this report has used many references in the report. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report. With reference to the repetition of ideas, the speaker’s statement about the misuse of military courts is repeated in the report.

6.3.3.3 Lexical Features

Connotations are in limited number in the report. Such vocabulary used in the report has a specific function by using specific set of words, for example: ‘hound’, ‘warned’, ‘critical’. This report does not include many connotative expressions. However, this report does not include any expression regarding the participation of the audience as well as the strength of Jalsa.

The speaker has used certain offensive terms like ‘tomcat’ etc, but the report has not reported them and used euphemistic techniques to minimize the offending effect regarding the former President Pervaiz Musharaf. This report has used the expressions like:

- ‘Without naming retired General Pervez Musharraf…..’
- ‘He was very critical of Pervez Musharraf’s political activities…..’

Instead of reporting what the speaker has said about Pervez Musharraf, this report has given a general comment over it. The speaker has mentioned ‘generals and politicians with narrow vision’ in the speech, but they are not exactly quoted in this report.

The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same used in the speech, and the report under analysis has not missed the metaphoric impression provided in the speech. Besides, this report has not used such expressions in which metaphors could be traced out.

6.3.3.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is established by stressing on ‘proper use of military court’, and it provides a clue on how this report is taking the whole stance of the speaker though this was also main issue of the speech. As far as the beginning is concerned, it is a
direct reporting of the speech or Jalsa and it is the same expression delivered by the speaker in the speech:

‘The People’s Party will give its assent to any law on military courts only after getting an assurance that these would not be used against politicians and other civilians, former president former president Asif Zardari said on Saturday.’

This beginning of the reporting of the speech starts with a statement followed by a similar statement in the next paragraph. This seems to give more stress on the issue the speaker is concerned with:

‘Speaking at a gathering in Garhi Khuda Bakhsh Bhutto on the seventh death anniversary of Benazir, he warned against turning the proposed courts into an instrument to hound politicians.’

Furthermore, this statement is followed by a quote of the speaker on the same issue of military courts. Therefore, it is evident that this report highlights this portion of the speech. The report ends with the speaker’s conviction about Garhi Khuda Bakhsh philosophy and struggle for the rights of poor. The whole paragraph is:

‘Garhi Khuda Bakhsh symbolises our ideology and philosophy.‘ The former president said PPP would never forsake the poor and always struggle for their rights.’

Therefore, this report ends with the dissemination of the party’s message. The report is organized by stating some arguments about ‘military courts’; next, the report adds the speaker’s views about Pervaiz Musharraf, difference between ‘Jihad’ in Kashmir and Afghanistan; then the negation of the speaker’s differences with Bilawal; and the ideology of ‘Ghari Khuda Bakhsh’. The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have intensified the issues of the use of military courts. This intensification is produced with the help of language, repetition and preferred setting of the organization. This report seems to have mitigated the speaker’s views about Pervaiz Musharraf and about those who
are of ‘limited vision’. Moreover, some arguments are not presented in the report, for example, good Taliban and bad Taliban in this report.

6.3.3.5 Macro Structure

The headline of this report is:

‘Zardari cautions against misuse of military courts’

Some prominent features can be identified in this headline. Although it presents the most important announcement of the speech, it is an inferred statement and not the expression of the speaker. Moreover, the word ‘cautions’ seems to have been selected carefully to give proper expression of what the speaker said about the misuse of military courts.

This expression seems to have softened the message the speaker has given in the speech. It gives the impression that someone is standing outside and playing the advisory role whereas he has uttered that he would ‘sign with the assurance of not letting it use against politicians.’

The lead of this report is only one short sentence: ‘Ex-President criticizes Musharaf’s utterances.’ This construction is meaningful as the expression for Zardari is ‘Ex-President’ and for Ex-President, Pervaiz Musharaf is ‘Musharaf’ and the term ‘utterances’ is used instead of view, ideas etc. Therefore, it is an important construction from the speaker’s point of view.

There are four direct quotations in the report, and the choice of the quotes is meaningful as the speaker has delivered this speech in around 07 minutes. These quotations are as follows:

- ‘The courts should not be used to put Asif Zardari and Mian Nawaz Sharif behind bars,’ Mr Zardari said’
- ‘‘If the army wants him (Musharraf) to do politics, it should make it clear.’
- ‘We want to consolidate democracy so that our future generations could live peacefully,’ he said.’
- “I want to be buried in Garhi Khuda Bakhsh Bhutto and anyone who leads PPP will be buried here. Garhi Khuda Bakhsh symbolises our ideology and philosophy.”
The name of the speaker is additional in the first quote as the speaker has used the term ‘I’ and not Asif Zardari. Though the speaker has used these expressions, the choice of quotes shows a particular aspect of the speech and the promotions of speaker’s intentions.

### 6.3.3.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard the following examples would be enough to get the idea how this report is working on some public opinions to be developed. At first place, the speaker has called the name of Pervaiz Musharaf as ‘Billa’, but this report says ‘without naming retired General Pervez Musharraf’ to give the impression that the speaker might have avoided using any name. The other example is again regarding speaker’s view about Pervaiz Musharaf’s political activities. It is as follows:

‘He was very critical of Pervez Musharraf’s political activities, saying that if `anyone is behind him`, he should come out in the open.’

This statement has established through implicature that the speaker is critical about ‘Pervaiz Musharaf’s activities’; the criticism on him is that others should come in the open. In other words, the speaker has not said anything to Pervaiz Musharaf but to those who are behind him. Instead, it is claimed in the principal clause that he has criticized the political activities.

One more similar example in this report is presented when it discusses the issue of differences between the speaker and Bilawal Bhutto Zardari: ‘Alluding to reported differences between him and Bilawal Bhutto-Zardari, he accused his opponents of floating `baseless stories`.’ Here, his accused opponents seem to be the persons who are reporting them, the media persons, whereas the speaker intends to say his political opponents. Furthermore, the speaker is not denying the reported differences between him and Bilawal but he has he accused his opponents of floating `baseless stories`. Therefore, the implicit message is that the speaker has not denied, but he has accused his opponents for floating stories which are baseless. In short, the implicature and presupposition are prominent in above mentioned examples.
6.3.4 Coverage in *The Express Tribune*

*The Express Tribune* covers this speech of Asif Ali Zardari on the front page on December 28, 2014. It is the main headline of *The Express Tribune* of that day. The report presents the image showing the speaker along with the audience.

6.3.4.1 Syntactic Structure

As regards the syntactical structure regarding the speech coverage, this report has not used expressions using modals in the whole text in the way to weak an expression uttered by the speaker; however, a few uses of ‘would’ are present. In other words, the syntactic choices used by the report contribute towards the strong impression. The other dimension of the syntactic structure is nominalization, which, too, is negligible.

Moreover, this report has not used passive expressions; therefore, the agency is quite clear in the sentences used in the report. However, there are some expressions presented in passive voice but they are presented in direct quotes. In short, syntactic devices are not used for discursivity in this report.

6.3.4.2 Cohesion

Many clauses used in *The Express Tribune* report are a sort of elaboration in the sense that they use the expression ‘PPP Co-chairman Asif Ali Zardari said’, twice, ‘Zardari said’, many times and ‘he said’, quite often. Most of the sentences are complex where the speaker is portrayed within the sentences as strong and powerful.

There are some simple sentences giving a very strong impression of the content in them. The issues being taken are:

- ‘Zardari blamed former military ruler Pervez Mushrraf for the upward spiral of militant violence in the country.’
- ‘Zardari also sought to quash ‘rumours’ of differences between him and his son, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari.’
• ‘He also dispelled the rumours of differences between PPPP President Makhdoom Amin Fahim and the party leadership.’

The short and single clause sentences are used to give strength to the tone while talking about the above mentioned issues. The rest of the issues are placed in complex sentences as it is the established norm of the news reports. There are some sentences in which the subordinate clauses, having general perceptions, are influencing the main clauses, having the argument of the speaker, for example:

‘While political and legal circles are abuzz with the talk of the proposed special trial courts to try terrorism suspects, PPP Co-chairman Asid Ali Zardari said his party “supports these courts on the condition that they will not be used for political victimization”’.

Regarding the explicit cohesion, the speaker’s name is replaced with ‘he’ and ‘former president’. Some logical connectors are also traced in the report, for example while is used in order to make a clause dependent over the independent clause containing the issue misuse of military courts. In this report however is used to argue about ordeals of prison and earlier is used to refer to the earlier happing of the Jalsa.

Moreover, ‘he’, ‘his’, ‘him’ are mostly used for the speaker, Pervez Musharraf and Makhdoom Amin Fahim, only ‘he’ for once. ‘She’ is used for Benazir Bhutto and, at one place, ‘they’ is used for the ‘military courts’. Overall this report has not used many references in the report. All the above mentioned references and substitutions are used to create cohesion in the report.

In case with the repetition of ideas, the speaker’s statement about the misuse of military courts is repeated twice in the report.

6.3.4.3 **Lexical Features**

Connotations have mostly placed in the prominent place in the sentences in most of the report. For example, the verbs used in principal clauses are: ‘blamed’, ‘said’, ‘added’, ‘announced’,
‘dispelled’, etc. These words shape the argument coming in the subordinate clause. The vocabulary used in the report seems similar set of words, for example: ‘’, ‘slain chairperson’, ‘victimization’, ‘dictator’ etc. This report does not include many connotative expressions. There are many of those expressions which the speaker has used. However, this report does not include any expression regarding the participation of the audience as well as the strength of Jalsa.

The speaker has used certain terms which are offending like ‘tomcat’ etc, but the report has used euphemistic techniques, to minimize the negativity of the argument regarding the former President Pervaiz Musharaf. For example, the speaker has used the term ‘Billa’ for him, but the expression used in this report is: ‘Zardari blamed former military ruler Pervez Musharraf…….’ Another example of euphemism is traced when the speaker calls the generals ‘short-sighted’, (kum sooch wale), and they had ‘weakened the Jihad in Kashmir’, and expression is reported as: ‘…..army generals mixed up the jihad in Kashmir with the Afghan insurgency…..’

The term mixed up is used instead of weakened in the report to minimize the negative effect. A similar example is present when the issue of Makhdoom Amin Fahim is reported, where the expression used by the speaker is ‘disloyal’, ‘betrayal’ (gadari) for him, but the reported word is ‘ditched’ in the report.

On the whole, the above mentioned examples prove the use of euphemistic expressions; when it is not used, the whole information is missing. For example, the speaker fears that this law of military court may not become ‘kala qanoon’, black law, but this expression of ‘kala qanoon’ is not used in the report. Therefore, it is evident that euphemistic expressions are not used, instead the whole information or the argument is avoided in the report.

The metaphors mentioned in the reporting are mostly the same used in the speech, and the report under analysis has not missed the metaphoric impression provided in the speech. Besides, this report has not used such expressions in which metaphors could be traced out.
6.3.4.4 Interactional Control

The interactional control in this report is established by putting a comment to shape the argument of the speaker in the very first sentence; and it provides a clue to how this report is taking the whole stance of the speaker. The beginning starts with a direct reporting of the speech or Jalsa though the initial clause seems to shape the context:

‘While political and legal circles are abuzz with the talk of the proposed special trial courts to try terrorism suspects, PPP Co-chairman Asid Ali Zardari said his party “supports these courts on the condition that they will not be used for political victimization”.’

It is evident from the very beginning that quotes are being used as arguments to create credibility of the contents. However, the expression used in this quote is not the actual utterance of the speaker. The speaker’s actual expression is: ‘use against political leader’, which is converted into ‘political victimization’.

Therefore, it seems that this report is maneuvering the contents of the speech. The report ends with the comments of the Leader of the Opposition in the National Assembly Syed Khursheed Ahmed Shah and Chief Minister, Sindh, which are the justifications of military courts, the future of PPP. In other words, this report does not confine itself to the reporting of the speaker only.

The report is organized by placing the quotes of the speakers after every important stated point same as already mentioned above. It means that quotes are used as arguments in this report to create a specific reality as this type of quotations can easily be maneuvered. This report starts by stating some arguments about ‘military courts’, it adds speaker’s views about ‘Pervez Musharraf’, tyranny of Zia era, the difference between ‘Jihad’ in Kashmir and Afghanistan, the ideology of ‘Ghari Khuda Bakhsh’, and at the end the views of other speakers. Some arguments of the speaker are placed in the report which has soften the intensity; it has been attained by giving a general comment over those issues, for example:

- ‘Zardari also sought to quash ‘rumours’ of differences between him and his son, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari.’
• ‘He also dispelled the rumours of differences between PPPP President Makhdoom Amin Fahim and the party leadership.’

The next issue is of intensification and mitigation. This report seems to have highlighted the issues of the use of military courts, Bilawal-Zardari relations and the loyalty of Makhdoom Amin Fahim. This intensification is produced with the help of language, repetition, quotes and preferred setting of the organization. However, this report seems to have mitigated harsh tone of the speaker and the intensity of the speaker’s views about Pervaiz Musharraf; moreover, some arguments are not presented in the report.

6.3.4.5 **Macro Structure**

The headline of this report is: ‘PPP supports special courts with a caveat’

The headline highlights about the most important announcement of the speech, but this is an inferred statement and not the expression of the speaker. Moreover, the word ‘supports’ seems too loud an expression to give proper sense of the expression used by the speaker. Besides, the term, ‘special courts’, is used and the term, ‘military courts’, used by the speaker is avoided. The term PPP used in the headline is meaningful instead of Zardari. This expression seems to have softened the message the speaker has given in the speech. It gives the impression PPP is very happily supporting with a little bit reservation, which is not the message given by the speaker in the speech.

The lead of this report is only the explanation of one word used in the headline: caveat. The lead seems a continuation of the headline: ‘Zardari hopes these courts won’t be used for political victimization.’ There are two issues in this statement: one is that ‘hope’ does not seem to be a proper choice to represent what the speaker has said, and the other is about the term, ‘political victimization’. Though the speaker has mentioned politicians, but he also mentions other civilians also; whereas this term is confining it only to politicians.

There are many direct quotations in the report, and the choice of the quotes is meaningful as the speaker has delivered this speech in around 07 minutes. Some quotations are as follows:
‘Said his party “supports these courts on the condition that they will not be used for political victimization”.’

‘Military courts are needed but they should not be misused.’

‘We are supporting these courts conditionally’

‘Had he taken notice of the October 18, 2007 terror attack on PPP workers and launched an operation against terrorist, the Peshawar tragedy could have been averted.’

There are many more quotes in the report. A significant issue regarding is that these quotes, not all, are not the exact expression the speaker has used.

6.3.4.6 Local Meaning

Presupposition and implicature are taken into consideration only about the general comments or newspaper’s own views about the event or speech. In this regard following example would be enough to get the idea how this report is working on some perceptions to be developed. At first place the speaker has called the name of Pervaiz Musharaf as ‘Billa’, but this report says Zardari blames former military ruler Pervez Musharraf to give the sense that the speaker has criticized him only. Furthermore, in this expression the term ‘former military ruler’ is used instead of any other expression like Ex-President etc.

However, it is also a noticeable fact that this report has not used such expression for Mr. Zardari who is also the Ex-President; the only expression used for him is ‘PPP Co-Chairman’. In other words, the identity of both the persons is shaped up in this report. The other example is again regarding speaker’s view about Jihad in Kashmir and Afghan insurgency. It is as follows:

‘PPP Co-Chairman said that short-sighted leaders and army generals mixed up the Jihad in Kashmir with the Afghan insurgency which not only undermined the Kashmir struggle but also allowed the Jihadis to sneak into our cities and towns.’

This statement, first of all is not the saying of Zardari but of Benazir, to which the speaker referred in his speech, but this gives the impression that it is Zardari’s view. Secondly,
the speaker has stressed on ‘army generals’, but the expression ‘leaders’ in this report shows that they are civilians. Thirdly, Jihad is used in this report for ‘Kashmir’ and what is happening in Afghanistan is ‘insurgency’ according to this report. But the ‘Jihadis’ is the term used for those who are coming from ‘Afghan insurgency’.

One more possible meaning could be that those ‘Jihadis’ are coming Kashmir to sneak into our cities and towns which is neither a true fact nor it seems the intentions of the speaker. Similarly, the term ‘mixed up’ is also very interesting in the sense that both the two phenomenon are happening at two different places, despite the fact that speaker has not used this expression, with different set of mind as ‘Talibans’ are not involved in Kashmir.

Briefly, the implicature and presupposition are prominent not only in above mentioned examples but so many other expressions.

6.3.5 Summary

Discusivity is quite significant from the headlines of the reports and it is an interesting fact that the headlines present different techniques and different content. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to their own worldview or political orientation. The headlines are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The News</th>
<th>PPP won’t allow misuse of military courts: Zardari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dawn</td>
<td>Zardari cautions against misuse of military courts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Express Tribune</td>
<td>PPP supports special courts with a caveat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The speech coverage in the form of report in The News is of almost 570 words; the report in Dawn is about 320 words; and the report in The Express Tribune is of almost 650 words. It means that the report in Dawn is around 330 words shorter than that of The Express Tribune whereas The News is around 240 words lengthy than Dawn and is around 80 words shorter than The Express Tribune.
Moreover, *The News* includes a picture of the speaker, with audience and without caption, on the front page; whereas, *Dawn* includes a picture of the audience and view of Bhutto family’s mausoleum, not the speaker, and with caption mentioning the same, on the front page. Moreover, *The Express Tribune* includes a picture with caption on the same page in which the speaker along with the view of the audience is presented.

The reports of *The News* and *The Express Tribune* have not used modals; however, *Dawn* has used some expressions using modals in the text, and they seem to have softened the expressions used by the speaker. Additionally, the traces of nominalization as technique for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned could not be identified in all the reports. Moreover, *The News* and *Dawn* has used passive voice in important sentences of the report, but *The Express Tribune* has not used in the critical sentences.

However, in the use of vocabulary, *The News* has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items regarding connotation are significant, for example: ‘tomcat’, ‘slain PPP chairperson’, ‘oppression’, ‘criticizing’ etc; whereas *Dawn* and *The Express Tribune* have used very few connotations. In addition to it, *The News* seems to have used euphemistic expressions even it has avoided to use such expression where it seems pertinent; whereas *Dawn* and *The Express Tribune* have this technique in reporting the speaker’s comments about former president Pervaiz Musharaf’. Mostly, the reports have avoided including the information instead of using euphemistic expressions. Only *The News* has some evidences of metaphors used by the speaker but not the other two. Moreover, only *The News* seems to have used generalization technique to soften the expression.

The beginning in all the three reports is a direct reporting of the speech or *Jalsa* and it starts with concern regarding misuse of military courts. Moreover, *The News* and *Dawn* repeat this point again after few paragraphs. The reporting of *The Express Tribune* highlights the fear of using military courts against political forces.

All the reports seem to have highlighted, *The News* with a bit more intensity, the issue of ‘military courts’ and it is one of the major issues of the speech.
The report in *The News* uses three direct quotations in the report, and believe in Bhutto’s vision, *Gahri Khuda Bakhsh ideology* and war against Taliban are the issues in them.; *Dawn* uses four direct quotations in the report, and the prominent issues in them are *misuse of military courts*, *Pervaiz Musharaf*’s activities and *Gahri Khuda Bakhsh ideology*; *The Express Tribune* uses many direct quotations in the report, and the prominent issues in them are *misuse of military courts*, and *terrorism*. Moreover, in this report, direct quotes are used as arguments to develop the credibility of the reporting. About presupposition and implicature, all reports seem to have used the strategies and they influence the image of the speaker.

### 6.4 Concluding Remarks

In the previous pages two speeches of Bilawal Bhutto Zardari, Chairman PPP, and one speech of Asif Ali Zardari, Co-chairman PPP, are analyzed with the help of CDA model described in chapter 3. The reports of three newspapers, *The News*, *Dawn*, and *The Express Tribune* have been analyzed against each speech of the speakers. The speeches analyzed are: speech of Bilawal Bhutto Zardari at Larkana on April 04, 2014, speech Bilawal Bhutto Zardari at Karachi on October 18, 2014 and speech of Asif Ali Zardari on December 27, 2014. All the nine reports were published on the front pages of the respective newspapers on the next days: April 05, 2014, October 19, 2014 and December 28, 2014 respectively. The analysis of the differences of reports has been presented in summaries presented at the end of each speech. Different strategies are highlighted used by the newspapers in developing different versions of the reality generated through the speeches delivered by both the speakers.
CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

This chapter has been divided into two major parts: findings and conclusion. In findings part, the overall findings of all the speeches reported in all the newspapers, selected for this study, are included. This portion of findings specifically represents the comparison of all the three reports of every speech selected for the study. In other words, the findings are not presented in terms of individual newspapers’ coverage, but they are included with the perspective of the comparison of the individual speech coverage in newspapers.

7.1 Findings

7.1.1 Findings: Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)

7.1.1.1 Nawaz Sharif to UN (September 24, 2014)

Discusivity has been identified in the headlines of the reports and it is an interesting fact that headlines do not seem to represent all the content of the report. It means that all the newspapers took the news according to their interest. The core element of all the reports is the issue of Kashmir in all the headlines. The News and The Express Tribune have used more powerful expressions in the form of direct quotes as compare to the heading of Dawn; however, Kashmir issue is common among all the headlines of the reports.

Though the speech is of around 1960 words, the speech coverage in the form of report in The News is around 1300 words; the report in Dawn is around 870 words; the report in The Express Tribune is around 970 words. Interestingly, the speaker has used around 200 words on Kashmir issue whereas The News uses 360 words, Dawn spends 580 words and The Express Tribune uses 280 in the reporting of the Kashmir issue.
Moreover, all the three reports include a picture of the speaker with caption on the front pages. All the three reports have not used modals, nominalization and passive expressions as techniques for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned. However, all of them have used clauses with elaboration and extension, but *The News* used lexical choices like *disappointed, ready, committed to eliminate* etc.; *The Express Tribune* has used the verbs like *condemned, added, reiterated* etc; *Dawn* has used very few expressions like *reminded, hoped, urged* etc.

All the reports do not seem to have used euphemistic expressions; instead they have used the technique of omission instead of reporting such expression. Therefore, all the reports have touched many issues of the speech, the details of dimensions of those points are mostly missed, and the rest of the speech is not reported. All the reports have different evidences of metaphors: *The News* has avoided many expressions used in the speech; *The Express Tribune* has used many metaphors in the direct quotations in the report; and, *Dawn* has used many metaphoric impressions provided in the speech along with creating some of its own.

There is dicursivity in the interaction of the text along with the examples of mitigation and intensification in all the reports. Arguments are placed to suit the hidden intentions. Beginning of all the reports of the speech paves a way to construct a patriotic and committed impression of the speaker. All the reports seem to have intensified the issue of Kashmir in the report. There are so many direct quotations in these reports, and they are used to highlight the issue of Kashmir particularly and the other issues in general. This style of presenting the quotes provides a prominent space to the speaker and contributes to his strong image.

### 7.1.1.2 Nawaz Sharif at Havelian (November 29, 2014)

The headlines of all the three newspapers represent the reality of the contents of the above mentioned speech differently. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to the interest of their own. The headlines are as follows:

*The News*: *PM announces further slashing of POL prices*

*Dawn*: *People have rejected politics of sit-in: PM*
The Express Tribune: Sit-ins and road block impeding progress

Though the speech is of forty one minutes, the speech coverage report in The News is of almost 1700 words; the report in Dawn is about 600 words; and the report in The Express Tribune is of almost 500 words. It means that the report in The News is three times bigger than that of other two newspapers. Moreover, all the three reports include a picture with caption on the front page.

All the three reports have not used modals and nominalization as techniques for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned; however, The News and Dawn have used passive voice, but they are not used in the critical sentences or at least passive sentences are the same delivered by the speaker. The Express Tribune has used one passive sentence and that is about sit-ins. All of them have used clauses with elaboration and extension, but The News repeated sit-ins, motorway and prices; The Express Tribune has repeated the terms of ‘PTI’ and sit-ins; Dawn has not repeated any term and idea in the report.

However, in the use of vocabulary, The News has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items used or referring speaker and his party are having positive connotations whereas lexical choices used for PTI and their leader are having negative connotations. Whereas Dawn has not used connotations, and The Express Tribune has used denotation but still a significant number of connotations are used to convey the overall tone of the speaker.

In addition to it, all the three reports have not used euphemistic expressions. All the reports have different evidences of metaphors: The News has used them; The Express Tribune has used very little; and, Dawn has completely avoided it. There is dicursivity in the interaction of the text along with the examples of mitigation and intensification in all the reports. Arguments are placed to suit the hidden intentions.

The News has used two direct quotations in the report and both are regarding ‘sit-ins’ and counter argument against rigging in the election 2013; whereas Dawn has used three direct
quotations in the report: first is about ‘sit-in’, second is about motorway project, and the third is about future express way project; and *The Express Tribune* has used two direct quotation: one on ‘sit-ins’ and other on ‘projects’. There are very few examples of logical connectors in all the reports.

The report in *The News* has tried to promote the image of the speaker through discursive practices, whereas the report in *Dawn* has constructed and promoted a strong but affected image of the speaker while reporting the issues. The report in *The Express Tribune* has constructed a powerful image of the speaker beside the person who is irritated and disturbed from sit-ins and PTI.

### 7.1.1.3 Nawaz Sharif to Nation (December 24, 2014)

The construction of the different version of reality is significant from the study of the headlines of the reports though the idea of *military courts* is common, but the representation of this idea in headlines is significantly different. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to the interest of their own. The headlines are as follows:

*The News:* Special courts led by military officers to be set up: PM  
*Dawn:* Military courts to try terror suspects  
*The Express Tribune:* Fight against terrorism  
*Defining Moment*

Though the speech is of eleven minutes, the report in *The News* is around 650 words in first part of report covering the speech whereas the whole report is of around 2450 words. The report in *Dawn* is around 275 words whereas the whole report is of around 1000 words. The report in *The Express Tribune* is around 180 words covering the speech whereas the whole report is of around 800 words. Moreover, all the three reports include a picture with caption on the front page; *The News* has added a picture of the speaker speaking to nation; *Dawn* has included of meeting; *The Express Tribune* also has included a picture speaking to the meeting.

All the three reports have not used modals and nominalization as techniques for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned; however, *The Express Tribune* and
Dawn have used passive voice, but they are not used in the critical sentences to hide the agency. All of them have used clauses with elaboration and extension, but The News repeated action, constitution and legislation; The Express Tribune has repeated the terms of attacks, terrorists, military; Dawn has not repeated any term and idea in the report.

However, in the use of vocabulary, The News has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items used or referring speaker are having positive reflection like emotional tone, marathon meeting, giving an ultimatum to the terrorists, iron hand, strong action, days are numbered. Whereas Dawn has used three expressions: special military courts, hardened terrorists, and radicalization. The Express Tribune has used denotation but still a significant number of connotations are used to convey the overall tone of the speaker.

In addition to it, two reports have not used euphemistic expressions, but The Express Tribune has used euphemistic expression for military courts. All the reports have different evidences of metaphors: The News has used them; The Express Tribune has used very little; and, Dawn has completely avoided it. There is dicursivity in the interaction of the text along with the examples of mitigation and intensification in all the reports. Arguments are placed to suit the hidden intentions.

The News has used three sentences as direct quotations in the report and the single issue is placed in all the quotations to highlight the speaker’s concern with the tragedy; whereas Dawn has used two small phrases as direct quotations in the report, and these phrases are just parts of those twenty points mentioned in the speech; and The Express Tribune has used three direct quotation, and these quotations are showing the same angle of emotions on tragedy. There are very few examples of logical connectors in all the reports.

7.1.2 Findings: Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf
7.1.2.1 Imran Khan at Sialkot (June 07, 2014)

Discusivity is quite significant from the headlines of the reports and different newspapers reported the news differently according to their interest. The headlines are as follows:
The News: Imran criticises courts for not delivering 'justice'
Dawn: PTI’s Summer of Discontent Peaks
The Express Tribune: Imran blames ‘typing error’ for poll outcome

The Express Tribune has omitted the details of the speech presenting almost all the major points of the speech, and covered the speech in fourteen paragraphs. Though the speech is of thirty three minutes, this coverage is four time bigger than the coverage of The News and almost double than that of Dawn.

All the three reports have not used modals, nominalization and passive voice, with some exceptions of The Express Tribune, as far as the grammatical analysis. All of them have used clauses with elaboration and extension. However, in the use of vocabulary, The News has used ideologically contested vocabulary and sharp adjectives quite opposite to other two reports. In addition to it, The News has not used euphemistic expressions whereas Dawn and The Express Tribune has used these expressions. All the reports have used metaphors.

There is dicursivity in the interaction of the text along with the examples of mitigation and intensification in all the reports. Arguments are placed to suit the hidden intentions. The News has not used quotations and reported speech at all whereas Dawn has used very few, but The Express Tribune has used it maximum. There are very few examples of logical connectors in all the reports.

The report in The News has tried to curtail the image of the speaker through discursive practices, whereas the report in Dawn has constructed and promoted a normal and pro-democratic image of the speaker and puts its weight in taking this political activity as the right demand. The report in The Express Tribune has constructed a powerful image of the speaker besides his depiction as one of the victims of rigging in the election.

7.1.2.2 Imran Khan at Lahore (September 28, 2014)

Discusivity is quite significant from the headlines of the reports and it is an interesting fact that most of the headlines, if not all, represent the content of the report. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to the interest of their own. The headlines are as follows:
The News:

Imran asks PM to stay as he wakes up nation
Promises to beg Nawaz’s pardon if rigging not proved
Dawn: Imran vows to hold rallies in all big cities

The Express Tribune: ‘Go Nawaz Go’ chant will haunt PM: Imran

Says after 18 years of struggle, he is happy to see nation awakening

Though the speech is of around fifty five minutes, the report in The News is of almost 1350 words; the report in Dawn is about 450 words; and the report in The Express Tribune is of almost 800 words. It means that the report in The News is 550 words lengthy than that of The Express Tribune whereas both are longer than that of Dawn which is shorter.

Moreover, only two reports, The News, without caption, and The Express Tribune, with caption, include a picture on the front page, and Dawn has not included picture. The report of The News shows a picture of speaker with few other leaders while the report of The Express shows the speaker and the huge audience. All the three reports have not used modals and nominalization as techniques for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned; Moreover, The News has used passive voice in the report, but other two have not used in the critical sentences or at least passive sentences are the same delivered by the speaker.

All of them have used clauses with elaboration and extension, but The News repeated alleged, resignation and energetic; The Express Tribune has repeated the term go Nawaz go in the report. Dawn seems to have avoided repeating terms in the report. However, in the use of vocabulary, The News has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items regarding denotation in the principal clauses are significant in most of the report, for example: he lashed out, Imran Khan warned, he claimed, he harshly criticized, Imran vowed, he said etc. Whereas in Dawn lexical items regarding denotation in the principal clauses are mostly placed to contribute positively, for example: he said, Imran Khan warned, he challenged, Imran vowed; The Express Tribune has used denotation but still a significant number of connotations are used to convey the overall tone of the speaker, for example: Imran Khan added, he told, he said, Imran vowed.
In addition to it, The News has not used euphemistic expressions even it has avoided to use this expression where it seems pertinent; whereas the other two reports have substantially used it in the favor of the speaker. All the reports have evidences of metaphors. As far as the beginning in the reports, except The Express Tribune is concerned, it is a direct reporting of the speech or Jalsa and it starts with the main portion or announcement of the speech with a comment over it to shape it. The report of The Express Tribune starts with the mentioning of gathering and strength of Jalsa. The report in The News starts with a non serious or lighter statement which is against the whole movement, and which this report also presents that stance after few paragraphs; whereas Dawn constructs a strong and rightful impression of the speaker; The Express Tribune paves a way to construct a strong and rightful impression of the speaker through the way it starts the report.

The News seems to have highlighted the major issues in the report, but it has intensified ‘not to resign’ issue; moreover, generalization technique is used to avoid giving accurate information. Dawn has mentioned only the major issue in the report without creating any intensity. It has excluded and mitigated most of the details of the issues. The Express Tribune seems to have highlighted only the major issue in the report. It has excluded and mitigated most of the details. This has contributed positively in overall image of the speaker. The report in The News uses many direct quotations, and not to give resignation and corrupt political parties are prominent impressions in them; Dawn uses many direct quotations in the report, and they are incorporated in the text of the report; The Express Tribune uses some direct quotations in the report, and speaker’s determination is very prominent in them.

With regard to presupposition and implicature, this report of The News has tries to curtail the image in its personal comments; Dawn tries to boast the image of the speaker in personal comments; The Express Tribune has used the strategies to build the popular, powerful and righteous image of the speaker.

7.1.2.3 Imran Khan at Islamabad (November 30, 2014)

Certain perspectives with the view of discusivity are can be identified in the headlines of the reports and it is an interesting fact that most of the headlines truly represent the content of the report. The headlines are as follows:
The News: Entire country to be shut down on Dec 16: Imran
If rigging not probed

Dawn: Imran Threatens Nationwide Shutdown

The Express Tribune: Islamabad rally

PTI Unveils ‘Plan- C’

Imran asks govt to order election audit or face shut down

Though the speech is of thirty nine minutes, the speech coverage in The News is of almost 950 words; the report in Dawn is about 720 words; and the report in The Express Tribune is of almost 870 words. It means that the report in The News and The Express Tribune are almost of same length whereas in Dawn it is shorter. Moreover, all the three reports include a picture with caption on the front page with the exception that The News give the image of the speaker only, and the other two newspapers gave the image of huge audience.

All the three reports have not used modals and nominalization, with few exception in The News regarding nominalization, as techniques for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned; Moreover, The News has used passive voice in the report, but other two have not used in the critical sentences or at least passive sentences are the same delivered by the speaker. The Express Tribune has used one passive sentence which is quite insignificant. All of them have used clauses with elaboration and extension, but The News repeated alleged, charged and shut down; The Express Tribune has repeated the terms of supporters, judicial commission, shut down, electoral fraud etc in the report. The main demand is also repeated; Dawn has repeated judicial commission, colorful and shut down in the report.

However, in the use of vocabulary, The News has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items regarding denotation are mostly placed in the principal clause in most of the report. Whereas in Dawn lexical items regarding denotation are mostly placed to contribute positively, in the report, and The Express Tribune has used denotation but still a significant number of connotations are used to convey the overall tone of the speaker. In addition
to it, *The News* has not used euphemistic expressions whereas the other two reports have substantially used it in the favor of the speaker. All the reports have evidences of metaphors.

As far as the beginning in all the reports is concerned, it is a direct reporting of the speech or *Jalsa* and it starts with the main portion or announcement of the speech with a comment over it. *The News* gives an annoyed and aggressive impression of the speaker in the beginning whereas *Dawn* constructs a strong and rightful impression of the speaker; *The Express Tribune* paves a way to construct a strong and rightful impression of the speaker through the way it starts the report. *The News* seems to have intensified the major issues in the report; *Dawn* has mentioned only the major issue in the report. It has excluded and mitigated most of the other issues. *The Express Tribune* seems to have intensified only the major issue in the report. It has excluded and mitigated most of the other issues. The report in *The News* uses five direct quotations, and shutting down the country and protest is prominent impression in them; *Dawn* uses many direct quotations in the report, and they are incorporated in the text of the report; *The Express Tribune* uses many direct quotations in the report, and these are in support of the speaker, and they occupy the major portion of the report.

As regards to presupposition and implicature, this report of *The News* has tries to curtail the image in its personal comments; *Dawn* has tries to enhance the colorful image in its personal comments; *The Express Tribune* has used the strategies to build the positive but strong, reactionary but lawful, and serious but colorful image of the party and the speaker.

### 7.1.3 Findings: Pakistan People’s Party

#### 7.1.3.1 Bilawal Bhutto Zardari (April 04, 2014)

In this above mentioned reporting of the speech, discusivity is quite significant from their headlines, and it is a noticeable fact that the headlines present different techniques and different contents. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to the interest of their own. The headlines are as follows:

*The News*: *Blind being followed in the name of talks: Bilawal*

*Dawn*: *Bilawal opposes dialogue process*

*The Express Tribune*: *Bilawal blames govt for ‘creating a mess’*
Though the speech is of around thirty nine minutes, the report in *The News* is of almost 700 words; the report in *Dawn* is about 780 words; and the report in *The Express Tribune* is of almost 550 words. It means that the report in *Dawn* is around 230 words lengthy than that of *The Express Tribune* whereas *The News* is around 150 words lengthy than *The Express Tribune* and is around 80 words shorter than *Dawn*. Moreover, all the reports from all the newspapers under analysis include a picture, with caption, of the speaker on the front page. The report of *The News* shows a picture of the speaker, in which he is shown addressing the audience along with a picture of Z.A. Bhutto in the background.

All the three reports have not used modals and nominalization as techniques for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned; Moreover, *The News* and *Dawn* has used passive voice in important sentences of the report, but *The Express Tribune* has not used in the critical sentences or at least passive sentences are the same delivered by the speaker.

However, in the use of vocabulary, *The News* has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items regarding connotation are significant, for example: *Kafir-e-Azam*, *savages* etc. Whereas in *Dawn* lexical items regarding are not different from *The News*; *The Express Tribune* has used a significant number of connotations to convey the overall tone of the speaker, for example: *Zalmaan, martyr, Bhutto Khapay* etc. In addition to it, *The News* does not seem to have used euphemistic expressions even it has avoided to use this expression where it seems pertinent regarding *Taliban and government*; whereas *Dawn* has also reported harsh language of the speaker regarding *Taliban and government*; moreover, *The Express Tribune* has not used it. Mostly, the reports have avoided in including the information instead of using euphemistic expressions. *The Express Tribune* has more evidences of metaphors as compared to other both.

The beginning in the reports of *Dawn* and *The Express Tribune* is a combination of direct and indirect reporting of the speech or *Jalsa* and they start with a comment over to shape them. The report in *The News* starts with a direct reporting of the speech or *Jalsa* and the same tone is maintained in the next paragraph using different metaphors and terms. This issue of
‘terrorism’ is again taken up in the middle of the speech. All the three reports seem to construct a strong political impression of the speaker. Moreover, the arguments in these reports seem to be placed to give favor to the speaker, as such arguments or reporting seems reason to favor the content.

*The News* seems to have highlighted the issues regarding Taliban and terrorists in the report. *Dawn* has mentioned only the major issue in the report. *The Express Tribune* seems to have highlighted only the major issue in the report. It seems to have included some minor details of some of the issues. This has contributed positively in overall image of the speaker. The report in *The News* uses many direct quotations, and most of the quotations are focusing on PPP and *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s* charisma; *Dawn* uses many direct quotations in the report, and most of the quotations are focusing on Taliban, draught and government’s inefficiency; *The Express Tribune* uses some direct quotations in the report, and most of them are focusing on PPP and *Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s* charisma and party slogans. As regards to presupposition and implicature, all the reports seem to have used the strategies to build the popular, powerful and mature image of the speaker.

7.1.3.2  *Bilawal Bhutto Zardari (October 18, 2014)*

In this above mentioned reporting of the speech, discusivity is quite significant from their headlines, and it is an noticeable fact that the headlines present different techniques and different contents. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to the interest of their own. The headlines are as follows:

*The News:*
Scriptwriters want puppet PM, opposition leader: Bilawal

*Dawn:*
Bilawal spells out bold agenda for PPP

*The Express Tribune:*
Show of power in Karachi

Bilawal asks Nawaz to embrace ‘Bhuttoism’

Though the speech is of around one and half hour, the speech coverage in *The News* is of almost 1300 words; the report in *Dawn* is about 960 words; and the report in *The Express Tribune* is of almost 1100 words. It means that the report in *Dawn* is around 340 words shorter than that of *The News* and 140 words than that of *The Express Tribune*; moreover, *The News* are
200 lengthy than that of *The Express Tribune*. Moreover, all the reports include a picture with caption; *The News* shows the image of the speaker; *Dawn* shows the image of both the speaker and the audience; whereas, *The Express Tribune* shows the image of huge audience and not the speaker.

Evidences of the discursivity regarding syntactical structures are traced that *The News* and *Dawn* have used modals to weak the expressions whereas these traces are not found in the report of *The Express Tribune*. However, all the three reports do not seem to be involved in using nominalization as technique for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned. Moreover, *The News* has used passive voice in important sentences of the report, but *The Express Tribune* and *Dawn* have not used in the critical sentences or at least passive sentences are the same delivered by the speaker.

However, in the use of vocabulary, *The News* has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items regarding connotation are significant, for example: *massive public, puppet Khan, Bhuttoism, political orphans, umpire etc.* Whereas in *Dawn* lexical items regarding connotations are not different from The News: *mammoth rally, Bhuttoism, political orphans etc; The Express Tribune* has used a significant number of connotations to convey the overall tone of the speaker, for example: *massive rally, puppet opposition leader, Bhuttoism, Ziaism, kicking off his political career, dictatorship, Oxford graduate etc.*

With regards to repetition of ideas and terminologies, *The News* seems to provide stronger impression in the report. The most repeated terms is the speaker’s statements are about the *Script, script writer etc.*, and comments against Imran Khan are repeatedly presented in the report; whereas both the other reports could not be found involved in using this technique.

In addition to it, euphemistic expressions are identified in the report of *The News* and at some places when this euphemism seems appropriate, it is avoided in reporting things regarding PTI leader, Imran Khan.; whereas signs of using euphemism in *Dawn* are traced regarding Imran Khan; moreover, *The Express Tribune* has not used it. Mostly, the reports have
avoided in including the information instead of using euphemistic expressions. *The Express Tribune* seems to have more evidences of metaphors as compared to other both.

As far as the beginning in the reports, *Dawn* and *The News* is concerned, it is a direct reporting of the speech or *Jalsa*. The report in *The Express Tribune* starts with an indirect reporting of the speech or *Jalsa* and it does include the basic information about the location, day, time and gathering of supporters in the paragraph. All the three reports seem to construct a strong political impression of the speaker.

*The News* seems to have highlighted the issues regarding *puppets, script, and Buttoism* in the report. *Dawn* seems to have highlighted the issues against MQM, the government and *Buttoism* in the report. *The Express Tribune* seems to have highlighted the issues of *Buttoism* and criticism against political parties including ‘MQM’. The report in *The News* has used very few direct quotes, and most of the arguments are inferred sense from the speaker’s arguments; *Dawn* uses many quoted phrases and terms used in the report to create weight in the presented arguments. Most of them have connotative implications. *The Express Tribune* uses many direct quotations in the report, and the choice of the quotes is meaningful in the sense that they are highlighting the concerned issues. As regards to presupposition and implicature, all the reports seem to have used the strategies to build the popular, powerful and mature image of the speaker.

### 7.1.3.3 Asif Ali Zardari (27 December, 2014)

In this above mentioned reporting of the speech, discusivity is quite significant from their headlines, and it is a noticeable fact that the headlines present different techniques and different contents. It means that different newspapers took the news differently according to the interest of their own. The headlines are as follows:

**The News:**  
PPP won’t allow misuse of military courts: Zardari

**Dawn:**  
Zardari cautions against misuse of military courts

**The Express Tribune:**  
PPP supports special courts with a caveat

The speech coverage in the form of report in *The News* is of almost 570 words; the report in *Dawn* is about 320 words; and the report in *The Express Tribune* is of almost 650 words. It
means that the report in *Dawn* is around 330 words shorter than that of *The Express Tribune* whereas *The News* is around 240 words lengthy than *Dawn* and is around 80 words shorter than *The Express Tribune*. Moreover, *The News* includes a picture of the speaker, with audience and without caption, on the front page; whereas, *Dawn* includes a picture of the audience and view of Bhutto family’s mausoleum, not the speaker, and with caption mentioning the same, on the front page. Moreover, *The Express Tribune* includes a picture with caption on the same page in which the speaker along with the view of the audience is presented.

The reports of *The News* and *The Express Tribune* have not used modals; however, *Dawn* has used some expressions using modals in the text, and they seem to have softened the expressions used by the speaker. Additionally, the traces of nominalization as technique for discursivity as far as the syntactic analysis is concerned could not be identified in all the reports. Moreover, *The News* and *Dawn* has used passive voice in important sentences of the report, but *The Express Tribune* has not used in the critical sentences. However, in the use of vocabulary, *The News* has used ideologically contested vocabulary, and lexical items regarding connotation are significant, for example: *tomcat, slain PPP chairperson, oppression, criticizing* etc; whereas *Dawn* and *The Express Tribune* have used very few connotations.

In addition to it, *The News* seems to have used euphemistic expressions even it has avoided to use this expression where it seems pertinent; whereas *Dawn* and *The Express Tribune* have this technique in reporting speaker’s comments about former president Pervaiz Musharaf’. Mostly, the reports have avoided including the information instead of using euphemistic expressions. Only *The News* has some evidences of metaphors used by the speaker but not the other two. Moreover, only *The News* seems to have used generalization technique to soften the expression.

The beginning in all the three reports is a direct reporting of the speech or *Jalsa* and it starts with concern regarding misuse of military courts. Moreover, *The News* and *Dawn* repeat this point again after few paragraphs. The reporting of *The Express Tribune* highlights the fear of using military courts against political forces.
All the reports seem to have highlighted, *The News* with a bit more intensity, the issue of *military courts* and it is one of the major issues of the speech. The report in *The News* uses three direct quotations in the report, and believe in Bhutto’s vision, *Gahri Khuda Bakhsh ideology* and war against Taliban are the issues in them.; *Dawn* uses four direct quotations in the report, and the prominent issues in them are *misuse of military courts*, *Pervaiz Musharaf*’s activities and *Gahri Khuda Bakhsh ideology*; *The Express Tribune* uses many direct quotations in the report, and the prominent issues in them are *misuse of military courts*, and terrorism. Moreover, in this report, direct quotes are used as arguments to develop the credibility of the reporting. As regards to presupposition and implicature, all the reports seem to have used the strategies and they influence the image of the speaker.

### 7.2 Conclusion

It has been discussed in the previous pages that language influences in the creation of reality facilitating the listeners and readers to construct a particular vision with regard to that reality. Language of the politicians assumes a critical role in acquiring the favors and the endorsement of the public. They, the political leaders, either deliver their speech within a nationwide framework or in public background. Whether they are in government or they are out of it, they try to exploit and maneuver language through various techniques. Politicians adopt this approach for political gain and power. In fact, politicians want to gain power though exercising power of language, but media mirrors that reflection by exercising its own power of discourse.

Furthermore, it is an ironical situation where media, print media specifically, exercise their own power through discourse over the political actors who are seeking power by exercising power of discourse. In other words, media have a strong influence in the overall representation of the political leaders and their image.

It is important to consider certain concerns while discussing media and its discursivity. How far does the power of media extend, is the main area of concern for the study of power in media discourse. It is obvious that politicians and influential groups try to control the shape, structure, perspective and tone of important issues, either political or social, so that
they may produce and shape the outcomes favorable to their political concerns. As a matter of fact, people from almost all social circles mainly depend on a media-constructed version of reality. The more the media has attained power, the less freedom has been attributed to that influenced audience. It is, therefore, evident that media plays a significant role in transmitting the opinions of politicians.

However, there are certain concerns about the media discourse regarding its discursivity. At first place, it is almost impossible to represent the whole truth; therefore, every representation can express only some portion of that reality as per its priority. Similarly these notions capture an important feature of media power, but these too have certain limitations.

With these above mentioned perspectives, the present study has inferred certain conclusions from the analysis of the media reports of the political speeches portrayed in Pakistani English newspapers. In line with the findings presented in the previous pages, the inferences derived are an effort to answer the questions set in the very beginning of this study.

With regard to the first research question, it has been observed that Pakistani newspapers, in the portrayal of political speeches, make minimum use of syntactical devices like nominalization, modal and passive structures, to manipulate the contents delivered by the speakers. In the context of this study, there are very few evidences of the use of all the three techniques in the reports. The only technique, passive structures, was used a bit more than the other two. In every report analysis, only one or two, four to five in few cases, examples could be identified. It is a meaningful fact that syntactical structures are given less attention to twist or manipulate the meanings in the media reports.

The element of cohesion in the analysis of the reports tells that all the twenty seven reports on nine speeches predominantly used complex grammatical structure for the presentation of the arguments, though there are very few exceptions of simple and compound sentences in every report. As being the traditional and logical manner of reporting the speeches, the complex sentences shape the argument given in the subordinate clauses by the main verb placed in the
principal clauses. Therefore, these reports are more concerned with the lexical choices as compared to the other means.

Moreover, logical connectors are also few and far between in the text to create cohesion in the text; instead, these reports have included present participial phrases to cover up this deficiency. It also helps to prepare the reader to look at the coming fact with the lens set in those clauses.

So far as the lexical features of all the reports are concerned, evidences are identified that the reports in the covering of the political speeches are important to create and shape the perception of the readers and take sides to their favored arguments. In this context, the most important role is played by the verbs: one category is of those verbs which are used in the principal clauses sharp after subject, and the other is of those used in the participial phrases in the beginning of sentences mentioned earlier.

With regard to connotations and euphemistic expressions, it is a significant fact that political speeches are enriched with cultural expressions, but their reflection in newspapers is a careful business as their representation produces subjective reality and can destroy the image not only of the speaker but also of the newspaper. With this view, it is observed that both the above mentioned expressions are found though not in all the reports but in the favored topics and speeches. Quite same is the case with the use of metaphor: if all the metaphors used in the speech are used in the report, it can again create imbalance in the report as report requires denotations at maximum. Only selected metaphors are used in most of the reports and where they are used more than normal, though they are also from the speeches, they have given the impression of newspapers’ taking sides.

The common practices of all the reports regarding the control, interactional control, are also quite significant in the sense that the placement and the sequence of arguments are not the same in most of the cases. The order of the speech is not followed in reporting of the speeches. This format suits to generate the headline different from the others. In this regard, the finishing and the ending of the report seem important and discusivity is identified in this regard. As far as
the linguistic angle is concerned, many reports do not start with the direct reporting of the speech which in other words means that a specific angle is set before the reporting of the speech. However, the ending in almost all the reports seems similar as far as the mentioning of the event is concerned.

The most striking fact identified during the analysis is that intensification is produced by giving priority to the argument and on many occasions they are repeated in the next paragraph of a report. However, the element of repetition is not a very common device. To produce this impact, the element of placing direct quotes is very prominent; they are used mainly to generate this impact in the report.

Arguments, in case with the issue of mitigation, are put in the later paragraphs on few occasions but the most striking element is that such points are not included in the report at all. It is an overwhelming impression during the analysis that omission of the points from the speeches is a very common practice. Perhaps it is one of the main factors that many linguistic devices are not employed in presenting the unfavorable arguments in the portrayal of the political speeches.

With regard to the macro structures of the reports, headlines and leads as the first interaction with the readers provide a strong point of view. Therefore, the choice of words, though on the same point in headlines, changes the perception of reality. The use of connotations is identified in some headlines if not in all. It is also a significant fact that newspapers do not report the same point as headline except the reports on the speeches on national issues like Kashmir or military courts.

Moreover, quotations are used as a strong tool in changing or creating perception in these reports as more emphasis is generated through quotations on the point the speaker has given least attention. Moreover, the number of quotes in one report impacts on the overall impression of the speaker. As the number increases, the impression of the speaker also gets stronger. In some cases, for example the report of *The News* on Imran Khan’s speech, these quotations are used to highlight the offensive aspect of statements and to understate or tone down the issues in the same speech.
It is also worth mentioning that some quotes do not represent the true sense of the words delivered by the speakers as eight out of nine speeches are delivered in Urdu and they have been translated, as far as quotations are concerned. It does not seem to be the lack of language tendency but it might be the result of some casual attitude or routine of reporters and editors. What so ever is the reason, it is an important and serious issue.

The next issue, in which local meanings of the reports through implicature and presupposition were analyzed, uncovers some more practices. As both these techniques were employed in the personal comments of the newspapers mentioned in their reports, the image of the speakers with certain variations is influenced; in most of the cases it is boasted but in some cases both the techniques of implicature and presupposition have been used to curtail the image of the speakers.

The reports of almost all selected newspapers used far less words than the words of the speeches or the points delivered by the speakers on certain issues. But interestingly, on the national issues, this proportion is changed in the sense that the delivered words in the speech are far less than the reported words in the newspapers’ reports. For examples, the PM used around 200 words on Kashmir in UN speech, but all the newspapers, selected for the analysis, used far more words in their respective reports. It means that the behavior of all the newspapers is same on national issues, and they employ certain discourse strategies to enhance national impact in their reporting.

Moreover, all the reports have included pictures, mostly of the speakers alone. In some cases, speakers along with audience are shown; yet on certain occasions only the image of the audience is shown. This diversity also generated an impact different from the other reports in the coverage of that particular newspaper.

The second research question deals with the representation of the political leaders belonging to different political parties in media reports; some important insights regarding their image building and portrayal are inferred from the analyses of the reports. First of all Mian
Nawaz Sharif, the leader of the Pakistan Muslim League, being the sole speaker from his party, has been portrayed as strong, patriotic and powerful leader in many reports of all the three speeches. The contents of the speeches are mostly endorsed by the newspapers in general. As far as the projection of PM through selection of photo image is concerned, they are produced highlighting the speaker with proper captions in almost all the reports.

However, in some reports, particularly about the speech of December 24, 2014, the manner of presentation of the speech is changed and the speaker is not shown as powerful as is presented in the other two speeches. This reporting in the newspapers of the speech, mentioned above, is overshadowed by the All Parties’ Meeting and the involvement of the most powerful institution of Pakistan.

The discusivity in the speeches of PML (N) is mainly generated through the choice of quotes and the selection of arguments in the newspapers’ reports. In most of the cases emotional parts of the speeches are selected for the representation in the newspaper, and it helps to promote the patriotic image of the speaker. However, in some cases, the placement of arguments and the selection of quotes do not reflect the main stream ideas and angles of the speech. This can be said with the other perspective that this place is given to the army related issues. This can be inferred that PML (N), generally, is presented strongly and with full coverage except the situation when the newspapers have to choose between a political party and its leader or Pakistan army and its chief.

The newspapers reports present Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf chairman, Imran Khan with a significant diversity. It is a significant element that this diversity in the image presentation is due to the newspapers’ preferences. This element is evident even in the selection of the photo images used with these reports in the newspapers. Some where this is a huge image with massive public view and at some places only the speaker with few others.

Moreover, the mentioning of the number of the participants has been a constant conflicting issue in the reporting of Imran Khan’s speeches. Some reports have deliberately tried to undermine the image by mentioning the ‘strength of participants’ with a certain perspective.
On the other hand, some reports have extra ordinarily presented the participants’ colorful and cheerful image, with the impression of *Jalsa* as family festival beside energetic participation of youth with the impressive presence of participants.

The above mentioned conflicting image with a significant diversity continues in the selection of arguments and choice of quotes in different reports of different newspapers. Some reports have stressed conflicting issues in the reporting of the contents of the speeches and some others have projected the emotional, rightful and promising angles of the contents of the speeches.

The selection of quotes and the placement of argument convey the same diversity as some reports portray the speaker as aggressive and violent with inflexible attitude, and some others as strong and rightful with a determined attitude. One report has even tried to present the speaker’s demand for justice as derogation to judiciary. There are only a few reports which have tried to reflect the impression objectively without touching the conflicting issues and the colloquial expressions of the speaker. Most of them are from *Dawn*.

So far as the results of the analysis of portrayal of the speeches of PPP in the newspapers are concerned, images of the chairman and co-chairman of the party show again that the newspapers use their power to produce discursivity according to the interest of their own. Therefore, different reports produce different impact.

However, some common and prominent features of that discursivity contribute to the strong image of the party. First, all the reports include the pictures of the speakers, both of Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and Asif Ali Zardari, on the front pages with captions. These pictures sometimes include audience and some time they do not; however, selection of photo images contribute positively to the overall impression of the speakers as well as the political party.

Moreover, the placement of arguments and the selection of quotations from the speeches of the speakers, provide a strong clue on how the image is conveyed through discursive practices and how the truth is constructed. In this regard, the placement of arguments in all the three
speeches favors the image of the party and the speakers. The beginning of almost all the reports start with the most popular sentiments like anti terrorism statements, etc.

Similarly, the order of the arguments and their placement and the choice to provide details of some selected arguments in these reports, in general if not in all, contribute positively to the image representation. It is also pertinent to mention that all the reports do not contribute positively or favorably; however, if they have not favored in the image representation, they have not done anything to curtail the image.

Furthermore, the selection of quotations tell the same story as mentioned above as most of the quotes are focusing on Bhutto’s charisma, martyrdom and sacrifices of PPP’s leadership. The rest of the quotes also contribute positively to the image representation of the party. Therefore, it can be said that the image of the party as well as the speaker is supported by the newspaper’s reports in general.

The third research question deals with the issue how the leading English newspapers of Pakistan have projected the image of the leading political parties of Pakistan, and how they have contributed in the discursivity and how they have played a role in the reality construction. The News has portrayed the speeches of the leader of PML (N) in the most favorable way in terms of the selection of headline, the use of lexical choices and syntax structures, selection and placement of arguments, selection of quotations and local meanings. The analysis tells that the reports have tried to avoid mentioning of the conflicts and presented the reports of all the speeches in an emphatic way. However, the national issues were highlighted more in the reports than political issues.

The News seems to portray the image of the Leader of PTI, Imran Khan, as temperamental and impulsive. This result is inferred through the analysis in terms of the selection of headline, the use of lexical choices and syntax structures, selection and placement of arguments, selection of quotations and local meanings. The analysis tells that the reports have mentioned conflicting statements and have over emphasized, through repetition, on speaker’s
statements against national institutions. The discussion on strength of the participants in *Jalsa* is also presented unnecessarily.

The speakers of PPP, on the other hand, are presented in the reports of *The News* in favored manner. The most prominent feature of the construction of this image is the choice of connotations which seems to contribute all in favor of the speakers. Moreover, the selection of arguments and their preferred setting in the report, the selection of quotations along with their issues are few more techniques used in portraying the image of the party as well as the speakers’ ideas.

The reports of the second newspaper, *Dawn*, seems to be more objective, and evidences are identified that this newspaper, in general, has tried, at least in the reports selected for this study, to avoid mentioning and highlighting the conflicting issues and statements delivered by the speakers. The reports of *Dawn* have provided enough evidences to gather the impression that most of the reporting is through denotative expressions, and connotative expressions are, at maximum, avoided in all the reports irrespective of any political party or leader.

However, there are certain evidences regarding PML (N) leader, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif that the reports about his speeches have not presented the main content by giving priority to national issues and Pakistan Army. The newspaper has included its personal remarks in the reporting of Kashmir issue more than the reporting of the content of the speech on one occasion, and on the other meetings with army chief has got more space than the contents of the speech.

Moreover, beside national and strategic issues, the placing of arguments, omission of arguments selection of quotations, choice of syntax for headlines and techniques to infer local meaning contribute to the impression that these reports do not favor, unnecessarily, to the speaker of PML(N). But it does not mean that these reports have tried to curtail the image. The reports of *Dawn* regarding the speeches of PTI leader, Imran Khan, are portrayed promoting him as the pro-democratic and determined leader. The evidences traced for this conclusion are based
on the analysis of the placing of arguments, selection of quotations, syntax structure, lexical choice and other techniques to infer local meanings.

However, these reports, have deliberately tried to avoid mentioning the conflicting statements despite the fact that the speaker has used such expressions many times in his speeches. It also seems a favor to the speaker as far as the overall impression conveyed through the reports of a renowned newspaper of Pakistan is concerned. On the other hand, it also seems a journalistic ethical practice to be objective and avoid sensitization.

The portrayal of the speeches of PPP leaders, Bilawal Bhutto Zardari and Asif Ali Zardari, in the reports of Dawn contributes the previous idea discussed earlier that techniques, to make the reports objective, are employed. Though all the speeches are full of ideologically contested statements and vocabulary, the reports have prominently used euphemistic techniques to mitigate the difference of a speech and a report. The other techniques like placing of arguments, selection of quotations, syntax structure, lexical choice and local meanings techniques seem to convey the impression of sensible and mature politicians with full awareness of national issues and concerns.

The reports of the last newspaper, The Express Tribune are concerned have shown the impression to project and highlight the conflicting issues and statements. The most common technique of this newspaper is the use of many quotations in the reports which helps in creating the reality of its own.

The speeches of Mian Nawaz Sharif of PML (N) have been reported with equal evidences as in report of first speech. The quotations and their selections, arguments and their placement, the syntax and the lexical choices, the headlines and choice of topics, the presupposition and implicature, all contribute to a strong projection of the image. But the report of the second speech at Havelian paves a way to construct a powerful but irritated impression of the speaker. It is due to the fact that it intensified the issue of sit-in. However, in the report of the last speech addressed to the nation, things are not similar as the maximum space is provided to the other issues; even proper contents are not presented.
The reports of *The Express Tribune* portraying the speeches of PTI leader, Imran Khan, have used direct speeches despite the fact that they were Urdu speeches and that they were translated first to be quoted directly. They have highlighted the conflicting issues with the implied support of PTI’s point of view. These reports do not include all the main points but only few but with minute details. The strategies highlighting their support include lexical choices and the placing of arguments adding quotations.

Finally, the speeches of PPP are portrayed in terms of quotations and their selections, arguments and their placement, the syntax and the lexical choices, the headlines and choice of topics, the presupposition and implicature. Besides, the conflicting statements are not highlighted strongly; however, the significant number of connotations, metaphors and euphemism refer to the idea that speeches are portrayed to present a favorable image. This point is further validated with the large scale amount of selection and omission of arguments delivered by the speakers.

This study has revealed some significant tendencies and patterns in the media discourse related to political speeches in the context of Pakistan. For instance, the order of the contents of speeches is normally not followed in the reporting of the speeches, and this practice of the newspapers provides a substantial space to produce discursivity in the process of meaning making through media discourse in Pakistani Newspapers. It is one of the reasons that headlines differ from one another not only in linguistic terms but also in the selection and projection of issues.

Moreover, exclusion, beside inclusion, is a very significant feature of the Pakistani newspapers’ reporting style. Exclusion of contents, according to the choice and priority of each newspaper, is very common practice. It may be one of the many factors why many linguistic devices are not employed in presenting the unfavorable or unimportant contents, according to the policy of individual newspapers, in the portrayal of the political speeches.

Furthermore, quotations are used as a strong tool in changing or creating perception in political reports as more emphasis can be placed through quotations on the point the speaker has
given least attention to. Moreover, the number of quotes in a report impacts on the overall impression of the speaker. As the number increases, the impression of the speaker’s contents gets stronger.

Lastly, it is also worth mentioning that quotes in the reports on some occasions do not represent the true sense of the words delivered by the speakers because they may be referred out of context or linked with a different context. As a result, they may lead to false representation of contents. It does not seem to be the lack of language tendency but it might be a reflection of a certain casual attitude in drafting and phrasing the speech contents in another language on part of individuals in the media. Whatever the reason many be, it is an important and serious issue.

In short, in the light of above arguments, the present study confirms that media discourse employs a variety of discursive practices in the portrayal of discourse of Pakistani politicians. These techniques shape the political discourse, and it results in projecting and/or curtailing the image of the political figures. Consequently, the media discourse actively participates in the overall political process. On the other hand, mainstream Pakistani English newspapers, at least those included in this study, construct and shape the political events according to their preferred agendas. As a result, they exercise their power to control and direct the minds of the readers.

7.3 Limitations

Despite the fact that this study has been carried out with extreme care and with the utilization of maximum possible resources, limitations and shortcomings of any study remain there. In fact, limitations are inherent in the very design of CDA as the theorists claim that CDA means taking side; CDA provides a ‘biased interpretation’ in the words of Widdowson (1995).

Secondly, eclectic approach was adopted as per the established tradition on the basis of two most important models. These models are quite detailed, specially, Fairclough’s model which he himself admits that it cannot be fully applied on one type of text (Fairclough 1995). As such, the element of personal preferences in the selection from both models may not be avoided.
Thirdly, the implications of this study may be limited due to the subjectivity of the political environment and ever growing influence of political priorities in media. Therefore, the selection of political speeches and the selection of newspapers support the established objection raised by Widdowson (1995) termed as prior judgment, that selection of texts support the preferred interpretation.

Finally, the findings and the results are limited to the selected speeches and selected newspapers in the Pakistani settings. Besides, the diversity in the approaches of CDA and the variety of tools available in each approach may generate different results of the same study.

7.4 Recommendations

The recommendations on the basis of this study are described here keeping in view the limitations of the reporters of the newspapers in Pakistan. Particularly, they have to respond in a very short time to draft for next day publication.

1. The newspapers need to avoid as much as possible the use of connotative expressions in their report portraying the political speeches.

2. The reporters should enhance their linguistic capability in terms of syntactical structures, lexical choices and euphemistic expressions, along with other devices, to report the unfavorable contents.

3. Exclusions should be minimized or at least should be categorized: details and issues. The issues must be ensured to be included in the reporting and details can be summarized.

4. To attain the level of objective reporting, number, size and selection of quotes should be included under certain parameters.

5. Headlines should be carefully designed by avoiding the ideologically contested vocabulary which gives the impression of taking sides.
6. Politicians should provide the proper speech script to the reporters so that they can objectively compose the reports.

7.5 Areas of Further Study

During the investigation of the present study, it was realized that the attitude of the news reports regarding national issues is different as compared to the political issues. The projection to the national issues in the newspapers is given particular attention. Therefore, this study confirms that portrayal of national issues in newspaper can an area full of in-depth insights.

Another area quite close to the above mentioned idea is of the portrayal of military personal as compared to the seasoned politicians in newspapers. This area of study can open new windows of vision to broaden our overall understanding of our own print media practices. As it has been observed during this study, the difference in attitude and behavior of media reports towards the military officials and politicians is significant. This area needs proper investigation as Pakistan has a history of military takeovers.

One more area of research which can contribute to the general understanding is the use of quotations in the media text. How Urdu text is translated to be quoted in English text of print media can unveil some hidden practices in media discourse.
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