

**LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF IDEOLOGIES
THROUGH INTERTEXTUAL RESOURCES: A
COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LEADING
PAKISTANI ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS**

By

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**Linguistic Construction of Ideologies Through Intertextual
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Newspapers**

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ABSTRACT

Thesis Title: Linguistic Construction of Ideologies through Intertextual Resources: A Comparative Study of Leading Pakistani English Newspapers

Elusive manipulations through the use of intertextual resources to launch different ideologies do find their existence in the editorials which ordinary readers (common everyday reader) may find difficult to catch. The situation gets intricate when it is the matter related to national issues of great importance. To curtail the possible distortion of the interpretive and ideological directions given to the readers through the editorials, the qualitative part of the research aimed at investigating editorials of four leading Pakistani English newspapers whereby the researcher traced and analyzed the instances of manipulative use of intertextual resources applying Fairclough's three-dimensional model with appraisal analysis at the core of text analysis. The newspapers were selected over a period of six months and through purposive sampling the final sample comprised a total of 20 editorials. The findings of intertextual analysis reveal significant and manipulative use of intertextual strategies by the newspapers to serve and propagate their respective ideologies and agendas. Identified intertextual manipulations included intertextual ellipses, intertextual transformations, ideological selection of quotes/events, intertextual swindle of facts, authorial alignment/disalignment, discriminatory use of linguistic resources in and around the intertextual references, tempering with contextual data, manipulative presuppositions, and obfuscation of crucial information. A number of different linguistic tools for example counterexpectancy, negation, hedging, buffering, concessive conjunctions, disaster vocabulary, negative/positive appraisal, monoglossic declaratives, heteroglossia, negation, upscaling and downscaling resources, nominalization, meaningful use of anaphoric /cataphoric references, obfuscation, obligation/doubt modals, and contracted dialogic space, helped achieve the above-mentioned intertextual manipulations. The analysis of these linguistic tools used within and around the intertextual references also revealed a number of intertextual contradictions in the sampled editorials. To find out the impact of intertextuality awareness on readership of the newspaper and consolidate the qualitative research findings of the research question number three, an experiment was also conducted. The findings suggested marked improvement in the critical reading skills of the readers after the treatment and also consolidated the qualitative research finding of research question number three.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate my thesis to Allah Al-Mighty who gave me shelter when needed, food when hungry, and health when breathing.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Ideology as defined by Bakhtin is a system of ideas. Bakhtin (1986) counts ideology as semiotic, since it comprises the tangible exchange of symbols in society and also in history. For Bakhtin language is fundamental to maximum part of his works. Basic dualism is the main proceeding point for Bakhtin in his book 'Marxism and Philosophy of Language' whereby natural world phenomena, consumer articles and things etc. make one entity and the world of signs makes the other entity (Bakhtin,1989). Referring to basically the same thing Bakhtin uses two terminologies namely "sign" and "ideology", though the concept of ideology entails a bit more of complexity. Being obviously and plainly Marxist in this text, Bakhtin deliberates the existence itself before any ideology, but this sheet of reality thins almost to nothing because of the radicalism of the notion of the ideologic-semiotic. According to Bakhtin (1989), almost everything in human life is language, or the word. What emanates is the dominion of the ideologic. A sign is definitely having its material existence, but its other existence is that of the meaning it carries but that meaning is not detachable from its material existence. This dual existence overcomes the individual existence of the sign just as a material. Similarly, a meaning has no existence without the material substance. Neither can this be nominated as something psychological nor as ideal. So, the discussion seems to generate three notions which differ from each other but exist together. These are

- 1.A sign,
- 2.A thing and
3. A meaning (znachenie).

The mediation between the sign and the reality it represents is achieved by the 'meaning' so the 'meaning' performs the job for a sign, creating the bond between the sign and signified reality (Bakhtin, 1989).

According to Lylo (2017) every utterance is an ideologeme (a fundamental unit of ideology) and every speaker an ideologue (advocate of a specified ideology) because the

ideology of the speaker is betrayed by each and every word and discourse generated by the speaker. Ideologies thereby are a system of concepts and are socially, collectively or communally created. These concepts and the relationships amongst these concepts are not intrinsic but are decided, created and shaped by people interacting with each other. It is quite noteworthy that worldviews, discourses or ideologies have been institutionalized, and have for a prolonged period been taken as (and muddled with) normal or appropriate conducts of seeing, knowing and discussing things. Locating the hidden ideologies in the texts can well be done through studying intertextuality and the same critical and effective study can be used to problematize those hidden ideologies by exploring and problematizing the intertextual tools used to plant, support or strengthen those ideologies.

Intertextuality, a terminology launched by literary critic Julia Kristeva (1967), is introduced as an interactive or relational alignment of one text with other texts (Bauman, 2004, p.4). Definitely texts do not surface in seclusion, but are produced, thought of, or generated in relation to other texts. While writing, the writers pen in retort to past writing, and practice the capitals provided by former writers (Bazerman, 2004, p.53). An extensively used phenomenon intertextuality brings up mutual relationship between the texts. The phenomenon of intertextuality can be deliberated on multiple and diverse levels. The selection of a specific label, a particular category of melody, or a certain style of rolling a camera in TV fiction all deliver instances of intertextuality when investigated meticulously and with a focus on the pertinent associations. A broader notion of intertextuality including social traditions, genre, nationwide and worldwide relations is essentially a requisite in the understanding of works' substantial interactive structures revealing the backgrounds and traditions to which they belong. Fairclough refers to intertextuality as the incidence of other texts inside a text (Fairclough, 2003, p.39).

The occurrence of intertextuality is indispensable part and decisive ground for writing practices and scholarships. All words that writers use are almost always the ones they have heard before. Indiscriminate sources are used to gather the words and expressions to epitomize the ideas when being spoken or written. Intertextuality as Fairclough puts it (1992a, b c, 1995b), refers to how texts can alter preceding writings and reshuffle current conventions (discourses, genres) to create novel ones. Writers do use other people's ideas, words, phrases and styles but at times fail to discover and recognize the source as attention

is not paid to where they were heard or read before. A study of intertextuality can foster understanding of the hidden meanings, agendas and ideologies of the text.

Keeping in mind intertextuality as the connection amid two or additional texts, either conversational or written, it's clear that by reconnoitering which texts are being put together, at what planes, for what tenacities, and how that association is taking place, acuties can be attained into the ideology of the incident (Lemke, 1988). Additionally, an examination of intertextuality undertakes that events are historic; suggesting that the events are connected to one another, and that there is a present, past, and future. Since happenings or events are historical it is rational to suggest that the participants of these events are also historical.

Media as compared to any other text or discourse type is replete with intertextuality. The marked use of media as state apparatus is to naturalize the selected ideologies in masses. These 'state apparatuses' according to the French theorist, Louis Althusser (1971), keep the Government in control. A step further Althusser differentiates 'repressive state apparatuses' such as the police power legal system, army and the government, which function by strength and subjugation from 'ideological state apparatuses'. It is through the 'Ideological state apparatuses' that the dominant power and classes are most effectively kept in their power place. Stratton (2000) in her stance on ideology and ideological criticism, maintains that 'repressive state apparatuses' exercise their authority through might, whereas ISAs [ideological state apparatuses] contain those features of the social order and culture that are at will owned by most of us such as religions, schools, the media, and other tools which are used for instilling values and influencing worldviews. Althusser (1971) maintains that the make-believe association of people to their actual circumstances of existence is represented by ISA and ideology. Ideology and the part it plays in civilizations is evaluated by Althusser from a Marxist theoretic belvedere as 'false consciousness' that permits both privileged and unprivileged classes to continue their patchy relationships of class.

It is by means of the ideologies recognized and embraced by people that they relate who they are and what is their standing in the world, as well as of those they discern and repudiate (Stratton ,2000). It is by way of concepts, myths, ideas, and images that

ideologies are linked to the civilization of a society and to the totality of its prejudgments, prejudices and biases. Ideologies are typically taken as settled and thought as 'natural' because often, ideologies are communicated in an unconscious manner (e.g., blue is the colour suggested for boys and pink for girls). The means, this is done through, are very subtle. Examination through intertextuality gives a great ground to reveal these ideologies and bring them to forefront. Nowadays media is available in different forms including print media (magazines, newspapers, journals) and electronic media (Television, internet radio). Media when used by people to express themselves generates media discourse and makes a gigantic discourse category. Different examples of media discourse appear in the shape of editorials, articles, news items, advertisements etc.

It is through the use of these discourses that ideologies and thereby power, hegemony and dominance are affirmed. It is a practice done through everyday context in a very natural and strategic way and hence is not occasional. The association between language, power and ideology, can be explored by studying intertextuality in discourse produced by media under the bigger umbrella of Critical Discourse Analysis. The study aims to explore how intertextuality is used in print media to construct ideologies.

1.1 Problem Statement

A number of linguistic tools are used in a very subtle way by the writers to introduce, launch, or propagate their ideologies to the masses. Intertextuality is another weapon in the repository of the writers that can be used in a very scheming way for a number of different agendas. Unnoticeable maneuverings via the practice of intertextual capitals do snip their existence in the editorials which ordinary readers (common everyday reader with no distinctive feature) may well discover difficult to locate. The assortment of a specific tag, a certain sort of tune, or a specific style of moving a camera in TV fiction all transport instances of intertextuality when inspected accurately and with an attention to the relevant associations. A wider concept of intertextuality counting social traditions, worldwide and nationwide relations is effectively a vital in the understanding of works' significant collaborating constructions revealing the circumstances and traditions to which they belong.

The picture turns out to be additionally complicated when associated to nationwide

affairs of vast magnitude. Editorials are one of comparatively few forms of evidently persuasive script for the general public that aims to suggest the reader a chosen or preferred prototype for interpreting the events deliberated, from which, as soon as this model is acknowledged as effective, certain rational suppositions and conclusions can be “logically” deduced (van Dijk 1996a,b). Studying the role of intertextuality in the editorials can prove to add a very revealing insight into the linguistic tools used by the writers to attain their motives in a subtle way.

Deploring the want of attention salaried to editorials Van Dijk mentions the absence of virtually no book-length studies, on the tactics and societal occupations of editorials. According to Van Dijk (1996a, b) and Le (2002) so far editorial has remained mostly unnoticed in research and only now is gradually being focused for being analyzed critically.

The researcher aims to explore the ways intertextuality presents itself in the editorials. Further the researcher analyzes the role played by intertextuality in the selected editorials for ideology building. The impact of intertextuality on readership of newspapers is also analyzed.

1.2 Significance of the Study

The study falls in the domain of applied linguistics and is informed by a number of theories namely theory of intertextuality, critical Discourse analysis, Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism, and appraisal theory. This dissertation will attempt to show that Appraisal Theory also offers an important perspective that can help CDA be cleared of its often-idiosyncratic approaches and subjectivity. The study will equip the readers with a critical eye that would critically examine the data for the possible ideological use of intertextual tools (by the editor) before falling to the possible ideological trap set by the editor for accepting the desired viewpoint of the editor. As a result, the researcher expects this study to further strengthen the tendency of the readers for a resistant reading. The study aimed to unveil the tactics utilized by the ideological apparatuses to install and mount a certain decided set of ideologies. The study tended to explore which ways intertextuality in reality exists in the Pakistan print media and to what effects it can lead the stories to.

Bazerman (2004) argues that there are multiple causes for conducting an

intertextual analysis. For example, to detect which sources an author depends on and how the writer banks on them or to comprehend how a writer is struggling to characterize, count on, and advance preceding work in an associated territory, all can be covered through intertextual analysis. The foremost purpose for steering an intertextual analysis in the current study was to inspect how writers attempt on other sources for lettering their own scripts; to reconnoiter how authors added other sources in a writing, what sorts of sources the writers utilized, what objective the writers used these sources for, and what position did the authors chose for themselves while positioning themselves in connection to these sources to brand their own individual pronouncements.

The best place for an intertextual analysis is the newspaper story which contains an argument. An opinion article or an editorial might be a good place to look for such a story. By conducting this research on editorials, it was identified what grounds, warrants, backings and claims they contained. It was investigated whether different grounds, warrants or backings only implied, assumed, or taken for granted? Were there ideological reasons for this? Was the particular discourse (or ideology) of the writer or institution making the ground of the editorial? The understanding of ideology through intertextuality was enhanced after this research.

1.3 Objectives

1. To investigate the different techniques in which intertextuality is used in the media.
2. To explore the impact of intertextuality on ideology construction.
3. To understand the implications of intertextuality of press and opinion discourse on readership.

1.4 Research Questions

1. In what ways is intertextuality reflected in the areas of investigation undertaken in this study?
2. How is intertextuality used to construct different ideologies in the selected areas of this study?
3. What are the implications of intertextuality in press and opinion discourse for the readership of newspapers?

1.5 Delimitation of the Study

The scope of media and media studies is quite vast and diversified. The current study is delimited to the investigation of the linguistic manifestations of intertextual resources in four different English newspapers of Pakistan (Dawn, The Nation, The News, Daily Times). Newspapers for a time period of 6 months that is July 2016–December 2016 were considered and collected both in soft and hard form. Only the editorials of the selected newspapers were considered for the study. The current research focused only on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/places for the detailed linguistic investigation of the selected editorials to locate the role of these intertextual resources in launching ideologies. For the quantitative part a sample of 100 students was taken just from one university which can be changed both in number and location for future research.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

The current study includes seven chapters. In chapter 1, the study is introduced in terms of its background, problem statement, significance, research objectives/questions, delimitation and structure of the thesis. In chapter 2, relevant literature is reviewed in terms of some principal considerations. Chapter 3 comprises of the research methodology, theoretical framework of the study, method for the research, research design, and description of the data, illumination of the process of data analysis, and clarification about limitations of the study. The qualitative data analysis appears in chapter 4. Comparison of the analytical findings of four newspapers is given in Chapter 5. The quantitative data analysis for further inquiring the research question number 3 appears in chapter 6. Last but not least, chapter 7 provides the conclusion of the study in terms of its conclusive summary, illustration of the findings, suggestions for increasing awareness in the readers for critical and resistant reading, and formulation of the recommendations and identification of areas for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Ideology

Ideology' as a term is used frequently, in a variety of different ways, and in an extensive array of academic disciplines, ranging from linguistics to social theory. It is important to define 'Ideology', as used in this study, since it forms the fundamental part of critical discourse analysis. Oxford dictionary outlines the ordinary usage of the term as a group of principles or beliefs , particularly the ones on which a party, a political system, or an organization is created (Ideology, n.d.).

Depending on the focus of the researcher, Ideology can connote different meanings, which adds to its complexity (Croteau, 2002). As per Van Dijk (1998a, b), ideology forms the foundation of the societal representations shared by affiliates of a group with particular occupations. Ideology, in this context, is understood as the self-evident substance of communal understanding. They are belief structures that are not individually upheld or personalized but shared socially. Meanwhile, Thompson (1984) advocates that ideology is meaning in the service of authority, pointing towards the possibility of ideology serving to sustain relations of dominance, which are not to be ignored. Whichever society maintains domination by means other than brute force has ideology present as a characteristic feature.

Ideologies are then socially shared. Van Dijk's study (1998a) opts a similar stance about newspaper discourse. The study looks at the media as an institution rather than an individual journalist. Taking this view, one part of the analysts' interest in newspaper discourse, is to concentrate on the depictions and structures of the society that the media presents and changes. Traditionally, as pointed out by Van Dijk (1998a), the notions of ideology were viewed narrowly as a condition whereby the leading notions of higher aristocracy were forced on the common public. Therefore, the concept of ideology was related to the concept of evident dominance and supremacy. Lately, the concept of hegemony has arrived to well hypothesize this association, although these situations are still discussed through ideology. Second half of the twentieth century saw a more inclusive,

less derogatory meaning of the term developed; contending that ideology, usually described as a partisan or societal scheme of values, ideas, or ordinances of the clusters or other assemblages, carries the role of establishing or legitimizing the conduct of the cluster (Van Dijk, 1998a). Ideologies though do not occur in a quiet, but neither are they articulated openly. They are constructed and spread via words, and texts expose their disposition, make-up and essence. (Huntson and Thompson, 2000). Thereby, a review of texts discloses these ideologies in which values (good or bad) are contained.

Van Dijk (1998a) also provides a general idea of ideologies; how they are formed, and more importantly, what essentially, they consist of. He contends that ideologies carry a socio- cognitive origin in individuals; but for the manifestation and representation of ideologies, societies unfold and present them for which discourse is needed. Since ideologies are unfolded by societies hence, they are socially built and shared. Thus, nonetheless cognitively existing in individuals, ideologies share societal dogmas of a particular group that make the ground of that cluster. These groups may also have certain polarized structures within them, such as an 'us vs. them'. To optimally help 'realize group goals' is the specific function of ideology. It does that by portraying specific group concerns and construing the solidarity and cohesion of the group. Fairclough has highlighted the way ideologies of specific groups are encoded in the language being used or presented to everyone in society, and this is exactly what this study seeks to do (Fairclough, 2001). It is in this context that newspapers are viewed as being part of a wider political grouping, having and promoting a specific ideology encoded in its pages. This study employs van Dijk's view of ideology when referring to or using this term. Van Dijk (1998a, b) maintains that the societal occupation of the ideology should be diagnosed, in order to effectively identify and analyze how it appears within media texts. To accommodate and systemize the societal practices for the members of the group to protect its interests and the effective realization of social goals of the group constitutes the ideology's social function. Therefore, the ideologies within media function to motivate its audience to partake its ideological point of view, in order to serve the interests of the wider group (Liberals, for example, is the wider group for the left-wing newspaper). It is also possible argues van Dijk (1998a, b), to identify ideology's cognitive structures in addition to identifying their social function. He proposes that in order to sustain the social

functions, the strategies, cognitive contents and structures of ideologies should be shaped by these social functions. Polarized categories such as "Self vs. Others", "Us vs. Them", "With us or against us" may therefore become the cognitive underpinning of many ideologies. Also, they may be embodied as group self-schemata, with categories such as:

Values (How should we do this?) Goals (Why do we do this?)

Membership (Who may belong to our group? Who can be admitted?) Position (Where are we? How are we related to other groups?) Activities (What do we do?)

Resources (What do we have and not have?)

(van Dijk 1998a, b)

Finally, van Dijk categorizes that there are specific means in which ideologies are discursively conveyed and reproduced in discourse. These comprise of choices of particular lexical items with ideological associations, such as the use of evaluative premodifiers, modals, clause structure, presuppositions and implications, vague or detailed descriptions, and cohesion (cohesive chains of lexical items). This research is concentrated to uncover the practices through which language is particularly used to attempt ideology propagation. These attempts involve the manners through which ideological meanings contained in texts aid in establishment and maintenance of power (Knowles and Malnkjaer, 1996) among readers.

Such domination is sustained through the construction of both individual (for news actors) and institutional (for the newspapers themselves) identities. Newspapers gratify some scales of societal patterns such as interests, steadiness, and stability (van Dijk, 2006a) within their common formations, which is why they are considered ideological.

The concept of 'ideology' and 'hegemony' as extended by Fairclough (1992 a: 86) comes only in relation to the social practice. Fairclough elaborates that the most effective ideologies are those which people do not mull over or are not cognizant of. In other words, these are the ideologies whose mechanisms are almost invisible (Fairclough ,2001).

An ideology is least visible when a discourse which contains the ideology, becomes common sense, and is therefore naturalized (Fairclough 2001: 76). In the practical activities of social life, this conception of ideology acts as an 'implicit philosophy', backgrounded

and “taken for granted” (Fairclough 2001: 70). The close linkages between the concepts of hegemony and ideology stems from the close linkages among ideologies and power (Fairclough, 2001). Hegemony refers to a specific conceptualization of power which amongst other things emphasizes the dependence of power on achieving “at least acquiescence”, or at best, “consent” instead of just having the resources to “use force” (Fairclough 2003: 45). Fairclough stresses on two ways of keeping and exercising power, i.e., through consent (permission) or coercion (violence/force) (Fairclough 2001: 27-28).

The conception of ideology that consequently takes root herein is a meaning that serves those in authority (Jorgensen et al. 2002). It is Fairclough’s claim that a language can be more or less ideological, and can tend to produce, reproduce and transform power relations (Jorgensen et al. 2002: 27). In addition to Fairclough’s claim, it is pertinent to focus on ideologies in a text analysis, for their close linkage to language, because according to Fairclough (1989: 2), “using language is the commonest form of social behaviour.”

Language has been used as a social tool for human communication and it has been under various analyses for as far back as recorded history. Yet, it still requires further examination from different perspectives, due to its complicated nature. For the many functions this phenomenon has been able to perform, it can be considered as one of the miracles of humankind. To create and recreate our world is but one of such functions. Primarily, however, the function of language is to perform social activities and to provide a framework for human affiliation within institutions, cultures, and social groups. That the institutions, cultures, and social groups shape social activities becomes a premise for this belief. Language as a social activity, thus, not only influences the society but it is also being shaped by the institutions or the society. The media’s action of presenting events_ which may structure, shape, or form attitudes _ to the public is referred to as representation. As, language can be under the supremacy of influential institutions; hence, the social functions of language should be placed under critical amendment (van Dijk, 1998a, b).

2.2 Discourse

Since language does not just present our reality as it is, but also generates it via discourse (Taiwo, 2007), it is essential to place the language’s social functions under serious and critical revision, so that the dominance of the powerful institutions over it can

be mitigated (van Dijk, 1998a, b). The way in which a particular issue or object is discussed and presented through discourse, for instance, has an influence on how the public would reach to such an issue or object. According to Jorgensen and Philips (2002, p.1) discourse is viewed as a specific mode of conversing about and comprehending the world, which agrees with the view discussed above, that takes us to the way discourse is defined and used in this study.

Discourse, when functioning as an abstract noun, denotes the usage of language perceived as communal practice (Fairclough, 1993, p.138). If taken as a countable noun, discourse designates a method of presenting experience from a certain viewpoint (Fairclough, 1993, p.138). Fairclough addedly posits that the query of discourse is the inquiry of how text figures (in connection to other instants) in how public epitomizes the world, counting as well their own selves and their creative doings. Various discourses are various conducts of depiction and representation related to various positions (Fairclough, 2000, p.170).

When taken as the abstract type of noun, the notion of discourse not only concerns itself with the language in usage, but also the sets of beliefs, ideas and values, which are pervasive and often invisible in that social circumstance.

Discourse is viewed, observed, and noticed as a very fashionable word referring to a very modish notion (Richardson, 2007, p.21). Its usage transcends linguistics, which makes it one of the very thoroughly queried concepts in academic circles. Since discourse is far capable of quite varied meanings, Alba-Juez (2009) deems discourse an abstruse word, however with interconnected pivot which is the usage of language. Schiffrin (1994) contends that despite its ambiguity, there are two common methods to the concept: one is the Structuralist/Formalist and the other is the Functionalist. The Structuralist /Formalist specifically views discourse as one unit above the sentential level, however, still is basically a certain component of language. From this perspective, the structural organization or patterns of the different components above the level of sentence are the target of discourse analysis. The cohesive devices which make connected although different sentences, forming a unified whole (discourse) are included in this category. The formal constructions in discourse, however, cannot thoroughly and sufficiently guarantee

meaning. At most times, to expansively create sanity of a discourse, there is a necessity to count on historical, cultural, and social context. Founded on this, the definition of discourse that the formalists present might not be sufficient since it undermines the societal ideas that advise the system we practice and construe language in (Richardson, 2007). The functionalist approach is the second perspective taken on discourse analysis, which brings the societal feature of language to the forefront. Discourse, here, is understood as language performing its function: the language in practice and usage. Its investigation is not restrictive of the account of language structures independent of the objectives they have or functions which they are premeditated to perform (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. 1). How and what language transfers where employed purposefully in certain settings and occasions is accommodated and given special consideration in this definition (Cameron, 2001, p. 13). The function of language is to do certain actions. For understanding those actions which language is used to fulfill, taking account of its context of use is vital. Blommaert (2005) views discourse along with historical, cultural and social patterns and development of use; all shapes of expressive semiotic human action; a semiotic approach similar to the one taken above. These two definitions are seemingly combined by Strauss and Feiz (2014) because short of the fundamentals of language, there is no discourse. This is the reason that the cognitive and social methods that shape, reify, replicate, generate, and reproduce sense or meaning in the living universe are understood by them as discourse. Hence, they become the processes of articulation of the world by putting together a combination of components of language along with added fundamentals of semiosis. Similarly, Fairclough (1989) believes that discourse points to the entire course of societal communication of which a text is only a fragment. Taking such a view broadens discourse as a whole social interaction and does not restrict it as a corporeal text. Similarly, Titscher et al. (2000) note that discourse is a comprehensive terminology with varied descriptions, integrating an entire variety of implications from multiple disciplines such as Philosophy, Psychology, Linguistics, Mass Communication and Political science. In light of the above, this thesis will refer to discourse as the sum of cognitive and social processes that have an extraordinary effect on the beliefs, insights, and ideologies in our society.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a strappingly emerging field in language study. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) takes discourse as ‘a form of social practice’ (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p.258). As a rapidly developing area of language study, it considers discourse to be incomplete without the context of language use (Wodak, 2001). The relation between language and power is among its particular focus. CDA claims that cultural and economic dimensions are very important in the creation and maintenance of power relations, which has a neo-Marxist tone. The main personalities with contributions in this area include Fairclough (1992a, b, c, 1993, 1995a, b, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2003), van Leeuwen (1996), van Dijk (2000, 1998a, b, 2001), Wodak (1996, 2000, 2001), Gee (2014), and Scollon (2001). CDA is generally agreed to be classified as an approach rather than being viewed as a single method. This approach consists of various methods and perspectives for analyzing the relationship between social context and language use. Broadcast and written journalism always tied its meaning to context by assigning sense and reference to linguistic structures. This idea is supported by Richardson (2007).

In this section, the general principles of CDA will be reviewed, research approaches of CDA will be outlined, and CDA will be critically studied with the aim of further establishing the analytical framework for the study. Many of the theorists in CDA have presented the overall principles of CDA in their own terms (van Dijk, 2000; Wodak, 1996; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Meyer, 2001). Some have taken a controversial stance, while others represent a common ground for all the different approaches within CDA. Among them, Fairclough and Wodak’s (1997) eight principles of CDA are the most widely acclaimed view. The following summarizes their principles.

The first of the eight principles is that CDA addresses social problems. It looks towards the linguistic characteristics of cultural and social processes in addition to language and language use. CDA critically approaches the social problems in its efforts to make power relations visible, which are otherwise frequently hidden. Its aim is to extract the kind of results which are practically relevant to the political, social, cultural, and even economic contexts (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

The second principle concerns the power relations being broadly discursive. This

is how CDA explains the way social relations of power are worked-out and exchanged through and within discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Third principle states discourse constitutes society and culture. This principle means that in every case the use of language contributes on its own to reproduce and transform culture and society, together with power relations (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

As per the next principle, discourse also does ideological work. Put differently, ideologies are often produced through discourse. To analyze texts is not enough to understand how ideologies are produced. It is vital to consider the way texts are received and interpreted, along with their social effects to recognize ideology (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

The next important principle is that discourse is history. Thus, one cannot understand discourse without reference to their historical context. Accordingly, CDA also addresses everything other than the linguistic factors such as ideology, culture, and society in historical terms (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1996, 2001).

Another important principle is the mediated link between text and society. Hence, CDA makes connections between properties of texts on one hand, and between structures and sociocultural processes on the other (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1996, 2001; Meyer, 2001; Scollon, 2001). Here, CDA invokes the idea of mediation, and does not take this relationship as deterministic (Fairclough, 1995a; Scollon, 2001). Fairclough looks at ‘orders of discourse’ to study the mediated relationship between text and society (Fairclough, 1995a). Wodak (1996) and van Dijk (2000, 2001) host a ‘sociocognitive’ level to their analysis, while Scollon looks at ‘mediated action’ and ‘mediational means’ to study mediation (Scollon, 2001).

Furthermore, CDA is explanatory and interpretative. Going beyond textual analysis, it is not only interpretive, but also explanatory in intent (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 1996, 2001). These are dynamic and open interpretations and explanations, and they may be affected by new contextual information and new readings. This is called a hermeneutic process (Meyer, 2001). Meyer compares hermeneutics with the analytical-inductive method used in some other fields and understands hermeneutics as a method of appreciating and producing relations of meaning by understanding the meaning of one part

in the holistic context. Meyer argues further that detailed documentation is required specifically for hermeneutic interpretation. This can involve an explicit linguistic analysis of texts.

Therefore, discourse from CDA's point of view is a form of social action. CDA's primary aim is to uncover relationships of power and opaqueness. It is a socially committed scientific paradigm. It efforts to bring about changes in socio-political and communicative practices (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Various attempts have been made in order to systematize CDA. In this respect, notable work has been produced by Fairclough (2000, 2001, and 2003), van Leeuwen (1996), van Dijk (2001), Wodak (2001), Scollon (2001, 2004), Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), and Gee (2014). Although sharing a common strategy, they vary considerably in technical specifications. As Luke puts that CDA contains a high-principled, honest and articulate forward and backward movement between text's microanalysis via diverse linguistic devices and the text's macroanalysis via studying societal establishments, organizations, and networks of power as indicated and created by these writings (2002).

As a consequence, systematization attempts of CDA draw from contemporary political and sociocultural theories on one hand, and theories and models of text analysis on the other. Some approaches rely much on a linguistic analysis of texts, such as Fairclough (2001) and Wodak (1996). Halliday's (2004) systemic functional linguistics (SFL) does this especially, beginning with systematic analysis of lexical resources, moving through a syntactic functions' analysis to genre analysis and then the metafunction of text. Both van Dijk (2000) and Gee (2014) develop toolkits that are less focused on to lexicosyntactic structures of texts and more focused on social and cultural resources and contexts, as opposed to Fairclough and Wodak's approaches. Van Dijk's (2000) uses four categories for his approach: ideology, action, context, and power, while Gee (2014) bases his methodological heuristics on six categories: connection building, semiotic building, world building, activity building, identity and relationship building and political building.

According to Luke (2002, p.101), a text and linguistic analytic metalanguage, as comprehensive as it may be, cannot 'do' CDA in and of itself. In order for CDA to take place, it will need the intersection of a societal theoretical discourse to illuminate the

domains of the social, containing the settings, associates, events and eventualities of a specified discourse or writing. Also, Pennycook (2001) claims that what texts ‘do’ in the world cannot solely be explicated through text analysis or text analytic language.

As far as macro analyses are concerned, CDA goes for the critical analysis of the visible practices of text interpretation and use in an attempt to move beyond text analysis. As they do this, Fairclough (1999), Gee (2014), and Chouliaraki (1999) engage with a spectrum of major social theories.

There are two above-mentioned major streams undertaking a critical discourse analysis. Fairclough’s work represents one of those streams, marked by detailed textual analyses. The other stream is represented by van Dijk and Gee and characterized by an emphasis on social variables such as ideology, action, context, and power. As the basis for its analytical framework, this study draws from Fairclough’s work in the linguistic stream of a CDA. This stream is briefly summarized in the lines below. Fairclough’s approach uses the following key terms for CDA (2000, 2001, and 2003):

The first crucial term in the understanding of CDA is ‘text’, which in Fairclough’s terms indicates, the spoken or written language generated via an event that is discursive (Fairclough, 1993, p. 138). Using the example of television language, Fairclough adds visual images and sound, as other semiotic forms which may be simultaneously present in texts. He also highlights the multi-semiotic nature of texts themselves (see Fairclough, 1995a).

‘Genre’ is the second key term, which for Fairclough is the use of language associated with a specific societal activity (Fairclough, 1993, p. 138). Fairclough treats different genres as varied production means of a precisely word-based genus, or diverse capitals for composing a text (Fairclough, 2000, p.441). Furthermore, genre is a means of structuring the text and a set of relatively stable conventions, which are both conservative and creative. Genre, by this yardstick, is open to change, and yet relatively stable.

The third important term is a ‘discursive event’. This is an instance of use of language, examined as writing, social practice and discursive practice (Fairclough, 1993, p.138). Thus, a discursive event refers to text, social practice (including situational, institutional and societal practice) and discursive practice (production and interpretation of

the text).

Next comes ‘orders of discourse’, concerning all of the discursive systems in an establishment and the connection amongst these (Fairclough, 1993, p.138). These are associated usually with specific social domains or particular institutions. For instance, there are schools having particular orders of discourse. In their description, it is important to specify the relationships between each discursive practice (production and interpretation of discourse), and the types of discourse being used in the domain.

Finally, the relationship between language and society that CDA sees is ‘dialectical’. In other words, there is a ‘two-way’ relationship between language and society; on one side, society is influenced by language; and on the other, language is shaped by society. The implication of the dialectical relationship between language and society strengthens the description of discourse as a social practice. This means that situations, objects of knowledge and the identities of people are constituents of discourse. Discourse constitutes the social status quo and conversely, is shaped by the situation.

There are two assumptions about use of language: that language use is both socially shaping and socially shaped. This investigation of the relationship between these two assumptions is what Fairclough maintains, as CDA’s concern. Fairclough based this idea on Halliday’s systemic functional linguistics (SFL). The theoretical assumption that discourses and texts are socially constitutive is operationalized by Fairclough through the notion of multifunctionality of language in texts as he professes that use of language constantly and concurrently constitutes societal relations, societal identities and belief systems (Fairclough, 1995a, p.134). The interpersonal function of language creates social identity or subjects and the relationship between them; the ideational function constitutes systems of knowledge; and discourse creation relates the textual function. The implication that follows is that the contribution to the constitution of these three aspects of society and culture comes from every text. These three aspects are always present simultaneously, according to Fairclough, and one of these may precede the others (Fairclough, 1995a).

Fairclough asserts that language is not only socially constitutive but also constituted by the social factors at the same time. This process of being shaped socially is a very intricate one. On the one side, the same institution may host very different types of

discourses. The relationship between the use of language and the underlying conventions and norms, on the other side, is not always simply linear (Fairclough, 1995a). The term 'mediation' has been extensively used to represent how society and language use relate. This implies that society and language are not directly related, and language or discourse just gets employed as the medium which brings out norms, values, beliefs, and conventions of the society.

The consideration for the relationship between use of language and the wider social and cultural structures is taken care of by critical discourse analysis. As per Fairclough, this constitutes the relationships between a particular communicative event; a newspaper report of an event, and an order of discourse's total structure, as well as modifications to the order of discourse and its discourses, constituents, and genres (Fairclough, 1995a).

Fairclough develops an analytical framework for the operationalization of these theoretical considerations (Fairclough, 1992a, 1995a). He draws on the ideas of hegemony (that is the predominance and dominance in the cultural, political, and ideological domains of a society), intertextuality (the relationship between texts 'before' and 'after'), and interdiscursivity (the combination of genres and discourses in a text) (Fairclough, 1995a). To each discursive event, he attributes these three dimensions. To Fairclough, a discursive event is social practice, text, and discursive practice (including the interpretation and production of texts) at the same time. Fairclough analyzes this basing on three components: description, interpretation and explanation. Linguistic properties of texts are described (text analysis), the relationship between the texts and the discursive practice's interpretive and productive processes is interpreted, and the relationship between social and discursive practice is explained (Fairclough, 1995a). Fairclough, in doing so, undertakes the establishment of a systematic method to explore the relationship between a text and its social context.

The present study is informed by this analytical framework in the following ways. Firstly, the textual processing and social levels of discourse analysis are incorporated by multi-layered analysis. Secondly, the core of the analysis is text. Thus, texts are analyzed for linguistic evidence for propositions made out of the discourse analytical work.

Just as Fairclough, Wodak is also a CDA scholar who is oriented towards

linguistics. She views discourse as an intricate package of concurrent and successive interconnected language pieces, that present themselves inside and crosswise the societal arenas of activities as theme wise interconnected written or spoken semiotic indications, quite frequently as “texts”, belonging to particular types of semiosis, that is genres (Wodak and Reisigl 2001, p. 66).

Wodak approaches CDA from a discourse-historical perspective. This approach models and describes the relationship between fields of texts, action, genres, and discourses, and generally understands context historically. Influenced by cognitive science the discourse-historical approach is both interpretive and hermeneutic (Wodak, 1996). Instead of being understood as a sequence of separate operational steps, this approach operates as a cycle in which the three analytical dimensions are recursively and systematically related to the totality of contextual knowledge. Both micro and macro level statements can be made owing to the analysis of larger corpora of data and the exact description of individual texts. Summarized below are the general principles of the discourse-historical approach.

First, since discourse can only be understood, interpreted, and described in its specific context: that context and setting should be documented as accurately as possible. Secondly, the historical events and facts should confront the content of an utterance. Thirdly, on all linguistic levels, texts must be defined as precisely as possible. At the linguistic level, categories of analysis are highly dependent on the question of research (Wodak, 2001).

The following is the summary of the procedures of discourse-historic approach to CDA by Wodak (2001):

- Accumulate the information about the text’s co- and context (historical, social, psychological, political, etc.).
- Establish which discourse and genre does the text belong to, then sample further ethnographic information; find texts on similar topics, similar arguments, macro-topics, genres, and fields of action.
- Explore neighboring fields for explanatory theories and other aspects that are

needed for consideration and formulate precise research questions.

- Operationalize the questions of research into researchable linguistic classification form.
- Implement these categories one after the other to the text; interpreting findings resulting from research questions using theoretical approaches.
- Make the context diagram for the fields of actions and the particular text.
- Return to the original research questions and the problem under investigation to make an extensive interpretation of the data.
- With a constant back and forth movement between theory and empirical data, this methodology aims to be pragmatic, for the categories of analysis are developed in line with the research questions. Although there exists no stringent procedure for this task, the interpretation always analyzes and integrates the historical context.
- CDA is criticized by some scholars from fields related to text analysis, for instance the area of conversation analysis (CA). Schegloff's paper titled 'Whose text? Whose context?' (Schegloff, 1997) is antecedent to the debate between CDA and CA. Wetherell's (1998) reaction to this paper is also important here.

Schegloff's paper discusses that CDA is often short on detailed, systematic analysis of talk or text. The way it is carried out in conversation analysis is an instance of this observation. Schegloff (1997) writes that the projects that the CDA has and the issues which they address do not match each other. She believes that dealing with the issues of domination and power and relating it up to the discursive material requires a serious performance of this job and if not done so CDA itself will turn out to be solely ideological.

Wetherell (1998) finds that the scholars in CA avoid further social analysis and critiques but agrees that they do good work on talk in interaction. Further, she argues that even though CA and CDA are in some way incompatible research areas, they are not in conflict. There are some good CDA-oriented works which use conversations as data and analyze these at least partly from a CA perspective. Other CA-oriented work on talk

addresses critical societal and political issues. While CA concerns itself with structure problems in the organization of conversation, CDA is interested in social problems. Wetherell argues that these could be regarded as complementary rather than contradictory. Between Norman Fairclough (1996) and Henry Widdowson (1995, 1998), a specific discussion has developed over CDA, along with the general debate. The term 'discourse', Widdowson claims, is as vague as it is fashionable. The way it is used in CDA, discourse is an entity everyone is chatting about though not knowing with surety what exactly are they talking about. (Widdowson, 1995, p.158). It is a trendy but blurred and cloudy term. The lack of a clear demarcation between discourse and text is also one of Widdowson's main criticisms. He argues further that CDA is not an analysis; it merely is an ideological interpretation. Seen in this manner, CDA is a paradox in terminologies. His point is that CDA is a prejudiced explanation in a double way: Firstly, it is biased for being based on some ideological engagement, and secondly, it chooses such scripts for examination that will back the chosen explanation. Widdowson argues that discourse inquiry has to aim at the inspection of multiple interpretive insights. In the case of CDA, this is not possible because of prior judgements (1995). In reply to this criticism, Fairclough (1996) maintains that the results acquired in CDA are open-ended. He argues that unlike most other approaches, CDA is always explicit about its own commitment and position.

In their criticisms, Stubbs (1997) and Toolan (1997, 2002) argue for a strengthening of the theorization of CDA. After indicating various fundamental criticisms of CDA, such as CDA's text analysis and data collection methods, Stubbs (1997) proposes eleven 'essential questions' in an effort to 'rescue' CDA from the circularity of theory. He argues that methodical comparability between scripts and customs of a language are absent from CDA, and additionally the thought, and language could only be connected if theory and data relevant to both exists: if not the concept stays as orbicular (Stubbs, 1997, p. 100). If a person's view of reality is influenced by language use, there must be non-linguistic evidence of a pattern of behaviors and beliefs to support this claim. The theory is circular if beliefs are inferred from the use of language, and there is no independent evidence for it. Toolan (1997) feels the need for further clarifications of some theoretical distinctions in CDA, such as the explanation of the difference between interpretation and description. Secondly, with regards to the text linguistics it uses, CDA needs to be more critical and

more demanding. Thirdly, thorough and strong evidence should be collected for the arguments made in doing CDA while the analytical findings should be presented in simple terms.

Despite their presence, the criticisms of CDA do not distract from the value of work done in the area of CDA. While sharing strong political starting points for doing CDA, many theorists focus mainly on studying power relations behind texts, and revealing hidden values, beliefs and biases of texts. However, many of them explore relationships between social context and use of language by establishing operationalized research frameworks for them. In answering the research questions of the present study, the work of Fairclough that has especially helped to operationalize the principles of CDA is of great value. Similarly, in his 2001 article “Multidisciplinary CDA: a plea for diversity”, van Dijk’s words make an important contribution. He writes that in his many years of experience as the editor of quite a lot of worldwide periodicals, he has established that a good CDA, must assimilate the finest effort of several persons, well-known or not, from diverse specialties, nations, cultures and angles of investigation. The suggestion is then that CDA must be fundamentally varied and interdisciplinary (van Dijk, 2001, p.95-96).

Therefore, for studying the relationship between language use and its social context, CDA is a comprehensive approach. Opting the three-dimensional framework of Fairclough, this study and its research framework take Van Dijk’s words for insights.

2.4 Intertextuality

In order to understand a manuscript’s connections with previous writings, authors, receivers, and codes, both reading and writing texts are required. The idea of intertextuality offers us a way of looking at this interaction. This perspective is explained by Thibault (1994, p.1751) that all writings, vocal or in black and white, are created and carry the sense which the users of the text allocate to them via their connections with other writings/voices in a particular societal setup.

As generally accepted based on Bakhtin’s philosophy, Kristeva originated the caption ‘intertextuality’ (Baron, 2019). Bakhtin (1986) claimed that every text yields its sense in association to other writings, and via this sense, every writing (or utterance) is

dialogical. According to Kristeva (2013) a given text is a transformation of texts: that is intertextuality: in the territory of a specific text. Multiple articulations, booked from other manuscripts, cross and override each other. This usage of the terminology intends to illustrate the complex and heterogenous anatomy of excursive resources that cross in a specific construction of a script. Text according to Kristeva is a production type through which several varied genres, semiotic canons, and meaning connections/associations are both united and altered. Horizontal and vertical axes of texts are introduced by Kristeva: the horizontal one connecting the receiver and the writer and the vertical one connecting one text with other texts (Kristeva, 1982, p.69). In this way, both Kristeva and Bakhtin (2013/1990) view text being created out of, and comprehended in connection to, other texts in the same societal establishment (Thibault, 1994).

Halliday (2003) and Bell (1993) conceive of intertextuality as the past profile of a writing; the rounds of the string of writings which have influence on, and have connection to, the current specific text. Thereby every text contains a history of that text. No text is expected to be made without such intertextual elements. On the contrary, the intended text is inherently influenced by the entire accumulation of intertextual components of the linking scripts (Allen,2000; Fairclough, 1999, 2003). They are also embellished with the writer's originality and talent to yield the entire and ultimate rendition of that script. Thereby (literary) text may be declared, as the result or blend of two strata that is author's genius and intertextuality.

These intertextual chain/components intrinsically attach the intended writings to the connected writing through quotations, paraphrase, allusions, implications, recreations, revision etc. (Travers, 1997 ; Booker, 1996), and evoke innovatory liaison amongst the writer of the writing, the earlier writings, and/or the inspirations the author takes from those texts. Even though categories of texts – newspaper, technical, theoretical, archival, and holy writings (Bloor and Bloor, 2007: 51) – include intertextuality, the focus of maximum intertextuality researches stayed on literary writings. Peck and Coyle say that it is partly for the makeup of literary texts that these studies have seen the phenomenon of intertextuality in such writings (2002). Intertextuality in literature points to a succession of previously created writings – poetry/prose – which become the current text's 'predecessor' by influencing it in different ways (Halliday, 2003). There are a number of intertextual

elements that can trace these influences, such as canons and literary customs, semiotic elements, implications, literary allusions, literary genres, quotations, speech figures etc. that generate the cycles as well as history of the chain of that particular writing. In turn, this text adds one cycle to the chain and develops this chain (Peck and Coyle, 2002; Abrams, 1993).

Having borne the effects of and being reliant on these, the author takes portions of primary foundations of text, explains them via his/her art and creativity to create innovative literary writing – poem or prose. Meanwhile reading, as maintained by Bell is a text and language-based activity through which the reader infers the sense of whatever he/she reads (1993: 31). Reader ventures through the realm of the script, scrutinizes the text on the basis of the parts of the text, rudiments of text's framework, fundamental structures, etc. (Werth, 1997), to infer/create the sense along with specific interpretation from that reading. In that case, intertextuality is and shall constitute such process, simultaneously in the writing that is to be studied and the reading history of the reader. In studying literary works, getting to the core of literature script is dependent, largely, on understanding the type of the components it is formed of, like intertextuality (carrying a great significance) with all its factors, apparatuses, aspects, along with the text's style and subject. Literary references, societal elements, quotes etc. are examples of intertextuality (Bloor and Bloor, 2007; Halliday, 2003; Webster, 1993). Commonly it is believed that during the process of reading, the degree to which the aspects such as reader's artistry, literary bent/passion, field/approach, and text structures carry importance, to the exact degree intertextuality is vital as well.

Founded upon aforementioned information, it's logical to suppose that the readers' understanding of intertextuality along with its fundamental components/mechanisms in a literary text can assist them create a greater trustworthy and agreeable sense/interpretation/explanation of that script. Though generally, research on literature, specifically literary text reading, considers a number of features of the phenomenon in account, to the best of what we know, no research has immensely focused on the capacity of intertextuality knowledge in text to date. Therefore, the quantitative part of this thesis throws some light on this aspect but considers the effect of this understanding on editorial readers. Its purpose is to seek the role played by the intertextuality awareness

of the reader of an editorial text on her/his interpretation of the text. Researchers in various disciplines consider the idea of ‘intertextuality’ from various viewpoints for a variety of purposes. These researchers could be divided into two sets. First one consists of those working in semiotics, chiefly in literary semiotics. Known figureheads comprise Chandler (2005), Meinhof and Smith (2000), Culler (1981), Frow (1986), Riffaterre (1978) and Kristeva (2013). The above mentioned researchers limit themselves to delving into quite intricate and diverse makeup of literature productions by seizing intertextuality domain. The work span of these researchers ranges from studying the effects or backgrounds of a particular literature to the evaluation of literature rules and canons as preconditions for literary exchange. This domain has, in recent times, evolved from literary scripts to areas covering communication through broadcasting media, such as cyberspace websites, commercials, and TV series etc.

The other set consists of researchers covering the field of discourse and critical discourse analysis, including researchers like White (2002), Lemke (1995), De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), Devitt (1991), Bazerman (1993, 2004), Fairclough (1992a, b, c, 1995a, b), and Scollon (2004). They are chiefly concerned with non-literary pieces. A number of researchers infer intertextuality not only as a system via which writings are interconnected, but equally as a sociocultural ritual involving specifically structured styles of creating and deciphering discourse (Fairclough, 1995b).

No single, standardized approach exists in analyzing the complexities of intertextuality in the production of writing and interpretation. Approaches range from a focus on language canons by White (2002) to studying societal canons like Lemke (1995). A rudimentary kind of study of a text is first examining its intertextual makeup and discussing the explicit (a direct quotation) and then demystifying its implicit (the underlying meaning and context behind the text).

Genette (1992, 1997) sees every textual relation through the lens of what he names as “Transtextuality”, classifying them into five types, out of which intertextuality is one. Four remaining are: hypertextuality, architextuality, metatextuality, and paratextuality (relation between text and the paratext). Out of these, he trusts the textual relations between (literary) texts are shown by intertextuality. Intertextuality in this definition by Genette's is

dissimilar to Kristeva's notion, for it carries extra restricted extents.

Genette further categorizes intertextuality into three categories: formal and explicit intertextuality, overt text segments present in-text such as quotations, in particular the direct ones; hidden or non-explicit, intertextuality, like copied materials (piracy) utilized in constructing a specific writing; and implicit intertextuality, like those concealed parts of other scripts in which the author gives allusions or references.

While this model may work in theoretical analyses, it shows little promise in practice being inadequate for usage in intertextual analysis while studying texts. Firstly, it constrains intertextuality to three types only; preventing a comprehensive understanding of phenomena should they not fit within. For example, explicit intertextuality does not cover quotations alone; insertions, additions and references also fall under its domain, hence it cannot be constricted to only quotations. Secondly, hidden intertextuality cannot be constrained to reproducing copied texts, or parts of text as it is unethical in text production, and therefore does not fall under the domain of intertextuality, assuming that a text's intertextuality is inseparable from it, yet plagiarism is not.

Intertextual elements also include that intertext which influences the internal structure of the text, such as vertical/hierarchical. Intertextual elements hide under diverse levels of the writing and establish its meaning. This type of intertextuality can appear as quotation, indicators, allusions and adaptations etc. (Booker, 1996; Travers, 1997).

(1) Allusions are references, to other literary works, personalities, locations, events etc. (Peck and Coyle, 2002; Abrams, 1993; Kuleli, 2014). For instance, in the short story by Foster, named 'Ethel', for instance one of the main roles, Mr. Locus's daughter, alludes to Antigone: daughter of Oedipus, in Sophocles' Oedipus in Colonus.

(2) Adaptation is basically utilization of a part or parts of existing works and incorporating them into something new or creating something new along similar lines. Dryden speaking of four elementary rudiments (hot/cold, dry/moist, water/fire, and air) in his rhyme "A Song for Saint Cecilia's Day" being integrated by melody of the "tuneful voice heard from high" and "heavenly harmony", to demonstrate the nature's creation by the Divine Wisdom out of disorder, adapts the great philosopher Epicurus' Physics to explain the configuration (Abrams et al, 1986).

(3) Indication is the mention of a concept, an idea, or a connotation by proxy i.e., a thing related to the object implicitly. Dryden speaking of “heavenly harmony” for being the chief reason of amalgamation of the main fundamentals to produce the main “universal frame” is a signal of a view based on religion related to melody and galactic plan by God (Abrams et al, 1986).

(4) Quotation; directly or indirectly citing some ideas or statements from other people in a writing.

Bloor and Bloor (2007) perceive intertextuality in all categories of writings: literary, journalistic, and scientific writings, although intertextuality is best shown in literary writings. In their perspective, intertextuality is more of a revision of or an intrusion within the text i.e. the insertion of elements from other or previous texts into the new one, and hybridization i.e. combinations of genres, mixing them. In textual study then, intertextual parts can be placed in two types or stages: textual or intertextual level and linguistic (grammatical and lexical) elements, which constitute the text’s surface structure. The former refers to its internal structure, while the latter refers to its text’s style, its stylistic features and its linguistic development. Being more realistic than previous methods it performs better in analyzing intertextual elements. Researchers can trace intertextuality in the text while studying it using this model. It remains to say that this model does prove to be inadequate in some cases and cannot be opted for intertextual examination of the writings due to its shortcomings. It overlooks, for example, any references or allusions, and cultural backgrounds within the construction of the writing, both of which are significant predominantly concerning literary writing investigation.

Widdowson (2004) sees intertextuality through the lens of linguistics. He contemplates Halliday’s framework as insufficient, however, regarding the texts’ intertextual analysis, yet acknowledges the status and importance of intertextuality, in (literary) writing investigation, like Halliday, (2004). For him, ascertaining the parts of intertextuality and the presence of parts of former writings within intended texts is a difficult task. It is clear, however, that all writings have intertextual parts inside themselves, being a combination of documented elements/units of former and associated writings. Understanding intertextuality in writings continues to be problematic without a practical,

clear method to determine intertextual elements. Widdowson, despite this admission, does not suggest a framework fitting these criteria to trace examples and elements of intertextuality in literary texts.

Intertextuality in non-literary texts has been analyzed by new rhetoric tradition scholars like Devitt (1991) and Bazerman (1993, 2004). Their approach is to consider intertextual connections as a societal activity, being almost unchanging canons surrounding a community's specific discourse. The writing of tax accountants was studied by Devitt across multiple genres (1991). It was revealed that tax accountants, in their writing, use solid intertextual associations pertaining to the legal tax code, albeit these associations appear with variations across various genres.

A comparison is launched by Bazerman (1993) between the way the text of another article is cited by the authors in their own modern scientific article and the original text of the cited article, uncovering how an intertextual field is constructed in order to lend greater power to the arguments generated by them.

Some fundamental ideas and procedures are put forth by Bazerman in an article to analyze intertextuality (2004). The basic concepts described by him cover methods of intertextual representation, intertextual reach or distance, re-contextualization, translation across contexts, and intertextuality. A brief summary of the method described by Bazerman (2004) is as follows:

- Find out the objective of doing an intertextual study, and the queries that need to be answered.
- Identify the body (corpus) of the text, that is, the specific texts to be analyzed.
- Examine the explicit, clear references to other authors to identify traces of other texts within the corpus.
- Consider the references keeping in mind the context of what the author is saying while observing and interpreting.
- Look further for subtle hints that can cater to the purpose of the analysis.
- Look for a pattern that can be used in evolving an inference.

Bazerman (2004, p. 94) states further that intertextuality is not only a point of which other writings writer used, but also how were they used, for what purpose and ultimately how the author positioned himself regarding the used text to generate a declaration.

Xie (2018) distributes intertextuality into two classes: specific intertextuality and generic intertextuality. Specific intertextuality hints that there exists another discourse that seeks a particular originating point in the discourse. Generic intertextuality, on the other hand, is a different kind of genre, discourse, or register fused in a discourse.

Xie (2018) recognizes specific intertextuality in four of its following forms:

- i. The use of direct or indirect speech.
- ii. Rewording established phrases or proverbs, for example: “Where there is smoke, there is ‘ire, and there is the Mayor’s Cash” The headline paraphrases the famous maxim
- iii. : Where there is smoke, there is fire. ‘Fire’ is changed to ‘ire’ suggesting negativity and unpopularity of smoking. In another instance, the headline ‘James Bond: More spinned against than spinning’ tweaks a famous Shakespearian phrase: more sinned against than sinning.
- iv. Referring to the important personalities or happenings/events, for example in ‘San Diego Now’, the headline ‘Enron by the Sea’ employs the negative undertones associated with the Enron scandal to convey the magnitude of the fraud event in San Diego, California to its readers.
- v. Intertexting with digital media and literary works, for instance, the headline, “Rule, Britannia, but Maybe Not over Scotland” refers to the ‘merchant marine’ track of Britain ‘Rule, Britannia!’. Another headline, “Coming in soon: Two theaters near you” as a straight reference to the 1999 romantic comedy "Coming Soon." as the headline informs about the construction of two new cinemas.

The two major applications of generic intertextuality are as follows:

- i. The miscellaneous usage of vocabulary consisting of various modes of expression, for instance, in “Acquaintances Kick Up Stink in Magistrate's court for crock -bellied Animal Named Thrassy” it can be seen that the term “kick up” is a form of street

vernacular, and 'stink' is an informal street slang meaning 'intense and bad complainment'. These are both fused with each other and other styles or forms of words to formulate generic type of intertextuality.

- ii. The text with language forms and constructions of other literary styles, for instance, the line, "The rice would be nice, but for today, stones should suffice" consists of a robust rhyming frame of poems and sounds like one as well. Obviously, thereby, it arises in the person who reads, a connection with the traditional standards of the poetic genre.

The study of intertextuality, for Lemke, is related with the recurring activity and discourse designs of the society and what way are they established by, taken in, and unified or dethatched via specific texts (1995). So thereby, by delving into intertextuality, the link amongst a particular text and the related genre can be discovered; in other words, the relation amid a writing and its sociocultural setting can be partly comprehended.

According to Lemke, the writing represents the cultural framework via intertextuality. Intertextual analysis for meaning, therefore, is extremely important towards discovering the sense of a writing. The rationale for its fundamental status stays that all writings espouse their meaning intertextually. Intertextual associations rise beyond situational background, relying on the cultural context (Hasan, 1985). Instantaneous state of affairs, while being the most definite, is on no occasion the broadest background for discovering the import of a discourse or writing. Various settings render the meanings that are related exactly the same way as is typical of the culture of a society.

Intertextuality, thereby, acts as a bond or articulation between the culture's background/setting and the writing. With the additional improvement and expansion of Genette and Barthes and others, the theory slowly evolved to constitute a significant text concept of current postmodernism in West. Intertextuality draws upon any civilization to the language string of writers, writings, readers, and culture. Thorough understanding of intertextual associations is not an impossibility along with the methodological prestige making it 20th century's literary theory pillar (Shumin & Puling, 2009). For a considerable period, the research into intertextuality was focused entirely upon literary critique but has come to recently receive prevalent consideration in analysis of discourse. The Critical

linguistics scholars, who attach great importance to media discourse as a major object of analysis especially devote immense focus at it. The implied, indeed at times contradictory ideologies and supremacy associations in media discourse could be brought forth via investigation into intertextual associations. As per Fowler (2013) allusion has the property of stimulating the precise and original standard and pattern knowledge of the reader. The values linked to the standards are immediately shown by quoting intertext. Goatly (2000) views news production as intercultural binding points, in which broadcasters can wittingly or unknowingly modify the extended intercultural connecting string in the news. According to Van Dijk (2003) quasi-quotes or quotes are nearer to the reality, which has the potential of not only making reporting more impressionable and trustworthy, but also shield journalists from infamy. Bin proposes that the quote in the cycle of the news seems apparently honest and unbiased (2005). As a matter of fact, the reporter often, consciously or otherwise, influences readers of the text with their personal views after investigating and comparing the news reports from the scope of critical linguistics (p.130). Similarly, Tao and Lili infer that quoted statement is a medium for influencing the viewers' philosophy/dogma/ideology through the media of news (2007). After going through the evolving intertextuality from the perspective of cultural knowledge, paraphrased quotes, **nominalization** and so on, Lin and Ying identify that intertextuality dynamism is of huge importance in exposing the apparently neutral and unbiased bias of broadcast discourse (2008).

Intertextual analysis makes it easier for the researcher to locate the 'better image' of the writing regarding its meaning and its relation with other socially popular senses that frame a specific writing. Looking through this lens, this could be viewed as pedestalizing socially ingrained textures of meaning seized against the wider backdrop of the potentiality of the entire range of senses that could be generated.

To investigate intertextuality, White's (2002) method for analyzing 'engagement' is particularly suited for a linguistic deliberation on intertextuality investigation. Engagement dimension of Appraisal analysis concerns the originating sources of attitude and recognition of alternate voices (Martin, 2002) in a writing. In 'engagement', domain White (2002) differentiates between two wide classifications of resource alluded to as 'extra-vocalization' and 'intra-vocalization'. Extra-vocalization limits itself with capitals

involving the addition of an overtly outside voice in the text while intra-vocalization concerns the inner voice of the speaker/author that disclaims, proclaims or offers a probability. White classifies extra-vocalization in the capital named 'attribution' that concerns referencing or quoting the declarations or lookouts of outside sources. Alternatively, it identifies linguistic capitals for accommodating external sources and minutely observing the feasible options for investigating these sources added to the text. White (2002) puts intra-vocalization below the capitals of 'modality, disclaims and proclaims'.

Fairclough (2003) also provides decisive consideration to the idea of intertextuality for linguistic research. According to Fairclough (1992c,1995b), intertextuality refers to how writings can alter previous writings and reconstruct current codes (discourses, genres) to create new codes. It interests itself with the method of production of texts relative to previous texts and how they help build current canons in manufacturing new writings. Looking at the book *Media Discourse* (1995), by Fairclough a 3D structure is proposed for investigation of intertextuality in broadcasting discourse. This is an investigation of discourses in writings, the research of 'discourse representation', genre investigation of discourse categories. (Fairclough, 1995b). As per Fairclough 'discourse representation' is a type of intertextuality where bits of particular writings are merged to a text and typically, but not at all times, evidently manifested with quote marks and the reporting clauses (1992a, b, 1995b). In broadcasting discourse, the representation of discourse occupies a main chunk of the identity of broadcast: representations of quotes from important personalities. Fairclough also brings in the idea of 'discourse type' accounting for discourses and genres signifying that examining discourse categories can include intricate compositions of various discourses and genres. Discourses, for Fairclough (1995b, p.76), are a specific way of creating specific (area of) societal practices, and genre is a system of deploying language corresponding to the makeup of the societal tradition being hooked in. Through scrutinizing intertextuality, investigators look to pin down which areas (subject matters, topics) are linked with a particular genre, and which discourses are used to build these arenas. Also maintained by Fairclough (Fairclough, 1995b) is the point that intertextual analysis is an interpretive and explanatory task, that heavily relies on the investigator's own discretion/decision and skill. Fairclough's particular

preoccupation is in evaluating relations of intertextuality as relations of power, indicating that intertextuality may form a center with struggle and contest (see Fairclough, 1992a, b).

Fairclough deems that a text being a mixture of various components such as lexical, functional, grammatical, textual structure and coherence, needs all these to be reflected in textual investigation. The associations amongst these components are ranked, starting from one word level ascending to clause level, then sentence level, and ultimately the whole script. Important aspect in building of the text is “intertextuality” as well (1992a: 75). Accordingly, the investigator classifies critical elements in the text and discourse construction into three types:

1. Coherence of text
2. Force of utterance,
3. intertextuality.

Force of utterance refers to the purpose and force of the writing e.g., promising, request, etc.... that discourse holds. Text coherence results in intrinsic and articulate connections between inner elements of the writing. Intertextuality governs the relations amongst the considered and related texts” (ibid, 75-6).

We can observe that Fairclough focuses upon the significance of intertextuality in construction of the text. According to him, intertextuality is the rebuilding of the links of writings or web of writings in the new writing (Fairclough, 2003). Fairclough has also expounded upon ‘intertextuality’ and ‘assumptions’. He assumes intertextual relations as component of external relations. Assumptions point towards the types of ‘implicitness’ especially presuppositions. He believes that texts necessarily make suppositions. Fairclough points that both intertextuality and assumptions are statements that the authors make about the oral and written works of others. Hence, these statements may not be true. ‘Intertextuality opens up difference because it involves various voices into the text (Fairclough 2003, p.41). Contrastingly, ‘assumption’ simplifies these differences by highlighting common ground. A particular type of Intertextuality is known as interdiscursivity which has a Bakhtinian tradition and denotes ‘mixing of genres’. The term ‘interdiscursivity’ was devised by Fairclough (1992c). He defines Intertextuality as the

quality scripts carry of being occupied with grabs of other scripts, either defined overtly or amalgamated in and which the current script has the choice to integrate, deny, paradoxically reverberate etc. (Fairclough,1992b. p. 84).

For the broader adoption of genres, styles, and the ideological conventions constituting discursive practice Fairclough (1992b) proposes the terms interdiscursivity and intertextuality. Intertextuality originally comes from Bakhtin's notions of dialogism (1981) i.e., the existence of diverse voices in a writing. Components of various discourses are collected in interdiscursivity. Fairclough refers to a number of academicians ranging from Bourdieu and on to Habermas in addition to his own previous understanding for CDA. He relies upon Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) by Halliday for the textual investigation of the text. As specified in his book 'Discourse and Social Change' texts belong to different genres and in their entirety, need to be separately understood and researched (Fairclough 1992a).

Fairclough mentions three essential aspects of CDA:

1. description, 2.interpretation and 3.explanation.

This is named as Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for critical discourse analysis. Fairclough (1989) proposes that language shapes our social identifications, and this process is taken by Fairclough as a kind of societal ritual. For Fairclough text, is not a means but it is an end. He takes text as a component of discourse containing three key features: social context text, and interaction.

A broad idea of CDA demonstrates that language is not influential in itself, however individuals attain power by means of language to gain authority over other people. Rising of scholastic consciousness, as per Fairclough (1989), is the chief objective of discourse analysis, in informative perspective of how language takes part in the exploitations or authority of some individuals via common sense suppositions ideologically designed by relations of power. The practical application of CDA is thereby to comprehend the hidden tactics that are executed when language is utilized to affect others.

The words of the ones not in control are disregarded as inessential, unsuitable, or deprived of substance and words of the ones in authority are considered as obvious truths

(van Dijk, 2000). Language is used this way as an influential tool to gain supremacy on others as detected by van Dijk. In discourse analysis, theory and method are interlinked and to utilize it as a system/method, the scholar and the investigator has to admit its primary philosophic base. Discourse analysis is contextualized by them within the argument of social constructionism about critical societal investigation. The opinion, that a critical posture is irreconcilable with social constructionist paradigm is rejected by them. Their argument is that the criticism should be a characteristic portion of societal research. Jorgensen and Philips (2002) maintain that, Fairclough's CDA is most attentive to reviewing transformation and a subtle approach is needed for such analysis. According to them critical discourse analysis has the goal to disapprove unfair societal conditions and to contribute to mend these.

2.5 Media and Its Importance

While stating that media is an imperative component within research on present-day processes of cultural and societal change Fairclough acknowledges the importance of examining media texts, keeping in mind the objective of CDA (Fairclough, 1995a). Bell puts forward that these media are vital broadcasters of social life, politics and culture, influencing as well as screening how these were articulated and formed. According to Bell media is important not only for what it discloses about our society but also for the reason that, it also plays a part to generate the character of society (Bell,1998:64). Amongst the influential establishments that can outline the societal activities are the media and the government. Many studies have explored the way in which authorities tend to manipulate the media. Media for many people are the solitary means through which they ever come across politics, and this probably is the primary reason for the vitality of media (Lauerbach & Fetter 2007: 3). People tend to recollect significant events in modern era via their reporting media (Oates, 2008: 1)

Viewing the communal functions of media, given below is the summary:

1. The media delivers statistics about important issues and events, thereby permits for advancement in the world and highlights the power relations in the world.
2. The media performs the role of connection, that is, it frequently, indirectly, construes

and elucidates the newscast for its audience. This certainly conveys to the audience what they must think of the material offered to them and is typical of categories like the newspaper editorial. People are socialized this way into their parts by presenting them with the ideals and norms portrayed to lie beneath proper behavior.

3. The media acts to be responsible for continuation in society by perpetuating the overriding culture.
4. The media offers amusement and delight to its audience, which, permits for enjoyment and relaxation.

Four individual functions are performed by media apart from its social roles (Grossberg et al. 1998:249). These discrete occupations comprise:

1. Information that placates general interest, education and curiosity.
2. Individual identity, that permits the audience to discover replicas for behavior and **standards**

which let one to produce a specific identity.

3. Social interaction and integration, which qualifies one to categorize and interact with others

while attaining an insight into the situations of other people, leaving one more compassionate to the other cultures and societies.

4. Enjoyment, Escape, emotional relief and relaxation, coming through entertainment for the individual (see also Burton 2002).
5. Mobilization of public to induce change in society in such arenas as economics, politics, and war.

The first shape of public media able to disseminate news to many humans at a time is taken as the newspaper. As per the definition given by Reah news is the data about current proceedings that are interesting to an adequately huge group, or that might affect the lives of a sufficiently big group (2002:4). As newspaper has played a significant part since its emergence around the world, a historical overview of the news media thereby is important. Pertaining to its capability to convey the identical ideological message to

several people at the same time, it brings economic, social, and political alteration in civilizations, cultures and societies.

Previously earlier than the arrival of any type of media, news was transported by informal verbal sharing of information as individuals voyaged and traded. This transportation of goods and people was seen as the same procedure as the transfer of information – both in other words, were taken as “communication” (Briggs & Burke 2002). Broadcast of news thereby trailed post and business routes before the introduction of the newspaper. The hand-written letters were the precursor to the newspaper since these were used to move data or information along the postal routes (Picard & Brody, 1997; Smith, 1979). The demand for printed news was always there. The reason being that the ordinary citizen that way could have had a better chance to have access to the news from all around the globe (Smith 1979). Ballads were the first published shape of the news and were published in fragments. Minor classes of the society were the target audience of these ballads and carried stuff related to state matters as well had portions for entertainment that focused on highlighting the hottest gossip or the hottest scandal. For containing more stuff related to news on economy and being addedly costly, news sheets and pamphlets had the upper classes as their target audience. Since these printed materials were important and effective in letting a more liberal formula in commercial bent towards the production of all types of data to infiltrate throughout Europe, thereby these were important (Conboy, 2002:26).

17th century saw the beginning of newspaper circulation. In 1665, the first on ground newspaper was printed in Britain. As far as the daily newspaper is concerned the first daily which was successful was printed in Britain in 1702 (Lambert 2019). The forerunner to the newspaper, in the form of the coranto, which was not a regular publication, generally appeared in 1662, in Britain. With the objective of safeguarding the reputation of the government the coranto was profoundly monitored and controlled by the government. This marks the start of an effort for press liberty in the initial phases of the press round the globe and is still today continuing. It was the period when the older feudal kingdoms were beginning to deteriorate, and new notions of political egalitarianism were rising (DeFleur & BallRokeach 1989:50). Thereby through the eras of social and political transformation, the newspaper, was instrumental, in gifting people with a voice.

Mobilization of the people thus was the primary concern of the newspaper's social function. An extraordinary influence on Britain press was that of the American and French Revolutions also, as the press wanted to stretch more participation to the public in parliament and the management affairs of the country (Conboy 2002). The London Gazette was the name of the first newspaper that surfaced in 1665 and the next upsurge of newspapers like The Times, began in 1788. The second wave got stimulated into reality because of the uprisings evolving on European side. When the press in Britain is compared with that of America it's found that the press in Britain, has at all times been undoubtedly divided along bigoted lines and been quite politically driven. They were largely analytical in their reporting and had at all times carried greater percentage of foreign news than just resident news (Jucker, 1992). According to Curran, the developmental history of the press in Britain is categorized into three phases (1978:51). The first stage was identified as the one, when the press faced severe government restriction and operated mostly to back the state. The second stage saw the press becoming somewhat autonomous and answerable relatively to the community. As for the third stage emerging from the 20th century, the press, because of the rising obligation amidst producers and reporters to the proficient objects of impartiality, accuracy, and balance became less partisan and more socially responsible.

The progress of the newspaper in America and particularly the editorial as delineated by Rystrom (1983) was very similar to the three stages of the Britain newspaper. The press in Britain today, appears in two foremost types, the tabloids and the broadsheets (or the populars and the qualities) (Jucker 1992). The broadsheets or "serious" press according to Bagnall (1993:24), intend to deliver their audience with current news and inspire them through ideas.

On the other hand, the tabloids, are quite less enthusiastic about stern ideas and are more motivated in the direction of surprise. Resultantly, limited vocabulary and heavy reliance on clichés and exaggerations is visible in the language of tabloids. As pointed out by Jucker (1992) the two newspapers target different audiences. A superior quality is observed by the broadsheets, like The Times, in the reporting and audience of an upper socio-economic position are targeted. Resultantly, broadsheets in comparison to tabloids like The Sun, have a quite reduced circulation. In contrast to tabloids, broadsheets also

cover somewhat additional news, counting foreign news (Reah, 2002). Compared to the broadsheets, tabloids though also have often been critiqued for their dramatic features and are usually not taken as dependable or trustworthy foundations of evidence.

The newspaper startup was slow in the American colonies and surfaced in the 18th century, that is a century afterwards compared to Europe (see Conboy 2002, DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach 1989, Grossberg et al. 1998, and Picard & Brody 1997). Since public was inclined to live in minor communities, there was no great need for newspapers. The news was transported orally, and no flourished newspapers were witnessed by the colonists when they first arrived. Like in Europe, America also first employed the postal system to transmit news. There was however commercial and populace development by the 18th century, which meant the increased commercial activity. This led to a requisition for info in the political and economic spheres in the novel society, and a demand to debate on the future of the continent. Picard & Brody (1997:62) explained that the newspaper during that time turned out to be very vital as it was utilized as an instrument to question the effectiveness of the colonial administration for managing the emergent hitches and issues and challenge the control of the puritan clergy. The societal occupation of the newspaper as visible during that stretch was not just to deliver data but also to mobilize public into causing transformation in the continent. The newspaper in America initiated with its target readers belonging to the upper class and was utilized by the producers and proprietors for their own partisan and societal ambitions. These newspapers being accusatory and argumentative, were very significant since they assisted in bringing about essential alterations in the government via uprising. In America, 1830's saw the emergence of that newspaper which bent in the direction of the common individual. The newspaper name was the Penny Press (so low-priced that it just charged a penny). This newspaper was jam-packed with stimulating, normally shocking stories that attracted the common public as compared to previous mode when news had been of a serious nature. Still surviving today, this style was branded as the popular press, and abundantly resembles the tabloids in Britain (Conboy, 2002). Newspapers opted a comparatively serious style of broadcasting the news with the advent of Civil War and adapted to the role of conflicting authority against Britain (Conboy, 2002). Since America turned into a business society, it was a moment for big transformation. The following period after the World War I was the top stage point for the

newspaper in America where newspaper was bought by every household. After that, partially because of the advent of other public media like the television, the newspaper has been on the decline.

The newspaper named Hicky's Bengal Gazette, initiated in 1780, marks the first media of India established in the late 18th century. The newspaper Dawn was initiated by Jinnah and was originally printed in 1941. The paper was dedicated to the promotion of the struggle for independent Pakistan (Feroze, 2017). Nawa-e-Waqt, as the newspaper with the conservative bent, launched in 1940, was the ambassador of the Muslim leaders who were amongst the sturdiest affiliates of a sovereign Pakistan. By promulgating the Press Ordinance (PPO) in 1962, the initial stage in inaugurating media laws in Pakistan was taken by the then martial leader and President Ayub Khan. The authorities were empowered through this law to block down the news workers, confiscate newspapers, and detain reporters. Large parts of the press were nationalized using these laws and one of the two major news organizations was taken over by Ayub Khan. The other news producing agencies were pressed into nastiest catastrophe and had to pursue monetary sustenance from the state. The Pakistani media faced a decisive development, from 2002, under General Pervez Musharraf, that led to a thriving moment in the electronic media of Pakistan and cemented the system to it achieving political thump (Between Radicalization, 2009). New generous media regulations appeared to break the control of the state on the electronic broadcasting. Though Musharraf himself at a number of points during his government did put media under strict control as and when suited him.

Pakistani media are relatively free compared to their South Asian counterparts, yet many regressive and undemocratic laws and regulations have been the fate of the media industry. Despite alternating democratic and military rule, the country has succeeded to grow on rudimentary autonomous standards. The media in Pakistan remained largely unaffected although it was put to work under repressive regimes and military autocracies, which, in order to 'control' it, introduced many preventive laws and regulations.

The area now known to the world as Pakistan had as less as four key newspapers owned by Muslims back in the year 1947, namely, Civil-Military Gazette, Zaminddar, Pakistan Times, and Nawa-e-Waqt. Pakistan greeted various Muslim newspapers along

with their producers and that also included Dawn -which had set roots for publishing in Karachi in 1947- Urdu-language dailies Anjam, Jang and the Morning News. The total number of newspapers and journals in Pakistan was about 15,00 as of the year 2000. The swift decline in the sum of print openings in Pakistan was analogous to that in the rest of the world, in the first half of 21st century, however the total sum of circulations improved. The sum total of monthly, daily, and other periodicals progressed from 3,242 to 4,455 from 1994 to 1997 but experienced decline to just 945 by 2003 with most of the fall happening in the Province of Punjab. Nevertheless, there was a considerable augmentation in the total print circulation from 1994 to 2003 predominantly considering the dailies whereby the number rose from 3 million to 6.2 million. After hitting the rock bottom in 2003 the sum of publications raised to the number of 1279 in 2004, the number of 1997 in 2005, the number of 1467 in 2006, the number of 1820 in 2007, and the number of 1199 in 2008 (Pakistan Press, 2020). Currently magazines and newspapers are printed in 11 languages; mostly in Sindhi and Urdu languages , but English-language periodicals are also frequent.

The Associated Press of Pakistan is one of the chief agencies of news and is under governmental control while most of the print media remain retained by private owners. The press was controlled by the National Press Trust, from 1964 into the early 1990s, which behaved as the government's front for this matter. Though daily newspapers and journals are not published by the state anymore; the previous Press Trust marketed or discharged its magazines and newspapers in the earlier part of 1990s (Pakistan Press, 2020).

News Agencies of Pakistan were totally unconstrained, prior to 2002. A body was launched in October 2002, through the Press Council of Pakistan Rule. It was given the job of dealing with a variety of multi-dimensional tasks that range from monitoring mechanisms to

the fortification of press freedom and reviewing the criticism from the public. The code of practice was an ethical one operating upon a semi-autonomous nature and was initialed by President Pervez.

However, the reservations of the media organizations never really allowed for the Press Council to become operational. The establishment of the council was met with protests from the professional journalists' organizations that refused to nominate their four

members to the Council. Nonetheless, offices now exist with an appointed chairman, and there's continual general administration. The whole Press Council mechanism has been reviewed due to this.

The Press Council Ordinance has a thorough linkage to the Newspapers, Press, Books Ordinance (PNNABRO) of 2002 and News Agencies. The system for the registration criteria for publications of media ownership are handled by this legislation. (Pakistan Press,2020).

A guarantee, to the Press Ordinance, is also required on behalf of the editor to follow the Ethical Code of Practice given in the Schedule along with the other papers to get the license for newspaper publishing. The imposition of restrictions and the space for exercising draconian actions against newspapers is guaranteed to the government by the supplementary means provided by these interlinking laws even when the Council process has been hushed or stifled. The provision of the bank details of a publisher is one of the many requirements of the PNNABRO. The registration process also comes with strict protocols and controls. Not only are the logistical details necessitated, but also requires comprehensive data on content providers and editors.

Without the attainment of a special approval from the government of Pakistan the rights of possession of publications (mostly news agencies and newspapers) are limited to the citizens of Pakistan. Foreign participation cannot surpass 25 percent, in partnerships. Foreigners are not permitted by law to acquire a permission for running a news organization or any broadcasting station.

2.6 Importance of Newspaper in Media

The role of newspaper is crucial in not only giving info to public about universal subjects but likewise in founding their view regarding different matters. It not only reflects events but additionally filters data, playing the part of a doorkeeper. People's awareness is deeply affected by the careful choice of words, repetition and the utilization of specific social symbols (Entman ,1993).

In this perspective some researchers argue that, during conflicts, the response of governments to a crisis and the ignition of tension among people is greatly impacted by the

significant role of media. Journalists, intellectuals, broadcast specialists and viewers have voiced alarms accusing current media for having a basic problem in reporting the conflicts and war. Present day broadcasting is focused on victory and slanted towards violence, publicity and elite welfares. (Lee & Maslog, 2005). Conflicts are highlighted and hyped, by journalists because of a simple reason that it sells. Victims of conflicts are manipulated to fetch earnings while conflicts are being sold. (Aslam, 2010). Conflicts such as ethnic ones and others are fanned with the course of 'othering'. The 'others' here are broadcasted as treacherous and dangerous to the society by the media and the only means of evading this hazard is to eradicate them totally (Terzis, 2008). Biases and hatred are cultured by asserting on 'oppositions' that are binary in nature, broadcasting 'us' as 'all good' the 'other' as 'all evil' and, and 'us' as 'perfectly rational' and the 'other' as 'completely irrational'. These binary natured oppositions are integrated as a fundamental portion into all kinds of addresses made for the 'other' by mainstreaming them into the media through journalism. Additionally, the frequent dependence of journalists on government sources turns them into the sustainers of skirmish and problematic compromises, pushing line of the government (Ozguness & Terzis, 2000). Media merely begins supporting the official line by depending on the government sources instead of making its own agenda (Birand, 2004).

The real necessity is for the journalists to behave dedicatedly and responsibly and describe the 'other' in goodwill context. They should be more critical of their judgement of the 'others' and of the official sources instead of relying on them blindly (Gilboa, 2000; Hanitzsch, 2004). Other scholarly findings have detected that the media is inherently disposed towards the means that intensify violence, tension and conflict (Wolfsfeld, 2004). Lee & Maslog (2005) concluded that Indian and Pakistani media covering Kashmir issue had strongest war journalism settings while probing the four major Asian regional conflicts using the Gultang's cataloguing of peace and war broadcasting, including Pakistan, Indonesia, India, Philippines and Sri Lanka (Lee & Maslog, 2005). The reporting in the case of India and Pakistan over the Kashmir problem is also with the war journalism frames in the American press (Siraj, 2008). The case in the Irish media is comparable where the conciliation frames are overridden by the conflict frames (Fawcett, 2002). War frames are the preferable choice of by media even when peace negotiations must be covered

(Shinar, 2009).

The dramatic headlines and aggravating reportage by journalists that we experience daily are the consequence of the endless and intense media competition.

Findings of research by McGoldrick and Lynch (2006) in the case of Indonesian press demonstrate that the inflammatory effects, of some published stories, observed in a few conflict- stricken provinces of Indonesia are the outcome of frail press laws, no broadcasting bill, and the lack of training of journalists. Fahmy & Neumann in 2012 believe, that leading western newswires photo selections in terms of war versus peace journalism, in the Gaza war 2008- 2009, also had an influence in forming public view and awareness of news events. Lacasse found that when the connection between closeness to a conflict and the propensity to use peace journalism in place of conflict journalism styles of reporting is studied closely, a local newspaper has been seen to use more peace journalism frames with less negative and pessimistic view compared to distant newspaper (Lacasse & Forster, 2012). Furthermore, media is also held responsible for either insensitivity by resorting to complete silence regarding the conflicts and or for intensifying ferocious conflicts in societies. There is a dire need for an assessment of the role of media through the times of conflict together with the likelihood of recreating the media in a manner that allows it to contribute to solving a conflict.

The research that has been carried out to witness the peaceful evolution of reporting, after the conflicts, is not extensive. Findings express that the key issues tangled in conflict transformation are not dealt with effectively by the choice of journalism (Rolston, 2007). Media are very discriminatory and inconsistent in covering conflicts which should be kept in mind before we lead ourselves to believe that media have the control to impact the policy responses to conflicts (Hawkins, 2011). Still, media's work out of the war frames' boundaries has also been mirrored in different studies. Findings of the studies by Shinar (2009) on press coverage of the war in Lebanon by Israel and Canada have proven that peace journalism was not totally ignored by their newspapers even when their inclination is in the direction of 'war journalism'. The study also sheds light on the presence of prospects to promote professional practices and peace journalism (Shinar, 2009).

Fong (2009) while doing the content analysis of news items on youth conflict, claims that both the war frame and the neutral frame have co-dominated the coverage of the succeeding apology after the utilization of war frame as a dominant one for coverage, in the Chinese newspapers in Malaysia. At the same time, it is also maintained that journalists who see themselves as strong advocates of peace journalism still must come across certain expansive complications while covering news on conflicts. The way the newspaper reports are filed is fashioned by specific yet oratorical and descriptive constructions (Fawcett, 2002).

Even prior the dawn of the mass media, accessing the fresh news has always been significant since, as per Smith (1979:18), it has a significant impact on the potentials of occupation, business, trade, on the upheaval or establishment of reigns, and on the engagement and disbandment of militaries. While defining broadcast, the specific and common functions of news need to be paid attention to, together with the features that hold importance as newsworthy news is filtered from the ones that are not. A view of these features makes the upcoming part of my argument.

Print media are generally regarded to be having the power to shape public perception and agendas of political stakeholders, just as they can influence the publications of newspapers. This becomes apparent when the print media plays its role in communicating political news, manipulating political agendas, as well as sourcing and controlling of information delivered to the public (Devaney, 2013).

News producers are entrusted with choosing what is newsworthy and creating a narrative around it. Fowler therefore argues that newscast is thus not a fact reflection that is without value charge, as it integrally executes structures of socioeconomic standards on the news through the language utilized for representation. Herman (1995:213) elucidates the difference that exists between ‘freedom of customer choice’ and ‘customer sovereignty’, referring to availability of more variety for consumers and consumer’s power to buy and influence what is produced respectively.

History shows that audiences are created according to demands felt by the media, or what is decided by mass media to offer to general public as specified by Chomsky. As presented by Grossberg along with other researchers (1998:209, see also, McQuail 2000)

a similar view about the audience that is visible to operate inside 2 soqs:

1. Predominantly newspapers sight audiences as consumers of their products, which translates to heavy investment by newspapers to identify what appeals to the audience and increase sales. The ideological note is that what we purchase speaks much regarding who we are, compared to other realities, for example, where we get the money (Grossberg et al. 1998:212).

Therefore, newspapers have immense influence on shaping the ideology and identity of their audience.

2. Newspapers view their audiences as a saleable commodity. Considering that newspapers generate much of their income through marketing, they also have to sell their readership to publicists who are primarily interested not just in the number but also the type of the readers/viewers that will be exposed to their message.

The views and philosophy of the media establishments or proprietors both affect the sourcing and constructing of news. As a result of agenda setting on political issues, the range of perspectives and opinions are streamlined similarly by channeling public attention and focus. The media therefore actively plays a role in shaping/framing perceptions and directly influence the nature of the world as well as our interactions with it. Consequently, the media might dynamically frame and contour audience's acuity of the world and certainly have an impact on the style of that very world and how the audience connects with it.

Valuating media entities, Chilluwa (2011) argues that the press can easily withhold crucial information or may provide legitimacy to particular identities/labels in the favor or specific individuals or government. This process of agenda setting of political issues, causes the range of range of perspectives and opinions to be streamlined in a similar manner by channeling of public focus. Devereux maintains that the possibility of this claim arises because everybody does not hold the same power and influence in media, and it is a disputed space (2009). That is, several societal organizations and social actors, with dissimilar focuses, are often competing with each other for stimulating a change in whatever media generates, due to its authority or worth. This rests on the circumstantial conception of the media as a social location with lengthy brawls meant for domination via its construction

and reconstruction of implications. Another way to put it is that the political consequences of media production of meanings are geared towards small contending groups being ideologically dominated by one powerful social group.

Chari (2011) postulates that a common denominator of print media in his overview is authorized control of the media. This suggests that the control of the flow of news with the intention of making the information more attuned, keeping in mind the conceived national priorities, is in the hands of the authoritative establishments and competitors for space in media, which are governments. (Hyden & Okigbo, 2002). An all-encompassing association amid the government and the media is made definite due to this control. The liberty of the media is progressively becoming a reality with the beginning of democratic rule. That liberty, as the current study trusts, just takes away the apparent regulation by the government and since revenue is a very crucial factor for the survival of media establishments thereby it cannot be said that influence and control from outside are not being exerted on media and that the media is entirely unrestricted. The government is at a benefit when it can exercise power in all arrangements from its own viewpoints and it permits the structure to act and perform in certain specified styles (Blommaert, 2005, p.1). The controlling factors can be the internal government but can sometimes be foreign powers as well which do have their proven existence as the controlling authority in media as huge amount of money is offered by them to media.

Critical Discourse Analysis has been used as the primary investigative tool in a number of researches studying political discourse and media in current era, since this instrument helps to explore the connection between social power and media. Many well reputed intellectuals like Fairclough, Foucault, van Dijk, Gramsci, Althusser etc. have paid substantial attention to the notion of power. The notion has transmuted from strongarm state gadgets whereby force is used to govern and execute authority over the less influential people, to the conceptual state gadget where media turns into an appliance of authority and influence without consciousness of the people.

The present study aimed to unveil the conceptual state gadget of power and ideology in the media representation. This was unearthed by exploring the use of linguistic tools such as intertextuality and others. Media discourse is therefore a very integral sight

to locate the ideologies being launched. It is here in the media discourse that discourse analysis can be used to problematize the launched ideologies by exposing the clever, strategic and foul use of the linguistic tools that are used to naturalize them. Fairclough model of Critical discourse analysis having intertextual analysis at its center is well equipped to unlock, open up and problematize the hidden ideologies being plotted through discourses.

The examination of media scripts carries significant standing to examine then the make up of the social order equally at present time as well as the past. In accomplishing this goal, it also becomes a possibility to highlight the manners in which happenings and people are signified.

As Fowler (2013) maintains that commentaries in newspapers have to be taken as created “stories” voiced via a specific and decided viewpoint and that the language in the news is never neutral. While a newspaper attempts to portray an event a whole procedure of decision making is involved to determine what way and how that event ought to be produced for the ingestion of the society. Thereby event presentation by the newspaper for the public is never neutral. So, newspaper representation sets up viewpoints regarding societal activities and individuals (Chiluwa, 2011).

This comprises forms of societal makeup, as shaped by mass media establishments, and that eventually reverberate the drives or ideologies they embody in elusive ways. The use of language by media expresses such ideologies. The selected words preferred by the newspapers for that reason are having the capability of influencing the opinions of the customers with diverse causal ideologies.

Subsequently, Fairclough (1995a), advocates that, investigation of event depiction by media must account for structural edifice of the used discourse and how are these structures expressive of relations of power and ideology. This opinion proposes, that, since discourses are ingrained with judgements and ideas by media institutions thereby discourses carry ideologies.

2.7 Newspaper Editorials

The item in a newspaper that provides the view of the editor or publisher on an item of news or a topic is named as an editorial (Sinclair, 1995). While journalists pride themselves on endeavoring to be as neutral and fair as possible, making every effort to be impartial when lettering news stories (Fowler, 2013), newspaper editorials, being openly persuasive, have a special role within the pages of the press, and there is less emphasis on objectivity (Le & Lin, 2006). The definition of the editorial to be followed here is a newspaper article covering the opinion of the proprietor or editor on any topic (Sinclair, 1995). The editorial as a genre is taken as a type of opinion discourse (Van Dijk 1996a, b). Also known as the lead or leading article, the editorial, appears under the newspaper's name and logo and by inhabiting this prime place, it suggests that it is the paper's voice (Vestergaard, 2000a,b). Value positions or official positions of a given media outlet are expressed by editorials (Wang, 2008; Lihua, 2009).

It is found that editorials frequently focus upon issues surrounding national politics, often discussing political leaders and the decisions taken by leading politicians. Editorials are thought to be more subjective than news (Stonecipher, 1990: 21). They signify the involvement of the newspaper in public debate (Lee, 2003) and are places where ideological standpoints can frequently be found (Hackett and Zhao, 1994).

Unlike other newspaper parts editorials are somewhat recent creation. The emergence of editorials, contrasting the situation with many old genres, can be dated with some exactness to the initial half of nineteenth century. In the beginning the editor's view infused newspapers, blending indistinguishably with the news (Smith, 1978). In the early nineteenth century, the view that news should be published factually and objectively as information and that editorial statement must be acknowledged as such and limited to a defined space in the newspaper, arose slowly. The earliest practitioner of the contemporary "leader" or editorial is conceivably Thomas Barnes of The Times somewhere about 1815 (Murray 1966, 23). An editorial has a significant part in establishing the ideological standing of the newspaper syntagmatically (within one issue) and paradigmatically (its consistency over time). The editorial also has a role (as a rampant example – one of the rare cases in everyday life) as a script whose main occupation is opinion establishment and

persuasion through argument. The editorial thereby, should be a central article of research. Many of the significant occupations of the editorial are detected through knowing this short background: not only does an editorial demonstrate the position of the newspaper, but it also assists to legitimize the impartiality, detachment and objectivity of other parts of the newspaper – in other words, opinion has apparently been fastened within one segment.

Bhatia opined that a strong opinion is expressed by an editorial to provoke some reaction (1993, p. 170). Thereby linguistic techniques that create favourable or unfavourable bias in his [her] arguments thereby are employed by the editorial writer. Bhatia explains that with an intention of eliciting response from the readers editorials use specific linguistic devices to argue in favor of or against a sensitive issue. To refer to prior events which are reported variously in news reports or taken as shared knowledge (common issues of concern in that particular society), an editorial makes use of nominal expressions. The lead, for example, presupposes that the event being written about is familiar to the readers having been reported in the antecedent editions (Vestergaard, 2000a, and b). Vestergaard explains in addition that editorials have obvious evaluations originating from the writer and not attributed to some significant source. These evaluations label things/events in terms of desirable or undesirable, goodness, badness. Editorials, in fact, are manifestly opinionated (Conrad and Biber, 2009). To pronounce opinion about the current events, editorials engage in argumentation (Vestergaard, 2000a, b). They are focused more on the on-hand consequences of the event than on the description of the event. They also give suggestions which submit what should be done about the prevailing undesirable status quo. The writers brand declarations, i.e., human assessment of what is expected to occur given the prevalent surroundings (see also Murphy and Morley, 2006). Modal verbs (shall, will, must, should, ought) mark these assertions and predictions. According to Murphy and Morley (2006) the predictive, necessity and probability modals have a higher occurrence in commentary than in news reports.

They also explored that, personal pronouns (I, we, you, my, me, our, your), a key feature that alligns the writer's identity and ideology with the assumed readers, were found in editorials and op-eds. The mental verbs such as 'know', 'think', 'see', 'suppose' which indicate the opinions and beliefs of the writer were also found in the editorials through their study. In a study of editorials in the China Daily, Lihua (2009) establishes that editorials

have a high frequency of explicit evaluations of events but less of human behavior; and that the attitudinal value to sources is hardly attributed in editorials. Additionally, editorial discourse has modality as one of its established characteristics. She found out further the use modal of expressions of certainty, necessity and obligation (will, should, need to, have to, must) in editorials.

Bell (1998:67) describes the generic construction of news texts and pinpoints "attribution" - information about where a story came from or who has written it - as an essential component of a traditional news story. This can be a journalist's byline or the name of the news agency from which the story is obtained. The section of the editorials does not feature an individual journalist's byline, the name of a news agency, or the job title of the person responsible for composing the text ("Staff Reporter", for example).

The only sections within daily newspapers that do not carry an individual journalist's byline, the name of a news agency, or the job title of the person responsible for composing the text, are the editorials ("Staff Reporter", for example). In its place, one finds the name and address of the newspaper (in the broadsheet press) or a headline that signpost that the text of the editorial can be credited to the newspaper as a whole. Thus, expecting editorials to express opinions and make ideological presuppositions as van Dijk (1998a) suggests, entails that it is the featured opinion and ideological stance of the newspaper as an institution (comprising the editorial team and proprietor in addition to all others involved in text production). For explicit guidance on how to orient towards issues and individuals, it is to editorials that readers are expected to turn to rather than the news stories. It cannot be taken as a mere coincidence that such texts are alternatively referred to as "leaders". If editorials are written from a particular viewpoint, and are openly persuasive or ideological in nature then the questions to be asked are first of all, what that ideological stance exactly is, and then and more importantly, how is that stance articulated?

The editorials are a kind of opinion discourse and creating an understanding of opinion and its functions is important because it creates a linkage between the ideology and the discourse (Van Dijk 1996a, b). Van Dijk (1996a, b) trusts that an investigation of opinion must include society, discourse and cognition. He explicates those opinions are positioned in our minds and are a kind of belief. Beliefs are related to and rely upon what

we know to be true or false and what we like or dislike. He contends that beliefs or evaluative opinions must be noticeably distinguished from knowledge in order to comprehend the workings of ideology suitably and appropriately (see also Oskamp 1977, Van Dijk 1998a, b & 2004). The

commonsense information that is taken to be true and is not contested is called knowledge. Opinions on the other hand are usually regarded as subjective evaluations by which someone thinks something to be true yet might be regarded as false by someone else (Van Dijk, 1996 a,b).

Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), through which I analyzed my data, suggests a set of organizational tools to explore that how opinions and knowledge are built in the language. The subtle distinction between opinions and knowledge is that the meaning of an opinion depends upon the opinion which it is contradicting (Billig, 1991:17). Since recipients expect the opinions to be defended and made plausible thereby opinion discourse is argumentative (Van Dijk 1996 a,b). Arguing and defending an opinion can be considered as an ideological strategy of legitimation to encourage receivers agree to the opinion and it obviously then includes persuasive strategies.

Sornig (1989) determined that rather than the truth-value content of speech, the delivery of the speech affects the likelihood of the audience being persuaded by the speaker. Persuasive communication hence requires a change in the style of language (be it lexical choice, syntactic or the arrangement of the discourse) used to encourage behavioural and opinion changes in the audience.

With this, persuasive communication can be seen as a stylistic process, recognizing the helpfulness of using SFG to uncover how language is used in such a case. Sornig (1989:109) enlightens that persuasive use of language does not so much implore to logic but to the recipient's expectations and emotions. Since editorial's purpose is not so much to update but to make people believe, and consequently to act upon their beliefs. It is logical that he or she who sounds like one of us is the one we most easily trust. The editorial, in essence an opinion discourse, aims to persuade readers to modify pre-existing or to accept new opinions. According to Oskamp (1977:133) "mass communication is particularly likely to be effective in creating opinions and attitudes on new issues where there are no

existing predispositions to be changed”. Alongside opinions, there is also factual knowledge, that is, “presupposed knowledge we have called public knowledge about specific events” required by all readers to be familiar with to understand the text (Van Dijk 2004). While editorials are considered as personal opinions or beliefs of the writers, they are, as well presupposed knowledge, often based on social opinions, however. To give the impression of presupposed knowledge as universal or common sense, producers of discourse formulate it carefully. Understood as common sense or universal, these opinions or beliefs within a group face little opposition and transform themselves into shared knowledge. (Van Dijk 1998).

Van Dijk (1996a, b) specifies that opinions can be discerned by focusing on an individual's vocabulary, grammar and stylistic choices - some obvious opinion markers being “my opinionis”, or “according to me”. Expressions of opinion as such are thus regarded as attitudes used “for negotiating our social relationships, by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people (in a word, what our attitudes are)” (Martin & Rose 2003:22).

In this unit, consequently, I discuss how opinion, being a type of belief, is subjective and fallible as opposed to knowledge. This is followed by my reflections on the argumentative nature of opinions, and the kinds of discourse strategies used by communicators to make recipients amicable towards new opinions. This section is also enriching my already detailed section on ideology in the earlier part of literature review, as opinions expressing social ideologies are particularly found in media discourse, like the editorial.

Media has been considered as important in demonstrating governments and parties and the language or the discourse it uses as ‘social practice’ (Fairclough, 1995, p.2). Discourse is expression of us using words. In everyday context, discourses are usually used for the expression of knowledge or power. At the base of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the relationship between discourse and power is considered. The term covers a lot of approaches and explorations under its umbrella, including intertextuality. CDA, despite the differences though, has an emancipatory agenda as the common point amongst all CDA studies is their leaning towards finding the relationship between language and power,

especially determining how power is abused.

Quoted in Shokouhi and Amin (2010:388): Katajamak and Koskelain (2007) studied the structure of editorials in English, Swedish and Finnish business newspapers: Financial Times, Dagens Industri, and Taloussanommat.

Following inquiries were the focus of the study: first, determining if a typical rhetorical structure was present within the three business newspapers despite the obvious lingual, cultural and social differences; second, if there were different types; and third, what factors were linked to the content of the text, language and culture which would correlate with the different types.

22 editorials from these three business newspapers were used in the study. A modification of Van Dijk's (1995) view of the rhetorical structure of editorials was used as a starting point for a model for the study. Quoted in Katajamak and Koskelain (2007: 2), editorials are classified by Van Dijk (1995), into three sections. All three sections have their own specific stages and functions.

For research in editorials Katajamak and Koskelain (2007) opted a different model - Van Dijk's (1995) view of the rhetorical structure of editorials- for investigation.

This study (Katajamak and Koskelain, 2007) is a comparative rhetoric to categorize and distinguish the rhetorical patterns used in Swedish, English, and Finish newspaper editorials. While editorials of three different languages originating from three different countries were studied, the variation found in the rhetorical structure was of a subtle nature.

Using the application of the Generic Structure Potential (GSP) model, Babaie (2010) considered the rhetorical design of English newspaper editorials important within the public sphere. Babaie identified four obligatory structural elements (Runon Headline (RH), Addressing an Issue (AI), Argumentation (A), and Articulating a Position (AP)) present in 90% of the sampled editorials by using the same model adopted from the Systemic Functional (SF) theory of language and genre (see Halliday & Hasan, 1989).

The sequence for these elements was: RH^AI^A^AP. In addition to these four, a few optional elements also came up which can be: providing Background Information (BI), which either preceded AI or followed it, Initiation of Argumentation (IA), and Closure of

Argumentation (CA).

The optional elements presented in the GSP aided writers is either starting their argumentation, or finely tuning their conceived arguments. For the purposes of delving into the GSP of English editorials, Babaie (2010) contrasted the pieces from American and Iranian newspapers in another study. Ansari and Babaie (2004) made use of the GSP model of the Hallidayan approach to identify a generic pattern of text development for editorials in another study to find out the distinctive rhetorical features of English newspaper editorials. 30 editorials from the 'Washington Times' were selected to represent the American newspapers. 90% of the sampled editorials were found to have the four obligatory elements (Run-on Headline, Addressing an Issue, Argumentation, and Articulating a Position). A few of the optional elements, such as Background Information (BI), Initiation of Argumentation (IA), and Closure of Argumentation (CA) were also explored in the study, mainly being used in rounding off arguments. Ansari & Babaie (2004) used the GSP model in their study, with only the identification of rhetorical structure of American editorials being under investigation. Shokouhi and Amin (2010) crystallized some findings through investigation of rhetorical elements in editorials.

Shokouhi and Amin (2010) sampled ninety newspaper editorials, with their investigation of the rhetorical elements in editorials yielding some findings. Editorials were culled from six American and Iranian newspapers, New York Times, Washington Times (written in English by native speakers of English), Tehran Times, Keyhan International (written in English by non-native English speakers), and Keyhan, and Resalat (written in Persian by native speakers of Persian). Four reading comprehension tests were also administered to 27 university students. The results of the study concluded that the generic structure includes three obligatory elements in almost all editorials. These were similar across the different languages, regardless of the place of publication. Results from the reading comprehension tests made clear that the differences between 27 participants' performance on the test was linked to the varied degree of their familiarity with the content and context of the text rather than its structure. In addition, the study (Shokouhi & Amin, 2010) applied triangulation. Using the GSP model, this rigorous study compared and contrasted English editorials written in Iranian and US newspaper, as well as the English and Persian editorials written by Iranians. Additionally, Shokouhi and Amin (2010)

engaged (twenty-seven) student readers of editorials through reading comprehension tests. It is already established that the main purpose behind arguing some claims through editorials is to have the readers digest and agree with the claimed points. Conner (2001) upholds, “in most newspapers, the purpose of editorials is to influence the opinion of readers on some controversial issue” (p. 143). Hence the choice of analysing the reading comprehension of students in the study as opposed to their degree of acceptance, rejection, influence, or persuasion – that might be caused by editorial argumentation- may not have been the best option. Reading comprehension plays an important part in trying to understand the argument for a reader, though. The debated problems are the means, serving to guide the reader towards persuasion and support. In summary, this study attempted to spot the rhetorical patterns of editorials, identify their differences, and test reader’s comprehension of editorials.

Based on these factors, the actual reasons behind the emergence of these rhetorical patterns -and whether or not the editorials succeeded to perform their major task of winning, influencing, persuading, and supporting changes in opinions - are absent in Babaie & Amin’s work in particular, and all the above cited in studies in general.

Sano (2008) studied the persuasive strategies being utilized in four Japanese editorials on a similar news item and found a specific argumentative approach among them. Sano’s study picked up the usage of following rhetorical structures: Inducement, Empathetic Construction, and Position. Inducement provokes the readers by subtly alluring them to the text. Empathetic Construction follows in order to enlist the empathy of the readers on a given position. Position provides the main arguments within the stance of the writer, either subtly or openly. Sano concluded as follows: “Inducement occurs at the beginning of the editorial and of necessity precedes Empathetic Construction and Position. Both Empathetic Construction and Position are iterative and either of them follows Inducement”.

Fowler (2013) focused upon the language in newspapers in an attempt to update critical linguistics. Within newspapers he highlights how the emotive vocabulary, modals relating to inevitability (e.g., will and must) and generic statements used in editorials are utilized to persuade the reader to adopt a particular viewpoint on various topics. He further

highlights linguistic characteristics of 'press scares', showcasing how newspapers inflate potential problems

whilst reporting to frighten their readers and propagate future sales and subscriptions on behalf of the readers. This is in addition to the types of modality and transitivity designed for purposes of manipulating the public and spreading discourse of the elite or unjust ideologies within news texts. In the view of Fowler (2013) critical linguistics seek, through the study of minutia of linguistic structure against the backdrop of the text's social and historical situation, to display the consciousness of the patterns of belief and value encoded within the language - and do not cross over the threshold of suspicion of anyone accepting the discourse as "natural".

Fowler refers to a 'consensual theory of society' highlighting ways in which the language of the press can serve ideologies. This involves the press using collective, familiar pronouns like 'us' in order to make the readers feel as a part of a group or community, whereas, in fact, this is an impression cultivated by the newspaper itself. Fowler argues that social and economic factors eventually determine what becomes news, touching upon the types of ideologies that the press' linguistic structures in newspapers help to encode. His contention is that the press is required and aimed to make a profit, and that therefore there is not much it can do except reproduce a capitalist ideology, to which its very survival as an institution is dependent upon. The maintenance of the status quo, and hence the dominance of the already powerful institutions reliant on capitalism follows. Methods for sustaining this domination's continuation include offering a platform only for certain institutions to provide their discourse. The other end of the spectrum, i.e., ordinary or oppressed people, communities etc. rarely get their opinions or counter arguments published or aired.

The domination of the institutions is maintained by the style of the language used by the press, argues Fowler, especially in the broadsheets; institutions whose style is being reflected in the linguistic choices of the press.

Newspaper research in Pakistan lags behind in many potential areas, including editorials. Most studies are based simply on generic and rhetorical structures of different texts. Usually social, cultural and/or political aspects in editorial writing are depicted by

these studies. Within them, methodologies have also been limited to discourse and rhetorical analysis of Pakistani newspapers in the past decades, which could be applicable to certain text limits. A comparative discourse analysis of editorials in the *Hindustan Times* and *Dawn* following special reference to ‘Nuclearization in South Asia’, has been done by Shabbir (2012). His study concluded that political discourse was aggravated by the media in order to formulate the public opinion regarding any foreign policy.

For example, two researchers, Tabassum Shah and Bilal (2013), honed in on the editorials of two Pakistani newspapers. The two studied editorials from the daily *Dawn* and the daily *Nation* in order to examine their role in the construction of right wing and left-wing ideologies. Their focus was based on how editorials portrayed the death of Osama Bin Laden, and the PNS Mehran Base attack. The examination of these editorials was done by studying their discourse-analytical devices as lexical choices, syntactic structures, global and local semantics, and rhetorical structures. Their findings concluded that editorials published are not impartial or distinguishable from the media narrative. On the contrary, they represent the prevailing ideologies of the concerned newspaper. In a separate study Mahmood et al. (2018) attempted to investigate the portrayal of the Taliban as —them, and the victims as —us, in the aftermath of the Army Public School attack in the editorials of the —*Dawn*, and —*New York Times*. The lexical choices and syntactic structures were analyzed, to explore Van Dijk’s ideological model of —us versus —them. The research results revealed that both the newspapers had dealt with the issue in agreement with the socio-political climate of the respective countries. A more balanced representation of the —us and —them sentiments was found in the *New York Times* editorials. The analysis revealed that not just Taliban were clearly mentioned and criticized but the victims were also fairly represented to express solidarity with them. The *Dawn* editorial was found more —us oriented as it was primarily concerned with the predicament of the dead and injured and the victims’ families. The —them sentiment at the same time was weak as the editorial, did not clearly hold the Taliban responsible for the attack through the syntactic structures. How the same issue or conflict is depicted differently by different newspapers in different socio-cultural and political settings was an interesting finding of the study. Further, the researcher nominated the tool of CDA very supportive in identifying the ideologies of dominant groups hidden in the texts of the editorials. The researcher found

that the issue of Taliban remains to be something like a taboo in the media discourse of Pakistan. To clarify the peoples', states' and media's attitude towards the issue, the researcher emphasized the requirement for more honest and impartial research.

Tahir (2013) investigated the representation of Muslims in a Washington Post article focusing on the protests of Muslims against the publication of blasphemous cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). He was using the same analytic framework of Van Dijk. Examining word choices and employing other such strategies, the study concluded that Muslims and their actions were negatively portrayed as —others in the article. The researcher explored the fine construction of underlying beliefs within the article regarding the representation of in- group, and out-group through the ideological framework of 'us vs. them'. In a similar vein, Poorebrahim and Reza (2012) explored the representation of Muslims and Islam in western discourse by examining the relationship between ideology and language. The focus was placed on the headlines of four newspapers in the print media, i.e. The Herald Tribune, The Independent, The New York Times, and The Times. Van Dijk's ideological square model comprising of the positive presentation of the self and negative presentation of the other was utilized. Frequent stereotyping of Islam and negative portrayal of Muslims was revealed through the examination of linguistic choices. For the purposes of studying the depiction of uprising in Libya and Syria in news editorials, Naem and Minhas (2015) studied editorials from two prominent newspapers: The Arab News of Saudi Arabia, and News International of Pakistan. The researchers examined how the uprising was portrayed in two different cultural settings. The Arab News represented in-group editorial voice, while the News International represented the out-group editorial voice. Similarly, Van Dijk's ideological square model was used for analyzing the text. Qualitative data analysis software package NVivo 10 was used for analyzing the data. It was found that the authorities were portrayed as 'them' whereas; the protestors were presented as 'us'. Furthermore, the latter group is often seen as an obstacle in the way of change that the common man represents. Naem and Minhas (2015) conclude that the Arab News presents the crisis with greater severity than the News International. Conducting qualitative research Razi (2014) explored two leading English dailies of Karachi through direct observation of the text (via content analysis) and interviews. By analyzing narration, arguments, word choice, choices in topics, the type of readership, and objective style of

representation, content analysis was done. It mainly showed that a credible role for decision makers is being played by the Pakistani English press with the help of editorials. Only inappropriate word choices sometimes appearing in the editorials reflected the misuse of freedom. Two English and Urdu dailies were researched in order to see the differences in portrayals of the social issue of Lal Masjid by Rahman and Ejaz (2014). Their findings showed that both dailies captured more conflicting than peaceful characteristics in their journalism. Journalism of conflict was at play. A significant difference was found within the media coverage. Binary opposition and conflicting religious elements were showcased by the English daily, whereas the Urdu daily gave low coverage to the issue overall. A comparative study to see the portrayal of US after 9/11 was done by Khan and Safdar (2010), one on an English Pakistani daily and the other Urdu Pakistani Daily to see the US portrayal after 9/11 incident through the Media Conformity Theory. The theory argues that the mass media discourse stays in conformation with the foreign policy of the government. In this case, the findings of the content analysis did not support the theory when views on the US were registered as negative in both dailies after 9/11. A comparative study of two leading English Pakistani dailies through content analysis was conducted by Shabbir et al. (2014). The coverage of government policies in editorials was the objective of the study. The findings showed that both dailies gave coverage while, at times, criticizing the policies followed by the government. It is evident that most research based on editorials has been addressing communicative and political issues. The need for studying different newspaper genres still remains, however, such as in the detailed grammatical description. The present study is conducted to analyze the selected editorials with comprehensive focus on intertextuality.

Increasing levels of literacy have resulted in educated and sophisticated readers of today as compared to the past, and with technology they are able to access different news sources for information regarding the same event, reducing their reliance on the newspapers. This shows that the reader “has a far better chance of finding out whether editorial writers know what they are talking about than did readers of a century ago” (Rystrom, 1983:10). The variety of opinions and beliefs that the average reader might bring has also sensitized editorial writers, and as a result strategy from the era of personal journalism cannot be adopted in case any offense is caused towards the readers (Le 2002,

Rystrom, 1983, Van Dijk 1996a, b). Findings have shown that mass-communication consumers often face an overwhelming amount of information, the volume of which prevents them from forming any strong conclusions on various issues. This results in them turning to the opinions of those who are continuously involved in producing the news (Hulteng 1973, Stonecipher 1979). The purpose of the editorial is also often to stimulate readers into action, but the expression of such motives is rather implicit when compared to the explicit writing of the era of personal journalism (Hulteng 1973, Stonecipher 1979). “Expert voices” are used by newspapers today for interpretation of events while simultaneously constructing a reality from a selected worldview for their reader implicitly (Jaworski & Galasinski 2002:643). Another one of their functions is to provide “benchmarks” for the readers so that they may test their thinking against other voices and shape their own conclusions about events and their possible meanings (Hulteng, 1973:13).

Editorial writers cannot be as was the case in the past to ward off the view of a newspaper imposing its own opinion on its consumers (Rystrom, 1983). Van Dijk (1996 a, b) states that the expression of opinions as a series of arguments is one of the most significant features of opinion discourse. The rationale behind this those opinions expressed within editorials currently have to be backed by their writers through logic, as opposed to the early days of editorial writing where even falsities were published in order to deliver shock value and generate interest by any means whatsoever.

Public opinion can be shaped by newspaper editorials in a significant manner, giving them an important and powerful role at the discretion of editorial writers, or the ones who sit on editorial boards. These people can decide what events or issues are important enough to write about, in addition to the style in which they are portrayed (Hutleng 1973, Le 2002). When conducting editorial analysis, all possible contextual factors which can influence the writer’s ideological viewpoints have to be considered. These viewpoints ultimately reflect into the editorials and can influence the opinion of the readers.

Editorial writers do not operate under total freedom; still bound in some manner to the views of the news organizations they work under. The greater the size of the organization, the greater shall be the number of editorial writers working under it. The editorial writers of a newspaper also have to meet daily to discuss topics and issues about

which to write editorials. It is also within these meetings that editorial writers decide (or might be presented) the stance of the newspaper regarding certain issues (Hutleng 1973). The process has its own cause as due to repeated scrutiny the final cut might “sound as if they had been written by a committee”, (Stonecipher 1979) and lose its initial “edge” which gave it an individual flavor as opposed to a groups’ (Hutleng 1973:28). This process has many implications concerning the ideological stance of a newspaper as “it is here that the paper’s ideology is clarified and re-established, reasserted in relation to troublesome events” (Hodge & Kress 1993:17).

The position of editorial writers is perceived as prestigious, with editorial writers often earning more than normal journalists (Rystrom 1983). Reasons for this include good educational qualifications and the ability to write on a plethora of topics as a requirement, even though they carry a specialization in one area. A newspaper simply cannot afford a large editorial team to cover every field of interest to the readers of today (Hutleng 1973, MacDougall 1973, Rystrom 1983). Editorial writers, to ensure that their articles are backed up by factual evidence, spend much of their time in researching an issue. Hutleng (1973:17) describes editorial writers as “a combination of philosopher, historian, advocate and educator” in their roles.

Many editorial columns today are still left unsigned, and the use of the pronoun “we” signals the opinion of an institution, not the individual writer. Editorial writers, however, are not necessarily subject to the same kinds of influences as they were in the past, and the usage of “we” still usually construes “I”. In the 19th century the editorial was a primary and open instrument for the use of political parties and Presidents (Rystrom, 1983). Today, in developed countries like Britain and America, it is noticeably absent. Underdeveloped nations still in progress with a grappling democracy fall under greater influence of the powerful, such as in Africa. Though not as explicit as was done in the past, newspapers still come under the influence of governments, political parties and their owners to a degree, nevertheless. Primarily, this influence takes shape of ideological control.

2.8 Current Study

Despite the rise in literacy, the educated segments of the population are still quite

unaware of the manipulative language and stylistic choices used by politicians, political institutes, and the media in certain strategies to construct specific ideologies, naturalizing them in the minds of the readers. Research is required on state machinery's opinion making devices to discern and unveil hidden agendas, and to educate the population against the propagation of such agendas.

Editorials of the newspapers are directly used for opinion building and play a very important role in molding the opinion of the public but through consent not force. This type of ideology construction is the most mortal one in which the reader or in other words the victim does not even catch the trap. It is important to keep the editorials in circle of continuous scrutiny through research so that the manipulative use of linguistic kit for ideological agenda can be caught. Unfortunately, no significant research is done regarding this aspect for Pakistani newspaper editorials. No detailed study is found in Pakistan that focuses on the development of the ideology through the analysis that surrounds the intertextual references in the editorials of National English Dailies. This study has specifically focused on how intertextuality is used In the selected discourse of the print media and to what purposes.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH ETHODOLOGY

Research is a process of collecting data, gathering information, finding facts, and presenting those (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). It is a way to collect, analyze and interpret data in order to understand the phenomenon. It is a systematic process of defining objectives, managing the data, and communicating the findings which occur within the specific framework in the light of existing guidelines (Payne, 2005). Furthermore, the instructions and the guidelines provide the researcher a path to explore, what to include, how the research should be performed, what type of the data should be collected and how it should be interpreted.

There are three ways to conduct the research that are

1. Quantitative Research, 2. Qualitative Research, 3. Mixed Method Research

Researchers anticipate the type of data required to respond to the research questions. For example, whether textual or numerical or both types of the data is needed. Based on the assessment and requirements, the researchers select the form of the research. The researchers typically select quantitative approach for research questions requiring numerical data. The qualitative approach for research questions are normally textual data and mix method approach for research questions requiring both numerical and textual data (Payne, 2005).

The current study though predominantly explores all the three research questions through qualitative research but the research question number 3 in addition to being explored qualitatively is also explored quantitatively in chapter 6. Thereby the current study is categorized as opting the mixed method approach.

3.1 Qualitative Research Approach

Qualitative research is an approach that involves itself, in discovering. It allows the researchers to establish the details from the actual experiences (Payne, 2005).

Qualitative approach is applicable in many types of the research designs, and it

involves describing, explaining, and interpreting the collected data. According to Leedy and Ormrod (2001) qualitative research is based less in description because it develops new theories. Qualitative research is also directed within a poststructuralist paradigm. Five areas are included in qualitative research and that are case study, ethnographic study, phenomenological study, grounded theory study, and content analysis. These five areas are built upon inductive reasoning and connected methodologies. Empirical data is collected and is used to explain phenomena relevant to social behaviors in new and emerging theories. The Current study though predominantly explores all the three research questions through qualitative research but the research question number 3 in addition to being explored qualitatively is also explored quantitatively in chapter 6.

3.1.1 Theoretical Framework

Proper theoretical framework is forming the sound basis of this study. The study falls in the domain of applied linguistics and is informed by a number of theories namely theory of intertextuality, critical Discourse analysis, Bakhtin's theory of dialogism, and appraisal theory. Norman Fairclough's theory/concept on intertextuality principally forms the theoretical framework for this study. Fairclough introduced this classification of intertextuality drawing upon Bakhtin's language/social theory of dialogism. Interdiscursivity/constitutive intertextuality and manifest intertextuality are two types of intertextualities that Fairclough (1992b) distinguishes. Fairclough uses the two terms interdiscursivity and intertextuality interchangeably (Fairclough ,1992c). According to Fairclough (1992b) when particular other writings are explicitly applied upon within a text this is named as manifest intertextuality and when a discourse type is instituted via a blend of different parts of the orders of discourse this is named as interdiscursivity (pp. 117-18).The explicitly/implicitly present and other texts in manifest Intertextuality could be spotted via different indications such as citation, quotation marks, and paraphrases.

When texts are made up of various elements of other texts like generic conventions, discourse types, registers, style etc., it is referred to as constitutive intertextuality. At times in constitutive intertextuality the other added texts are merged into generating some new thing without mentioning those by leaving hints or without giving any hints to the utilized source.

While elaborating on manifest intertextuality, Fairclough (1992c) classifies the manifestly added speeches or voices of others in media discourse as reported speeches/voices. Fairclough further elaborates that these speeches/voices can be direct, indirect, attributed or unattributed (Fairclough, 1992 c).

Manifest intertextuality (Fairclough 1992 b, c) with its focus on reported speeches/voices and intertextual references to historical events/people/places (Lagonikos, 2005; Peck and Coyle, 2002; Abrams, 1993; Kuleli, 2014) is the focus of this study.

Writers may relate or refer to other happenings for a comparison with the main theme under investigation or add other voices with the objective of interpreting the event in the way that suits the ideology of the newspaper (Lagonikos, 2005; Peck and Coyle, 2002; Abrams, 1993; Kuleli, 2014). This assists the newspaper in positioning the reader's view of events in a particular direction. This aspect is further investigated in the current study via the Engagement domain of APPRAISAL analysis along with other dimensions of APPRAISAL (detailed in 3.1.8) to cater for the linguistic makeup of the intertextual resources. A probe into the examination of the intertextual and situational contexts, thus, includes inquiring quite a few aspects (Fairclough, 1989:146):

1. The time, location, objective of the written text.
2. The identity of the writer and the reader of the text and their power relation with each other.
3. Assumptions regarding the background knowledge of the reader and the writer that might have affected the text generation and interpretation.
4. Revealing facts about the envisioned reader as shown through the used intertextual references.
5. Part played by the language.
6. Types of employed intertextuality.
 - i. Intertextuality counting on assortment /contrast with or reference to, other occasions, people or things in past.
 - ii. Intertextuality counting on assortment of statements of authorized voices, that

support the intended interpretation, of the editorial (Lagonikos, 2005).

As mentioned earlier; categorized under the head of manifest intertextuality, the words or voices of other people while reporting a news are categorized as reported speech. The reciting of the words of others in news reporting, amounts to reported speech. Fairclough (2003) contends that reported speech makes a significant portion of the news reporting. Press releases, quotes from ‘involved event sources’ or a ‘commenting on event’ sources, background data taken from already published newspaper archives etc. are all different types of news reporting that are much reliant on reported speech.

Reported Speech/Voice in all different manifestations is given below.

Richardson branded five types of reported speech pertinent while investigating the news reporting (2007).

1. Direct Quotation: In this, words of the source are exactly reproduced and often enclosed in quotation marks and normally have a reporting clause as well. The main role in framing the interpretation by the reader is played by the reporting clause which the reporter picks to engage.
2. Strategic Quotation: Normally named as ‘scare quotes’, are used to show the disputed nature of the enclosed words in quotation marks (normally single commas). Scare quotes are used by reporters or editors in order to detach themselves from the contentious subjects or words. As an example, if someone is suggesting that ‘the person is a scholar’. This amounts to saying, “so described”, “so-called,” and others.
3. Indirect Quotation: The reporter, in indirect reporting delivers the gist of the
4. speaker’s or the writer’s words in place of the actual used words (Fairclough, 2003). The type of reporting moulds the reader’s view of the reported instance and may be ideological in some cases.
5. Transformed Indirect Quotation: The transformed indirect quotation drops the reporting verbs like ‘said’ and replaces them with transitive verbs like ‘revealed’, ‘discovered’ or verbs showing the mental state e.g., ‘believe’. The content of the original quote is also transformed.

6. **Ostensible Direct Quotation:** Though the appearance is similar to that of direct quotation but its make up is different from the direct quotation. The text of this reported speech is too straight, unadorned, or unfamiliar to have originated from the source concerned.

Adding the name of ‘speech acts’, is an additional method of ascribing to an external source for example, ‘It was very problematic to get a continued, considerate, broad-based dialogue on this sensitive issue’ (Fairclough,1992 c; Lagonikos, 2005).

Quotations can also appear as mixed quotations whereby a part of the direct quotation is mixed with indirect quotation along with the voice of the author (Fairclough 1992 c; Brendel et al, 2011).

The present investigation focuses on two types of intertextualities. First one is reported speech / voice. The second type of Intertextuality the thesis has focused upon is reference to prominent events/places/people (Xie, 2018; Kuleli,2014; Lagonikos, 2005).

To sum up two types of intertextualities are focused in the current research, namely Reported Speech /Voice and reference to events/people/person. Intertextual manipulations including intertextual ellipses, intertextual transformation, ideological selection of quotes/events, intertextual swindle of facts, authorial alignment/disalignmnet with the invoked intertextual resources, discriminatory use of linguistic resources in and around the intertextual references were especially focused in the study through the probe into the linguistic tools used for the purpose along with the scrutinization of the data through consulting the original sources. Intertextual ellipses whereby some of the words from the original source are missed in the quoted reference do give an insight to the objective of the respective ellipses (Crytal,2015; Mao, 2015). Intertextual contradictions whereby opposing meanings were being generated through the comparison of the intertextual references within the same text or the preceding or forthcoming texts were also considered.

3.1.2 Research Framework for Qualitative Data Analysis

Using proper research framework, the three research questions were addressed qualitatively using Fairclough’s three-dimensional modal of critical Discourse Analysis

(detailed in 3.1.7) whereby text was analyzed through the appraisal analysis of intertextual resources (detailed in 3.1.8), using the Martin and White (2005) model. Appraisal analysis as a part of Systemic Functional Linguistics SFL (detailed in 3.1.7) generated by Halliday (2003) focuses on the interpersonal metafunction (detailed in 3.1.7) of language.

3.1.3 Sample Selection for the Qualitative Part of the Research

Following are the details for the sample selection of the qualitative part of the research including the selection of newspapers and selection of discourse:

3.1.4 Selection of Newspapers

On the basis of web ranking (Newspapers in Pakistan, n.d.; Top 5 English Newspapers in Pakistan; Rasheed, 2017) four top English newspapers of Pakistan were selected. The Dawn, The Daily Times, The International News and The Nation were the nominated newspapers. The time period for the data collection was from July 2016-December 2016.

3.1.5 Selection of the Discourse

The newspaper editorials were the selected discourse for the research. In the selected time period, the newspapers published were collected both in hard and soft form. It made a total of 180 hard copies for each newspaper. So, for all the four newspapers it made a total of 720 hard copies. The next stage was to shortlist the editorials which had CPEC mentioned in them. That was very difficult to locate through hardcopies thereby corresponding soft copies of the editorials were collected in word form and a separate folder was prepared for each. For this stage 5 students of Mathematics dept helped me. After that through Ctrl+F option for those editorials were identified which had CPEC mentioned in them. At this stage purposive sampling was done and all the selected editorials were closely observed to locate only those editorials that had CPEC as their main theme. The final sample comprised 20 editorials: 5 from each newspaper. The selection was further delimited to the editorials which had the reference of CPEC in them. In the next round, only those editorials were selected which had CPEC as their main theme. Finally, five editorials from each newspaper were selected for detailed analysis. As it is an

intertextual research, data had to be limited to a manageable size.

An editorial is a broadly read section which reveals the construction of media and alignment with specific group (Le, 2010). Editorials often lack objectivity (Lee & Lin, 2006). Sinclair (1995) defines editorials as “an article in a newspaper that gives the opinion of the editor or publisher on a topic”. Furthermore, an editorial is a leading article that appears under the newspaper’s name and logo. Editorial occupies an important place, and it indicates the newspaper’s voice (Vestergaard, 2000a, b). They frequently focus upon issues surrounding national politics, often discussing political leaders and the decisions taken by leading politicians (Wang, 2008; Lihua, 2009). According to Stonecipher (1990) editorials are more subjective than news (p-21). Editorial writers use persuasive strategies for example the linguistic techniques that create favourable or unfavourable bias in their arguments. Editorials use particular linguistic devices to argue against or in favour of a sensitive issue with a purpose of provoking response from the readers. Editorials make use of nominal expressions to refer to preceding events, commonly the current issues of the society. Van Dijk (1998) suggests, editorials express opinions which build the ideology. He says that readers of the newspaper often read editorials for explicit guidance on current issues. He refers text as “leader” because it helps to build beliefs and opinion. Editorial is a kind of opinion discourse, which creates an understanding of the opinions and beliefs (Van Dijk 1996a, b). Van Dijk (1996a, b) says that the analysis of opinion is a must since it includes society related elements, discourse and cognition. Editorials are chosen for their pivotal role in ideology construction as editorials are extensively popular amongst the masses though more subjective than news. Furthermore, they are supposed to transfer the ideology and beliefs from one person to another which changes the ideas and perspectives of the people.

3.1.6 Delimitation of Qualitative Part of the Research

Four Pakistani English dailies were selected for the study. A time period of 6 months starting from July 2016 till December 2016 was the time period of selection. Further delimitation was the selection of the editorials having CPEC as main theme. Five editorials from each newspaper were selected for the final detailed linguistic analysis. Since the main focus of the research revolves around studying the development of ideology

through intertextuality which is a very broad term thereby delimitation of the types of intertextualities to be studied was needed. The current study thereby has taken just two types of intertextualities into account namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/places.

3.1.7 Research Design for Qualitative Part of Research

The research design selected for the study is pictorially presented as given below

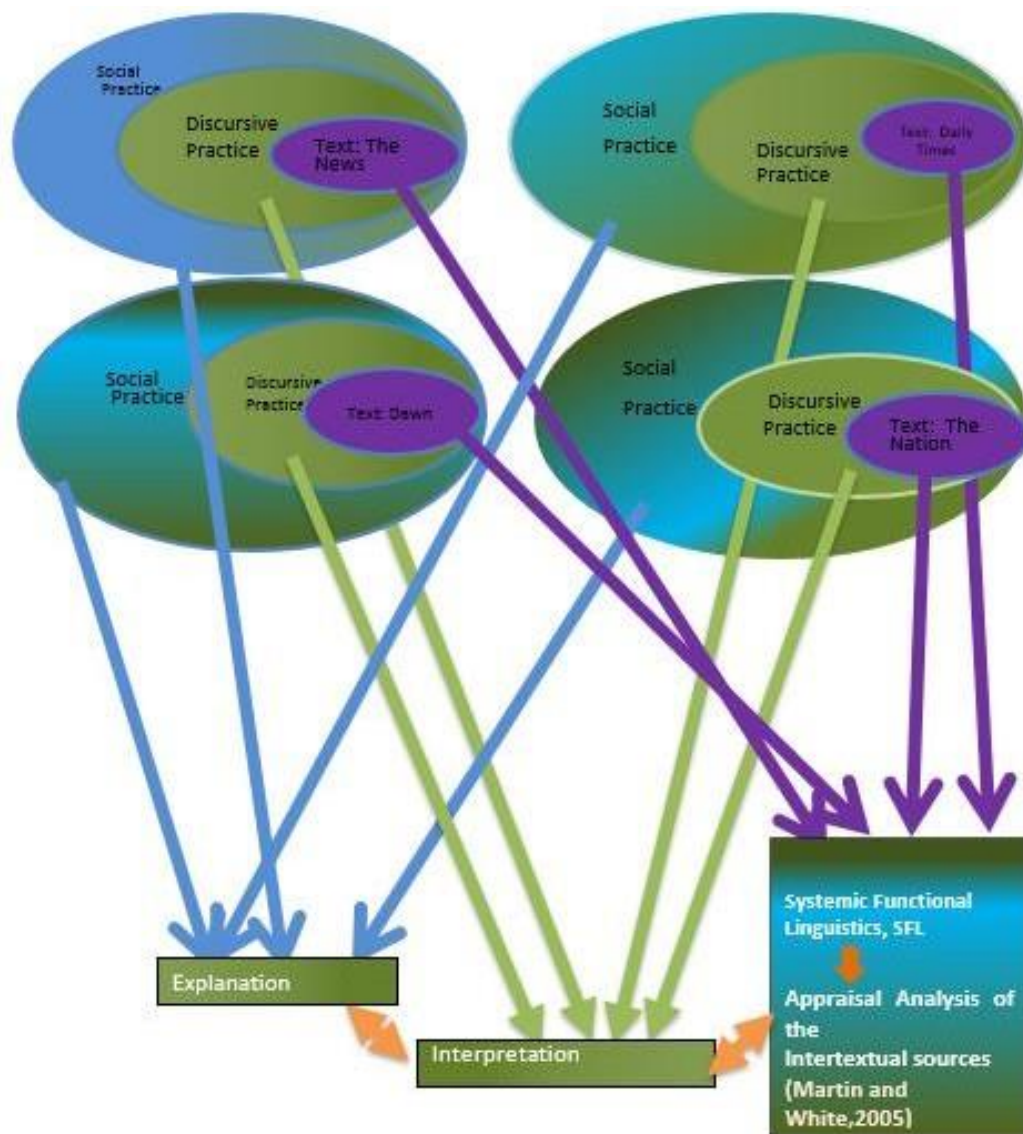


Figure 3.1 Pictorial Description of the Framework for Linguistic and Intertextual Analysis

Fairclough envisages a necessity to analyze any particular discourse on three levels and thereby has a three-dimensional conception of discourse. The three levels are discourse: existing as 'Text', as evidence of 'Discursive Practice' and evidence of 'Social Practice'. As it is difficult to argue that formal features of a text are separate from the norms and practices that produced them thereby the boundary between what must be analyzed as text and what as discursive practice is particularly blurred. Processes of text production, distribution, and consumption are the components of discursive practice, and the nature of these processes varies between different types of discourse according to social factors' (Fairclough, 1992a:78). Textual analysis however is fundamentally the examination of any formal features of the text for which Fairclough draws upon Systemic Functional Linguistics by Halliday. Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) presents a social semiotic theory of social change, meaning making and learning. Developed first in the 1960s by Michael Halliday, SFL has developed into a theory that informs many sections of applied linguistics, including critical discourse analysis, educational linguistics, and studies of multimodality (Gebhard & Accurso, 2020). Language according to Halliday (1985,1994) is a "system for making meanings". Language is used by people to express meaning and therefore it is in comprehending the theory behind the assembling of words to form a grammar that meaning can be interpreted correctly (Halliday 1985,1994). Putting it other way, Halliday sees language as made up of semantic units and not grammatical units and that a functional grammar is needed to bring out the meaning in wordings.

Halliday describes that language has three central uses or metafunctions: the Ideational, the Interpersonal and the Textual. Texts are studied at the clausal level according to these three metafunctions (Martin, 2001). The Ideational metafunction entails looking at the processes in a text to comprehend the predominant events or relationships between participants involved in the processes, and how this representation contributes to the reader's experience of the world. The Textual metafunction focuses the actual structure of the text itself (Halliday,1985,1994; Martin 2001; Thetela 2001). The Interpersonal metafunction encompasses communication between people, the roles they assume as they express themselves and the attitudes, they express towards one another and towards their subject matter.

For textual analysis this study limited its focus to the interpersonal function of the

language and used appraisal framework (Martin and White,2005) for the purpose. APPRAISAL is a semantic system that expands Halliday's Interpersonal meta-function by representing in greater detail the ways in which writers seek to negotiate attitudes and opinions with their readers. Appraisal Theory is a system of analysis that has been developed by a large research group over the last fifteen to twenty years. The principal contributors and proponents of this framework are Martin and White (Wilson, 2011). Appraisal is used as an analytical tool in this study backed by appraisal theory and implemented through the research models developed on the basis of that theory. The tools of APPRAISAL that are used in the current research are based on the work of Martin and White (2005). In his words, the resources of APPRAISAL are used for "negotiating our social relationships, by telling our listeners or readers how we feel about things and people (in a word, what our attitudes are)" (Martin & Rose 2003:22). Through the negotiation of attitudes and opinions the writer seeks to align the reader with a particular ideological perspective.

These formal features of language to be studied through SFL, are not narrow in any way, though it may well be the case that the text is scrutinized in a similar way as the devices used in critical linguistics. Fairclough (1992a) drives as far as to propose that some of the features worth investigating are modality, transitivity, nominalization and word meaning. The textual features previously analyzed on the level of text, are focused then by the discursive practice to contextualize them as evidence of processes of text production and consumption specific to the institutional setting. Related to the study of discursive practice is the notion of 'intertextuality' (Fairclough, 1992a). He centers his notions on intertextuality on the work of Bakhtin (1986), who saw any word or text as being integrally intertextual - any one text being made up of elements of another.

On the level of discourse as social practice, analysis might view the textual features as likely evidence of dominance of one group over another, for example, but fundamental to this level of examination is the goal of establishing how the text functions in the social world. All three levels are inter-linked. This is a framework that shows more clearly the relationship between discourse, society and institutions that contribute towards its production. It therefore makes it easier to see how and why discourse is used to dominate certain groups, or to defend the claims made.

The current study focuses on the development of ideology through the analysis of the intertextual elements of the text. The present research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place. For the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources Martin and White model (2005) of appraisal analysis was used. An introduction to appraisal framework is given below.

3.1.8 Appraisal Framework (Theory plus Model)

Grounded in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and informing the interpersonal metafunction of language, Appraisal framework is developed by a large research group over the last fifteen to twenty years. The principal contributors and proponents of this framework are Martin and White (Wilson, 2011). Appraisal basically focused on systematization of emotions. Based on this theory appraisal is used as an investigative instrument in the current study, for analyzing the evaluative language (White, 2002) to find out the answers to the three research questions under investigation.

The significance of Appraisal analysis is at that stage of texts whereby speakers/writers utilize structures to express interpersonal meanings thereby are on the lookout for alignment or disalignment with readers/listeners. Appraisal is a gadget for trading, conveying and exchanging commonality. According to Martin (2004) appraisal capitals style the receiver's sense and identify with the subject/theme that is being inscribed or spoken about. Martin explains additionally that, sharing emotions (affect) exchanges compassion, sharing principles (judgement) exchanges character, and sharing preferences (appreciation) exchanges the taste (Martin, 2004, p. 329). The choice of Appraisal framework thereby springs from its comprehensive method in assessing relational/interpersonal imports particularly in newspaper and in appraisal's societal role (Bednarek, 2006).

Opinion and evaluation make the concern of an editorial and comprehending the associations between the writer's attitudes and the readers makes the concern of the Interpersonal metafunction. To analyze the attitudes articulated through the text in greater profundity, appraisal analysis is essential. APPRAISAL, as a linguistic system, is relatively new-fangled and initiates through efforts by Martin. The current study, therefore, mainly relies on the works done by Martin&White (2005); Martin & Rose (2003) and also on those

writers whose works were inspired by them e.g., Coffin (1997); and Droga & Humphrey (2002).

Martin and White, educate that the capitals of appraisal involve evaluation of the negotiated types of attitudes, the vigour of the sentiments engaged, and the styles in which the used ideals are tracked, and the audience affiliated (2005).

Three aspects of analysis, which are “concerned with evaluating: the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text,” are the resources of Appraisal (Martin & White 2005). Attitude, Graduation along with Engagement, make the three dimensions to an APPRAISAL analysis each with their own sub-systems. Grounded in Martin’s effort Figure 3.2 demonstrates APPRAISAL.

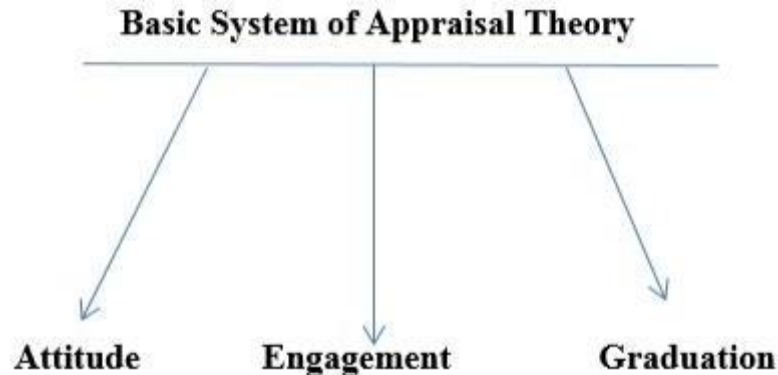


Figure 3.2 The Basic System of APPRAISAL

3.1.9 Attitude

As illustrated in Figure 3.3, the resources for analyzing Attitude contain three subcategories:

1. Affect
2. judgement,
3. appreciation.

Expressions of sentiments and passions, either optimistic or adverse and whether straight or circuitously guised, are covered under ‘affect’ (Martin & Rose 2003). Droga & Humphrey place an example of the word ‘happy’ for example which is a direct expression of emotion and the alternative circuitous or symbolic term ‘laugh’, issuing the same sense

as the straight term ‘happy’ (2002). Additional sub-categorization for example: (in)security, (un)happiness; (dis)satisfaction, could be generated while encompassing affect. Through these, as revealed, negative or positive feelings are signposted as well, and the types of dominating feelings of the writing are identified. With adapted examples from Droga & Humphrey (2002:77), Table 3.1 gives the list of the resources covering affect. Further there are various linguistic features through which these feelings are realized such as those outlined by Martin (2000:14) in Table 3.2.

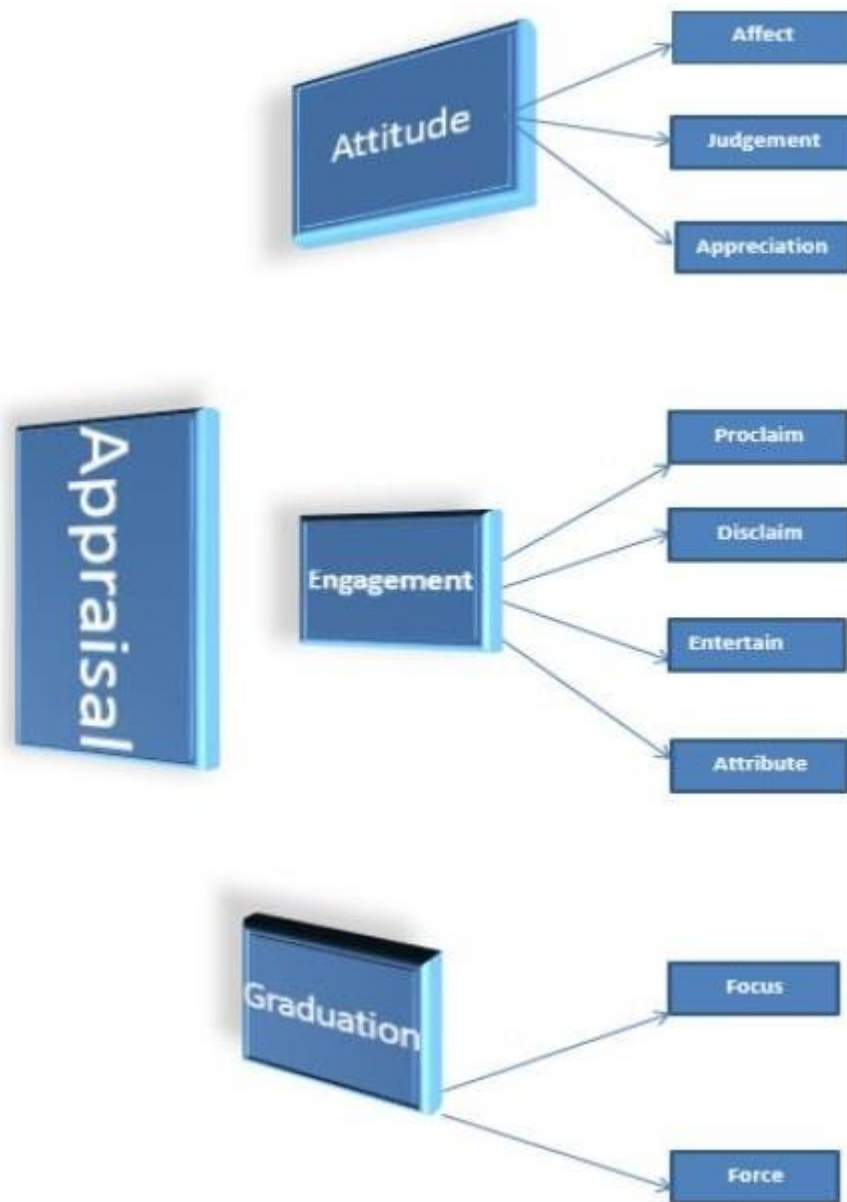


Figure 3.3 Appraisal Resources (Martin and White 2005)

The terminologies “**Proclaimers /Disclaimers, Modality, Attribution**” adopted from Droga & Humphrey (2002) linguistically demonstrate Martin’s terminologies “Heterogloss” and “Monogloss” by being the linguistic identifiers of heteroglossia and monoglossia.

Table 3.1 Options for Analyzing Affect

Categories of Affect		Examples
Happiness	(positive)	giggle ,pleased, love
Unhappiness	(negative)	gloom ,miserably, hate trusting ,soothe, together
Security	(positive)	scare, shiver, terrible
		alert ,involved , awestruck
Insecurity	(negative)	
Satisfaction	(positive)	empty ,to bore, to infuriate
Dissatisfaction	(negative)	

Table 3.2 Realization of Affect

<p>‘quality’ with affect</p> <p>Participant Description</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participant Attribute • Process Manner <p>‘process’ with affect</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mental • behavioural <p>‘comment’ with affect</p>	<p>a glad person</p> <p>the person was glad</p> <p>the boy played gladly</p> <p>the gift delighted the person</p> <p>the person smiled</p>	<p>Epithet</p> <p>Attribute</p> <p>Circumstance</p> <p>Process (effective)</p> <p>Process (middle)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • desirous 	<p>gladly, he had an extended snooze</p>	<p>Modal Adjunct</p>

These language capitals reveal the writer’s ideology and the types of attitudes prevailing in a writing. Through selecting discourse having particular affective potentials, an author can encourage a reader to feel various emotions. Doing so, the author may regulate the emotive behaviours in the receiver, that shape and direct the ideological/conceptual perception of the reader.

To judge the behaviour of people with respect to the institutionalized values, the second sub- category of Attitude, that is ‘Judgement’ is used as discussed by Droga &

Humphrey (2002). The outcome of judgement can as well be negative or positive. However, contrasting affect, judgement is ascribed to the individual being evaluated rather than in the direction of the evaluator.

The author exploits the binarity between them and us through the assessment/judgement of societal players. The categorization of Judgement is into two broad types namely ethical and personal judgements corresponding societal sanction and societal esteem respectively (Martin & White 2005), as delineated through Table 3.3 (with examples adapted from Droga & Humphrey 2002:80). Three variables are considered as sub-types of social esteem namely : normality, indicating how unfamiliar somebody is; capacity, showing the capability of an individual ; and tenacity designating the reliability of an individual (Martin, 2000). Under the category of societal sanction, judgements comprise of two elements: veracity, showing truthfulness of a person; and propriety, indicating how principled the individual is (Martin 2000).

Table 3.3 Options for analyzing judgement

Judgement	Negative	Positive
Societal Esteem:		
• Capacity	feeble	Influential
• Normality	Unlucky	Fortunate
• Tenacity	spineless	firm
Societal Sanction:		
• Propriety	immoral	ethical
• Veracity	dishonest	honest

Appreciation is the 3rd sub-division under Attitude. It deals with or discloses the emotional state of the author for the states of affairs, processes and objects (Droga & Humphrey 2002:82). Appreciation may as well be either negative or positive like judgement and affect.

Reaction, composition and valuation are the three variables on which appreciation can be analyzed: examples are given in Table 3.4. The degree by which the focus is arrested and or emotional state is affected is covered under reaction; the calculation of the text's balance is covered under composition; the worth level credited to the occasions and items deliberated through the writing is the concern of valuation (Droga & Humphrey 2002, Martin, 2003). Distinguishing appreciation from judgement has encountered some challenges. Bednarek (2009), in this regard contends that attitude must be categorized via attitudinal language with assessment canons. Bednarek advises an added grouping code of attitudes, and that would generate judgment terminologies utilized for appreciation of things, importance lexis for judgement of persons or appreciation of things, appreciation terminology for behaviour judgement, etc. According to her, studying more than one feature, yet not essential, will permit a description of oratorical apparatuses and meaning alteration (Bednarek, 2009, pp. 180-181).

Le (2010, p. 23), in her investigation of *Le Monde's* editorials written on politics, detected that though variations amongst judgement, affect and appreciation were not so problematic, untying assessment covering circumstances (appreciation) from the assessment covering human beings (judgement) was a bit difficult since persons are involved in circumstances and circumstances ensue from activities of persons.

It is seen that indirect assessments do not incorporate any attitudinal language; they are constructed through apparently impartial denotations that transmit values of judgement through the contextual situation of the script/writing. The understanding in such cases is also dependent on the background of the receiver (Bednarek ,2010). In the following examples, no overt assessment of inhumanity by the offenders is found; though, the action of considering individuals as saleable properties loudly sounds the disapproval in valuation:

- They were purchased like a sooq. In white dresses they were made to stand in a queue, and they'd visit and select them as if they were for auction.
- She recollects all kids being steered up, comparable to a horde of livestock, and sensing the disgrace of getting categorized by their skin colour for the government accounts.

Table 3.4 Options for Analysing Appreciation

Appreciation	Negative	Positive
Composition	crooked	United
Valuation	superficial	Reflective
Reaction	dreary	striking

3.1.10 Engagement

Engagement makes the second group in APPRAISAL. The concern of this type is locating the attitude originator, i.e. identifying the one accountable for launching the assessments. Modality, proclaimers, disclaimers and attribution make the capitals to grasp this type (Martin & Rose 2003). The thoughts or words of an outside source used by the writer to authenticate or contest attitudes, counting the ones of the author as well are included in ‘Attribution’. Realization of these outside sources is achieved either through direct quote of the originator or indirect reportage of his/her speech. Attribution is realized in writings via reporting members of mental and verbal processes such as ‘thinks’ and ‘says’ along with nominalizations as ‘thought’ and ‘saying’ (Droga & Humphrey 2002). Using ‘speech act’ names for example ‘dialogue’, ‘promise’, ‘conversation’ etc., is yet one more technique to ascribe an external source.

The word ‘debate’ in italics shown in the example below, is an example of the above mentioned case. It was problematic to get continuous, and considerate debate on this gentle theme. Outside sources can also be included through the use of modality. Modality according to Droga & Humphrey, permits introducing external voices chiefly for the reason that it works to point out that authors are cognizant of the fact that their proposition might be taken as disputed or could be defied by the potential audience (2002:95).

Modality thus lets alternate attitudes as declaring that ‘A particular medicine must be the cause’, for instance, seems emphatic though in reality leaves a portion of uncertainty;

it's powerful as compared to the statement 'A particular medicine might be the cause' but it is not as powerful a statement as the one with the modality dropped altogether as in 'A particular medicine is the cause' which thereby gets its strength through the totally dropped modality.

The compulsion gradation (negative or positive) entailed in a written declaration, is indicated by modality, for example:

Table 3.5 Degrees of Obligation with Modalities

	negative	
It is not	↑	↓
It may be		
It should be		
It must be		
It is		
	positive	

(Martin & Rose 2003:48)

Finally, Engagement could be taken in via proclaimers and disclaimers. As explained by Droga and Humphrey (2002) the external sources which are added in a writing with the intent to decline them would be named as disclaimers whereas the added sources, that are hard to contest and are thereby taken as accepted in a writing, are named as proclaimers. Disclaimers repel reader expectation through presenting external attitudes along with the author's attitude by launching counterexpectancy. The key structural or linguistic capitals to launch counter expectancy are:

1. Use of **concessive conjunctions**: e.g., though no individual can license his/her computer to be hacked...
2. Use of comment adjuncts: e.g., Astonishingly a group of people are favoring war.
3. Use of prepositional expressions: e.g. Even with the victory, the price is quite excessive.
4. Use of mood adjuncts: e.g., Obviously the individuals who kill innocent people are

persistent in their labors so should good people be in theirs.

The above exemplified linguistic elements gesture the existence of some opposing views to be expected. In contrast proclaimers, signpost, first, that the presented attitude is already agreed upon and must be instantly believed by the receiver and, second, the direct obligation for the presented attitude is taken by the author. The indication of this direct obligation may show up in the form of comment adjuncts e.g., Obviously, the medicine can be as effective as the accuracy of diagnosis and straight declarations from the author, like but I do not trust the effectiveness of the proposition and via mood adjuncts like surely. The Engagement capitals thereby signpost whether other voices are the part of the text or not.

3.1.11 Graduation

Graduation makes the last type in APPRAISAL. Through graduation, the examination of attitudinal terminologies is stretched by measuring the graded levels of the judgements, assessments, and feelings shown. Both in the illustration and assessment of events, and the societal players, the graduation resources are used by editorial writers to harvest commonality with the receiver.

Expression is graded through two capitals in the current study. These capitals are named as focus and force.

Force can be compared to ‘spinning the volume down or up’ through a range of terms generating high or low force. Resultantly, the name given to these lexicons is intensifiers. Force may be graded overtly or covertly and can be realized via a range of capitals, and covert grading ensues on the range band.

‘Focus’ the other capital for intensification, indicates the mitigation or whetting of meanings. This allows for ungradable words turn gradable.

APPRAISAL is tremendously pertinent for this current study since opinions and attitudes stay as the fundamental aspect of the newspaper genre especially the genre of the editorial and through inspecting attitudes of the intertextual resources, the relations of power and ideologies are exposed in a better way. The task taken in the current study is important for two reasons

Table 3.6 Options for Analysing the Graduation Resource of Force

Implicit Graders:	Intensifiers along a continuum Metaphors	very/really/extremely draggy like the buried
Graduation: Force Explicit Graders:	Adverbials Adjectivals Measures of Distance Time manner quantity modality Repetitions Swearing	Children are particularly vulnerable The wealthiest person They were a good way off in so brief time span There they step vigilantly countless adversaries of virtue The one's criticized should debate They were terrible , simply terrible That was gorily terrible!

1. To make public conscious of the prevailing and persistent ideologies
2. To commence transformation for amending the discriminations. Critical reading achieved through a better awareness of media tools will help achieve this objective.

3.1.12 Nominalization

It must be pointed out that analyzing the interpersonal function of language is not at all times a very simple task and there might be trouble at times, for the researcher, in

interpreting some portions in a clause. The central cause for this struggle is the usage of the grammatical metaphor. According to Halliday a metaphor is the course through which a term or range of terms articulating a “compatible” meaning i.e., a verbatim or characteristic sense, is transformed to a figurative expression (Tavernier,2004, Halliday 1994). Halliday extended the traditional concept of metaphor to the concept of Grammatical Metaphor. What precisely is metaphorical, according to Halliday’s opinion, is a process not actualized through a clause, but instead through an alternative category, for example like noun expression (Tavernier,2004). A type of metaphorical movement is thereby involved in grammatical metaphor whereby the process encoded in the shape of a clause is shifted to the process in the shape of noun expression. The similarity between traditional metaphor and the grammatical metaphor is that in both a novel formation is stretched from the normal and default formation like in grammatical metaphor the process realized in clause is shifted to the process realized in noun expression. As highlighted by Fairclough (2003), the grammatical metaphor spreads the notion of ‘metaphor’ from its standard implementation to the senses of terms to grammar. The transferal is primarily the outcome of a course named Nominalization (Fairclough 2003). The customary alteration is whereby nominalization lets a process, commonly embodied in a verb to be realized in a noun which therefore may turn into a member of another process. According to Halliday grammatical metaphors have two chief categories: Transitivity/Mood Metaphors and Modality (Tavernier,2004, Halliday 1994).

Firstly, pertaining to the loss of some portions of the clause, detecting the members, contexts and processes may become difficult in an analysis focusing on transitivity. It is usually because of nominalization whereby sense is then metaphorically articulated. Taking an example: ‘A big number of students condemned those projects may turn into ‘Those projects were subjected to extensive condemnation’. In the above example, the process ‘have condemned’ is changed to the noun ‘condemnation’ and the term ‘many students’ which is the subject/participant simply vanished. Metaphoric expressions ‘displace’ the original participants and are used to modify them (Halliday 1994:353). Nominalizing process results in the conception of an abstract ‘thing’ whereby tense is removed, and the human agent is obscured. This permits the writer to detach herself/himself from the argument and makes the discourse very abstract, general and

formal (Martin et al. 2013). The writer's statements are also given the sense of being true, as they have been generalized (Lagonikos,2005). Formal discourses like bureaucratic, academic, and technical discourses witness the greater use of nominalization. Nominalization is more prevalent aspect in written as compared to the oral discourse (Coffin 1997). A significant cause for the predominance of nominalization with the formal discourse is that the generality it carries, can remove or rather at times overpower disagreement and that is much needed for example in the domains of power/governance. Agency and consequently accountability and societal dissections, can be obfuscated this way (Fairclough 2003:144). Hence human accountability could be detached, and generalized deductions generated by the author. One more cause for nominalization being so widespread is that it is a much economical formula for lettering texts as extended sections may be compressed into brief sections. Formation of novel terms through it, makes the discourse more formal. Though nominalization shortens clauses through eliminating some parts, these sorts of sentences are mostly more problematic to decipher compared to the common or consistent structures. The author of the writing would seem to be a proficient person with a grip on the used technical language which the reader requires to understand (Lagonikos,2005). Newspaper articles with limited availability of space, the condensation of clauses is very economical. Secondly, nominalization has a significant effect, in the case of metaphors of modality. It is vastly predominant in persuasion treatise e.g., the editorial. A prevailing method is the objectification of opinion by nominalization, making it more challenging for the audience to dispute (Lagonikos,2005). Martin et al. (2013:68-69) explicate that the usage of psychological processes of perception (e.g., I reflect, I suppose etc.) in first person, with present tense is a modality metaphor. The cause for which it is acknowledged as a metaphor is its functioning as a suggestion in its own ability/qualification, and that leaves the author him/herself accountable for whatever is there in black and white, for example, Madina is a city I adore. As editorials are envisioned to be characteristically having greater subjectivity than the candid news article, the above-mentioned type of modality metaphor may be expected to surface in the research conducted on editorials. Obviously, these metaphors would highlight the opinion of writers. Examining the use of nominalization, therefore, is a valuable mean of illuminating the way editorial authors convince their audience to line up with their principal beliefs, and

ideologies as this is the style through which they tactfully can, for instance, brand generalized declarations, hide agency and style the text to appear formal and detached. Thereby wherever applicable the current study also located and analyzed the tool of nominalization used by editorials in the intertextual references studied.

3.2 Quantitative Research Approach

Quantitative research began around 1250 A.D. It was focused by the researchers to quantify data. Since, then the quantitative approach in research has been recognized in the western research culture as a new method to justify results. In research design the quantitative research method involves a numeric or statistical approach. Quantitative research preserves the supposition of an empiricist paradigm (Creswell, 2003). In this research the researcher is independent as he/she creates the meaning through unbiased process. Quantitative research can be used to establish, conform and validate something to develop generalizations (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001, p. 102).

This research begins with the statement of the problem and involves the establishment of a research question, a literature review, and a quantitative data collection and analysis through statistical tools. The findings of the research can be predictive, explanatory, and confirming. Quantitative research has been categorized into three classifications and that are experimental, descriptive and comparative. (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

In order to further consolidate and validate the qualitative analysis findings for research question number three, an experimental study was carried out. The experimental study not only validated the qualitative research findings for research question number three but also shed light on the impact of intertextuality awareness on the critical reading skills of the newspaper readers and the interpretations made by them. Through the qualitative part the implications of use of intertextual resources for the readership from the perspective of the editorials (thereby the newspapers) under study were seen. The current experimental study validated those implications as was seen through the scores of the sample in pre and posttest.

3.2.1 Sample Selection for the Quantitative Part of the Research

To consolidate the qualitative findings of research question number three, this experimental study was carried out. A total of 300 students who were the readers of English newspapers were selected from 5th and 6th semesters of five departments of COMSATS University. The sample was further shortlisted through British council free online English test (British Council,2019), to select the participants with the same language proficiency. The competency levels through the Common European Framework are A1 (lowest), A2, B1, B2, C1, C2 (highest) (Little,2011). The students with B1 and above level were selected for the study. The final sample comprised 100 students. The levels are shown in Figure 3.4.

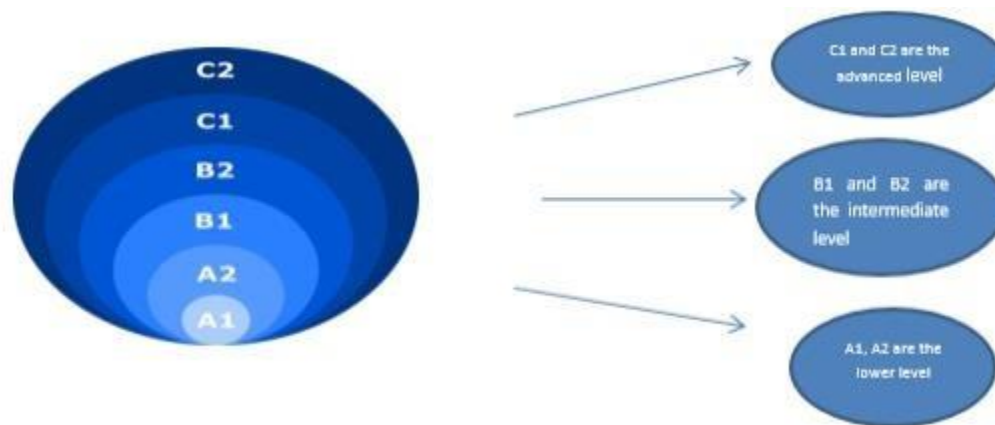


Figure 3.4 Competency Levels of CEF

3.2.2 Research Design and Methodology for the Quantitative Part of the Research

Experimental Research Design was selected for this part of the research whereby a pre-test and post-test were conducted on the sample. In the pre-test the sample was given an editorial to read and answer the questions given at the end in the shape of the questionnaire. The questionnaire focused on measuring the critical reading capabilities of the sample.

The questionnaire was having nine questions with five options each, carrying a weightage of 1-5 marks respectively. The sample participants were scored out of a total score of 45. The scale devised to measure the critical reading skill of the sample participants is as follow:

Table 3.7 Scale for Measuring the Critical Reading

Score less than 20		Weak critical reading
Score between 20-27		Average critical reading
Score between 27 -35		Good critical reading
Score between 35-45		Excellent critical reading

The sample was given instructions on Intertextuality and Intertextual analysis for a period of five weeks, with three sessions of one and a half hour per each week. After the completion of the instruction period a post test was administered to the participants whereby the sample was given the same newspaper editorial to be read again and answer the questions given in the questionnaire. Both in the pre-test and the post-test, two evaluators (same for the pre-test and the post-test) were requested to grade the subjects' answers on the scale given in table 3.7. Then through the co-relation tests and t-test the participants' scores in critical reading were statically compared between the pre and the post test.

CHAPTER 4

QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Those editorials are chosen from the selected newspapers which have CPEC as their main theme. Thereby, it is pertinent to have the contextual knowledge regarding CPEC, its inception and details.

4.1 Non- Linguistic Context: CPEC Introduction

CPEC stands for China-Pakistan Economic Corridor. It is a group of developmental projects launched when the then-PM (Pakistan) Nawaz Sharif visited China where he signed a Memorandum of Understanding for China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) on 2013, July 5. CPEC was officially announced on April 20, 2015, when president of China visited Pakistan and signed 51 Memorandums of Understanding valued at \$46 billion. CPEC, a subpart of broader 'One Belt, One Road (OBOR)' is a plan to make the western provinces of China more advanced. OBOR, is an ambitious project that stresses on improving the connectivity and collaboration among various countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe (Shapiee,2017). The main objective of CPEC is to develop the economy of Pakistan by improving its road structure, railways, energy projects and transportation systems. CPEC connects a deep seaport of Gwadar to China's Xinjiang province. It also aims to assist the neighboring countries like Mongolia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and India. Along with the regions like Central Asia and South Asia, it will also connect Middle East, Europe and Africa (Abid and Ashfaq,2015). CPEC pledges to lessen the dependence of China on Straits of Malacca and the South China Sea used for transporting goods and energy such as natural gas to China. Pakistan and China have already strong bilateral relations and have been more cordial after CPEC. Pakistan and China's historical Silk Road was the route used for all the trade activities in South Asia. So, CPEC is a transformation of Silk Road. The project of CPEC is not just understood as a road that links Pakistan and China, but it is believed that it is truly a fundamental stone of economic growth for Pakistan and China as well. OBOR consists of three routes, the Southern, the Central and North and CPEC is on the Southern route

(Zimmerman, 2015). CPEC starts from Chinese North-Western province of Xinjiang and ends at the Gwadar Port of Baluchistan. CPEC is expected to bring economic prosperity in Pakistan. CPEC focuses on power generation which will resolve the key issues of Pakistan, e.g., disturbance in the industrial sector due to power shortage when balanced helps in running its industries at a significant level which increases the GDP of a country. It tends to become a helping factor to deal with the current energy crises as it tends to increase the market production in Pakistan (Mustafa & Zafar, 2017). Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan Sun Weidong shared information with KPK Chief Minister Pervez Khattak and said that the rumors of not including the western route in CPEC were not true. He elaborated that the number of major projects included in CPEC for Pakistani provinces were Baluchistan 16, KPK 8, Sindh 13 and Punjab 12, and there were a lot of sub projects (Kanwal et al.,2019). In other words, CPEC is envisioned to harvest a new era for the cordial relations between the two countries as Gwadar port links Southern Pakistan to North-West of China.

The officially announced goals of CPEC are as follows;

- Providing Cohesive Transport System and IT Systems Including Road, Rail, Port, Air and Data Communication Channels
- Enhancing Energy Cooperation
- Making the Spatial Layout
- Establishing Functional Zones, Industries and Industrial Parks
- Developing Agricultural Sector
- Focusing on Socio-Economic Development Including Poverty Alleviation, Medical Treatment, Education, Water Supply, Vocational Training
- Improving Tourism Cooperation and People to People Connectivity
- Cooperating in Livelihood Zones
- Launching Financial Collaboration
- Supporting Human Resource Development (CPEC Authority, n.d.)

4.1.1 Major Projects under CPEC

The major projects under CPEC enlisted on the official website of the government are given below along with project details available on the website of ministry of development and planning:

- Energy Projects
- Infrastructure Projects
- Industrial Projects
- Gwadar City Projects
- Special Economic Zones Projects (CPEC Authority, n.d.)

4.1.2 Major Energy Projects

Identifying the increasing energy requirements of Pakistan, and to control the current deficits, CPEC has distributed the primary part of funds to energy generation and transmission sectors. These energy projects will help in sustainable growth of industries and cater the needs of the people. Major energy projects which are completed are: “2x660MW Port Qasim Coal-fired Power Plant, 2x660MW Sahiwal Coal-Fired Power Plant, 50MW Dawood Wind Farm, and 900MW Quaid-e-Azam Solar Park in Bahawalpur, 100MW Jhimpir Wind Farm, and 50MW Sachal Wind Farm” (CPEC Authority, n.d.). CPEC is an economic venture between Pakistan and China to enhance the economy, regional connectivity and trade.

CPEC is a strategic economic project to enhance economic connectivity between Pakistan and According to sources, after the CPEC completion, 41% of the energy will be increased as compared to 2014 (Mirza et al., 2019).

4.1.3 Infrastructure Projects

CPEC envisages a wide-ranging renovation of the current transportation system in Pakistan, constructing the new routes to facilitate transit trade and market access. Many roads have already been completed. ‘Karachi-Lahore Motorway (Sukkur-Multan Section), 392 km’ was inaugurated on 2019, November 5. Other major projects enlisted on official

website included ‘KKH Phase II (Thakot -Havelian Section), Khuzdar-Basima Road N-30 (110 km), Upgradation of D.I.Khan (Yarik) - Zhob, N-50 Phase-I (210 km), KKH Thakot-Raikot N35 remaining portion (136 Km), Expansion and reconstruction of existing Line ML-1, Havelian Dry port (450 M. Twenty-Foot Equivalent Units), Capacity Development of Pakistan Railways’ (CPEC Authority, n.d.).

4.1.4 Industrial Projects

Pakistan aims to enhance economic collaboration and connectivity in the region. CPEC pledges to assist and improve industrial cooperation in Pakistan. This industrial cooperation pledges to enhance mobility, economic incorporation, and information connectivity. It is the important part of partnership between China and Pakistan. The official website of CPEC enlisted industrial projects including, ‘Gwadar-Nawabshah LNG Terminal and Pipeline, 700 km, Haier & Ruba Economic Zone Phase II, Optical Fiber Cable from Rawapindi to Khunjrab, DTMB Demonstration Project, Lahore Orange Line Metro Train, Promotion of TD-LTE commercialization in Pakistan’. A number of projects are under construction. (CPEC Authority, n.d.).

4.1.5 Gwadar City Projects

CPEC, an extension of Silk Road is foreseen to have a great impact and Gwadar holds a significant importance in this respect. It is seen as the hub of connectivity for the trade of the goods and shipments across the globe. Its significance is envisaged through its deep-sea port. Gwadar, an important part of Baluchistan, backed China appreciate Pakistan’s importance for them geographically. The important projects of Gwadar are envisioned not only to assist China and Pakistan in higher level, but also cater the needs of the local population by improving their livelihood. Projects which are planned for the Gwadar Port City are presented to have the capacity to raise Baluchistan to its full economic, social, technical, and energy potential. The projects included in Gwadar city are ‘Gwadar Eastbay Expressway (19 km, connecting Gwadar Port to Mehran Coastal Highway), Gwadar New International Airport, Gwadar Smart Port City Master Plan, Expansion of Multi-purpose Terminal including Breakwater and Dredging, Gwadar Eastbay Expressway II (19 km, connecting Eastbay Expressway I to New Gwadar

International Airport), Fresh Water Supply, Wastewater Treatment Plants for Gwadar City, China-Pakistan Faqeer Primary School Project, Gwadar Pak-China Friendship Hospital , Gwadar Upgradation, Pak-China Friendship Technical and Vocational College'. The construction of New Gwadar International Airport was formally inaugurated on 29th March 2019 by PM Imran Khan (CPEC Authority, n.d.).

4.1.6 Special Economic Zone (SEZ) Projects

SEZs, are specially allocated business locations where trade and business laws are different from other country's law. SEZs are often located within the national borders of the country and their aim is to improve the trade, increase investment, create jobs and boost effective management. New financial policies regarding investment, taxation, trading, quotas, customs and labor regulations are introduced for encouraging business. Furthermore, the construction of SEZs can attract foreign direct investment (FDI) in the country. SEZs have enhanced trade in many countries (Zeng, 2016). According to the official website government enlisted projects included, 'Rashakai Economic Zone, M-1, Nowshera, China Special Economic Zone Dhabeji, Bostan Industrial Zone, Allama Iqbal Industrial City (M3), Faisalabad, ICT Model Industrial Zone, Islamabad, Development of Industrial Park on Pakistan Steel Mills Land at Port Qasim near Karachi, Special Economic Zone at Mirpur,AJK, Mohmand Marble City, Moqpondass SEZ Gilgit-Baltistan'. One project has been inaugurated on 2020, January 3 by PM Imran Khan that is 'Special Economic Zone of Faisalabad' (CPEC Authority, n.d.).

4.2 Introduction of Newspapers

Newspapers are broadly read type of discourse (Le, 2010). Four leading Pakistani English newspapers were selected for the research. Following were the selected newspapers

- The Daily Times
- The News
- The Nation

- Dawn

A brief introduction of each of these newspapers is given below:

4.2.1 The Daily Times

The Daily Times newspaper is an English language newspaper in Pakistan. It was launched on April 9, 2002. It is published from Lahore, Islamabad and Karachi. It was firstly owned by Salman Taseer. He was born in Shimla in British India. Taseer had unlawful relationship with the Indian journalist Tavleen Singh, a Sikh. He also had a son Aatish with Tavleen. Aatish is also a journalist now. So, he has a strong relation with India. Salmaan Taseer belonged to an eminent literary and left-wing family. Taseer's father, Dr M Taseer, was a well-known liberal poet. He married Christian women named Christabel George, who travelled with her sister to India to support the struggle for independence against the British. Christabel's sister, Alys, also married an eminent poet Faiz Ahmed Faiz. Salaman Taseer lost his father in early childhood. After losing him he claimed Faiz as his guardian and mentor and lived with him during his exile days. Currently, the newspaper is owned by Shahreyar Taseer. The Daily Times promotes liberal and secular ideas. It belonged to left wing newspapers due to its polices. The Daily Time gained popularity due to some of its editorials, considered controversial and notorious in some parts of Pakistan, but lauded in the international press (Hayat & Juliana, 2016).

4.2.2 The Nation

The Nation was launched on October 1, 1986, by Nawaiwaqat group of publications from Lahore. The first chief editor of the nation was Majeed Nizami. Currently, Rameeza Nizami is the executive editor of The Nation. She is the daughter of Majeed Nizami. The newspaper like his sister newspaper daily Nawaiwaqat, is like an ideological newspaper. Though, it looks more liberal than Nawaiwaqat, but conservative among the other English newspaper of Pakistan. The Nation is supportive of the Muslim league. It firmly believes in the ideology of Pakistan, therefore relates the readership of the right wing. Criticism against the west can be traced from the editorials policy of this newspaper (Hayat & Juliana, 2016).

4.2.3 The News

The News International is published nationally from Islamabad, Lahore and Islamabad and internationally from London to cater the overseas living in United Kingdom. It started in 1991. It is published by the Jang Group of Newspapers, who are the publishers of Daily that was launched from Delhi in 1939. The News is considered to be moderately conservative.

The News is said to be unbiased and sometimes neutral but at times it seems pro leftist (Hayat, & Juliana 2016). Mir Khalil ur Rehman was initially the founder of this newspaper but later it was owned by his younger son, Mir Shakil ur Rehman. The news is more critical towards the current political affairs and players (Mezzera, & Sial, 2010).

4.2.4 The Dawn

The Dawn newspaper was launched in 1941 in New Delhi by Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, and it was mouthpiece of the Muslim league. It began as a weekly publication. Quaid e Azam fought to voice independence struggle in DAWN newspaper. It became the daily newspaper in October 1944. After independence it was owned by Altaf Husain who was eminent east Pakistani educationist. After his death a politician Yusuf Haroon belonging to Muslim League owned DAWN. Currently, it is owned by Hameed Haroon and is published by herald group of publishers (Bilal et al., 2012). Their main trademark, in fact, is a secular and tolerant approach to some of the most burning issues in Pakistan society. Because of this generally perceived super partes approach, the group enjoys extensive respect as a trustworthy, independent and neutral player (Mezzera & Sial, 2010). DAWN have liberal, centrist and progressive policies.

4.3 Analysis of The Newspapers

4.3.1 Daily times

Five editorials dated September 3, 2016; September 5, 2016; September 20 ,2016; November 14 ,2016 and December 16 ,2016 were selected for the analysis. The selected editorials are attached in Appendix 1.

September 3, 2016

Editorial Title: Pakistan Warns India

The editorial comments on the concluding ceremony of a seminar on CPEC and Gilgit-Baltistan. The seminar was also attended by COAS General Raheel Sharif who addressed the gathering as well. The editorial revolves around the various manifestations of that address and implicitly disapproves the COAS address from different angles including many references to India and one reference to PM Modi's past address. The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to drift the reader away from CPEC, perpetuate the projected provincial issue, and generate anti-establishment, ,pro-India and mindset.

1. Intertextual References to Modi's Speech

The editorial begins with the intertextual reference to Indian Prime Minister Modi's speech in the following words:

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's speech is still resonating in Pakistan.

The speech being referred to, was the Independence Day speech delivered by Modi on 15 of Aug 2016 at Red Fort Delhi. In that speech Modi made a number of statements against Pakistan calling it a state supporting terrorism. Further Modi made an aggressive diatribe against Pakistan saying:

“People of Balochistan, Gilgit and PoK (Pakistan Occupied Kashmir) have thanked me a lot past few days, I am grateful to them” (People of Baluchistan ,2016).

Although the Indian PM's speech was fully loaded with judgements and allegations against Pakistan, the editor did not use a single linguistic resource to issue even the slightest value judgement. The reference missed any attitudinal appraisal by the editor. Content, detail and context of the reference were altogether missing. A very neutral reference to this event was given by the editor. Rather the addition of adverbial adjunct 'still' adding graduation force to the word 'resonating' creates the impression for discussion on Modi's speech in Pakistan appear unnecessary and redundant. Anti-Nationalist ideology through Pro India theme seems emerging by analyzing the linguistic make up of this intertextual reference given by the editor. The terms Nationalist and anti-Nationalist are used in this thesis to refer to pro-state and non-state ideologies respectively in line with definition given in Encyclopedia Britannica ("Nationalism", n.d.).

2. Intertextual Reference to CPEC Seminar

The next intertextual reference appearing in the editorial is the concluding ceremony of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Gilgit-Baltistan in the following words:

The recently concluded seminar on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Gilgit-Baltistan witnessed numerous charged speeches against India's alleged subversive activities to sabotage the CPEC project.

The editor referred to the speeches made on the occasion by using the **premodifiers** 'numerous' and 'charged' with the word 'speeches'. The **attitudinal word** 'charged' used with the word 'speeches' is adding **negative appreciation value** to the word 'speeches' and the **negative attitudinal value** of the word 'charged' was further amplified and **upscaled** by the use of the **adjectival** 'numerous'. This adds **upscaled negative graduation force** to the **negative attitudinal value** of the word 'charged'. The editor while referring to objective of the speeches at seminar wrote that these speeches were made against **"India's alleged subversive activities to sabotage the CPEC project"**. Interesting choices in **linguistic repository** by the author again provide the linguistic evidence for **pro Indian theme**. The impact of the **negative attitudinal appraisal** word 'subversive' was used with the word activities, but the impact of this word was **downscaled** by the use of **hedging**

word ‘**alleged**’. Thereby the **focus** of the **negative appreciation** of Indian activities using the word ‘**subversive**’ was blurred by the use of **hedging premodifier ‘alleged’** that is **downscaling** the **graduation focus** of the word ‘**subversive**’. Thereby the editor is professing that the subversive actions of India against CPEC are alleged not proven.

This comes in **stark contrast** to the statement made by the editor in the third sentence of the editorial whereby the editor tells the reader affirmatively “**Islamabad’s support of militant groups and distinction between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ terrorists has isolated it in the international arena.**” The use of above **monoglossic utterance** in the shape of **unmodalized declarative** clause shows that editor has declared there is no other view existing. An **unmodalized declarative** clause “**encourages the reader to assume that the proposition is unproblematic and that it enjoys broad consensus**” (McCabe & Heilman, 2007). Thereby it is declared by the editor linguistically that Pakistan supports militant groups beyond doubt.

The second sentence of the last paragraph brings in another sharp comparison whereby the editor writes

“If India is involved in subversive activities in Pakistan, Pakistan should take up the case in the international arena.”

The editor **hedges** the involvement of India in subversive activities with the use of textual hypotactic **conditional conjunct ‘if’** thereby inducing interpersonal **heteroglossia** admitting the existence of the opposing possibility that is ‘India may not be involved in subversive activities.’ The same linguistic luxury was not given to Pakistan by the editor which clearly shows that the linguistic choices made by the editor are ideologically motivated and pronounce an anti-nationalist ideology. The terms Nationalist and anti-Nationalist are used in this thesis to refer to pro-state and non-state ideologies respectively in line with definition given in Encyclopedia Britannica (“Nationalism”, n.d.).

3. Intertextual Reference to General Raheel Speech at the CPEC Seminar

Intertextual Reference to General Raheel Sharif’s speech appeared in the following words:

Last among these speeches came from Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif. He said

that the army was ready to go to any extent for peace in the country and its security and stability. The army chief spoke about the overall fight against terrorism, security of CPEC projects, strategic importance of Gilgit- Baltistan, and their role in CPEC. Referring to Modi's recent statements, General Sharif said, "Let Modi and RAW know that our borders are secure. We know our enemy and its conspiracies, and we will leave no stone unturned to defeat those plots."

While intertextually referring to the speech of COAS General Raheel Sharif speech at the ceremony, anaphoric reference 'these' was used to put the COAS speech also in the 'charged' category. As shown below in the comparative diagram the editor having different linguistic choices for Indian and Pakistani events again provide an evidence for pro-Indian theme emerging from the editorial.

A line from General Raheel's speech was quoted directly in the editorial. When something is given as direct quote from the source by the editor, the selection of the quote may not be neutral as the writers will select only those parts of the speech which suit their purpose or which serve their ideological aim (Van Dijk, 1998). The editor while quoting another person in editorial distances himself from the quoted words as belonging to others (McCabe & Heilman, 2007). Analyzing the tendency of linguistic choices made in this editorial, the researcher found that this selection of the quoted lines from COAS address meant to carefully pick up that part of speech that could be brandished as charged as announced earlier. Further by putting the words in quotes the editor has distanced himself from the proposition made by COAS. This point of researcher is further accredited while looking at the comment made by the editor on the COAS address in second paragraph whereby the editor emphasizes the need to have the right choice of words and intonations in diplomatic relations thereby implying the same of COAS was wrong.

Here are the words of the editor

At a time when relations between Pakistan and India are already strained, choice of words and person they come from matter a great deal, as diplomatic relations, primarily, hinge on the right rhetoric and the effective intonation.

The researcher watched the full speech of COAS (Pakistan Defense, 2016) to locate the quoted part of the COAS speech in the editorials and found that the editor went for

intertextual manipulation and ellipses whereby he changed the original words spoken by the COAS. The editor quoted “Let Modi and Raw know that our borders are secure.” The original words were “Whether it is Modi, Raw or anyone else, You should know...”. The original speech of COAS was in Urdu and the editor translated it into English with deliberate intertextual ellipsis. The intertextual ellipses are attempts to portray a specific image of the person or institution being portrayed (Mao,2015). The use of ellipses is sometimes manipulative and unethical (Crystal,2015) whereby the meaning is deliberately twisted by omitting certain words. This maneuver by the editor can thereby be read as a motivated act to paint a differently situated picture of COAS and that is possibly negative. An anti-nationalist ideology is emerging as analyzed by the analysis of linguistic resources by the researcher. The terms Nationalist and anti-Nationalist are used in this thesis to refer to pro-state and non-state ideologies respectively in line with definition given in Encyclopedia Britannica (“Nationalism”, n.d.).

Here the researcher found an interesting comparison between the linguistic choices made by the editor in this editorial. The comparison is between the use of the word ‘speech’ in the intertextual reference to Modi’s speech and the use of the word ‘speech’ in the intertextual reference to CPEC seminar.

The comparison is given below diagrammatically

Intertextual reference

to Indian PM speech-----“Modi’s (no **attributive** pre or post **modifiers**) Speech”

Intertextual reference

to CPEC seminar speeches -----“ Numerous Charged Speeches”

(upscaled **Graduation force**)

(**negative Appreciation value**)

|

Intertextual reference to----- “last of these speeches”

General Raheel Speech

(**anaphoric reference**)

in(above mentioned) CPEC seminar.

4. Intertextual Reference to Delhi’s Apprehension of CPEC

In the next intertextual reference, the editor says “Delhi’s ‘apprehension’ of CPEC is known, and it has not made the secret of the same.” This is a **proclaimer** launched by the editor implying the **attitude** is given and should be accepted as such by the reader (Droga & Humphrey 2002). In the first part of the sentence the editor shares with the reader the Indian apprehension of CPEC by positively appreciating it with evaluative adjective ‘known’. The positive appreciative term ‘known’ implies that this is something which is established. The use of the **copular** verb ‘is’ shows a high level of certainty on the part of the writer, who categorically asserts that the subject of the clause is in a particular state of existence (Biber et al, 2002). This is **monoglossic declarative clause** which denies the presence of any other voice. Further **contraction** of alternative voices is seen in the second part of the same sentence which is a **disclaimer** by the editor using the tool of **negation** ‘has not made a secret’ thereby making the clause all the more **monoglossic**. Those who declare something openly without making a secret of it are normally

interpreted as truthful, upright, brave, not guilty, strong and morally high. The editor declares a positive **evaluation** of India's apprehension through the use of **positive appraisal linguistic repository**. The use of **nominalization** in the shape of the word 'apprehension' is an effort on the part of the editor to give this opinion a detached and objective look but the above given analysis of the linguistic evidence shows these choices as **ideologically motivated**. Anti-nationalist ideology is emerging by the linguistic analysis of this intertextual reference.

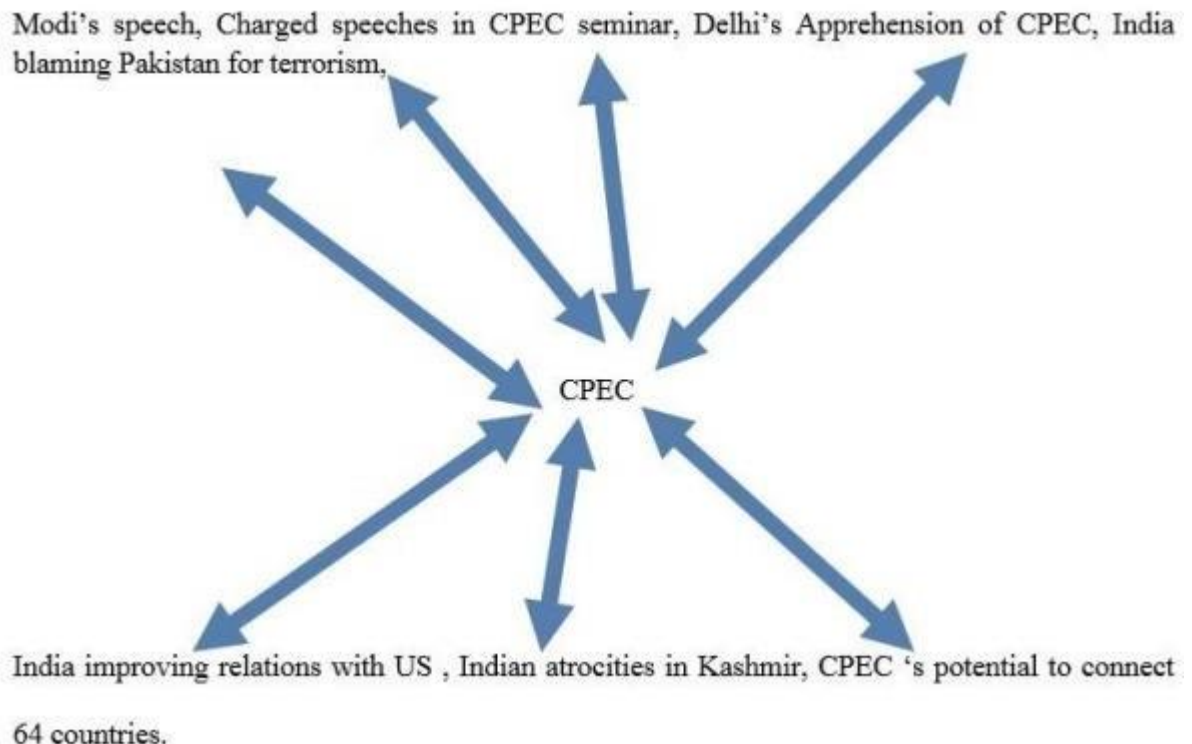
5. Intertextual Reference to CPEC Potential

Referring intertextually to the CPEC potential the editor writes "CPEC, when completed, has the potential to connect 64 countries." Interesting use of the conditional 'when' has opened up space for alternative voices and conditions. Heteroglossia is introduced through the use of the conditional 'when' with the completion of CPEC, thereby the other possibilities of CPEC not being completed are being admitted. The alternative clauses could have been CPEC has the potential to connect 64 countries (the words 'when completed' are omitted in this statement) CPEC when completed will connect 64 countries (the words 'has the potential' are omitted in this statement) CPEC will connect 64 countries (both 'when completed' and 'has the potential' are omitted in this statement) Thereby in the appraisal of CPEC double downscaling with two linguistic choices was done. One with the use of conditional 'when' and second with the term 'has the potential' thereby implying that something having the potential may or may not be able to demonstrate that practically as the reality grows on ground.

In the first line of the fourth paragraph the editor using the declarative clause declares Pakistan as isolated in the diplomatic arena. In the wake of this declarative then the editor makes use of a disclaimer in the form of negation 'it cannot afford to worsen its ties with India' in the next part of the sentence. It's important to note that appraisal resource of negation is used to counter or disclaim any alternative voices before they can arise and thus deny outside opinion any prominence. In the second line of the 4th para of the editorial after sharing India's efforts to improve ties with US to counter Chinese influence, the editor mentioning the potential of CPEC in the third line moves on to the fourth line that again voices the concern of India against CPEC for the second time in the editorial. Many

contradictions in the editorial seem to forefront this part of the editorial:

1. If Pakistan is isolated in the diplomatic arena why is India concerned about CPEC?
2. Why was India's concern appraised by the editor in either positive or neutral linguistic light?
3. If Chinese influence is so great as to make India seek ties with US, then how is
4. Pakistan diplomatically isolated when China is on Pakistan's side?
5. Is the editorial trying to protect India's interest when announcing 'Pakistan cannot afford to worsen its ties with India' if in reality it is India that cannot afford to worsen its ties with Pakistan?
6. Is the editor trying to convince the reader and the government to give up on CPEC as India is having concerns on CPEC and Pakistan cannot afford to worsen its ties with India (as mentioned by the editorial)?



Anti-nationalist ideology again seems emerging through the linguistic analysis of this intertextual reference given by the editor and contradictions arising thereby. The terms Nationalist and anti-Nationalist are used in this thesis to refer to pro-state and non-state

ideologies respectively in line with definition given in Encyclopedia Britannica (“Nationalism”, n.d.).

Although the main intertextual reference occupying the greatest space in the editorial as compared to all other intertextual references was the closing ceremony of the CPEC seminar, but the term CPEC found its appearance only in 5 sentences in the editorial comprising of 23 sentences. If CPEC is picked up as central node of the editorial, it is found surrounded by almost all those intertextual references which have negative appraisal value. Diagrammatically this can be shown as given below.

CPEC taken as the node is found surrounded by almost all negative appraisal intertextual references related to the country hosting it. Anti-Nationalist ideology regarding CPEC seems emerging through the analysis of the editorial in question as was evidenced through the linguistic analysis of these intertextual references in the previous part of the analysis.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools like intertextual ellipses, ideological selection of direct quote, proclaimers, nominalizations, hedges, negative appraisal, upscaling/downscaling graduation forces, unmodalized declarative clauses for monoglossia, and conditional conjuncts for heteroglossia in a discriminatory, contradictory and manipulative way to launch anti-nationalist, pro-Indian and anti-CPEC ideology. The intertextual reference found to the speech of Indian PM Modi shows pro-Indian ideology active in the background. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in this editorial is that at social level it tends to make the readers drift away from and against Army, and air distrust regarding the security and stability of Pakistan and CPEC.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, in these editorial intertextual references were found at 7 places. Out of these seven references only one intertextual reference was in the shape of direct quotation. The other references were having indirect voices or events

being referred to. Here are the details of intertextual references

1. Intertextual reference to Modi's speech without directly or indirectly quoting the words of his speech. No **value judgements** found for Modi's speech.
2. Intertextual reference to CPEC seminar with a general reference to all the speeches made on the occasion as 'numerous charged speeches'. Negative appraisal words abounded the comment.
3. Intertextual reference to Raheel Sharif speech by directly quoting some parts of the speech with intertextual ellipsis found. Meaningful use of anaphoric reference 'these' found.
4. Intertextual reference to Delhi's apprehension of CPEC without quoting any voice/speech. Implicit positive appraisal of Delhi through positive judgement.
5. Intertextual reference to Indian atrocities in Kashmir without quoting any voice from India or Kashmir.
6. Intertextual reference to CPEC potential by giving some details of the connectivity through conditionals downscaling the potential being referred to.
7. Intertextual reference to India improving ties with US in neutral appraisal terms.

While adding up these intertextual references the editor did make the ideological use of **appraisal** resources whereby **appraisal** kit of **attitude, graduation, engagement**, through linguistic tools like **monoglossia, disclaimers, negations**, conditionals, **ellipses**, conditional conjuncts, **contractions, nominalization** etc. were used to make the meaning.

September 5, 2016

Editorial Title: CPEC and Equal Distribution of Projects

The entire editorial revolves around the denial of rights to Balochistan through unequal distribution of CPEC projects. The government is designated as Punjab - dominated and shown as denying the rightful share to Baluchistan.

The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to drift the reader away from CPEC and perpetuate the projected provincial issue.

1. Intertextual Reference to CPEC Statistics

The editorial begins with an intertextual reference to the statistics of CPEC shared with the audience. Prominent feature of this reference is the obfuscation of agent in the clause by offering the agent place to an abstract entity ‘statistics’.

“Statistics shared with the parliament have revealed that at present 53 percent of the total China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) projects are being assigned to Punjab.”

Fairclough, (2001, p.103) submits that the “choice of (re)presenting or constructing textual features in action process, event or attributions by text producers is never innocent/neutral.” He records that the choice of (re)presenting/constructing an action process with agents responsible for the action in the process and/or the choice of hiding such agents or the patients of an action process is often “ideologically” motivated and that such motivation might be “consistent, automatic or commonsensical in a manner which could be used for hedging or deception,” (Fairclough, 2001, p.100).

The editor foregrounded the word ‘statistics’ while the agent who shared these statistics is **obfuscated**. The questions like who generated these statistics, who shared these statistics, which session of the parliament is the editor referring to, fail to find an answer in the editorial. The gravity of such questions is increased when seen in the light of the questions and allegations being tossed by the editor regarding the unequal distribution of benefits and resources to the provinces through CPEC. The newspapers are expected to help the curious audience with information about the source of the discriminatory data.

Rather than doing that, the newspaper chose a style of discourse which consistently hid the agents responsible for the data they reported. This manner of writing can be interpreted as fueling the suspicion that the newspaper is having an agenda to divide the country on CPEC by spreading deprivation controversy through the **negative appraisal** of the situation by using the words like ‘apprehension’, ‘grievances’, ‘sensitive’, ‘exacerbated’, ‘denied’, with **negative affective value** and words like ‘unequal’ with **negative judgmental value**. The words were further enhanced in their **negative appraisal** through the addition of the **negative graduation** focus words like ‘long standing’ and ‘all the more’. The editorial is having a total of 18 sentences out of which 16 sentences show strict **monoglossia** through the use of **declarative** clauses where the possibility of alternative voices was either absent and their space was **contracted** by the use of **disclaimers** in the shape of **negations** or by the use of strong **obligation modals** like ‘should not’, ‘must occupy’, ‘must also be provided’, ‘must be forsaken’.

2. Intertextual Reference to Viewpoints of Various Parties

In the second paragraph the editor blames the government for not allowing debate on various issues involving CPEC. Further it is blamed on government that those speaking against them are declared unpatriotic. Following are the words:

Unfortunately, the approach in Pakistan has been of promoting unequal development under the guise of national unity. Those who talk about equal development or provincial concerns are shunned and even declared unpatriotic. An important indicator of this approach is the pejorative connotation that the word ‘politicise’ has been assigned in Pakistan. If issues are questioned or debated from the viewpoints of various parties involved, then instead of viewing it as an open discourse, it is often considered to be undesirable and labelled as ‘politicising’ the issue.

In the fourth sentence of second paragraph the editor makes a passing intertextual reference ‘to the viewpoints of various parties involved’. Through the tool of agent obfuscation again the identity of the various parties involved is camouflaged. Why are these parties nameless? Who are these parties involved? Through the analytical lens that finds the intertextual reference to Modi’s Speech in the 3rd September editorial and intertextual reference to Gilgit Baltistan in 5th September editorial, have the same theme,

it seems that one of the involved parties is India. It is very difficult to ignore that both the texts of this editorial and Modi's speech have strong intertextual relation of sharing the same intertextual theme that is Gilgit and Balochistan. Both the texts have high attitudinal values attached to the words depicting the 'concern' for the rights of people of Gilgit and Baluchistan through the use of highly affective and judgmental terms. The text of Modi's speech (People of Baluchistan, 2016) depicts pain and empathy for the troubles of Gilgit/Baluchistan people as shown through the address of Modi on India's independence day (referred to by the 3rd Sep editorial) and same is visible in the text of this editorial. Neither Modi in India nor the editor in both the editorials forgot to speak out for the projected deprivation of the provinces but somehow the real stake holder Gilgit and Bloch people or their representatives could not have their voice in these editorials.

Throughout the editorial the government is being blamed for unequal distribution of benefits and resources to the provinces. The editors normally authenticate their views by attributing them to named external sources in the shape of quoted or reported speech or source, which was altogether missing in the editorial. Coulthard (1994) points out that both direct and indirect reporting of others' words in the news "have the function of legitimizing what is reported". Not a single authentic attribution to another voice in the shape of directly or indirectly quoted speech or source of the local representatives of Baluchistan could find a space in the whole editorial. It seems that just Modi and the editor seem to authenticate each other by being intertextually linked through the 'coincidental' sharing of the same intertextual reference.

In the presence of all the given linguistic evidence, it is interesting to focus on the first sentence of the second paragraph of the editorial. It says

"Unfortunately, the approach in Pakistan has been of promoting unequal development under the guise of national unity."

Analyzing the overall linguistic tone and evidence through the linguistic tools it seems that the editor's real motive can more appropriately be defined by modifying, reading and understanding the editor's above given line as given below

"Unfortunately, the approach in Pakistan has been of promoting destruction of national unity under the guise of unequal development ."

Embedded within this intertextual reference is another intertextual reference to **‘those who talk about equal development or provincial concerns are shunned and even declared unpatriotic’**. Identity of ‘those’ is **obfuscated** and evidential support that could be for example referring to different examples of declared ‘unpatriots’ is missing in the editorial. The validity of this blame thereby is highly contestable. Additionally, the continual blame rhetoric of this part of the editorial is surrounded by terms like ‘shunned’ with **negative affective value** and expressions like ‘unpatriotic’, ‘politicizing’, ‘considered be undesirable’, ‘keep matters opaque and steamroller’, ‘avoiding.....restricting the debate’, ‘conflating CPEC with national interest’ having **negative judgmental value**. Thereby the through and through use of **negative attitudinal** words surrounding this intertextual reference indicates high scores on weak logic and subjectivity, and very low scores on genuine logic, and objectivity. The last sentence of this paragraph deserves special attention for the rhetoric being launched.

The editor writes **‘By conflating the existing development projects of CPEC with national interest, government is restricting the debate for provincial concerns to factor in on them and, in turn, make a development scheme that is inclusive for all provinces’**. The meaning of the word “conflating” in Cambridge dictionary is ‘combining two separate things’ (“conflating”, n.d.). The obvious presupposition thereby is implying that national interest and CPEC are two different things and do not have anything to do with each other. Anti-nationalist theme seems emerging here. The terms Nationalist and anti-Nationalist are used in this thesis to refer to pro-state and non-state ideologies respectively in line with definition given in Encyclopedia Britannica (“Nationalism”, n.d.).

An **un-dialogized** style bearing **monoglossia** is quite dominant part of the text under analysis. The **monoglossia** is visible through the used **declaratives** like ‘are shunned and even declared’, ‘this approach is’, ‘the word ‘politicize’ has been assigned, ‘this is exactly the kind of approach’, ‘the government is restricting’. The use the **copular** verb ‘is’ and simple present tense ‘is’ in all its forms show a high level of certainty on the part of the writer, who categorically asserts that the subject of the clause is in a particular state of existence (Fairclough, 1992a; Biber et al, 2002). The space for the alternative voices is quite **contracted** so the editor does not entertain, recognize or identify the alternative viewpoints. The **contradiction** here is that the editor demanding the right to open debate

has himself denied the same right in the editorial by **contracting** the space for alternate voices.

The visible emerging ideology of the editor through the intertextual analysis in this part is anti-nationalist.

3. Intertextual Reference to Gilgit Baltistan

This intertextual reference is located in the last paragraph of the editorial. In this part of the editorial the editor identifies Gilgit Baltistan as unsettling part of CPEC. The editor declares that these are not given their due right and blames the government to have a relationship of apathy towards the provinces. Here are the words:

One very unsettling part of CPEC is in spite of the importance of Gilgit-Baltistan to the project the region has not yet been given full constitutional status. And the relationship of the centre towards this region has been one of historic apathy as it continues to remain in the grips of poverty and underdevelopment. Being the region that provides CPEC with the vital link to China, attention must be turned towards it, and in addition to the development of road infrastructure, Gilgit-Baltistan must also be provided with adequate healthcare and education facilities. Gilgit-Baltistan must be made into an equal province of the federation of Pakistan, and any strategic calculations for not doing so must be forsaken in place of giving its people their due rights as citizens of Pakistan.

This last paragraph begins by attaching the term ‘very unsettling part’ with ‘CPEC’. The word unsettling carries a negative appreciation value with it which is further intensified by the intensifier ‘very’ with negative gradation force upscaling the negative effect being given. The declarative verb ‘is’ used here to contract any alternative voices to the view given by the editor which is that current constitutional status of Gilgit Baltistan ‘is’ very unsettling part of CPEC. The contradiction here is missing parallel between the current constitutional status of Gilgit Baltistan and its being nominated as the ‘very unsettling part of CPEC’. The inception date of CPEC and constitutional status of Gilgit have a gap of 68 years between them. The current constitutional status issue of Gilgit is there for almost 73 years and CPEC started in 2015 (CPEC Authority, n.d.).

How can CPEC be blamed for current constitutional status of the region and how can the current constitutional status of Gilgit Baltistan be designated as the unsettled part

of CPEC? Alternative statements could have been One unsettling part of country is (the statement is not blaming on CPEC)

One very unsettling part of government is (the statement is not blaming CPEC) One very unsettling issue is (the statement is not blaming anyone)

One very important issue is (the statement is not blaming anyone and has mild attitudinal value) One issue of great significance is (the statement is not blaming anyone and has mild attitudinal value)

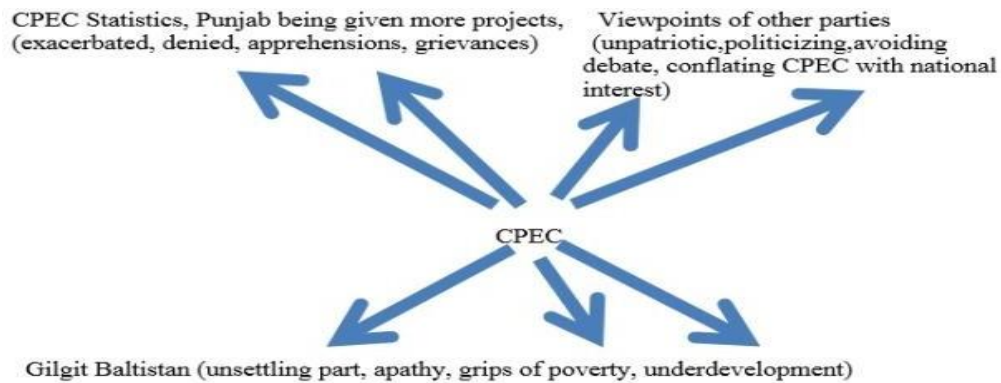
One issue that needs attention is (not blaming anyone and mild attitudinal value) One area of great significance (not blaming anyone and neutral appraisal value) etc.

The editor refers to the education, healthcare, poverty and underdevelopment issues of G/B and refers its link to CPEC through the subordinate clause ‘being the region that provides CPEC the vital link...’. Critical question however is if G/B is having all these issues these should be solved in their own right. Why these problems by force are being collated with CPEC? Can this be read in the light of CPEC rhetoric?

Linking up problems of G/B with CPEC hint to anti nationalist stance taken by the anti- federation sources. An intertextual link _ sharing the same subject of G/B problems as Indian PM Mode did_ again makes its presence being strongly felt.

The theme of CPEC in the editorial is surrounded by almost all negative appraisals in all the intertextual references studied. Anti-nationalist and anti CPEC ideology seems emerging through the analysis of the intertextual references studied.

Diagram with CPEC at center surrounded by intertextual references and intertextual References surrounded by negative appraisals is given below.



Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools like transformed indirect quotations, contradictory intertextual statements, scare quotes, anonymous/generic attributive engagement, negative affective terminology, obfuscation of agent, monoglossic declaratives, counterexpectancy, negative presuppositions, upscaling repetitions, negative judgement, in a discriminatory and manipulative way, to launch anti-nationalist, anti-establishment and anti-CPEC ideology. The intertextual relation found with the stance of Indian PM Modi shows pro-Indian ideology active in the background. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in this editorial is that at social level it tends to make the reader uncertain against CPEC, generate anti-establishment sentiment, perpetuate the provincial conflict, and air distrust.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools like manipulative presuppositions, contradictory statements with contradictory historical statistics, obfuscation of agent, negative appraisal with negative affective and judgmental value, negative graduation forces, disclaimers and obligation modals and strict monoglossia through declaratives, in a discriminatory, contradictory and manipulative way, to launch anti-nationalist and anti-CPEC ideology. The intertextual relation found with the stance of Indian PM Modi shows pro-Indian ideology active in the background. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in this editorial is that at social level it tends to make the reader drift away from and against CPEC, perpetuate the provincial conflict, and air distrust.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, in these editorial intertextual references were found at 3 places. No intertextual reference was in the shape of direct quotation. The references were having indirect voices or events/places being referred to. Here are the details of intertextual references:

1. **Intertextual reference to CPEC statistics shared with parliament** was found with **obfuscation** of the agent. Surrounding text abounded with words with **negative values judgements**. **Monoglossia** was observed by the researcher in the analysis.
2. **Intertextual reference to the viewpoints of various parties involved** was found. The **obfuscation** of identity of the parties involved is visible. **Monoglossia** and **negative value judgements** abound in the text that surrounds the reference.
3. **Intertextual reference to Gilgit Baltistan** was found abounding in **negative appreciation** words with **negative graduation force**. Words with **negative affective values** also surrounded the reference. **Contradictions** and monoglossia were found.

September 20, 2016

Editorial Title: Civil-military Power Paradigm: Is It Affecting CPEC?

The editorial revolves around the theme of civil-military tensions regarding the operationalization of Special Security Division (SSD) for security of Chinese workers in CPEC projects. Given below are the details of intertextual analysis of the editorial. The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to drift the reader away from CPEC, perpetuate the projected provincial issue, and generate anti-establishment, pro-Indian and mindset.

1. Intertextual Reference to a Report Published in Newspaper

The first intertextual reference appears in the following words

According to a report published in newspapers, the operationalising of Special Security Division (SSD), announced for the protection of Chinese workers, has been held up due to differences between the civil-military leadership.

The editorial begins with the intertextual reference having an anonymous **attributive engagement** through the use of generic terminology ‘according to a report published in newspapers’ using the tool of **nominalization** thereby **obfuscating** the identity of the agent. According to Fairclough (2001) **obfuscation** of agent is often ideologically motivated. In the light of this anonymous report the editor announces differences existing between civil-military leadership. Use of the term ‘difference between civil-military ...’ has the **negative judgmental value** of **negative veracity** (-ve). Similarly the announcement ‘operationalization .has been held up...’ carries **judgmental value** of **negative capacity** (-ve). Which newspaper published the report? What was the name of the reporter? What date was the report published on? What was the source of the published report? All these questions fail to find an answer in the first intertextual reference.

The gravity of these questions is increased by the fact that two very integral pillars of the country namely civil government and military are being depicted as being in conflict with each other. A message of uncertainty seems being sent to the stakeholders of

CPEC specially China. Anti-Nationalist ideology seems emerging.

2. Intertextual Reference to Chinese Showing Concern

The next intertextual reference appears in the following words.

With some Chinese investors and officials showing concern on the security situation, such an issue could potentially affect the timelines for the projects under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).

This intertextual reference is given in the second sentence of the first paragraph of the editorial. The indirect reference to the voice of anonymous Chinese investors and officials is found here through the use of generic functional terms ‘some Chinese officials and investors’ showing concern on the security situation. Generic **attributive engagement** is found. This carries negative **affective value** of dissatisfaction (-ve) and insecurity and negative **capacity on judgement scale**. After the addition of this engagement resource of Chinese voice of concern in the first part of the sentence, the editor identifies the probable **negative** affect of the same on timeliness of CPEC projects. This part is having **negative appreciation scale** showing negative **valuation** (-ve). Noteworthy repetition of same intertextual reference is found in the last sentence of the 5th paragraph repeating the Chinese investor’s concern and its impact on timeliness of CPEC projects. This **upscales** the **graduation force** of the **negative judgement through** using the tool of repetition. Further intensifying and **upscaling** the **graduation force** is the use of the **adjectival** ‘indefinite’ with the word delay. Anti-CPEC ideology generating uncertainty seems emerging.

3. Intertextual Reference to SSD TOR Delay

This intertextual reference appears in the following words.

More than one and a half year after the announcement, civilian and military leadership have still to agree to terms of reference (ToR) that would govern the working of the SSD.

This intertextual reference is showing **negative capacity** on the part of Pakistan’s civil-military leadership for finalizing the TORs of SSD.

The **negative judgement** is visible through the words ‘have still to agree....’ whereby the **adverbial adjunct** and intensifier ‘still’ is used to **upscale** the **graduation force** of the **negative capacity**. Adding further to the **force** of the **negative capacity** is the dependent clause ‘more than one and a half year after the announcement’ with the word

‘more’ used to **upscale** the impact of the delay. Negatively evaluating the events surrounding CPEC, anti-CPEC ideology seems emerging.

4. Intertextual Reference to Civilian and Military Stance on CPEC and Mutual Distrust

Although both civilian and military leaders agree that CPEC is vital for the country’s economic future, mutual ‘distrust’ is impeding cooperation between them on this critical venture.

This intertextual reference is found in the last sentence of the first paragraph of the editorial as a **disclaimer** with **concessive conjunction** ‘although’ whereby first referring to the civil-military stance of agreement on vitality of CPEC, the editor nullifies it by referring to the mutual civil-military mistrust through **monoglossic declarative** main clause using **simple present tense** verb ‘is’ as follows: “mutual distrust is impeding cooperation between them...”.

Noteworthy is the use of the **affective** term ‘mutual distrust’ showing ‘dissatisfaction (-ve)’ in the **disclaimer** along with the term ‘impeding cooperation between them’ showing **negative capacity** on **judgement** criteria of **appraisal** analysis. **Affective** terminology and **negative judgement** is visible in the second part of the sentence which is emphasizing civil-military distrust and lack of cooperation. Perpetuating again an air of doubt surrounding CPEC, Army, and government; anti-CPEC, anti-establishment, and anti-Government ideology seems emerging.

5. Intertextual Reference to Reports Showing Government’s Unwillingness

Reports suggest that the government is not willing to ratify the ToR proposed by the army as the role envisaged by the military for the SSD is to advise, guide and ‘indirectly’ control the civilian law enforcement agencies in issues related to the security of CPEC projects.

The second paragraph begins with abstract and generic attribution to reports that suggest the unwillingness of the government to ratify the TORs proposed by army. The source of the report is again not made available by the editor. The intertextual reference is showing **negative capacity** on **judgement** section of **appraisal** analysis. The reason of the government’s refusal as given in the anonymous report is ‘the role envisaged by the military for the SSD is to advise, guide and ‘indirectly’ control the civilian law

enforcement agencies in issues related to the security of CPEC projects'. Interesting part in this intertextual reference is the use of scarequotes around the word 'indirectly'.

The practice of scare quotes around specific words suggests that the words in quotes must be seen with reservation. The scare quotes are mostly used to signpost 'so-called'. The result is what is put in scare quotes is questioned, ridiculed, belittled or taken distance from. It is seen that scare quotes are the most common presentational feature used in the realization of partiality in the articles. The use of the scare quotes may be incited by the fact that they express bias very indirectly. Their demonstration and application do not require words but just quotation marks. The usage of scare quotes in a prejudiced way can sometimes be almost indiscernible. They may make the reader doubt the sincerity of the utterance that is conveyed. When few words are enclosed in quotation marks it indicates that only those specific words should be suspected (Pajunen, 2008).

The use of the word 'indirectly' in scare quotes thereby is directing the reader to doubt it and read it in the exact opposite meaning that is 'directly'. The part of the editorial thereby is causing doubts on the army verbiage and intentions. So, the message seems that army is intending to directly control the matters under discussion as opposed to announced 'indirect' control by army. This point is further verified when seen in the light of the last line of the second paragraph of the editorial whereby through a **declarative** clause the editor announces, 'the military has so far kept itself in the lead'. Thereby without using the open words the reported concerns of the civilian government against army are being depicted as credible to the readers. Anti-nationalist ideology through the implicit anti army ideology seems to appear in the editorial.

6. Intertextual Reference to Fear of the Government

Reports suggest that the government is not willing to ratify the ToR proposed by the army as the role envisaged by the military for the SSD is to advise, guide and 'indirectly' control the civilian law enforcement agencies in issues related to the security of CPEC projects.

This intertextual reference is found in the second sentence of the second paragraph. In this intertextual reference the government's fear against military's influence is shown. Transformed indirect voice of the government is being referred to in the second sentence of the second paragraph through the use of mental verb 'fears' having **negative affective**

value. The use of the generic term government is obvious whereby the use of abstract agent is concealing the identity of the source that showed the fear. Further the word ‘fear’ carries the **negative affective value** showing that the government is in this mental state of ‘fear’ because of army. By attributing this ‘fear’ to the generic entity ‘government’ though the editor tried to bring in the air of objective distancing but the lexical choice of the mental verb ‘fear’ with strong **affective value** is a choice on the part of the editor and this choice seems to show the bent of the editor towards ‘antiarmy ideology’ by implying it as the cause of fear. anti-establishment ideology seems emerging.

7. Intertextual Reference to Interior Ministry’s Role

There is also the idea that the SSD has to be under the interior ministry’s command whereas the military has so far kept itself in the lead and intends to maintain that role.

This intertextual reference is found in the last sentence of second paragraph. In the intertextual reference interesting use of linguistic resources is seen whereby transformed indirect voice of an unknown source is given. The process of **nominalization** is used to hide the agency. Contradictory **heteroglossia** in the first part of the sentence is followed by **declarative monoglossia** the latter joined to the former through paratactic **concessive conjunction** ‘whereas’. The term ‘there is also a view’ in the first part of the sentence admits the existence of other views but at the same time uses very **strong modals** ‘has to be’ in the second part weakens the strength of alternative voices if any. The statement ‘there is also the idea that the SSD has to be under the interior ministry’s command’ does not show the source of ‘the idea’ but then uses the assertive ‘has to’ that contradicts the very theme of the word ‘idea’ which is a mere suggestion. The use of the word idea expanded the **dialogic** space whereas the use of the verb ‘has to’ **contracted** the same. The linguistic evidence thereby shows editor’s own inclination for the interior ministry to have the authority.

The second part of the sentence ‘whereas the military has so far kept itself in the lead and intends to maintain that role’ is a double **declarative** clause making two assertions

1. The military has so far kept itself in the lead
2. intends to maintain that role

The second part of the sentence has **unmodalized monoglossic declarative** structure thereby **contracting** the **dialogic** space. The role of the military is declared by the editor both for the past and future without admitting any alternative voice thereby

indirectly justifying the fear of the government, as justified. Further the transformed indirect voice of military as given by the editor does not show any source named for the voice thereby having abstract attribution. This leads the analysis in the direction that finds anti army ideology surfacing.

8. Intertextual Reference to FWO Tragedy

Security is particularly problematic in the area that has to be secured by the SSD-South. The Frontier Works Organization, which is engaged with road projects in Balochistan, has already lost 44 men, including 26 soldiers, in the province in security-related incidents.

In the fourth paragraph there is an intertextual reference to the tragic incidents faced by FWO losing 44 people in security related incidents. This indicates **negative appreciation** on **valuation** node whereby the security system is shown as quite inadequate and weak resulting in the loss of precious lives. This part of the editorial refers to the security situation in Baluchistan as ‘particularly problematic’. The **negative appreciation** of the security using the word ‘problematic’ with the **upscaling graduation** word ‘particularly’ is quite obvious. This also shows **negative valuation** (-ve) on **appreciation** scale. Further adding up to the **negative appreciation** is the given number of casualties in the security related incidents.

This time also the paper fails to miss the implicit intertextual link existing between the mention of Baluchistan by Modi and this part of the editorial. Baluchistan issue is the common concern for Indian PM Modi and the editorials of Daily Times. India and Pakistan since their inception have waged three wars against each other and are established adversaries. Having an established adversary show concern for a province of the other country is meaningful and intertextual relationship between Modi and Daily Times editorials of sharing the same subject is difficult to be taken as a mere coincidence. Anti-Nationalist ideology seems emerging through the analysis.

9. Intertextual Contradiction with 5th September Editorial

A noteworthy and interesting intertextual **contradiction** is found between the editorial of 5th September and the current editorial. In 5th September editorial (last sentence second paragraph) the editor blamed the government for ‘conflating’ CPEC with national interest. The word ‘conflating’ was used implying that parallel was created between

different things. This stands in stark contrast with the stance given in the last sentence of 20th September editorial whereby the editor announces CPEC as integral for country's financial future, economic boost and regional strength thereby **strongly** linking CPEC to national interest. Additionally, this importance being attached with CPEC is through the use of **strong monoglossic declarative** phrase using popular 'is' and **strong adjectival** 'imperative'.

10. Intertextual Relationship with 3rd September Editorial

In the editorial on 3rd of September linguistic evidence suggested anti-establishment ideology emerging and similarly the linguistic evidence envisaged in this editorial again suggest anti-establishment ideology surfacing. Thereby intertextual relationship of having the same subject and ideology line exists between the editorials of 3rd and 20th September. anti-establishment ideology becomes more obvious when looking at the use of deontic **modal** 'should' in three paragraphs of the 20th September editorials whereby the army and the government are being advised by the editor for what should and should not be done. Here are the details

1. Both government and army should realize...
2. TOR's..... should not come at the expense of the power of civilian....
Agencies.....No one party should dictate the terms
3. It should be formulated abiding by the constitution of Pakistan.
4. The government should be more vigilant in this regard.

Point one is using the deontic **modal** 'should' both for government and army. Point 2, 3 and 4 are using the deontic **modal** 'should' for army. Point 5 is using the deontic **modal** 'should' for government.

Army is being obligated in point 2 not to act on the expense of civilian government thereby implying and presupposing that army does things at the expense of civilian government. This explanation is further accredited when compared with the last part of the last sentence of the second paragraph of the editorial whereby the editor writes '...whereas the military has so far kept itself in the lead and intends to maintain that role.'

Through the use of deontic **modal** ‘should’ army (in point 2) is being obligated not to dictate the terms. The entity being focused here is army is again proven by looking at the first sentence of second part ‘...as the role envisaged by army is to ‘indirectly’ control the civilian.... Agencies...’.

The use of the strategic quotes around the word ‘indirectly’ by the editor has already been explained in the earlier part of analysis that the quotes urge the readers to look at the word doubtfully and in a different light. Thereby the use of strategic quotes here suggest that army directly wants to control.

In point 4 as well **obligation** through the deontic **modal** ‘should’ is being invoked to follow the constitution of Pakistan and all the cited examples above point to this argument again being referred to army thereby implying that army does not abide by the constitution of Pakistan.

In point 5 the deontic **modal** ‘should’ is being used to obligate government for vigilance. The use the word ‘vigilance’ here is meaningful as the word normally is used to caution those who are wronged, were wronged or might get wronged in future. Implicit message given seems to caution the government against the wrong that might come from army.

Anti-nationalist ideology seems emerging through the intertextual analysis as the two pillars of the institution that is army and civil government are not only being shown in conflict through the use of **negative appreciation**, affect and **judgement** but it seems as if effort is being made to launch, intensify and applaud the grievance being depicted in civil government by justifying it.

11. Intertextual Relationship between 3rd, 5th and 20th September Editorials

Another significant intertextual relation among the editorials of 3rd, 5th and 20th September is the reference to Baluchistan issue and the same was not forgotten by Indian PM Modi on India’s independence day speech. This intertextual relationship seems difficult to be taken as mere coincidence and the question arises which ideology is being clued-up. The linguistic evidence shows anti-nationalist ideology emerging through analysis.

The theme of CPEC in the editorial is surrounded by almost all **negative appraisals** in all the intertextual references studied. Anti-nationalist ideology seems emerging through the analysis of the intertextual references studied.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools like transformed indirect voices, scare quotes, anonymous/generic attributive engagement, negative affective terminology, obfuscation of agent, monoglossic declaratives, counter expectancy, negative presuppositions, upscaling repetitions, negative judgement, in a discriminatory, contradictory and manipulative way, to launch anti-nationalist, anti-establishment and anti-CPEC ideology. The intertextual relation found with the stance of Indian PM Modi shows pro-Indian ideology active in the background. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in this editorial is that at social level it tends to make the reader uncertain against CPEC, generate anti-establishment sentiment, perpetuate the provincial conflict, and air distrust.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, in this editorial intertextual references were found at 8 places. Out of these eight references no intertextual reference was in the shape of direct quotation. The references were having indirect voices or events being referred to. Here are the details of intertextual references

1. **Intertextual Reference to a report published in newspaper** with anonymous attributive **engagement**. No source name quoted. **Negative judgement** and **affective** term for dissatisfaction were found at two places.
2. Intertextual reference to Chinese showing concern with generic attributive engagement. **Negative affective value** of dissatisfaction and **negative judgement** showing **negative capacity** is found at two places.
3. **Intertextual reference to SSD TOR delay** with **negative judgement** showing **negative capacity** with the **upscaling graduation forces** of **adverbial** and repetition

found.

- 4 **Intertextual reference to civilian and military stance on CPEC** and mutual distrust shown.
- 5 Use of **engagement** resource of **disclaimer**, with **monoglossic declarative** visible. **Affective** terms showing dissatisfaction and **negative judgement** showing **negative capacity** found
- 6 **Intertextual reference to reports** showing government's unwillingness without naming any government official. **Negative judgement** through **negative capacity** found. Use of strategic quotes also witnessed.
- 7 **Intertextual reference to fear of the government with generic attribution** without naming any government official found. Use of mental verb carrying **negative affective value** visible.
- 8 **Intertextual Reference to interior ministry's role** through a transformed indirect voice found. **Nominalization** used whereby **engagement** resource of **disclaimer** used ending with double **declarative monoglossia**.
- 9 **Intertextual reference to FWO tragedy** with **negative appreciation** and **negative judgement** showing **negative capacity** visible. **Upscaling graduation** resource also used.

And an intertextual **Contradiction** with the 5th September editorial is also found. Further intertextual relationship of demonstrating the same anti-establishment ideology is found with the 3rd September editorial. The editorial also shares an intertextual relation of sharing the same subject of Baluchistan with the 3rd and 5th September editorials and with Indian PM Modi.

November 14, 2016

Editorial Title: As the First Chinese Ship Arrives at the Gwadar Port

The editorial gave the details of the ceremony held on 13th November 2016 at Gwadar marking the departure of the first major trade cargo from Gwadar port including the address by the PM Nawaz Sharif and other VIPs. In the next part the editorial made a reference to the arrival of the first trade convoy at Gwadar port. The last three paragraphs of the editorial detailed the narrative of Balochistan people reservations. The last line of the editorial took a sudden turn to praise Pakistan army and FWO for their efforts.

The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to drift the reader away from CPEC and perpetuate the projected provincial issue.

1. Intertextual Reference to PM Speech in Gwadar First Major Trade Cargo Ceremony

The intertextual reference appears in the following words:

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif while addressing a ceremony marking the departure of the first major trade cargo from Gwadar Port emphasised Pakistan's commitment to China's One Belt-One Road initiative. He also appreciated the efforts of the government of Balochistan and the Pakistan Army formaking the local population a stakeholder in the project.

The first intertextual reference is found in the beginning of the editorial whereby the address of PM Nawaz Sharif is referred to in the shape of transformed indirect quotation. The use of the reporting verb emphasized (“PM..... emphasized Pakistan’s commitment to China’s One Belt-One Road initiative”) by the editor seems meaningful. The reporting verb emphasized seemsto carry an implicit mild **negative judgement** here. Emphasizing one’s own commitment sendstwo messages:

1. Either the commitment level is low which is being upgraded by emphasizing it or
2. The commitment is being doubted by other stake holders involved so is being emphasized.

The use of the word emphasized by the editor seems to be meant for sending the

signal of doubt regarding the commitment of the government.

Alternative choice of reporting verbs could have been

1. PM Expressed
2. PM.....talked about
3. PM Voiced

The researcher watched the full video of the PM Nawaz Sharif address to the ceremony (Talk Shows Central,2016) and discovered a number of facts which are manipulated by the editor. In editorial sentence “PM..... emphasised Pakistan’s commitment to China’s One Belt-One Road initiative”

The editor picked the possessive use of the word China as China’s with the term ‘One Belt One Road initiative’ thereby implying that this One Belt One Road project is just Chinese venture. This linguistic maneuver tends to distance Pakistan from the project’s ownership. Since this linguistic style was used while indirectly quoting the PM Nawaz Sharif thereby indirectly implying that PM said it this way. The researcher watched the full address of the PM whereby he never used a detached terminology with the project and always used the collective ownership terms for the project. This shows intertextual **ellipses** and transformation strategy used in the editorial.

The second selected intertextual reference to the words of PM appear again in the shape of transformed indirect quotation as follows:

‘He also appreciated the efforts of the government of Balochistan and the Pakistan Army for making the local population a stakeholder in the project.’

The exact words spoken by Prime minister were:

‘Alhamdulillah (by the Grace of God) efforts of the federal government, government of Baluchistan and Pakistan Army have been successful in making the local population a stakeholder in the local and national development’ (Talk Shows Central,2016)

The transformation into the indirect quote in the editorial finds two interesting intertextual **ellipses**: one is that of the term ‘the federal government’ and the other is

the skipped word ‘successful’ having the positive **judgmental** word with positive **capacity**. This ellipse of the positive **judgmental** word ‘successful’ seems to be an effort by the editor to background the positive news and foreground either the **negative** or less positive news thereby launching partisan war journalism frame of being biased towards one side. The actual speech by the PM for this part of intertextual reference was a **declarative** with positive announcement of success achieved by the three pillars of the state for making the local population of Baluchistan a stakeholder in the project. The editorial mentioned it as an expressive in the shape of **appreciation** ‘for the efforts’ which might or might not have borne fruit. By showing the positive declarative announcement as expressive **appreciation** the **force** of the utterance was reduced since **declaratives** are having different functions performed by them compared to expressives. As a **declarative** the announcement by PM was accompanying the tone of successful united achievement for which the federal government was also a part as announced by the PM whereas transformation to **appreciation** and **obfuscating** the federal government from it was carrying a message of detachment of the federal government and doubt on the success as the word ‘effort’ was added by the editor not entailing whether it was successful or not since the statement made by the editorial was ‘... appreciated the efforts of the government of Balochistan and the Pakistan Army for making the local population a stakeholder in the project...’

If the statement were

‘...appreciated the efforts of the government of Balochistan and the Pakistan Army for ‘successfully’ making the local population a stakeholder in the project’ then the surety of success would have been a bit visible.

Announcement of a success with one’s own ownership is different from **appreciation** of an achievement by others for having two different **force** levels whereby the former is having much **stronger attitudinal** strength as compared to latter thereby **downscaling** positive news through **obfuscation** and transformation. Further the meaningful ellipse for the mention of federal government tends to send a message of disunity between federal government, Pakistan Army and provincial government of Baluchistan.

Interesting finding while discussing this selection of intertextual reference from PM

speech is the fact that this selection does not seem to be related to the last three evaluative and conclusive paragraphs of the editorial.

Almost all three last paragraphs of the editorials lament the absence of opportunities for the local population of Baluchistan and Gwadar. Further **appraisal** analysis of this portion shows generous use of **attitudinal** linguistic resources with **negative judgmental value** showing **negative capacity**.

The first sentence starts with **disclaimer** referring to the positive potential of CPEC to kick-start Pakistan's economy and in the next sentence refutes it by the introduction of **counter-expectancy** through the use of **concessive conjunction** 'however' stating that the most important thing is ensuring the benefits of the project to the local population of Baluchistan and Gwadar. Adding up to the **graduation force** of this counter opinion is the use of **upgrading explicit adjectival** 'important' with use of the intensifying grader 'most'. This mounts to **nullify the positive potential narrative** of CPEC which though itself was embedded in the **negative appreciation** of the economy through the **monoglossic declarative** clause 'economic growth of Pakistan, which has languished behind the regional countries owing to certain domestic as well as external problems'. The **counter-expectancy** continues in the next sentence where **intertextual references to the resentment of Baluchistan people, events of the past and discriminatory policies of the center** are found. All these three intertextual references are having **negative appraisal** (resentment) and **negative appreciation** (discriminatory policies of the center). The **negative appreciation** continues by inducing another **monoglossic proclaimer** with **contracted dialogic** space 'Reconciliation will only work' with the binding clause 'once the people of the region see the fruits of the project in terms of healthcare, education, infrastructure and job opportunities' thereby suggesting that 'Reconciliation will not work' with the stated condition 'if the people of the region do not see the fruits of the project in terms of healthcare, education, infrastructure and job opportunities.'

All this implies that people till now have not seen any fruit of the project thereby launching implicitly a **negative appreciation** of the present shape of all these opportunities.

This stands in stark contrast to the speech made by the PM. The duration of PM speech on the ceremony was 15 minutes. Almost half of the speech was dedicated to the

various projects launched or being launched or expected to be launched for the local Public of Baluchistan. Here are the given details of the projects for Baluchistan by the PM (Talk Shows Central, 2016) : 1. Projects worth Rs 74 Billion underway with complete autonomy and independence to the province.

1. Rs 200 billion projects to be launched next year.
2. Rs 11.5 billion being used on water projects to provide 5 million Gallons additional water.
3. Swat and Shari kot Dams complete.
4. Basol dam in progress.
5. Free trade zone established with a number of concessions for business to local population.
6. 3 major roads namely N85, Turbat-Panjgoor -Sorab Road, Gwadar-Turbat-Hoshab section M8 motorway and Qallat-Quetta-Chamman Road.
7. Hospital being upgraded, one university, one technical institute being established.
8. Exclusive industrial park, mineral processing zone, economic zone being established.
9. 300-megawatt power plant being planned. etc.

The PM Nawaz Sharif's speech had the answer to all the objections raised by the editor but neither of these positive details given by the prime minister could find a place in the intertextual references made by the editor nor could these details stop the editor from creating the already answered questions. As White (2006), contends that although a writer/speaker may offer a quoted source, which is not openly assessed, the citation of that source and the choice of those words and not any other grouping in what the source said or wrote is a clear sign on the part of the writer for the views s/he upholds. This editorial seems to indicate the anti-nationalist ideology being promoted by the editor by using the war frame journalism by aggravating and manipulating the content for conflict (Galtung, 2002).

Further in the second line of the second last paragraph the editor using the deontic **modal** 'should' obligates **forcefully** the conflict - removing efforts in the following

words ‘...arrangements should be made by bringing the locals onboard, highlighting the importance of the project to the people of those areas...’

The editorial itself though seems to violate this **obligation** by foregrounding the conflicts through the use of **negative appreciation**, affect and **judgement** and backgrounding unity by giving no voice to all the accomplishments detailed by the PM for the Baluchistan people.

The following questions arise

1. Is the editorial itself following its own advice of highlighting the importance of the project to the people of these areas?
2. Is this editorial playing a role to diffuse the conflict?
3. Is the editorial playing a role to spread national unity?
4. Are the selected intertextual references by the editor really relevant to the announced necessitation of bringing the people on board by highlighting the importance of the project?

The answer to all these questions is ‘no’. The editorial lists the deprivations of people of Baluchistan and foregrounds them whereas backgrounds all those on ground measures and projects implemented by the government for Baluchistan people by totally denying a space in the editorial to those efforts enumerated by PM. Anti-nationalist, anti-CPEC ideology through the use of conflict frames of journalism surfaces through analysis.

2. Intertextual Reference to Chinese Ambassador Address

In the fourth sentence of the editorial an intertextual reference in the shape of transformed indirect speech of the Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan Sun Weidong :

‘Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan Sun Weidong ... appreciated the efforts of all stakeholders in the project.’

An intertextual relationship is found between this intertextual reference and the first one referring to the speech of PM. This intertextual relationship is that of referring to the speeches of both the PM and Chinese Ambassador as the speech acts of expressive ‘**appreciation**’.

This selected reference again seems to have no relation with the last three paragraphs of the editorial whereby the Baluchistan people issue is being highlighted with **negative appraisal** being used as discussed in the earlier part of the analysis. A generalized term ‘appreciated’ was used to summarize the speech of the ambassador being referred to. Though the term ‘**appreciation**’ has positive **affective value** but those parts of the ambassador’s speech which were meant to assuage and dispel the Baluchistan’s propagated conflicts, could not find a place in the intertextual reference chosen by the editor. For the editor focusing on the projected conflicts of Baluchistan people in the last three evaluative paragraphs of the editorial, the selection of intertextual references could have been those parts of speeches which were addressing those conflicts. The selection thereby seems ideologically motivated to keep the conflicts appear in the foreground as unresolved and unaddressed. The researcher watched the address of the ambassador (Talk Shows Central, 2016) and found a number of speech parts that addressed the launched conflicts. Given below are some selected parts of the original speech of the ambassador “...tens and thousands of the jobs have been created for the local people...” (Talk Shows Central, 2016). “...the convoy always get warm welcome and huge support from the local people. This proves that there exists solid popular foundation and cross board consensus for CPEC. This is the source of our confidence...” (Talk Shows Central, 2016).

These quotes or any part of these quotes having positive **appraisal values** were not given a space in the reference. Addition of these quotes or some part of these quotes would have been an example of responsible journalism with peace journalistic frame foregrounding unity and backgrounding differences. As White (2006) illuminates that in attribution authors can align with or disalign from the external source. He argues that even attribution itself bears **value** positions and ideological inclinations. Anti-nationalist, anti-CPEC ideology seems emerging again through the ideological selection of reported speech.

3. Intertextual Reference to the Heavy Security of Trade Convoy

The last sentence of the second last paragraph intertextually refers to the heavy security of the first trade convoy in the following words:

“The first convoy of trade goods from China was accompanied by heavy security throughout its route, which would cost a huge sum to the national exchequer if the route is not made safe from

all kinds of threats and attacks.”

The above given intertextual reference is loaded with **negative appraisal** terms. Referring to the convoy as ‘accompanied by heavy security’ is **negative appreciation** having **negative valuation** and evaluating it according to Bednarek’s (2009) **appreciation** lexis for judging behavior, it is having **negative value** of normality. This **negative** assessment is achieved through the use of explicit **graduation force** grader ‘heavy’ launching and upgrading the **negative appreciation** of the situation. The used linguistic resources tend to deliver a message of **negative**, heavy and abnormal liability for the security of CPEC trade convoy. Further intensifying the **negative appreciation** is the elaboration given in the next attached part of the sentence joined through the subordinating **conjunction** ‘which’ serving as **anaphoric** reference to the term ‘heavy security’. This segment declares and **proclaims** that the security will cost a huge sum to the national exchequer ‘if the route is not made safe from all kinds of threats and attacks’.

So indirectly the message being sent to the reader is for CPEC as a burden on the economy. The last part of the sentence joined through the **conditional conjunct** ‘if’ presupposes that the route is open to all kinds of threats and attacks. **Negative appreciation** of the current security situation along with the **affective** tone of insecurity through the used words ‘threats and attacks’ is obvious. It seems a special effort is made by the editor to curb the message of success, accomplishment, mutual cooperation, unity and strength which the reader could receive through the historic event of the departure of first major trade convoy through Gwadar port under the banner of CPEC. The success of any huge national project very much hinges upon the united hands of the nation behind it and responsible journalism has a big share to earn that unity. This part of the editorial shows the war journalism of focusing on frames of disunity and conflict. This stands in stark **contradiction** to the ‘must to do’ task announced by the editor: ‘arrangements should be made by bringing the locals onboard, highlighting the importance of the project to the people of those areas’. The editorial which announces the need to harmonize itself doing the exact opposite by disharmonizing.

The last sentence of the editorial comes with another irrelevant and dictating turn: ‘Moreover, the dedication, selflessness and perseverance put by the Pakistan Army as well

as the FWO must be recognized; these are the people who have been working and safeguarding the workers for the successful and peaceful implementation of the project.’

High **obligation** model ‘**must be**’ with the **strong declarative** in the second part of the sentence is found. A **strong** model of this strength used suggests that probably the efforts of the Army are not recognized, and its soldiers are not appreciated. This is not a fact. The editorial itself referred to the speech of PM recognizing and commemorating the efforts of Pakistan Army. This is a **contradiction** that a thing which is already happening is being demanded in such a **forceful** way that it seems that demanded thing is absent or having skimpy existence. Anti-CPEC and anti-Nationalist ideology seem emerging through the analysis.

4. Intertextual Contradiction with Earlier Editorials

In the editorials of 3rd and 20th September the editor implicitly suggested Pakistan Army as not having the right tone for diplomatic fronts and as an interfering body not abiding by law. Thereby this aggressive dictation by the editor in the current editorial to recognize Pakistan Army’s efforts, creates doubts as to what purpose it is launched. Linguistic analysis suggests that this is done to spread a message of having a weak Army in Pakistan for whom respect calls are to be given. It also might be an effort to frame reader’s perception of the existence of the conflict between Pakistan Army and the Government so that the reader falls to the narrative of disunity between the two pillars of the state. This definitely tends to divide the nation against CPEC by creating a message of uncertainty surrounding CPEC. Anti-Nationalist ideology seems emerging through the use of war journalism frame.

5. Intertextual Relationship between 3rd, 5th and 20th September and 14th October Editorials

A significant intertextual relation among the editorials of 3rd, 5th and 20th September and 14th October is the reference to Baluchistan issue and the same was not forgotten by Indian PM Modi on India’s independence day speech. This intertextual relationship seems difficult to be taken as mere coincidence and the question arises which ideology is being primed. The linguistic evidence shows anti-nationalist, anti-CPEC ideology emerging

through analysis.

The theme of CPEC in the editorial is surrounded by almost all **negative appraisals** in all the intertextual references studied. Anti-nationalist, anti-CPEC ideology seems emerging through the analysis of the intertextual references studied.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools like transformed indirect quotation, ideological selection of indirect quote, intertextual ellipses, selected obfuscation of agents, monoglossic proclaimers, disclaimers, downscaling positive news, disclaimers, counterexpectancy, upgrading adjectivals, positive appreciation embedded in negativity, obfuscated declarative speech acts, obfuscation of crucial information, foregrounding negativity backgrounding positivity, in a discriminatory, contradictory and manipulative way, to launch anti-nationalist, and anti-CPEC ideology. The intertextual relation found with the stance of Indian PM Modi shows pro-Indian ideology active in the background. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in this editorial is that at social level it tends to divide the reader against CPEC, send a message of uncertainty, perpetuate the provincial conflict, air distrust and doubt surrounding CPEC.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, in this editorial intertextual references were found mainly at 3 places with 4 passing references which were made the part of discussion of the main references. Out of these 7 references no intertextual reference was in the shape of direct quotation. The references were having indirect voices and events/places being referred to. Here are the details of intertextual references.

1. Intertextual Reference to PM Speech in Gwadar first major trade cargo ceremony

No direct quotation found. Transformed indirect speech used. Manipulations and intertextual **ellipses** found. **Declarative** speech act changed to expressive. Ideologically motivated selection of the selected quotation observed. Coherence and relevance of the

intertextual reference to the evaluative paragraphs missing. Use of **negative appraisal** and **negative appreciation** terms in the evaluative paragraphs found.

2. Intertextual Reference to Chinese Ambassador Address

Transformed indirect speech found. Ideologically motivated selection of the speech observed. No relevance with the last evaluative paragraphs found.

3. Intertextual Reference to the Heavy Security of Trade Convoy

No direct or indirect quotation found. **Negative appreciation** terms, **negative judgement** and **affective** terms found.

4. Embedded intertextual references to Baluchistan

Embedded intertextual reference to Baluchistan, events of past, and policies of center found with **negative judgement** and **appreciation** through and through.

5. Intertextual contradiction with earlier editorials found

Intertextual **contradiction** with 3rd and 20th September editorials found for having an anti-establishment stance in 3rd and 20th September and a pro-Army stance in the current editorial.

December 16, 2016

Editorial Title: Development in Baluchistan

The editorial surrounds the narrative of the Baluch people's plight. The paucity of the infrastructure, exploitation of the centre, lack of investment in human capital, landlord brutality etc. are mentioned in the editorial as being the grievances of Baloch people. The suggestion from the editorial also seems to be that CPEC is using the Baloch land without benefitting it. The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to drift the reader away from CPEC and perpetuate the projected provincial issue.

1. Intertextual Reference to the Speech of PM Nawaz Sharif

The editorial starts with the intertextual reference to the speech of the PM Nawaz Sharif with the event reference **obfuscated** from the editorial. The researcher surfed through internet to locate the event and found out that it was the occasion of Sorab-Hoshab highway inauguration ceremony held on 14th Dec 2016 (News One, 2016). The editor wrote it in following words:

Prime Minister of Pakistan Mian Mohamed Nawaz Sharif was correct when he said on Monday that "development of Balochistan is not a favour; it is the right of the Baloch people."

The obfuscation of the event seems quite meaningful as this obfuscation obfuscates many important facts. For example, it

1. Obfuscates an accomplishment being marked as nowhere in the editorial it becomes visible whether it is a Highway which is completed, or it is a Highway being started or has been started.
2. Obfuscates the link of Sorab-Hoshab Highway with CPEC.
3. Obfuscates the name of the event and place where it took place which evidently strengthens the earlier obfuscations.

In a situation where a conflict is given a center stage, the **obfuscation** of an event and significant details related to an event having **strong** anti-conflict energy seems to convey a

message favoring the perpetuation of the conflict.

Further the selected words from the speech of the prime minister also, do not carry any clear indication as to what event it belonged to.

Another notable feature of this intertextual reference is the reporting speech with a **judgmental value** from the editor and the reported speech in the form of ostensible direct quotation whereby the structure of the clause entails direct speech, but it is different from direct quotation in terms of its makeup and the content of this reported speech is too direct to have come from the source involved (Ofori, 2016).

The reporting speech with the positive **judgmental** word ‘correct’ was used to appraise the selected words of PM Nawaz Sharif in positive light but a very obvious feature of the reference is **obfuscation** of the event which hosted the PM’s speech, so the positive **judgement** of the PM’s words actually **obfuscated** what actually was to be appreciated that is the actual accomplishment of the inauguration of the Sorab-Hoshab Highway.

2. Intertextual Reference to Sorab-Hoshab Highway

The next intertextual reference of the editorial is to Sorab-Hoshab Highway in the following words

“The Sorab-Hoshab highway is one such development project, which has brought much needed road infrastructure in Baluchistan”

Although the Sorab-Hoshab Highway is appreciated in the positive light with positive **appreciation** which stands more visible with a **strong monoglossic declarative** through the use of **strong modality** ‘has brought’ but again a very obvious feature of the reference is **obfuscation** of the event being referred to. This **obfuscation** leads to a number of other **obfuscations** being generated here as it’s not available from the editorial that:

1. Who made this Highway?
2. When was the Highway made?
3. Which project hosted this Highway?

The Highway is being appreciated but the project hosting it and the people who accomplished it and the ceremony which declared the accomplishment are all **obfuscated**.

The **obfuscated** data seems to be considered as the presupposed part of reader's knowledge which is too much of apresupposition and crosses the line to appear like manipulative **obfuscation**. For readers having no access or interest in the data related to CPEC these **obfuscations** are quiet misleading.

3. Intertextual Reference to the Grievance of Baloch People

Next intertextual reference arrives in the third line of the editorial referring to the grievance of Baluchistan people in the following words:

“The paucity of basic infrastructure in Balochistan is without a doubt the primary grievance of the Baloch people, and this has in turn engendered feelings of alienation from what is viewed by them as an exploitative centre.”

The intertextual reference abounds in **negative appreciation** and **negative affective** terms along with the use of infinitive **declarative** using the **copular** verb ‘is’, halting the possibility of any alternative narrative. The use of the **copular** ‘is’ adds perpetuation to the grievance of Baluchistan people. The infrastructure of Baluchistan is **negatively** appreciated through the use of the **negative appreciation** term ‘paucity’. The **affective** term grievance is used with the **upscaling graduation force** with the word ‘primary’ and the **negation** ‘without doubt’ further **contracting** the **dialogic** space and enhancing the **force** of grievance. The use the word ‘primary’ suggests that many other problems exit as well. The use of the **infinitive declarative** suggests the continuous existence of problem without any relief. This editorial has referred to infrastructure problem as the primary grievance of the Baluchistan people. The editorial on 14th November opiniated on the first Gwadar Cargo ceremony and missed out to mention the three major roads announced by the PM as already complete namely N85 Turbot-Panjgoor -Sorab Road, Gwadar-Turbat-Hoshab section M8 motorway and Qallat-Quetta-Chamman Road. The current editorial which picked up the infrastructure as the primary grievance of the Baluchistan could have chosen to mention these other already completed mega roads of Baluchistan. Journalism of conflict seems emerging through a greater focus on the failure and grievance rather than on peace and stability (Gultang,2002). Noteworthy further are the **negative affective** terms like alienation for the feelings of Baluchistan people, and **negative appreciation** term ‘exploitative’ for ‘center’ though the editor distanced himself from these feelings of Baluchistan people by attributing them to Baloch people through the use of the **hedging** clause ‘what is viewed by them’, yet the editorial is regenerating a narrative

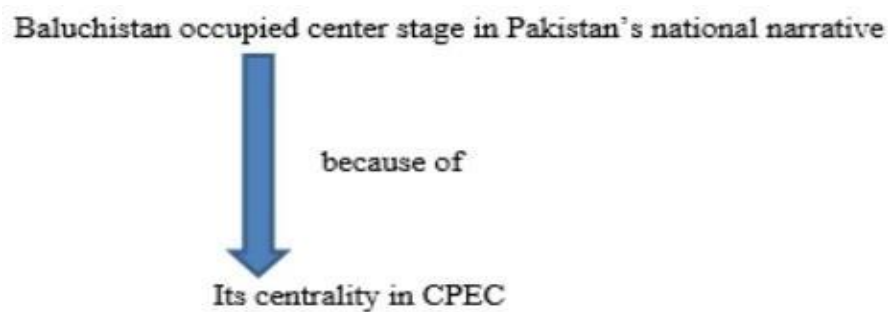
which has conflict-perpetuating dynamic.

4. Intertextual Reference to National Narrative

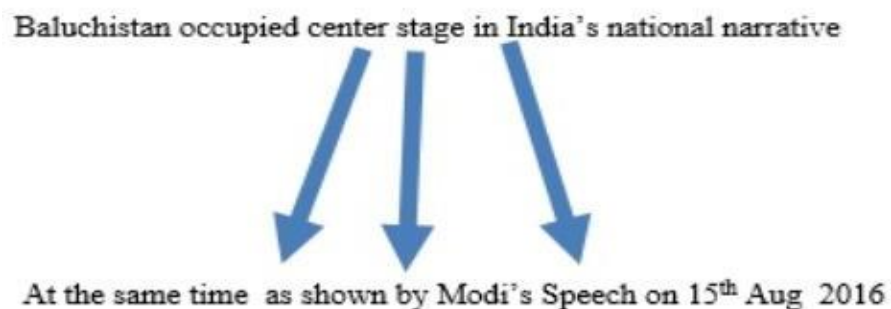
The editor refers to the national narrative in the following words:

“And the primary reason why Baluchistan has now occupied centre stage in the national narrative is its centrality in the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC).”

Interesting comparison is drawn by the editor here that can be shown pictorially as given below



Interestingly



This match of timing and narrative seems difficult to be taken as a coincidence. It seems that those in India suddenly shouting foul for the rights of Baluchistan people and those in Pakistan doing the same and at the same time when CPEC is on its way, share some common hidden agenda of creating controversy over CPEC in order to generate a **strong** anti-CPEC narrative that can conveniently counter the successful implementation of

CPEC.

The editor here is almost clearly sending a message that government is not paying attention to Baluchistan people in their own right but because the government needs Baluchistan for the success of CPEC and in the very next line the editor openly declares it following words “Surely, the success of CPEC hinges on the successful development of the Gwadar port, which would be very difficult to achieve without the support of the locals.”

National level narratives are generated, propagated and designed by the ideological tool of print, electronic and social media.

This actually in a double-edged way and ironically exposes the fact that Baluchistan has really got the centre stage in this newspaper’s narrative because of Baluchistan’s centrality for CPEC. CPEC and the problems of Baluchistan are being conflated together by the newspaper and this conflation could have been seen as natural if the inception time of Baluchistan’s problems and CPEC were same. The reality speaks differently, the age of the (propagated) problems (if any) of Baluchistan and for that matter of any province do not match the age of CPEC. India has openly spoken against CPEC on many occasions and at different levels as referred to in the Daily Times editorial ‘Pakistan warns India’ published on 3rd September 2016. Thereby this current generation and speedy spread of Baluchistan narrative looks like an effort to target CPEC by creating trouble in the house and by misusing the locals by highlighting their miseries and aggravating their distrust.

Above selected intertextual reference starts with the **modal conjunct** ‘surely’ followed by the **proclaim** ‘, the success of CPEC hinges on the successful development of the Gwadar port’ thereby **contracting** the possibility of any alternative voices, declaring the success of CPEC as directly related and dependent on successful completion of Gwadar port. The second part of the sentence joined by the **anaphoric** ‘which’ binds the development of the Gwadar port with the support of the locals. The emphasis on the support of local people is further **upscaled** by the addition of **graduation force** with the word difficult through the use of the word ‘very’. A message seems to be implicitly sent to local people through media to withdraw their support as and when needed to get their demands fulfilled. War journalism frame of conflict, difference and agitation seems to surface through the analysis of the intertextual references of the editorial.

The success of the locals is being portrayed as being an independent entity from the success of CPEC. A sense of ownership for CPEC is being taken away from the locals of Baluchistan thereby making them see the CPEC projects as bargaining chip to pressurize the central government for their own benefits.

A very revealing comparison is found in the next sentence of the editorial whereby the editor writes “Seen purely through the lens of realpolitik, CPEC is not just a game changer for Pakistan, but a game changer for the historically neglected province of Baluchistan” Careful observation of the sentence makeup shows that Pakistan and Baluchistan are being treated as two separate entities. Baluchistan is a province of Pakistan so when CPEC is announced as a game changer for Pakistan it automatically covers all the provinces of Pakistan including Baluchistan. The separate mention of CPEC being a game changer 1. for Pakistan 2. for Baluchistan seems to convey that Baluchistan is not a part of Pakistan which is a move not unknown as the separation of Baluchistan is the desire of India and other proven adversaries of Pakistan and is being instrumentalized for quite some time as India is slowly but steadily pushing the thinly-populated but troubled Bloch region of Pakistan, the country’s biggest province by land area, to break away to become a sovereign nation (Thakuria, 2019). Anti-nationalist ideology is visibly surfacing through the linguistic comparisons of the editor’s linguistic choices.

Not only that the editor trends in the Baluchistan alienation from the rest of Pakistan it also denies CPEC as the game changer for Baluchistan by attributing the slogan to the generalized term ‘seen purely through the lens of Realpolitik’ thereby sending an indirect message of quarantining himself/herself from the ‘contamination’ of the ‘false slogan’. The very next line starting with the **concessive conjunction** ‘however’ authenticates the above analysis. The editor launches the **counter-expectancy** by explicitly rejecting the game-changer narrative for Baluchistan binding it with the intent of the government to deliver. This stands in stark contrast to the beginning of the editorial whereby the completed Sorab-Hoshab highway was mentioned as the much needed road infrastructure built in Baluchistan. Except for the first two lines of the editorial the entire editorial is surrounding the CPEC theme with **negative appreciation, judgement and appraisals**. Here is the list of remaining **negative appreciation** terms regarding the

projected problems of Baluchistan

1. decades of underdevelopment
2. Impoverishment
3. Locked Baluchistan
4. Self-perpetuating system
5. Surplus labor
6. Meagre wages
7. Active power interest
8. Self-survival
9. Exploitative power structures
10. Manoeuvres
11. Shackles of poverty
12. Matter is not as simple
13. Ostentatious lifestyles of local bosses.

List of remaining **negative judgement** terms regarding the people of Baluchistan

1. Local population
2. not qualified
3. Break free
4. Rule of local bosses
5. Occupy the political office
6. Under-qualified
7. Dependent
8. Selling their labor

The theme of CPEC in the editorial is surrounded by intertextual references which

in and around them are surrounded by **negative appreciation** and **judgemental** terms. Anti-nationalist ideology through the use of war journalism of focusing on conflict is viewed in the editorial.

5. Intertextual relationship between 3rd, 5th and 20th September and 14th October and 16 December Editorials

A noteworthy intertextual relation among the editorials of 3rd, 5th and 20th September, 14th October and 16 December is the reference to Baluchistan issue and the same was not overlooked by Indian PM Modi on India's independence day speech. This intertextual relationship appears hard to be taken as mere chance and the question arises which ideology being launched, and the linguistic evidence shows anti-nationalist ideology is evolving through analysis. The theme of CPEC in the editorial is surrounded by almost all **negative appraisals** in all the intertextual references studied. Anti-nationalist ideology seems emerging through the analysis of the intertextual references studied.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools like proclaimers, upscalers, graduation forces, counterexpectancy, negative appreciation, negative judgement, ostensible form of direct quote, ideological selection of quotation, infinitive declaratives, event obfuscation, , in a discriminatory, contradictory and manipulative way, to launch anti-CPEC, anti-national, and pro-Indian ideology.

The intertextual relation found with the stance of Indian PM Modi shows pro-Indian ideology active in the background. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in this editorial is that at social level it tends to drift the reader against CPEC, tries to perpetuate the provincial conflict, air distrust and doubt surrounding CPEC.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, in this editorial intertextual references were mainly found at 4 places. Out of these four references only one intertextual reference was in the shape of direct quotation. The other references were having indirect voices or

events being referred to. Here are the details of intertextual references

1. **Intertextual Reference to the speech of PM Nawaz Sharif** directly quoting the words of his speech in the shape of ostensible quotation. Reporting speech with **judgmental value** found. **Obfuscation** of significant details observed.
2. **Intertextual Reference to Sorab-Hoshab Highway was found** with a positive **appreciation**. **Obfuscation** of significant details related to the ceremony was found.
3. **Intertextual Reference to the Grievance of Baloch People was found** surrounded by **negative appreciation** at three places and **negative affective** term at one place. Use of **infinitive declarative** observed.
4. **Intertextual Reference to National Narrative was found** which abounded in **negative appreciation** and **judgmental** terms at more than twenty places. **Contradictions** located. Concessive and **modal conjunctions**, disclaimers and **graduation** terms used.

4.3.2 The Nation

Five editorials dated July 29, 2016; September 10, 2016; November 8, 2016; November 15, 2016 and November 27, 2016 were selected for the analysis. The selected editorials are attached in Appendix 2.

July 29, 2016

Editorial Title: Stand Together

The editorial refers to the various concerns raised by the opposition against CPEC. The need to unite behind CPEC is being focused and it is urged that the conflicts should be put behind for the development of Pakistan. The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to generate a sense of responsive and maturer unity regarding CPEC, among its readers.

1. Intertextual Reference to the Public's Skepticism and Government's Promise

The first intertextual reference of the editorial appears in the following words:

The public was skeptical, the opposition unsure, but the government promised that the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) could potentially be the economic face-lift this country so desperately needed.

Editor's alignment with the government's voice and nonalignment with the opposition's voice on CPEC is quite visible through the choice of the linguistic resources. While referring to the public and the opposition the editorial used **negative** evaluative words 'skeptical' and 'unsure' with **negative judgement value** of **negative** tenacity whereas while indirectly quoting the government's stance the verb chosen was 'promised' having **judgmental value** of positive veracity.

The writers while quoting the external source, may choose the reporting verbs that frame the reader's interpretation of the quoted information, for example: "Yousaf revealed...", or "Yousaf admitted...", (Richardson, 2007, p. 102). In the current editorial as well through the use of reporting verb 'promised' with government the writer seems to

frame the reader's interpretation of the government's stance as having **veracity** and reliability. The indirectly quoted/summarized stance/voice of the government has also been further **enforced** by using explicit **graduation force** through the use of **adverbial** 'desperately' with the word 'needed'. While presenting government's voice, the use of positive **appreciation** for CPEC is also visible through the use of positive clause 'economic face-lift'. The editor's alignment is further made obvious through the use of generic terms 'public', 'opposition' and 'government' whereby the presented stance is not being detached through attribution to explicitly named and individually specified/identified external source. Stenvall (2008 a,b) identified the use of generic sources for example, "police, officials, military, sources, witnesses, and analysts" as instances of authorial alignment. He argues that whereas it may not be understood as "authoritative and credible", it delivers an impression of heightening "the newsworthiness of the quoted information, especially as the word is often premodified by the nouns intelligence, security, or military".

Interesting use of the **counter-expectancy** resources is found in the shape of the **concessive conjunction**, 'but' which precedes the stance of the government so as to nullify that of 'public' and 'opposition' given in the first part of the sentence. So, the stance of the 'public' and 'opposition' is positioned in the sentence such that it is shown as nullified through the stance of the government which is positioned as nullifying entity. In other words, the 'public' and 'opposition' stance is presented in 'nullified' and the government's stance is presented in 'nullifying' position. A pro-government nationalist ideology seems emerging whereby pro-CPEC ideology is highlighted.

Non-authorial positioning encompasses circumstances where an author regresses to external sources/voices for **evaluation**; the reporting is unmediated. It is found that writer's formulations of the external voice are detached from his/her voice, that is, the author's voice is disconnected from the cited material in a way that shows other alternative viewpoints. The use of 'scare quotes' distances the writer from potential support of the attributed material rendering his/her viewpoint neutral (White, 2006).

2. Intertextual Reference to Smaller Provinces' Reservations

The next intertextual reference appears in the following words:

The smaller provinces had their reservations, but the government cleared them up.

The smaller provinces are shown as showing reservations, but the editor writes that the government has cleared them up. The government again is judged in positive light shown with positive **judgement** having positive tenacity and **capacity**. Generic use of terms 'smaller provinces' and 'government' again refer to authorial alignment. The use **concessive conjunction** 'but' is visible again whereby **counter-expectancy** is launched to disclaim the stance of the 'smaller' provinces. The counter statement representing government's action through the **concessive conjunction** 'but' is positioned to show nullification of the reservations of the provinces. The linguistic analysis again shows pro-government nationalist ideologies surfacing.

Coming back to the narrative in the last line of third paragraph through another related intertextual reference to the 'question of provincial bias' the editor uses a number of **appraisal** resources to nominate the provincial reservations as totally unmerited. Here are words of the editorial:

Bringing the question of provincial bias even when it has been debunked time and again by the government does not even deserve a response anymore.

The external voice brought in by naming the speech act 'question' is being rejected through the **disclaimer** 'does not even deserve a response' using **strong negation** 'does not even' thereby **contracting** the **dialogic** space through the **monoglossic** move. **Negative appreciation** of the act to question provincial bias is visible through the words 'does not even deserve a response anymore'. Further amplifying the impact of this **negative appreciation** is the use of the **graduation force adverbial** 'even' and 'anymore'. Notable also is the presence of the **adverbial** subordinate clause 'even when it has been debunked time and again by the government' that appreciates the action of the government in positive light that the government debunked the provincial reservations many times. The support for the government's stance is further intensified through the use of **upscaling graduation force** through the use of **adverbial** 'even' and 'time and again'. The use of the **adverb** "even" also encodes the implication, for example, that readers should not have expected the opposition to bring in the question of provincial bias.

3. Intertextual Reference to the Noise of the Senators

The second paragraph of the editorial begins with the intertextual reference to the noise by the senators in the following words

Various senators continue to make noises over their ‘reservations’ (what these might still be, not many care to articulate) and how the government has been so secretive about the project, even going so far as to say that the material and workforce imported from China was damaging local industries.

Unidentified senators are referred to through the use of generic functional term ‘various senators’ and it shows authorial alignment to the point being made through the reference. Negative judgement is visible for the voices of senators representing them as noises thereby shown as having negative propriety since noise is defined as a sound that is ‘disturbing’, ‘unpleasant’, ‘unharmonious’, and ‘unwanted’.

Interesting combination of the word ‘noises’ is seen with the word ‘reservations’ in scare quotes. Given below is the formation make noises over their ‘reservations’

According to van Ginnekin (2002), the content of the reported speech is indirectly questioned through the use of scare quotes, that is, it distances the reporter or the editor from the factualness or the truth-claims, from the implications, of certain words or expressions. The usage of scare quotes equates expressions such as “so-called,” “the so described,” “what they describe,” “according to him” and “what they call.” It is one of the means to present the out- group **negatively**. The use of scare quotes with the word ‘reservations’ thereby presents editor’s doubt on the validity of the reservations. This is further amplified and prompted by the editor’s comments in round brackets (what these might still be, not many care to articulate).

In the very beginning of this intertextual reference thereby the editor has discredited the reservations of the senators through the choice of the selected linguistic resources and the same pattern continues when the next part of the intertextual reference is explored where the use of the clause ‘even going so far’ for the senators reservations is used thereby judging the comments **negatively** having **negative veracity** suggesting that the reservations are farfetched. The impact is intensified through the use of **graduation force** word ‘even’

and **adverbial** ‘so far’. So, the editor brought in the voice of the dissent from the senators complaining against the secretiveness of the government on CPEC and damage of local industries, but this voice of the dissent was shamed by the editor through the use of linguistic resources of **negative appraisal**. This becomes all the more visible in the last line of the second paragraph whereby the editor judges the overall activity of the senators in the shape of an interrogative with **negative appreciation** of the concerns through a number of **adjectivals** and **adverbials**. **Appreciation** lexis is used to judge the behavior of the senators as Bednarek (2009) maintains that **attitude** must be classified in terms of **attitudinal** lexis with evaluative standards. She proposes another class of **attitudinal** codes that would give rise to judging lexis used to appreciate things, importance lexis for judging people or appreciating things, appreciating lexis for judging behaviour, etc. Le (2010, p.23) noticed that though differences between affect and **judgement** and **appreciation** were not unclear, differentiating “**evaluation** of situations (**appreciation**)” from those of human beings (**judgement**) was not simple because “individuals are involved in situations and situations result from actions of individuals”.

The editor interrogates whether

1. Is this all-genuine concern? or
2. Engineered to undermine this realistic chance of development, only for cheap point scoring?

Through the **appreciation** lexis used to evaluate the term ‘concern’, the behavior of the senators is being judged in **negative** light having no **veracity**. As is visible through the launched interrogative in the shape of rhetorical question the entire authorial weight is put in the second option suggesting the concern as engineered to undermine this realistic chance of development, only for cheap point scoring? A rhetorical question is a discursive practice frequently used in the editorials which not only highlights the **dialogic** nature of the editorial (which assists to construct a community of practice by engaging in "synthetic mutual **engagement**") but also forefronts a suggestion (Hardman, 2008). They are used in order to help construct a synthetic community of practice and sense of group identity among readers, through the appearance of dialogue between newspaper and reader and a sense of mutual **engagement**. In this case, the question of whether ‘Is this all genuine concern or engineered

to undermine this realistic chance of development, only for cheap point scoring?’ encodes the implication that it is all engineered. Noteworthy is the negative **appreciation** terms ‘engineered’ and **negative judgemental** term ‘to undermine’ showing **negative veracity** and **negative capacity** against the ‘realistic chance of development’. Further **negative evaluation** for those raising concerns comes through the term ‘only for cheap point scoring’ with upgrading explicit **graduation force** coming through the words ‘only’ and adjectival ‘cheap’. CPEC is referred through the positive **appreciation** as the ‘realistic chance of development’ with the enhanced **force** through the explicit **upscaling graduation force** word ‘realistic’.

Surrounding the intertextual reference under discussion the editor continues valuating it in the 3rd and 4th paragraph. The editor uses **consensual pronoun** ‘us’ to create a sense of group identity with the reader urging the reader to realize that the project passes through this country but is as much a Chinese venture as Pakistan’s. The editor addresses the reader emphasizing CPEC as ‘unavoidable one from our perspective’. **Strong valuation** for CPEC is given through the use of the word ‘unavoidable’ and first-person **consensual pronoun** is used to create a shared sense of importance for CPEC with the reader and creating a sense of same group identity with the reader.

In the wake of the intertextual reference under discussion the editor launches a **disclaimer** in the form of **negation**:

‘The government cannot be expected to turn to the people to micro-manage each and every aspect of a mega-project, such as where the materials come from’.

It’s important to note that **appraisal** resource of **negation** is used to counter or disclaim any alternative voices before they can arise and thus deny outside opinion any prominence. The negated deontic **modal** "cannot" is used to categorically discredit expectation from the government to involve public in micro-managing the affairs. The editor addresses the opposition in the last line of the 4th paragraph through the use of very **strong modal** ‘must’ in the following words

The opposition must also remember that this is not only an economic issue, but one of national security, and publicizing every minute detail is only counterproductive.

The deontic **modal** ‘must’ is used here to impose a **strong** sense of **obligation** on the

opposition for remembering CPEC not only as a matter of economics but one of national security. **Modals** relating to inevitability (e.g. will and must) and generic statements are used to persuade the reader to adopt a particular viewpoint on various topics (Hardman, 2008).

Further the editor refers back to the theme of same intertextual reference in the second last line of the last paragraph in the following words

Looking to nit-pick and punch holes in terms of how many locals have been employed and so on will only cause unnecessary delays

The editor further **negatively** evaluates the reservations of the senators naming them as ‘looking for nit-pick and punch holes’. The selected words show **negative judgement** embodying **negative veracity** of the activity of the senators that will cause unnecessary delays.

The analysis of the intertextual reference and the surrounding linguistic resources shows a pro-government, National ideology emerging.

4. Intertextual Reference to National Consensus on CPEC

This intertextual reference appears in the following words:

There is national consensus on CPEC being instrumental for the future development of this country.

Appraisal vocabulary is again seen here focused on positive **appreciation** of the CPEC and the national narrative surrounding it. Positive **appreciation** through the **adjectival** ‘national’ with the word ‘consensus’ is given, thus enhancing the validity of the claim through the use of linguistic resource with upgrading **adjectival**. The word ‘consensus’ itself is having positive **capacity** through **appreciation** lexis for judging behavior. The **adjectival** ‘instrumental’ is used to show positive **appreciation** for CPEC regarding the future development of the country.

Declarative structure of this intertextual reference through the use of **copular** ‘is’ shows the **contract** of **dialogic** space thereby denying any alternative view contrary to the existence of national consensus. This **monoglossic** utterance stands in contrast to all the other

voices referred to in the earlier part of the editorial shown with their reservations on CPEC.

The national consensus announced in the last part of the editorial fails to mention the source which declared the national consensus thereby the source of this information is **obfuscated** through using the process of **nominalization**.

Surrounding this intertextual reference is use of the first-person **consensual pronoun** 'we' two times in the last paragraph, 'us' one time in the last paragraph. In the use of **pronouns**, editorial text makers produce a **consensual** view of their readership, compelling their readers to view themselves in a broadly nationalist sense and, more precisely, as a community of practice of readers of a particular newspaper (Conboy, 2006). In the case of newspaper editorials, there is no way of demonstrating that readers share in reflexive knowledge of group membership, but the usage of **consensual pronouns** signposts that this is what the newspaper is attempting to achieve. With the **consensual pronoun** 'we' the editor uses the modal auxiliary "must" to **strongly** oblige the reader to display patience. The editor writes: "For the rewards to be reaped, we must exercise patience...". The words 'rewards to be reaped' is having positive **affective value** of happiness and satisfaction thereby the reader's emotions are being engaged in with the completion of the CPEC project. The words 'letting the government do its job' indirectly **negatively** judges the action of all those raising the reservations against CPEC suggesting that they are not letting the government do its job.

The end of the text surrounding the last intertextual reference arrives again with the use of the first-person **consensual pronoun** 'us' as: "let's all stand united until all of Pakistan is connected...". Through the use of the **consensual pronoun** in 'let us' the paper attempts to create a synthetic community of practice with readers via dialogue between itself and its readers. This helps to construct a group identity whereby both the newspaper and the reader are placed in a single group having the shared purpose (Conboy, 2006).

The linguistic analysis of the intertextual reference under analysis shows a pro-government and pro-CPEC, nationalist ideology emerging whereby journalism of peace seems operative urging to diffuse differences and focusing on unity.

5. Intertextual Contradiction

An intertextual **contradiction** is visible while comparing the last intertextual reference (showing national consensus existing on CPEC) with the earlier intertextual references showing public, provinces and senators skeptical on CPEC. Consensus and skepticism are shown existing together on the same issue which is logically a faulty supposition. One of the two has to be true not both.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows a number of linguistic tools like rhetorical questions, explicit adverbials, adjectival graduation forces, consensual pronouns, counterexpectancy, obfuscation of sources, negative evaluation, negative judgement, negation, and generic terminology, with some contradictions, to launch pro-government, nationalist and pro-CPEC ideology. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in this editorial is that at social level it tends to generate a sense of responsive and maturer unity among its readers, appeal the reader to show responsibility towards CPEC, subside the propagated provincial conflict, remove distrust and eliminate doubts surrounding CPEC.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at four places in this editorial. Out of these four references no intertextual reference was in the shape of direct quotation. The references were having indirect voices or events being referred to. Here are the details of intertextual references

1. **Intertextual Reference to the public's skepticism and government's promise** with the voice of government indirectly being quoted. No direct quotes found. The positive **appraisal** resources with positive **appreciation** and **judgement** found for government and **negative appraisal** resources in the shape of **negative appreciation** and **judgement** found for opposition. The resources of **counter-expectancy** and **graduation** also used.
2. **Intertextual reference to smaller provinces' Reservations found.** No direct quotations

found. Indirect reference to the voices of small provinces through the words ‘reservations and ‘question’ found. Positive **appraisal** resources used for the government and **negative** for those raising reservations found.

3. **Intertextual reference to the reservations of various senators through** the use of the word ‘noises’ found. Use of scare quotes observed around the word reservation found thereby viewing the reservations in **negative** light. Discursive resources of rhetoric question and **consensual pronoun** found to create unity with the reader. Use of positive **appraisal** terms for government and CPEC while negative **appraisal** terms for opposition found.
4. **Intertextual Reference to National Consensus on CPEC** found without any direct speech quoted. Intertextual **contradiction** of this reference with the earlier part of the editorial found. The use of first-person **consensual pronouns** found. Multiple **negative appraisal** terms found for the opposition and positive **appraisal** terms found for government and CPEC.

September 10, 2016

Editorial Title: Come Together

The editorial while referring to the different provinces having reservations against CPEC, is urging them to come together by focusing on the different benefits that are awaiting them through CPEC. Cooperation from the critics of CPEC is being impeded and the forthcoming impact of the collaboration on the GDP is spelled out. The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to generate a sense of responsive and maturer unity among its readers regarding CPEC and eliminate the propagated provincial conflict.

1. Intertextual Reference to Chinese Think Tank

The first intertextual reference appears in the following words

Squabbling over the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has continued despite Chinese intervention into the matter since last year. While some of the concerns raised by the provinces are legitimate enough, the Chinese are not wrong to point out the fact that CPEC will benefit not only a particular province, but the entire country. A Chinese think-tank yesterday reiterated this as it asked Pakistan to settle differences over the CPEC as the 'bumper harvest' was yet to come. The benefits of the CPEC will only be apparent once they are allowed to be completed safely and on time without any serious impediments

Reference is being made to the repeated calls from a Chinese Think Tank in response to the reservations raised by the provinces. The voices of dissent from the provinces are being referred to in the following words

i. **Squabbling over the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC)**

has continued....

ii. **While some of the concerns raised by the provinces are legitimate enough...**

The first observation in linguistic analysis is the use of negatively appreciating word ‘Squabbling’ to refer to the voices of concern regarding CPEC. In Merriam Webster Squabbling means to have a noisy quarrel on petty issues (Squabble, n.d.). Thereby the voices of reservations against CPEC are being negatively appreciated through the use of negatively appreciative words. Second observation is the tool of nominalization and generic terminology used to obfuscate the agency. For example, the nominalized term ‘Squabbling’ and the generic term ‘provinces’.

Nominalization results in the conception of an abstract ‘thing’ whereby tense is removed, and the human agent is obscured. This allows the writer to distance himself/herself from the argument and the discourse to become very abstract, general and formal (Martin et al. 2013). The writer’s statements are also given the sense of being true, as they have been generalized (Lagonikos, 2005). Generic terminologies are also used to obfuscate agency to shift the focus from the agent to the issue. The editor thereby opts a formal tone here and speaks from a distance with the statements given with the sense of being true suggesting that

1. The Quarrel on CPEC is based on petty issues
2. The Quarrel has continued (use of the **declarative ‘has continued’** showing **categorical assertion**) and is still going on.
3. Some of the concerns raised by the provinces are legitimate enough. The use of **quantity grader ‘some’** implies that some ‘concerns’ are legitimate, most are not. Further those some legitimate ones are ‘legitimate enough’. The use of the **adverbial**

grader ‘enough’ shows **authorial endorsement** for **identifying** and recognizing some of the concerns as showing **positive veracity** for the complainants but just for some complaints. This gives a mix of **positive (for some reservations)** and **negative judgment (for most reservations)** for the accusers.

The editorial then comes up with the responding voices of the Chinese to the reservations using the tool of counterexpectancy , negation,, nominalization, generic nomination as given below

- 1....**despite Chinese intervention into the matter since last year.**
- 2....**the Chinese are not wrong to point out the fact that CPEC will benefit not only a particular province, but the entire country**
- 3.**A Chinese think-tank yesterday reiterated this as it asked Pakistan to settle differences over the CPEC as the ‘bumper harvest’ was yet to come.**

The counter-expectancy resource is used with the preposition ‘despite’ to criticize the attitude of the accusers in the full sentence

Squabbling over the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has continued
despite Chinese intervention into the matter
since last year.

This **counterexpectancy** beginning with the **prepositional ‘despite’**, along with the use of **generic ‘Chinese’** and **nominalized ‘intervention’** along with the **time grader ‘sine last year’** tends to **buttress** already existing **negative appreciation** of the **complainants’ dispute** coming through the word ‘**squabbling**’. The **negatively appreciated wrangle** and thereby the **negatively judged accusers** are shown as continuing fighting on the petty issues despite the fact that the Chinese intervened for one whole year to settle that.

The tool of **negation resource** is used for launching **counterexpectancy** to counter the dispute by the complainants in the full sentence:

While some of the concerns raised by the provinces are legitimate enough,
the Chinese are not wrong to point out

the fact that CPEC will benefit not only a particular province, but **the entire** country.

Using the **generic term ‘the Chinese’** along with the **negation ‘are not wrong’** shows **authorial endorsement** of the **stance** taken by Chinese that CPEC will not only benefit a particular province but the whole country. This **counter-expectancy** was **embedded** in the **buffering statement** whereby in the earlier part of the sentence the editor acknowledged some part of the complainant’s concern as genuine (Boccia,2019). **Strong prediction modal ‘will’** was used to strongly suggest the benefit of CPEC for the whole country.

Using the tool of **generic attributive engagement** through the use of the **generic name** for the source **A Chinese think-tank** the editor projected the need to settle the differences to reap the bumper harvest due to come through CPEC. Here are the words

A Chinese think-tank yesterday reiterated this as it asked Pakistan to settle differences over the CPEC as the ‘bumper harvest’ was yet to come.

The editor is seen to be putting an effort to urge the provinces for leaving the petty issues behind and join hands to make CPEC successful. The stance taken by the editor becomes clear in the next sentence around the selected intertextual reference which clarifies the positioning of the editor regarding the issue at hand.

The benefits of the CPEC will only be apparent once they are allowed to be completed safely and on time without any serious impediments

Following points are made here

1. The benefits of the CPEC will only be apparent

(Presupposition here in that the benefits of CPEC are not apparent at the moment)

2. once they are allowed to be completed

(Presupposition here is that they are not being allowed to be completed)

3. once they are allowed to be completed safely

(Presupposition here is that they are not being allowed to be completed safely)

4. once they are allowed to be completed safely and on time

(Presupposition here is that they are not being allowed to be completed safely and on time)

5. without any serious impediments

(Presupposition is that there are serious impediments)

All these **presuppositions** are **judging** the **complainants** as having negative propriety and negative veracity for not letting the project being completed safely, on time and are causing serious impediments. The presuppositions are also creating a negative affective value of insecurity for the project. The complainants are thereby implicitly being accused of all these problems and are being advised to let the project be completed successfully so that they can get the benefits.

The linguistic analysis of the editorial suggests a pro-CPEC and nationalist ideology emerging whereby the editor tries to urge the stakeholders to be patient leaving behind the petty issues to reap the bumper harvest. Evidential support however seems to be having flimsy grounds here for the points being made.

2. Intertextual Reference to Killing of 44 Workers

Militants have tried to disrupt the construction of the economic corridor linking China with Pakistan's coast and have killed 44 workers since 2014. This number is only set to increase if adequate security is not provided to the workers, many of which are Chinese.

Negative **appreciation** for the security situation of Baluchistan province is found through the use of disaster vocabulary 'killed' having a negative affective value of insecurity. The disaster vocabulary triggers the emotions of the reader (Mugumya, 2013). The militants are negatively judged as having negative propriety and negative capacity to disrupt construction of the economic corridor. The future security of CPEC is also negatively appreciated if not made adequate to provide security to the workers. The editor claims that if not improved the current security will increase the death toll of the workers.

3. Intertextual Reference to Baluchistan and KP Voices

Provinces like Balochistan and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have been at the forefront with their voices of dissent, regularly complaining that the CPEC was not benefitting all the provinces equally, blaming Punjab of taking away more than its share. But the security concerns are highest in these two provinces and if they want to attract more investment in their provinces, they must ensure that everything must be done to combat militancy and provide necessary security to the workers.

Following attributes are being attached to the provinces of Baluchistan and KP

1. **at the forefront** with their **voices** of dissent This attribute negatively judges the provinces as taking to the front always with voices of dissent. The word dissent means a strong difference of opinion especially on an official stance or popular belief. This attribute thereby sees the provinces of Baluchistan and KP as problem architects. The provinces thereby are negatively evaluated for having negative capacity and negative veracity.
2. **regularly complaining** This attribute for the two provinces again negatively evaluates them as always having a complaining attitude thereby having negative reaction and negative capacity further intensified by the **upscaling** grader adverbial ‘regularly’
3. **blaming Punjab of taking away more than its share** This attribute of the two provinces shows a blame game floated by them for blaming Punjab as having more shares than it deserves. The word blame is used for the complaints of the provinces and a blame is something always in need of authentication and normally turns out to be false. This again negatively evaluates the provinces for having negative veracity.
4. **having highest security risks** The next defining attribute shown for these provinces is their having highest security risks. The term ‘high security risks’ has both negative affective value of insecurity and negative evaluative value of negative capacity.
5. **Not putting an effort** to combat militancy and **provide necessary security** to the workers. This attribute forefronts as the presupposition through the analysis of the

sentence **they must ensure that everything must be done** to combat militancy and **provide necessary security to the workers .**

Presupposition is that everything is not being done by the provinces to combat militancy and provide security. This stands as negative judgement for the people of these provinces as having negative propriety. Further the editor suggests that Baluchistan and KP can attract more investment if the security situation in the region is improved. It seems that the suggestion is that those speaking for the right share in the CPEC are actually the ones creating trouble in the provinces' security.

A question arises here that is there any confirmation process that can confirm whether these voices of dissent are really the representative voices of all or most of the people of Baluchistan and KP province? A very important angle that needs to be considered here is that whether one speaks in favour of the projected Baluchistan issue or against it, one thing that stays confirmed is that in both situations the narrative of the external forces (India) is perpetuated. The external forces wanted the same divide between Government and Baluchistan to be dealt as two different entities not belonging to each other. So when an editorial either supports government in favour of CPEC or supports the Balochistan province in favour of their reservations or speaks against governments in favour of Baluchistan people or speaks against Baluchistan people in favour of the government the end result is the same the perpetuation of separatist narrative which by now is proven as a narrative not home-grown but planted by the foreign agencies through the a slow and long homework done in the Pakistan's provinces. The Indian Spy Kulbhushan Yadav (Detained Indian Spy, 2016) is one of the very irrefutable proofs of this history.

Some other strategies that are mentioned in the Recommendation section of the thesis must be opted by the editorials so that a real sense of harmony and peace is created without regenerating the narrative of the anti-state elements.

4. Intertextual Reference to GDP Estimates

Estimates suggest that if provided the security it needs Chinese investments can stimulate a 15 percent increase in Pakistan's GDP by 2030. This is a big amount, one that will contribute towards improved education, healthcare and social services, not just improved infrastructure. One can only hope that the provinces will find a way to settle their differences and come

together for peace and prosperity of the entire country.

The editorial refers to the expected 15 percent increase in GDB by 2030 through Chinese investment if the security situation of the country is improved. The Chinese investment is being **positively appreciated** by the editor for stimulating a big increase in GDB which will lead to a big contribution to improve education, healthcare, and social service. **Strong prediction modal** 'will' is used to show a firm belief in the capability of the Chinese investment to improve the described issues. The editorial begins with the terms 'estimates suggest' which is an example of **nominalization** whereby the **agent** is **obfuscated** thereby the **source** of these estimates is not traceable for the reader to validate the facts quoted. The last line of the selected intertextual reference begins with the words *One can only hope* which has the **negative affective value** of **uncertainty, dissatisfactions** and **insecurity** as this phrase seems to just nothing can be done on ground and only one thing is possible that is hope that provinces will find a way to settle their differences and come together for peace and prosperity of the entire country.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows a number of linguistic tools like counterexpectancy, generic terminology, nominalization, negative judgement, negative presuppositions, buffering, upscaling adverbials, to launch nationalist and pro-CPEC ideology. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in this editorial is that at social level it tends to generate a sense of responsive and maturer unity among its readers, appeal the reader to show responsibility towards CPEC, subside the propagated provincial conflict, remove distrust and eliminate doubts surrounding CPEC.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at four places in this editorial. Out of these four references no intertextual reference was in the shape of direct quotation. The references were having indirect voices or events being referred to. Here are the details of intertextual references

1. **Intertextual Reference to Chinese Think Tank** found without any direct quotation.

Indirect voices through generic attributed engagement found. Negative judgement and **appreciation** for the anti-CPEC accusers and their actions found. A number of presuppositions generated. The tools of negation, counterexpectancy, declaratives, strong prediction modals used. Buffering used to mellow down the criticism of the editor on the anti-CPEC accusers.

2. **Intertextual Reference to Killing of 44 Workers** found without any direct or indirect quotation. Disaster vocabulary with the negative affective value along with negative **appreciation** for security found.
3. **Intertextual Reference to Baluchistan and KP Voices** found without any direct quotation. Indirect voices of provinces given. Negative **appreciation** words abound for the provinces of Baluchistan and KP. Affective terminology also used.
4. **Intertextual Reference to GDP Estimates** found without any direct or indirect quotation. The tool of nominalization to obfuscate agency is found. Positive **appreciation** and negative affective terms found.

November 8, 2016

Editorial title: Let Them Build

The editorial refers to the different petitions launched by the opposition against the government and then details the latest one that is launched by the KP government for their reservations regarding Western Route. A number of points are given in the editorial to prove the futility of this petition and calls it a disservice in case of bad results on CPEC. The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to generate a sense of responsive and maturer unity among its readers regarding CPEC and drift the readers away from the actions and stances of the opposition.

1. Intertextual Reference to Different Petitions

As if the Panama Leaks petition, the defamation suit against CM Punjab by Jahangir Tareen and the Khattak versus Nisar proceedings were not enough, the PTI government has now added another petition to the mix, except this one is potentially far more detrimental than the others, because it jeopardises a developmental project that can change the fate of the nation. The KP government's decision to file a petition in the Peshawar High Court against the federal government for the development of the western part of the CPEC at par with the eastern route needlessly politicises an issue when there is no cause for it.

The reference is to the petition launched by the KP government in the Peshawar High Court against the federal government for the development of the western part of the CPEC at par with the eastern route.

This action of the KP government is criticized on a number of different points as follows:

1. The PTI government **added another petition to the mix.** The editor refers to the number of other petitions launched by PTI against the government namely

Panama Leaks petition defamation suit against CM Punjab by Jahangir Tareen Khattak versus Nisar proceedings

Comments beginning with the **concessive conjunction 'as if'**, added that **'as if'**

different petitions were not enough that PTI government has added another one ‘to the mix’. The term ‘to the mix’ is used in a meaningful way whereby everything is messed up, mixed up, confused and all jumbled up. The suggestion thereby is like all other mixed items of the mixture this one is also un-understandable, confused and messed up. Naming a number of other petitions by the PTI seems to suggest PTI as being habitually launching petitions every now and then. All this tends to negatively appreciate PTI for the petitions floated and tends to judge the PTI members as having negative veracity.

2. The next point made by the editor is coming through the prepositional phrase beginning with ‘**except**’ calling this petition to be different for being ‘**potentially far more detrimental**’ than the others. Linguistic resources of declaration were used through the copular ‘is’ to categorically assert the detrimental aspect of the petition. The upscalling grader ‘far more’ further asserts the damaging aspect of the petition. The editor thereby very negatively appreciates the petition through the adjectival ‘detrimental’ and the grader ‘far more.’

3. The next point made against the petition is that it it jeopardises a developmental project that can change the fate of the nation. The petition is again evaluated very negatively by the use of the word ‘jeopardizes’ showing greatly negative appreciation of the petition for having the tendency to put CPEC to failure, and indirectly the petitioner is judged as having negative veracity and negative propriety.

4. The petition is seen to ‘needlessly politicizes’ the issue. The adverbial grader ‘needlessly’ further upscaled the futility of the petition and the petitioner is negatively judged with the verb ‘politicizing’ fringing upon the negative veracity of the petitioner.

5. The editor claims that the petition is also futile because **there is no cause for it**. The linguistic analysis of the intertextual reference under consideration brings to surface the pro-government and pro-CPEC stance. But the only evidential support given, to show the futility of the petition is naming a number of other petitions that are in line against the government by PTI.

The editor also nominates CPEC as the fate changer for the nation thereby launching a strong positive appreciation for CPEC.

2. Intertextual Reference to the Plea of the Petitioner

The utter futility of this legal battle is perfectly displayed in the fact that the petitioner requires for the federal government to make commitments to complete the western route in conjunction with the eastern one, and that no funds allotted for the former are rerouted for work on the latter. This is already happening. The funds allotted for each venture are project-specific and tied to China's requirements, which means that the government cannot just shift funds around at whim.

The specifics of the petition are discussed now by detailing the demands made by the petitioner. Following two demands are given as coming from the petitioner:

Plea1. the federal government to make commitments to complete the western route in conjunction with the eastern one

Plea2. no funds allotted for the former are rerouted for work on the latter

This legal petition is named as 'legal battle' and pleas as having 'utter futility' that according to the editor is perfectly displayed. The use of disaster vocabulary is visible, calling the legal case a 'battle' thereby suggesting that the case is being launched just to wage a war against the government. Further the linguistic resource of upscalling grader 'utter' is used with the word 'futility' further intensifying the baselessness of the legal case. The futility of the legal suit is proven by the author, with the following responses to the petition pleas:

Editor's response to Plea 1

This is already happening

Editor's response to Plea 2

The funds allotted for each venture are project-specific and tied to China's requirements, which means that the government cannot just shift funds around at whim.

Pro-Govt, Nationalist ideology seems emerging from linguistic analysis of the selected intertextual reference but evidential support for the claim made by the editor seems missing.

3. Intertextual Reference to Refusal of Opposition Parties in KP Assembly

Not only that, but the refusal of opposition parties within the KP provincial government to take part in this petition reflects that the PTI government in KPK is the only party is looking to cause problems where there are none. Clearly, partisan interests are at play, and even provincial issues have taken the back seat. Economic projects that serve to benefit the nation as a whole should not be used for political mileage.

Now in this intertextual reference a tangible proof is given to prove the futility of the petition placed by PTI. The other opposition parties in KP are being claimed in the editorial as having refused to take part in the petition and that PTI is proven as the only party in the province that wants to cause problem. This stands as an **evidential negative appreciation** of PTI. Positioning further against the PTI petition the editor **proclaims** by beginning with the **comment adjunct** 'clearly' that 'Clearly, partisan interests are at play'. The use of **declarative** form with copular 'are' shows that a **categorical assertion** is being made that this is the case. This stands as a **negative appreciation** again for PTI as not having a genuine complaint in the pocket but a card to play for its political victory. Positively appreciating CPEC as the project that will serve to benefit the whole nation, the assertion made is that such projects should not be used for political **pitscoring**. The use of the **deontic 'should' showing strong obligation** is visible whereby the petition part is strongly being urged not to compromise the project of national importance.

A buffering statement is found next

Provincial infighting is a common feature in all countries, where competing interests oftentake the front seat.

suggesting that provincial infighting is not being criticized as it is common feature in all countries. Counterexpectancy is seen in the next line with concessive '**but**' where the argument continues

But this is only acceptable if the federation at large is not affected.

The urge being made is that such infighting is only acceptable when the federation at large is not affected.

Extending the logic further the argument comes up with a strong logic that, CPEC is

not being constructed for the improvement in the fortunes of the provinces; this is just a positive side-effect. Deontic use of the modal 'should' is seen whereby the provinces are urged that they should not make any mistake in understanding the objective of CPEC.

The objective of CPEC is explained by the editorial in the following words

The idea here is to usher in a new era of growth for the whole country, and this will happen, because the government is bound to finish both corridors – even if it wanted to side-line the little provinces it simply couldn't.

The effort here is to clarify the doubts for any of the opposition and other elements, that the government is bound to complete both the corridors and sidelining any of the provinces in not within the preview of the government. Positively and effectively explaining the idea of CPEC the editor explains that the idea here is to usher in a new era of growth for the whole country. Pro-CPEC and Nationalist ideology surface through the linguistic analysis.

4. Intertextual Reference to India's Glee

If for nothing else, Pakistan needs to be wary of disrupting work on CPEC simply because of the glee that emanates from India whenever there is a hint of an issue with regards to the project. There is areason Pakistan's rivals are concerned; the two corridors have the legitimate potential of becoming game-changers for Pakistan's economy, and hence, provide much needed stability in the country. This is no time for legal impediments to be propped up. The provincial governments will be doing thecountry a great disservice if work is stalled as a result.

This part of the editorial again is a plea for unity from another angle to prove the efficacy of CPEC.

Starting with the hypotactic conditional conjunct 'if' the editor writes

If for nothing else

e.g. if not for growthif not for economy

if not for prosperityif not for peace

if not for strength

if not for independence if not for trade

if not for unity

Pakistan needs to be wary of disrupting work on CPEC simply because of the glee that emanates from India whenever there is a hint of an issue with regards to the project

The rejoice in India is being referred to whenever any bad news from CPEC reaches them and the people of Pakistan are requested to try to understand the importance of CPEC for India would never respond to anything if it's not worth it.

Continuing the stance, the reason for India's concern is elaborated

..the two corridors have the legitimate potential of becoming game-changers for Pakistan's economy and hence, provide much needed stability in the country

The project is being **positively appreciated** as having the legitimate potential for becoming the game changer for the country. **Adjectival 'legitimate'** along with the positive **appreciative** word '**potential**' is used along with a very strong **appreciative** words game-changer mark in the strong potential that the project has for the positive change in the country. Coming up with **counterexpectancy** through the source of **negation**, and naming the petition as an impediment the editor writes

This is no time for legal impediments to be propped up.

The provincial governments will be doing the country a great disservice if work is stalled as a result.

In case of negative outcome of stalled work, the provincial government's action is nominated as a great disservice, thereby **negatively judging** the provincial government as having **negative veracity** and **negative capacity**.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows a number of linguistic tools like counter-expectancy, disaster vocabulary, upscaling graduation forces, categorical assertions through declaratives, deontic modality, negative/positive appreciation and judgements to launch nationalist and pro-CPEC ideology. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in this editorial is that at social level it tends to generate a sense of responsive and maturer

unity among its readers, appeal the reader to show responsibility towards CPEC, subside the propagated provincial conflict, remove distrust and drift the reader away from the actions and stances of the opposition against CPEC.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at four places in this editorial. Out of these four references no intertextual reference was in the shape of direct quotation. The references were having indirect voices or events being referred to. Here are the details of intertextual references

1. **Intertextual Reference to Different Petitions** found without any direct quotations. The editor used the tool of negatively appreciative and negatively judgmental words along with counterexpectancy, and declaratives against PTI. Positive appreciation for CPEC found.
2. **Intertextual Reference to the Futile Voice of the Petitioner** found without any direct quotations. Voice of the petitioner indirectly given. Negative appreciative words abound for the petitions from the opposition part. Declaratives used for the assertions of the editor.
3. **Intertextual Reference to Refusal of Opposition Parties in KP** found without any direct quotation. Negative appreciation given for the petition party with buffering statements used to mellow down criticism. Strong evidential and logical support found to prove the point.
4. **Intertextual Reference to India's Glee found** without any direct quotation. Positive appreciation for CPEC found.

November 15, 2016

Editorial Title: Celebrating Gwadar

The editorial covers the ceremony marking the formal opening of the Gwadar port on 13th of Nov 2016. The editorial describes the moment as momentous relief and a result of the labour of all parties involved. Further the editorial highlights the importance of Gwadar port from China and Pakistan's perspective. The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to generate a sense of achievement among its readers regarding CPEC.

1. Intertextual Reference to the Arrival of Trade Convoy

The editorial begins by referring to the arrival of the first mega trade convoy at Gwadar on Sunday 13th of November 2016. The lines are as follows:

As the first large shipment of Chinese goods arrived through the renovated port of Gwadar on Sunday, the government seems to have let out a collective sigh of relief. Trade through the corridor has finally begun, and in general, the Pakistani people seem to be behind the project.

The **affective** use of the idiom 'collective sigh of relief' is visible which suggests the arrival of the first mega trade convoy at Gwadar as a comfort, that came after some impending danger or failure. The government is presented as having come out of some tight spot. This idiom is having an **affective value** of happiness, security and satisfaction. The editor uses the **adverbial** 'finally' having the explicit **graduation force** with the verb 'begun' that further conveys a message of something that started with a long delay having a mildly **negative judgement**. Through **appreciation** lexis which can be seen as judging actions of those who caused delay the intertextual reference carries a message of slightly **negative capacity** because of the delay implicitly referred to. The intertextual reference has an overall impact of sending a message of hard-won achievement thereby spreading an ideology of nationalistic accomplishment and patriotic nationalism.

2. Intertextual Reference to ISPR Video and PM address at Gwadar Cargo Ceremony

The next intertextual reference appears in the following words

The ISPR videos played during the event described CPEC as the fruit of “General Raheel Sharif’s vision”, whereas PM Nawaz Sharif described it as a vision common to China’s worldview and the government’s own agenda “to make Pakistan a hub” of regional connectivity.

The researcher watched the above referred full video of ISPR played in the ceremony and found the above-mentioned words “General Raheel Sharif’s Vision” altogether missing from the video (Talk Shows Central,2016). Further nowhere in the video the credit was singled out to any one stake holder. This is an example of intertextual manipulation whereby the putting the manipulated words in scare quotes further heightens the impact of multiple meanings being conveyed. The scare quotes are mostly used to signpost ‘so- called’. The practice of scare quotes around specific words suggests that the words in quotes must be seen with reservation. It is seen that scare quotes are the most common presentational feature used in the realization of partiality in the articles. The use of the scare quotes may be incited by the fact that they express bias very indirectly. Their demonstration and application do not require words but just quotation marks. The usage of scare quotes in a prejudiced way can sometimes be almost indiscernible. When few words are enclosed in quotation marks it indicates that only those specific words should be suspected. They may make the reader doubt the sincerity of the utterance that is conveyed. (Pajunen, 2008). Here as well the use of scare quotes around the selected words seems to send a message of doubt for the quoted part that is CPEC as the fruit of ‘General Raheel Sharif ’s vision’.

The next part of the same intertextual reference puts few of the PM’s words in scare quotes which suggest that PM has taken the credit for himself and the Chinese Government which again, is an example of **intertextual manipulation** as the researcher again watched the full speech of the PM Nawaz Sharif (Talk Shows Central, 2016) and found that the PM gave full credit to all the stake holders involved. To what objective then the editor went for these **intertextual manipulations** needs an answer. The answer came in the very next line that becomes the next intertextual reference of the analysis.

3. Intertextual Reference to Musharraf Government

This intertextual reference appears in the following words:

The Prime Minister's office and ISPR have both been eager to claim Gwadar as the vision of their respective bosses – perhaps both of them are forgetting that it was actually the Musharraf government that initially launched the development of Gwadar port from 2002 to 2007.

The answer to the question that arose after the analysis of the above intertextual references, as to why the editor chose to go for intertextual manipulation, appears in the current intertextual reference whereby the editor announces Musharraf Government to be credited for the launch of Gwadar port. Interesting use of linguistic resources is visible to further this analysis. The editor uses a disclaimer to disclaim the stance of ISPR and government through the use of downscaling graduation resource in the shape of attitude adverb 'perhaps' while negatively evaluating the ISPR and the government through the use of verb 'forgetting' that has judgmental force of negative veracity.

Continuing with the **disclaimer** the editor through using the **adverbial 'actually'** and **upscaling** the **veracity** of the claim, nominates the Musharraf government as the initial launchers of Gwadar port development. Assessing the above intertextual references in the next line the editor uses the '**adverb**' to suggest this occasion as the fruit of the labor of all the involved parties. Noteworthy is the positive **appreciation** term 'momentous' also having positive **affective value** of happiness along with having **upscaling graduation force**. The words 'fruit of the labour' also carry positive **affective value** of satisfaction and happiness. Positive **appreciation** was extended towards China by using the **upscaling adverbial** 'particularly'. A number of **contradictions** catch analytical attention here.

The intertextually manipulated reference to ISPR video was shown as an effort for giving the credit of CPEC to General Raheel and PM speech for taking the credit of CPEC to himself but the **disclaimer** that the editor launches is to give the credit to Musharraf government. Development of Gwadar is but just one part of CPEC which is a huge bunch of a mega projects. Operationalization of Gwadar port through CPEC took the construction

of mega Eastern and Western Corridors; the credit for which does not go to Musharraf government thereby this credit distribution by the editor seems a bit out of place and mistaken. But whether the credit nomination by the editor is sound or not needs to be answered. In any case an effort of shifting the credit to someone not qualified for it may be taken a political move to generate a goodwill for the nominated party but is definitely not an effort to malign the project. The analysis of the linguistic resources utilized by the editor thereby suggests the emergence of patriotic nationalist and pro-CPEC ideology whereby the editor does not launch or regenerate any such controversy which may malign the development of CPEC.

4. Intertextual Reference to Strait of Malacca

While discussing the effect of the Gwadar Operationalization the editor details the situation as follows:

*There is **much** reason for China to celebrate. With the development of Pakistan's second largest port Gwadar, this trade corridor will stretch from the Western Xinxiang province of China to the port of Gwadar, thus providing access to the Chinese to the Arabian Sea barely 600 kilometres east of the narrow Strait of Hormuz through which passes about 35 percent of the world's oil shipments. China will not only bypass the Malacca Strait through which 80 percent of its oil supply presently flows but reduce the distance as noted above by 2000 miles. China would not have to depend on the US to keep the choke point of Strait of Malacca open because it will reach the Arabian Sea through the **all-important** port of Gwadar, hence cementing its place as the next economic superpower of the world*

This next intertextual reference is to China's emancipation from the Strait of Malacca through which China's 80% of the oil supply moves. The Gwadar port will give China the access to Arabian sea barely 600 kilometers away from Strait of Homuz. The intertextual reference is surrounded by a number of positive appreciation linguistic resources and affective terms. The paragraph begins with a declarative announcing China as having much reason to celebrate and an analyst can question does the editor mean 'not much' for Pakistan. Noteworthy is the use of the **affective** term celebrate having the **affective value** of happiness along with the implicit grader much to **upscale** the **force** of this affect. Positive **appreciation** of Gwadar port is visible at a number of points e.g.

1. Corridor will stretch from the Western Xinxiang province of China to the port of Gwadar
2. Corridor will provide access to the Chinese to the Arabian Sea
3. China will bypass the Malacca Strait
4. Corridor will reduce the distance by 2000 miles.
5. Corridor will cement China's place as the next economic superpower

Further the Gwadar port is positively appreciated through the use of the **adjectival** all- important. The overall analysis of this intertextual reference and the surrounding text pointstowards the emergence of pro-CPEC ideology whereby different positive features of the project are highlighted through the use of positive **appraisal**.

5. Intertextual reference the Iranian port of Chahbahar

The next intertextual reference appears as follows:

“In the early nineties, the Iranian port of Chahbahar was built by India to bypass Pakistan to reach its interests in Afghanistan. Despite international pressure against it, India conducts a trade worth 15billion dollars and imports about 15 percent of its oil needs from Iran. India is also building a railway from Chahbahar to connect to the Iranian Railway System to reach the Central Asian markets and tapthe mineral rich Central Afghanistan. India is doing what it must for its own national interest, and itis imperative that Pakistan not be left behind.”

The editor gives reference to the Iranian port of Chahbahar built by India to bypass Pakistan toreach its interest in Afghanistan. The editorial also shares that India conducts a trade worth 15billion dollars with Iran and imports about 15% oil from Iran. The use of **counter-expectancy** through the use of sub-ordinate prepositional phrase ‘Despite international pressure against it’, is visible that shows India’s resolve to safeguard its economic interests despite pressures of many sorts. India is also shown further as building a Railway System to reach the Central Asianmarkets and tap the mineral rich Central Afghanistan.

Assessing the mentioned references, the editor **proclaims** through **monoglossic declarative** by the use of **simple present tense** ‘is’ that India is doing what it must for its

own national interest. In the next part of the same sentence the editor uses **strong adjectival** phrase with the **copular** ‘be’ to **strongly** necessitate the stance that it is imperative for Pakistan not to be left behind. It is pertinent to note how Bednarek found it advantageous to detect within the news media the existence of "evaluative parameters", that is a series of binary viewpoints that speakers/writers take towards the world. These comprise whether something is "necessary or unnecessary", "expected or unexpected", "good or bad", "important or unimportant", "genuine or fake", "comprehensible or incomprehensible", or "possible or impossible". According to Bednarek (2006:67) the key evaluative parameters within media texts are reliability, emotivity, expectedness, importance, possibility/necessity and, comprehensibility. The **strong** evaluative term ‘imperative’ used by the editor **strongly** represents the stance taken by the editor.

6. Intertextual Reference to US

The last intertextual reference appears in the following words:

No matter what the detractors say, Chinese investments in Pakistan have been a boon for us, especially when we have felt forsaken by old friends like the US.

The editor concludes through a **strong disclaimer**, refuting the voice of detractors through the subordinate **negation** ‘no matter what the detractors say’ and then **strongly** declares through the perfect form of **copular** ‘be’ that Chinese investments in Pakistan have been a boon for us. The editor further highlights its importance by the use of **affective** terminology ‘felt forsaken’ in the subordinate **adverbial** clause ‘especially when we have felt forsaken by old friends like the US.’

The terminology ‘left forsaken’ has got the **negative** affect of insecurity and distrust. Those who speak against CPEC are **negatively** named as detractors and their action has been judged as something that does not matter thereby having a **negative judgemental force** of **negative veracity** and **negative** propriety. Further the Chinese investment is appreciated positively through the use of **affective** word ‘boon’ having a feeling of happiness and satisfaction.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resource shows a number of linguistic tools like counter-expectancy, attitude adverbs,

affective terminologies, graduation forces, appreciation resources, scare quotes, and strong disclaimers to launch nationalist and pro-CPEC ideology. Intertextual manipulations with misquoted voices of the external sources is also found in this editorial. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in this editorial is that at social level it tends to generate a sense of achievement among its readers regarding CPEC.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at 6 places in this editorial. Out of these six references no intertextual reference was in the shape of direct quotation. The references were having indirect voices or events/places being referred to. Here are the details of intertextual references

1. **Intertextual Reference to the Arrival of Trade Convoy** without directly or indirectly quoting anyone. Use of affective and appreciation resources found.
2. **Intertextual Reference to ISPR video and PM address** at Gwadar Cargo Ceremony by indirectly quoting the voices of the participants. **Intertextual manipulation** found.
3. **Intertextual Reference to Musharraf Government.** No direct quotation found. Voices indirectly added. **Contradictions** found and use of **affective** and **appreciation** terms visible.
4. **Intertextual Reference to Strait of Malacca** found. No direct or indirect quotation found. **Appraisal** and **appreciation** resources used.
5. **Intertextual reference the Iranian port of Chahbahar** without any direct or indirect quotation. **Strong proclaimers** found.

Intertextual Reference to US without any direct or direct quotations. **Strong disclaimers** and **affective** terms found.

While adding up these intertextual references the editor did make the ideological use of **appraisal** resources whereby **appraisal** kit of attitude, **graduation**, **engagement**, through linguistic tools like **monoglossia**, **disclaimers**, **negations**, conditionals, **ellipses**, conditional conjuncts etc. were used to make the meaning.

November 27, 2016

Editorial Title: Diplomacy for Development

The editor refers to PM Nawaz Sharif's visit to Turkmenistan. The editorial highlights the PM's address to global conference and PM's meeting with Turkmenistan president regarding CPEC and TAPI in a very positive light. The editorial winds up with a focus on the need of having stable strategic policies. The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to generate a sense of confidence and trust in its readers for the government and its commitment on CPEC.

1. Intertextual Reference to PM Nawaz and Global Conference

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is a man on a mission and judging from the outcomes of his trip to Turkmenistan, he seems to be getting there according to plan. He did a convincing job of highlighting the countless benefits that could be accrued by the entire region from the two-mega projects – CPEC and the TAPI pipeline. He addressed the 1500 or so participants including heads of state, ministers and UN officials at the Global Conference on Sustainable Transport, being jointly sponsored by Turkmenistan and the United Nations in this capital city for two days.

The first intertextual reference refers to the address of PM Nawaz Sharif to a Global Conference on Sustainable Transport at Turkmenistan. The editor focusing on the number of the participants and their cadres **upscales** the **significance** of the **gathering** in the following words

He addressed the 1500 or so participants including heads of state, ministers and UN officials at the Global Conference on Sustainable Transport, being jointly sponsored by Turkmenistan and the United Nations in this capital city for two days

Earlier in the first part of the selected intertextual reference the editor uses full title with the name of PM as follows

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif

is

a man on a mission

Brown and Levinson (1978) demonstrate that the use of a person's title is a "marker of deference" that also encodes a **higher level of formality and respect**. Additionally use of the title with first and last name creates an image of **powerful effective and strong-minded leader**. The editor uses a **declarative statement** with the **copular 'is'** to declare that PM Nawaz Sharif is a man on mission. The editor thereby through a declarative **categorically asserts** that Nawaz Sharif is a man on mission, resolute and committed. The use of the **idiom 'man on mission'** **positively evaluates** the PM as having **positive capacity** and **positive tenacity** suggesting him as a person who is fiercely determined to get where he wants. Then the last part of the same sentence by the editor further accredits this evaluation

he



seems to be getting there



according to plan

Another **categorical assertion** from the editor comes in the second sentence of the editorial whereby the editor through a **declarative** write while commending the PM *'He did a convincing job of highlighting the countless benefits that could be accrued by the entire region from the two-mega projects – CPEC and the TAPI pipeline*'

He

did

a convincing job

of highlighting the countless benefits

The **declarative assertion** comes through the word **'did'** and the **adjectival 'convincing'** **positively evaluates** the performance of the Prime Minister and represents the prime minister as having **positive capacity** and **positive tenacity**.

The use of the **adjectival ‘countless’** with the benefits of CPEC **positively appreciates** the project and shows the **authorial endorsement** with the stance of the PM. The PM is being positively appreciated for highlighting the significance of the CPEC at Global level and in a very convincing way. The linguistic analysis of this intertextual reference shows the Pro-state ideology emerging.

2. Intertextual Reference to PM meeting with Turkmenistan President

Ahead of the conference, Premier Nawaz held a meeting with the Turkmenistan President Gurbanguly Berdymukhamedov here Friday and discussed matters relating to the Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline, and later announced Pakistan’s decision to join the Ashgabat Agreement and the Lapis Lazuli Corridor, a transport agreement between Oman, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan that seeks to create an international transport and transit corridor, and a trade cooperation between Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey to reduce barriers facing transit trade, respectively.

This intertextual reference sums up the outcome of the meeting of the PM with the **Turkmenistan President Gurbanguly Berdymukhamedov** relating to the Turkmenistan- Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline. The outcome of the meeting was the announcement of Pakistan’s decision to join the Ashgabat Agreement and the Lapis Lazuli Corridor, and a trade cooperation between Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey to reduce barriers facing transit trade, respectively. Keeping the argument in line with the earlier title for the PM as ‘a man on mission’ the editor names a number of different missions accomplished by the PM with an objective to boost transit trade. The efforts of the PM are being shown in a positive light whereby multiple forums are shown as being exploited by the government to improve the economy of the country. No affective terminology is used by the editor in the intertextual reference. The possessive use of the word Pakistan deserves special attention whereby rather than using the personal pronoun ‘his’ like

PM.... later announced his decision

the statement written was



PM...later announced Pakistan’s decision

This shows the editor is not observing the scenario in personal identity of the PM but is taking him as the representative of Pakistan which thereby suggests the Nationalist stance of the editor.

3. Intertextual Reference to Northern and Southern Afghanistan

Pakistan is fast on its way to become a regional hub of connectivity, trade, and economic development, but do our future policy plans keep into account the hurdles that could possibly be created to achieve that? Harmonizing the TAPI with the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) works perfectly in the larger scheme of things, but how will Pakistan develop a route to Central Asia via Afghanistan's territory, considering the diplomatic tensions between the two neighbours? Anti-Pakistan sentiments are already at a peak in Northern and Southern Afghanistan, and amends must be made to ensure that the projects are successful.

The intertextual reference to anti-Pakistan sentiments in Afghanistan and diplomatic tensions come in the wake of Pakistan's efforts to Harmonize TAPI with the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) via developing a route to Central Asia through Afghanistan's territory. On that the editor questions.

1. But

how will Pakistan develop a route to Central Asia via Afghanistan's territory,

considering

the diplomatic tensions between the two neighbours?

2. **Anti-Pakistan sentiments are already at a peak**

in Northern and Southern Afghanistan

Through launching the counterexpectancy by the concessive 'but' the editor puts a question to the readers and to him/herself that **how will Pakistan develop a route to Central Asia via Afghanistan's territory, considering the diplomatic tensions between the two neighbours?** A rhetorical question is a discursive practice often used in the editorials that highlights the dialogic nature of the editorial. They are used in order to help construct a synthetic community of practice and sense of group identity among readers, through the appearance of dialogue between newspaper and reader and a sense of mutual engagement (Hardman, 2008).

Further using the **adverbial force graders** ‘already at a peak’ in a **declarative** with the **copular** ‘are’ **categorically asserts** the existence of anti-Pakistan sentiments in Afghanistan. All this serves to **negatively appreciate** the diplomatic ties of Pakistan with Afghanistan and its people.

The implication seems to be that it is quite difficult to achieve a target involving a country with hostile sentiments.

Earlier before discussing the Pak-Afghan tensions the editor while **appreciating** Pakistan **positively** for its progress in different fields through the use of the **adjectival** ‘fast’ involves the reader through a **rhetorical question** while using the **consensual pronoun** ‘our’ in the following words

but do our future policy plans keep into account the hurdles that could possibly be created to achieve that?

A **rhetorical question** is a tactic that is often used by the editorial text producers and contributes to the construction of a group identity through **explicitly foregrounding** the **dialogic nature** of the editorial and thereby constructing a sense of **mutual engagement** between readers and newspaper and also to **foreground** a stance or proposition (Hardman, 2008). The question itself features and encodes the **implication** and **presupposition** that ‘our’ future policy plans do not keep an account of the possible hurdles. This serves as a **negative appreciation** for the future policy of the country.

After mentioning the hostile sentiments in Afghanistan against Pakistan the editor recommends a solution to the government with the use of deontic modal auxiliary ‘must’ obligating the following

amends must be made to ensure that the projects are successful.

The editor urges the government **assertively** through the use of **modal auxiliary** ‘must’ showing **strong obligation** that the government must make ‘amends’ for these anti-Pakistan sentiments. The use of the word ‘amends’ sounds very meaningful here Cambridge dictionary meaning of the word is to do something good to show that you are sorry about something you have done (Amends, n.d.). The editor thereby seems to suggest Pakistan as responsible for the anti-Pakistan sentiments of the Afghan Provinces. Multiple narratives are generated from this point in the editorial but those go beyond the scope of the study.

4. Intertextual Reference to Russia Iran and Pakistan's Foreign Policy

Russia, Iran but many other countries of the region have expressed their willingness to join the mega projects and Pakistan has welcomed their initiative. Pakistan has long faced upheaval and disturbances in relations with its neighbouring states and there is a need to counter these with stable strategic policies to secure Pakistan's position in the region in order to fulfill the CPEC project. In theory, creating a rail and road networks that would allow cargo to travel all the way to Gwadar Port creating a solid linkage between South Asia and Central Asia, is just what Pakistan needs, but the fight against terrorism and poor diplomatic relations with the regions surrounding it, can prove to be detrimental. Pakistan needs to stabilise its foreign and regional policies to minimise any future threat to these regional connectivity projects, and that starts with helping thy neighbours.

For the success of the CPEC project the editor refers to a number of positives and negatives here.

The given positives are

1. Russia, Iran but many other countries of the region have expressed their willingness to join the mega projects
2. Pakistan has welcomed their initiative

The given negatives are

1. upheaval and disturbances in relations with its neighbouring states

The relations of Pakistan with the neighbouring countries are negatively appreciated as Having faced upheavals and disturbances. The two words 'upheaval' and 'disturbances' do carry with them negative affective value of insecurity and dissatisfaction.

2. the fight against terrorism
3. and poor diplomatic relations with the regions surrounding it

The diplomatic relations of Pakistan with the surrounding countries are referred to as 'poor' thereby **negatively appreciating** them through the use of **negative adjectival**.

Further the war against terrorism and poor diplomatic relations are feared as detrimental for CPEC. The word 'detrimental' carries both **negative appreciation** value as well as **negative affective** value of **insecurity**.

Recommendations given by the editor are

1. Stabilize strategic policies

The words used by the editor are '*...needs to stabilize its foreign and regional policies...*' This presupposes that the foreign policy of the country is not stable already thereby this serves as negatively appreciating the current state of the country's foreign policy.

2. Secure Pakistan's position

The words used by the editor are *... to secure Pakistan's position in the region...* This presupposes that Pakistan's position is not secure in the region thereby **negatively appreciating** the current position of Pakistan in the region.

3. Start helping the neighbour

The urge from the editor to start helping the neighbours also entails a kind of presupposition that Pakistan has not been helpful for the neighbours in the past or is not at least currently. Thereby it also serves as a kind of **negative appreciation** for the country for its role in the neighbouring behaviour.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows a number of linguistic tools like counter-expectancy, rhetorical questions, consensual pronouns, obligation modality, upscaling graduation forces, categorical assertions, declaratives, affective terminologies, negative/positive appreciation and judgements to launch pro- government, nationalist and pro-CPEC ideology. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in this editorial is that at social level it tends to generate a sense of confidence and trust in its readers for the government and its commitment on CPEC.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at 4 places in this editorial. No direct quotations were found in the intertextual references. Indirect voices were found at four to five places.

1. **Intertextual Reference to PM Nawaz and Global Conference found** without any direct quotation. Positive **appreciation** and judgment were found for the PM Nawaz Sharif and his job. Categorical assertions found.
2. **Intertextual Reference to PM meeting with Turkmenistan President found** without any direct quotation. Indirect voice of government through naming the speech act ‘decision’ added. No value judgements are found but appreciative stance by mentioning the announcements of the government visible.
3. **Intertextual Reference to Northern and Southern Afghanistan found** without any direct quotation. Indirect voice of Northern and Southern Afghanistan found. Rhetorical questions and so dialogic engagement with readers found. Negative **appreciation** for future policy found.
4. **Intertextual Reference to Russia Iran and Pakistan’s Foreign Policy found** with no direct quotations. Indirect voices of Russia and Iran added. Negative appreciation for Pakistan’s foreign policy and stability found with a number of generating presuppositions.

4.3.3 The News

Five editorials dated August 31, 2016; September 3, 2016; October 3, 2016; November 15, 2016 and December 31, 2016, were selected for the analysis. The selected editorials are attached in Appendix 3.

August 31, 2016

Editorial Title: After the Promise

The editorial refers to CPEC Summit and Expo 2016. The gist of the PM Nawaz Sharif address was given in the editorial and raises a number of issues related to CPEC; beginning from the provincial reservations, security and moving on to transparency in CPEC deals. The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to drift the reader away from CPEC and perpetuate the projected provincial issue.

1. Intertextual Reference to the address of PM Nawaz Sharif

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif repeated his optimism in the CPEC's potential at the CPEC Summit and Expo in Islamabad. He said the multiple projects grouped under the CPEC banner would add 30,000 MW of energy over the next 10 years and bring development to Balochistan, Gilgit-Baltistan and the western belt of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, all of which were previously neglected. The boldest prediction is that Pakistan will gain a central position in world trade and that our underdevelopment problem will be solved. Unity is the message from the federal government when smaller provinces raise concerns...

The editorial begins with the indirectly quoted words of prime minister's address at the CPEC Summit and Expo on 30th of August 2016. Linguistic analysis of the selected intertextual reference shows authorial disalignment, detachment and bias of the editor towards the words of the prime minister. The editor writes: **Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif repeated his optimism.** The use of the **third person possessive pronoun 'his'** in representing the optimism of PM as **'his optimism'** serves to distance the newspaper from the PM - the implication is that the **'optimism'** is **'his'** not the News's or its readers'. Further the editor summed up whatever the PM said as 'optimism' which seems to entail

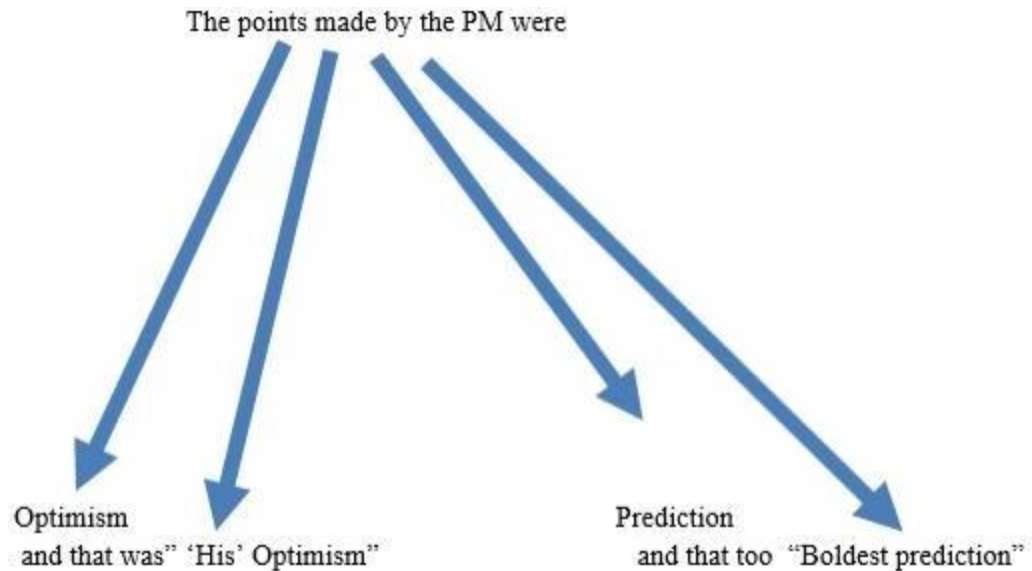
the meaning of wishful thinking here. The editor implicitly seems to suggest that the PM selectively picks out data to prove a point. In other words, the PM is being portrayed as deciding what works and trying to force that idea to work even if it doesn't. The **verb 'repeated'** along with the words '**his optimism**' seems to submit that the PM habitually repeats his optimism on CPEC but doesn't listen. Implicit proposition seems to consider PM's optimism as an optimal path to failure. Confirming this interpretation of the researcher are the words of the editor in the next lines as:

The boldest prediction is that Pakistan will gain a central position in world trade and that our underdevelopment problem will be solved.

The words of the prime minister, whereby **he** said that Pakistan would gain central position in the world trade, were tagged by the editor as 'The **boldest prediction**'. So that conveys that all other points made by the PM were predictions and the boldest amongst all those was this one. This proves the researcher's point for the use of the word '**optimism**' by the editor in the meaning of '**wishful thinking**'. The use of the word '**boldest**' needs to be probed for what meanings it conveys. The word boldest entails the meaning of most adventurous, fearless and abrupt in face of actual danger (Bold, n.d.). So whatever points the PM made were

1. his optimism
2. predictions
3. boldest

According to Richardson, columns, editorials, and other forms of news analysis will never qualify as 'objective reporting': the voice of the journalist is either too loud or too central for them to be objective (Richardson, 2007, p. 86).



The words optimism and boldest though **apparently** have **positive judgmental** and **appreciation** value but the linguistic analysis shows them as having **negative judgmental** and **negative appreciation** value of **negative veracity**, **negative capacity**, **negative tenacity** and **negative composition**.

2. Intertextual Reference to Federal Minister Address

Unity is the message from the federal government when smaller provinces raise concerns and Finance Minister Ishaq Dar took to the same podium to call for unity on the project. The trouble, however, is that every time the government holds a meet on the CPEC, its failure to deliver on earlier promises is highlighted. Words offer little consolation as none of the early harvest projects for the CPEC are set to be completed in the regions raising the most concerns. Without denying the obvious benefits that can be accrued from the corridor, the country is hardly united behind it and perhaps this is what weighed on Dar's mind when called for political and provincial unity over the CPEC.

The editor refers to the speech made by the Finance Minister Ishaq Dar on the same event and sums it up as a call for unity in the following words at three places of this selected intertextualreference

- 1.Unity is the message from the federal government
- 2.Finance Minister Ishaq Dar took to the same podium to call for unity on the project and perhaps this is what weighed on Dar's mind when he called for political and

provincial unity over the CPEC.

The editorial's response to all these calls for unity is a huge plethora of allegations, and failures related to the government. Here are the details

1. ...when smaller provinces raise concerns
2. **The trouble, however, is that every time the government holds a meet on the CPEC, its failure to deliver on earlier promises is highlighted**
3. **Words offer little consolation...as none of the early harvest projects for the CPEC are set to be completed**
4. **...regions raising the most concerns**
5. country is hardly united behind it

The researcher probed into the mega statements launched by the editorial for their validity especially the one given below

none of the early harvest projects for the CPEC are set to be completed in the regions raising the most concerns

A high degree of manipulation was found whereby just preliminary research by the researcher brought forth a mega project in Baluchistan Gwadar-Hoshab M8 motorway - connecting Khuzdar, Turbat, Awaran, Gwadar and Sukkar - completed and inaugurated on February 2016 (Shah, 2016). The inauguration ceremony was attended both by PM Nawaz Sharif and COAS Gen Raheel Sharif. CPEC was officially announced in April 2015 and statements like **none of the early harvest projects for the CPEC are set to be completed** in 2016 are an example of journalism of conflict with deliberate intertextual manipulations of the facts on ground raising a question on the reliability of the newspaper.

Linguistic repository used by the editor to negatively judge and negatively appreciate the government and its actions include the use of **counter-expectancy** through the concessive 'however', **negative affective** words like 'trouble', **negative judgmental** words showing **negative capacity** like 'failure', **negative appreciation** words like 'hardly united' along with the **graduation forces** with the words like 'none', 'hardly', 'most' etc.

Closely related to the above-mentioned intertextual reference to the government representative's voice another intertextual reference to the voice of the government is found in the following words

That said, the government spelled out in much greater detail what the projected goals for the corridor are. The government has told us that the Chinese believe in inclusive regional development. The CPEC certainly offers Pakistan the possibility of becoming a global trade hub. If it possesses one of the best developed road, rail and shipping networks in the region, the country could be able to attract industry and investment. With the bulk of the corridor expected to be ready and operational by 2025, the future might be promising. The strong commitment to energy projects by the Chinese is another positive, which takes away the focus from building roads to putting the economy on track. The CPEC certainly offers to improve Pakistan's connectivity to the world – but key challenges remain. Concerns will have to be resolved by action, not talk.

The stance of the government as given by the editor can be separately grouped in the following words

1. **...the government spelled out in much greater detail what the projected goals for the corridor are**
2. **The government has told us that the Chinese believe in inclusive regional development**

In 1 the words used to introduce the stance of the government here are 'spelled out' with the explicit grader 'much greater detail'. It seems to suggest that more detail was given than needed but then the editor nullifies all this detail by nominating that as that of the 'projected goals'. The word '**projected**' **negatively appreciated** the goals on realistic grounds implying that these goals may be just projected not meant to realize on ground. Ironically the editorial could not mention any single of those projected goals as it seems mentioning those might have countered the argument made by the editor for the government not fulfilling the promises. The alternative statement could have been '..what the planned goals are..' 'What the goals are..'

'What the instated plans are..' 'What the premeditated goals are..'

In 2 the editor separates the government from 'us' by very dexterously writing **The government has told us**. The government this way seems to be an external outgroup factor

and the **consensual pronoun** ‘us’ refers to the newspaper and all its readers. Further the next point made is that Chinese believe in inclusive regional development. The editor detaches him/herself from this point through double hedges: one is that it is the government that told and second, it’s the Chinese who believe. The point surfacing is that even if the Chinese believe in inclusive development, the same might not be the understanding of the government.

The positioning of the editor against the stance of the government comes in the following statements made by the editor in response

The CPEC certainly offers Pakistan the possibility of becoming a global trade hub

If it possesses one of the best developed road, rail and shipping networks in the region, the country could be able to attract industry and investment. With the bulk of the corridor expected to be ready and operational by 2025, the future might be promising. The strong commitment to energy projects by the Chinese is another positive, which takes away the focus from building roads to putting the economy on track. The CPEC certainly offers to improve Pakistan’s connectivity to the world – but key challenges remain.

All these apparently positive statements do have one thing in common and that is the element of uncertainty, and doubt. None of the above given statements declare the positive side of the CPEC but show it as a mere possibility. The use of the following words in this respect is noticeable ‘certainly offers’ ‘the possibility’ ‘could be’ ‘If it possesses’ ‘expected to be’ ‘might be’

All the positives are just possibilities with **weak modals** like ‘could be’, ‘might be’ or wordsequating the weak modals like ‘**expected to be**’ and **conditional conjuncts** like ‘**If it possesses**’. Even the **comment adjunct** ‘**certainly**’ was thumbed back to uncertainty by implying that the ‘certain thing’ is just as certain as an offer could be.

The only declarative found for the **positive appreciation** is the one with Chinese commitment being appreciated but that also is done to **negatively appreciate** the government in a very adroit manner. Here are the words

The strong commitment to energy projects by the Chinese is another positive, which takes away the focus from building roads to putting the economy on track.

While the first part of the sentence **positively appreciates** the commitment of the Chinese to energy projects through a **declarative** using the **copular 'is'**, the second part launches two **presuppositions**

1. It is the Chinese that are committed to the energy projects not the government of Pakistan
2. The previous focus of Pakistan Government had been totally on building the roads.

Both these presuppositions **negatively evaluate** the government as having **negative capacity** for not having the vision to move in the right direction.

The last part of this selected intertextual reference comes with the final stance of the editor with the counterexpectancy launched through the concessive 'but' and that is

The CPEC certainly offers to improve Pakistan's connectivity to the world – but key challenges remain

So the final statement of the editor is through a **strong declarative** and that is 'the key challenges remain' thereby again negatively judging the government as for negative capacity and not being able to counter the key challenges which according to the editor still 'remain'.

3. Intertextual Reference to Protests of Baluchistan and KPK

Balochistan, in particular, feels this is yet another attempt by the centre to exploit its abundant natural resources without including the province in the riches. KP has joined Balochistan in protesting changes in the CPEC route, which they claim, added cities in Punjab and Sindh at their expense. The government response has been that work had to start there because these places had the necessary infrastructure. But that only reveals a contradiction in the CPEC which will be difficult to resolve: areas which do not have the infrastructure for hosting mega projects cannot develop until money is first spent to create the conditions to allow for that development.

Through the use of the generic nominalizations like Balochistan, KP and the government the editor builds in whole theme attributing arguments to these external voices. The credibility of the argument thereby cannot be established. Thereby the identity of the

agents is obfuscated and according to Fairclough (2001) obfuscation of the agent is ideologically motivated. Stenvall (2008a, b) identified the use of generic sources, as instances of authorial alignment. The linguistic analysis suggests a through and through negative **appreciation** of the projected negative actions of the government through using the tool of generic intertextual engagement.

Here are the instances of **negative judgement** for the government

to exploit its abundant natural resources

add cities in Punjab and Sindh at their expense

to change the CPEC route

The government is **negatively judged** as having **negative veracity** for being an exploiter, against the rights of Baluchistan people.

The editor in response to all these projected reservations negatively appreciates the government's project as having contradictions in it and confirms the projected doubts of the generic subjects as valid. The words are only reveals a contradiction in the CPEC which will be difficult to resolve

Further it is observed that none of the selected editorial of The News on CPEC missed out the mention of Baluchistan which is the strange coincidence as not even been forgotten by the Indian PM Modi on his independence day speech (People of Baluchistan, 2016). Indian spy Kulbhushan Yadav (Detained Indian Spy, 2016) is still in Pakistan's custody for creating unrest in the province by inducing separatist mindset in Balochistan youth. The question arises what difference can be seen in the narrative being thrown by this editorial.

The question definitely arises can such a close resemblance in Indian PM's words for Baluchistan and the words of The News be taken as mere coincidence or there is something more to it. Anti-National and anti-CPEC ideology seems emerging through the linguistic analysis of the studied intertextual reference.

4. Intertextual Reference to Chinese Concerns

Chinese concerns over security and global interference will require both making

meaning headways in the war against terrorism and convincing all the people of Pakistan that the CPEC is in their benefit. Chinese experts too raised the issue of security at the summit.

The editor using the tool of generic intertextual engagement again refers to the concerns of thesecurity raised by the Chinese by using the generic terms ‘Chinese’ and ‘Chinese Experts’. Authorial alignment is again visible through the editor attempt to urge the government for

1. **making meaning headways in the war against terrorism**
2. **convincing all the people of Pakistan that the CPEC is in their benefit**

Interesting contradiction is visible here when comparing the outcome of the linguistic analysis ofthe editorial and the demand by the editor towards the government for **convincing all the people of Pakistan that the CPEC is in their benefit**.

Two questions arise here

1. If it is important to convince **all the people of Pakistan that the CPEC is in their benefit**
2. then is the editorial him/herself convinced for it
3. Has the linguistic analysis proven that the editor is convinced?
4. Has the editorial played a role to convince the people of Pakistan that CPEC is in their benefit,or the editorial played a role to convince them for the opposite?
5. The question is what is the role being played by this editorial in alleviating the projectedreservations of the provinces?

The linguistic analysis brings to surface a number of contradictions in the editorial creating question mark on the validity of its arguments and logic.

5. **Intertextual Reference to the Concerns of Commentators and Analysts**

On another note, many commentators and analysts have found it difficult to know the worth of CPEC deals since they were handed out in a closed bidding process. The government claimed this secrecy was essential to secure Chinese investment, but a little more transparency would go a long way to providing assurances ...

The last intertextual reference again is picking up the generic terms like ‘many

commentators' and 'analysts' to again criticize the government for the closed bidding processes of CPEC. Why is the worth calculation of CPEC being made dependent on knowing the bidding process? If the objective is to know the worth of CPEC it can be done through measuring the outcomes and progress of the projects. The action of the government again is being judged negatively as having negative veracity and doubting the transparency of the bidding process. Another question may be asked who are these obfuscated analysts commenting on the bidding process? Are these the analysts and commentators from Pakistan or from India? Who is facing more problem from the close bidding process? Is it someone from Pakistan or is it someone from India or some partner of India that faces difficulty to disrupt CPEC because of secretive bidding? Anti- National, anti-CPEC, and pro-Indian ideology seem emerging.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools like third person possessive pronouns, consensual pronouns, negative judgement, negative appreciation appreciation, counterexpectancy, graduation forces, double hedges, weak modals, conditional conjuncts, negative presuppositions, strong declaratives, agent obfuscation, in a discriminatory and manipulative way, to launch anti-CPEC, anti-national, and pro-indian ideology. A number of intertextual contradictions were also caught. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, under the apparent guise of appreciation the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources, for the readers, in this editorial is that at social level it tends to confuse the reader against CPEC potential, tries to air uncertainty and doubt surrounding CPEC and provinces through the implicit use of masked negative appraisal and perpetuate the projected provincial issue.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at 5 places in this editorial. No direct quotations were found in the intertextual relations. Indirect voices were found. Some of the references used generic intertextual engagements with the voices added from different quarters.

1. **Intertextual Reference to the address of PM Nawaz Sharif found** in the shape of indirect quotation. Authorial distancing observed through the use of third person pronouns and meaningful double-edged vocabulary. Negative **appreciation** and judgement under the apparent guise of positive words found.
2. **Intertextual Reference to Federal Minister Address** found without a direct quotation. The message of the minister summarized indirectly in nutshell. Intertextual manipulation of facts, twisting of data and negative judgement and **appreciation** for government and its actions found. Further a tendency to use strong declaratives for negative evaluations and weak modals for positive evaluation of the government and CPEC was noticed.
3. **Intertextual Reference to protests of Baluchistan and KPK** found without any direct quote. Indirect voice of their claims added. Negative judgment and **appreciation** for the government and its actions. Obfuscation of the agent through the use of the generic terminology was found. Authorial alignment with the anti-government stance was visible.
4. **Intertextual Reference to Chinese Concerns** shown without any direct quotation found. Generic terminology was used. Negative **appreciation** for government and its actions found. Contradictions in the editorial surfaced.
5. **Intertextual Reference to the Concerns of Commentators and Analysts** found without any direct quotation. Obfuscation of agents through the use of generic terminology witnessed.

September 3, 2016

Editorial Title: CPEC Security

The editorial sums up the message from the COAS General Raheel Sharif CPEC Seminar and PM Nawaz Sharif at Kohlu-Sibi opening. The editor though on the surface endorsed these messages but raised the reservations afterwards.

The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to drift the reader away from CPEC, perpetuate the projected provincial issue, and generate implicitly anti-establishment and pro-Indian mindset.

1. Intertextual Reference to COAS General Raheel's Address in CPEC Seminar

The intertextual reference to the address of COAS General Raheel Sharif is scattered throughout the editorial at a number of places. All the instances are being quoted in the lines given below:

(1-2)

At the conclusion of the two-day seminar on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) in Gilgit, there was no doubt left as to the purpose of the occasion. Chief of Army Staff Raheel Sharif took to the podium and delivered his sternest warning yet to any external actors looking to destabilise the project and the country.

(4-5)

The COAS named the Indian PM Modi and the Indian intelligence agency RAW, as he reasserted Pakistan's commitment to keeping its borders safe and ensuring the security of the CPEC. He was clearly responding to Modi raising the Balochistan issue recently as well as the Indian media's attempts to paint protests in GB as part of a separatist agenda

(11-13)

No one should be allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of the country. The COAS presented the Chinese city of Urumqi as a vision for the future of Gilgit-

Baltistan and spoke very highly of the hard working people of the region. But that the state is inclusive towards the people of GB and Balochistan, should be a sense that must grow much stronger than it is at the moment.

The editorial used the strategies of appreciative buffering and embedding for launching the counterexpectancy against the COAS narrative. Editors use the appreciative buffering and embedding strategies to camouflage their stance so that the expected negative reaction can be avoided, or smoke screened (Boccia,2019).A number of different strategies can be adopted for that purpose, one is placing argument in the later part of text or making it a part of conditional sentence or surrounding it by appreciative statements (buffers).Another way is to move back and forth between different narratives and then issuing another argument. The current editorial does the same with the address of General Raheel Sharif at the conclusion of CPEC-Gilgit seminar on Thursday, September 1, 2016.The editor began referring to address at the beginning of the editorial with the first two sentences positively appreciating the strength of COAS with the positive judgmental word ‘sternest’ showing positive capacity and tenacity with the word ‘warning’. Further the external actors were negatively judged as the ones looking to destabilize the project.

After that the editor skips one sentence that is the third one, to another event and then comes back to COAS address again in the sentences 4-5.The editor again positively judged the stance of COAS as shown having positive tenacity and positive capacity for showing the commitment to keep the borders safe and ensure the security of CPEC .The editor then submits this message from COAS as a clear response to Modi’s statement for Balochistan ‘issue’ and Indian media attempt to paint the ‘protests’ in GB as part of separatist agenda. Notable points here are no value judgements being attached by the editor for the statement of Modi or the attempts of Indian media. Both of these were mentioned in the very neutral terms without any evaluative terminology. Additionally, the use of the word ‘issue’ with Baluchistan in the sentence

He was clearly responding to Modi raising the Balochistan issue recently as well as the Indian media’s attempts to paint protests in BG as part of separatist agenda.

confirmed the province of Baluchistan as an ‘issue’ and then the use of the embedded information regarding **protests in GB** implicitly try to bring forth the same picture as the

indian media did showing it as the part of separatist agenda. The two terms ‘issue’ and ‘protest in GB’ seem to be placed here unnecessarily but in a motivated manner. The alternate statements could have been

He was clearly responding to Modi referring to Balochistan (issue) 

The COAS nowhere mentioned the protests in GB as the researcher watched the full video of COAS address (Pakistan Defense, 2016) and this stance taken by the editor can be taken as an act of intertextual manipulation with a motive to air an issue the way Indian media wants. The editor then skipped sentences 6-10 and then came back to the CPEC seminar whereby he showed endorsement with the stance of COAS commenting

No one should be allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of the country

The editor then referred to COAS as speaking highly of the hardworking people of the region. After all these appreciative buffering statements the editor launches the counter-expectancy through the concessive conjunction ‘but’ saying But that the state is inclusive towards the people of GB and Balochistan should be a sense that *must grow much stronger than it is at the moment.*

The inclusive development narrative is negatively appreciated by the editor as being weak and using the deontic model ‘should’ and ‘must’ necessities this to grow much stronger than the current status. The **upscaling** grader ‘much’ in the comment implicitly points towards a the very weak state of the confidence in inclusive development. This counterexpectancy thereby negates the inclusive narrative of COAS and cements the separatist narrative launched by India. The linguistic analysis suggests anti-state and anti-nationalist with anti-CPEC bend simmering to surface.

2. Intertextual Reference to PM Nawaz Sharif Address in Baluchistan

The intertextual reference to the speech of the PM was also scattered at a number of different places in the editorial and the instances are being given in the lines below:

(3)

At the same time, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, accompanied by the Chinese ambassador, on a visit to Balochistan, repeated the same message.

(6-8)

The PM's message in Balochistan that terrorists had been eliminated seemed to be directed more at the Baloch separatist insurgency than Islamist terrorists. The PM travelled to open the Kohlu-Sibi road whose construction had to be halted in 2006 due to the ongoing insurgency. With the Chinese ambassador in audience the message was clear. Pakistan can and will deliver on its commitments on the CPEC.

While the editorial mainly focused on the CPEC seminar addressed by General Raheel Sharif, the editorial also mentioned the opening ceremony of Kohlu-Sibbi road in the 3rd sentence of the editorial, and then in the sentence 6 to sentence 8. The editorial suggests that PM repeated the same message as that of General Raheel. One part of the PM's speech was indirectly quoted in the 6th sentence of the editorial whereby the PM is shown as announcing the elimination of the terrorists. The Kohlu-Sibbi road is shown as restarting after a gap of 10 years whereby it is shown the work had to be stopped because of insurgency. This sends a message of strong and **positive appreciation** for the effectiveness of CPEC as it managed to restart even those projects which started many years before the beginning of CPEC in 2015. Along with the positive side another aspect needs to be considered that whether it was essential for the editorial to mention why the work on Kohlu-Sibi road had to be stopped in 2006 due to insurgency? What objective is to be achieved by airing the insecurities through the print since as long as the bad news is not spread around it cannot have a negative impact on the surroundings especially where mentioning it, becomes irrelevant. The last sentence in this intertextual reference shows very **strong** and **positive appreciation** for Pakistan for its capability to deliver on its commitments.

3. Intertextual Reference to the Question by Power Corridors of China

(9-10)

It is most certainly a powerful message to send, which will be received well in the power corridors in China where questions have been raised over whether Pakistan could deliver on its commitments. As a message to external actors who may want to destabilise Pakistan, there is no doubt that this is the right message to send.

Intertextual reference to the question raised in the power corridors of the China is being referred to that whether Pakistan could deliver on its commitments or not. Again, the use of **generic terminology** to name the source ‘**power corridors in China**’ is used and the **identity** of the **agent** is **obfuscated** which makes the **validity** of the **claim** made by the editorial questionable. **Appreciation lexis** is used to **judge** Pakistan **negatively** having **negative capacity** and **negative tenacity** for China having been shown doubtful regarding the capability of Pakistan to deliver its commitments. An air of doubt seems to be being created that even China had also started doubting Pakistan’s capability and that reassurance from our side was needed. The message seems to be directed more towards the readers to make them feel insecure regarding the successful implementation of CPEC.

The powerful message which is being referred to is *Pakistan can and will deliver on its commitments on the CPEC* ensued by the editor in the wake of the inauguration ceremony of Kohlu-Sibi Road. The use of the **comment adjunct** ‘**certainly**’ along with **upscaling grader** ‘**most**’ and the use of **adjectival grader** ‘**powerful**’ to refer to the above-mentioned message positively appreciate it as having very **strong** ‘**capacity**’ and ‘**tenacity**’. But the projected question by the Chinese power corridors gives rise to the very presupposition, that China is also doubtful for CPEC’s success.

4. Intertextual Reference to Kohlu -Sibi Road

(14-15)

The road between Sibbi and Kohlu promises much by reducing the distance between the two from 600km to 174km, but the benefits must go to not only the investors but to the ‘locals’ as well. It is good that the PM talked of the ‘usurped’ rights of the people of Balochistan, but it would be better if the government could come up with ways of bringing those who are sceptical on board with carrots, not sticks.

The Sibbi-Kohlu road is **appreciated positively** by showing that road will reduce the distance from 600 km to 174 km and the road is seen to be promising much. But just after this appreciative gesture comes the **counter-expectancy** with the use of the **concessive** ‘**but**’ and **deontic** ‘**must**’ obligating that the benefits of the roads should not only go to the investors but also to the locals. A query that raises here is that each time when

a milestone is achieved and a reservation regarding CPEC addressed, a new one is launched to continue with the same complaining attitude. The editorial on 31st of August falsely accused the government for having none of the promises fulfilled including the roads. In the current editorial one of the promises of Sibi-Kohlu road is being realized but the editorial comes up with a new reservation and projected fear that the Kohlu-Sibi road will benefit only the investors which is a very weak logic as roads are never selective for its users. This raised objection thereby seems to have no real grounds to stand on and the objective seems to be perpetuating a state of unrest and uncertainty in the country. The **presupposition** is that skepticism is being dealt with 'sticks' and not 'carrots'. In other words, force is being used to curb the sceptical elements. Force in Pakistan is taken as a synonym for Pakistan Army and the use of this metaphor seems to point towards those sticks which General Raheel Sharif referred to in his speech. The suggestion seems to be but it would be better if the government could come up with ways of bringing those who are sceptical on board with carrots, not sticks (Army).

The suggestion above gives the impression that Army should not be used against the anti-state elements and the demands (carrots) of these elements whether justified or not should be fulfilled. Anti-CPEC, anti-establishment Ideology seem emerging.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools like buffering, skipping, buffered negative appreciation, counter-expectancy, upscaling graders, agent obfuscation, negative presuppositions, in a discriminatory and manipulative way, to launch anti- CPEC, anti-National and anti-establishment ideology. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, in this editorial, under the apparent guise of appreciation the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources, for the readers, is that at social level it tends to drift the reader away from CPEC, perpetuate the projected provincial issue, and generate implicitly pro-India and anti-establishment mindset, make the reader feel insecure against CPEC success, air uncertainty and doubt surrounding CPEC, through the implicit use of masked negative appraisal. The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at 4 places in this editorial. No direct quotations were found in the intertextual references. Indirect voices were found. Some of the references used generic intertextual engagements with the voices added from different quarters and reference to events found.

1. Intertextual Reference to COAS General Raheel's Address in CPEC Seminar found without any direct quotations. The parts of COAS speech added through the transformed indirect quotations. The reference found scattered in the whole editorial at different places following the strategy of appreciative buffering and embedding. Implicit negative **appreciation** for the government and authorities found.
2. Intertextual Reference to PM Nawaz Sharif's Address in Baluchistan found in the 3rd sentence and then in sentences from 6-8. No direct quotations found. The PM quoted indirectly through transformed indirect quotation.
3. Intertextual Reference to the Question by Power Corridors of China found without any direct indirect quotations. Engagement to outside source is found through generic naming of the source as 'power corridor' and naming the speech act as 'question'.
4. Intertextual Reference to Kohlu-Sibi Road found with no direct or indirect quotation. Counter-expectancy, concessive conjunction, deontic modality used to make the point.

October 3, 2016

Editorial Title: Levelling the Corridor

The editorial focuses on various aspects of CPEC regarding the investment amount of the project along with its expected outcomes in the economic and energy sector of Pakistan. More than half of the editorial is dedicated to voicing doubts regarding funds' allocation and distribution. These include Gwadar and Western route being ignored. The editorial also doubts the security of the project. The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that it tends to drift the reader away from CPEC, and perpetuate the projected provincial, security and transparency issue.

1. Intertextual Reference to Chinese and Asian Bank Loan

The intertextual reference appears in the following words

The last Chinese and Asian Development Bank loan of \$8 billion for the renovation of the railway line from Karachi to Peshawar takes the total investment in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor to over \$50 billion. It has now become easily the largest single project in the country's history and its success will be crucial to our economic prospects for the next 20-30 years.

The intertextual reference begins with referring to the loan given by the Chinese and Asian Development bank taking the total investment in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor to over \$50 billion. The editor then **appreciates the project positively** by naming it as '**largest single project**'. The **adjectival 'largest'** both shows **positive appreciation** by an **upscaling graduation force** through **explicit grading**. But this apparent **positive appreciation** has an **implicit negative evaluation** which becomes visible when carefully analyzed. The project becoming easily the largest in the country is shown to get to its size on basis of the loan coming from external sources not on the basis of internal owned resources. This point gets further accredited when **intertextually compared with the editorial of 31st December 2016, 'New deals'**, whereby in the last line the editor names the loans as the '**millstone around our necks**' (New Deals, 2016). In the last the part of the

selected intertextual reference the writer positions himself regarding the project by prompting the success of the CPEC as crucial for the next 20-30years' economic prospects of the country. Prediction modal 'will be' is used to express the importance of the project's success for the economic prospects of the country thereby bracketing this importance as a prediction not a declaration. An alternate statement could have been by replacing the prediction modal 'will' with the copular 'is'

*Its success is **crucial** to our economic prospects for the next 20-30 years.*

Further **delimiting and weakening the apparent positive appreciation** of the project is the **downscaling** through the **implicit grader '20-30 years'**, thereby restricting in efficacy to 20 -30 yearsimplying that the project will be helpful for just shorter span of time.

2. Intertextual Reference to Iran and Saudi Arabia

The next intertextual reference appears in the following lines

There have been signs of confidence in the CPEC in recent days with both Iran and Saudi Arabia expressing interest in joining it.

In this intertextual reference the term 'signs of confidence' is used **to apparently appreciate CPEC in positive light**, but careful analysis of the linguistic choices made shows the oppositeside.

The positive **appreciation** term 'signs of confidence' presupposes the following things

1. The confidence on CPEC is not already established (which stands as the implicit negative **appreciation** for CPEC)
2. Still there are just 'signs' of confidence not the confidence itself per se.

The use of the hedging word 'signs' before the word 'confidence' in a very subtle way downscales apparent positive appreciation of CPEC.

Alternative statement could have been 'Both Iran and Saudi Arabia have shown interest in CPEC, showing confidence in it' The analysis of this intertextual reference points out the presence of hidden anti-CPEC ideology in the guise of apparent pro-CPEC stance.

3. Intertextual Reference to India and US Alarm

The sheer alarm India and increasingly the US have shown about the CPEC point to its effectiveness since they are unlikely to be so worried about something doomed for failure.

This next intertextual reference refers to the sheer alarm from India and US about US and the editor prizes this alarm as a pointer to CPEC effectiveness. The editor then tries to validate the point by inferring that India and the US are unlikely to be worried about something doomed to failure.

Thereby it is to be **inferred** that **if there were no sheer alarms from India and Americathen CPEC was doomed to failure.**

The **negative judgment** is shown for US and India through the use of the words ‘sheer alarm’ and ‘so worried’ showing **negative veracity** and **negative propriety** as these countries are alarmed and worried against the development of Pakistan. Further the level of worry by the two countries is **upscaled** by the use of the **graduation force** through the **adverbial** ‘so’ adding up **force** to the element of worry. While the two countries are being negatively judged at the same time, they are also being valued so much that their alarm and worry is taken as something so tangible and authentic so as to consider it the pointer to CPEC success. Further by saying that they are **unlikely to be so worried about something doomed for failure** shows the pragmatic capability being attached to the two countries which do not waste their time cribbing on unimportant things.

The **judgmental lexis** for **appreciating things** is being used to apparently appreciate CPEC in positive light with the word ‘effectiveness’ showing **positive capacity**.

Interesting findings surround when the logic in the argument given is analyzed. Following points seem surfacing

1. Effectiveness of CPEC is not established in its own right and in substance.
2. Effectiveness of CPEC is being calculated or felt through external alarms and the editor, the policy makers; the insiders do not have any tool to measure the effectiveness.
3. Insiders were not confident about the effectiveness of CPEC before the external alarm.

A narrative of doubt regarding CPEC is implicitly emerging through the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources though in the guise of apparent **appreciation**.

4. Intertextual Reference to China's Investment in Energy Sector

China has pledged a total of \$35 billion in the energy sector, which should go a long way towards solving our persistent power crisis, with the rest going for infrastructure development.

This intertextual reference points towards the Chinese investment in energy sector. The **modal 'should'** is used to suggest an effective role of this support in solving Pakistan's power problems. The investment is being **positively appreciated** through the statement **'should go long way in solving'** with the **adverbial graduation force 'a long way'** used to **upscale** the positive impact of the investment. The interesting fact however is that by its structure this statement is an **'expectation'** not a **'declaration'** or **'strong prediction'** thereby an element of **uncertainty** is attached to the positive **appreciation** of that investment. Further the power situation of the country is **negatively appreciated** by **tagging** it as **'crisis'** along with the **upscaling grader 'persistent'** giving the problem a declared perpetual status. The linguistic analysis again shows an implicit element of anti-CPEC ideology through the apparent guise of positive **appreciation**.

5. Intertextual Reference to the Claim by Senate Standing Committee

But there is cause for worry too. A special Senate Standing Committee on the CPEC claimed that the centrepiece of the CPEC – the port in Gwadar – was being ignored and funds allocated for its development were instead spent to upgrade the port in Karachi. It also accused the government of refusing to prioritise the western route of the CPEC, which covers neglected cities like Turbat, Zhob, Burhan and Panjur.

Beginning with the **concessive** conjunction **'but'** the editor launches **counter-expectancy** through the **declarative** clause using the **copular 'is'** declaring that there is a cause for worry too. The **declarative** clauses do not entertain an alternative view and affirm a particular point as a fact thereby **contracting** the **dialogic space**. The use of the word **'worry'** is having **negative affective** value of **insecurity** that thereby is being attached with CPEC.

Attribution resource is added by including the external voice of the senate

committee through the **reporting verbs ‘claimed’, and ‘accused’**. According to Martin and White (2005) authorial endorsement does find its instances in attribution as well, when the reporter’s locutions present an external value position in a manner that aligns with his/her viewpoint. These ensue through the reporting verbs such as ‘demonstrate’, ‘reveal’, ‘show’, ‘indicate’, etc. The use of the reporting verbs ‘claimed’ and ‘accused’ in this editorial points towards the manipulative use of the external resource whereby the editor implicitly aligns with the objections being presented as raised by a senate committee. Implicitly so it seems that the editor and the newspaper use the guise of the senate committee and actually themselves negatively appreciate the CPEC project as having a number of loopholes like ‘Gwadar and Western route being ignored’.

The point made by the researcher regarding authorial alignment with the stance of the attributed source is further accredited through the fourth sentence of the second paragraph where the editor writes

This happened earlier too when the government decided to change the route of the CPEC *from Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to concentrate on Punjab, claiming that the infrastructure needed for many projects was only in place in Punjab.*

The fear and objections shown by the editor through the attributed voice of the senate committee thereby are endorsed by the editor via an evidential support to the fear of the senate committee by quoting another intertextual reference to the incident from the past whereby the editor blames the government for having changed the CPEC route from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to Punjab. The use of the referential ‘this’ along with the adverbial ‘earlier’ and ‘too’ in “**This happened earlier too**” link up the past decision of the government as being similar to the government’s current actions claimed by the senate committee. Thereby all fears shown through all the ‘ifs’ are being endorsed and confirmed as declared. Authorial alignment for the anti-CPEC ideology thereby anti-national ideology seem emerging again through the linguistic analysis of the used intertextual resources. The terms Nationalist and anti-Nationalist are used in this thesis to refer to pro-state and non-state ideologies respectively in line with definition given in Encyclopedia Britannica (“Nationalism”, n.d.).

6. Intertextual Reference to Baluchistan's Distrust

The CPEC is meant not just for Pakistan's economic development but specifically for those regions which are under-developed and traditionally neglected by the government. Balochistan, in particular, was wary of the government's intentions and if it turns out that money for Gwadar was diverted to Karachi that would only confirm Baloch cynicism.

Nominating the Baloch people by using the **generic term 'Balochistan'** as having '**cynicism**' thereby implying a **negative judgement** having **negative veracity** for Baloch people is visible in the editorial. **Ironic contradiction** is found whereby **apparently** the editorial **disaligns** itself from the reservations given in the name of Baloch people as '**cynicism**' and on the otherhand providing evidential support to accredit the reservations of the senate committee.

An interesting use of the **conditional conjunct** 'if' is visible in the below given part of the sentence

..if it turns out that money for Gwadar was diverted to Karachi that would only confirm Baloch cynicism.

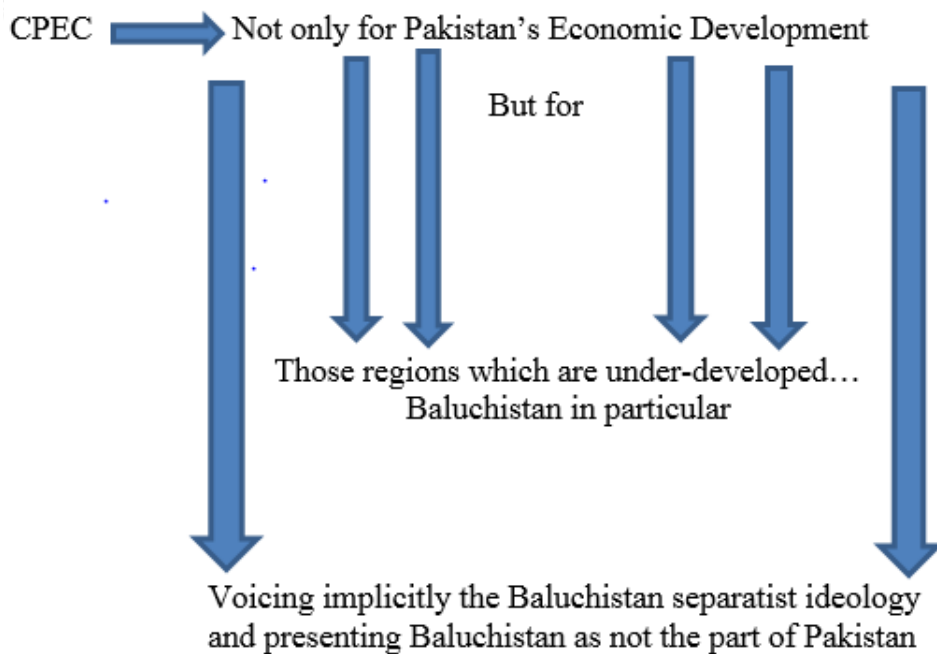
Apparently, the editor fears the Baloch cynicism will be confirmed if the senate committee reservations are proven true. And on the other hand, the linguistic analysis shows the editorial itself tries to prove the nominated cynicism of the Baloch people by number of different things as valid and confirmed. The points given below are noteworthy

1. Providing evidential support to strengthen the truth claim of the senate committee reservations.
2. Not nominating any authentic resources representing to authenticate the cynicism attached to Baloch people.
3. Suggesting Pakistan's economic development as a separate thing and of the underdeveloped regions namely Baluchistan as different. Suggesting that Baluchistan is not the part of Pakistan. The 3rd finding becomes noticeable when the first sentence before the selected intertextual reference is analyzed to see how the editor positions himself/herself with respect to the intertextual reference. The

sentence is as follows

The CPEC is meant not just for Pakistan's economic development but specifically for those regions which are under-developed and traditionally neglected by the government.

Thereby suggesting Pakistan's economic development is different and those of the underdeveloped regions namely Baluchistan is different. The emerging narrative is that the under- developed areas namely Baluchistan are not the part of Pakistan.



The editorial referred to the reservations of the Baluchistan people as 'cynicism' but is itself inducing and hurling a separatist narrative for Baluchistan which is the narrative belonging to those external forces who planted people like Indian spy Kulbushan Yadav to seed, sprout and nurture this separatist narrative in Baluchistan to destabilize and divide Pakistan into pieces (Detained Indian Spy, 2016). The linguistic analysis brings forth anti-CPEC and anti-nationalist ideology being tossed .

7. Intertextual Reference to Security Threat by Different Actors

There are worries about security too and with so many different actors who have a reason to disrupt the CPEC there is a danger that China could be spooked if there were a real security threat. We have too much at stake here; for that reason and more,

the CPEC needs a carefully thought-out policy on all levels. On top of the agenda should be a way to ensure all stakeholders get their jitters regarding the corridor put to rest.

In this intertextual reference the editorial comments on the security situation of CPEC and negatively appreciates it through using a number of different linguistic tools. The claim made in this intertextual reference is that there are ‘so many’ different actors who want to disrupt CPEC.

Double **explicit grader** ‘so many’ with the word ‘**different actors**’ is used to **upscale insecurity level** shown as surrounding CPEC. An air of uncertainty is being shown neighboring CPEC or is being tried to surround CPEC. The identity of these ‘**so many different actors**’ is **obfuscated** and thereby the focus does not seem to be on how to curb these actors since if this had been the goal, the identity of those ‘**so many different actors**’ would have been brought forth to stop them.

The use of the unmodalized declarative structures is also visible at different places which suggests that the editor does not allow alternative views for those propositions made and wants to frame the readers’ minds in a particular way. Here are the different examples

1. **There are worries about security**
2. **... with so many different actors who have a reason**
3. **... there is a danger**
4. **We have too much at stake**

All the above given statements are declarative which not only **negatively appreciate** the security situation of CPEC but also use a declarative structure to assert them as a fact. The use of the **affective terms** like ‘**worries**’, ‘**danger**’, ‘**much at stake**’ is also visible in those declaratives. The declaratives assert there are worries and danger definitely existing about CPEC security and Pakistan definitely has too much at stake through CPEC. A secure project is never the one that puts so many things on stake. So, while launching this narrative of having so many things at stake through CPEC, it seems obviously targeting CPEC as not worthwhile an undertaking. Negative **appreciation** for CPEC is again surfacing through the linguistic analysis.

Further while analyzing the following part of the intertextual reference

there is a danger that China could be spooked if there were a real security threat.

It seems that it is actually a message being given to Chinese to spook rather than showing a concern that they might spook. This point is validated by the fact that China at all the different forums time and again have announced and proven its commitment to CPEC in all the different circumstances. It seems it's not China but the editor that wants China to spook. The Chinese tendency is focusing on the brighter side whereby the editor knowing that this editorial is read by the Chinese as well in Pakistan is forcing a bleak picture for them to consider.

Many presuppositions are also visible in number of clauses like

'CPEC needs a carefully thought-out policy on all levels'

which presupposes that the existing policy is not thought-out carefully thereby negatively appreciating the current policy in a negative way.

'...ensure all stakeholders get their jitters regarding the corridor put to rest.'

Which presupposes that all the stakeholders have not got their jitters regarding the corridor put to rest thereby again **negatively judging** the action of the CPEC administration at Pakistan as having **negative veracity** and **negative capacity**.

This raises a question here and brings forth a contradiction that the editorial in the concluding remark emphasizes on putting the jitters of all the stake holders to rest then

“What role this editorial can be envisaged as performing in resting those jitters?”

“Is the editorial playing a role to put the jitters to rest?” or

“Is the editorial adding up to the jitters and strengthening them?”

Another very interesting finding is to show the obfuscated “**so many different actors**” as having the edge of reason - “**who have a reason**”- for their disruption agenda of CPEC. These actors and their actions are thereby judged and appreciated in a positive light as they are described to act on reason not whim or hostility. The linguistic analysis suggests the editorial appearing as playing the role of another stakeholder with anti-

national and anti-CPEC stance trying to air uncertainty and doubt surrounding CPEC.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools like implicit negative appreciation under the mask of positive appreciation, prediction modals, downscalers, negative presuppositions, hedges, counter-expectancy through concessives, in a discriminatory and manipulative way, to launch anti-CPEC and anti-national ideology.

A number of intertextual contradictions were also caught. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, in this editorial under the apparent guise of appreciation the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources, for the readers, is that at social level it tends to drift the reader away from CPEC, and perpetuate the projected provincial, security and transparency issue, malign the reader against CPEC, air uncertainty and doubt surrounding CPEC, through the implicit use of masked negative appraisal.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at 7 place, in this editorial. Out of these seven references no intertextual reference was in the shape of direct quotation. The references were having indirect voices or events being referred to. Here are the details of intertextual references:

1. Intertextual Reference to Chinese and Asian Bank Loan found with no direct or indirect quotation. Implicit negative **appreciation** with an external shape of positive **appreciation** found. **Downscaling** graders used to again implicitly appreciate CPEC negatively. Efficacy of CPEC lessened by picking prediction modals in place of declaratives.
2. Intertextual Reference to Iran and Saudi Arabia found without any direct quotation. Apparent positive **appreciation** of CPEC entailing many negative presuppositions thereby negative **appreciation**.
3. Intertextual Reference to India and US Alarm without any direct quotation but

reference to voices of India and US added by naming them as sheer alarm. Self - negating contradictions found opening up implicit existence of negative **appreciation** for CPEC under the cover of positive **appreciation**.

4. Intertextual Reference to China's Investment in Energy Sector found without any indirect quotation. Positive **appreciation** with a choice of prediction modals rather than declaration modals found thereby an air of uncertainty kept in place regarding CPEC.
5. Intertextual Reference to the Claim by Senate Standing Committee found without any direct quotation but the voice of senate committee indirectly added. Counter-expectancy launched through the use of concessive conjunction. Subtle authorial alignment to the external voice found through the choice of reporting verbs and by ensuing evidential support for the fear of senate committee.
6. Intertextual Reference to Baluchistan's Distrust found without any direct quotation. Reference to the voice of Baluchistan found with generic terminology 'Baluchistan'. Linguistic repository used to support and frame the separatist narrative for Baluchistan.
7. Intertextual Reference to Security Threat by Different Actors without any direct quotation. Tool of obfuscation, explicit graders, unmodalized declaratives, affective terms, negative **appreciation**, and negative presuppositions found all in service of spreading an air of uncertainty regarding CPEC.

November 15, 2016

Editorial Title: Open for Trade

The editorial is written on the inauguration ceremony of Gwadar port opening held on 13th of November 2016. Much of the editorial's space is devoted to voicing the problems surrounding Gwadar at present and in past. In a brief space the editorial also sums up the importance of Gwadar from China's and Pakistan's perspective.

The linguistic analysis of the editorial under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that, it tends to drift the reader away from CPEC, perpetuate the projected provincial issue and mask the established proof of performance as a failure.

1. Intertextual Reference to Gwadar Ceremony

The first intertextual reference begins in the following word

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, flanked by Army Chief Raheel Sharif and Balochistan Chief Minister Sanaullah Zehri, declared Gwadar open for trade at a ceremony on Sunday.

The beginning of the editorial intertextually refers to the Gwadar port's opening ceremony whereby the editorial named Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif flanked by Raheel Sharif and Balochistan Chief Minister Sanaullah Zehri opening up the Gwadar port formally for trade. The use of the word 'flanked' carries a positive **judgmental value** of positive tenacity carrying the meaning of protective accompaniment whereby the COAS and the Chief minister is shown to provide the same to the PM.

Surrounding this intertextual reference is the assessment by the editor in the following words *Much of the work in developing Gwadar has been carried out and funded by the Chinese and they have significant strategic interests in ensuring the port's success. Gwadar gives China access to Iran and its energy resources and allows it to compete with India for access to Central Asia.*

The editor positively appreciates the effort of the Chinese government for doing much of the development work and providing much of the funds, but the next part of the sentence joined by the **conjunction** 'and' refers to Chinese as having significant strategic

interests in port's success. The second part of the sentence slightly **downscales** the **appreciation** given in the first part as the second part implies that this effort was done by the Chinese for the interest, they are having for themselves in the port. The narrative of China's own interest is further **upscaled** by the use of the **graduation force** adverbial 'significant' with the **adjectival** 'strategic' modifying the word 'interest'. The use of simple present tense of the verb "to have" is used in order to categorically assert the proposition made by the editor for the significant involvement of Chinese strategic interest in Gwadar.

2. Intertextual Reference to Musharraf Regime

The next intertextual reference to the Musharraf government appears in the following

Word

Chinese involvement has also helped avoid the corruption in handing out contracts that destroyed the Musharraf regime's attempts to develop the port. But even with all these factors working in favour of Gwadar being a lasting success, there are concerns.

The intertextual reference positively appreciates the Chinese involvement that has helped avoid the corruption in handing out **contracts** but in the adjoining dependent clause beginning with relative **anaphoric pronoun** 'that' **negatively** appreciates the corruption that destroyed the efforts to develop the port in Musharraf 's regime (General Musharraf held the presidency of Pakistan from 2001 until 2008). Thereby the in house is being evaluated in **negative** light and all the positivity is being attributed to the external hand of Chinese. In the very next sentence, the editor launches a **counter-expectancy** through the beginning of the sentence with the **concessive conjunction** 'but' with the subordinate **adverbial** clause 'even with all these factors working in favour of Gwadar being a lasting success' that **downscales** the positivity of the previous sentence by creating doubt that is then ascertained through the main clause 'there are concerns'. The term 'all these factors working in favour of Gwadar' is having positive **appreciation** with the **affective value** of the term 'a lasting success' depicting positive satisfaction, security and happiness but all

this is nullified through the **counter-expectancy** launched with the **conjunction** ‘but’ and culminated in the main clause ‘**there are concerns**’. The main clause is having **negative appreciation** through the use of judgement lexis showing **negative veracity**. Its visible how the linguistic resources of **negative appraisal** can be used embedded in the positive linguistic resources, even in the case of an on ground real achievement like Gwadar port opening, to possibly **downscale** the **force** that a success can generate in support of the CPEC project. It seems that by **force** negativity, pessimism and disapproval is being yoked together with the moment that actually could have been seen as the achievement discrediting the differences and proving the genuineness of the project. The final assessment for the intertextual reference by the editor thereby ends up in **negative judgement** related to CPEC. Anti-CPEC and Anti-nationalist ideology seems emerging.

3. Intertextual Reference to killing of Chinese Engineers, Shrine attack, and Iranian Pipelines

The intertextual references appear in the following lines:

Security problems are going to be an issue for any country that might want to use the port for trade. Separatist groups have specifically targeted foreign investments in Balochistan and have even killed Chinese engineers in the past. Militant groups have become more active in the province, as the shrine attack over the weekend showed. Fear of militant attacks had been an issue for both the Iranian and Tapi pipelines and the Gwadar Port may face the same challenge.

The use of the port is being **negatively** appreciated as plagued with the security problem in the following words:

‘**Security problems are going to be an issue for any country that might want to use the port for trade**’. The use of **declarative** ‘**are going to be**’ with the security problems demonstrates the surety of the claim and interestingly the use of the weak **modality** ‘**might**’ with the word ‘**want**’ is visible whereby it seems that it’s just a possibility that any country might want to use the port for trade. In place of ‘**for any country that might want to use the port for trade**’ the other alternative could have been ‘**for any country that will use the port for trade**’. The Boulomaic - Expressions of desire through the **modal** lexical verb

‘want’, is doubly detached from the possibility of trade via the port through the use of weak epistemic modal ‘might’. The suggestion thereby seems to be that most possibility no country would like to use the port for trade and if any it would face the problem of security.

In the next line the editorial refers to the separatist groups as having specifically targeting the foreign investment. The editorial claims that ‘**Separatist groups have specifically targeted foreign investments in Baluchistan**’ and to further accredit the point the editor adds the evidential support ‘**have even killed Chinese engineers in the past**’. The analysis of the linguistic resources implies the war journalism frame in place. The disaster vocabulary like ‘**killed**’ and ‘**targeted**’ used in assessment, would evoke feelings of insecurity in the reader that can be a foreigner intending to use the port. While the event occurred in a faraway location, the technique of relocating it to the reader’s immediate context evokes fear of a similar danger occurring in their own context (Mugumya, 2013). Use of disaster vocabulary thereby entails in it the **negative affective values** that trigger emotions of the reader. The use of the **adverbial ‘specifically’** has got **upscaling graduation force** that further intensifies the gravity of the action performed. The **adverbial ‘even’** performs the same function of intensifying and accentuating the gravity of the situation. The linguistic analysis again seems to predict journalism of conflict in place whereby intensifiers, **graduation forces**, disaster vocabulary and **negative appreciation** etc. are being used to seemingly suggest the country absolutely unsafe for a project like CPEC and for the operationalization of the same.

The editor while further elaborating the insecurity of the situation launches another intertextual reference as follows: ‘*Militant groups have become more active in the province, as the shrine attack over the weekend showed.*’ Through another horrifying intertextual reference to the shrine attack used as the evidential support to express the sense of insecurity, the narrative further seems being perpetuated. Militant groups are seen having gained more strength through the use of the **graduation force** of the **adverbial ‘more’**. The use of the simple present tense ‘to have’ in ‘*have become*’ is used to categorically assert the authenticity of the claim of militants having become more active. Categorical assertions through the use of **declaratives** found to present the increasing strength of the militant

groups indicates again the tendency of the editor to make holes in the confidence of the reader regarding the success of the CPEC.

Lastly another intertextual reference is launched in last line of the same paragraph as follows: ***Fear of militant attacks had been an issue for both the Iranian and Tapi pipelines and the Gwadar Port may face the same challenge.***

The use of **affective** vocabulary using the words like '*fear*' with the categorical description through the use of '*has been*' tends to further **reinforce** the narrative of insecurity generated in this part of the editorial. For the Iranian pipeline Pakistan received open threats from US. Looking at the history of these two projects namely Iranian and Tapi a noteworthy fact surfaces if we look at the history whereby US threatened Pakistan against Iranian Gas pipeline. On 29 January 2013, US consul general **Michael Dodman** threatened Pakistan with economic sanctions if it would not abandon the project (US Warns Pakistan, 2013). The editorial nominated the fear of militant attacks as the issue with Iranian pipeline but the who these militants are, is not discernable because of the use of generic terminology 'militants'. So, if parallel was to be drawn between the Iranian pipeline and CPEC as was drawn by the editor through the words '*the Gwadar Port may face the same challenge*' then can the parallel be drawn between the US threat to Pakistan over Iranian Pipeline and the US having reservations against CPEC as voiced by Ambassador Alice Wells, the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asia at the U.S. Department of State (China Rejects ,2020). The editor's selective selection of the challenges faced by the project serves to indicate something more than being an apparent mouthpiece showing genuine concern for the security of the project.

The use of linguistic resources and their analysis suggest that, like the referred militant groups in this editorial targeting the foreign investment, this editorial itself seems to target the foreign investment through the weapon of linguistic resources seemingly having the impact of scaring the investment away. Anti-CPEC ideology and anti-nationalist ideology seems emerging through the analysis of this section of the editorial.

4. Intertextual Reference to the first Ship leaving Gwadar and Promises of Inclusive Development

The next intertextual reference appears in the second sentence of the second paragraph in the following words:

It may have taken great effort on the part of the government to ensure that the first Chinese cargo ships leave the Gwadar Port, but the impact of these ships leaving on the entire country is not so clear. The promise of inclusive development and the provision of security to the people of the country cannot be delayed forever. There is certainly more that the federal government needs to do to convince smaller provinces that the CPEC will bring them and the entire country the promised benefits.

Referring to the departure of first trade cargo the editor writes that:

It may have taken great effort on the part of the government to ensure that the first Chinese cargo ships leave the Gwadar Port, but the impact of these ships leaving on the entire country is not so clear.

While referring to the departure of the first cargo ship from Gwadar the editor refers to the efforts of the government by using very weak epistemic **modal** auxiliary ‘may’ while writing ‘*It may have taken great effort on the part of the government*’, thereby showing very little confidence in the actuality of the effort being made by the government as great. Through the use of weak **modal** thereby the editor does not entertain confidence in the proposition made regarding government’s effort. Whereas in the very next part of the same sentence the editor launches the **disclaimer** by the use of **counter-expectancy** through the **concessive conjunction** ‘but’ and declaring through the use of **copular** verb ‘is’ that *the impact of these ships leaving on the entire country is not so clear*. Thereby the editor who was not sure of the government’s efforts for the departure of cargo ships, was sure of the impact being unclear. The editor did have the resources to confirm and declare the opacity of the impact but did not have there sources to confirm the efforts of the government. The authorial alignment towards the anti-government and anti-CPEC ideology is quiet clear through the analysis of discriminatory use of linguistic resources which nonetheless seem to refer towards the non- credible basis of the argument In the

very next line surrounding this intertextual reference the editor comments: *The promise of inclusive development and the provision of security to the people of the country cannot be delayed forever.*

The editor has used the tool of **negation** to counter (or disclaim) any alternative voices before they can arise and thus deny outside opinions any prominence. **Strong negation** through the use of negated model '*cannot*' is used to show that *the promise of inclusive development and the provision of security to the people of the country cannot be delayed forever*. This **negation** presupposes that delays are already there, nonetheless. What grounds this presupposition is made on is not available in the editorial. The other way round the event which this editorial itself hosts that is the Operationalization of Gwadar, provides quite **strong** grounds for the opposite narrative that will be, efficiency, commitment and impartiality of the government and CPEC.

In the surrounding text of the intertextual reference being discussed the editorial puts an **obligation** on the government in the following words: *There is certainly more that the federal government needs to do to convince smaller provinces that the CPEC will bring them and the entire country the promised benefits.*

The editorial launches a **proclaimer** through the use of **copular** verb 'is' and the **modal adjunct** and epistemic stance **adverb** 'certainly' that the federal government needs to convince smaller provinces that the CPEC will bring them and the entire country the promised benefits. Alternative opinion is altogether negated through the use of the **monoglossic** linguistic resources of categorical **declarative** contracting the **dialogic** space. This implies the message that federal government is not doing what it must and not in a way it should do to convince the smaller provinces for CPEC benefits.

The question that seems pertinent here is that what role this editorial is playing to convince the smaller provinces regarding CPEC. Will the smaller provinces reading this editorial get their confidence towards CPEC increased through reading this editorial? Is this editorial sending a message of conflict resolution? The answers to all these questions seem to appear in a **negation**. Through the Operationalization of Gwadar port and arrival of the trade convoys at the Gwadar port through the Eastern and Western Corridors one of the very prominent controversies of the smaller provinces regarding the existence of

Western route were laid to rest (CPEC Controversies,2016).

While the editorial specifically pointed out the need to convince the smaller provinces missing out this very significant demonstration of the existence of the western route could not find words in the editorial that makes one doubt genuineness of the logic or intentions of the editor. The linguistic analysis of this section of the text reveals ideological use of linguistic resources suggesting the emergence of Anti-CPEC and anti-Nationalist ideology prompting the journalism of conflict.

5. Intertextual Reference to Nawaz Sharif Speech

The intertextual reference to Nawaz Sharif speech at Gwadar Ceremony appears in the following words:

In his speech at the inauguration ceremony, Nawaz Sharif specifically called out those who are enemies of the CPEC as enemies of Pakistan.

With a third person possessive '**his**' pronoun in '*In his speech at the inauguration ceremony*' the editor detaches himself from the message given by the source implying that message given by Nawaz Sharif is 'his' not that of newspaper or the reader. The use of **third person possessive pronouns** is a linguistic strategy used by the writers to show his/her detachment from the proposition being made (Hardman, 2008).

Further non-authorial positioning entails conditions where an author regresses to external sources/voices for assessment; the reporting is unmediated. The author's formulations of the external voice are removed from his/her voice, that is, the author's voice is detached from the cited material in a way that indicates other alternative viewpoints (White,2006).

In the same intertextual reference the two noteworthy points are the use of the name 'Nawaz Sharif' without any title which here seems to suggest disrespect (Hardman,2008), when compared with the name used with the title in the beginning of the editorial as '*Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif*' and the phrasal verb 'called out' chosen by the editor as the reporting verb in this very intertextual reference that embodies the meaning of 'shout out' and the choice made by the editor does not match the stature of a Prime Minister. Thereby the intertextual reference selected by the editor from PM's speech which nominates

the enemies of CPEC as enemies of Pakistan seems to be implicitly rejected.

Looking at how the editor positions himself regarding the above given intertextual reference becomes visible in the following words '*India has every reason to want Gwadar, and all the other projects associated with the CPEC, to fail*'.

These lines appearing the very next place after the selected intertextual reference in the shape of a **strong declarative** statement through the use of simple present tense of the verb 'to have' thereby categorically assert the stance declaring that *India has every reason to want Gwadar, and all the other projects associated with the CPEC, to fail*. Noteworthy here is the mention of India at a place where in the previous sentence the PM was shown declaring the enemies of CPEC as the enemies of Pakistan. In the very next line, the editor chose to write about India suggesting the enemy referred to by the PM was India. It is to be reminded but that analysis of the linguistic choices made by the editor in that intertextual reference showed the editor distancing himself from the proposition made by the PM thereby suggesting that editor also distances himself from declaring India as enemy. This also becomes visible while looking at the linguistic choices made by the editor in the sentence *India has every reason to want Gwadar, and all the other projects associated with the CPEC* thereby India's desire for the CPEC to fail is attached with reason *India has every reason... to want CPEC to fail*. So, the adverse activity of India is shown based on reason and not on hostility. Anything that is based on reason, and that too 'every reason' further amplifying the validity of the reason through the use of **adjectival** 'every', is not taken as offensive but necessary. Thereby India's adverse actions, narratives and maneuvers against CPEC seem to be validated by the editor. The analysis of the linguistic tools utilized suggests again an anti-CPEC and pro Indian ideology emerging.

6. Intertextual Reference to Straits of Hormuz and Chabahar

The next intertextual reference appears in the following words:

Previously India could block the Straits of Malacca, forcing China to keep India on its side so that it never exercised that option. The port at Gwadar takes away that bargaining chip from India. Gwadar would give China access to the Straits of Hormuz – one of the main oil shipping routes – and reduce its costs of trade. India

believes China is using Gwadar as part of its ‘String of Pearls’ – Chinese-funded ports that surround India. This was the main reason India reached an agreement with Iran to develop the port at Chabahar and froze Pakistan out.

The last two intertextual references sum up how the port of Gwadar benefits China and is detrimental to India as it takes away the bargaining chip from India in the shape of China’s dependence on Strait of Malacca which India could block anytime and for that reason China had to keep India on its side. The port of Gwadar gives China access to Straits of Hormuz – one of the main oil shipping routes – and reduce its costs of trade. The last line of this intertextual reference is again interesting to note *‘This was the main reason India reached an agreement with Iran to develop the port at Chabahar and froze Pakistan out’*. The action of India to develop Chabahar port is again linked to reason through the words *‘this was the main reason’*. Further these lines only focus on what China will get out of this port and how India responded. The benefit that Pakistan gets out of the port is missing here. Interesting now would be to see how the editor positions himself regarding these two intertextual references and how the editorial is concluded.

The editor refers to benefits of the port for Pakistan in a total of two and a half sentences. Two sentences appear before the last intertextual reference and one as the last sentence of the editorial. The two earlier ones are as follows:

The port, now that it is close to being fully functional, will be of great importance to Pakistan not just because of increased trade but also strategically. It will link us to the Middle East and Central Asia and be a part of the route through which two-thirds of the world’s oil passes and make us the hub of trade between China and the Central Asian Republics.

The editor uses **strong prediction modal** will to predict that the port, now that it is close to being fully functional, will be of great importance to Pakistan not just because of increased trade but also, strategically. Though the **modal** ‘will’ suggests a **strong** prediction but still it’s a prediction. Further the prediction is also bound with the nominal ‘that clause’ *‘...that it is close to being fully functional...’* presupposes that it is not fully functional thereby weakening the strength of the prediction. Positive **appreciation** is found for the benefits which will be found through the port as follows:

It will

1. *link us to the Middle East and Central Asia*
2. *be a part of the route through which two-thirds of the world's oil passes and*
3. *make us the hub of trade between China and the Central Asian Republics.*

Noteworthy point is its being a prediction. The editorial concludes in the following lines Gwadar has the potential to be revolutionary for Pakistan, but we will have to avoid the *problems that have plagued it in the past, starting with corruption and ending with plans to sabotage it – both from home and abroad.*

The ending of editorial finds the editor again take a route back to journalism of pessimism whereby the shown **hedged** benefit of Gwadar is again blinded back to despondency through the use of **counter-expectancy** launched through **disclaimer** beginning with **concessive conjunction** ‘but’ in the following words:

but we will have to avoid the problems that have plagued it in the past, starting with corruption and ending with plans to sabotage it – both from home and abroad.

The **modal** ‘will’ with ‘have to’ showing **strong obligation** further strengthens the **counter-expectancy** replete with **negative appreciation** as follows:

Problems that plagued it in the past

1. Corruption
2. Plans to sabotage.

While looking at the **negative appreciation** terms it is quite visible that all these are agentless clauses hiding the agency by using the tool of **nominalization**. Who did corruption? Who inflicted problems? Who planned sabotage? Who are those being referred to from home if those being referred to from abroad may be India? Richardson (2007, p. 55) identifies agentless construction appearing “very frequently in newspapers”. This intends to efface specificity and accuracy rather than attributing the action to an agent.

Looking at the various questions of corruption and sabotage by the editor few questions move to the forefront:

1. Will this editorial be helpful in nullifying the sabotage?

2. Can this editorial itself be seen as a corruption against CPEC?
3. Was the positive impact of the Gwadar ceremony really reflected in the editorial?

Further looking at the linguistic make up of even the beginning of the statement '*Gwadar has the potential to be revolutionary for Pakistan...*' it becomes visible that the statement is having the **hedging** lexis through the word 'potential' suggesting that it is at the moment just a 'potential' not a practically exploited opportunity which is a **contradiction** to the theme on which the editorial began to write that was successful departure of the first trade convoy from Gwadar. It is a contradiction also against the fact that Gwadar has become fully functional now (CPEC Controversies, 2016).

The linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources deployed by the editor have shown that an anti-CPEC ideology seems at play with very little grounds to back the logic given by the editor. Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual contradictions, consuming a number of linguistic tools like downscaled strong prediction modals, hedging lexis, third person pronouns for showing authorial detachment, agentless construction, strong negation, counterexpectancy, negative presuppositions, down scalers and negative appreciation, in a discriminatory and manipulative way, to launch anti-CPEC and anti-national ideology. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, in this editorial, under the apparent guise of appreciation the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources for the readers, is that at social level it tends to drift the readers away from CPEC, perpetuate the projected provincial issue, mask the established proof of performance as a failure, malign the readers against CPEC through the implicit use of masked negative appraisal.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at 6 places, in this editorial. No direct quotations were found in the intertextual references. The references were having indirect voices (like naming the speech act for example 'promise' in this case) or events/places being referred to. Here are the details of intertextual references

1. Intertextual Reference to Gwadar opening Ceremony found. Attribution to external source found through the speech act 'declare'. Use of **appreciation** and **judgemental** resources found along with the use of **graduation force**. No direct or indirect quotation found.
2. Intertextual Reference to Musharraf Regime found with no direct or indirect quotation. **Appreciation, judgemental, counter-expectancy** and **graduation** resources found.
3. Intertextual Reference to killing of Chinese Engineers without any direct or indirect quotations. **Negative appreciation, affective** disaster vocabulary, **upscaling graduation force, declaratives**, categorical assertions, boulogmatic **modality** and **obfuscation** of agency found.
4. Intertextual Reference to First Ship leaving Gwadar and Promises of Inclusive Development found without any direct or indirect quotations. Attribution to external source found through the use of speech act 'promise'. Epistemic **modal** auxiliaries, negated **modals**, presupposition, **proclaimers, disclaimers, counter-expectancy** and **monoglossia** found.
5. Intertextual Reference to Speech of Nawaz Sharif in the shape of transformed indirect speech. Authorial detachment, **third person possessive pronouns**, and **upscaling graduation forces** found.
6. Intertextual Reference to Straits of Hormuz and Chabahar found with no direct or indirect quotation. Resources of **counter-expectancy, concessive conjunctions**, nominalization, **strong Obligation modals** and presupposition found.

December 31, 2016

Editorial Title: New Deals

The editorial somewhat downscopes a number of different complaints against CPEC from different quarters which the newspaper itself voiced in the other editorials quite emphatically and repeatedly. Towards the last half of the editorial, it picks up a new issue as a serious problem with CPEC and that is the fear of falling into a debt trap. Under the apparent guise of appreciation, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in this editorial is that at social level, it tends to malign the reader against CPEC through implicit use of masked negative appraisal.

1. Intertextual Reference to Complaints on CPEC

One of the main complaints about the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor has been that it focused excessively on Punjab to the exclusion of smaller provinces. That was never entirely true, even though the CPEC did stray slightly from its original vision of acting mostly as an economic revitalization project for underdeveloped provinces.

The intertextual reference downscopes the complaint regarding the excessive focus of CPEC on Punjab to the exclusion of smaller provinces. While intertextually referring to the complaints following words are used

One of the main complaints

This structure presupposes that there were many complaints and the one being referred to is one of the main ones. This in a subtle way negatively appreciated CPEC as the project having many complaints.

The use of the **negation** ‘never’ and the term ‘**entirely true**’ involves a number of steps to be analyzed.

That was never entirely true.

The **negation resource** ‘never’ when used individually **negates** all the alternative voices that may arise and when used with the **adverbial** ‘entirely’ and **adjectival** ‘true’

cements its negation to alter the meaning of the collective term ‘**entirely true**’. The meaning that surfaces is that the complaints were true for most of the part but never true for all the part. Thereby some part of the complaint was always false. Thus, for the most part this remains as the negative **appreciation** for CPEC.

The last part of the selected intertextual reference yet comes with another twist and the turn with counterexpectancy launched through the term ‘even though’ in the following words even though the CPEC did stray slightly from its original vision of acting mostly as an economic revitalization project for underdeveloped provinces.

After the **counterexpectancy** through ‘**even though**’ comes the **declarative** in **past tense** confirming that CPEC did stray from its original vision, but the **adverb** ‘**slightly**’ was added to **downscale** its degree suggesting that mainly the vision was intact. This has both the value of negative as well as positive **appreciation** for CPEC since it shows as having both pluses and **minuses**. This intertextual reference stands in stark **contradiction** to the earlier editorials for example the one on 31st of August 2016 titled ‘After the promise’ totally negated the fulfilment of any of the promises by CPEC.

2. Intertextual Reference to Latest Round of CPEC Deals

Now, the latest round of the CPEC deals may be trying to rectify that imbalance. Sindh Chief Minister Murad Ali Shah was part of a Pakistani delegation that went to Beijing and secured agreements to redevelop the dormant Karachi Circular Railway, set up a special economic zone in Dhabaji and a coal power plant in Keti Bandar. There will be a further 12 projects initiated in Balochistan, including more development in Gwadar, a mass transit system in Quetta and industrial estates in Khuzdar and Bostan. On the face of it, the inclusion of these projects should go some way in assuaging the fears of Sindh and Balochistan that they are going to be excluded from the economic bonanza provided by the CPEC.

The editorial refers to the latest rounds of CPEC deals in the following words *Now, the latest round of the CPEC deals may be trying to rectify that imbalance.*

The **presupposition** is that there is an imbalance already in place which is being

rectified ‘now’. The use of the **adverbial ‘now’** is very meaningful suggesting that these are just the current efforts which are being referred to suggesting that no such efforts existed in the past. **Negative appreciation** for the **projected imbalance** of the past and the **positive appreciation** for the projected efforts of the present regarding CPEC is found.

The intertextual reference to Chief Minister Murad Ali Shah is given whereby he visited Beijing as a part of Pakistani delegation and secured a number of agreements including the following

1. *redevelop the dormant Karachi Circular Railway,*
2. *set up a special economic zone in Dhabeji and*
3. *Construct a coal power plant in Keti Bandar.*
4. *Initiate 12 projects in Balochistan, including more development in Gwadar, a mass transit system in Quetta and industrial estates in Khuzdar and Bostan.*

This sounds like appreciating the CPEC project as being positively appreciated by making the development inclusive for all.

The editor then positions himself with respect to the reference given by suggesting through these deontic modal ‘should’ that

On the face of it, the inclusion of these projects should go some way in assuaging the fears of Sindh and Balochistan that they are going to be excluded from the economic bonanza provided by the CPEC.

Interesting use of the **downscaling terms** ‘on the face of it’ (thereby apparently) and ‘**should go some way**’ (so not all the way) is found which suggests that these efforts apparently (not in real) should go some way to appease the fear of the Sindh and Baluchistan as being excluded the economic bonanza provided by CPEC. This again is a mix of both positive and negative **appreciation** for CPEC whereby mild positive veracity and mild positive capacity is shown by the latest deals of CPEC.

3. Intertextual Reference to Safety Concerns of CPEC

Concerns had been raised in the past about safety and the basic development that would be required in these areas to make such ventures viable, but now that funding has been made

available there is no excuse not to begin work.

The intertextual reference refers to the security problems and basic development problem that according to the editorial has been raised in the past. This suggests that these issues are shown as restricted to past and are no more present or relevant today. Additionally, obfuscation through the use of nominalization tool is visible whereby the identity of those who are described to raise concerns is obfuscated. This shows authorial alignment with the stance being forwarded and that is the assertive declaration for the concerns of security problems in CPEC really existing in past. The use of the word ‘venture’ for the CPEC sounds a negative connotation surrounding it as something which is very adventurous risky undertaking in nature and more chivalric than realistic. This is having negative **appreciation** for CPEC showing negative composition. Counter expectancy through the use of concessive ‘but’ is found at the end of the intertextual reference in the following words

but now that funding has been made available there is no excuse not to begin work.

Double declaratives are found

1. *now that funding has been made available*
2. *there is no excuse not to begin work.*

The first declarative with the use of ‘has been’ is a strong positive **appreciation** of the actions which is done that is funding made available. The second declarative with the copular ‘is’ uses the negation resource ‘no’ for any excuse not to start work. The second declarative sounds to have a mild negative judgment showing mildly negative capacity and mildly negative veracity, for having doubts in the efficiency of the CPEC team for having the chances to generate excuses.

4. Intertextual Reference to CPEC Loans

Still, there are money matters that need to be considered. The overall size of the CPEC has now soared to \$54 billion. While some of the investment is coming in the form of soft loans from China and the Asian Development Bank, most of the loans will have to be paid back at market interest rates. Most of the raw materials for the CPEC projects are being imported from China and with loans taken from Chinese banks. For the CPEC to provide the economic

benefits we have been promised, its projects are required to be profitable rather than increase our already sizeable debt burden.....Repaying our debt will require the CPEC projects to not just meet our domestic needs but increase exports so that we can pay back loans to commercial banks and China. The one thing we need to avoid is our bad habit of repaying old debt with new loans. The government has floated the idea of using future Chinese investment to cover CPEC-related outflows, but falling into this debt trap needs to be avoided to ensure the CPEC does not become a millstone around our necks

Concessive cancellation discourse marker ‘still’ (Bell, 2010), is used to launch counter expectancy in the following words.

Still, there are money matters that need to be considered

It seems that after taking a long route starting from the Western route issue, provincial discrimination, security issue the editor now is left with only one choice and that is to tarnish the CPEC image through launching the narrative of money matters and circular loans.

Here are a number of negative **appreciations** listed in the editorial

1. *most of the loans will have to be paid back at market interest rates*
2. *Most of the raw materials for the CPEC projects are being imported from China and with loans taken from Chinese banks*
3. *...its projects are required to be profitable rather than increase our already sizeable debt burden*
4. *Repaying our debt will require the CPEC projects to not just meet our domestic needs but increase exports*
5. *...we need to avoid is our bad habit of repaying old debt with new loans*
6. *falling into this debt trap needs to be avoided*
7. *to ensure the CPEC does not become a millstone around our*

Linguistic repository using strong obligation modal like ‘will have to be paid back’ Strong declaratives like ‘are being imported from China ...’, ‘needs to be avoided’, Strong obligation terms like ‘are required to be’ Strong predictions models like ‘will require’ Copular verbs ‘we need to avoid ‘is’ etc.

are used to appreciate the money matters related to CPEC in all the darker light. The tendency seen in the News editorials is to catch up the bleakest picture of the project though guise used may be an apparently positive one. The analysis of the selected News editorials reveals an existence of anti-CPEC and anti-national stance turning up each time.

5. Intertextual Reference to Gwadar

Gwadar Port, one of the centerpieces of the CPEC, was inaugurated last month but it is still many years away from being fully operational and issues of security could yet derail it and many other projects

A number of intertextual contradictions come to the forefront here when compared with the editorials on the earlier dates.

For example

- the editorial on 31st of August titled ‘After the Promise’ blamed government for not fulfilling any of the promises,
- the editorial on 3rd of October 2016 titled “Levelling the Corridor” announced port in Gwadar being ignored,
- the editorial on 15th of November titles ‘Open for Trade’ marked the opening and functionality of Gwadar and

the current editorial announcing Gwadar as being ‘*many years away from being fully operational*’ and under the threat of derailment due to security. Thereby Gwadar is being negatively appreciated for its functionality and security for its projected vulnerability.

All these intertextual contradictions point towards the existence of deliberate intertextual manipulation.

None of the editorials of The News were found as spreading the air of unity, peace and harmony. Rather all the editorials were found spreading insecurity and uncertainty regarding CPEC. Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools like negation, counterexpectancy, negative presuppositions, down scalers and negative appreciation in a discriminatory and manipulative way, to

launch anti-CPEC and anti-national ideology. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, in this editorial under the apparent guise of appreciation the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources for the readers, is that at social level it tends to malign the readers against CPEC through the implicit use of masked negative appraisal.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place. Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at 5 places in this editorial. No direct quotations were found in the intertextual references. The references comprised indirect voices and reference to important events/places.

1. **Intertextual Reference to Complaints on CPEC** found without any direct or indirect quote. Attribution to the external source came through naming the speech act complaint. Mixed positive and negative **appreciation** for CPEC found. Contradiction with earlier editorials found.
2. **Intertextual Reference to Latest Round of CPEC Deals** found without any direct or indirect quotations. Mild positive **appreciation** for CPEC found with implicit **downscaling graders**
3. **Intertextual Reference to Safety Concerns of CPEC** found with no direct or indirect quotations. Counterexpectancy, double declaratives, and mix of mildly positive and mildly negative **appreciation** found for CPEC.
4. **Intertextual Reference to CPEC Loans** found without any direct or in direct quotation. Negative **appreciation** of the CPEC money matters abound the reference.
5. **Intertextual Reference to Gwadar** found without and direct or in direct quotations. Negative **appreciation** of the Gwadar port found for its functionality and security. A number of contradictions with earlier editorials noticed.

4.3.4 DAWN

Five editorials dated July 20, 2016; September 27, 2016; October 4 ,2016; November 7 ,2016 and November 17,2016 were selected for the analysis. The selected editorials are attached in Appendix 4.

July 20, 2016

Editorial Title: Road to CPEC

The editorial sheds some light on the importance of CPEC referring to it as double lifeline for the country, its people and economy. The later part of the editorial is dedicated to the critical assessment of government's performance for reportedly failing to provide the needed cross- government coordination and failing to stay transparent in CPEC projects. The linguistic analysis of this editorial suggests that at social level the implication of the discursive use of intertextual resources is that it tends to drift the reader's confidence away from the potential of CPEC projects through negatively appreciating the performance of the government.

1. Intertextual Reference to \$46 bn Investment of CPEC

The intertextual reference appears in the following lines

THE China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is a double lifeline for the country. The purported \$46bn of INVESTMENT will not only dramatically increase north-south connectivity, but could also jump-start overall economic activity and end chronic electricity shortages in the country.

It is in conceptual scale and real-world size a vast project that has the potential to change the future of millions of Pakistanis. But between now and 2030, the future will be necessarily shaped by the quality of leadership that Pakistan is able to provide on CPEC.

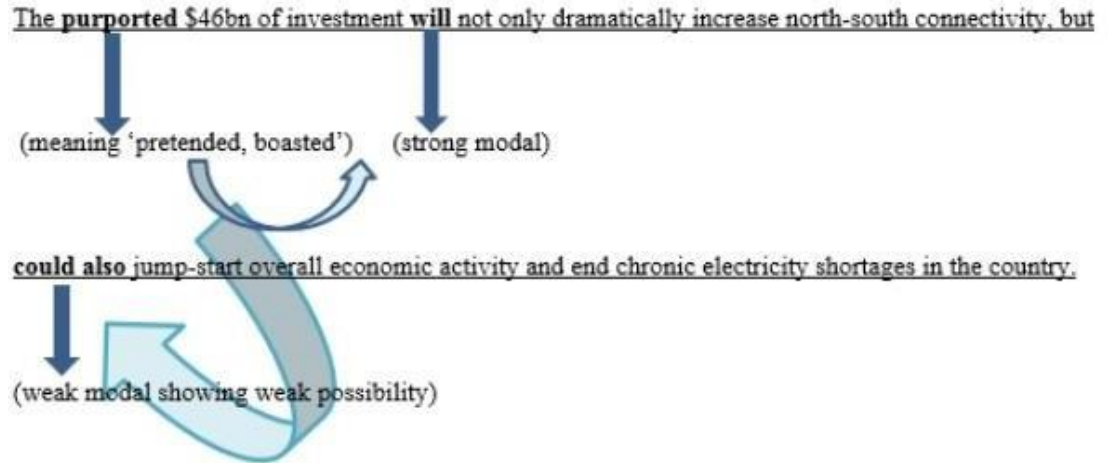
Positive evaluation for CPEC is visible in this intertextual reference through a number of linguistic choices like use of the declarative statement with the use of the copular 'is' contracting the dialogic space and asserting categorically that CPEC is a

double lifeline for the country

The use of the term double lifeline is borrowed intertextually from the field of palmistry whereby the line refers to very rarely existing luck, support, assistance, protection and success for those people who carry it. The use of the term double lifeline for CPEC suggests the preciousness and valuableness of the project on Pakistan's palm as a rarely found occurrence in the life of nations. This analogy holds CPEC at a very high level of prestige and worth and thereby positive appreciation for CPEC is quite visible at this point.

Interesting twist in the use of linguistic terminologies is found in the next part of the intertextual reference whereby a mix of doubts and sureties is found to produce a confused reader and confused evaluation of CPEC. The mix is found in the following line of the intertextual reference The purported \$46bn of investment will not only dramatically increase north-south connectivity, but could also jump-start overall economic activity and end chronic electricity shortages in the country.

The adjectival use of the word purported with the \$46bn of investment adds negative appreciation for the \$46 bn investment of the CPEC as the word purport in Cambridge dictionary means to pretend to be or to do something, especially in a way that is not easy to believe (purport, n.d.) . Following this projected doubtful status of the investment the use of very strong modal 'will' launches a sure existence of future benefit of CPEC to increase north-south connectivity. The strong modal 'will' denoted very strong prediction. This surety again ventures back to doubt in the next part of the same sentence where the strong modal 'will' is replaced by weak probability modal 'could' suggesting weak possibility of CPEC to also jump-start overall economic activity and end chronic electricity shortages in the country

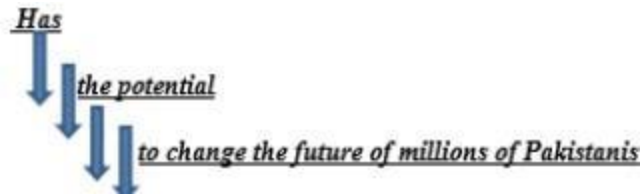


The intertextual reference though seemed to positively evaluate CPEC in the first sentence but is followed by a series of linguistic twists, back and forth to positive and negative evaluation of CPEC that creates doubts regarding the real objective of the intertextual reference and apparent positive appreciation entails implicit negative appreciation through the projected doubts through linguistic tools.

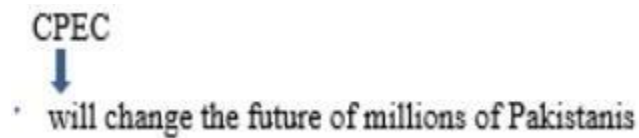
Positioning itself with respect to the intertextual reference the editorial launches another doubt through using the tool of counter expectancy with the concessive conjunction ‘but’ and here comes the statement

It is in conceptual scale and real-world size a vast project that has the potential to change the future of millions of Pakistanis. But between now and 2030, the future will be necessarily shaped by the quality of leadership that Pakistan is able to provide on CPEC.

All the pluses of CPEC had been tied to the quality of leadership to be provided by Pakistan suggesting thereby the project’s strength as redundant in itself to survive and flourish on its own. This dependency of the project negatively appreciates the project for its lack of adequacy and self-survival range. Preceding this binding the previous sentence of the editorial again has a very dexterous linguistic move whereby it is mentioned that CPEC has the potential to change the future of millions of Pakistanis.



The declarative use of ‘has’ declares just ‘the potential’ of CPEC to change the future of the millions of Pakistanis. It does not declare the change itself, for the future of millions of Pakistanis. Alternative statements could have been



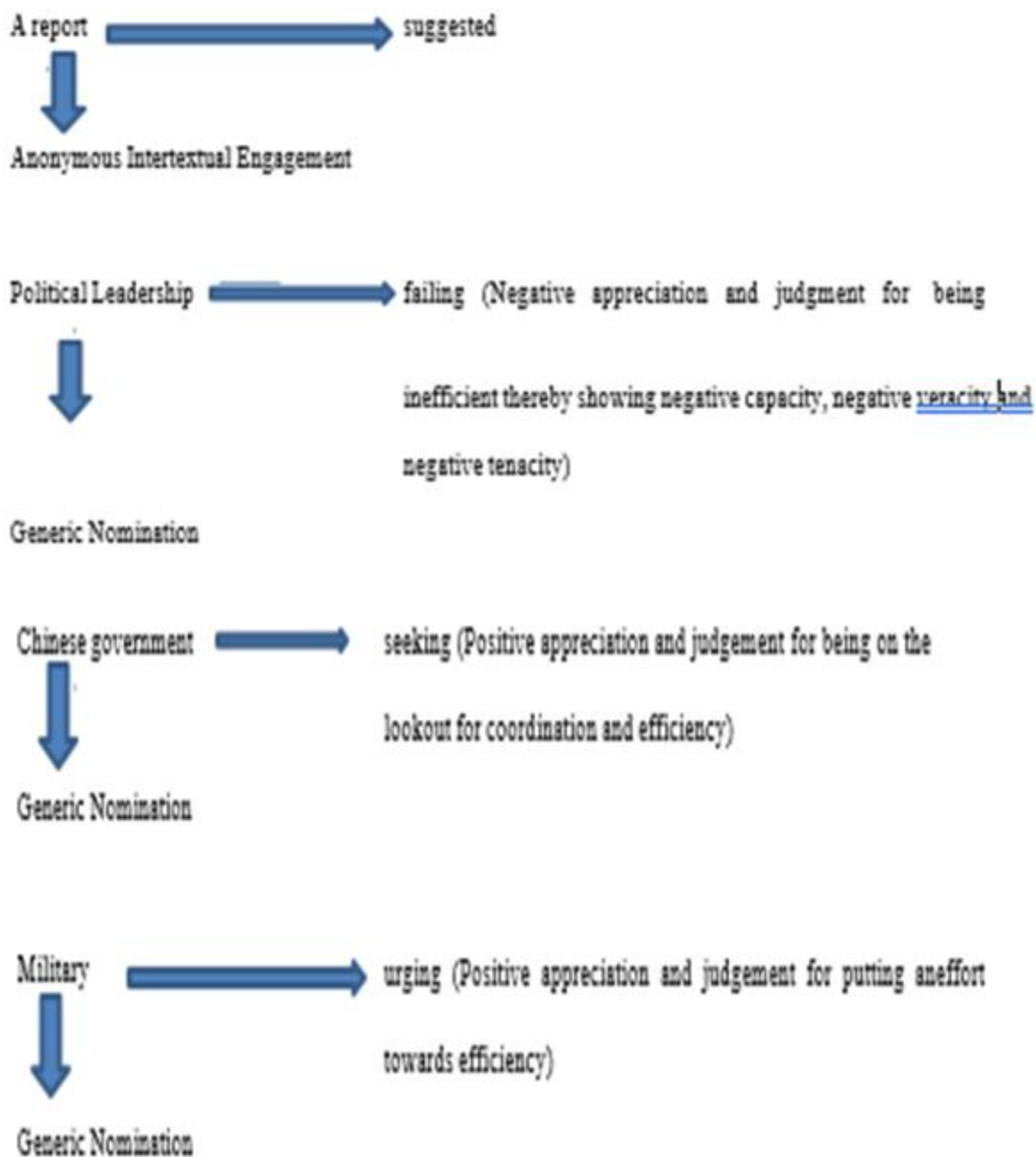
The apparent shape with positive appreciation of CPEC entails doubtful evaluation of the project coming to forth through the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources. Linguistic analysis forefronts concealed anti-CPEC ideology.

2. Intertextual Reference to the Report in the Newspaper

The next intertextual reference appears in the following lines

A report in this newspaper on Monday has suggested that the political leadership is failing to provide the kind of cross-government coordination and efficiency that the Chinese government is seeking and that the military leadership is urging.

The intertextual reference named three stake holders in the following paradigms report



The analysis of the linguistic resources shows that out of the three mentioned stakeholders of CPEC that is Chinese government, Political leadership of Pakistan, military of Pakistan the only malfunctioning body is the political leadership for being a failure in providing the needed coordination and efficiency for CPEC. Two presuppositions surface the scenario through the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources and that are

1. The Chinese government is dissatisfied with the coordination since it is shown as seeking the coordination and the thing which is sought is the one which is needed and

not available leading to discontent.

2. Army is also not contended as Army is urging for the needed coordination level as it would not have been seeking it if it were already there.

The contradiction in the stance taken through the intertextual reference comes to the fore when the historical context is taken into consideration and that is, CPEC was announced formally in the era of the same political leadership which is being criticized. The same political leadership visited China where it signed a Memorandum of Understanding for China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) in 2013, July 5. The same political leadership hosted the visit of the Chinese President whereby CPEC was officially announced on April 20, 2015, when the president of China visited Pakistan and signed a \$46 billion Memorandum of Understanding (CPEC Authority, n.d.). 51 Throughout the editorial the negative appreciation and negative judgment for the PMLN government are scattered in the text amidst a number of contextual intertextual contradictions along with the contradictions among the intertextual references within the text.

The point of the researcher is accredited through another intertextual reference given in the editorial regarding the criticism on the government. Here are the words

To be sure, some of the criticism directed at the government appears to be a thinly veiled attempts to transfer further control of national policy to the military.

Beginning with the phrase ‘to be sure’ performing the function of epistemic adverbial of inevitability, some of the criticism on the government is nominated as appearing to be thinly veiled attempts to transfer further control of national policy to the military.

The inevitability phrase ‘To be sure’ is in contradiction with the term ‘appears’. Either the narrative of being ‘sure’ is misguided or that of its appearance. The question is, if one thing is ‘sure’ then how it just ‘appears’ and similarly if one thing is just ‘thinly veiled’ then also how it just ‘appears’




Following is the possible alternative statement

To be sure, some of the criticism directed at the government is thinly veiled attempt ...

In the above given alternative, the phrase of inevitability ‘to be sure’ goes well with the copular ‘is’. The analysis of the used linguistic tools in the intertextual references again shows a saga of doubts being built amidst the plethora of uncertainties tossed through the use of contradictory linguistic resources.

All this shows an authorial attempt by the editorial to suggest that only the criticism launched by this editorial against the government is authentic as it does identify some of the criticism against the government as negative. But which one is that ‘some of the criticism’ is not identifiable? Which ones are those doubted critics is also **obfuscated**? The criticism by this editorial though is not obfuscated but is immersed in contradictions as analyzed by the researcher. The use of the adverbial ‘further’ in

transfer further control of national policy to the military



comes up with a very interesting **presupposition** that military is already controlling the national policy. This presupposition then comes in conflict with the earlier intertextual reference where the military was shown as urging for good cross government coordination. How come an already controlling body has to urge for something? So, it seems to suggest that the editorial focusing on an already controlling body as urging for coordination, and so positively appreciating its effort, is itself putting in the ‘thinly veiled’ effort of suggesting a further control of policy to be given to military. As White (2006) argues that even attribution itself bears value positions and ideological inclinations. Attributions are used among other purposes to shield the author from shouldering the liability of attributions (Bednarek, 2010; Jullian, 2011). The same objective seems to be achieved through attribution here that the suggestion for more policy control by military seems to be actually the motive of this editorial via apparently attaching the words to an anonymous external source referred to as waging the criticism to transfer further control of national policy to the military

Stenvall (2008 a, b) also identified the use of **generic or anonymous sources** for example, “police, officials, military, sources, witnesses, and analysts” as instances of authorial **alignment** thereby ideologically motivated.

Continuing on the same intertextual reference to the narrative of the criticisms against the government the third last line of the editorial finds the following comment: the criticism of its handling of CPEC goes well beyond partisan attacks or narrow institutional interests.

This stands in stark contrast to the comments found in the earlier part of the editorial, regarding the criticism. Here is the contrast.

To be sure, some of the criticism directed at the government appears to be a thinly veiled

attempt to transfer further control of national policy to the military.



the criticism of its handling of CPEC goes well beyond partisan attacks or narrow institutional interests.

So, it seems logical to conclude that in a very subtle way and behind the words the editorial seems to suggest that that attempt to transfer further control of national policy to the military goes well beyond partisan attacks or narrow institutional interests. As White (2005) contends often external sources are used to voice the proposition without taking the responsibility of the proposition.

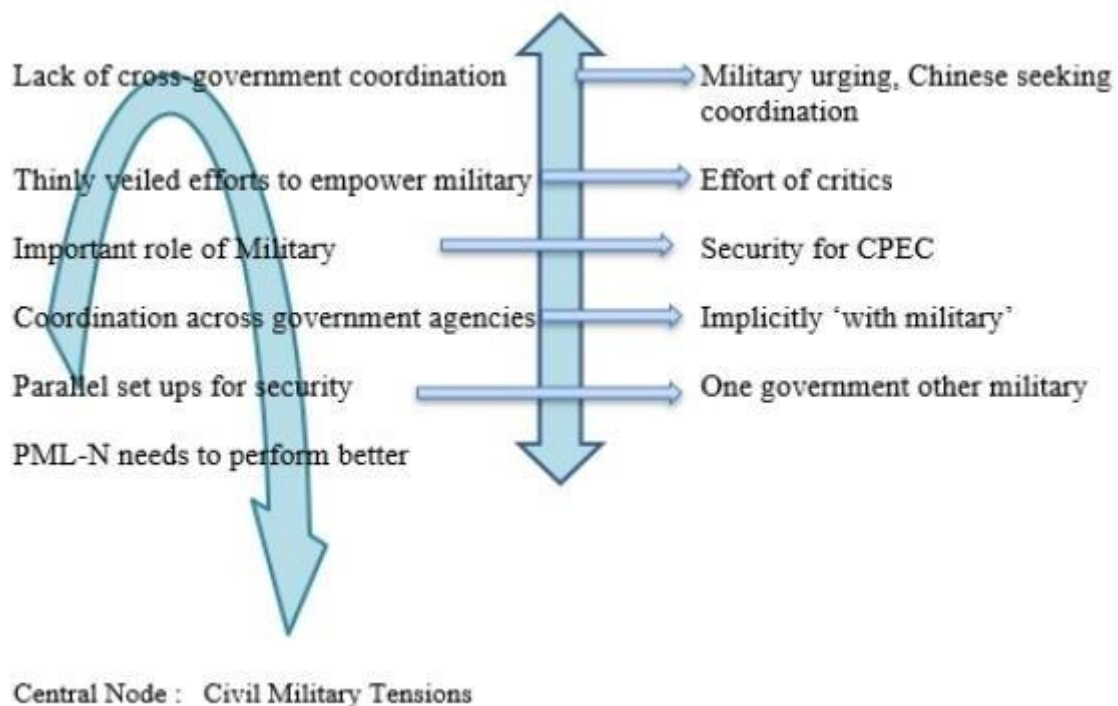
The point gets further accredited when a shift is seen in the editorial to take a turn and converge the whole narrative of cross-government coordination to government-military coordination suggesting again that the editorials main focus under the guise of the umbrella term 'cross- government' was the coordination between government and military whereby the negative appreciation was dedicated to government through and through for being responsible for this lack of coordination as the Army is shown as a responsibly urging body.

To see this positioning of the stance taken by the editor regarding the different added intertextual references the following lines in the editorial deserve attention:

However, there are two realities that ought to be considered here. First, the reality of the security situation in Pakistan and the national scope of CPEC, means that the military will have an important role to play in providing security to the projects and the personnel, foreign and local, involved in executing them.

It is one thing for the PML-N government to claim that it is coordinating across government agencies and institutions and quite another to demonstrate that through sustained action. Thus far, it does appear that, at least as far as security is concerned, parallel set-ups appear to be in operation.

The shift of the editorial from one point to another can be seen as given below



The editorial's main focus through a number of twists and turns with different intertextual references is the implicit highlighting of civil Military Tensions. The use of intertextual resources seem to aggravate and project the conflict if any. Very little is seen regarding the triumphs through CPEC. The editorial which is read both by locals and foreigners is sending a message of unrest, conflict, and failures in the land hosting the project. Internal conflicts if any, normally are not highlighted by responsible journalistic approaches on the public forums but are dealt with in a wise way sending a message of strength to adversaries. The emerging ideology through the linguistic analysis of

intertextual resources seems to be anti-CPEC and anti- Nationalist.

3. Intertextual Reference to PML(N) Denial

The intertextual reference appears in the following words

Unsurprisingly, the PML-N denies that there is a problem and argues that not only is the political government capable of overseeing CPEC but that it is doing a commendable job.

Starting with the **adverbial comment adjunct ‘unsurprisingly’** the PML N government is shown as denying all the allegations placed against it and appreciates its performance as commendable. So PMLN is shown as itself positively appreciating its performance. The attribution through this added voice of government in the editorial is **negatively appreciated** by the editor in the following words

Inevitably, a government in denial ends up eating into the goodwill it may have with the public, and with political and other institutions

White (2006) categorizes three mechanisms at the disposal of a writer in communicating evaluative meaning via attribution. These contain authorial endorsement, authorial distancing, and evidential standing. Similarly, White (2006) elucidates that in attribution authors can align with or disalign from the external source and that is usually **ideologically motivated**. The attributed voice of the government received an outright disapproval in the editorial through the proclaimer starting with the comment adjunct ‘Inevitably’ and negative evaluation of the government being identified as ‘a government in denial’ suggesting government as living in unrealistic, impractical hallucinating world not performing the duty on ground and not taking any practical measures to address the reservations. Furthering the negative bent of appreciation of the projected denial state, the government is predicted to eat into the goodwill it may have with the public and the institutions. This **presupposes** that the government is not having goodwill established with the people and the institutions.

A number of **intertextual contradictions** again weaken the stance of the editorial projecting the government existing in denial, having lack of practicality and practical actions by the government. An intertextual reference to ***CPEC Development Agency*** was found which was mooted by the government to address issues related to CPEC. Here

are the details from the editorial

To try and resolve the problems with execution and project management, a so-called CPEC Development Agency has been mooted to take over responsibility for CPEC ...

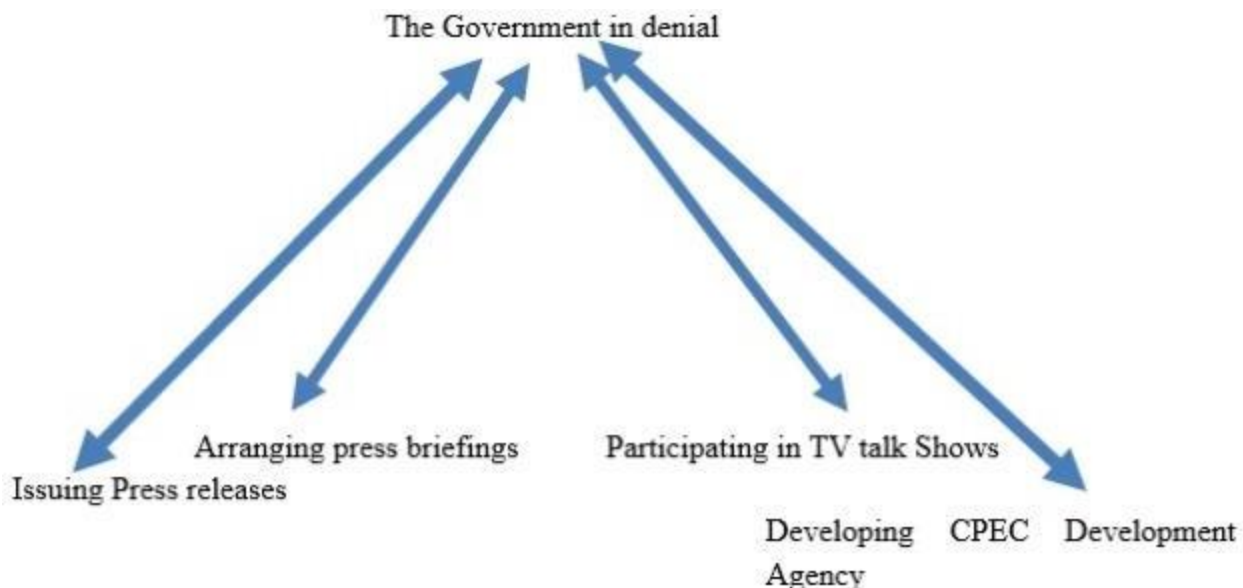
Negative value judgement is also visible here whereby the agency mooted by the government is negatively appreciated as 'so-called' but on what grounds it is being **negatively appreciated** are not given, which suggest this **negative appreciation** to be ideologically motivated.

Another interesting point is noted in the editorial with the following words

No amount of briefings or press releases or TV appearances by ministers have been able to dispel the impression that the PML-N is not being transparent...

Negation resource is being used to categorically assert that no amount of briefings or press releases or TV appearances by ministers have been able to dispel the impression that the PML-N is not being transparent. This automatically formulates the **presuppositions** that the government have had made a number of press appearances, issued a number of press briefings and appeared in a number of TV programs and that too at ministerial level to dispel negative impression regarding CPEC. All these are the practical efforts put by the government and named by the editorial itself. An entity in denial does not take such practical steps so either the narrative of the editorial about the government's denial are flawed or the details of these efforts wrong.

This analysis again exposes the weak legitimacy of the claims made in the editorial and intertextual contradictions can be shown pictorially as under:



The contradictions expose the flimsy base of the logic given and the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows an anti-government ideology emergent along with an implicit focus for conflict exacerbation which may lead to generate anti-CPEC ideology in readers.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools like manipulative declaratives, generic nomination, anonymous intertextual engagement, negative presuppositions, contextual intertextual

contradictions, negative appreciation, authorial distancing etc. in a discriminatory and manipulative way, to launch anti-CPEC, anti-national, and anti-government ideology. A number of intertextual contradictions were caught.

Responding to research question number three it is seen that, in this editorial under the apparent guise of logical appreciation the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources for the readers is that at social level it tends to drift the reader's confidence away from the potential of CPEC projects and tries to air uncertainty and doubt surrounding CPEC through negatively appreciating the performance of the government.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at 5

places in this editorial. Three intertextual references were chosen for detailed analysis. No direct quotations were found in the intertextual references. Indirect voices with generic intertextual engagements found.

1. **Intertextual Reference to \$46 bn Investment of CPEC** with no direct or indirect quotations found. Positive appreciation for CPEC found but doubt vocabulary and weak modals used tending to downscale the positive appreciation.
2. **Intertextual Reference to the Report** in the Newspaper found with no direct quotation. Generic attributive engagement found with voice from generically named source indirectly added. Intertextual contradictions found. Negative appreciation for the government visible but appears with ideological motivation.
3. **Intertextual Reference to PML N Denial** found with no direct quotation. Generic attribution through indirect voice of PML N added. Negative appreciation for the government found. Intertextual contradictions visible.

September 27, 2016

Editorial Title: CPEC Security Force

The issue of raising funds for the creation of special CPEC security force is the theme of the editorial. The editorial discusses the announcement of the ministry regarding the issue through the adjustment of the amount in power tariff of all consumers. This editorial strongly objects to it using the intertextual tool of engagement to have the voice of Nepra supporting the editor's point. The linguistic analysis of this editorial suggests that at social level the implication of the discursive use of intertextual resources is that, it tends to inculcate a sense of financial burden in readers and tends to move their confidence away from the potential benefits and security coming of the CPEC projects .

1. Intertextual Reference to COAS and Finance Minister Meeting

Following lines from the editorial carry this intertextual reference

According to a series of reports last week, the matter of funding for the two divisions to be raised for CPEC security has been discussed by the finance minister and the army chief at a special meeting; it was then taken up as an extraordinary agenda item at an ECC meeting a few days later.

Using the tool of **generic intertextual engagement** 'according to a series of reports' the meeting between the finance minister Muhammad Ishaq Dar and the army chief General Raheel Sharif is being referred to .The meeting is being described as discussing the funding issue of two security divisions to be raised for CPEC. Further the editorial describes the issue as been taken up as extraordinary agenda item at an ECC (Economic Coordination Committee) meeting a few days later. In this intertextual reference no value judgements are found and simply an event of a meeting and the next proceeding is given. Notable factor however is the use of the anonymous source of engagement with the source of the news report obfuscated.

2. Intertextual Reference to Minister of Health and Power Announcement

Following lines carry this intertextual reference

Then the minister of water and power, who also holds the portfolio of defense, announced that funds to pay for the running of this force would be made part of the power tariff and recovered from all consumers countrywide

This intertextual reference again without any value judgement in the text refers to the announcement made by the defense minister Khawaja M Asif that funds to pay for the running of this force would be made part of the power tariff and recovered from all consumers countrywide.

3. Intertextual Reference to Nepra's Objection

Following are the lines from the editorial carrying this intertextual reference

The latest reports suggest that the power regulator, Nepra, has objected to the proposal, saying it will set a bad legal precedent, and that the cost of security of private power plants is already a part of the tariff for the construction period, as well as insurance against sabotage once construction ends and commercial operations begin.

Stenvall (2008, p. 233) who found that though the generic use of ‘anonymous sources, for example, “police, officials, military, sources, witnesses, and analysts” may not be understood as “authoritative and credible”, it provides an impression of heightening “the newsworthiness of the quoted information, especially as the word is often premodified by the nouns intelligence, security, or military”.

The strategy of high or low integrity in society or field is also used by authors. The less credible source invokes values of less reliability and the credible sources are intended to covertly position the reader to regard the material as plausible and authoritative (Martin & White, 2005; Bednarek, 2010).

In the above given intertextual reference the editor used generic intertextual sources like ‘the latest reports’ and then those reports are further shown as referring to generic source name ‘Nepra’ (power regulator). Nepra is taken as an authoritative source. The National Electric Power Regulatory Authority (NEPRA) has been established under Section 3 of the Regulation of Generation, Transmission and Distribution of Electric Power Act, 1997 to exclusively regulate the provision of electric power services in Pakistan. The Regulation of Generation, Transmission and Distribution of Electric Power (Amendment)

Act, 2018 [Act No. XII of 2018] (The Act) has overhauled the role and responsibilities of NEPRA (National Electric Power, n.d.).

NEPRA has been created to introduce transparent and judicious economic regulation, based on sound commercial principals, to the electric power sector of Pakistan. NEPRA reflects the country's resolve to enter the new era as a nation committed to free enterprise and to meet its social objectives with the aim of improving the quality of life for its people and to offer them opportunities for growth and development.

The powers and functions of the Authority as delineated in The Act are to grant licenses under this Act, specify procedures and standards for registration of persons providing electric power services, aid and advise the Federal Government, in the formulation of national electricity plan. Additionally, it has to ensure efficient tariff structures and market design for sufficient liquidity in the power markets, specify procedures and standards for investment programs by generation companies and persons licensed or registered under this Act. NEPRA also has to specify and enforce performance standards for generation companies and persons licensed or registered under this Act. To specify accounting standards and establish a uniform system of account by generation companies and persons licensed or registered under this Act, specify fees including fees for grant of licenses and renewal thereof, review its order, decisions or determinations is also the job to be performed by NEPRA. It also has to settle disputes between licensees in accordance with the specified procedure, issue guidelines and standard operating procedures, promote the development of a market, including trading, in accordance with the national electricity policy and the national electricity plan. A very important job of NEPRA is to determine tariff rates, charges and other terms and conditions for supply of electric power services by the generation, transmission and distribution companies and recommend to the Federal Government for notification. Further this body has to review organizational affairs of generation companies and persons licensed or registered under this Act to avoid any adverse effect on the operation of electric power services and for continuous and efficient supply of such services. Encouraging uniform industry standards and code of conduct for generation companies and persons licensed or registered under this Act, tendering advice to public sector projects, submitting reports to the Federal Government in respect of activities of generation companies and persons licensed or

registered under this Act and performing any other function which is incidental or consequential to any of the aforesaid functions also come in the domain responsibilities of NEPRA (National Electric Power, n.d.).

The intertextual reference above referred to the objection raised by NEPRA against the generation of CPEC security fund by making it the part of power tariff. NEPRA is shown negatively appreciating it by calling it a bad legal precedence. Authorial alignment with the source being quoted becomes very obvious when the next lines showing the positioning of the editor with respect to the intertextual reference are analyzed.








Further the negative appreciation of the proposal continues in the later part of the editorial whereby its legal merit is negatively appreciated as ‘highly questionable’. The use of the upgrader ‘highly’ further heightens the impact the questionable nature of the proposal. All these negative appreciations sum up to negatively evaluate the government as having negative capacity and negative tenacity. But since all these proposals are related to CPEC and the resulting negative appreciation is because of the costs related to CPEC it seems that mind of the reader automatically links this negative appreciation with CPEC. For example CPEC being highly questionable, grossly unfair, clearly unacceptable etc.

The editorial winds up with a rhetorical question

It is also worth noticing that the matter of locating the resources for the proposed force is coming very late in the CPEC timeline. Should this not have been worked out at the outset?

The rhetorical question is a discursive practice often used in the editorials that not only highlights the dialogic nature of the editorial but also foregrounds a proposition (Hardman, 2008). In this case also the proposition of disturbed timeline of CPEC is floated which is the same negative appreciation of CPEC that is found in editorials of October 4 and November 7.

Here goes a point wise detail of the authorial reaction:

i. It is Imperative	 (<u>Obligation</u>) That <u>Nepra's</u> objections be heeded
ii. It has become a bit of a fad of making	 Declarative used with 'has' to negatively evaluate the process the CPEC fund raising through tariff
iii. Billing ... a surrogate for recovery	 Negative evaluation of the action for taking the billing System as for granted replacement for fund raising thereby showing the government as having negative capacity and negative tenacity. In other words, trying to project CPEC as a liability falling heavy upon consumers
iv. We have seen pressures	 Using consensual pronoun 'we' to create a group Identify as well as solidarity with the reader for having faced billing pressures for CPEC projects in the past as well. Implicit negative evaluation of CPEC as a burden
v. This is clearly unacceptable	 Anaphoric reference 'this' used to proclaim billing done this way as categorically unacceptable. Negative appreciation of billing is done <u>through the use of the</u> adjectival 'unacceptable'. Implicitly the narrative of unacceptability seems to be moved to the readers for CPEC
vi. <u>Nepra</u> <u>must not</u> allow <u>this process</u> to continue	 Proclaimer <u>through the use of</u> copular 'is' used to negatively appreciate the proposal through the adjectival 'unfair' and upscaling adverbial 'grossly'
vii. The proposal <u>is grossly unfair</u>	 Proclaimer through the use of copular 'is' used to <u>negatively appreciate</u> the proposal through the adjectival 'unfair' and upscaling adverbial 'grossly'

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools like rhetorical questions, consensual pronouns, authorial alignment, obfuscation of news source, generic intertextual engagement, upscalling graduation forces, negated obligation modals, monoglossic declaratives, in a discriminatory and manipulative way, to launch anti-CPEC, anti-national, and anti-government ideology. Responding to research question number three, it is seen that, in this editorial under the apparent guise of logical appreciation the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources for the readers, is that at social level it tends to inculcate a sense of financial burden in readers regarding CPEC and move their confidence away from the potential benefits and security coming of the CPEC projects and air uncertainty and doubt surrounding CPEC through negatively appreciating the performance of the government. The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, in this editorial intertextual references were found at 3 places. No direct quotations were found in the intertextual references. Indirect voices with generic intertextual engagements found.

- 1. Intertextual Reference to COAS and Finance Minister Meeting found** without any direct quotation. No value judgments found.
- 2. Intertextual Reference to Minister of Health and Power Announcement found** without any direct quotation. Voice of the Minister indirectly added.
- 3. Intertextual Reference to Nepra's Objection found** without any direct quotation. Indirect voice of NEPRA added. generic intertextual engagements found. Negative appreciation for government's decision abound.

October 4, 2016

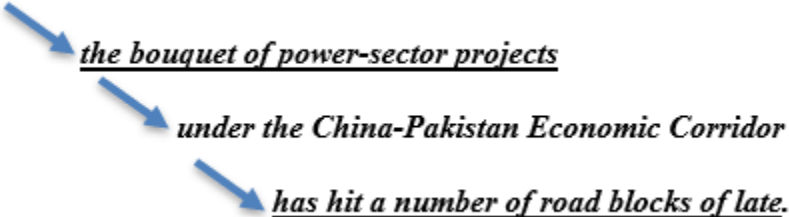
Editorial Title: Impediments to CPEC Projects

A number of halted power projects under CPEC are mentioned in the editorial along with the causes of disruption. The outcome of these circumstances is stated. By the end of the editorial, a question is posed whether it is worth, to continue with these power plans? The linguistic analysis of this editorial suggests that at social level the implication of the discursive use of intertextual resources is that it tends to drift the reader's confidence away from the potential of CPEC projects.

1. Intertextual Reference to Matiari to Lahore Transmission Line

It appears the bouquet of power-sector projects under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor has hit a number of road blocks of late. The latest in a series of snags that these projects have run into is the Matiari to Lahore transmission line, the first private-sector initiative in power transmission that Pakistan has seen. The line is vital to the overall CPEC vision because it will carry additional power to be generated under numerous other CPEC power-generation projects in Sindh, including Tharparkar and Hub in Karachi. If the line is not built, that additional generation capacity will have no means to get to load centres in Punjab, rendering it redundant. Given the \$2.1bn cost of the line, the Chinese were asked to build the project, but the tariff that they wanted was higher than what the regulator, Nepra, could allow. The net result has been a stalemate of sorts for almost a year now. In August, Nepra approved a tariff of 71 paisa per unit, but the Chinese want a tariff of 95 paisa instead, 30pc higher, and the government is spinning all its wheels to persuade the regulator to grant the revised tariff.

A general reference to the power projects appears in the beginning with the following words

It appears

the bouquet of power-sector projects
under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor
has hit a number of road blocks of late.

It is a general **negative appreciation** statement for the progress of all the power projects of CPEC for facing a number of barriers. The term 'it appears' in the beginning suggest

heteroglossic nature of opinion whereby existence of other angles is being recognized as it just appears, and it can be right or wrong. But the next part suggests the power projects hitting

a number of roadblocks

whereby the use of the **explicit grader** ‘a number of’ is visible adding emphasis to the term ‘roadblocks’ for not being small in number and though just appear but appear big in number. Through the **negative appreciation** of the progress in power projects, automatically arrives the **negative judgement** showing **negative capacity** and **negative tenacity** for those responsible for it which of course refers to the host of the project ‘the government of Pakistan’.

The direct reference to the *Matiari to Lahore transmission line* appears in the following words

The latest in a series of snags

that these projects have run into

is the Matiari to Lahore transmission line,

the first private-sector initiative in power transmission that Pakistan has seen

The standing of the Transmission line is given through the fact that it is *the first private sector initiative in power transmission that Pakistan has seen* but the current progress situation of it is negatively appreciated through the statement as

The latest in a series of snagsis

whereby the use of the copular ‘is’ marks it as a ‘declarative’ for categorical monoglossic assertion that the transmission line is in trouble. Declarative through **copular ‘is’** for **categorical assertion, strong prediction modal ‘will’** for strong **prediction** and **counter expectancy** through **subordinating conditional conjunct** is used to prove the significance of the transmission line in the following listed parts below,

The line is vital to the overall CPEC vision

it will carry additional power to be generated under numerous other CPEC power-generation projects

If the line is not built, that additional generation capacity will have no means to get to load centres in Punjab, rendering it redundant

The reason mentioned for the problem is the disagreement on tariff rates which Nepra wanted at 71 paisa but China at 95 paisa. Using the negative appreciative word ‘stalemate’ a pause of one year was shown to the progress. Delays are a normal part of any mega project and disagreements very frequent. The editorials are read all over the globe through online access. A very pertinent question is in a situation where Pakistan is facing forces to disrupt CPEC from all around should these details be publicized like this?

The researcher searched for locating the current status of the Transmission line and found very encouraging report of it being quite close to completion. Here are the details

Feasibility study completed Tariff determined by NEPRA, TSA/IA initialed in December 2016 Land acquisition for converter stations at Lahore and Matiari completed Agreement signed between PPIB and State Grid of China on May 2018 Financial Closed (FC) achieved on 27th February 2019. Expected COD in March 2021 (Matiari To Lahore, n.d.)

2. Intertextual Reference to Gadani, Quaid-i-Azam Solar Park and Kallar Kahar Coal Plant

This is not the first time that we have seen a large CPEC project run into financial difficulties. Earlier, the complex of power plants envisioned at Gadani was scrapped because of the costs of building the jetty. Many investments in the Quaid-i-Azam Solar Park in Punjab have landed up in litigation because the government cannot honour the upfront solar tariff it offered to woo the Chinese. A large coal-fired power plant to be built in Kallar Kahar has also been scrapped due to an escalation in cost, while the Thar coal plants have landed up in litigation because of the costs of compliance with environmental regulations.

The use of the **negation concession** through the words *This is not the first time* raises questions that CPEC was officially announced in 2015 and the editorial under study was written in ‘2016’ and for this short time period the statement ‘This is not the first time’ makes it sound as if repetition of something over decades is being pointed to. One year is a very small time for gaining maturity, understanding and experience. Not considering this factor definitely raises questions regarding either the maturity or affiliation of the newspaper.

A number of **negative appreciation statements** on the performance of government and progress of CPEC or CPEC projects are given as under ‘**CPEC project run into financial difficulties**’ The words ‘difficulties’ negatively appreciated the financial condition of the country as

being troubled.

‘Gadani was scrapped’

‘Many investments in the Quaid-i-Azam Solar Park in Punjab have landed up in litigation’

‘the government cannot honour the upfront solar tariff it offered to woo the Chinese’

The government here is depicted as having **negative veracity** so is being **judged negatively** for it is shown as claiming something which it cannot honour.

A large coal-fired power plant to be built in Kallar Kahar has also been scrapped **an escalation in cost.**

Thar coal plants have landed up in litigation

All this judgement and appreciation comes though giving a space of just one year to the government (or not even that as the study did not pick the editorial of 2015).

While picking up all the negative news from the energy sector no positive news was found or was deliberately muted. The researcher researched for the pertinent data related to CPEC energy projects and came up with the data which showed quite thrillingly encouraging progress of the power projects of CPEC. One very interesting finding was about Quaid-e Azam solar power plant mentioned in the editorial as fallen in litigation. That project was in operational stage since September 2016 even one month before this editorial was written. A total of 300-Megawatt electricity had been added in national grid after the completion of second phase of Quaid e Azam Solar Park (QASP) near Bahawalpur in September 2016 (Quaid-e-Azam Solar, 2016). At that time, it added 300MW to National grid and now according to the currently updated official website of government CPEC the Quaid-e-Azam solar is currently producing between 400-600 MW of energy and about 600 MW is under construction (Quaid-E-Azam 1000MW, n.d.).

Thereby selective negative assortment of the intertextual references creates again doubts towards the objective that is being tried to be achieved and that is difficult to nominate that as Nationalist.

The researcher further made a list of the energy projects through CPEC by getting the data from official website of the government and found many of them operational since 2016 (CPEC-Energy Priority Projects, n.d.). Here are the details

1. Sahiwal 2x660MW Coal-fired Power Plant, Punjab, was completed on 28th October 2017. The Financial Close (FC) for the project was achieved in December 2015. The project has been connected to National grid and its **Current Status is Operational**.
2. 2x660MW Coal-fired Power Plants project at Port Qasim Karachi, was completed 67 days ahead of schedule. Civil works on site started in May 2015. Its **Current Status is Operational** since 2017.
3. HUBCO Coal Power Project (1320 MW), Hub Balochistan, got its A/ Power Purchase Agreement signed on 25th January 2017, LOS was issued on 12th April 2016 and Ground breaking ceremony was held on 21 March 2017. Its **Current Status is Operational** since Aug 2019.
4. Thar coal plant began pumping power into national grid in March 2019. Commercial Operation Date (COD) was achieved on 10th July 2019 and its **Current Status is Operational**.
5. Engro 2x330MW Thar Coal Power Project got its financial Close (FC) achieved in April 2016. Construction work is in progress. Construction of Transmission line-contract is awarded. Contractor is mobilized.
6. Surface Mine in Block II of Thar Coal Field, 3.8 million Tons/Year got its financial close attained in April 2016, IA/EA is signed and mining work in progress. Thar Block II Unearths Coal on 10th June 2018.
7. SSRL Thar Coal Block-I 6.8 mtpa & Power Plant (2x660MW) (Shanghai Electric) achieved its financial close.
8. HUBCO Thar Coal Power Project (Thar Energy) got its financial close achieved.
9. Thar Nova Thar Coal Power Project got its financial close achieved.
10. 300MW Imported Coal Based Power Project at Gwadar, Pakistan. Groundbreaking was done on 4th November 2019.
11. Hydro China Dawood Wind Farm (Gharo, Thatta) got its Financial Close (FC) achieved on March 27, 2015, and Commercial Operation Date (COD) was attained on 5th April 2017. Its **Current Status is Operational**.

12. UEP Wind Farm (Jhimpir, Thatta) got its financial Close (FC) achieved on March 30, 2015. Its Commercial Operation Date (COD) was 16th June 2017. Its **Current Status is Operational.**
13. Sachal Wind Farm (Jhimpir, Thatta) got its financial Close (FC) achieved on December 18, 2015. Commercial Operation Date (COD) was attained on 11 April 2017. Its **Current Status is Operational.**
14. Three Gorges Second and Third Wind Power Project got its LOS issued in August 2016. Its EPA was initiated on 30th November 2016 and the financial Close was achieved in March 2017. Its **Current Status is Operational.**
15. Karot Hydropower Station got its financial Close achieved on 22nd February 2017.
16. Suki Kinari Hydropower Station, Naran, Khyber Pukhtunkhwa got its financial Close achieved on 31st December 2016. Land acquisition award announced on 17th Nov 2016 has its construction work under way.
17. Matiari To Lahore ± 660 kV HVDC Transmission Line Project got its financial closed (FC) achieved on 27th February 2019. (CPEC-Energy Priority Projects, n.d.)

Why all these projects that were not scrapped were found botched to find a place in the editorial is a question that in its answer refers to anti-CEPC ideology of the editorial. The choice of intertextual resources and references can be malevolent and ideologically motivated (Momani et al., 2010). In appraisal system, the resource of engagement, can itself bear value positions and ideological inclinations. This typically ensues when text manufacturers want to express a negative idea about a group of people, an individual, or an event/happening by selecting references that serve their own purposes.

This interpretation is likewise shared by White (2006), who contends that although a writer/speaker may provide a quoted source, which is not overtly evaluated, the citation of that source/event and the choice of particular words/events and not any other grouping/event in what the source said or wrote is a clear indication of the views that the writer upholds. He maintains that even attribution itself stands value positions and ideological inclinations. In this intertextual reference this aspect of manipulative and ideologically motivated selection of power projects is visible whereby the successful projects could not find a place in the editorials and even the successful ones like Quaid -e-

Azam Solar were negatively portrayed in a manipulative way. At social level the use of these discursive intertextual strategies tends to urge the readers doubt the efficacy of CPEC and remove their support for CPEC. Anti-CPEC ideology seems to surface through the linguistic analysis of intertextual resources.

3. Intertextual Reference to Triumphant Rhetoric and Separate Class of Investors

The fact that all of these were scrapped at advanced stages of execution shows the lack of foresight while highlighting the abundance of triumphant rhetoric under which these projects were being carried out. In almost every case, it is being discovered that the hidden costs are large enough to erode whatever cost advantages the projects are supposed to bring. Accommodating these costs in every case runs the risk of creating a separate class of investor in the power sector that enjoys privileged access to the sector's resources, from revolving funds to dollar-denominated settlement and a special security force. This situation must be avoided to safeguard the future integrity of power-sector investments. And the temptation to simply pass all these costs on to the consumers must also be resisted. If the investment coming under CPEC cannot justify itself on financial grounds, then it is worth considering why we should go down this path rather than walk the hard road of power reforms to promote competitiveness instead.

With the use of the **content word** 'fact' along with the **past tense declarative** 'were' and the **quantity grader** 'all' using the **anaphoric reference** 'these' the editorial claims the following: fact that all of these were scrapped

This is an example either of intertextual manipulation or irresponsible journalism whereby accurate information is not being given. Through a sweeping statement the anaphoric reference 'these' is referring to all the power projects that were named in the editorial as scrapped. This is not true. The fact is all of these were not scrapped. The examples in point are those of Quaid-e- Azam Solar, and Matiari to Lahore transmission line. These two were not scrapped even at the time when the editorial was written. Quaid-e-Azam Solar was operational and still is, since 2016. Matiari to Lahore transmission line project achieved its Financial Close in 2019.

A bundle of negative judgmental and negative appreciative words abound in the last chosen intertextual reference. Here are the details

“shows the lack of foresight”

Declarative form is opted to make **strong assertion**. The government is being **negatively appreciated** as having **negative tenacity** and **negative capacity**.

“In Almost every case”

Upscaling Grader of quantity “Almost every case” further intensifies the negativity shown.

“hidden costs are large enough to erode whatever cost advantages the projects are supposed to bring runs the risk of creating a separate class of investor”

Declarative with the copular ‘are’ categorically asserts the truth of the statement thereby monoglossia is observed.

Using the **counterexpectancy** resource through the **concessive use** of the **subordinating conditional conjunct ‘if’**, a suggestion is made which comes a bit too harsh on CPEC keeping in mind the intertextual contradictions and manipulations observed.

If the investment coming under CPEC cannot justify itself on financial grounds, then it is worth considering why we should go down this path rather than walk the hard road of power reforms to promote competitiveness instead.

One appalling thing is that just like the very industriously deployed and frequently floated the narrative of Baluchistan regarding CPEC in Indian media, the narrative of delays and loopholes in CPEC is also one of the favorite themes of Indian newspapers, talk shows, seminars, debates and TV channels etc. (Pandit, .2018). A multitude of internal and external challenges are being faced by Pakistan which definitely necessitate a ‘Whole Nation Approach’. US is also having reservations against CPEC as voiced by Ambassador Alice Wells, the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asia at the U.S. Department of State (ChinaRejects ,2020).

India’s desire to disrupt CPEC is very visible to everyone and needs to be thwarted. In a situation when surroundings like India and US themselves are performing a commendable job ironically to criticize, malign and create suspicions against CPEC, can a Nationalistic and responsible journalism afford to regenerate the narrative of the adversaries by censoring the project so much so as to question.

why we should go down this path

For a project that was officially announced in 2015, one year is too short a time for such a staunch criticism. At social level the usage of these discursive intertextual tactics tends to urge the readers distrust the efficacy of CPEC and take away their support for CPEC. The linguistic analysis

of the intertextual resources suggests an anti-CPEC ideology emerging through the manipulative use of language and references.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, embodying manipulative selection and citation of power projects consuming a number of linguistic tools like categorical monoglossic assertions, counterexpectancy, contradictory explicit graders, strong prediction modals, in a discriminatory, manipulative and contradictory way, to launch anti-CPEC, anti-national, and anti-government ideology. Responding to research question number three, it is seen that, in this editorial the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources for the readers is that at social level it tends to urge the readers distrust the efficacy of CPEC and misguide the readers regarding the on-ground benefits coming of the CPEC projects by hiding the success stories and plotting the failure account and tries to air uncertainty and doubt surrounding CPEC. The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at 3 places in this editorial. No direct or indirect quotations were found in the intertextual references.

- 1. Intertextual Reference to Matiari to Lahore Transmission Line** found without any direct or indirect quote. Negative appreciation for the progress of CPEC projects and the issuing negative judgment for the government found.
- 2. Intertextual Reference to Gadani, Quaid-i-Azam Solar Park and Kallar Kahar Coal Plant** found without any direct or indirect quotations. Negative appreciation for CPEC projects abounds admitting the existence of intertextual manipulation.
- 3. Intertextual Reference to Triumphant Rhetoric and Separate Class of Investors** found without any direct or indirect quotations. Intertextual contradiction found along with abounding negative appreciation for CPEC.

November 7, 2016

Editorial Title: Shuffling CPEC

The editorial refers to the changes made by the government in the energy projects and negatively evaluates these alterations as being a result of weak planning and as having negative impact on investment and reputation of the country. The linguistic analysis of this editorial suggests that at social level the implication of the discursive use of intertextual resources is that it tends to drift the reader's confidence away from the potential of CPEC projects.

1. Intertextual Reference to knocked off Energy Projects of CPEC

THE constant changes being made to the bouquet of power projects under the CPEC umbrella shows the weak state of planning that went into the whole affair. Latest reports suggest that two more projects may have been knocked off the list due to reservations about the use of imported coal. In one case, a 660MW initiative has been disallowed completely, and in another, the project sponsors have been told to arrange foreign financing and shift to local coal, meaning their timeline has been disrupted, putting a question mark on the entire project. At the same time, the government is rushing to commission a new 1200MW plant to run on imported LNG. The changes come after similar midcourse alterations to the terms in the solar tariff, as well as the collapse of the Salt Range coal-fired power project

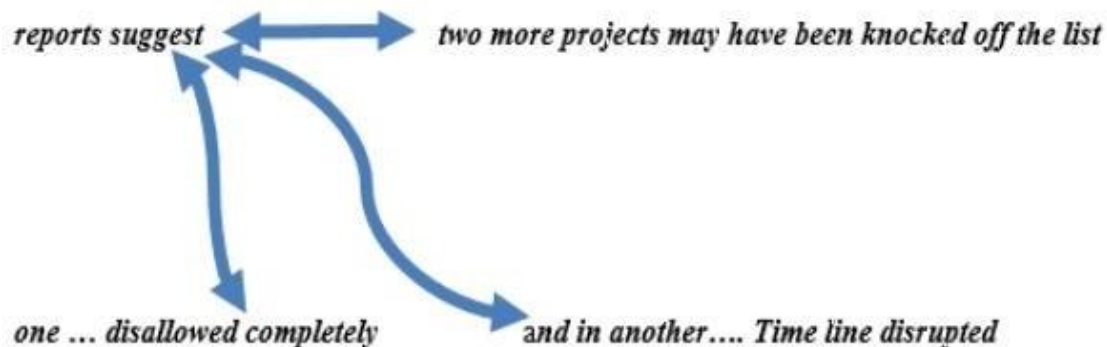
The intertextual reference refers to the 'constant changes' in the CPEC power projects, calling it a result of weak state of planning. This is a straight away start of the editorial with **negative appreciation** of the CPEC planning and thereby the CPEC planners with the words weak state of planning and the words 'constant changes'. The adjectival 'constant' is used as an **upscalling graduation force** further **amplifying** the impact of the word 'changes' in a **negative** way suggesting that a constant necessity of changes denotes a number of loopholes detected afterwards and being covered afterwards with constant alterations. This goes as **negative judgement** for the planners as well, for having **negative capacity** and **negative tenacity** through the use of the **generic intertextual engagement** referring to the **anonymous reports**

Latest reports suggest

it is remarked in the editorial that

two more projects may have been knocked off.

Stenvall (2008 a, b) identified the use of **generic sources** for example, “police, officials, military, sources, witnesses, and analysts” as instances of **authorial alignment**. He argues that whereas it may not be understood as “authoritative and credible”, it delivers an impression of heightening “the newsworthiness of the quoted information, especially as the word is often premodified by the nouns intelligence, security, or military”. In the above intertextual reference **authorial endorsement** is visible and the use of the **generic external source** suggests that the author is aligned towards projecting CPEC power projects as dilapidated. Who published these reports, where were these reports published and what are the names of the reports: all these details are obfuscated from the reference. The use of the nominalization tool is also visible whereby the use of the word ‘report’ as a ‘verb’ was replaced by the use of the word ‘report’ as a noun. It is to be noted that the writer uses the words or thoughts of an outside source to validate or challenge the attitudes. The intertextual reference under analysis cannot be taken as authoritative and credible, for the information being shared is using very **weak modality** along with a number of **visible contradictions**. Very **weak modality** ‘may’ have been is used to show a very **weak possibility** along with the very strong **phrasal verb** ‘knocked off the list’ that means to completely remove something from the list (knock off, n.d.). The **contradiction** further gets visible while the particulars of the projected ‘knocked off’ projects are detailed in the next lines. With the **obfuscation** of the **project names** one project with **vague identity** of ‘660MW initiative’ is shown as ‘**Disallowed Completely**’ and the other one even without the vague identity as of the first one is shown as having the timeline disturbed due to certain changes.



The suggestion shown through the veil of external anonymous source ‘Reports’ is thereby proven as **contradictory** as the reports were shown as suggesting two projects as ‘knocked off’ the list whereby the details given afterwards show one of the projects removed and the other one delayed. These twists, turns, and back and forth movements of the argument show existence of **intertextual manipulation** whereby the data seems to be chewed and reshaped at multiple stages to suit the purpose which seems to be projecting the CPEC power projects as a failure. **Negative appreciation** terminologies for CPEC power projects abound the intertextual reference. For example

weak state of planning

have been knocked off

timeline has been disrupted

a question mark on the entire project

The **adjectival ‘weak’**, the phrasal verb ‘knocked off’, the **disaster verb ‘disrupted’**, and the **doubt noun ‘question mark’** are **negatively appreciative terms** appreciating CPEC power projects **negatively** as **disrupted, discontinued, weak, and doubtful**. This automatically shows the **negative judgement** for the government as having **weak capacity** and **weak tenacity**. **Negative appreciation** for the government is again visible in the last line of the first paragraph whereby the government is shown ‘**rushing**’ to commission a new **1200 MW plant to run on imported LNG**. Looking at intertextual analysis of the linguistic resources the word ‘rushing’ **connotes** here steps taken without a wise premeditated planning and homework. Thereby the government again is being **negatively judged** as having **negative capacity** and **negative tenacity**. **Obfuscation** of the project name is visible again and it is left to the reader to locate the specificities of the project for further verification.

Further consolidating the **negative appreciation** of the CPEC power projects, examples of previous CPEC power projects that went into trouble are given. One of them is shown with its name

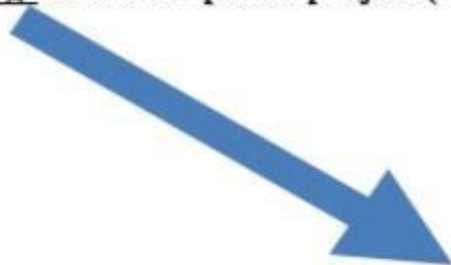
Salt Range coal-fired power project

The same project was mentioned in the editorial of 4th October whereby it was named as

Coal-fired power plant to be built in Kallar Kahar

It is an important observation since that **repetition** of the same subject is seen in the newspaper with a gap of just two days. Further the repetition in both the days comes with different names for the same project that is

Salt Range coal-fired power project (November 7th)



coal-fired power plant to be built in Kallar Kahar (November 4th)

It seems this usage of different names for same project might be a strategy to counter any doubts created in the minds of the readers regarding the fairness and legitimacy of the objective of this quick repetition of the same name, subject and argument. It may also have an objective of disguising, faking, dissimulating or confusing the identity of the projects so as to showcase that it's not one project but two that were scrapped. This again may be taken as strategy of **intertextual manipulation** whereby multiple nominations for the same project were used that may affect the clarity of the statement so as to lead the reader into different interpretations into the desired direction of the newspaper. **Repetition in appraisal framework** is identified as an **upscaling graduation** force to emphasize a point. Thereby an **intertextual repetition** of the same subject is noted between the selected editorials of Dawn - the editorials of 4th and 7th November being the examples in point - whereby the same project was repeated with different names in both the editorials.

Other linguistic manifestations of the repeated intertextual salt range project in the current editorial entail the usage of the term 'midcourse alterations' and the **disaster vocabulary** word 'collapse' in the following ways

midcourse alterations to the terms in the solar tariff

collapse of the Salt Range coal-fired power project

The words 'midcourse alteration' negatively appreciate power projects' performance as not moving forward in the direction of completion but lingering on in the way because of alterations in the mid of the journey. The **adjectival 'midcourse' modifying** the word 'alteration' further **upscales** the **gravity** of the alteration as being a signal to the non-professional **capacity** of the planners for having to cause it the mid of the course suggesting that the capabilities of the planners are so weak that the need for alteration was detected by them when halfway to completion of the project had been covered.

The selection of intertextual resources and references can be malicious and ideologically motivated (Momani et al, 2010). The resource of engagement in appraisal system can itself bear value positions and ideological inclinations. This ensues when text producers want to express a negative idea about a group of people, an individual, or an event/happening by selecting references that serve their own purposes.

In the analysis of the Dawn editorial ‘Impediments to CPEC projects’ published on 4th of November 2016, the researcher listed a number of successful power projects of CPEC, some of which were operational since 2016 and many got operational the following year and onwards. Further 2016 also marked successful

Financial Closing FC of many CPEC power projects. The fact that none of the successful power projects could find a place in the selected Dawn editorials written on related theme stands as a question mark to the legitimacy of the argument and the ideological positioning of the editor regarding the intertextual references. The analysis of the selected intertextual references seems to suggest anti-CPEC ideology of the newspaper.

2. Intertextual Reference to Calls for Greater Transparency

Given these frequent changes, it is becoming clear that foresight and planning were missing from the launch of one of the biggest series of energy-sector investments ever in this country's history. This is one reason why calls for greater transparency in CPEC are so pertinent. Clearly, the impact of imported coal on the external account of the country ought to have been studied long before the projects were approved, granted an upfront tariff, and issued letters of support and generation licences.

Calls for greater transparency are being referred to this intertextual reference whereby the external source is being engaged through **naming the speech act** and that is ‘calls’. The source of these calls again is being obfuscated.

According to Fairclough (2001) **obfuscation** of the **agent** is **ideologically motivated**. The use of **generic sources** is identified by Stenvall (2008a, b) as instances of **authorial alignment**. The **anonymous outside voice** being quoted in this reference thereby is an instance of authorial alignment for the voice which is further certified through the proceeding comments of the author in the same sentence calling them ‘**so pertinent**’. **Adverbial grader ‘so’** is used to further strengthen the

authorial endorsement of the calls for transparency. The use of the **upgrading graduation resource** to call these calls so relevant also serves as a projected indicator of the ‘so’ much lacking transparency. **Presupposition** which is obviously apparent here to frame the reader’s mind is that CPEC does not entail enough transparency. **Negative appreciation** of the CPEC deals is visible. **Positive appreciation** for the calls for transparency is surfacing through the use of the words ‘so pertinent’ thereby implicitly evaluating the critics of CPEC voicing these calls as having **positive tenacity** and **veracity** for raising relevant objections. **Negative judgement** for the CPEC planners as having **negative capacity** for having no foresight is obvious.

Contradiction again is visible that what is the link of calls for transparency with the planning of the project. Transparency normally is related to money matters and justified dispersal of project contracts to the eligible investors. Since the objection being made is on poor planning

Given these frequent changes, it is becoming clear that foresight and planning were missing thereby the **presupposition** surfacing to the fore is that contracts are being suspected as not been transparently distributed to the investors and been given away through favoritism or nepotism. As a result, the ineligible investors who got the contracts were the poor planners and could not plan properly.

But beginning with the **epistemic adverbial comment adjunct ‘clearly’ and using the modal expression ‘ought to have been’** the next line appearing after this reference is

Clearly the impact of imported coal on the external account of the country ought to have been studied long before the projects were approved, granted an upfront tariff, and issued letters of support and generation licenses.

thereby a turn back to the main stake holders of CPEC is taken as the ones who were supposed to do the planning and study the impact **long before the projects were approved** hence suggesting it was done close to the issuance of contracts. The flaw of poor planning thus goes back to the main stake holders of CPEC and is removed thereby from the investors to whom the contracts were issued. So, with the final conclusion for the poor planning being the result of the poor planning of the main stake holders and not because of the (ineligible) investors receiving the contracts, the narrative of the ‘calls for transparency’ becomes all the more irrelevant and surfaces **intertextual confusions** and **contradictions**. As poor planning of the ineligible investors given the contracts unjustifiably or the embezzlement in money matters can be nominated as transparency

related matters but the poor planning on the part of the main stake holder can be related to non - professionalism, lack of seriousness or dedication but not to the problems in transparency. A back and forth, turning and twisting movement in the argument is again visible in the editorial. Amidst all these contradictions and confusions, the editorial is a **sum** of **negative appreciation** for CPEC and **negative evaluation** of CPEC planners e.g. **frequent** changes

foresight and planning were missing

why calls for greater transparency

The adjectival 'frequent' modifying the word 'changes', the term 'were missing' and 'calls for transparency' negatively evaluate not only CPEC planning as not standing on solid grounds thereby requiring frequent changes, but also the reliability of the CPEC. Anti-CPEC ideology is again surfacing through the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources.

3. Intertextual Reference to Private Power and Infrastructure Board

The change of mind came at the Private Power and Infrastructure Board sometime in October. This is the same body that approved the projects and granted them letters of support earlier in the year. Perhaps such a strong emphasis on coal-fired power plants was never a good idea to start off with, due to their impact on the external account as well as the environment. But the way the government is changing its mind in the middle of the project timelines sends a signal to investors that Pakistan remains a high-risk country and dampens investor enthusiasm further.

Intertextual reference to *Private Power and Infrastructure Board (PPIB)* is found in the last paragraph. The Private Power and Infrastructure Board (PPIB) is a government body created in 1994 as "One Window Facilitator" to promote private sector participation in the power sector of Pakistan. PPIB executes Implementation Agreement (IA) with Project Sponsors and issues sovereign guarantees and facilitates investors in establishing private power projects and related infrastructure, on behalf of Government of Pakistan. It functions to implement the power policies for the establishment of power projects through private sector investment and award projects, prepare all necessary or appropriate documentation, execute any of such documentation with private power companies, their sponsors and lenders etc. It also recommends and facilitates in the development of power policies and coordinates with the Provincial Governments, Local Governments, Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K) and regulatory bodies in implementation of the power policies. It also coordinates and facilitates the sponsors in obtaining consents and licences from

various agencies of the Federal Government, provincial governments, local governments and AJ& K to draft, negotiate and enter into security package documents or agreements and guarantee the contractual obligations of entities under the power policies. It also performs any other function or exercises any other power as may be entrusted by the Federal Government (Private Power, n.d.). Since the PPIB is a government body any criticism on PPIB or its performance means a criticism on government itself.

All the criticism regarding the changes in the power plans and CPEC project licenses is associated to PPIB in this intertextual reference. Negative appreciation for the PPIB comes to the fore with a number of linguistic items as follows

1. Change of Mind
2. Never a good idea
3. Changing it mind
4. Sends a signal to the investors

The negative outcome of the alleged flaws in PPIB are shown as follows

- i. *sends a signal to investors that Pakistan remains a high-risk country*
- ii. *dampens investor enthusiasm further*

The linguistic analysis of the negative outcomes of the government activities shows two important presuppositions

1. through the word ‘remains’ with ‘a high-risk country’ suggesting that Pakistan is already a high-risk country and the signal sent to investors through PPIB is just the continuation and perpetuation of the same image. This suggests a negative appreciation for Pakistan on the part of the newspaper and suggests the journalism of conflict in place with anti-state ideology surfacing.
2. through the use of the adverbial ‘further’ with the terms *dampens investor enthusiasm* an anti-state presupposition comes to the forefront that investors’ enthusiasm regarding investment in Pakistan is already dampened and PPIB actions are furthering it.

Negative appreciation and negative judgement regarding PPIB and government again abound in the intertextual reference.

Looking at the editorial as a whole it is found that the tool of repetition of negative vocabulary with the same meaning is visible which suggests the repetition being used for the sake of repetition and criticism for the sake a criticism just to upscale the impact of negativity attached with CPEC. A genuine criticism does not require redundancy of this level. Given below are the examples of repetitions in this editorial.



-
- 1.Foresight and planning were missing**
2.Weak state of planning

and

-
- 1.Impact on external account**
2.The impact of imported coal on external account

These repetitions suggest the same drum being beaten again and again without any new substance added to support it. Anti -Nationalist and Anti-Government ideology seems surfacing through the intertextual analysis of the linguistic resources.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, embodying manipulative selection and citation of power projects consuming a number of linguistic tools like, obfuscation of project specifics and sources, nominalization, generic intertextual engagement, negative presuppositions, repetition, upscaling graduation forces, disaster vocabulary, negative appreciation, and negative judgement etc. in a discriminatory, manipulative and contradictory way, to launch anti-CPEC, and anti-government ideology. Responding to research question number three, it is seen that, in this editorial the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources for the readers is that at social level it tends to urge the readers distrust the efficacy of CPEC and misguide the readers regarding the CPEC projects by presenting a manipulative account of the projects' failures in a contradictory and confusing way to air uncertainty and doubt surrounding CPEC projects.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place. Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at 3 places in this editorial. No direct quotes found. Indirect voices through anonymous sources found.

1. **Intertextual Reference to knocked off Energy Projects of CPEC** found with no direct quotation. Anonymous reports were indirectly quoted. Intertextual contradictions and manipulations found. Tool of obfuscation used. Negative judgement and obfuscation of CPEC power projects and planners abound.
2. **Intertextual Reference to Calls for Greater Transparency** found without any direct quotation. Intertextual engagement with outside source found through naming of the speech act 'calls'. Obfuscation of the agent, through the tool of nominalization found. Intertextual contradiction visible and negative evaluation for CPEC and its planners found.
3. **Intertextual Reference to Private Power and Infrastructure Board** found without any direct or indirect quotation found. Negative appreciation for government and PPIB found with multiple anti-state presuppositions getting generated.

November 17, 2016

Editorial Title: CPEC Controversies

The editorial refers to the departure of the first cargo from Gwadar. The validity of the previous reservations made from the different quarters regarding the existence of the Western route is being questioned, because of the actual demonstration, of the existence of the Western route, through the use of this route for the movement of one of the packets of cargo convoy to be departed from Gwadar. The need of focused and constructive conversation on CPEC is emphasized. The linguistic analysis of this editorial suggests that at social level the implication of the discursive use of intertextual resources is that it tends to drift the reader's confidence towards CPEC through positively receiving the opening of Gwadar port and voicing the on-ground demonstration of the existence of the Western route.

Following are intertextual references are found in the editorial:

1. Intertextual Reference to the Departure of First Cargo from Gwadar

The first intertextual reference to the departure of first cargo appears in the following words

ONE thing that the departure of the first cargo under CPEC has established is that a western route to Gwadar port does indeed exist, and the port is indeed operational. To demonstrate that point, the convoy was deliberately brought down to the port from the western route, crossing the Indus at the new bridge at Khushalgarh, down to DI Khan and Zhob and onward to Quetta.

The editorial begins with the reference to the first cargo departure from Gwadar describing that the event has established the existence of Western route and Operationalization of the port. The existence of the route was demonstrated by bringing the convoy down to the route through the Western route crossing the Indus at the new bridge at Khushalgarh, down to DI Khan and Zhob and onward to Quetta. The intertextual reference is replete with **declarative** statements suggesting the confidence in the point made. The first **declarative** appears with the use of the words "*has established*" in "*ONE thing that the departure of the first cargo under CPEC has established*". The use of the **infinitive** form of '*to have*' is showing **strong** confidence in what is being shown as

been established by the Gwadar Cargo departure that is the existence of western route to Gwadar. Using the **judgement** lexis '*established*' the port's launch is being positively appreciated showing positive **capacity** and positive tenacity. The second part of the sentence carrying the same intertextual reference launches another **declarative proclaimer** appearing as: *that a western route to Gwadar port does indeed exist*. The use of the auxiliary '*does*' and **adverbial adjunct** '*indeed*' further add **force** to the declaration being made about the existence of Gwadar port. Further it shows positive **veracity** and positive **capacity** of the government through using the positive **appreciation** lexis of one of the projects undertaken by it. Moving further on the same pattern of the **declaratives** the editor continues in the last part of the reference as: *the port is indeed operational*. The use of the **copular** '*is*' is showing the categorical assertion for the port being operational and further this gets **enforced** through the use of the **adverbial adjunct** '*indeed*'. Continuing on the same point the editor informs:

To demonstrate that point, the convoy was deliberately brought down to the port from the western route, crossing the Indus at the new bridge at Khushalgarh, down to DI Khan and Zhob and onward to Quetta.

The editorial declares using the **strong declarative** clause with simple past tense '*was*' that the convoy was deliberately brought down to the port from the Western route and as an evidential support the editor named all the important locations covered on the journey. To further focus on the farsightedness and prudence of the action the word '*deliberately*' was used to show that it was not a route taken by chance but through a calculated speculation by the government. Positive evaluation for the government's action showing positive tenacity and positive **veracity** seems visible.

This linguistic analysis of this intertextual reference suggests a pro-government and pro-CPEC ideology emerging.

2. Intertextual Reference to the Talk on Western Route

The next intertextual reference appears in the following words

There was a lot of talk in days past about the western route being neglected, and resources meant for Gwadar port having been spent in Karachi instead. It is not clear what grounds gave rise to such talk, but the fact that some of it echoed inside parliament gave it a significance it would not otherwise have had. We now have an actual demonstration of the existence of a western route, as well as the functionality of the port in question, so perhaps the time has come for the critics to be more specific

about what exactly their grievances are.

The intertextual reference begins by referring to the reservations raised by the anonymously referred people regarding the western route being neglected and Gwadar resources being used for Karachi. The anonymous people thereby are shown as having been **negatively** judging the government for having **negative veracity** and **negative** tenacity.

The editor uses the resource of **negation ‘not’** for showing the lack of grounds on which the talk arose and in the second part of the same sentence a **disclaimer** is added through the **concessive conjunction ‘but’** in the following words: *but the fact that some of it echoed inside parliament gave it a significance it would not otherwise have had* showing the futility of the reservations for having their significance not on any solid grounds but barely for the chance that some of it was echoed in the parliament. An important point to be noted over here is the absence of agency through the tool of **nominalization**. Who raised the reservations in the parliament and around is not clear even the generic nomination is not given. The result of nominalizing processes is the conception of an abstract ‘thing’ whereby the human agent is masked, and tense is removed. This lets discourse to be very abstract, general and formal and permits the writer to distance himself/herself from an argument. Through this the writer’s statements are also given the sense of being true, since they have been generalized (Lagonikos, 2005). The next line appears with the use of **consensual pronoun ‘we’** in the following words: *We now have an actual* demonstration of the existence of a western route, as well as the functionality of the port in question, so perhaps the time has come for the critics to be more specific about what exactly their grievances are.

The use of the **consensual pronoun** creates a sense of group identity with the readers followed by reiterations of the point made in the earlier part of the editorial that the actual demonstration of the existence of the western route is available now thereby editor comes up with a demand from those having the reservations to articulate the reservations more exactly. The repetition of the same point also is a linguistic tool to emphasize the importance of the point being made. The use of the **consensual pronoun ‘we’** in comparison to the generic word ‘critics’ also creates a sense of detachment from those critics for not making them a part of ‘we’. The critics thereby are being treated as belonging to the out group and the readers and all those recognizing the demonstration of the route as belonging to the in group. The use of the **attitude adverb ‘perhaps’** which having the **downscaling graduation force**, seems to add politeness while addressing the

'critics' and advising them *to be more specific about what exactly their grievances are*. The adjectival '*specific*' being used with the amplifier adverbial '*more*' having **upscaling graduation force** presupposes that the critics are not specific thereby they need *to be more specific* about *what exactly their grievances are*. Adverbial 'what' along with the modifier '*exactly*' is used in '*what exactly their grievances are*' as the critics are being shown as neither having clarity in their articulation nor in the exact identification of their grievance. This thereby implies that the editor is sending a message to the reader suggesting the futility of the grievances of the critics. The implicit message seems to be about the absence of any real grievances as the real grievances are neither difficult to articulate nor to locate. This **negatively** judges the actions of the critics as having **negative veracity**. *Additionally, the* use of third person plural possessive pronoun '*their*' in what '*exactly their grievances are*' also shows the detachment of the editor from the grievances of '*the critics*' being referred to through this word '*their*'. This suggests the editor as not owning the grievances of the critics and referring to the grievances as 'theirs'. The reason that the editor gave for this demand of being clear to the critics again relies on the same reason given by the editor that actual demonstration of the Western route really now exists. The readers should know the context of the Western route being referred to again and again by the editor. CPEC and the introduction of its different projects is given in the beginning of the analysis chapter whereby it is clear that one of the major projects of CPEC is the building of huge roads. Western route of that network to be passing from the smaller provinces of Pakistan was time and again being doubted for being diverted to other provinces. The government, plenty of times tried to clear the doubts but voices of dissent continued. For that matter, in order to settle the differences one of the packets of the cargo to be departed from the port was brought in to the port from the Western route of the Corridor thereby practically demonstrating the existence of that corridor in smaller provinces. This is what the editor is referring to repeatedly in this editorial. Repetition is also a linguistic tool to emphasize and **upscale** the importance of a point being made.

The linguistic analysis of the current intertextual reference shows pro-CPEC ideology emerging whereby the conflicts are being de-emphasized and a message of unanimity being delivered.

3. Intertextual Reference to Different Routes of CPEC

The next intertextual reference to the different routes of CPEC appears in the following word

Some critics might argue that the western route was supposed to run through Khuzdar to

DG Khan, and onward to the Karnal Sher Khan interchange in Swabi district of the Peshawar-Islamabad motorway. From there it was supposed to travel through Swat and link up with the Karakoram Highway. That route, according to a map of the National Highway Network, would cut almost 350km of travelling distance compared to the route through the motorway. There was another route, running from DI Khan to Peshawar, that has also yet to be built. Work on the Swat Motorway kicked off in August of this year.

People can be excused for becoming a bit dizzy when reading the details of all these routes. It can become difficult to keep track of what is being talked about. Given how vituperative the rhetoric surrounding the issue can become, it is difficult to believe that the whole controversy is simply about ensuring that the benefits of future CPEC flows should be shared equitably.

While intertextually referring to the different routes the editor refers to the following

1. Khuzdar-DG Khan-Karnal Sher Khan Interchange in Swabi District-Swat-Karakoram Highway route
2. DI Khan –Peshawar route
3. Swat Motorway

The editor while referring to all these routes -one of them again being shown as having the possibility to be criticized by the critics- writes

People can be excused for becoming a bit dizzy when reading the details of all these routes.

The editor using the deontic ‘*can*’ refers to the excusable possibility of people becoming a bit dizzy while reading the details of the routes given by the editor. What the editor wants to achieve by writing this is interesting to know. The editor is implicitly suggesting that the routes and their details is not an easy task to understand and can make people feel dizzy even when simply reading it.

Further focusing on the same point the editor writes

It can become difficult to keep track of what is being talked about

Using the epistemic ‘*can*’ the point again reiterates the difficulty of understanding even when

one is just listening to what is being talked about. The editor thereby seems to suggest that understanding about routes and their details is not an easy job specially for public. The point that the writer wants to make becomes very clear in the next line while intertextually referring to the '*rhetoric*' (Engagement shown through referring to speech act)

Given how vituperative the rhetoric surrounding the issue can become, it is difficult to believe that the whole controversy is simply about ensuring that the benefits of future CPEC flows should be shared equitably.

Through the start with the word '*Given*' used in the meanings of 'proven' in the subordinating clause '*Given how vituperative the rhetoric surrounding the issue can become*' the editor launches the counter-expectancy in the main clause as follows:

...it is difficult to believe that the whole controversy is simply about ensuring that the benefits of future CPEC flows should be shared equitably.

A thing which in itself is quite difficult to understand for common public if is found surrounded by vituperative rhetoric in the public creates multiple doubts like

- i. People speaking without, understanding, grounds and logic
- ii. People having a different agenda other than the one being posed
- iii. People being misused by other forces in different agendas

The **appreciation** lexis to **negatively** evaluate the word '*rhetoric*' through the **adjectival** '*vituperative*' having the meanings of 'slandorous, abusive and malicious', is used to **negatively** judge the behavior of the critics involved in it as having **negative veracity**. The editor disclaims the notion by doubting the objective of the whole controversy as being about *ensuring that the benefits of future CPEC flows should be shared equitably*. The legitimacy of the rhetoric surrounding the roads is being questioned by the editor. The logics given by the editorial to doubt the critics are:

- i. Practical Demonstration of the Western route shown
- ii. Vituperative nature of the rhetoric around an issue which though even is difficult to understand when just being read or heard.
- iii. Through the use of the negative word Vituperative for referring to the rhetoric the suggestion seems that loss of real grounds to speak actually makes one go abusive.

4. Intertextual Reference to KalaBagh Dam and CPEC Dimensions

The intertextual reference to Kalabagh Dam appears in the following words

Raising the spectre of Kalabagh dam, or worse still, the dismemberment of the country as some have done, over some stretches of road is so far over the top that it certainly inspires questions as to where such animus is coming from, especially given the fact that much work is indeed being carried out. A conversation is definitely needed around the benefits that will flow from CPEC in the future, and who they will be shared with. But that conversation needs far more focus on the specifics of the projects than is currently the case. There are several dimensions to CPEC projects: the road network, the power projects, the assorted industrial zones, language teaching centres and other paraphernalia for the promotion of connectivity. All of these deserve attention, not just the stretches of roads being built.

The editor refers to the over exaggerated nature of the criticism being raised by the critics in the following words

“Raising the spectre of Kalabagh dam, or worse still, the dismemberment of the country as some have done, over some stretches of road is so far over the top that it certainly inspires questions as to where such animus is coming from, especially given the fact that much work is indeed being carried out.”

The editorial counts two aspects to doubt the cause and direction of the critics under discussion, and shows their exaggeration as follows

1. Raising the Spectre of KalaBagh Dam

and

2. Raising the Rhetoric of Country's

Dismemberment,

over the stretches of road.



The editorial launches the comparison of the significance level between the demand and the consequences announced resulting if the demand not heeded. The actions of the critics are being judged

in **negative** light through the use of words like ‘spectre’, ‘dismemberment’, ‘worse’ etc. which show **negative veracity** of the participants of the criticism. The criticism of CPEC is being nullified by the editorial by using a number of **declaratives** as follows

1. is so far over the top
2. it certainly inspires questions
3. much work is indeed being carried out

In first clause the use of the **copular** ‘is’ is visible to categorically assert three points that the criticism is exaggerated thereby **negative judgement** for the behaviour of critics showing **negative veracity** is visible through the use of **negative appreciation** lexis. In second clause the comment **adjunct adverbial** ‘certainly’ is added with the **infinitive** form of the verb ‘inspires’ to **proclaim** the questions definitely arising on the behavior of critics. In the third clause **strong declarative** is launched through the use of the simple present tense ‘is’ that claims that much work indeed is being carried out by the government. A real genuine concern over something encompasses all the aspects of the phenomenon. The editor seems to imply that all the rhetoric being heard of, is all about the stretches of roads to be made by CPEC though it makes just one of the many dimensions of CPEC. A genuine criticism of CPEC will have a sound grip on all the aspects and will refer to problems in other areas as well. The editorial seems to suggest that if some sort of discrimination was doubted over the stretches of road, how come the other aspects of CPEC were given clearance on the same grounds. This lack of critics’ attention towards other aspects of the project further intensifies the doubts for the hostility arriving from somewhere else and with some other agendas. The editor seems to suggest that the public is not well-versed on the specifics of CPEC but is being fed bits and pieces and that too **negatively** to create unrest. The editor seems to implicitly refer to India’s subversive involvement in the internal affairs of Pakistan along with the separatist movement it is trying to blow up in Pakistan.

The linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows a pro-CPEC ideology emerging whereby a message of national unity is being forwarded to the reader.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows a number of linguistic tools like declaratives, categorical assertions, repetitions, disclaimers, negation resources, presuppositions, deontic/epistemic, modality, counterexpectancy, appreciations and judgements, nominalization, attitude adverbs, and third person plural pronouns etc.

to launch pro-government and pro-CPEC ideology. Responding to research question number three it is seen that, in this editorial the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources for the readers is that at social level it tends to generate a sense of achievement and confidence among its readers, subside the propagated provincial conflict, remove distrust and drift the reader away from the actions and stances of the opposition against CPEC.

The current research focused on two types of intertextualities namely Reported Speech/Voice and reference to events/people/place.

Answering research question number one, intertextual references were found at 4 places in this editorial. No direct quotations were found in the intertextual references. One of the references used naming the speech act 'talk' to attribute to outside source.

1. Intertextual Reference to the Departure of First Cargo from Gwadar found with the use of strong declaratives to positively appreciate the Gwadar ceremony and CPEC. Use of copulars, adverbial adjuncts visible to positively appreciate the efforts of the government to eliminate doubts regarding Western route. Evidential support was given by the editor by naming all the important stops taken on the Western route.
2. Intertextual Reference to the Talk on Western Route found with negation resources, concessive conjunctions, and disclaimers used to suggest the futility of the reservation made by the critics of CPEC regarding the Western route. Use of consensual pronoun 'we' for the constructing group identity with the readers visible. Tool of repetition used to emphasize a point. Third person pronouns used to refer to the critics' reservations thereby distancing from their views. Tool of **upscaling** and **downscaling** graduation force used. Negative judgement for the CPEC critics found.
3. Intertextual Reference to Different Routes of CPEC found with names of different routes given. Epistemic and deontic modalities used. Use of counter-expectancy also is place.
4. Intertextual Reference to KalaBagh Dam found with the use of negative judgmental words. Copulars, declaratives and infinitives found.

CHAPTER 5

COMPARISON OF THE ANALYTICAL FINDINGS FOR THE FOUR NEWSPAPERS

The already established position, policy, affiliation, and vision of the respective newspapers were confirmed through this study but the analysis exposed the legitimacy level of that position by discovering manipulations/genuineness, contradictions/consistencies, discrimination/impartiality in the logic being given, and in the utilization of linguistic tools through the linguistic analysis of the deployed intertextual resources. Main findings of the analysis can be pictorially shown as under

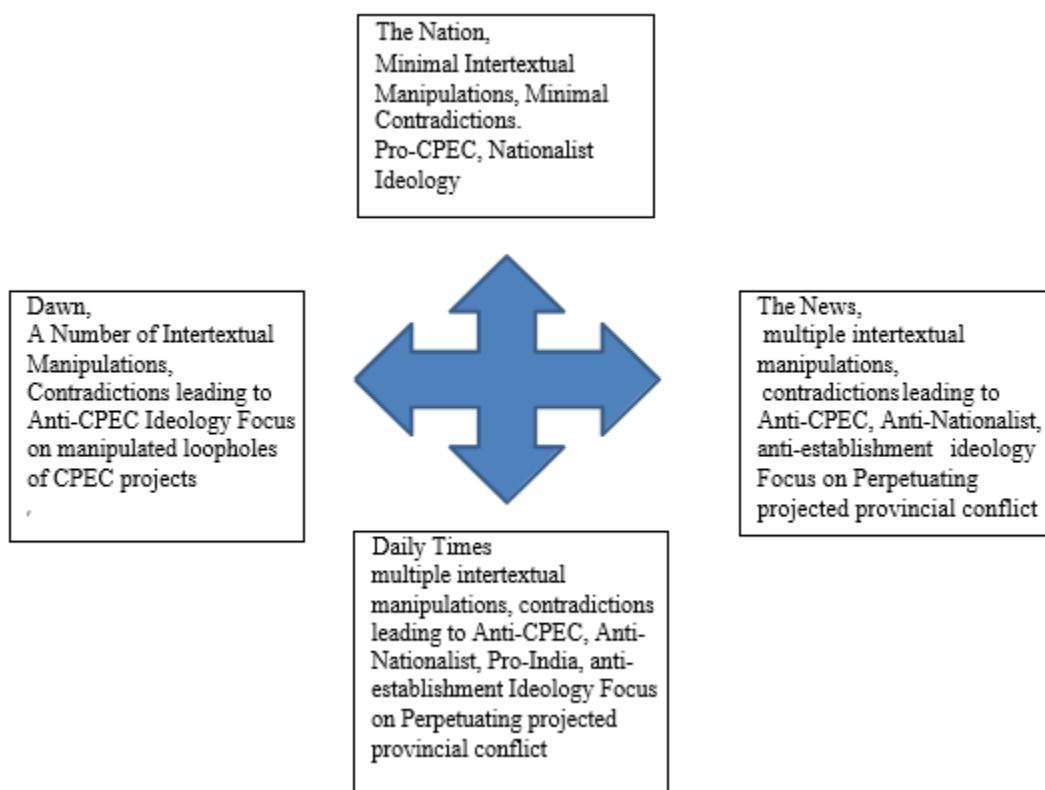



Figure 5.1 Main Findings Pictorially

To sum up the findings of the analysis and compare them have a look at the table given below

Table 5.1 Comparative Table of Findings

The Daily Times	Anti-CPEC, Anti-Army, Anti-Government Ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on Civil-Military conflict, Projected issue of Baluchistan and Gilgit relating it to CPEC • Intertextual references found at about 23 places. • Two Direct quotes found • Remaining intertextual references found as indirect voices or references to events/places • Monoglossic Declaratives and obligation modals found to support anti-CPEC narrative ,anti-state and province deprivation narrative • Heteroglossic tool of conditionals and hedging vocabulary found when apparently appreciating the CPEC positively • Intertextual relation with Indian PM Modi's narrative found in all the 5 editorials • The intertextual relationship with the editorials of The News found for focusing the same theme of projected Baluchistan issue and both the newspapers found intertextually linked to Modi's narrative • Manipulative Intertextual ellipses found for the quotes from Army and Government • Intertextual contradictions found to link unrelated entities • Intertextual references use conditionals to downscale any positive appraisal of CPEC • Ideological selectin of intertextual quotes found • No value judgement found while referring to anti-Pakistan elements. Heteroglossia and hedging vocabulary found while referring to entities like India and its adverse activities. • Generic and anonymous sources found for intertextual resources for projecting Baluchistan and Gilgit issue showing authorial alignment • Discursive use of intertextual resources found to move the reader away from CPEC at social level, perpetuate projected provincial issue, generate pro-India and anti-establishment mindset
Nation	Pro-CPEC, Pro-Government, Nationalist Ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on highlighting the importance of CPEC and appreciating the commitment of government • Intertextual references at 22 places . • No direct quotations found • Intertextual references found as indirect voices or references to events/places • The use of intertextual resources found to strengthen the frames of unity behind CPEC • Intertextual references to show positive capacity of Government and its representatives found • Intertextual references with the use of positive appreciative vocabulary found for government and CPEC with upscaling graders and adverbials • Intertextual references with negative evaluative vocabulary(intensified through graduation forces) found for

		<p>CPEC critics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of scare quotes found to discredit the voices of opposition against CPEC • Text within and around the intertextual resources seen with consensual pronouns at many places to create a group identity with the reader and opt a dialogic style in favour of CPEC • Generic attributive engagement found along with a tool of nominalization visibly used to remove agency, focus on the issues at hand and show authorial alignment with the government • Use of strong negation found to disclaim the voices of dissent against CPEC • Presuppositions found implicitly pointing to activities of anti-CPEC elements as adverse • Counterexpectancy resources found through the use of negation, concession to induct voices that highlight the importance of CPEC • Rhetorical questions found to engage with the reader in dialogic nature of the arguments to favour CPEC • Authorial alignment with the government shown through the use of generic terminology. • Intertextual manipulation found at one place • One intertextual manipulation in November 15 editorial to give the credit of Gwadar to ex-president Pakistan Musharraf. Not meant to malign CPEC. • Discursive use of intertextual resources to inculcate a sense of unity in the readers regarding CPEC at social level, and to criticize the anti-CPEC critics by showing their concerns as redundant and invalid.
The News	Anti-CPEC, Anti-Nationalist, Implicit anti-Army Ideology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on highlighting the projected deprivation of provinces in CPEC, and negative appraisal for government • Intertextual references at 27 places found as indirect voices or references to events/places • No Direct quotations found • Intertextual reference to Projected issue of Baluchistan found in all the selected editorials as if to plant ,nurture and worsen the planted conflict • Intertextual relationship found with the editorials of Daily Times and Indian PM Modi for voicing the same reservations of the projected issue of Baluchistan/Gilgit Baltistan • Intertextual manipulations and twisting of information found with a focus to malign CPEC and government regarding the projected 'deprived provinces' issue • Intertextual contradictions found between the statement of the selected editorials • Negative appreciation for CPEC projects found along with downscaling graders • Manipulative implicit negative appreciation of CPEC projects found under the guise of apparent positive appreciation • Declarative structures, upscaling-graders or strong modals

		<p>used in and around the intertextual resources highlighting problems</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Authorial alignment found with the anti-CPEC intertextual resources • Obfuscation tool found to hide the identity of anti-CPEC elements • Subtle clues of appreciation found for the anti-CPEC elements in intertextual references • Authorial distancing found from the intertextual resources showing government's stance • Discursive use of intertextual resources to drift the reader away from CPEC at social level, perpetuate projected provincial issue, generate pro-India and anti-establishment mindset
Dawn	<p>Mostly Anti-CPEC, (except for one editorial on 17th November on Gwadar Opening)</p> <p>Anti-Government Pro-Army Ideology</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on CPEC power project loopholes, and Government's inefficiency, • Intertextual references found at 16 places • No direct quotation found, • Indirect voices and reference to CPEC power projects found • Generic and functional nomination of intertextual resources found for indirect voices mostly for authorial alignment with voices of dissent against CPEC projects • Authorial alignment with anti-CPEC voices found • Intertextual manipulations found related to CPEC Power projects; swindling facts • Intertextual Contradictions found amongst the selected editorials • Manipulative use of confusing lexis within and around the intertextual resources, found with declaratives and upscalling graders to assert the misquoted information against CPEC • No intertextual reference to perpetuate projected provinces conflicts found • Negative appreciation for CPEC projects found • Obfuscation of successful projects found • Negative judgement for Government found • Many statements with negative Presuppositions against Government's performance found • Positive appreciation for Army and China found • Discursive use of intertextual resources found to drift the reader's confidence away from the potential of CPEC projects at social level

5.1 Daily Times Findings

Five editorials of Daily Times dated September 3, 2016; September 5, 2016; September 20, 2016; November 14, 2016, and December 16, 2016, were selected for the analysis. The analysis of the intertextual references of Daily Times shows anti-CPEC, anti-Nationalist, anti-establishment and pro-India ideologies emerging. The selected intertextual references were found at about 23 places out of which direct quotes were found only at two places. Rest of all other references were found in the shape of indirect voices or references to important events/places and things. Focus of the intertextual references, used by the newspaper editorials, is to highlight contradictions related to CPEC and perpetuate the 'projected' provincial deprivation issue. The linguistic analysis shows that the discursive use of intertextual resources seems to move the reader away from CPEC at social level, perpetuate projected provincial issue, generate pro-India and anti-establishment mindset.

Analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of conflict journalism, with minimal evidential support, flimsy logic, manipulation, ellipses, transformation and contradictions. The theme of CPEC in the editorials is surrounded by almost all **negative appraisals** in all the intertextual references studied. The intertextual analysis of the linguistic resources surfaces a number of statements used to create doubts around CPEC. For example

1. Special Security Division (SSD), announced for the protection of Chinese workers, has been held up..
2. Chinese investors and officials showing concern on the security situation
3. Civilian and military leadership have still to agree to terms of reference (Appendix A, iii)
4. Mutual 'distrust' is impeding cooperation
5. The government is not willing to ratify the ToR
6. Security is particularly problematic
7. FWO...has already lost 44 men
8. Promoting unequal development etc. (Appendix A, iii)

Not a single editorial of Daily Times in the selected time period missed out the intertextual narrative of voicing the projected plight of Baluchistan/Gilgit and linking it to CPEC. The

intertextual references carrying the data to project the provinces of Baluchistan and Gilgit as facing gross violations, is shown coming from generalized, anonymous and thereby obfuscated sources. Fairclough, (2001) submits that hiding such agents is often “ideologically” motivated and that such motivation might be “consistent, automatic or commonsensical in a manner which could be used for **hedging** or deception.” The intertextual resources used while referring to the projected province issue use a number of negative appraisal words like ‘apprehension’, ‘grievances’, ‘sensitive’, ‘exacerbated’, ‘denied’, ‘unequal’, ‘long standing’, ‘unsettling part’, ‘apathy’, ‘grips of poverty’, ‘underdevelopment’ etc. The analysis of the intertextual resources projecting the provinces having issues show strict **monoglossia** through the use of **declarative** clauses where the possibility of alternative voices was either absent and their space was **contracted** by the use of **disclaimers** in the shape of **negations** or by the use of strong **obligation modals** like ‘should not’, ‘must occupy’, ‘must also be provided’, ‘must be forsaken’. This shows the existence of intertextual manipulation through the discriminatory use of linguistic resources. Analysis of intertextual resources shows a tendency of Daily Times editorials to forcibly link the old and constitutional matters of provinces like Baluchistan and Gilgit to CPEC. Linking up problems of G/B with CPEC hint to anti nationalist stance taken by the anti-federation sources. An intertextual link _ sharing the same subject of G/B problems as Indian PM

Modi did_ again makes its presence being **strongly** felt. Intertextual relationship with the speech of Indian PM Modi is found in all the selected editorials for sharing the same subject of Baluchistan. The text of Modi’s speech (People of Baluchistan, 2016) depicts pain and empathy for the projected troubles of Gilgit/ Baluchistan people as shown through the address of Modi on India’s independence day (referred to by the 3rd Sep editorial) and same is visible in the text of all the selected editorials. Neither Modi nor the editor in all the selected editorials forgot to speak out for the projected deprivation of the provinces but somehow the real stake holder Gilgit and Baloch people or their representatives could not have their voice in these editorials heard. It is very pertinent to remind that the separation of Baluchistan is the desire of India and other proven adversaries of Pakistan and is being instrumentalized for quite some time as India is slowly but steadily pushing the thinly populated but troubled Baloch region of Pakistan, the country’s biggest province by land area, to break away to become a sovereign nation (Thakuria, 2019).

The linguistic analysis of intertextual resources used by Daily Times shows the minimal use of value judgements or at times use of positive appraisal for the adversaries of Pakistan. The intertextual

reference to India or Modi in the 3rd of September 2016 editorial is an example in point. Heteroglossic mode of writing through the use of hedging words, downgrading graduation forces, and conditionals is used to downscale the impact of any negative appraisal against India. For example, the word subversive activities used for India's activities was downscaled and hedged by the word 'alleged'. In contrast monoglossic declaratives with negative presuppositions are used when referring to any projected negative news regarding Pakistan. Linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources further shows the tool of intertextual ellipses whereby the words of the original source though quoted directly are skipped or changed to different motives. The intertextual reference to General Raheel Sharif speech is an example in point whereby the original words of the General were changed. The intertextual **ellipses** are attempts to portray a specific image of the person or institution being portrayed (Mao, 2015). The use of **ellipses** is sometimes manipulative and unethical (Crystal, 2015) whereby the meaning is deliberately twisted by omitting certain words. Daily Time as compared to the other three newspapers in study showed the greatest percentage of intertextual manipulation, intertextual ellipses and transformations. The editorial of on 14th November is another interesting example of intertextual manipulation by Daily Times whereby intertextual manipulation is found at a number of different levels. The transformation into the indirect quote in the editorial found two interesting intertextual **ellipses**: one was that of the term 'the federal government' and the other is the skipped word 'successful' having the positive **judgmental** word with positive **capacity**. This ellipse of the positive **judgmental** word 'successful' seems to be an effort by the editor to background the positive news and foreground either the **negative** or less positive news thereby launching partisan war journalism frame of being biased towards one side. The selection of quote by Daily Times also seems to be ideologically motivated. The editorial of 14th November which commented on the opening ceremony for the departure of the first trade convoy from Gwadar was also concluded with the projected problems the provinces are shown as facing and an urge to their practical solution. The researcher watched the full video of PM's address to the ceremony and found that the PM named a whole list of projects in Baluchistan either already completed or in pipeline at a faster pace. None of those could find a mention in the editorial demanding practical actions on ground. Thereby the selection of PM's speech part also seems ideologically motivated for producing anti-CPEC ideology.

The analysis of the intertextual resources in Daily Times shows heteroglossic tool of conditionals and hedging vocabulary when apparently appreciating the CPEC positively. Declarative statements

for positively appraising CPEC are seen missing in selected editorials of the newspaper. Linguistic analysis of the intertextual sources also brings forth a number of contradictions which indicate and expose the very flimsy basis of the different logics used to build an argument. For example, the editorial of 5th September shows the **contradiction** whereby the current constitutional status of Gilgit Baltistan is nominated as the ‘very unsettling part of CPEC’. The inception date of CPEC and constitutional status of Gilgit have a gap of 68 years between them. The current constitutional status issue of Gilgit is there for almost 73 years and CPEC started in 2015 (CPEC Authority, n.d.).

The linguistic analysis of the editorials under study shows that at the social level the discursive use of these intertextual resources tends to drift the reader away from CPEC, perpetuate the projected provincial issue, and generate pro-India and anti-establishment mindset.

Answering research question number one for the selected editorials of Daily Times, intertextual references were found at 23 places, with two direct quotations. For remaining intertextual references, indirect voices and references to CPEC power projects were found. Intertextual resources were found to support anti-CPEC narrative, anti-state and province deprivation narrative.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources used in Daily Times shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools like

1. Proclaimers,
2. Upscalers,
3. Graduation Forces,
4. Counterexpectancy,
5. Negative Appreciation,
6. Negative Judgement,
7. Ostensible form of Direct Quote,
8. Ideological Selection of Quotation,
9. Infinitive Declaratives,
10. Event Obfuscation,

11. Transformed Indirect Quotation, Ideological Selection of Indirect Quote,
12. Intertextual Ellipses,
13. Selected Obfuscation of Agents,
14. Monoglossic Proclaimers,
15. Disclaimers,
16. Downscaling Positive News,
17. Upgrading Adjectivals,
18. Positive Appreciation Embedded in Negativity,
19. Obfuscated Declarative Speech Acts,
20. Obfuscation of Crucial Information,
21. Foregrounding Negativity Backgrounding Positivity,
22. Scare Quotes,
23. Anonymous/Generic Attributive Engagement,
24. Negative Affective Terminology,
25. Obfuscation of Agent,
26. Negative Presuppositions,
27. Upscaling Repetitions,
28. Negative Judgement,
29. Manipulative Presuppositions,
30. Contradictory Statements with Contradictory Historical Statistics,
31. Obligation Modals
32. Strict Monoglossia through Declaratives,
33. Nominalizations,
34. Hedges,

35. Conditional Conjuncts etc.

in a discriminatory, manipulative and contradictory way, to launch anti-CPEC, anti-national, anti-establishment and pro-indian ideology.

Responding to research question number three, it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources, in the selected editorials of Daily Times, is that at social level they tend to

1. drift the reader against CPEC
2. perpetuate the projected provincial conflict
3. air distrust and doubt surrounding CPEC
4. divide the readers against CPEC
5. send a message of uncertainty
6. generate anti-establishment sentiment

by presenting a manipulative account of projected provincial conflict, by being India's understated mouthpiece, by trying to spark an anti-establishment sentiment in a contradictory and confusing way and by downplaying the success stories of CPEC as failure sagas.

5.2 The Nation Findings

Five editorials of The Nation dated July 29, 2016; September 10, 2016; November 8, 2016; November 15, 2016 and November 27, 2016 were selected for the analysis. The analysis of the intertextual references of The Nation shows pro-CPEC, Nationalist, pro-government ideologies emerging. The selected intertextual references were found at about 22 places. No direct quotation was found. All references were found in the shape of indirect voices or references to important events/places and things. Focus of the intertextual references used by the newspaper editorials is to highlight the importance of CPEC, appreciate the commitment of government and censure the critics of CPEC. The linguistic analysis shows discursive use of intertextual resources to inculcate a sense of unity in the readers regarding CPEC at social level, and to criticize the anti-CPEC critics by showing their concerns redundant and invalid.

Nation uses the intertextual resources to strengthen frames of unity behind CPEC. The Nation

is seen to have pro-government stance whereby the tendency to appreciate the projected personal resolution and commitment of the government personalities is also seen for example calling the PM Nawaz Sharif as 'the man on a mission'. The Nation is also seen to opt a formal register to address the head of the state including the title along with the first and last name. The intertextual resources are used to appreciate the actions of the government positively through the use of appreciative vocabulary e.g., 'convincing', 'cementing', 'pragmatic' etc. depicting thereby a positive judgement for the agents of those actions. Some examples for positive appreciation of the government from the editorials can be seen below

He did a convincing job (Appendix B, v)

he seems to be getting there according to plan (Appendix B, v)

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is a man on a mission (Appendix B, v) the government cleared them up (Appendix B, i)

Similarly intertextual resources use appreciative positive vocabulary to present CPEC e.g., 'economic face-lift', 'instrumental', 'bumper harvest', 'momentous', 'fruit of labour', 'al- important' etc. Few examples for the positive appraisal of the CPEC from the editorials are given below.

projects that serve to benefit the nation (Appendix B, iii)

usher in a new era of growth for the whole country (Appendix B, iii)

corridors have the legitimate potential of becoming game-changers for Pakistan's economy, (Appendix B, iii)

Corridor will reduce the distance by 2000 miles (Appendix B, iv)

investments can stimulate a 15 percent increase in Pakistan's GDP by 2030 (Appendix B, ii)

will contribute towards improved education, healthcare, and social services (Appendix B, ii)

There is national consensus on CPEC (Appendix B, i)

A tendency of using negative evaluative words like 'Squabbling', 'sceptical', 'unsure', 'detractors', 'militants', 'impediments', 'regularly', 'complaining', 'voices of dissent', 'detrimental', 'engineered', 'cheap point scoring' etc. is seen in the intertextual references for the critics and their criticism against CPEC. Few examples from the editorials showing the negative appraisal for the critics of CPEC and their criticism are given below

it jeopardizes a developmental project that can change the fate of the nation (Appendix B, iii)

needlessly politicizes an issue when there is no cause for it. (Appendix B, iii)

one is potentially far more detrimental (Appendix B, iii)

Clearly, partisan interests are at play' (Appendix B, iii)

used for political mileage. (Appendix B, iii)

have been at the forefront with their voices of dissent, (Appendix B, ii)

Squabbling over the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has continued

(Appendix B, ii)

Use of consensual pronouns like 'let us', 'our', 'we', 'let's all' is noticed in Nation to generate a sense of group identity with the reader via a dialogue between itself and its readers, creating a sense of an entity with the power to perform actions that have a real effect on the world through the show of unity and strength for CPEC. Generic attributive engagement along with a tool of nominalization is visibly used to remove agency and focus on the issues at hand. Tool of buffering is also used by The Nation to mellow down the criticism that the editorial launches on anti-CPEC elements. Presuppositions abound implicitly pointing to activities of anti-CPEC elements as adverse. Some of the concerns of the complainants are also nominated as genuine. Counterexpectancy resources through the use of negation, concession are seen to induct voices that highlight the importance of CPEC. Engagement with the reader through the use of rhetorical questions is also a tool used in the Nation editorials to present the dialogic nature of the arguments. Rhetorical questions are also used to foreground propositions. Minimal instances of intertextual manipulations are found in The Nation as compared to all other newspapers in the study. One instance of intertextual manipulation located is, on 15th November 2016 editorial. No other instances of intertextual manipulation, or ellipses are found. While comparing with The News and Daily Times it becomes obvious that the analysis of the intertextual resources suggests the News and Daily Times using the intertextual resources to criticize government and back the provincial conflict in a way to further strengthen the uncertainties of the provinces providing them with manipulated examples from the past to confirm their misgivings as valid. Intertextual manipulation with misquoted or falsely quoted facts, intertextual ellipses are found in both The News and Daily Times with the objective of perpetuating the conflict against CPEC. The Nation on the other hand uses the same intertextual resources to do the opposite that is urging to resolve

the dispute through sharing the negative outcomes of the conflict both with the reader and the provinces. But a very important viewpoint that needs to be well-thought-out here is that whether one speaks in favour of the projected Baluchistan issue or against it, one thing that stays established is that in both circumstances the narrative of the external forces (India) is perpetuated. The external forces sought the same divide between Government and Baluchistan to be split as two different entities not belonging to each other. So, when an editorial either supports government in favour of CPEC or supports the Balochistan province in favour of their reservations or speaks against governments in favour of Baluchistan people or speaks against Baluchistan people in favour of the government, the end result is the same the perpetuation of separatist narrative which by now is proven as a narrative not home-grown but planted by the foreign agencies through a slow and long homework done in the Pakistan's provinces. The Indian Spy Kulbhushan Yadav (Detained Indian Spy, 2016) is one of the very irrefutable proofs of this history.

All the selected newspapers of the study wrote one editorial each on the Gwadar opening ceremony. Gwadar port opening ceremony was held on 13th Nov 2016 (Talk Shows Central, 2016). The editorials written on the ceremony have the following details:

The Daily Times November 14, 2016, Editorial Title: As the First Chinese Ship Arrives at the Gwadar Port

Dawn November 17, 2016, Editorial Title: CPEC Controversies

The News, November 15, 2016, Editorial Title: Open for Trade

The Nation, November 15, 2016, Editorial Title: Celebrating Gwadar

Quite noteworthy findings surfaced when the editorials on Gwadar ceremony were analyzed. One such finding was the turn of Dawn from the anti-CPEC stance to pro-CPEC stance.

Second was the unusual bend of the Nation from the purely pro-CPEC stance to a mildly anti-government stance with certain manipulations identified in the editorial.

Third finding was regarding the Daily Times and The News editorials on Gwadar opening ceremony. A large number of intertextual contradictions, manipulations, transformations were caught by the researcher as can be seen in the detailed analysis of these editorials in chapter 4. This way both these papers continued with the same anti-CPEC mindset in these two editorials as well. All these manipulations definitely appear as an attempt to downscale and mask the visible grandeur of the

enormous success of Gwadar port opening. The editorials of the Daily Times and The News just seem to target the less informed reader and mask the great success of Gwadar port opening into a series of negative appraisals of the projected bleak situations in the province. The very fact of the ceremony being itself the proof against the provincial deprivation narratives, was twisted in such a way as to give all the more derelict picture of the situation to the readers. Both these papers seemed to continue their agenda of highlighting the provincial deprivation despite the fact that the opening of the Gwadar port nullified a number of doubts regarding the Western Route and opening of Gwadar port and these doubts were repeatedly publicized by these two newspapers in the previous editorials. This located approach of these two newspapers further accredited the finding of this study for the existence of anti-CPEC, anti-state, pro-India ideology in these newspapers. The linguistic analysis for the Gwadar port opening editorials of The News and Daily Times, shows the existence of discursive intertextual manipulations and at the social level these discursive intertextual manipulations tend to confuse the reader that whether the real moment of victorious project really exists or not.

Answering research question number one for the selected editorials of The Nation, intertextual references were found at 22 places, with no direct quotation. Indirect voices and reference to events/places were found. The use of intertextual resources was found to strengthen the frames of unity behind CPEC.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows a number of linguistic tools like

1. Counter-Expectancy,
2. Rhetorical Questions
3. Consensual Pronouns,
4. Upscaling Graduation Forces
5. Declaratives,
6. Affective Terminologies,
7. Negative/Positive Appreciation
8. Judgements,
9. Attitude Adverbs,

10. Scare Quotes,
11. Strong Disclaimers,
12. Disaster Vocabulary,
13. Categorical Assertions
14. Deontic Modality
15. Generic Terminology,
16. Nominalization
17. Negative Presuppositions
18. Buffering,
19. Upscaling Adverbials,
20. Explicit Adverbials,
21. Adjectival Graduation Forces,
22. Obfuscation of Sources,
23. Negative Evaluation
24. Negation
25. Concessives

used to launch pro-government, nationalist and pro-CPEC ideology.

Responding to research question number three, it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in the selected editorials of The Nation is that at social level they tend to

1. generate a sense of confidence and trust in its readers for the government and its commitment on CPEC
2. generate a sense of achievement among its readers regarding CPEC
3. subside the propagated provincial conflict,
4. remove distrust and eliminate doubts surrounding CPEC.

5. generate a sense of responsive and maturer unity among its readers

6. and drift the reader away from the actions and stances of the opposition against CPEC by focusing on the achievements and potential of CPEC and opening up the loopholes in the criticism of the opposing voices.

5.3 The News Findings

Five editorials of The News dated August 31, 2016; September 3, 2016; October 3, 2016; November 15, 2016 and December 31, 2016 were selected for the analysis. The analysis of the intertextual references of Daily Times shows anti-CPEC, anti-Nationalist, and anti-establishment ideologies emerging. The selected intertextual references were found at about 27 places. No direct quotation was found. All the references were found in the shape of indirect voices or references to important events/places and things. The focus of the selected editorials is on the projected deprivation of provinces in CPEC, and negative appraisal for government. Linguistic analysis shows that at social level, discursive use of intertextual resources seems to drift the reader away from CPEC at social level, perpetuate the projected provincial deprivation issue, and generate an anti-CPEC mindset.

The study of intertextual resources in The News shows that authorial detachment, disalignment and distance are shown towards any source that quotes positive information regarding CPEC and this stands as an example of intertextual manipulation through the discriminatory use of linguistic resources. This is achieved through opting a number of linguistic tools like

- i. Third person possessive pronouns e.g., ‘...his optimism regarding CPEC’ (Appendix C, i)
- ii. Doubt vocabulary and negative appreciation like e.g. ‘The boldest prediction’ (Appendix C, i)

The News is seen most of the times positioning itself in opposition to the pro-CPEC intertextual resources by using counterexpectancy through the use of concessive conjunctions like ‘however’, ‘but’ and conditional conjuncts like ‘if’ etc.; hedging words; weak modality like ‘might be’ etc. The impact is downscaling of the strength, capacity and tenacity of CPEC.

Examples:

Counter-expectancy

but the key challenges remain. (Appendix C, i).

but falling into the debt trap.

Still there are money matters... (Appendix C, v)

Hedging through doubt vocabulary

CPEC certainly offers the possibility... (Appendix C, i)

a millstone around our necks (Appendix C, v)

Authorial positioning against the pro-CPEC intertextual references is also shown through a number of statements made by the newspaper that show many negative presuppositions e.g...CPEC needs a carefully thought-out policy... (Appendix C, iii)

Presupposing that the existing policy on CPEC is not carefully thought thereby negatively appreciating the current policy and by that virtue negatively judging the policy makers.

Regarding the specifics of CPEC the editorial on 3rd of September mentioned the Kohlu-Sibbi road but landed again in counterexpectancy with the concessive 'but' in the second half of the editorial hurling the narrative of missing inclusive development.

Use of downscaling graders is also found in The News with a tendency to downscale the encouraging side of CPEC projects. In the editorial on 31st of December a small space was dedicated to apparently appreciate CPEC by naming some new projects but soon afterwards a downscaling phrase 'On the face of it ...' was added suggesting all these new projects are just cosmetic efforts towards solving problems.

The News has been seen using implicit means like implicit graders to negatively appreciate CPEC. The newspaper thereby capsules negative appreciation under the external note of positive appreciation. For example, in an editorial on 20th of October it nominated CPEC as the "largest single project", but the base shown for that size was 'loan'. Positive appreciation of size thereby implicitly devalued through showing 'loan' as its base. Further the tendency of implicitly creating doubt against CPEC through the use of linguistic tools in a very subtle way is also noted in newspaper. For example, the paper is seen using expectation modals with the positive appreciation regarding CPEC and declarative structures, upscaling -graders or strong modals when highlighting problems.

It is observed that at times the newspaper also attributes locutions to external voices to avoid overt evaluation but aligns itself with the external voice through implicit authorial endorsement by using verbs or names of speech acts showing endorsement. Authorial alignment is visible with those intertextual resources which either negatively appreciate CPEC or create doubts against it. It is further

seen that another tool used by The News editorials for authorial alignment is providing past examples to confirm the negative appreciation by the external source.

The news is also seen using the tool of obfuscation or generic nominalization to hide the identity of anti-CPEC elements. Obfuscation of agent according to Fairclough (2001) is ideologically motivated. Further the News is also seen to give subtle clues of positive appreciation for the anti-CPEC elements for example nominating their activities as based on reason “who have a reason”. (Appendix C, iii)

Authorial distancing from the government’s stance on CPEC is noted in the editorials analyzed. Double edged words are used to frame the stance of the government whereby actual motive is to negatively judge and appreciate the government and its actions regarding CPEC. For example, using the words ‘boldest predictions’, ‘optimism’ and third person possessive pronouns like ‘his’ for the statements coming from government representatives. The News used the third person possessives for the pro-government group. The News thereby distanced itself from the government stance and thereby pro-CPEC stance. The News though champions anti-government stance most of the times but a number of intertextual contradictions are caught which show the weak grounds of the argument for having weak validity and weak reliability. For example, the editorial on 31st of August 2016 writes none of the early harvest projects for the CPEC are set to be completed (Appendix C, i) and the editorial on 31st of December 2016 says

One of the main complaints about the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor has been that it focussed excessively on Punjab to the exclusion of smaller provinces. That was never entirely true... (Appendix C, v)

Factual data immediately relevant to the stance taken is missing or misleading. Past examples are picked up as evidential support to on hand scenarios which are difficult to be taken as valid grounds for the immediate situation being dealt with.

Other intertextual manipulations and twists in quoting the facts and figure is also noted in the editorials of the news whereby a tendency to quote wrong facts and figures in a very subtle way is observed. For Example, in the editorial on 31st of August 2016 the editorial wrote none of the early harvest projects for the CPEC are set to be completed in the regions raising the most concerns (Appendix C, i) whereby through preliminary research the researcher found the allegation baseless and false altogether. As one example, M8 motorway was completed and inaugurated in February 2016

along with many other mega projects well 6 months before this editorial was published (Shah,2016).

The News editorial also shows a tendency of using strong declaratives when some negatives regarding government or CPEC are to be given and weak modals and conditionals when some positives regarding them need to be publicized.

Further none of the selected editorials were found to miss out the mention of Baluchistan as the exploited and neglected province. This gives a strong indication to the newspapers anti-state agenda as the Indian PM Modi on a number of different occasions even as important as the independence day speech on 15th of August 2016 mentioned and projected the plight of people of Baluchistan (People of Baluchistan,2016) in the same way as The News did in the selected editorials. On the other hand, Indian Navi officer Kulbhushan Yadav (Detained Indian Spy,2016) is still in Pakistan's custody. He was on a mission in Pakistan to create unrest in Baluchistan and engage its youth for raising a separatist movement. Linguistic analysis suggests The News having a pro-India and anti-CPEC ideology.

The News editorials are also found to use the strategy of appreciative buffering and embedding to launch a counter statement against some authoritative forces. The example is found in the editorial on 3rd of September 2016 with the title 'CPEC Security' whereby the statements of General Raheel Sharif were not directly challenged but in a very dexterous way. Further it was observed that the mention of anti-CPEC elements like India was not given any value judgements attached to them but were presented in a very neutral way rather at times used as a cover to launch anti-state agenda by nominating the issues through their voices.

It is realized that the focus of the newspaper at the social level seems to be dividing and confusing the reader regarding the effectiveness, security, and transparency of CPEC through the manipulative use of intertextual resources. Linguistic analysis of the editorial brings to surface many contradictions in the logic given to make a point and that further strengthens the ideologically motivated anti-CPEC or anti-nationalist image of the newspaper.

Answering research question number one for the selected editorials of The News, intertextual references were found at 27 places, with no direct quotation. Indirect voices and reference to events/places were found. None of the selected editorials missed out the intertextual reference to the projected issue of Baluchistan as if to plant, nurture and worsen the planted conflict.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources in the editorials of The News shows the existence of intertextual manipulations consuming a number of linguistic tools like

1. Counterexpectancy,
2. Negative Presuppositions,
3. Down Scalers
4. Negative Appreciation
5. Downscaled Strong Prediction Modals,
6. Hedging Lexis, Double Hedges,
7. Third Person Pronouns for Showing Authorial Detachment,
8. Agentless Construction
9. Strong Negation,
10. Negative Appreciation Under the Mask of Positive Appreciation,
11. Buffering,
12. Skipping,
13. Buffered Negative Appreciation,
14. Upscaling Graders,
15. Agent Obfuscation,
16. Third Person Possessive Pronouns,
17. Consensual Pronouns,
18. Negative Judgement,
19. Graduation Forces,
20. Weak Modals,
21. Conditional Conjuncts,
22. Strong Declaratives,

23. Agent Obfuscation

in a discriminatory, manipulative and contradictory way, to launch anti-CPEC, anti-national, anti-establishment and pro-Indian ideology.

Responding to research question number three, it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in the selected editorials of The News is that at social level they tend to:

1. drift the reader away from CPEC
2. perpetuate the projected provincial issue in reader's mind
3. mask the established proof of CPEC performance as a failure
4. raise security and transparency issue
5. malign the reader against CPEC
6. generate pro-India and anti-establishment mindset in the reader in an implicit way.
7. confuse the reader against CPEC potential
8. make the reader feel insecure against CPEC success
9. air uncertainty and doubt surrounding CPEC
10. through the implicit use of masked negative appraisal.

5.4 DAWN Findings

Five editorials of Dawn dated July 20, 2016; September 27, 2016; October 4, 2016; November 7, 2016, and November 17, 2016 were selected for the analysis. The analysis of the intertextual references of Daily Times shows anti-CPEC ideologies emerging. The selected intertextual references were found at about 16 places. No Direct quotation was found. All other references were found in the shape of indirect voices or references to important events/places and things. The linguistic analysis shows that at social level, discursive use of intertextual resources seem to drift the reader's confidence away from the potential of CPEC projects.

Dawn focuses more on the intertextual references with project specific details, apparently giving a gesture of neutrally evaluating the situations. Most of the intertextual resources of the selected

editorials are used to highlight the projected problematic areas of CPEC. Only two of the editorials under study found few pro CPEC evidential support instances in intertextual references. Out of these two editorials the one on 20th of July 2016, titled ‘Road to CPEC’ had a mix of pro-CPEC narrative followed by the anti- CPEC account and the other editorial on 17th of November 2016 titled ‘CPEC controversies’ had an unusual style of outrightly supporting CPEC through all the intertextual resources and criticizing the critics so much so as to question them

where such animus is coming from (Appendix D, v)

The evidential support in the intertextual references of this editorial was strong and without any intertextual manipulation.

Whereas the intertextual references of the remaining three editorials on 27th September, 4th October, 7th November were having an outrightly critical theme against CPEC. These editorials show a marked existence of intertextual manipulations regarding the project specific details of CPEC. Many subtle linguistic turns back and forth are visible whereby all the successful projects of CPEC since 2016 could not find a space in the editorials of 27th September, 4th October and 7th November.

Significant intertextual contradictions are found when comparing the mildly pro-CPEC stance of the 20th of July editorial, completely pro-CPEC stance of the 17th November editorial with the completely anti-CPEC stance of the editorials on 27th September, 4th October and 7th November.

In the selected editorials of The Dawn, the intertextual references are mostly related to the project details of CPEC and abound in upgraded negative appreciation of their progress. For example

power-sector projects has hit a number of roadblocks of late

Gadani was scrapped

This is not the first time etc. (Appendix D, iii)

Intertextual manipulation is found at different levels while analyzing the editorials of Dawn. Wrong information was shared in a manipulative way. Running successful projects were shown as scrapped and unsuccessful. Further, obfuscation of rest of other successful power projects is seen. The selection of the power projects with a problem or projected problem was found ideological.

Linguistic jugglery was used to create confusion regarding the true status of the CPEC Power projects. For example, in the editorial on 4th of October in the first part of the editorial few projects

facing problems were named

Gadani was scrapped'

'Many investments in the Quaid-i-Azam Solar Park in Punjab have landed up in litigation'

'...the government cannot honour the upfront solar tariff it offered to woo the Chinese'

(Appendix D, iii)

One given as scrapped, and others were shown facing some problems. But in the last paragraph a statement was made where all these were publicized as scrapped. Here goes the statement ... fact that all of these were scrapped (Appendix D, iii)

To confuse the less informed reader further the linguistic resources of declaratives and upscalling graders are used to show strong assertions, in the manipulative statements. The intertextual manipulation also appears in the use of contradictory linguistic tools in the same sentence. For example, a combination of a very weak modality with a very strong negatively appreciative phrasal verb as in two more projects may have been knocked off. (Appendix D, iv)

This takes the reader's mind in two different directions. One of weak possibility and other of strong terminology suggesting strong possibility. In addition to using words with contradictory meanings with the same statement, contradictions between different statements are also found at many places in the selected editorials that again can be an indicator for the reader to question the legitimacy of the argument being made.

For example, while commenting to the criticism targeted at Government the editorial on July 20, 2016, comes up with two contradictory statements

(criticism on govt is an) attempt to transfer further control of national policy to the military.

(Appendix D, i)



the criticism of its handling of CPEC goes well beyond partisan attacks or narrow institutional interests (Appendix D, i)

Negative appreciation terminologies for CPEC power projects abound the intertextual

reference.

For example

weak state of planning

have been knocked off

timeline has been disrupted

a question mark on the entire project (Appendix D, iv)

The **adjectival ‘weak’**, the phrasal verb ‘knocked off’, the **disaster verb ‘disrupted’**, and the doubt **noun ‘question mark’** are **negatively appreciative terms** for CPEC. A number of contradictions are also caught when the texts within and around the intertextual references are compared with each other. One comparison for example is given below whereby one editorial nominates CPEC as the double lifeline for the country, another editorial questions the whole idea of CPEC for its worth and yet another one is questioning the critics by doubting and questioning their criticism as coming from somewhere else (anti Pakistan elements). The comparison is given below

Editorial on July 20, 2016, THE China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is a double lifeline for the country

(Appendix D, i)



Editorial on October 4, 2016 it is worth considering why we should go down this path (‘path’ refers to

CPEC) (Appendix D, iii)



Editorial on October 17, 2016, where such animus is coming from (questioning the critics of CPEC)

(Appendix D, iii)

CPEC power projects are appreciated **negatively** as **disrupted, discontinued, weak, and doubtful**. This automatically shows the **negative judgement** for the government as having **weak capacity** and **weak tenacity**.

Another notable feature of the selected editorial of the Dawn newspapers is that intertextual sources appear in

1. Functional terms. For example, PML N, Leadership of China, Military Leadership, Chinese government, Nepra, Finance Minister, Army Chief etc.
2. Generic terms. For example, ‘the Reports’, ‘A Report’, ‘A Series of reports’, ‘Some Critics’, etc.

3. Total Obfuscation of source, simply naming the speech act. e.g., 'a lot of talk', 'Calls for greater transparency' etc.

According to Fairclough (2001) **obfuscation** of the **agent** is **ideologically motivated**. The use of **generic sources** is identified by Stenvall (2008a, b) as instances of **authorial alignment**. Functional terms are, specifically, used in the selected editorials to highlight the different identities of the people as a group or as professional representatives. Again, the contradictions in and around the intertextual resources serve as an important indicator for the reader that the basis of the arguments being launched pertains to be illegitimate for having constant inconsistency replete with contradictions.

None of the editorials under study has used the proper name of the source quoted and no direct quotations are used.

The intertextual resources used by The Dawn in the editorials of July 20, September 27, October 4, November 7 are having a whole plethora of negative judgements against the government, but the manipulative and ideological use of linguistic resources as exposed through the linguistic analysis of the editorials, shows these judgements as being ideologically motivated against the government and CPEC. The linguistic analysis shows that at social level the use of these discursive intertextual strategies tends to urge the readers doubt the efficacy of CPEC and remove their support for CPEC. Anti-CPEC ideology seems to surface through the linguistic analysis of intertextual resources. The linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources of The Dawn editorial on 17th of November titled 'CPEC controversies' however showed a different result compared to the other 4 editorials under study. It showed a number of linguistic tools like declaratives, categorical assertions, repetitions, disclaimers, negation resources, presuppositions, deontic/epistemic modality, counterexpectancy, appreciations and judgements, nominalization, attitude adverbs, and third person plural pronouns etc. to launch pro-government and pro-CPEC ideology.

Answering research question number one for the selected editorials of Dawn, intertextual references were found at 16 places, with no direct quotation. Indirect voices and reference to CPEC power projects were found. Generic and functional nomination of intertextual resources found for indirect voices mostly for authorial alignment with voices of dissent against CPEC projects.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, embodying manipulative selection and citation of power projects consuming a number of linguistic tools like

1. Obfuscation of Project Specifics and Sources,
2. Nominalization,

3. Generic/Anonymous Intertextual Engagement,
4. Negative Presuppositions,
5. Repetition,
6. Upsculling Graduation Forces,
7. Disaster Vocabulary,
8. Negative Appreciation,
9. Negative Judgement,
10. Categorical Monoglossic Assertions,
11. Counterexpectancy,
12. Contradictory Explicit Graders,
13. Strong Prediction Modals,
14. Rhetorical Questions,
15. Consensual Pronouns,
16. Authorial Alignment,
17. Obfuscation of News Source,
18. Negated Obligation Modals,
19. Monoglossic Declaratives,
20. Manipulative Declaratives,
21. Generic Nomination,
22. Contextual Intertextual Contradictions,
23. Authorial Distancing etc.

in a discriminatory, manipulative and contradictory way, to launch anti-CPEC, anti-national, and anti-government ideology.

Responding to research question number three, it is seen that, for the readers the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in the selected editorials of Dawn is that at sociallevel they

tend to

1. Urge the readers distrust the efficacy of CPEC
2. Misguide the readers regarding the regarding the on-ground benefits and security coming of CPEC project
3. Air uncertainty and doubt surrounding CPEC
4. Inculcate a sense of financial burden in readers regarding CPEC
5. Drift the reader's confidence away from the potential of CPEC projects

by presenting a manipulative account of the projects' failures in a contradictory and confusing way, hiding the success stories and plotting the failure account and negatively appreciating the performance of the government.

The greatest level of intertextual manipulation was recorded in the Daily Times editorials and the least was found in The Nation editorials.

Overall identified intertextual manipulations included

1. Intertextual ellipses,
2. Intertextual transformations,
3. Ideological selection of quotes/events,
4. Intertextual swindle of facts,
5. Implicit authorial alignment/disalignment,
6. Discriminatory use of linguistic resources in and around the intertextual references,
7. Manipulative presuppositions
8. Intertextual tempering with contextual data, and
9. Obfuscation of crucial information etc.

A number of different linguistic tools for example counterexpectancy, negation, hedging, buffering, concessive conjunctions, disaster vocabulary, negative/positive appraisal, monoglossic declaratives, heteroglossia, negation, upscaling and downscaling resources, nominalization, meaningful use of anaphoric /cataphoric references obfuscation, obligation/doubt modals,

contracted dialogic space etc. helped achieve the above-mentioned intertextual manipulations and launch the respective ideologies.

CHAPTER 6

QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

In order to further consolidate and validate the qualitative analysis findings for research question number three, an experimental study was carried out. The experimental study not only validated the qualitative research findings for research question number three but also shed light on the impact of intertextuality awareness on the critical reading skills of the newspaper readers and the interpretations made by them. Through the qualitative part the implications of use of intertextual resources for the readership from the perspective of the editorials (thereby the newspapers) under study were seen. The current experimental study validated those implications as was seen through the scores of the sample in pre and post test.

6.1 Text and Its Understanding

Since reading is an enterprise stationed on text or language thereby the receiver can acquire and capture the sense of whatever is read according to the text (Bell, 1993: 31). According to Werth going through the ecosphere, realm or domain of the writing (1997), the reader examines and scrutinizes it on the basis of its construction, components, generic structures, etc. to generate some specific sense and a certain interpretative explanation through the reading. For such processes, both in the reader's reading experiences, and the text to be read, one integral part is that of intertextuality. For a greater part, reading and comprehending the text's nature depends on comprehending the makeup, texture and attributes of the components forming it e.g., intertextuality (carrying major and critical significance). Theme and expression of the writing as well have an impact on the reading output Quotations, allusions, reference to events/places/people/cultural traditions etc. are examples of intertextuality (Bloor and Bloor, 2007; Halliday, 2003). Widely accepted is the notion that in the reading activity, intertextuality has got the same importance and role as features like reader's imagination, his/her perception, choice, and occupation.

Considering this view along with the nature and functionality of intertextuality, the notion can be categorized into two types: text/author's intertextuality and reader's intertextuality. The first one emphasizes on the writing itself carrying the snatches of other texts in it and the second one fixates the experience of the reader in reading the string of writings that influence her/his

comprehension, interpretation, sense-making/sense discovery. In other words, the second type refers to how experienced or inexperienced the reader is in the experience of reading and in which direction. The intertextuality of the text concerns basically the structure of the text under analysis as the elements of other texts are added to that very structure implicitly and explicitly and it is only in the structure of the text that they can be located, identified and studied. Through text analysis involving the understanding of text components, intertextual elements can be located, identified and classified in the text. For them to be comprehended more plausibly and methodically, a framework along with investigative entities of intertextuality (intertextual components and elements) are required. The intertextuality of the text is the focus of the whole study, and the importance of identification of the different elements of intertextuality of the text by the reader is the focus of the current part of the study. In order to know its importance, the impact of the awareness of the readers regarding the intertextual elements of that very text, on the interpretation of the text by the reader is studied. The awareness of the reader here is not referring to the reading experience of the reader but is referring to the awareness of reader regarding the very concept of intertextuality, its dimensions, types, usage etc. in the current text being read. One may claim that since as per Barthes (1981), Kristeva (1967), and others: no writing exists independently of other linking writings in the system, thereby it is logical to infer that no logical or valid interpretation or sense or of the writing is probable by the reader without considering the other texts in the intertextual string. Therefore, the reader is being observed not for his own intertextuality but for the intertextuality of the text being studied. When one studies the impact of the intertextuality of the reader it refers to the impact of reader's own previous history of reading on the interpretation of the current text, but when one studies the impact of intertextuality of the current text it refers to the structural presences, components, types or functions of intertextuality present within the structure of the current text and the impact of the awareness of this intertextuality present in the text on the reader's interpretation of the text or in other words on the critical reading skill of the reader. Though both categories look to be momentarily and exigently significant and crucial in reading of the texts, the latter type that is, text's intertextuality, is the emphasis of the current part of research.

6.2 Intertextuality Awareness

Bloor and Bloor (2007) and Peck and Coyle (2002), maintain that awareness of the intertextuality of the text can assist text reader comprehend the writing in an improved manner, refine

/develop their concentrations and attention to move through the text's world, learn diverse coatings of meaning in the script, and, subsequently, brand more fitting senses and finer interpretations of the writing. No clarification, interpretation or explanation of the text is comprehensive without considering all the above given facts as all these carry an effect on text's reading. Considering above given indicators the reader would find him/herself in a better position to obtain an improved sense through the envisioned text that tends to generate a finer interpretation that may sound more reliable and logical.

So, while looking at the significance of intertextuality awareness in the light of the above given statement it is safe to expect that through having the knowledge of the types, styles, dimensions and layers of intertextuality, the critical reading capabilities of the reader improve. Naturally a critical reader with a deep analytical visibility is better equipped to develop the knack of resistant reading skill against the ideological clutches of the state apparatuses. This can help stop the regeneration and perpetuation of ideologies and also can help bring healthy transformations in the society. Yazdani (2013) conducted a study to check the impact of intertextuality awareness on reading skills of the participants. Despite the existence of numerous studies on language and many studies on text reading, rarely any in depth study is found with the objective of studying the impact of intertextuality understanding in developing resistant reading skills of the readers of the newspapers. Thus, this part of the thesis tried to explore the impact of intertextuality awareness on critical reading. Its goal is to discover if the reader's understanding of intertextuality – knowledge of intertextual parts and the purposes they have – has some effect on reader's critical reading skills and reader's meaning-making capability.

6.3 Experiment

A homogenous set of 300 female and male Urdu speaking students who were the readers of English newspapers, were taken from 5th and 6th semesters of 5 departments of COMSATS University, Islamabad, Pakistan. Their similarity for language proficiency was assessed via the British Council free Online Test (British Council,2019) for Proficiency in language. Those students who scored B1 or above were selected. The shortlisted sample comprised 100 students. One editorial of Daily Times titled 'Pakistan Warns India' published on 3rd September 2016, was chosen and handed over to them for reading and then answering the interrogations in the already designed questionnaire. The same editorial was used twice, first as the pre-test and later as the post test. At the

end of the pre-test, two evaluators were requested to grade the subjects' answers (from 0- 45) and critical reading skills were graded on the scale given in table 6.3. The participants and the evaluators were both were unaware that there was a post test in the pipeline. After that, focusing the framework of intertextuality investigation used in this thesis, the participants received sessions on the essentials, types, purposes and nature of intertextuality, for a time span of 5 weeks. There were two sessions per week each of 2 hours duration. Some editorials other than the one used in the experiment were served to the students in treatment sessions. The participants were asked to analyse the editorials grounded on framework of intertextuality focusing specially on the various intertextual parts of the text and studying the role played by them in the construction and meaning of the text. They were asked to catch intertextual manipulations in the intertextually given data, statements, events or quotes. They had to find the contradictions as well. At the end of the treatment period, the same editorial was given to the participants in the post-test. They were asked to read it again and respond to the questions in the already formulated questionnaire. The participants' achievement was scored again by the same raters and critical reading skills were graded on the scale given in table 6.3. Then, through correlation tests, and t-tests the participants' scores in critical reading were statistically compared, between the pre and the post test. Descriptive Output for Pre and Post treatment is given below in table 6.1.

Table 6.1 shows the scores obtained by the participants in the pre-test. Column 1 shows the scores obtained out of 45. Column two shows the number of the participants that obtained the scores given in the column 1. Column 3 shows the percentage of the number of participants that obtained the scores given in the first column. For example, the first digit of the column 1 shows the score of 9 out of the total score 45. The parallel digit in column 2, shows that 7 participants of the sample students obtained 9 marks out of 45. The adjacent number in the column 3 shows that the 7 students who scored 9 marks, make 7% of the whole sample.

Figure 6.1 Pre Treatment Reading Scores

Scores		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	9.00	7	7.0	7.0
	10.00	6	6.0	6.0
	11.00	7	7.0	7.0
	12.00	11	11.0	11.0
	13.00	14	14.0	14.0
	14.00	12	12.0	12.0
	15.00	16	16.0	16.0
	16.00	7	7.0	7.0
	17.00	9	9.0	9.0
	18.00	5	5.0	5.0
	19.00	1	1.0	1.0
	20.00	1	1.0	1.0
	27.00	2	2.0	2.0
	35.00	1	1.0	1.0
	45.00	1	1.0	1.0
	Total	100	100.0	100.0

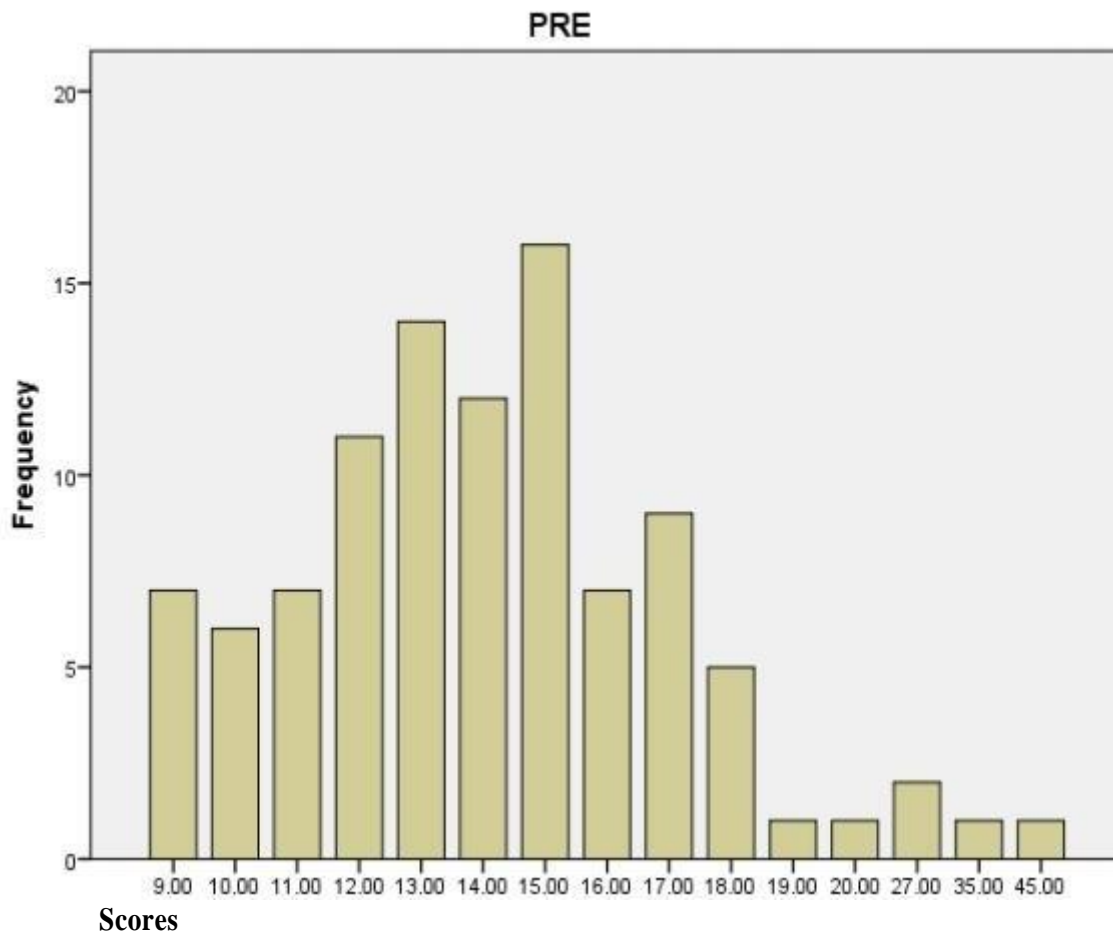


Figure 6.2 The Bar Chart Representation of Pre-Treatment Scores

The bar chart shows the participants and their scores diagrammatically. The horizontal axis shows the scores obtained by the participants and the vertical axis shows the frequency of that score by the participants. Each bar represents the number of sample students against the score on which the bar is placed. For example, the bar on the score 10 shows 6 participants who scored 10. The bar on score 11 shows 7 participants who scored 11. The bar on score 16 shows 7 participants that scored 16 and so on.

Table 6.1 Post Treatment Reading Scores

Scores	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid 30.00	1	1.0	1.0
31.00	1	1.0	1.0
33.00	1	1.0	1.0
35.00	10	10.0	10.0
36.00	7	7.0	7.0
37.00	4	4.0	4.0
38.00	4	4.0	4.0
39.00	3	3.0	3.0
40.00	15	15.0	15.0
41.00	11	11.0	11.0
42.00	8	8.0	8.0
43.00	8	8.0	8.0
44.00	9	9.0	9.0
45.00	18	18.0	18.0
Total	100	100.0	100.0

The 6.2 shows the scores obtained by the participants in the post-test. Column 1 shows the scores obtained out of 45. Column two shows the number of the participants that obtained the scores given in the column 1. Column 3 shows the percentage of the number of participants that obtained the scores given in the first column. For example, the first digit of the column 1 shows the score of 30 out of the total score 45. The parallel digit in column 2, shows that 1 participant of the sample students obtained 30 marks out of 45. The adjacent number in the column 3 shows that the 1 student make 1% of the whole sample.

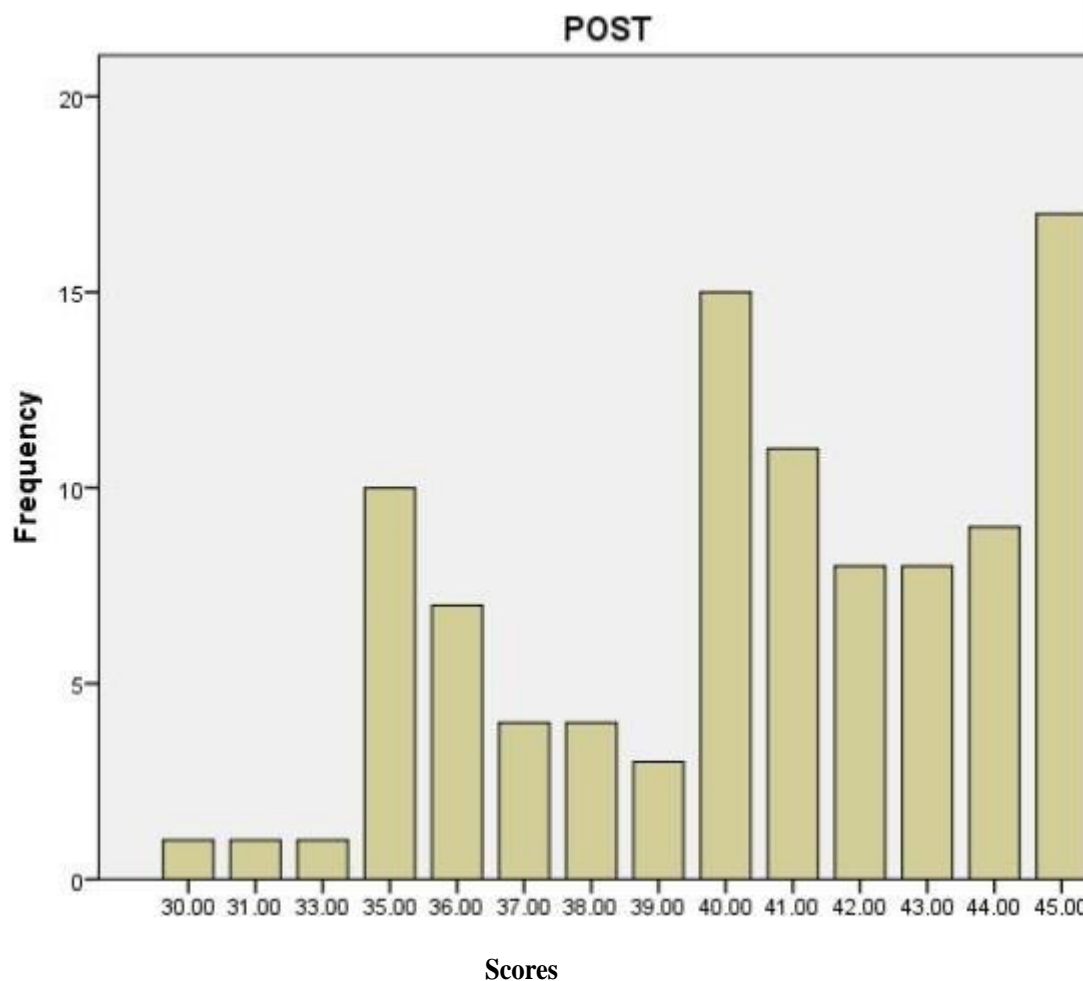


Figure 6.3 The Bar Chart Representation of Post-Treatment Scores

The bar chart shows the participants and their scores diagrammatically. The horizontal axis shows the scores obtained by the participants and the vertical axis shows the frequency of that score by the participants. Each bar represents the number of sample students against the score on which the bar is placed. For example the bar on the score 30 shows 1 participants who scored 30. The bar on score 35 shows 10 participants who scored 35. The bar on score 40 shows 15 participants that scored 40 and

so on.

Table 6.2 Critical Reading Scales

Score less than 20		Weak critical reading
Score between 20-27		Average critical reading
Score between 27 -35		Good critical reading
Score between 35-45		Excellent critical reading

The critical reading scale shows that :

- i. participants who received less than 20 marks out of 45 were considered to have weak critical reading skill
- ii. participants who received between 20-27 marks out of 45 were considered to have average critical reading skill
- iii. participants who received between 27-35 marks out of 45 were considered to have good critical reading skill
- iv. participants who received between 35-45 marks out of 45 were considered to have excellent
- v. critical reading skill.

Table 6.3 The Frequency Distribution of Pre-Treatment Reading Scores

Scale for Critical Reading	Categorization on the scale	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid Less than 20	Poor Critical Reading	96	96.0	96.0
20 to 27	Average Critical Reading	2	2.0	2.0
27-35	Good Critical Reading	1	1.0	1.0
35 and Above	Excellent Critical Reading	1	1.0	1.0
Total		100	100.0	100.0

As is visible in the pre-test, 96 participants were on Poor Reading Scale That is they obtained less than 20 marks, 2 were on average critical reading scale that is they scores 20-27 marks, and 1 each on good and excellent reading scales in the pre-test scores that is they scored 27-35 and 35-45 respectively.

Table 6.4 The Frequency Distribution of Post-Treatment Reading Scores

Scale for Critical Reading	Categorization on the Scale	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid 27-35	Good Critical Reading	24	24.0	24.0
35 and Above	Excellent Critical Reading	76	76.0	76.0
Total		100	100.0	100.0

As is visible in the post-test, 24 participants were on good Reading Scale, as they obtained 27-35 marks and 76 participants were on excellent reading scales in the post-test scores as they scored 35 and above. Table 6.6 presents the output of dependent sample t-test which is also known as paired observation t-test that indicates significant difference after treatment as compared to that of the prior to treatment. The P-value reported in Table.6.6 is 0.000 leads to the point that we are advocating. The average difference between the overall impact of the treatment is reported to be 26.01 with a standard error of 0.63952 units from mean which describes that the impact is consistent.

Table 6.5 The Dependent Sample t-T test (Paired Sample Test)

Pair	Paired Differences					t	Df	P-Value
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
				Lower	Upper			
1 POST - PRE	26.01	6.39522	.63952	27.27895	24.74105	40.671	99	.000

The mean difference of 26.010 units is highly significant. Highly significant means the treatment has contributed immensely to bring a highly positive change. Dependent sample t-test indicate significant difference after treatment as compared to that of the prior to treatment. The P-value reported in Table.6.6 is 0.00 which shows that our result is abundantly significant that leads to the point that we are advocating.

6.4 Discussion

This study aimed at finding out the implications of intertextuality for the readership of the newspapers. The sample of the study for that matter comprised those participants who were the readers of English newspapers. The experiment showed that not being aware of intertextuality and being aware of it had its implications for the understanding levels of the readership. The study thereby ventured to see if intertextuality awareness affects critical reading skills of the readers. As is proven through the study the readers with better awareness of intertextual segments and their use in textual structure perform better in critical reading as compared to the situation when knowledge of intertextual components was lacking. The participants analyzed the text to understand the meaning and generate the interpretation out of the reading depending on their ability to identify the intertextual elements and understand the motive behind the use of the intertextual resources. The anticipation the researcher had seems to be accurately predicted as the outcomes of the contrasts all appear to be conforming to the expectations. The post-test signposted substantial increase in subjects' scores, compared to the pre-test. It is very safe to expect that this increase was because of the treatment the subjects received and, hence, because of their enhanced awareness of intertextuality and the role it had played in their comprehension of the text while reading it. The implication of intertextuality awareness in text reading, along with text investigation and interpretation is signified by the results of the study and the implication is that those readers who were admitted to the therapy became more attentive and conscious to the makeup of text structures and components, chiefly intertextuality. The reader's brain is involved in two activities while reading and understanding the text

1. textual elements and
2. the contextual background.

Text is analyzed by the reader, and the text components including intertextuality are discovered for their role in text structure and meaning. Furthermore, this leads the text's reader to see

the writing in the contextual setting of use and afterwards visualize the written document in totality (Mwansoko, 2003). Investigation of script, thereby, needs comprehending the constituents of text, or the structural, rhetorical, and textual, parts of the writing (Widdowson, 2004; Bloor and Bloor, 2007; Fairclough, 2003). Intertextuality as discussed earlier though makes an integral part of the structure of the text and can no way be ignored while reading specially for the purpose of interpreting the text. For achieving this end, a workable framework, or investigative tools for studying intertextuality is obligatory. The framework utilized in this research was served to the participants of this study during the therapy sessions and the outcomes exhibited that the intertextuality sessions given here seem to be quite workable for investigative tasks of this sort and quite effective to improve the critical reading skills of the students. The contrast amongst the posttest reading and the pretest reading submits substantial variances ($p < .001$, table 6.6). This significance in the difference signposts that the implication of the therapy, that is, intertextual cognizance, is that it performs a significant part in improving critical reading skills and thus is useful in reading and evaluating newspaper editorials. The sessions received by subjects on intertextuality awareness, appear to be advantageous for them drawing their focus to the writing, with a focus on intertextuality of the text, reflecting on them, on the senses being generated by them, manipulations (if any) embodied by them and subsequently, at the end comprehending and interpreting them in a far better way, in comparison to the earlier situation when the treatment was not received. Thus, all this helps us further answer the 3rd research question. The experimental study has proven that the implication of text intertextuality for the readers is that intertextuality awareness does affect the editorial reading skill of the readers and enhances their critical reading ability and vice versa. Additional exploration however is required for additional generalization.

6.5 Results and Implications

The results of the experimental study on the selected editorial (use both in the qualitative and experimental study) were brought face to face with the results of the qualitative study. It was found that the pre-test scores of the participants in the experimental study as well as their comparison with the post-test scores, corroborated the findings of the qualitative part for the research question number three. The implications of the intertextuality through the qualitative analysis of the editorial were 'it tends to drift the reader away from CPEC, perpetuate the projected provincial issue and generated pro-India and anti-establishment mindset'. The pre-test scores of the sample participants consolidated

the findings of the qualitative part as participants scored quite low in the pre-test showing an agreement to the points raised by the editor. After receiving the treatment, the post-test scores of the sample participants markedly showed a raise which is a testimony to the fact that the implications of manipulatively used intertextual resources for an unaware reader will have detrimental effects on the interpretation and understanding of the reader. Thereby awareness of intertextual capitals and their use was proven to go long way to improve the objective, analytical and critical reading skills of the reader.

After attending the sessions of intertextuality, the intertextual segments of writings can be tracked, followed, and categorized for further feasible inquest of intertextuality while reading and textually analysing something. The findings offering testament supporting the positive impact of intertextuality awareness on readers, indicate that text readers, receiving directions on some specific apparatuses of writings, chiefly intertextuality, turn out to be more acquainted and more knowledgeable of the makeup, construction and subject matter of the writing, and result to have a more apt and critical interpretive reading skill. It is logical to conclude that after receiving the intertextuality training the readers though read the same words but look at them from a different outlook and perspective making them wear quite different meaning as compared to the situation when they were not aware of the intertextual nature, makeup, inventory and purpose of intertextual elements. After the intertextuality training a number of intertextual manipulations, contradictions, ellipses, discriminations etc. which used to go unnoticed earlier by the reader, now were located, identified and pinned down. The readers who earlier used to be quite vulnerable, susceptible and impressionable, turn to a resistant style quite effective and protective against the ideological state apparatuses, after receiving the intertextual training. The text readers' earlier mode before the training was to generate the meaning out of the text via their own understanding of the nature of the texts based on their previous reading experience. This is also important in its own right. But after receiving the training the readers were capable to grasp the intertextual structure of the situated text, and could look through its purposes, senses and objectives without any alien aid like that of previous reading experience. After receiving the training, the reader could delve deep into the text to unearth the different layers of meaning not available to the reader before the intertextual awareness. The results also propose some workable, feasible and practicable ramifications of intertextual trainings for educational drives, that can help the program originators, syllabus developers, and teachers of language to use suitable material to assist the students improve grip on language and its gymnastics

(Carter, 1989: 15). The importance and significance of intertextuality instruction in teaching language is also stipulated through the findings. Whichever subjects are taught to the students; reading and understanding the texts make an integral part of all the domains and any such effort like intertextual training can help the students a lot to locate the precise meaning being articulated by the text since intertextuality is not only the part of literary text but is equally an existence in the text of other fields like science, medical, defense, technology etc. The sessions conducted in the current experiment produced better comprehension of the text reading as well as, interpreting. This leads to the conclusion that intertextual instructions may assist improve readers' consciousness regarding the component elements and nature of the writing and all the different parts that issue textuality to it, counting more prominently, the intertextuality of the text (Bertens, 2001). Classroom teaching thereby can very effectively utilize this tool of intertextual training to equip the students with a practical tool to locate the meanings precisely and without any vulnerability to the language jugglery. Teachers themselves must be fully knowledgeable and experienced themselves in textual realities, particularly intertextuality. Keeping in view the limits of this experimental study and to upsurge the grip and competence on intertextuality and its purposes in writings further investigation is sturdily recommended. In line with the current study future studies can be conducted on other genres of print media, social media and electronic media and through the future studies more evidence for generalizations can be gathered.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The conclusion section is arranged in order of the research questions. The current study picked up the intertextual investigation of four leading Pakistani English newspapers namely Daily Times, The Nation, The News and Dawn. Five editorials from each newspaper were selected for the detailed intertextual probe to answer the three research questions. Fairclough's three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis was used for the study whereby the textual part of the analysis was carried out through appraisal analysis under the umbrella of systemic functional linguistics. To further consolidate the findings of research question number three an experimental study was also conducted that affirmed the qualitative research findings of the research question number three.

Answering research question number one for the selected editorials of Daily Times, intertextual references were found at 23 places, with two direct quotations. For remaining intertextual references, indirect voices and references to CPEC power projects were found. Intertextual resources were found to support anti-CPEC narrative, anti-state and province deprivation narrative.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources used in Daily Times shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, consuming a number of linguistic tools (detailed in chapter 5) to in a discriminatory, manipulative and contradictory way, to launch anti-CPEC, anti-national, anti-establishment and pro-indian ideology.

Responding to research question number three, it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources, in the selected editorials of Daily Times, is that at social level they tend to

1. drift the reader against CPEC
2. perpetuate the projected provincial conflict
3. air distrust and doubt surrounding CPEC
4. divide the readers against CPEC
5. send a message of uncertainty
6. generate anti-establishment sentiment

by presenting a manipulative account of projected provincial conflict, by being India's understated mouthpiece, by trying to spark an anti-establishment sentiment in a contradictory and confusing way and by downplaying the success stories of CPEC as failure sagas.

Answering research question number one for the selected editorials of *The Nation*, intertextual references were found at 22 places, with no direct quotation. Indirect voices and reference to events/places were found. The use of intertextual resources was found to strengthen the frames of unity behind CPEC.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows a number of linguistic tools (detailed in chapter 5) used to launch pro-government, nationalist and pro-CPEC ideology.

Responding to research question number three, it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in the selected editorials of *The Nation* is that at social level they tend to

1. generate a sense of confidence and trust in its readers for the government and its commitment on CPEC
2. generate a sense of achievement among its readers regarding CPEC
3. subside the propagated provincial conflict,
4. remove distrust and eliminate doubts surrounding CPEC.
5. generate a sense of responsive and maturer unity among its readers
6. and drift the reader away from the actions and stances of the opposition against CPEC

by focusing on the achievements and potential of CPEC and opening up the loopholes in the criticism of the opposing voices.

Answering research question number one for the selected editorials of *The News*, intertextual references were found at 27 places, with no direct quotation. Indirect voices and reference to events/places were found. None of the selected editorials missed out the intertextual reference to the projected issue of Baluchistan as if to plant, nurture and worsen the planted conflict.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources in the editorials of *The News* shows the existence of intertextual manipulations consuming a number

of linguistic tools (detailed in chapter 5) in a discriminatory, manipulative and contradictory way, to launch anti-CPEC, anti-national, anti-establishment and pro-Indian ideology.

Responding to research question number three, it is seen that, for the readers, the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in the selected editorials of The News is that at social level they tend to

1. drift the reader away from CPEC
2. perpetuate the projected provincial issue in reader's mind
3. mask the established proof of CPEC performance as a failure
4. raise security and transparency issue
5. malign the reader against CPEC
6. generate pro-India and anti-establishment mindset in the reader in an implicit way.
7. confuse the reader against CPEC potential
8. make the reader feel insecure against CPEC success
9. air uncertainty and doubt surrounding CPEC through the implicit use of masked negative appraisal.

Answering research question number one for the selected editorials of Dawn, intertextual references were found at 16 places, with no direct quotation. Indirect voices and reference to CPEC power projects were found. Generic and functional nomination of intertextual resources found for indirect voices mostly for authorial alignment with voices of dissent against CPEC projects.

Answering research question number two, the linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources shows the existence of intertextual manipulations, embodying manipulative selection and citation of power projects consuming a number of linguistic tools (detailed in chapter 5) in a discriminatory, manipulative and contradictory way, to launch anti-CPEC, anti-national, and anti-government ideology.

Responding to research question number three, it is seen that, for the readers the implication of the discursive use of the intertextual resources in the selected editorials of Dawn is that at social level they tend to

1. Urge the readers distrust the efficacy of CPEC
2. Misguide the readers regarding the regarding the on-ground benefits and security coming of CPEC project
3. Air uncertainty and doubt surrounding CPEC
4. Inculcate a sense of financial burden in readers regarding CPEC
5. Drift the reader's confidence away from the potential of CPEC projects

by presenting a manipulative account of the projects' failures in a contradictory and confusing way, hiding the success stories and plotting the failure account and negatively appreciating the performance of the government.

The study concluded that intertextual resources do play very significant role in ideology building in opinion sections of the newspapers. The study found out many instances of intertextual manipulations; ellipses, transformations, anonymous intertextual engagements, authorial alignment, authorial distancing, contradictions, negative/positive appraisals, appraisals, discriminatory use of linguistic resources, counterexpectancy, declaratives, modalities and graduation forces etc. within and around the intertextual resources to frame the reader's mind in a particular direction as decided by the newspaper.

Intertextual analysis using the appraisal analysis kit of Martin and White (2005) has proven a very useful tool to catch these linguistic intertextual gymnastics and the hidden objectives. In the light of the study a number of recommendations are devised for the readers, future researchers, policy makers and CPEC stake-holders given afterwards. A total of 88 intertextual references were located in the newspapers. Out of these 88 references only two references were found in the shape of direct quotations. Rest of the intertextual references were in the shape of indirect voices/event being added. The linguistic analysis of the editorials of The News and Daily Times under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that they tend to drift the reader away from CPEC, perpetuate the projected provincial issue, and generate anti-CPEC, pro-India and anti-establishment mindset. The analysis showed the ideological and manipulative use of intertextual resources by The News and Daily Times to inculcate anti-CPEC, and anti-Nationalist ideology.

The linguistic analysis of the editorials of The Nation under study show that at the social

level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that they tend to unite the readers in the favour of CPEC and urge them to leave the differences behind for a bigger goal, diffuse the projected provincial issue, and generate pro-CPEC and pro-Government mindset. The analysis showed the minimal manipulative use of intertextual resources by The Nation to indoctrinate pro-CPEC, and Nationalist ideology.

The linguistic analysis of the editorials of Dawn under study shows that at the social level the implication of the discursive use of the analyzed intertextual resources is that they tend to confuse the readers at social level regarding the authentication, substantiation and effectiveness of CPEC projects, and generate anti-CPEC, anti-government mindset. The analysis showed the manipulative use of intertextual resources referring to CPEC projects in a misleading way and ,propagandize anti-CPEC, and anti-government ideology.

Daily Times, Dawn and The News make ample use of intertextual manipulations in a number of different ways as given in the detailed analysis and summed up in the findings section. A less informed reader with lesser access to the other resources might become an easy victim of the ideological moves of these intertextual resources. The qualitative analysis has concluded that a very enormous role is played by the intertextual resources in ideology construction. To see the impact of intertextuality awareness on readers and consolidate the findings of research question number 3, an experiment was conducted as documented in Chapter 6. A very effective role of intertextuality awareness was found on the critical reading skills of the participants whereby a huge improvement in the critical reading skills of the participants was observed in the post- test. The results also consolidated the qualitative findings of research question number 3.

7.1 Recommendations for the Reader

The linguistic analysis of the intertextual resources highlights the importance of the following points to be considered by the readers to improve their critical reading skills.

1. Readers should catch intertextual and intratextual contradictions, intertextual manipulations, intertextual transformations and intertextual ellipses in the text they read at all the possible levels.
2. Readers should cross check the crucial intertextual data shared with them by consulting the primary sources.

3. Readers should locate the discriminatory use of linguistic resources within the intertextual references and the surrounding text used by the writer to position him/herself regarding the reference. This may illuminate them on the ideological underpinnings of the text if any.
4. Readers should analyse Counterexpectancy resources within and around the text of intertextual resources to see how the writer positions himself or herself regarding the proposition in intertextual reference.
5. Readers should check out whether in the used intertextual resources it's the journalism of conflict or journalism of peace in place and whether the text is constructively moving to resolve the conflict or to further aggravate it.
6. Readers should keep themselves updated on current affairs. This will help them identify, counter and escape the intertextual manipulations that are easily possible with the possible aid of unawareness.
7. Readers should inculcate a habit of consulting multiple sources for the same matter. It will help them have more clarity regarding the different legitimate and illegitimate aspects in air.
8. Readers should opt for attending the trainings on intertextual analysis at any easily available forum.
9. Readers should focus on enhancing their competence in the language they are reading in so that they can understand the different connotative shades of the vocabulary being used in the intertextual references.
10. Readers should try to weigh the logic given in, through and around the intertextual references for weighing the reasoning strength of these references.
11. Readers while reading opinion pages on some specific topic in one newspaper should consult other newspapers on the same topic. This will broaden the analysis scope to check out the veracity of the logic given in the opinion.
12. Readers should analyze the attitude, engagement and graduation resource used within and around the intertextual resources to evaluate, compare and contrast utilization of linguistic tools for different motives.
13. Readers should focus on the surrounding text of the intertextual reference to see how the writer

positions him/herself regarding that intertextual source. This will help the reader establish authorial alignment or disalignment with the source and peep into the ideological motives of the editor if any.

7.2 Recommendations for Future Research

1. The current study selected the editorials from 4 newspapers over a span of 6 months. Future researchers can add up more newspapers or a greater time period to the list to create a bigger spectrum.
2. The use of intertextual resources can be studied by comparing the editorials with other genres of newspapers like the news items, interviews, book reviews published in newspapers, articles etc.
3. Cross disciplinary research can be conducted whereby the use of intertextual resources in print media can be compared with the use of intertextual resources in films, radio, television, or in everyday real-life conversations of different communities.
4. Intertextuality in local media can be compared with the foreign media.
5. Intertextuality of newspapers with different languages can be compared with each other. For example, Urdu newspapers can be compared with English newspapers.
6. Visual intertextuality can be studied. For example, visual intertextuality of the cartoon in newspapers can be studied.
7. Visual intertextuality of newspapers can be compared with that of, for example electronic media.

7.3 Recommendations for CPEC

A very important angle that needs to be considered here is that whether one speaks in favour of the projected Baluchistan issue or against it, one thing that stays confirmed is that in both situations the narrative of the external forces (India) is perpetuated. The external forces wanted the same divide between Government and Baluchistan to be dealt as two different entities not belonging to each other. So when an editorial either supports government in favour of CPEC or supports the Balochistan province in favour of the projected reservations of theirs or speaks against governments in favour of

Baluchistan people or speaks against Baluchistan people in favour of the government, the end result is the same the perpetuation of separatist narrative which by now is proven as a narrative not home-grown but planted by the foreign agencies through a slow and long homework done in the Pakistan's provinces. The Indian Spy Kulbhushan Yadav (Detained Indian Spy, 2016) is one of the very irrefutable proofs of this history.

The counter narrative could be created in a very dexterous way by opting the following strategies

1. Media space may be denied to externally launched projected problems of Balochistan, KP and other area as it tends to regenerate the narrative of hostile forces.
2. The CPEC projects, inaugurated, in progress, in pipeline and completed in the projected areas of trouble may be repeatedly telecasted through newspapers and other media so that any manipulation at any level may be countered through powerful dissemination of accurate data.
3. Those prominent provincial voices which sound unity in the whole country and do not refer to or reproduce the narrative of projected issues may be given greater coverage and space in the newspapers and other media.
4. Those newspapers and media need to be identified that work for nurturing, empowering and reproducing the agenda of internal and external anti- state elements. Punitive and protective security measures may be opted for that matter.
5. Indian designs, planning and strategies must be exposed in such a way that their narrative is not reproduced. For example, the Indian spies working in Pakistan, like Kulbhushan Yadav (Detained Indian Spy, 2016) may be exposed through media as much as possible.
6. The positive existing accomplishments of the underdeveloped provinces, other than CPEC like the number of hospitals, colleges, schools, universities, medals, awards, roads, parks, historical places etc. must be highlighted repeatedly in the media.
7. The newspapers must write editorials and feature issues on the different cultural aspects of the provinces so that the sense of unity and intimacy is developed and strengthened in the
8. whole area.
9. Readers and viewers should be equipped with the tool of critical reading and critical watching

so that they do not fall into the trap of these apparatuses, and they play a role to catch the anti-state elements in the media.

10. Those politicians and officials who work for destabilizing the state on someone's agenda must be identified and exposed through media.

7.4 Suggestions for Academicians and Policy Makers

Critical reading courses with a specific focus on intertextuality should be launched at school, college and university level both for the teachers and the students.

Assignments and projects should be given to the students through which they can improve their critical reading skills. These courses should be offered to all the students irrespective of their specializations as newspaper reading is a common practice to all and each individual has to play a role for the constructive improvement in the society at a number of different forums: one of the very integral forums being critical reading awareness specially in newspaper reading. An aware, vigilant, well equipped and critical reader has more strength and capability to understand the narratives in 'words' and to respond in a more productive way to positively add to the social makeup of the society, state, and the whole world.

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Appendix A

i. Daily Times, September 3, 2016

Pakistan 'warns' India

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi's speech is still resonating in Pakistan. The recently concluded seminar on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) and Gilgit-Baltistan witnessed numerous charged speeches against India's alleged subversive activities to sabotage the CPEC project. Last among these speeches came from Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif. He said that the army was ready to go to any extent for peace in the country and its security and stability. The army chief spoke about the overall fight against terrorism, security of CPEC projects, strategic importance of Gilgit-Baltistan, and their role in CPEC. Referring to Modi's recent statements, General Sharif said, "Let Modi and RAW know that our borders are secure. We know our enemy and its conspiracies, and we will leave no stone unturned to defeat those plots."

Delhi's 'apprehension' of CPEC is known, and it has not made a secret of the same. Sentiments of the people of Pakistan also match that of the army chief, but it is only in Pakistan that such a statement came from the army chief and not the prime minister. At a time when relations between Pakistan and India are already strained, choice of words and person they come from matter a great deal, as diplomatic relations, primarily, hinge on the right rhetoric and the effective intonation.

While Pakistan has been busy highlighting the atrocities of Indian forces in the Indian-held Kashmir, India has been blaming Pakistan for supporting terrorism. While India has historically remained unwilling to negotiate the issues, including Kashmir, Pakistan has continued its efforts to revive the dialogue. But, Islamabad's support of militant groups and distinction between 'good' and 'bad' terrorists has isolated it in the international arena. It is evident from the recent developments in Kashmir that the world powers have not taken any measure to resolve the issue except for dispensing some cosmetic statements.

In this situation where Pakistan finds itself isolated in the diplomatic arena; it cannot afford to worsen its ties with India. On the other hand, recent developments of India's improving relations with the US are attributed to counter the Chinese influence in the region. CPEC, when completed, has the potential to connect 64 countries. That future increased influence is a cause of concern for India, and the apprehension made public by Delhi is an evidence of that.

In the current scenario where Pakistan is looking to kick-start its economy with cooperation of the Chinese government, it is as good a time as any to improve relations with all the neighbours, including India, to avoid any future disputes for the sake of millions existing in poverty and despair. India should also soften its stance and start negotiations with Pakistan on all pertaining matters. Moreover, China, in a positive manner, could also use its increasing trade relations with India to bring it to the negotiations table.

Since the current government of the BJP came into power, relations between Pakistan and India have mostly remained on ice other than for a brief respite when the prime ministers and other high-level officials had cordial diplomatic interactions with one another. If India is involved in subversive activities in Pakistan, Pakistan should take up the case in the international arena. Moreover, India should also realize that CPEC would connect the whole region, and improved relations with Pakistan could result in India becoming a part of the new regional paradigm.

ii. Daily Times, September 5, 2016

CPEC and unequal distribution of projects

Statistics shared with the parliament have revealed that at present 53 percent of the total China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) projects are being assigned to Punjab. While the number of projects in Punjab amount to 176, Balochistan's share stand out in stark contrast: merely eight projects have been allocated for it. Other provinces do not fare well either as Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have been allocated 103 projects and 19 projects respectively. Needless to say, in terms of number of assigned projects, provincial apprehensions of CPEC benefitting Punjab the most at their expense are being exacerbated rather than allayed. All of this needs to be viewed in the broader dialectic of the centre-province relationship in Pakistan as better development in Punjab compared to other provinces, a Punjab-dominated centre, and a federation that for the most part has been unitary in substance has created long-standing grievances and made the issue all the more sensitive. Hence, it is this history of provincial deprivation that must occupy a major part of the debate, and the distribution of CPEC projects should not be seen only through the lens of optimizing overall development. After all, if the rest of the provinces feel that they have been denied their rightful share they cannot be expected to be willing partners in ensuring the success of CPEC.

Unfortunately, the approach in Pakistan has been of promoting unequal development under the guise of national unity. Those who talk about equal development or provincial concerns are shunned and even declared unpatriotic. An important indicator of this approach is the pejorative connotation that the word 'politicise' has been assigned in Pakistan. If issues are questioned or debated from the viewpoints of various parties involved, then instead of viewing it as an open discourse, it is often considered to be undesirable and labelled as 'politicising' the issue. The tendency in Pakistan has been to keep matters opaque and steamroller them thereby avoiding any debate that might slow down the process. This is exactly the kind of approach that is informing the development schemes of CPEC. By conflating the existing development projects of CPEC with national interest, government is restricting the debate for provincial concerns to factor in on them and, in turn, make a development scheme that is inclusive for all provinces.

One very unsettling part of CPEC is in spite of the importance of Gilgit-Baltistan to the project the region has not yet been given full constitutional status. And the relationship of the centre towards this region has been one of historic apathy as it continues to remain in the grips of poverty and underdevelopment. Being the region that provides CPEC with the vital link to China, attention must be turned towards it, and in addition to the development of road infrastructure, Gilgit-Baltistan must also be provided with adequate healthcare and education facilities. Gilgit-Baltistan must be made into an equal province of the federation of Pakistan, and any strategic calculations for not doing so must be forsaken in place of giving its people their due rights as citizens of Pakistan.

iii. Daily Times, September 20, 2016

Civil-military power paradigm: is it affecting CPEC?

According to a report published in newspapers, the operationalising of Special Security Division (SSD), announced for the protection of Chinese workers, has been held up due to differences between the civil- military leadership. With some Chinese investors and officials showing concern on the security situation, such an issue could potentially affect the timelines for the projects under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). More than one and a half year after the announcement, civilian and military leadership have still to agree to terms of reference (ToR) that would govern the working of the SSD. Although both civilian and military leaders agree that CPEC is vital for the country's economic future, mutual 'distrust' is impeding cooperation between them on this critical venture.

Reports suggest that the government is not willing to ratify the ToR proposed by the army as the role envisaged by the military for the SSD is to advise, guide and 'indirectly' control the civilian law enforcement agencies in issues related to the security of CPEC projects. The government fears that such terms could expand military's influence on law enforcement agencies at the cost of civilian administration's authority. There is also the idea that the SSD has to be under the interior ministry's command whereas the military has so far kept itself in the lead and intends to maintain that role.

Two wings of the SSD, north and south, are to be set up. As per the plans, the northern wing's jurisdiction covers the area between the Khunjerab Pass on the Pakistan-China border and Rawalpindi, while the remaining stretch will be the southern wing's responsibility. Though the army has established the SSD-North, government is reportedly holding back the executive and financial approval for the SSD- South. It is estimated that creation of a new wing could take about 12 to 18 months. This implies that even if the approval is given now, the SSD-South will not be functional by the end of 2017, which is the time when CPEC's early harvest projects would be nearing completion.

Security is particularly problematic in the area that has to be secured by the SSD-South. The Frontier Works Organization, which is engaged with road projects in Balochistan, has already lost 44 men, including 26 soldiers, in the province in security-related incidents. At present, there are close to 10,000 Chinese personnel working on different projects across the country. Their number is expected to grow as the implementation of CPEC projects picks up speed.

Both government and army should realize the negative impact such delays can have on the implementation of CPEC projects. Moreover, with Chinese investors also showing concerns, the implementation of the project could face indefinite delays.

Despite the importance of army for realisation of projects, the ToR for the governance of the SSD should not come at the expense of the powers of civilian law-enforcement agencies. While there is a need to resolve the matter at the earliest, no one party should dictate the terms. Rather it should be formulated abiding by the constitution of Pakistan.

Similarly, government should be more vigilant in this regard. With the next general elections in approximately one and a half years, its position could be affected — positively or negatively — by the completion of the project on time. Most importantly, completion of CPEC projects on time is imperative for the financial future of Pakistan, giving the country's economy the much -needed boost it needs to alleviate its various domestic problems, and to make its mark as a strong regional player.

iv. Daily Times, November 14, 2016

As the first Chinese ship arrives at the Gwadar port...

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif while addressing a ceremony marking the departure of the first major trade cargo from Gwadar Port emphasised Pakistan's commitment to China's One Belt- One Road initiative. He also appreciated the efforts of the government of Balochistan and the Pakistan Army for making the local population a stakeholder in the project. The ceremony was attended by Chief of Army Staff General Raheel Sharif, Balochistan Governor Mohammad Khan Achakzai, Chief Minister Nawab Sanaullah Zehri, and ambassadors of 15 countries. Chinese Ambassador to Pakistan Sun Weidong and Chief Minister Nawab Sanaullah Zehri also addressed the audience and appreciated the efforts of all stakeholders in the project. Executives from Sino Trans, a Chinese logistics company, also attended the ceremony as well as ministers for defense and planning, and a number of politicians, especially from Balochistan. The ceremony marked the largest gathering of VIPs hosted by Gwadar since it witnessed the signing of the 2009 National Finance Commission Award.

Earlier, the first trade convoy carrying Chinese goods for export through the western route of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor () and a Chinese ship arrived at the Gwadar port on Friday. The convoy, comprising 60 containers, started its journey to Pakistan from Kashgar through western route, arrived in Quetta in the first phase and later departed for Gwadar. According to official sources, while one Chinese ship had been anchored at Gwadar Port on Friday, another reached there on Saturday. The goods will be exported to countries in the Middle East and Africa.

There is no doubt that CPEC project has the potential to kick-start the economic growth of Pakistan, which has languished behind the regional countries owing to certain domestic as well as external problems. The most important thing, however, will be ensuring the benefits of the project to the local population of Balochistan in general, and Gwadar in particular. There has been resentment in the people of Balochistan due to the events of past and certain discriminatory policies of the centre. Reconciliation will only work once the people of the region see the fruits of the project in terms of healthcare, education, infrastructure and job opportunities.

The same aspects underline the importance of the western route as well. While in the short term, the full-fledged trade might not be possible through the western route, arrangements should be made by bringing the locals onboard, highlighting the importance of the project to the people of those areas. The first convoy of trade goods from China was accompanied by heavy security throughout its route, which would cost a huge sum to the national exchequer if the route is not made safe from all kinds of threats and attacks.

Lastly, the authorities must ensure of the use of local labour in development projects to whatever extent it is possible. Efforts are needed to create a sense of harmony among the people of different regions working in Balochistan for the uplift-projects. Moreover, the dedication, selflessness and perseverance put by the Pakistan Army as well as the FWO must be recognised; these are the people who have been working and safeguarding the workers for the successful and peaceful implementation of the project. *

V. Daily Times, December 16, 2016
Development in Balochistan

Prime Minister of Pakistan Mian Mohamed Nawaz Sharif was correct when he said on Monday that “development of Balochistan is not a favour; it is the right of the Baloch people.” The Sorab-Hoshab highway is one such development project, which has brought much needed road infrastructure in Balochistan. The paucity of basic infrastructure in Balochistan is without a doubt the primary grievance of the Baloch people, and this has in turn engendered feelings of alienation from what is viewed by them as an exploitative centre. And the primary reason why Balochistan has now occupied centre stage in the national narrative is its centrality in the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). Surely, the success of CPEC hinges on the successful development of the Gwadar port, which would be very difficult to achieve without the support of the locals. Seen purely through the lens of realpolitik, CPEC is not just a game changer for Pakistan, but a game changer for the historically neglected province of Balochistan.

However, for CPEC to be truly game changer for the people of Balochistan, the government would have to show its intent of delivering more than just what CPEC requires of Balochistan. There is no doubt that CPEC promises industry and resulting jobs for the people of Balochistan, but if the local population is not qualified enough to take advantage of these opportunities then people from other provinces, with far more privilege, would simply replace them. Hence, investment in human capital in Balochistan should be a priority for the government so that its people can break free from their shackles of poverty and successfully claim their rightful share in the wave of development that CPEC offers to the province.

Unfortunately, this matter is not as simple as it first appears to be. Decades of underdevelopment and impoverishment have locked Balochistan in a self-perpetuating system of the rule of local bosses. It is these individuals who mostly occupy political office and represent the people of Balochistan in legislative assemblies. How far the ostentatious lifestyles of these local bosses is from the poverty stricken ordinary Baloch person is self-evident. The source of the wealth of these local bosses is the surplus labour of these ordinary Baloch people, who have to work on their lands for meagre wages just for self-survival. Hence, there is an active power interest in keeping the Baloch people under-qualified and dependent on selling their labour to the local landlord. However, as is mostly the case, forces of change rattle the beneficiaries of the existing power structures. And in such a situation two scenarios can develop: either their maneuvers ultimately fail to stem the change, or they adapt to the changing environment and end up preserving their power. Here, it is the duty of the government to ensure that it is the ordinary people of Balochistan who end up breaking these exploitative power structures and become active partners in the wave of development that is expected to radically change their province. Only Inclusive development can lead to a better Pakistan.*

Appendix B

i. The Nation, July 29, 2016

Stand Together

The public was sceptical, the opposition unsure, but the government promised that the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) could potentially be the economic face-lift this country so desperately needed. The smaller provinces had their reservations, but the government cleared them up. Or so we thought.

Various senators continue to make noises over their ‘reservations’ (what these might still be, not many care to articulate) and how the government has been so secretive about the project, even going so far as to say that the material and workforce imported from China was damaging local industries. Is this all genuine concern, or engineered to undermine this realistic chance of development, only for cheap point scoring?

As far as the workforce and production material is concerned, let us not forget that this project passes through this country, but is as much a (maybe even more) Chinese venture, as it is Pakistani. China is not looking to give Pakistan a hand-out and naturally wants to make money off CPEC. This is a pragmatic move, and an unavoidable one from our perspective. Bringing the question of provincial bias even when it has been debunked time and again by the government does not even deserve a response anymore.

The fact that a government has to understand and respond to the will of the people is unquestionable. But at the same time, there is a line between keeping the public informed and seeking its opinion in every small decision made concerning matters of state. The idea of governance stems from the representatives right to choose the best option for the individuals that voted for them. The government cannot be expected to turn to the people to micro-manage each and every aspect of a mega-project, such as where the materials come from. The opposition must also remember that this is not only an economic issue, but one of national security, and publicising every minute detail is only counterproductive.

There is national consensus on CPEC being instrumental for the future development of this country. For the rewards to be reaped, we must exercise patience, not only in terms of waiting for its completion, but also in letting the government do its job. Looking to nit-pick and punch holes in terms of how many locals have been employed and so on will only cause unnecessary delays. The next two years are crucial for the future of this country. For once, let’s all stand united until all of Pakistan is connected, and is ushered onto the path of development. In all other matters, we can continue to be at each other’s throats.

ii. The Nation, September 10, 2016
Come Together

Squabbling over the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) has continued despite Chinese intervention into the matter since last year. While some of the concerns raised by the provinces are legitimate enough, the Chinese are not wrong to point out the fact that CPEC will benefit not only a particular province, but the entire country. A Chinese think-tank yesterday reiterated this as it asked Pakistan to settle differences over the CPEC as the 'bumper harvest' was yet to come.

The benefits of the CPEC will only be apparent once they are allowed to be completed safely and on time without any serious impediments. Militants have tried to disrupt the construction of the economic corridor linking China with Pakistan's coast and have killed 44 workers since 2014. This number is only set to increase if adequate security is not provided to the workers, many of which are Chinese. Provinces like Balochistan and the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have been at the forefront with their voices of dissent, regularly complaining that the CPEC was not benefitting all the provinces equally, blaming Punjab of taking away more than its share. But the security concerns are highest in these two provinces and if they want to attract more investment in their provinces, they must ensure that everything must be done to combat militancy and provide necessary security to the workers.

Estimates suggest that if provided the security it needs Chinese investments can stimulate a 15 percent increase in Pakistan's GDP by 2030. This is a big amount, one that will contribute towards improved education, healthcare and social services, not just improved infrastructure. One can only hope that the provinces will find a way to settle their differences and come together for peace and prosperity of the entire country.

iii. The Nation, November 8, 2016

Let Them Build

As if the Panama Leaks petition, the defamation suit against CM Punjab by Jahangir Tareen and the Khattak versus Nisar proceedings were not enough, the PTI government has now added another petition to the mix, except this one is potentially far more detrimental than the others, because it jeopardizes a developmental project that can change the fate of the nation. The KP government's decision to file a petition in the Peshawar High Court against the federal government for the development of the western part of the CPEC at par with the eastern route needlessly politicises an issue when there is no cause for it. The utter futility of this legal battle is perfectly displayed in the fact that the petitioner requires for the federal government to make commitments to complete the western route in conjunction with the eastern one, and that no funds allotted for the former are rerouted for work on the latter. This is already happening. The funds allotted for each venture are project-specific and tied to China's requirements, which means that the government cannot just shift funds around at whim.

Not only that, but the refusal of opposition parties within the KP provincial government to take part in this petition reflects that the PTI government in KPK is the only party is looking to cause problems where there are none. Clearly, partisan interests are at play, and even provincial issues have taken the back seat. Economic projects that serve to benefit the nation as a whole should not be used for political mileage.

Provincial infighting is a common feature in all countries, where competing interests often take the front seat. But this is only acceptable if the federation at large is not affected. The provinces should make no mistake, CPEC is not being constructed for the improvement in the fortunes of the provinces; this is just a positive side-effect. The idea here is to usher in a new era of growth for the whole country, and this will happen, because the government is bound to finish both corridors – even if it wanted to side-line the little provinces it simply couldn't.

If for nothing else, Pakistan needs to be wary of disrupting work on CPEC simply because of the glee that emanates from India whenever there is a hint of an issue with regards to the project. There is a reason Pakistan's rivals are concerned; the two corridors have the legitimate potential of becoming game-changers for Pakistan's economy, and hence, provide much needed stability in the country. This is no time for legal impediments to be propped up. The provincial governments will be doing the country a great disservice if work is stalled as a result.

iv. The Nation, November 15, 2016 Celebrating Gwadar

As the first large shipment of Chinese goods arrived through the renovated port of Gwadar on Sunday, the government seems to have let out a collective sigh of relief. Trade through the corridor has finally begun, and in general, the Pakistani people seem to be behind the project.

The ISPR videos played during the event described CPEC as the fruit of “General Raheel Sharif’s vision”, whereas PM Nawaz Sharif described it as a vision common to China’s worldview and the government’s own agenda “to make Pakistan a hub” of regional connectivity. The Prime Minister’s office and ISPR have both been eager to claim Gwadar as the vision of their respective bosses – perhaps both of them are forgetting that it was actually the Musharraf government that initially launched the development of Gwadar port from 2002 to 2007. Arguably, this momentous step is the fruit of the labour of all parties involved, particularly China, which has much to lose if this project was to fail.

There is much reason for China to celebrate. With the development of Pakistan’s second largest port Gwadar, this trade corridor will stretch from the Western Xinxiang province of China to the port of Gwadar, thus providing access to the Chinese to the Arabian Sea barely 600 kilometres east of the narrow Strait of Hormuz through which passes about 35 percent of the world’s oil shipments. China will not only bypass the Malacca Strait through which 80 percent of its oil supply presently flows but reduce the distance as noted above by 2000 miles. China would not have to depend on the US to keep the choke point of Strait of Malacca open because it will reach the Arabian Sea through the all-important port of Gwadar, hence cementing its place as the next economic super power of the world.

In the early nineties, the Iranian port of Chahbahar was built by India to bypass Pakistan to reach its interests in Afghanistan. Despite international pressure against it, India conducts a trade worth 15 billion dollars and imports about 15 percent of its oil needs from Iran. India is also building a railway from Chahbahar to connect to the Iranian Railway System to reach the Central Asian markets and tap the mineral rich Central Afghanistan. India is doing what it must for its own national interest, and it is imperative that Pakistan not be left behind.

No matter what the detractors say, Chinese investments in Pakistan have been a boon for us, especially when we have felt forsaken by old friends like the US.

v. The Nation, November 27, 2016
Diplomacy for Development

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif is a man on a mission and judging from the outcomes of his trip to Turkmenistan, he seems to be getting there according to plan. He did a convincing job of highlighting the countless benefits that could be accrued by the entire region from the two-mega projects – CPEC and the TAPI pipeline. He addressed the 1500 or so participants including heads of state, ministers and UN officials at the Global Conference on Sustainable Transport, being jointly sponsored by Turkmenistan and the United Nations in this capital city for two days.

Ahead of the conference, Premier Nawaz held a meeting with the Turkmenistan President Gurbanguly Berdymukhamedov here Friday and discussed matters relating to the Turkmenistan- Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI) gas pipeline, and later announced Pakistan's decision to join the Ashgabat Agreement and the Lapis Lazuli Corridor, a transport agreement between Oman, Iran, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan that seeks to create an international transport and transit corridor, and a trade cooperation between Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Turkey to reduce barriers facing transit trade, respectively.

Pakistan is fast on its way to become a regional hub of connectivity, trade, and economic development, but do our future policy plans keep into account the hurdles that could possibly be created to achieve that? Harmonising the TAPI with the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) works perfectly in the larger scheme of things, but how will Pakistan develop a route to Central Asia via Afghanistan's territory, considering the diplomatic tensions between the two neighbours? Anti-Pakistan sentiments are already at a peak in Northern and Southern Afghanistan, and amends must be made to ensure that the projects are successful.

Russia, Iran but many other countries of the region have expressed their willingness to join the mega projects and Pakistan has welcomed their initiative. Pakistan has long faced upheaval and disturbances in relations with its neighbouring states and there is a need to counter these with stable strategic policies to secure Pakistan's position in the region in order to fulfill the CPEC project. In theory, creating a rail and road networks that would allow cargo to travel all the way to Gwadar Port creating a solid linkage between South Asia and Central Asia, is just what Pakistan needs, but the fight against terrorism and poor diplomatic relations with the regions surrounding it, can prove to be detrimental.

Pakistan needs to stabilise its foreign and regional policies to minimise any future threat to these regional connectivity projects, and that starts with helping thy neighbours.

Appendix C

i. The News, August 31, 2016

After the promise

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif repeated his optimism in the CPEC's potential at the CPEC Summit and Expo in Islamabad. He said the multiple projects grouped under the CPEC banner would add 30,000MW of energy over the next 10 years and bring development to Balochistan, Gilgit-Baltistan and the western belt of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, all of which were previously neglected. The boldest prediction is that Pakistan will gain a central position in world trade and that our underdevelopment problem will be solved. Unity is the message from the federal government when smaller provinces raise concerns and Finance Minister Ishaq Dar took to the same podium to call for unity on the project. The trouble, however, is that every time the government holds a meet on the CPEC, its failure to deliver on earlier promises is highlighted. Words offer little consolation as none of the early harvest projects for the CPEC are set to be completed in the regions raising the most concerns. Without denying the obvious benefits that can be accrued from the corridor, the country is hardly united behind it and perhaps this is what weighed on Dar's mind when called for political and provincial unity over the CPEC. Balochistan, in particular, feels this is yet another attempt by the centre to exploit its abundant natural resources without including the province in the riches. KP has joined Balochistan in protesting changes in the CPEC route, which they claim, added cities in Punjab and Sindh at their expense. The government response has been that work had to start there because these places had the necessary infrastructure. But that only reveals a contradiction in the CPEC which will be difficult to resolve: areas which do not have the infrastructure for hosting mega projects cannot develop until money is first spent to create the conditions to allow for that development. That said, the government spelled out in much greater detail what the projected goals for the corridor are. The government has told us that the Chinese believe in inclusive regional development. The CPEC certainly offers Pakistan the possibility of becoming a global trade hub. If it possesses one of the best developed road, rail and shipping networks in the region, the country could be able to attract industry and investment. With the bulk of the corridor expected to be ready and operational by 2025, the future might be promising. The strong commitment to energy projects by the Chinese is another positive, which takes away the focus from building roads to putting the economy on track. The CPEC certainly offers to improve Pakistan's connectivity to the world – but key challenges remain. Concerns will have to be resolved by action, not talk. Chinese concerns over security and global interference will require both making meaning headways in the war against terrorism and convincing all the people of Pakistan that the CPEC is in their benefit. Chinese experts too raised the issue of security at the summit. On another note, many commentators and analysts have found it difficult to know the worth of CPEC deals since they were handed out in a closed bidding process. The government claimed this secrecy was essential to secure Chinese investment, but a little more transparency would go a long way to providing assurances that the CPEC will be, as Nawaz said at the expo, not just a game-changer but a fate-changer. The CPEC summit was a show of strength and commitment from the government to the Chinese and the people of Pakistan. The same commitment will be needed to ensure that the promises of equitable development are fulfilled.

ii. The News, September 3, 2016

CPEC security

At the conclusion of the two-day seminar on the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) in Gilgit, there was no doubt left as to the purpose of the occasion. Chief of Army Staff Raheel Sharif took to the podium and delivered his sternest warning yet to any external actors looking to destabilise the project and the country. At the same time, Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, accompanied by the Chinese ambassador, on a visit to Balochistan, repeated the same message. The COAS named the Indian PM Modi and the Indian intelligence agency RAW, as he reasserted Pakistan's commitment to keeping its borders safe and ensuring the security of the CPEC. He was clearly responding to Modi raising the Balochistan issue recently as well as the Indian media's attempts to paint protests in GB as part of a separatist agenda. The PM's message in Balochistan that terrorists had been eliminated seemed to be directed more at the Baloch separatist insurgency than Islamist terrorists. The PM travelled to open the Kohlu-Sibi road whose construction had to be halted in 2006 due to the ongoing insurgency. With the Chinese ambassador in audience the message was clear. Pakistan can and will deliver on its commitments on the CPEC.

It is most certainly a powerful message to send, which will be received well in the power corridors in China where questions have been raised over whether Pakistan could deliver on its commitments. As a message to external actors who may want to destabilise Pakistan, there is no doubt that this is the right message to send. No one should be allowed to interference in the internal affairs of the country. The COAS presented the Chinese city of Urumqi as a vision for the future of Gilgit-Baltistan and spoke very highly of the hard working people of the region. But that the state is inclusive towards the people of GB and Balochistan should be a sense that must grow much stronger than it is at the moment. The road between Sibbi and Kohlu promises much by reducing the distance between the two from 600km to 174km, but the benefits must go to not only the investors but to the 'locals' as well. It is good that the PM talked of the 'usurped' rights of the people of Balochistan, but it would be better if the government could come up with ways of bringing those who are sceptical on board with carrots, not sticks.

iii. The News, October 3, 2016 Levelling the Corridor

The last Chinese and Asian Development Bank loan of \$8 billion for the renovation of the railway line from Karachi to Peshawar takes the total investment in the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor to over

\$50 billion. It has now become easily the largest single project in the country's history and its success will be crucial to our economic prospects for the next 20-30 years. There have been signs of confidence in the CPEC in recent days with both Iran and Saudi Arabia expressing interest in joining it. The sheer alarm India and increasingly the US have shown about the CPEC point to its effectiveness since they are unlikely to be so worried about something doomed for failure. China has pledged a total of \$35 billion in the energy sector, which should go a long way towards solving our persistent power crisis, with the rest going for infrastructure development. But there is cause for worry too. A special Senate Standing Committee on the CPEC claimed that the centrepiece of the CPEC – the port in Gwadar – was being ignored and funds allocated for its development were instead spent to upgrade the port in Karachi. It also accused the government of refusing to prioritise the western route of the CPEC, which covers neglected cities like Turbat, Zhob, Burhan and Panjur.

This criticism by the Senate committee has both economic and political ramifications. The CPEC is meant not just for Pakistan's economic development but specifically for those regions which are under- developed and traditionally neglected by the government. Balochistan, in particular, was wary of the government's intentions and if it turns out that money for Gwadar was diverted to Karachi that would only confirm Baloch cynicism. This happened earlier too when the government decide to change the route of the CPEC from Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to concentrate on Punjab, claiming that the infrastructure needed for many projects was only in place in Punjab. But the entire point of the CPEC should be to create a level playing field. There are worries about security too and with so many different actors who have a reason to disrupt the CPEC there is a danger that China could be spooked if there were a real security threat. We have too much at stake here; for that reason and more, the CPEC needs a carefully thought-out policy on all levels. On top of the agenda should be a way to ensure all stakeholders get their jitters regarding the corridor put to rest.

iv. The News, November 15, 2016

Open for trade

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, flanked by Army Chief Raheel Sharif and Balochistan Chief Minister Sanaullah Zehri, declared Gwadar open for trade at a ceremony on Sunday. Much of the work in developing Gwadar has been carried out and funded by the Chinese and they have significant strategic interests in ensuring the port's success. Gwadar gives China access to Iran and its energy resources and allows it to compete with India for access to Central Asia. Chinese involvement has also helped avoid the corruption in handing out contracts that destroyed the Musharraf regime's attempts to develop the port.

But even with all these factors working in favour of Gwadar being a lasting success, there are concerns. Security problems are going to be an issue for any country that might want to use the port for trade. Separatist groups have specifically targeted foreign investments in Balochistan and have even killed Chinese engineers in the past. Militant groups have become more active in the province, as the shrine attack over the weekend showed. Fear of militant attacks had been an issue for both the Iranian and Tapi pipelines and the Gwadar Port may face the same challenge.

It may have taken great effort on the part of the government to ensure that the first Chinese cargo ships leave the Gwadar Port, but the impact of these ships leaving on the entire country is not so clear. The promise of inclusive development and the provision of security to the people of the country cannot be delayed forever. There is certainly more that the federal government needs to do to convince smaller provinces that the CPEC will bring them and the entire country the promised benefits. In his speech at the inauguration ceremony, Nawaz Sharif specifically called out those who are enemies of the CPEC as enemies of Pakistan. India has every reason to want Gwadar, and all the other projects associated with the CPEC, to fail. The port, now that it is close to being fully functional, will be of great importance to Pakistan not just because of increased trade but also strategically. It will link us to the Middle East and Central Asia and be a part of the route through which two-thirds of the world's oil passes and make us the hub of trade between China and the Central Asian Republics. Previously India could block the Straits of Malacca, forcing China to keep India on its side so that it never exercised that option. The port at Gwadar takes away that bargaining chip from India. Gwadar would give China access to the Straits of Hormuz – one of the main oil shipping routes – and reduce its costs of trade. India believes China is using Gwadar as part of its 'String of Pearls' – Chinese-funded ports that surround India. This was the main reason India reached an agreement with Iran to develop the port at Chabahar and froze Pakistan out. Gwadar has the potential to be revolutionary for Pakistan, but we will have to avoid the problems that have plagued it in the past, starting with corruption and ending with plans to sabotage it – both from home and abroad.

v. The News, December 31, 2016

New deals

One of the main complaints about the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor has been that it focused excessively on Punjab to the exclusion of smaller provinces. That was never entirely true, even though the CPEC did stray slightly from its original vision of acting mostly as an economic revitalization project for underdeveloped provinces. Now, the latest round of the CPEC deals may be trying to rectify that imbalance. Sindh Chief Minister Murad Ali Shah was part of a Pakistani delegation that went to Beijing and secured agreements to redevelop the dormant Karachi Circular Railway, set up a special economic zone in Dhabeji and a coal power plant in Keti Bandar. There will be a further 12 projects initiated in Balochistan, including more development in Gwadar, a mass transit system in Quetta and industrial estates in Khuzdar and Bostan. On the face of it, the inclusion of these projects should go some way in assuaging the fears of Sindh and Balochistan that they are going to be excluded from the economic bonanza provided by the CPEC. Concerns had been raised in the past about safety and the basic development that would be required in these areas to make such ventures viable, but now that funding has been made available there is no excuse not to begin work.

Still, there are money matters that need to be considered. The overall size of the CPEC has now

soared to \$54 billion. While some of the investment is coming in the form of soft loans from China

and the Asian Development Bank, most of the loans will have to be paid back at market interest rates. Most of the raw materials for the CPEC projects are being imported from China and with loans taken from Chinese banks. For the CPEC to provide the economic benefits we have been promised, its projects are required to be profitable rather than increase our already sizeable debt burden. Gwadar Port, one of the centrepieces of the CPEC, was inaugurated last month but it is still many years away from being fully operational and issues of security could yet derail it and many other projects. Repaying our debt will require the CPEC projects to not just meet our domestic needs but increase exports so that we can pay back loans to commercial banks and China. The one thing we need to avoid is our bad habit of repaying old debt with new loans. The government has floated the idea of using future Chinese investment to cover CPEC-related outflows but falling into this debt trap needs to be avoided to ensure the CPEC does not become a millstone around our necks.

Appendix D

i. Dawn, July 20, 2016

Road to CPEC

THE China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is a double lifeline for the country. The purported \$46bn of INVESTMENT will not only dramatically increase north-south connectivity but could also jump-start overall economic activity and end chronic electricity shortages in the country.

It is in conceptual scale and real-world size a vast project that has the potential to change the future of millions of Pakistanis. But between now and 2030, the future will be necessarily shaped by the quality of leadership that Pakistan is able to provide on CPEC.

A report in this newspaper on Monday has suggested that the political leadership is failing to provide the kind of cross-government coordination and efficiency that the Chinese government is seeking and that the military leadership is urging.

To try and resolve the problems with execution and project management, a so-called CPEC Development Agency has been mooted to take over responsibility for CPEC projects from the special cell currently operating from the Prime Minister's Office with the assistance of the Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform.

Unsurprisingly, the PML-N denies that there is a problem and argues that not only is the political government capable of overseeing CPEC but that it is doing a commendable job.

To be sure, some of the criticism directed at the government appears to be a thinly veiled attempt to transfer further control of national policy to the military.

It is also unlikely that the leadership of China, which has STRESSED from the outset that it does not want CPEC to be dragged into national controversies here, would suggest a scheme that could exacerbate civil-military tensions inside Pakistan.

However, there are two realities that ought to be considered here. First, the reality of the security situation in Pakistan and the national scope of CPEC, means that the military will have an important role to play in providing security to the projects and the personnel, foreign and local, involved in executing them.

It is one thing for the PML-N government to claim that it is coordinating across government agencies and institutions and quite another to demonstrate that through sustained action. Thus far, it does appear that, at least as far as security is concerned, parallel set-ups appear to be in operation. Second, the PML-N seems unwilling to accept that the criticism of its handling of CPEC goes well beyond partisan attacks or narrow institutional interests.

No amount of briefings or press releases or TV appearances by ministers have been able to dispel the impression that the PML-N is not being transparent about its true plans for CPEC and that the PML-N is not committed to ensuring all provinces have a stake in CPEC that is commensurate with the needs of their respective populations.

Inevitably, a government in denial ends up eating into the goodwill it may have with the public, and with political and other institutions. The PML-N needs to do better.

ii. Dawn, September 27, 2016
CPEC security force

FOR a number of weeks at least, the issue of raising the funds to pay for the creation of a special CPEC security force, as well as the powers that the force will enjoy, has been in the news in various contexts. According to a series of reports last week, the matter of funding for the two divisions to be raised for CPEC security has been discussed by the finance minister and the army chief at a special meeting; it was then taken up as an extraordinary agenda item at an ECC meeting a few days later. Then the minister of water and power, who also holds the portfolio of defense, announced that funds to pay for the running of this force would be made part of the power tariff and recovered from all consumers countrywide. The latest reports suggest that the power regulator, Nepra, has objected to the proposal, saying it will set a bad legal precedent, and that the cost of security of private power plants is already a part of the tariff for the construction period, as well as insurance against sabotage once construction ends and commercial operations begin.

It is imperative that Nepra's objections be heeded. It has become a bit of a fad to start bundling all manner of costs into the power tariff, almost turning the billing and recovery machinery of the power sector into a surrogate revenue system. We have seen pressure to include interest costs on the circular debt, as well as construction of the Neelum-Jhelum and the Matiari-Lahore transmission line and the cost of an LNG pipeline, in the power tariffs. This is clearly unacceptable and Nepra must not allow this process to continue.

If power consumers are going to be asked to bear the maintenance cost of a CPEC security force, they have a legal right to demand that all details about the proposed force and its costs be placed before Nepra for an open hearing, which then has the right to ask whether a least-cost approach is being adopted and where room exists to reduce the component costs further. Are the authorities, whether civilian or military, willing to live up to this obligation, which is binding in all power tariff determinations? If not, they should withdraw the proposal and seek to raise the resources from tax revenues instead. Power tariffs are not a substitute for the state's revenue system. The proposal is grossly unfair to power consumers and of highly questionable legal merit. The government has done itself a disservice by hustling the proposal through an ECC meeting. It is also worth noticing that the matter of locating the resources for the proposed force is coming very late in the CPEC timeline. Should this not have been worked out at the outset?

iii. Dawn, October 4, 2016

Impediments to CPEC projects

It appears the bouquet of power-sector projects under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor has hit a number of road blocks of late. The latest in a series of snags that these projects have run into is the Matiari to Lahore transmission line, the first private-sector initiative in power transmission that Pakistan has seen. The line is vital to the overall CPEC vision because it will carry additional power to be generated under numerous other CPEC power-generation projects in Sindh, including Tharparkar and Hub in Karachi. If the line is not built, that additional generation capacity will have no means to get to load centres in Punjab, rendering it redundant. Given the \$2.1bn cost of the line, the Chinese were asked to build the project, but the tariff that they wanted was higher than what the regulator, Nepra, could allow. The net result has been a stalemate of sorts for almost a year now. In August, Nepra approved a tariff of 71 paisa per unit, but the Chinese want a tariff of 95 paisa instead, 30pc higher, and the government is spinning all its wheels to persuade the regulator to grant the revised tariff.

This is not the first time that we have seen a large CPEC project run into financial difficulties. Earlier, the complex of power plants envisioned at Gadani was scrapped because of the costs of building the jetty. Many investments in the Quaid-i-Azam Solar Park in Punjab have landed up in litigation because the government cannot honour the upfront solar tariff it offered to woo the Chinese. A large coal-fired power plant to be built in Kallar Kahar has also been scrapped due to an escalation in cost, while the Thar coal plants have landed up in litigation because of the costs of compliance with environmental regulations.

The fact that all of these were scrapped at advanced stages of execution shows the lack of foresight while highlighting the abundance of triumphant rhetoric under which these projects were being carried out. In almost every case, it is being discovered that the hidden costs are large enough to erode whatever cost advantages the projects are supposed to bring. Accommodating these costs in every case runs the risk of creating a separate class of investor in the power sector that enjoys privileged access to the sector's resources, from revolving funds to dollar-denominated settlement and a special security force. This situation must be avoided to safeguard the future integrity of power-sector investments. And the temptation to simply pass all these costs on to the consumers must also be resisted. If the investment coming under CPEC cannot justify itself on financial grounds, then it is worth considering why we should go down this path rather than walk the hard road of power reforms to promote competitiveness instead.

iv. Dawn, November 7, 2016
Shuffling CPEC

THE constant changes being made to the bouquet of power projects under the CPEC umbrella shows the weak state of planning that went into the whole affair. Latest reports suggest that two more projects may have been knocked off the list due to reservations about the use of imported coal. In one case, a 660MW initiative has been disallowed completely, and in another, the project sponsors have been told to arrange foreign financing and shift to local coal, meaning their timeline has been disrupted, putting a question mark on the entire project. At the same time, the government is rushing to commission a new 1200MW plant to run on imported LNG.

The changes come after similar midcourse alterations to the terms in the solar tariff, as well as the collapse of the Salt Range coal-fired power project. Given these frequent changes, it is becoming clear that foresight and planning were missing from the launch of one of the biggest series of energy-sector investments ever in this country's history. This is one reason why calls for greater transparency in CPEC are so pertinent. Clearly, the impact of imported coal on the external account of the country ought to have been studied long before the projects were approved, granted an upfront tariff, and issued letters of support and generation licences. The change of mind came at the Private Power and Infrastructure Board sometime in October. This is the same body that approved the projects and granted them letters of support earlier in the year. Perhaps such a strong emphasis on coal-fired power plants was never a good idea to start off with, due to their impact on the external account as well as the environment. But the way the government is changing its mind in the middle of the project timelines sends a signal to investors that Pakistan remains a high-risk country and dampens investor enthusiasm further.

V.Dawn, November 17, 2016
CPEC controversies

ONE thing that the departure of the first cargo under CPEC has established is that a western route to Gwadar port does indeed exist, and the port is indeed operational. To demonstrate that point, the convoy was deliberately brought down to the port from the western route, crossing the Indus at the new bridge at Khushalgarh, down to DI Khan and Zhob and onward to Quetta. There was a lot of talk in days past about the western route being neglected, and resources meant for Gwadar port having been spent in Karachi instead. It is not clear what grounds gave rise to such talk, but the fact that some of it echoed inside parliament gave it a significance it would not otherwise have had. We now have an actual demonstration of the existence of a western route, as well as the functionality of the port in question, so perhaps the time has come for the critics to be more specific about what exactly their grievances are.

Some critics might argue that the western route was supposed to run through Khuzdar to DG Khan, and onward to the Karnal Sher Khan interchange in Swabi district of the Peshawar-Islamabad motorway. From there it was supposed to travel through Swat and link up with the Karakoram Highway. That route, according to a map of the National Highway Network, would cut almost 350km of travelling distance compared to the route through the motorway. There was another route, running from DI Khan to Peshawar, that has also yet to be built. Work on the Swat Motorway kicked off in August of this year.

People can be excused for becoming a bit dizzy when reading the details of all these routes. It can become difficult to keep track of what is being talked about. Given how vituperative the rhetoric surrounding the issue can become, it is difficult to believe that the whole controversy is simply about ensuring that the benefits of future CPEC flows should be shared equitably. Raising the spectre of Kalabagh dam, or worse still, the dismemberment of the country as some have done, over some stretches of road is so far over the top that it certainly inspires questions as to where such animus is coming from, especially given the fact that much work is indeed being carried out. A conversation is definitely needed around the benefits that will flow from CPEC in the future, and who they will be shared with. But that conversation needs far more focus on the specifics of the projects than is currently the case. There are several dimensions to CPEC projects: the road network, the power projects, the assorted industrial zones, language teaching centres and other paraphernalia for the promotion of connectivity. All of these deserve attention, not just the stretches of roads being built.

Appendix E

QUESTIONNAIRE

NAME:

DEPARTMENT:

SEMESTER:

Are you convinced by the logic given by the editor?

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1	2	3	4	5

Do you think the editor is fair in his/her **judgement**?

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1	2	3	4	5

Do you think the intertextual references are used objectively by the editor?

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1	2	3	4	5

Do you think the selection of the intertextual references by the editor is not manipulative?

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1	2	3	4	5

Do you think the suggestions given by the editor are valid?

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1	2	3	4	5

Is the logic given by the editor objective?

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1	2	3	4	5

Do you think the editor has the nationalistic (pro-state) stance?

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1	2	3	4	5

Do you think the editor is writing in the favour of CPEC?

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1	2	3	4	5

Do you think the linguistic resources are used indiscriminately by the editor?

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEUTRAL	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
1	2	3	4	5